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to exhibit the momentous role which these prohibitions have played in human societies. He has filled a gap in the literature of social anthropology by a comprehensive treatment of taboo as a phenomenon of wide prevalence.

The ethnographical, historical, and psychological approaches to the study have not been neglected, but the author's main purpose is to show how important a place taboos hold in the cultural evolution of mankind.

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Dr. Webster took his A.B. at Stanford in 1896 and his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1904. He was Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Nebraska from 1907 to 1929 and a Lecturer in Sociology at Stanford since 1932, now emeritus. Among his many books are *History of Civilization*, *Primitive Secret Societies*, and *Rest Days*.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

*Primitive Secret Societies: A Study in Early Politics and Religion* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1908; Japanese translation, 1916; Italian translation, 1920; second edition, revised, 1932)

*Rest Days: A Study in Early Law and Morality* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1916). Out of print.

# TABOO

## A Sociological Study

*By*

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TO

MY CHILDREN

"The field covered by taboos among savage and half-savage races is very wide, for there is no part of life in which the savage does not feel himself to be surrounded by mysterious agencies and recognize the need of walking warily."

—W. Robertson Smith

"Le passage du tabou à l'interdiction motivée, raisonnée, raisonnable, c'est presque l'histoire des progrès de l'esprit humain."

—Salomon Reinach

# PREFACE

THE word "taboo" (Polynesian *tabu*) entered English speech from Captain Cook's fascinating narrative of his third and last voyage to the island world of the Pacific. In 1888 James George Frazer contributed to the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* a brief article dealing with the system of taboo, especially in Polynesia, its peculiar home. Noteworthy contributions to our knowledge of the subject have since been made by Frazer himself and by other students of primitive magic and religion. It now seems possible to fill a gap in the literature of social anthropology by a comprehensive treatment of taboo as a phenomenon of wide prevalence.

The present work brings together much trustworthy evidence, but makes no pretense to exhaustiveness. Indeed, a compilation of encyclopedic proportions would be required to set forth fully the materials that have been gathered among primitive or preliterate peoples alone. Were the investigation extended to peoples of archaic civilization, still more volumes would be necessary. In order to guide the reader to further sources of information, I have regularly included references to other works where particular taboos have been assembled and described.

An inquiry of this sort might be conducted along various lines: ethnographically, by an effort to trace the diffusion of taboos; or historically, by a search for the contacts between peoples which may explain this diffusion; or psychologically, by the attempt to formulate the ideas underlying the system of taboo in its many ramifications. I have not wholly neglected these various approaches to the subject, but my main concern has been to show or try to show how important a place taboos hold in the cultural evolution of mankind.

Taboos form a specific series of thou-shalt-nots. They are not to be confused (as in popular usage) with social conventions and regulations of a negative sort, conventions and regulations without an obvious utility. They are to be distinguished from restrictions resting on the vague notion of unluckiness which attaches to certain acts or things or times, restrictions found in the lower culture and, under the attenuated form of a survival,

lingering among ourselves. More important still, there are innumerable prohibitions, both animistic and non-animistic in character, which must likewise be excluded from the conception of taboo if this is to possess any scientific validity and retain a place in ethnological theory. Taboos are prohibitions which, when violated, produce automatically in the offender a state of ritual disability—"taboo sickness"—only relieved, when relief is possible, by a ceremony of purification. To this definition I have steadfastly adhered.

The customs considered here are mostly of unknown origin and of unknown antiquity. Many of them, particularly those relating to reproduction, death, and the dead, must be very old, reaching back into the childhood of the race. Though often fantastic and absurd and sometimes lewd and cruel, they are, nevertheless, the most imperative of primitive observances, those to which the savage accords the most implicit obedience. To study them is to gain some comprehension of social evolution through unnumbered centuries; it is to open a window into man's dim and distant past.

HUTTON WEBSTER

MENLO PARK, CALIFORNIA
July, 1942

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H. W.

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## CHAPTER I

# NATURE OF TABOO

THE unfettered, uninhibited savage, described by the romanticists of the eighteenth century, is as fictitious as the Golden Age itself. The savage, rather, is bound hand and foot by custom, especially negative custom. Thou-shalt-nots surround him from the cradle to the grave. He must entertain no thought, express no feeling, and perform no deed which runs counter to the general will. How slowly and with how many setbacks have men anywhere achieved some measure of personal independence, some freedom to think, feel, and act for themselves and not for the herd!

The English jurist, John Austin, developing ideas ultimately derived from the seventeenth-century philosopher Thomas Hobbes, made familiar the conception of law as a rule prescribed by the sovereign to his subjects, whether the sovereign be one man to whom obedience is given or a group of men who possess supreme power. The Austinian conception of "positive" law has no application, of course, to rude societies, whose binding customs are responses to community needs rather than commands laid down in an arbitrary way by some superior authority. The group, or at least its dominant members, reacts favorably or unfavorably toward certain modes of behavior, which thereby become approved or disapproved. The outcome is the formation of standards of belief and conduct. A minor departure from the norm will then meet some degree of reprobation, while the most serious offenses, such as witchcraft and incest, will often be punished directly by a sort of "lynch law" or indirectly by recognized judicial authorities. These are social sanctions.

There are also extra-social sanctions. A transgressor of accepted usages may be supposed to kindle the anger of spiritual beings and, unless appeasement is made, to suffer some punishment at their hands in this world or in the next. Prohibitions resting on such a personal sanction are animistic in character. He may also be supposed to call down upon himself some inevitable punishment in the shape of evils inextricably bound up with the

violation, just as, in the physical world, fire burns, water drowns, and poison kills. Innumerable restrictions relating to certain foods may be thus explained: in Madagascar a soldier will not eat the knee of an ox, lest like an ox he should become weak-kneed and unable to march, nor will he partake of kidneys because in the Malagasy language the word for kidney is the same as that for "shot," so shot he would be if he consumed this delicacy. No hint can be found in such restrictions of punitive action by any agent: the commission of the forbidden act itself begets the penalty. For us the causal connection between deed and aftermath of deed is imaginary; for the savage the connection is as real as are the spiritual beings of whose presence and activity he is so certain. Prohibitions with such an impersonal sanction are sympathetic in character, because they rest on the assumption that things which bear a likeness to each other can affect each other at a distance, through a secret sympathy. Finally, there are prohibitions, likewise impersonal as to their sanction, but supported by the belief that their infraction will result automatically in a most serious condition for the culprit, who becomes "tabooed" or in a "state of taboo"—a condition of ritual disability dangerous to himself and often to others as well. Unless he can be relieved by appropriate measures—and these are not always efficacious—a great misfortune will befall him and possibly his fellows. The evil to come is sometimes represented as sickness, disease, or death and sometimes, again, it is but vaguely imagined. Whatever the consequences of violation, agreement is general that they are real and that they may be dreadful. Only prohibitions of this nature are properly described as taboos.[1]

"Taboo," from the Polynesian *tabu,* is one of the few words which the languages of the Pacific Islanders have contributed to modern speech. In English it is used indifferently as noun, adjective, participle, or verb: a "taboo" is a prohibition; an object "taboo" or "tabooed" is an object under a prohibition; "to taboo" is to put under a prohibition. The Polynesian word had only an adjectival significance, and the substantive and verbal forms were expressed by derivative words and phrases. *Tabu* seems to be properly the Tongan word; *tapu* the term found in Samoa, the Marquesas Islands, the Society Islands, and New Zealand; and *kapu* the Hawaiian expression.[2] *Tapu* has been derived from *ta,* to mark, and *pu,* an adverb of intensity. "The compound word tapu, therefore, means no more than 'marked thoroughly,' and only came to signify sacred or prohibited in a secondary sense;

because sacred things and places were commonly marked in a peculiar manner, in order that every one might know that they were sacred."[3] According to another derivation, *tapu* is from the name of the conch shell, *pu,* and *ta,* which means to strike as well as to mark, and is also used as a causative prefix. "In the old order when a chief announced a ceremonial restriction by blowing his conch shell, it may have been described by the compound word *ta-pu.*"[4] Such etymologies and others like them are discredited by the fact that the word *tapu* or *tabu,* together with the customs and beliefs which it denotes, is traceable widely in the Pacific area.[5]

As an English word, "taboo" was made familiar by Captain James Cook in the narrative of his third and last voyage around the world.[6] He reached the Tonga or Friendly Islands in 1777, and at Tongatabu entertained on shipboard several superior and inferior chiefs. When dinner was served, not one of them would sit down or eat anything provided. "On expressing my surprise at this, they were all *taboo,* as they said, which word has a very comprehensive meaning, but, in general, signifies that a thing is forbidden." Sometime later, observing that two women of a company at supper were being fed by others, he learned that they were *taboo mattee.* It seems that one of them, two months before, had washed the corpse of a chief and consequently might not handle any food for five months. The other, having performed the same office for the corpse of a person of inferior rank, was also under the same restriction, but not for so long a time. During his stay at Tongatabu Cook was fortunate enough to witness a certain ceremony in honor of the king's son. The king requested Cook not to allow his sailors to stir from the ship, "for, as everything would, very soon, be *taboo,* if any of our people, or of their own, should be found walking about, they would be knocked down with clubs; nay *mateed,* that is, killed." No information as to the meaning of the ceremony was vouchsafed by the natives. "We seldom got any other answer to our inquiries, but *taboo;* a word, which, I have before observed, is applied to many other things."

Human sacrifices were called *tangata taboo,* "and when anything is forbidden to be eat, or made use of, they say, that it is *taboo.*" Cook later found this word used in the Society Islands (Tahiti), but only with reference to the consecrated man offered as a sacrifice. He found it also in the Sandwich Islands, where negative regulations of one sort or another seemed to be very

strictly observed. "For the people here always asked, with great eagerness and signs of fear to offend, whether any particular thing which they desired to see, or we were unwilling to show, was *taboo,* or, as they pronounced the word, *tafoo.*"

Captain James King, who in 1779 succeeded to the command after Cook's death and continued the narrative of the voyage, also makes reference to taboo among the Sandwich Islanders. He states that the word could be applied to both persons and things and that it was also used to denote anything "sacred, or eminent, or devoted." King was impressed by the "most implicit and scrupulous obedience" of the natives in regard to the prohibitions laid upon them, but he could not decide whether this was on any principle of religion or merely in deference to the civil authority of their chiefs. Elsewhere, however, he describes taboo as a kind of "religious interdiction."

Cook and the other famous navigators who opened up the island world of the Pacific were soon followed by the missionaries, and in 1795 the (London) Missionary Society was formed "to disseminate the light of divine truth over all the dark regions of the earth." One of the ablest and most useful of the men whom it sent to the South Seas was William Ellis. He lived for eight years (1816–1824) in the Society and Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands, and after his return to England published in 1829 his *Polynesian Researches.* It is an extensive work of lasting value.

The account which Ellis[7] gives of the Polynesian *tabu* system relates particularly to the Hawaiian group.

"In most of the Polynesian dialects, the usual meaning of the word *tabu* is 'sacred.' It does not, however, imply any moral quality, but expresses a connection with the gods, or a separation from ordinary purposes, and exclusive appropriation to persons or things considered sacred; sometimes it means devoted as by a vow. Those chiefs who trace their genealogy to the gods are called *arii tabu,* chiefs sacred, from their supposed connection with the gods; and a temple is called a *wahi tabu,* place sacred, because devoted exclusively to the abode and worship of the gods. It is a distinct word from *rahui,* to prohibit . . . . and is opposed to the word *noa,* which means general or common. . . . . This appears to be the legitimate meaning of the word *tabu,* though the natives, when talking with foreigners, use it more extensively, applying it to everything prohibited or improper . . . .[8]

"Although employed for civil as well as sacred purposes, the *tabu* was entirely a religious ceremony, and could be imposed

only by the priests. A religious motive was always assigned for laying it on, though it was often done at the instance of the civil authorities; and persons called *kiaimoku,* island keepers, a kind of police officers, were always appointed by the king to see that the *tabu* was strictly observed.

"The antiquity of the *tabu* was equal to the other branches of that superstition of which it formed so component a part, and its application was both general and particular, occasional and permanent. The idols, temples, persons, and names of the king, and members of the reigning family; the persons of the priests; canoes belonging to the gods; houses, clothes, and mats of the king and priests; and the heads of men who were the devotees of any particular idol were always *tabu,* or sacred. The flesh of hogs, fowls, turtle, and several other kinds of fish, cocoanuts, and almost everything offered in sacrifice, were *tabu* to the use of the gods and the men; hence the women were, except in cases of particular indulgence, restricted from using them. Particular places, as those frequented by the king for bathing, were also rendered permanently *tabu.* Sometimes an island or a district was *tabued,* when no canoe or person was allowed to approach it. Particular fruits, animals, and the fish of certain places were occasionally *tabu* for several months from both men and women. The seasons kept *tabu* were: on the approach of some great religious ceremony; immediately before going to war; and during the sickness of chiefs. Their duration was various, and much longer in ancient than in modern times. . . . . Before the reign of Tamehameha, forty days was the usual period; during it, ten or five days, and sometimes only one day. In this respect, the *tabus,* or seasons of restriction, in Hawaii, appear to have exceeded those of the South Sea Islands. . . . . The *tabu* seasons were either common or strict. During a common *tabu,* the men were only required to abstain from their usual avocations, and attend at the *heiau* when the prayers were offered every morning and evening. But, during the season of strict *tabu,* every fire and light on the island or district must be extinguished; no canoe must be launched on the water, no person must bathe; and, except those whose attendance was required at the temple, no individual must be seen out of doors; no dog must bark, no pig must grunt, no cock must crow—or the *tabu* would be broken and fail to accomplish the object desired. On these occasions, they tied up the mouths of the dogs and pigs, and put the fowls under a calabash, or fastened a piece of cloth over their eyes. All the common people prostrated them-

selves, with their faces touching the ground, before the sacred chiefs, when they walked out, particularly during *tabu;* and neither the king nor the priests were allowed to touch anything—even their food was put into their mouths by another person. The *tabu* was imposed either by proclamation, when the crier or herald of the priests went round, generally in the evening, requiring every light to be extinguished, the path by the sea to be left for the king, the paths inland to be left for the gods, etc. The people, however, were generally prepared, having had previous warning, though this was not always the case. Sometimes it was laid on by fixing certain marks called *unu unu,* the purport of which was well understood, on the places or thing *tabued* . . . . The prohibitions and requisitions of the *tabu* were strictly enforced, and every breach of them punished with death, unless the delinquents had some very powerful friends who were either priests or chiefs. They were generally offered in sacrifices, strangled, or despatched with a club or a stone within the precincts of the *heiau,* or they were burnt . . . .[9]

"An institution so universal in its influence and so inflexible in its demands contributed very materially to the bondage and oppression of the natives in general. The king, sacred chiefs, and priests appear to have been the only persons to whom its application was easy; the great mass of the people were at no period of their existence exempt from its influence, and no circumstance in life could excuse their obedience to its demands. The females, in particular, felt all its humiliating and degrading force. From its birth, the child, if a female, was not allowed to be fed with a particle of food that had been kept in the father's dish, or cooked at his fire; and the little boy, after being weaned, was fed with his father's food, and, as soon as he was able, sat down to meals with his father, while his mother was not only obliged to take hers in an outhouse, but was interdicted from tasting the kind of which he ate. It is not surprising that the abolition of the *tabu,* effecting for them an emancipation so complete, and an amelioration so important, should be a subject of constant congratulation; and that every circumstance tending, in the smallest degree, to revive the former *tabu* should be viewed with the most distressing apprehensions. The only *tabu* they now have is the Sabbath, which they call the *La tabu* (day sacred), and to its extension and perpetuity those who understand it seem to have no objection."

Thus far our excellent missionary. He shows very clearly

that the *tabu* system played a great part in the life of the Polynesian peoples. It readily united with priestcraft and statecraft and so became, in the hands of the ruling classes, an *instrumentum regni,* a powerful engine of political and social control. It was the chief prop of a society organized on theocratic lines.

Ellis regarded the taboo system as peculiar to the natives of the South Seas. Anthropological research has disclosed, however, the presence of comparable ideas and customs among many other primitive peoples and even among those of archaic civilization, so that "taboo" is now a category of almost world-wide application.

Taboos should not be confused with those animistic prohibitions imposed by many an early lawgiver and inserted by the side of positive regulations in the elaborate codes of morality and religion which have descended to us from the ancient world. Of the Ten Commandments, for instance, eight are expressed negatively, but as we now have them they are not taboos; they are the injunctions of a deity. Animistic prohibitions, while naturally most numerous in such collections as the Laws of Manu, the Avesta, and the Mosaic code, are by no means unknown to preliterate peoples. However, taboos have often been incorporated in a religious system, ascribed to a spiritual being, and supported by an appeal to divine authority. This was the situation in Polynesia, where, as Ellis remarks, *tabu* expressed "a connection with the gods."[10] The ancient Hindu, Persian, and Hebrew codes likewise abound in negative regulations which, though professedly revealed by a god, betray a manifest likeness to the ordinances of the lowliest savages. The problem then becomes one of getting behind the animistic prohibition to the original taboo.

On the other hand, not all prohibitions whose violation is said to be punished by a spiritual being are animistic in character. By the savage, "spirits" are frequently thought of as impersonal rather than personal, and some are regarded as merely vague influences resident in all extraordinary objects which fix his attention and excite his fears. The role of such spirits in administering punishment for a violated prohibition is often quite arbitrary; they have no initiative as penal powers; their anger is automatically aroused against an offender; and they cannot be appeased by prayer or sacrifice. When the consequences of violation are represented in this way, we are dealing with taboos and not with animistic prohibitions.[11]

Nor should taboos be confused with sympathetic prohibitions,

with the innumerable precautions and prejudices finding an explanation in analogical reasoning of every sort. The Paraguay Indian who abstains from eating the flesh of deer, lest it should make him timid, but who prizes the flesh of jaguars to increase his strength and boldness assumes very simply that the qualities of the eaten pass into the eater. The Eskimo lad who will not play cat's cradle, lest in later life his fingers might become entangled in the harpoon-line, acts on the same principle—like begets like—as the Bornean woman who, while her husband is on the warpath, takes care to cook and scatter popcorn on the verandah early each morning so that his movements may be agile. This vast field of anthropological research, so fully explored by Sir James George Frazer in *The Golden Bough,* has, indeed, a Janus-like aspect, and for the student who seeks to understand primitive mentality its negative precepts deserve perhaps as much attention as its positive injunctions.

The principal varieties of sympathetic prohibitions include many pregnancy and puerperal restrictions; most cases of couvade, or "man childbed"; certain rules of abstinence observed by hunters, fishers, and warriors when absent from home and by the relatives and friends whom they have left behind; various dietary regulations of a negative character; many name avoidances; and avoidance customs generally. Prohibitions of this nature have played little or no part in the creation or evolution of social institutions.

Primitive man, that "frail phantom and waif" in an unfriendly world, lives beset by fears of every kind. His fears are often the product of a lively imagination and of an abysmal ignorance. They make anything potentially dangerous and so prompt him to avoidances, which, in their simplest forms, are almost as instinctive as those of the lower animals. When community ties become more closely drawn and habits harden into customs, avoidances pass into prohibitions, into the forbiddance of whatever seems to be injurious immediately to the individual and mediately to the group of which he forms a part. If the objects, activities, and situations covered by the prohibition are truly baneful, then it satisfies what we are pleased to call common sense. It is a precept of utility. If the prohibition relates to what is not really injurious, it is for us a "superstition." To the savage, however, all his prohibitions rest on a common ground of usefulness. They are all in accordance with experience. They are not irrational. Reasons for them have always existed even if

the savage himself cannot now account for them and the civilized inquirer cannot fathom the emotions and ideas on which they were once based. Who shall interpret the fancies, tricks, and childish guesses of the primitive mind?

It is possible, nevertheless, to suggest some factors operative in the creation of specific prohibitions having the character of taboos. The influence of dreams deserves mention here, for, to the savage, dreams are as real as any of the events of his waking life. Ominous dreams, which have produced the whole pseudo-science of oneiromancy, may also produce taboos. "All their dreams," says an observer of the West African Negroes, "are construed into visits from the spirits of their deceased friends. The cautions, hints and warnings which come to them through this source are received with the most serious and deferential attention, and are always acted upon in their waking hours. The habit of relating their dreams, which is universal, greatly promotes the habit of dreaming itself, and hence their sleeping hours are characterized by almost as much intercourse with the dead as their waking are with the living. This is, no doubt, one of the reasons of their excessive superstitiousness."[12]

A similar influence should also be ascribed to visions, especially those of the medicine man, or magician, whose revelations are frequently induced by fasting, the use of stimulants and narcotic drugs, dancing, and other means of bringing on a state of morbid exaltation. The southeastern tribes of Australia, writes Mr. Howitt, "universally believe that their deceased ancestors and kindred visit them during sleep, and counsel or warn them against dangers, or communicate to them song-charms against magic. I have known many such cases, and I also know that the medicine men see visions that are to them realities. Such a man if of great repute in his tribe might readily bring about a social change, by announcing to his fellow medicine men a command received from some supernatural being. . . . . If they received it favorably, the next step might be to announce it to the assembled headmen at one of the ceremonial gatherings as a supernatural command, and this would be accepted without question by the tribes-people."[13]

The fears and forebodings aroused by mishaps of every sort may give rise to taboos. The Chams of Indo-China put a taboo (*tabun*) on a rice plantation if a person or a domestic animal becomes gravely sick after working there. It is necessary, however, that the first symptoms of the illness should have manifested them-

selves while the person or animal was actually in the plantation. A tabooed field will no longer be cultivated, but will be sold at a low price to a Christian Annamite.[14] Among the Meithei of Manipur, if a man falls from a tree and is killed, the elders of his clan will gather around the tree and declare it taboo to fellow clansmen. Possibly all trees of the same species will be put under the ban.[15] Among the Pawnee Indians it is said that should a person drink at a certain spring just before being taken seriously ill, the spring would be "tabooed" henceforth, although it might have been in use for years and known to be most excellent water.[16] The Mohave Indians will not eat the meat of the beaver, believing that if they did so their necks would swell. "This belief was brought about by the circumstance of some one having poisoned beaver for their hides, and the Indians who ate of the flesh were poisoned and died; hence they think all beavers are bad."[17]

Once a particular prohibition has come into being, it may seemingly be confirmed as the result of coincidental experiences.

We owe to William Mariner a remarkable account of his life in the Tonga Islands during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Mariner, a young Englishman of good birth and fair education, went to sea in the privateer "Port au Prince." After cruising in the Pacific for more than a year, the ship put in at one of the Tonga Islands. Here nearly all the crew were murdered by the natives. Finau, the chief of Vavau, took a great fancy to Mariner and gave orders that his life should be spared. Mariner lived within the chief's enclosure and from one of the latter's wives received instruction in the language and customs of the Tonga people. Finau adopted Mariner as his own son and admitted him to all his councils. Their friendly and even intimate relations continued until Finau's sudden death. The chief of Vavau, who seems to have been a man of decidedly rationalistic temper, often confided to Mariner his doubts that there were such beings as the gods—men were fools, he said, to believe what the priests told them. He was stricken with a mortal illness at the very moment when he had given orders for the killing of an influential priest who had offended him. The proposed sacrilege, when brought to light after Finau's death, struck everyone with consternation. " 'No wonder!'—(for such was the general exclamation)—'no wonder that he died! a chief with such dreadful intentions!' "[18]

On one of the trails between Tarlac Province and Zambales Province in the island of Luzon there is a huge black boulder

which the Negritos believe to be the home of a powerful spirit. No Negrito and, in fact, no Christianized native of Zambales or Tarlac ever goes by it without leaving a banana, camote, or some other article of food. Failure to do so would mean that bad luck in one form or another would mark the journey. A Spaniard, who afterward became governor of Zambales, once passed the rock and, to the horror of his companions, kicked it with his feet, and to add insult to injury, he ate part of a banana and threw the rest away. The natives were much concerned over the incident; they said something terrible would happen to him. Sure enough, before he had gone very far he got an arrow through both legs from savage Negritos who could have known nothing of the occurrence.[19]

The regalia of Malay sovereigns are highly sacrosanct. Great danger is supposed to be incurred by one who meddles with these insignia of royalty. Among the regalia of the late Sultan of Selangor (one of the Federated Malay States) were two drums and a long silver trumpet. They were kept in a small, galvanized iron cupboard, which stood on posts in the lawn of His Highness' garden residence. They had previously been kept in the house, but their very uncanny behavior when there was a source of much annoyance and anxiety to the inmates. Once one Raja Baka accidentally trod upon the wooden barrel of the drums and died in consequence of his inadvertence. A hornet's nest having been formed inside one of these same drums, a Chinese was ordered to remove it, since no Malay would do so. The Chinese, after a few days' interval, "swelled up and died." These coincidences were related to our informant, Mr. Skeat, by the Sultan himself. Mr. Skeat, upon expressing a wish to examine the trumpet and the drums, was begged not to do so, for "no one could say what would happen." Nevertheless, he did see and even handle them in the presence of the Crown Prince. "I thought nothing more of the matter at the time, but, what was really a very curious coincidence, within a few days' time of the occurrence, I was seized with a sharp attack of malarial influenza, the result of which was that I was obliged to leave the district, and go into hospital at headquarters."[20] The news of what had happened much impressed the Malays.

Dr. Rivers found his research work among the Toda of southern India much hindered as the result of certain untoward events during his stay with the natives. He had been with them for about four months when various misfortunes befell some of his

chief informants. "One man who had pointed out to me certain sacred places fell ill and made up his mind that he was going to die. Another man lost his wife a few days after he had shown me the method of performing one of the most sacred of Toda ceremonies. A third man who had revealed to me the details of the ceremonial of the most sacred Toda dairy, suffered the loss of his own village dairy by fire." The diviners, upon being consulted, ascribed these events to the anger of the Toda gods whose secrets had been revealed to a stranger.[21]

Professor Westermarck once visited a cave in the Great Atlas Mountains, the interior of which is said to contain a whole spirit city. In the neighborhood of this cave a couple of pigeons were shot by his party. Shortly afterward his horse happened to stumble and fell upon one of the natives, who was carrying a gun. The gun was broken, and the man became lame for several days. Professor Westermarck was told that the accident was caused either by the cave spirits or by a saint who has a shrine in the same neighborhood, as a punishment for shooting the pigeons.[22]

A Kiowa Indian, a noted warrior and medicine man, at a Sun Dance deliberately violated the strict rule forbidding a mirror (a part of the toilet equipment of nearly everyone) from being brought near the *taime,* or sacred images, to be exposed to view in connection with the ceremony. He also tried unsuccessfully to poison his rival, the keeper of the *taime,* by scraping off the mercury from the back of the mirror and mixing it with some tobacco which he gave to the priest to smoke. Soon afterward, while hunting buffalo, he was thrown from his horse and killed. The Indians regarded his death as the speedy punishment for his sacrilegious acts.[23]

Another instance of sacrilege occurred among the Omaha Indians, in connection with a buffalo hunt. The Omaha made a practice of advancing to the herd by four regular stages, and at the close of each stage the director of the hunt and the chiefs sat and smoked. This slow approach to the herd and the four stops partook of a religious character. It once happened that during a hunt a man galloped up to where the official sat smoking and spoke impatiently of the slow progress. He declared that the buffalo were moving off and might escape because of the delay. The director replied quietly, "If your way is the better, follow it." The man dashed off, followed by the hunters, who rushed on the herd; in the confusion several hunters were injured and the man himself was crippled for life by his horse falling on him. It was

believed that he had been supernaturally punished for his irreverent action in interrupting the prescribed procedure.[24]

Dreams, visions, mishaps, and coincidental experiences have doubtless played a part in making and upholding taboos, but their importance can be easily overrated. Some taboos, which now seem senseless, may have had sense in the past, when they forbade what had been found by experience to produce unwholesome results in the food quest, sex relations, warfare, and other activities. Some taboos may have an underlying utility in the present, for they often bear the evidence of deliberate design on the part of tribal chiefs, magicians, and priests. The savage, indeed, is quite capable of backing up a useful rule by an appeal to "superstitious" fears; it is his way of securing prompt obedience to the rule. Like all customary observances, taboos sometimes arise within the group and are perpetuated by oral tradition; sometimes they are due to intercourse, friendly or otherwise, with another group; and sometimes they are the result of a remote foreign impregnation leading to contact and fusion of cultures. Whatever the process, the outcome is obscuration and distortion, so that the origin of most taboos is involved in the same Cimmerian darkness that veils the origin of primitive customs generally. An authority on the South African natives declares roundly that most of the Thonga taboos are "inexplicable," and his statement has more than a local application.[25]

A particular taboo, once well established, tends to multiply endlessly. There is here the same mistaken association of ideas that underlies sympathetic prohibitions: an object becomes tabooed which for any reason reminds one of something else tabooed. Thus prohibition is piled upon prohibition, as Ossa on Pelion and Pelion on Olympus, to anticipate every single possibility of danger in the perilous maze of a world where all things are potentially dangerous. The rank growth of taboos, by an accumulation of crude inferences, helps to account for their very miscellaneous character.

Taboo, in its sociological aspects, refers to a system of prohibitions observed as customs and developing among the Polynesians and some other peoples into an institution. The objects forbidden are as numerous and varied as human experiences, for any persons, things, acts, or situations may be considered so dangerous that meddling with them recoils upon the meddler. The danger apprehended is never apparent to the senses, it is always hidden; it is never explained, it is always assumed. A motive

then arises for treating them with a caution not required in the case of other objects. Thus in Polynesia what was *tabu* must be handled with care; what was *noa* ("general" or "common") might be handled with impunity. In its psychological aspects taboo may therefore be defined as the conception of the mystic dangerousness of a particular object, resulting in compulsions and restraints which center, not on what is prohibited, but on the mere fact of prohibition. There is just simple dread of the consequences of disobedience, and since the consequences are often left indeterminate the dread is all the more impressive. As we learn more about primitive mentality the nature of taboo will be better understood, and the inquiry into its motivation may well be extended to include a study of the child mind, the folk mind, and the subconscious mind as revealed by psychoanalysis.

Fear is systematized in taboo. Fear runs the whole gamut of emotional reactions from "awful" to "awesome," so that anything mystically dangerous may be under prohibition as arousing now an abhorrent and now a respectful and even a reverential sentiment. One can say, therefore, that the conception of taboo is often ambivalent, with the important qualification that, among primitive peoples at least, the attitude of aversion is far more pronounced than the attitude of attraction. The "fear of the Lord" is the "beginning of wisdom" for the savage, however it may be for his civilized brother. The differentiation of the two attitudes is never perfectly accomplished even in the higher religions, for always some ambiguity remains as to what is fearsome because diabolic and what is fearsome because divine. The "unclean thing" and the "clean thing" alike possess power, whether this be the power to blast or the power to bless.[26]

This process of differentiation can sometimes be observed when primitive folk are in contact with Christian missionaries. In the Tonga Islands the verb *tabui*, "to place under a taboo," is now used with the sense of "to bless."[27] In New Zealand the expression *Wairua Tapu* is translated "Holy Spirit."[28] Among the natives of Gabon *orunda* meant, originally, "prohibited from human use," "taboo" or "tabooed." As the result of missionary influence the word developed into its related sense of "sacred to spiritual use," and in the Mpongwe Scriptures *orunda* serves as the translation of our word "holy." "I think it an unfortunate choice," writes Dr. Nassau, "for the missionary has to stop and explain that *orunda* as used for God does not mean the *orunda* used by mankind."[29]

Among the Dakota Indians the word *wakan* is defined as *mysterious; incomprehensible; in a peculiar state, which, from not being understood, it is dangerous to meddle with;* hence the application of this word to women at the menstrual period, and from hence, too, arises the feeling among the wilder Indians that if the Bible, the church, the missionary, etc., are *wakan,* they are to be avoided, or shunned, not as being bad or dangerous, but as *wakan.* The word seems to be the only one for *holy, sacred,* etc., but the common acceptation of it, given above, makes it quite misleading to the heathen.[30]

Objects mystically dangerous are, then, dynamic objects. Man recognizes them by what they do to him; it is by their activity that he knows them. From this manner of thinking, so natural and indeed inevitable, some primitive peoples have gone on to isolate in thought and often to indicate by a special name the occult power that reveals itself by producing effects beyond the ordinary capacity of man or the normal course of nature. Thus the Ba-ila of Northern Rhodesia conceive of a force, neutral in character and pervading all things. In itself, the force is neither good nor bad, but it can be tapped by those who have the secret of manipulation and so be turned to either a good or a bad use. An object in which the force resides is dangerous to interfere with; it is taboo (*tonda*). "There is something about the *tonda* person that jeopardizes the well-being of others; some baneful influence inherent in, or set in energy by, the *tonda* things, actions and words, making them a source of peril not only to the person handling, using, saying them but also, it may be, to his fellows. In this case they may excite the active resentment of those who are affected and the offender may be punished by them; but, generally speaking, the taboo-breaker is left to the retribution of his own misdeed. That is to say, these deeds or sayings have a malefic essence in themselves, and by a kind of automatic action recoil upon the offender; or, to put it more accurately they release the spring which sets the hidden mechanism of nature in action against the offender." The Ba-ila have never clearly formulated their ideas of this force; they have no name for it.[31]

On the other hand, the Elema people of British New Guinea give it a name—*ahea,* or "magical heat." The meaning of this word has been transferred from the purely physical heat of fire or the sun to that of the magician who is in a condition enabling him to do something beyond ordinary human capacity. Old men, bull-roarers, certain carved wooden plaques of great sanctity, and

the magician's charms also possesses *ahea.* It is especially found in the secret leaves and pieces of bark used by the magician and in the ginger which he chews with the express purpose of making himself "hot." Things in which *ahea* resides are "hot things." "They are charged with power, and those who handle them without authority may expect a shock; or they are fierce and liable to snap."[32] Similarly, the Andaman Islanders have a word, *ot-kimil,* which, while it means "hot" in the sense of the English word, is likewise applied to everything supposed to be powerful for good or ill in their lives. Various plants and animals, together with the bodies of dead men and their bones, are especially charged with this quality of "hotness." All contact with them is dangerous, but the danger may be avoided by ritual precautions.[33]

This notion of occult power is more definitely expressed by the Melanesian and Polynesian *mana,* a term best rendered, perhaps, by two words now somewhat old-fashioned, if not obsolete: the "virtue" that resides in a man and the "grace" that descends upon him. Disembodied souls (ghosts) and spirits (which were incorporeal from the first) possess *mana;* it may also be acquired from them by men, animals, and even inanimate things. Essentially similar terms, with much the same meaning, are found among the Malays, the Malagasy, various African peoples, and the American Indians.[34]

The occult power residing in an object mystically dangerous is transmissible and therefore is capable of affecting whatever comes in contact with it. This notion must be regarded as a product of experience, however wrongly interpreted. The savage is aware that the bite of certain insects and snakes has painful and perhaps fatal results. He has learned, after long observation, that many plants and fruits, though tasty, are not good for eating. He is familiar with various diseases which may spread from man to man and from family to family, perhaps bringing death to an entire community. In all these instances the nature of the ill which happens to him is unknown; what he knows is that contact with the dangerous object has unpleasant consequences. How much more unpleasant must be the consequences of contact with anything mystically dangerous—with anything taboo!

The contact which automatically liberates occult power is most often bodily contact. The object is something not to be touched—intangible in the strict sense of the word. The criminal and the divine chief are both in a state of taboo, the one as un-

clean, the other as holy. To touch either of them is to be affected by their mysterious and dangerous qualities. Sexual intercourse is an exceptionally intimate form of contact; hence, when women are unclean, married couples must live apart. The absorption of food and drink likewise involves intimate contact; hence a great variety of alimentary prohibitions. Contact can be established in other ways as well: by sight as when an African chief must not even look at a river; or through the ear, as when Australian women must not listen to certain ritual songs; or through the nose, as when a Navaho Indian will not inhale smoke from a fire of sacred wood; or by speech, as when a Malagasy shrinks from pronouncing a tabooed name. Even mere proximity may suffice to transmit occult power, as when persons in a state of taboo are forbidden to approach growing crops. *Procul O! procul este, profani.*[35]

The authority of a taboo is unmatched by that of any other prohibition. There is no reflection on it, no reasoning about it, no discussion of it. A taboo amounts simply to an imperative thou-shalt-not in the presence of the danger apprehended. That any breach of the prohibition was unintentional or well-intentioned matters nothing; no allowance is made for either the ignorance or the praiseworthy purpose of the taboo-breaker. It should be noticed, however, that the consequences of a violation are sometimes thought to vary with the social position of the violator. This was particularly the case in the Polynesian area, where every chief possessed his store of occult power, or *mana*. The higher his rank, the more he had, and consequently the greater resistance could he offer to the *mana* resident in anything or anybody under a taboo. In the Tonga Islands, for instance, a commoner who touched a dead chief became unclean for ten lunar months, but the uncleanness of chiefs who did so lasted for only three, four, or five lunar months, according to the superiority of the dead chief to them.[36] In New Zealand a taboo could be broken with impunity by a chief's son, because he was of higher rank than his father.[37] We are told, also, that among the Maori "a powerful man often broke through the *tapu* of an inferior."[38]

Instruction in the tribal taboos is a regular feature of the initiation rites found among many primitive peoples.[39] Knowledge of the taboos is also acquired within the family circle. Thus in Ontong Java, as a boy grows up, he begins to learn about the essential restrictions which men must observe—that certain subjects may not be discussed in the presence of the sister, that

everything connected with the dead is to be avoided, and that a temple or a priest must never be approached without due precautions. He is also warned that any infringement of the taboos will be punished by the *kipua,* the spirits of the dead. "Dozens of fearful examples will be told him by his parents and by other people with whom he may come into contact. All children know what happened to Ke laepa when he disobeyed his parents and strayed into the temple: they found him dead on the floor, killed by the angry *kipua.* Then there was 'Oma. He took an undue interest in the genital organs of his sister and was transfixed to a stone in consequence by these same spirits. Folk tales are told in the evening sometimes; many relate the evil consequences following on broken taboos."[40] Similarly in Tikopia, an island which like Ontong Java forms an outpost of Polynesian culture, children receive constant instruction from their parents when a breach of *tapu* has occurred or seems likely to occur. The habits of avoidance are inculcated in the earliest and most impressionable years.[41]

The consequences of taboo-breaking are not always described in detail. They may be left to the excited imagination of the taboo-breaker, who believes as firmly in the sequence of cause and effect (violation followed by punishment) as does the modern man in the inevitable action of natural laws. The taboos (*sabe*) observed by the Mowat or Mawatta tribe in the district of Daudai, British New Guinea, have for their sanction the dread that "something unpleasant" will happen either to the community or to the individual transgressing them.[42] In the Admiralty Islands, northeast of New Guinea, there is a direct relationship between keeping the taboos and success. The bad luck supposed to follow their violation is the main force in maintaining them.[43]

The natives of the Solomon Islands ascribe sickness, difficult parturition for women, lack of success in fishing and gardening, misfortune in war, and in short, most of the ills of life to the ceremonial defilement resulting from the violation of taboos.[44] Among the Maori a taboo-breaker believed himself to be in a very serious condition, because his sacred life-principle, his *mauri,* was unprotected and exposed to every ill wind that blows, to all shafts of black magic, and to every malign influence affecting man. "Unless a person in this sorry plight hied him to a *tohunga,* or priestly expert, and had such disabilities removed, he would probably worry himself into an early grave."[45]

Among the Sea Dayak of Borneo one who does anything *mali,*

or tabooed, is bound to meet some mischance. "Even the children seem to dread the word, and the little boy, who is willful and disobedient, will at once drop what he has in his hand if he is told it is *mali* for him to touch it."[46] Dr. Matthews once asked a Navaho what would happen if he married a woman of his own clan, thus violating the rule of exogamy and committing incest. "I would have bad fortune," said the Indian; "I would fall into the fire and get burned, the lightning would strike me, the cold would freeze me, or the gun would shoot me—something fearful would happen to me."[47]

When the blow falls, belief in the efficacy of the taboo is amply confirmed, and wisdom is justified of her children. During their stay with the Warramunga, a Central Australian tribe, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen learned of the illness of a middle-aged native who had taken an active part in the performance of the various ceremonies. "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 be 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 neighboring Worgaia tribe, and after solemn deliberation he gave it as his opinion that the bone of a dead man, attracted by the campfire, 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 diagnosis 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."[48]

More often the punishment to be anticipated is set forth explicitly. It may be sickness in one shape or another or a wasting disease. The numerous food taboos observed by Australian boys are generally supported by such penalties. Among some of the Lower Murray tribes of Victoria boys prior to initiation must not eat emu, wild turkey, swans, geese, or black duck, or eggs of any of these birds. "Did they infringe this law in the very remotest degree, their hair would become prematurely grey, and the muscles of their limbs would waste away and shrink up."[49] In the Arunta tribe of Central Australia an uncircumcised youth is forbidden to eat many animals or parts of animals. Infraction of the prohibitions entails various penalties such as premature age and decay and bleeding to death at circumcision. In the interval between circumcision and subincision, and indeed until the wound caused by the second of these operations has entirely healed, the youth is not allowed to eat opossums, snakes, lizards, wild turkeys, and their eggs, eagle hawks and their eggs, and some other animals. Should he do so, his recovery would be retarded and his wounds would be much inflamed.[50]

The natives of Ontong Java ascribe all illnesses and most deaths to the *kipua*, or spirits of the family dead. The breach of taboos and the neglect of ceremonies are among the offenses which the *kipua* take upon themselves to punish. When a person falls ill, a medium, usually a woman, is called in to interview the spirits responsible for the visitation and to discover the particular action which has incensed them. More often than not this is the same misdeed that common gossip has already selected, for the medium, before she goes into a trance, knows all about the life history of her patient. Once the necessary information has been acquired, it may be possible to counteract the malign influence of the spirits by appropriate rites. Sometimes all efforts to do so are unavailing. Not long ago a man who had been asked to join a group of fish-eaters accepted the invitation and ate the fish, but without inquiring what kinds these were. Having found out later that some of them were taboo to him, he visited a medium, learned from her what spirits had been offended by his conduct, and performed the prescribed ceremony to avert their anger. About a month afterward he fell ill and the medium declared that the spirits had placed one of the totem fish in his body to eat away his vitals. "The progress of the fish was announced daily.

It ate upwards until at last it consumed his heart and so killed him."[51]

The natives of the Tonga Islands in the old days were particularly subject to malignant tumors. It was a firm belief with them that if a man broke a taboo or committed any other sacrilege his liver or some other internal organ would become enlarged and indurated. The bodies of those who died were therefore often opened to discover whether or not they had been sacrilegious during their lifetime.[52]

The Hawaiians recognized a class of spiritual beings, *aumakua,* who were generally though not always deified ancestors. They watched for any infringement of the taboos and especially for any neglect to fulfill a vow. A culprit was punished by them with sickness, disease, or some other dire misfortune.[53]

Similarly the Maori believed that any neglect or infringement of the law of *tapu,* either willful or undesigned or even brought about by the act of another person, moved the family spirits to anger. They would then commission one of their number to enter into the transgressor's body and prey on some part of it, more or less vital according to the magnitude of the offense. Infant spirits, it seems, were generally selected for this business, "on account of their love of mischief, and because, not having lived long enough to acquire attachments to their living relations, they are more likely to attack them without mercy. . . . . When a person falls sick, and cannot remember that he has broken any law of *tapu* himself, he endeavors to discover who has got him into the scrape; for it is not an uncommon practice to make a man offend against some law of *tapu,* without his being aware of it, with the express object of causing the anger of his *atua* to fall on him. This practice is a secret art called *makutu,* and it has often happened that an innocent person has been sacrificed to the rage of the relatives of a sick man, under the belief that he had caused the disease by such unlawful means."[54]

The Akikuyu of Kenya describe by the word *thahu* the condition into which a person falls by breaking, either accidentally or intentionally, one of their many taboos. "A person who is *thahu* becomes emaciated and ill or breaks out into eruptions or boils, and if the *thahu* is not removed, will probably die. In many cases this undoubtedly happens by auto-suggestion, as it never occurs to the Kikuyu mind to be sceptical on a matter of this kind." The taboos (also called *thahu*) are so numerous that a person cannot go through life without becoming ritually unclean

some time or another. The dread of this affliction is ever present to the native mind.[55] Among the Akamba, another tribe of Kenya, *thabu* or *makwa* is the term applied to the impurity which results from a broken taboo. A curious case of this sort recently came to the notice of a British officer. "He was inspecting the hospital and found there a Kamba porter stricken with illness; his face was much swollen and covered with a kind of rash, and his testicles were also swollen. On enquiry, he stated that his affection came on suddenly after eating some hartebeest meat, and that he belonged to the Aitangwa clan, in which this is a forbidden meat. The officer immediately sought out an intelligent Mu-Kamba, who knew nothing about the incident, and asked about the Aitangwa and their *tabu,* or *makwa,* and without hesitation he was told that hartebeest meat was forbidden, and described exactly the symptoms from which the porter was suffering as being the result of breaking the prohibition. It was said that the man would have to sacrifice a goat and go through a purification ceremony to get rid of the affliction."[56]

The Indians in the southwestern part of the United States very generally believe that sickness is the outcome of a broken taboo. Navaho children who have been sent East to school and have later returned to the tribe often fall into feeble health. "Their illness is almost always attributed to the violation of taboo while they were away from home, and costly healing ceremonies are performed in order to remove the evil effects of the transgression."[57] Among the Omaha Indians a violation of any taboo observed by all the members of a clan was believed to be followed by the appearance of sores or white spots on the offender's body, or by his hair turning white.[58]

When sickness, especially if serious or prolonged, is regarded as the punishment for the violation of a taboo, the patient will be secluded and be subjected to purification should he recover. By the very fact of suffering from a grave and perhaps incurable illness, he has revealed himself as a taboo-breaker and hence has fallen into a state dangerous to others as well as to himself.[59]

The missionary William Ellis, referring to the Polynesians, declares that "as soon as an individual was afflicted with any disorder, he was considered as under the ban of the gods; by some crime or the influence of some enemy, he was supposed to have become obnoxious to their anger, of which his malady was the result. These ideas relative to the origin of diseases had a powerful tendency to stifle every feeling of sympathy and compassion,

and to restrain all from the exercise of those acts of kindness that are so grateful to the afflicted and afford such alleviation to their sufferings. The attention of the relatives and friends was directed to the gods, and their greatest efforts were made to appease their anger by offerings, and to remove the continuance of its effects by prayers and incantations. The simple medicine administered was considered more as the vehicle or medium by which the god would act, than as possessing any power itself to avert the progress of disease. If their prayers, offerings, and remedies were found unavailing, the gods were considered implacable, and the diseased person was doomed to perish. Some heinous crime was supposed to have been committed."[60]

The Kayan of Borneo hang leaves of *long* (a species of *caladium*), together with a large sun hat, upon the door of any room in which a person lies seriously ill and therefore "unclean."[61]

Among the Colorado Indians of western Ecuador sickness defiles, not only the patient, but all other persons living in the same house with him. For nine days they must eat nothing but green plantain. Every evening during these nine days a big drum, which hangs in the hall of the house, is beaten to drive away the disease demons. The Canelos Indians of eastern Ecuador require a patient to eat only plantain for a few days after he falls ill; if his state grows worse and he seems likely to die, his nearest relatives must submit to the same restricted diet. As our authority points out, these rules are dictated by the belief that the food in the house is infected by the disease, or "more correctly," by the disease demon. Uncautious eating on the part of the patient would therefore aggravate his illness. When all the persons in the house diet with him, they do so because they fear being infected themselves. When only the nearest relatives diet, their action is also partly due to consideration for the sick man. According to Indian belief there exists such an intimate relationship between the members of a family that the consumption of unsuitable food would injuriously affect the delicate patient.[62]

A Navaho shaman treated a sick person by pressing certain sacrificial bundles to different parts of the patient's body from head to foot. After each application he held the bundles up to the smoke-hole and blew on them a quick puff in that direction, "as if blowing away some evil influence which the bundles were supposed to draw from the body." These were then taken out of the lodge and buried.[63]

The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay believe that a

dark cloud or vapor, invisible to ordinary men, gathers around the taboo-breaker. It attaches itself to his soul and makes him sick. The shaman, helped by a guardian spirit, is able to see the defilement and to get rid of it. If this were not done, the sick person would die. In many cases, the defilement also affects those who have contact with the evil-doer. Particularly does it affect children, to whose souls the sins of their parents, and particularly of their mother, readily become attached. When, therefore, a child falls ill, the shaman, first of all, asks the mother whether she has transgressed any taboos. As soon as she admits that she has done so, the defilement leaves the child's soul and the child recovers.[64]

Death—certain, sudden, and in terrible form—is not seldom the fate which is announced to the taboo-breaker. In the midst of Eden grows the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and God has forbidden man to eat of its fruit, saying, "In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die." As a matter of fact, the taboo-breaker does often die, so acute is the fear aroused by even an involuntary transgression. Mr. Howitt tells of a "strong and healthy" Kurnai black boy employed by an Australian settler and found one day to be ill. "He explained that he had been doing what he ought not to have done, that he had 'stolen some female 'possum' before he was permitted to eat it; that the old men had found him out, and that he would never grow up to be a man. He lay down under that belief, so to say, and never got up again, dying within three weeks."[65]

Many instances of this sort are recorded among the Maori. Judge F. E. Maning knew of a native who was killed "stone dead in six hours, by what I considered the effects of his own terrified imagination, but what all the natives at the time believed to be the work of the terrible avenger of the *tapu*." The unfortunate man had eaten food set apart for the chief but carelessly left by the wayside after the war party moved on. When the man was told that he had devoured the chief's unfinished dinner, "he was seized by the most extraordinary convulsions and cramps in the stomach, which never ceased till he died, about sundown the same day. He was a strong man, in the prime of life, and if any *pakeka* freethinker should have said he was not killed by the *tapu* of the chief, which has been communicated to the food by contact, he would have been listened to with feelings of contempt for his ignorance and inability to understand plain and simple evidence."[66] William Brown, another early authority,

mentions the case of a man who appropriated some peaches and sweet potatoes from a tabooed place. After his return home a woman asked for some of the fruit. He gave it to her and, when she had eaten it, told her where he got it. She declared that the spirit of the chief, whose sanctuary had been thus profaned, would kill her. Die she did, the next day.[67] Richard Taylor relates how a chief's lost tinderbox killed several persons who were so unfortunate as to find it and light their pipes from it, without knowing that it belonged to so sacred an owner; "they actually died from fright."[68] *Tapu* is an awful weapon," declares Mr. Tregear. "I have seen a strong young man die the same day he was *tapued;* the victims die under it as though their strength ran out as water."[69]

On one of the Loyalty Islands there stands a large stone of peculiar shape. It is supposed to have come from New Caledonia and to have been placed there by a certain old woman. She commanded that whoever visited the island was on no account to take anything away. The natives who dared to disobey her injunction all died, so that now it is strictly obeyed. Nevertheless, some years ago a French trader, coveting the store of phosphate to be had on the island, got one of his employes to secure the mineral for him. The man was a strong, healthy, well-built fellow of about twenty-eight years of age. Shortly after his return from the island, he felt a headache and asked his mother to prepare for him some native medicines. A little later he said, "A great fear has taken possession of me; I feel as though I were about to be brought before a tribunal." When his friends looked at him the next day they noticed that one side of his face and body was changing color and becoming a dark purple, and they, fearing they knew not what, began to cry. He put out his hand to reassure them, saying, "Don't cry, if I were ill I would tell you so; give me a cigarette." He spoke a few words to his wife and then, without the least pain or apparent loss of power in his limbs, quietly passed away.[70]

Father Merolla, who visited the region of the Lower Congo during the latter part of the seventeenth century, tells of the fate of a native who in ignorance had violated his food taboo, or *chegilla.* "A certain young negro, being upon a journey, lodged in a friend's house by the way: his friend, before he went out the next morning, had got a wild hen ready for his breakfast, they being much better than the tame ones. The negro hereupon demanded, 'If it were a wild hen?' His host answered, 'No'; then

he fell on heartily, and afterwards proceeded on his journey. About four years after these two met together again, and the aforesaid negro being not yet married, his old friend asked him, 'If he would eat a wild hen?' to which he answered, 'That he had received the *chegilla,* and therefore could not.' Hereat the host began immediately to laugh, enquiring of him, 'What made him refuse it now, when he had eaten one at his table about four years ago?' At the hearing of this the negro immediately fell a-trembling, and suffered himself to be so far possessed with the effects of imagination, that he died in less than twenty-four hours after."[71]

An anthropologist working among the Ga people of the Gold Coast once saw a man in a violent fit or seizure. It paralyzed his breathing and contracted all his muscles. He had not suffered a heart attack, for his pulse remained normal. After some hours he died. His friends were convinced that nothing could have been done to save him, for he had broken the conditions attached to a private taboo which bound him.[72]

A distinction is often drawn between what may be described as normal deaths, involving no danger to the family or the community, and those which carry with them a dangerous contagion. People who die a "bad death" have been taboo-breakers or have been victims of the unseen powers. No pity is felt for them. They must be got out of the way as quickly as possible, lest the living be contaminated by their presence.[73]

The Australian aborigines account for most deaths as being due to the nefarious magic of their enemies, who are sought out and killed in retaliation. In western Victoria, however, the deaths of adults, as the result of epidemics, were not avenged, nor were those of beardless boys and of girls before their first menstruation. Persons who had lost their lives by some accident, such as drowning, falling from trees, or snake bite, were also unavenged.[74]

The natives of New Britain (Gazelle Peninsula) think that a man killed by falling from a tree was smitten by a fearful spirit, so fearful, indeed, that at night they take care never to pronounce its name. The victim of such an accident is not buried; his body is left where it fell. In Buin (Bougainville Island) the body is carried to the burning place in the same attitude as that in which it was found. There are no funeral rites.[75]

When a Kayan mother becomes seriously ill or dies in giving birth to a child, her husband takes it into the forest and leaves it there to perish. The child is also exposed if either parent is

frightened by bad dreams at this critical time.[76] The corpses of murdered people, of suicides, of those who have been accidentally killed, of warriors fallen in battle, of women dead in childbed, and of stillborn children—all of these inspire the Kayan with the utmost fear. People who have died such deaths receive no funeral honors; their bodies are simply rolled up in a mat and stuck in the ground. An especial terror attaches to the body of a woman who has died in giving birth, and no man and no young woman dares to touch it.[77] The Lolo of Yunnan think that persons who die by accident, suicide, or childbirth become malignant ghosts and require propitiation to prevent them from harming those whom they have left behind. Such deaths are described as "impure."[78]

An Ao Naga killed by a wild beast or a poisonous snake, by a fall from a cliff or a tree, or by drowning brings disgrace and ruin upon his relatives. However rich and influential he may have been, his name will never be recited along with those of the mighty dead, and all his property has to be abandoned. A woman dying in childbirth is similarly accursed.[79]

The Sema Naga add to the list of abnormal deaths those of people who are struck by lightning or are burned to death. People who kill themselves come in the same category. The body must not be buried in front of the house but at the back instead, or in broken ground where men do not walk about. Domestic animals killed by wild animals are also considered accursed, and their flesh may not be eaten by women. The evil attaching to the manner of death and the prohibitions entailed can be avoided if, just before the dying man draws his last breath, he can swallow food or drink. It is enough to pour a little into his mouth or even to spit in it.[80] The Garo deny to a man killed by a tiger the usual funeral rites. Everything that he had in daily use, such as his clothes, cooking pots, sword, and spear, must be destroyed, for it is taboo to use them after such a disaster.[81]

Among the Twi of the Gold Coast "should a man be drowned, be crushed by a falling tree in the forest, or be killed by lightning, such an occurrence would not be considered an accident; and a man who met his death in one of these modes would be believed to have perished through the deliberate act of a malignant being." When, for instance, a person has been drowned, the people say that the local deity of the sea or river where the accident occurred has "taken him."[82]

The Ibibio of Southern Nigeria forbid the burial of a woman

dying in childbirth. Her body is borne forth through a hole purposely broken in the house wall and flung away in the bush. This is said to be done lest her barrenness should have an ill effect upon the fruitfulness of Mother Earth. A similar practice is found among the Kalabari, who forbid unmarried girls and pregnant women to see the body of a person so accursed. All her possessions must be destroyed by fire; otherwise sterility might be the lot of another woman who used them.[83] The Timme (Timmani) of Sierra Leone destroy a village when anyone in it has been killed by a leopard or a crocodile. A heavy fine is also imposed on the members of the family to which the victim belonged, because, they say, such a family must be very wicked, indeed, for their god to have punished it in this fashion.[84]

Among the Mossi of the western Sudan those who commit suicide or die of leprosy are buried at night and without any ceremonies. One who dies as the result of a fall, snake bite, or any other accident is disposed of in the same way. To accord funeral honors to such a person would offend the evil spirit responsible for the death, and he would slay another member of the family.[85] Similar practices have been recorded for other West African tribes.[86]

The evils to be anticipated by the taboo-breaker are often identical with those which follow when a person is solemnly cursed. Sickness, death, or some fearful but undescribed misfortune will dog the footsteps of the one as of the other. A taboo cannot properly be described, however, as a prohibition with a curse expressed or implied. Cursing (as well as blessing) always requires an agent, who may be a man, a spirit, or a god. In a taboo there is no suggestion of an agent; its action is automatic. For the same reason a taboo must be distinguished from an oath, which is essentially a self-curse whereby a person subjects himself to some evil to be inflicted by a god, if what he says is not true; and from a vow, whereby a man dedicates himself or something belonging to himself to a god, who will punish him if he breaks it. Both oaths and vows are ways of constraining or persuading the supernatural powers; both imply a personal relation between the oath-swearer or the vower and these powers.

Taboos, according to their scope, are either individual or social, the former affecting a single person or at most his family and immediate connections and the latter binding on a group such as a village community, a clan, or a tribe. The distinction of individual and social also applies to the consequences of broken

taboos. Sometimes the taboo-breaker alone is supposed to suffer for his misdeed, but often his fellows are believed to be involved as well. Such is the solidarity of primitive society, so mobbish is the primitive mind, that the act of one becomes the act of all and imperils the welfare of all. If the penalty falls on the group, it is often represented as an epidemic sickness or a deadly disease. Terrifying natural phenomena, such as thunder and lightning, violent storms, and earthquakes, are sometimes ascribed to the infraction of a taboo, while excessive rainfall, protracted drought, and other untoward happenings receive the same explanation. Under such circumstances the group may take over the punishment of an offender, perhaps putting him to death or banishing him as an outcast and outlaw, not only to make an example, but also to purge itself of a dangerous contagion. When a taboo has been incorporated in a religious system the group may seek to appease by a piacular sacrifice the angered divinity held responsible for the visitation. With developing social life the punishment of the taboo-breaker forms an important function of the constituted authorities. An increasing reliance on the civil penalty indicates, however, that a taboo system has begun to break down of its own weight and for its continuance needs to be bolstered up by recourse to the secular arm.[87]

A state of taboo is either inherent in an object, as the necessary outcome of certain activities, situations, or characteristics; or imposed by the arbitrary action of a superior authority; or acquired by contact with anything or anybody tabooed. Women, especially during pregnancy, at confinement, after confinement, and at menstruation; infants; boys and girls at puberty; newly married couples; widows, widowers, and mourners generally; manslayers; warriors on a campaign; and hunters, fishers, and other persons engaged in some occupation highly important for the community welfare—all are inherently taboo. The same condition of inherent pollution (or sanctity) attaches to the sick; to the dead; to strangers; to chiefs, kings, magicians, and priests; and to sacred places, objects, rites, times, numbers, and names. When a state of taboo is due to imposition, this will be done by the tribal elders, secret societies, chiefs, priests, and other public functionaries, and sometimes by private persons. The efficacy of a prohibition laid down by them depends not only on the prestige of the imposer, but also on the fear of the consequences of violating the prohibition. To intensify this fear, an object upon which a taboo has been placed will sometimes be solemnly charged

with a curse in the name of a powerful spirit or else some potent incantation will be recited over it.[88]

The imposition of taboos by the tribal elders is the general rule in Australia, where the headmen of totemic and local groups, magicians, and old men of recognized importance exercise political authority. They meet from time to time in councils to debate and decide all matters affecting the tribe as a whole. The taboos which they lay down usually take the form of food prohibitions and restraints on marriage, to be observed by the younger men for the benefit of men more advanced in years. The council of elders likewise enforces the taboos, when enforcement is necessary. In northern Queensland, for instance, the natives are firmly convinced that willfully to partake of a forbidden food would result in sickness, probably of a fatal character, and that it would certainly never satisfy hunger. This belief, in itself, is usually sufficient to uphold the food restriction, but a would-be taboo-breaker also knows that, should he be caught red-handed by his fellows, "he would in all probability be put to death."[89]

Where secret societies are powerful, these organizations often lay down taboos and also maintain them. The Harihu society, among the Elema people of British New Guinea, protects garden produce by means of taboos which last until the crop is ready for gathering. The sign of the taboo is a small stone of special shape, bearing certain "private marks" of the Harihu. This is placed at the entrance to the garden. Should an offender escape punishment by the Harihu he would certainly perish from contact with the occult power (*vada*) which invests the taboo sign. Among the Roro-speaking tribes the Kaivakuku society is less dreaded than its Elema counterpart, for in this part of New Guinea there is a recognized form of punishment for men caught breaking the crop taboos. The Kaivakuku cannot impose a taboo of its own initiative, but serves merely as the agent of the chiefs and elders, when the latter decide to take such action.[90] Secret societies are numerous in Melanesia, where chieftainship is incipient rather than developed. The Duk-duk of the Bismarck Archipelago taboos certain places and fruit trees, either on its own account or because of fees given to it by persons who put more trust in the protection afforded by the society than in the taboos which they themselves impose.[91]

The Tamate associations of the Banks Islands have a leaf of the croton or a hibiscus flower as their badge. To wear the badge without being a member of a Tamate association would subject

the offender to a fine and a beating. A Tamate man, by marking with his badge the fruit trees or garden which he wishes reserved for any particular use, feels reasonably certain that his prohibition will be respected; the Tamate is behind him. Should it not be respected, a known offender must pay a pig or some shell money to the property owner or to the secret society.[92]

The centralization of political authority, replacing ruder methods of control by tribal elders and secret societies, transfers to the chieftain the power to impose, enforce, and abrogate taboos. Chiefs with such power are not unknown in some parts of New Guinea and also in Melanesia. Among the natives of the Solomon Islands, "the *tambu* ban" is said to constitute the real authority of a petty chief in time of peace.[93]

In some of the Solomons the penalty for an infraction of a chief's prohibition is forty strings of shell money—a heavy fine and as much as a native needs to acquire a bride. An offender who cannot pay the fine may be killed. If he escapes to another island even there the vengeance of the chief will follow him, for a price is put upon his head. Such a prohibition has no ghostly sanction, but depends for its support upon the power of the chief who imposes it. There are also taboos (*apu*) for whose efficacy it is immaterial whether the person who invokes the ghosts is or is not a person of consequence.[94]

In the Banks Islands and the New Hebrides true taboos are imposed by both chiefs and commoners. "Some thing, action, or place is made *tambu* or *tapu* by one who has the power to do it, any one whose standing among the people gives him confidence to lay this character upon it. The power at the back of the *tapu* or *tambu* is that of the ghost or spirit in whose name, or in reliance upon whom, it is pronounced." Thus a chief may forbid something to be done or touched under penalty of paying him a large amount of shell money for violation of the prohibition; it seems to the European a proof of the power of the chief, but to the native it is evidence that the chief has his mighty *tindalo* or spirit to enforce the taboo. "The sense of this in the particular case is remote, the apprehension of angering the chief is present and effective, but the ultimate sanction is the power of the *tindalo*." If a common man were to put a taboo on anything people would think that he would not dare to do so unless he knew he could enforce it; so they would watch, and if anybody violated the taboo and became sick afterward they could feel certain that it was backed by a powerful *tindalo*. "The *tambu* is too conven-

ient an institution to drop when the original sanction for it has ceased to operate; a native Christian teacher therefore does not hesitate, as a man of position in society, to set a *tambu;* thieves, he says, are afraid of a man if not of a *tindalo.*"[95]

The taboo system as it existed in the Fiji Islands was described by an early missionary as "the secret of power and the strength of despotic rule. It affects things both great and small. Here it is seen tending a brood of chickens; and there it directs the energies of a kingdom. Its influence is wondrously diffused. Coasts, lands, rivers, and seas; animals, fish, fruit, and vegetables; houses, beds, pots, cups, and dishes; canoes, with all belonging to them, and their management; dress, ornaments, and arms; things to eat, and things to drink; the members of the body; manners and customs; language, names, temples, and even the gods also, all come under the influence of the *tabu.* It is put into operation by religious, political, or selfish motives, and idleness lounges for months beneath its sanction. Many are thus forbidden to raise or extend their hands in any useful employment for a long time. In this district it is *tabu* to build canoes; on that island it is *tabu* to erect good houses. The custom is much in favour with the chiefs, who adjust it so that it may sit easily on themselves, while they use it to gain influence over those who are nearly their equals: by it they supply many of their wants, and command at will all who are beneath them. In imposing a *tabu,* a chief need only be checked by a care that he is countenanced by ancient precedents."[96]

The power of imposing taboos was also exercised by the divine chiefs in New Zealand, who took the fullest advantage of it to further their ambitions, promote their welfare, and satisfy their vengeance. A chief was able to communicate his sanctity to any objects he touched or even named so that they could not be used or appropriated henceforth by anyone not his superior in rank. Thus a chief might call a tract of land which he desired to reserve for his own cultivation his backbone or his head, and the land would immediately acquire the surpassing sanctity of those parts of his body. He might take possession of anything else that pleased his fancy, such as an ax or a canoe, by giving it his own name, and the rightful owner of the property dared not dispute the claim of a superior. He sometimes laid a *tapu* on a road or river or along the seacoast, to the inconvenience of the people. A chief who could taboo a whole neighborhood or a war fleet was a great man indeed. Only if a greater man came along could

such a prohibition be violated with impunity. The delinquent would be stripped of everything movable which he possessed, and a slave would in all probability be put to death.[97]

Among the natives of the Marquesas Islands general taboos seem to have been pronounced by the priests, but in conjunction and in connivance with the chiefs. "If any one is so irreligious as to break through a *tahbu*, and should be convicted of it, he is called a *kikino;* and the *kikinos* are always the first to be devoured by the enemy, at least they believe it to be so, nor is it impossible that the priests should so arrange matters as that this really happens."[98] We are told further that inspirational priests sometimes declared certain things taboo at the time they died. Thus, one priest forbade all the women of his tribe to wear long hair after his death, and another priest, having asserted that everything red was sacred to his spirit, prohibited commoners from wearing red dresses or eating red-colored articles of food.[99] In the Hawaiian Islands, also, a taboo of general application could be imposed only by the priests, but this action might often be undertaken at the instance of the civil authorities. A violation of the regulations in force was punished capitally, the culprit being seized by the police, dragged to a temple, and there put to a cruel death.[100]

Objects upon which a taboo has been placed are usually indicated in a particular manner, so that the taboo-mark serves as an emphatic *Noli me tangere*, an equivalent and more than an equivalent of our "No Trespassing" signs. In some parts of British New Guinea sago leaves and coconut leaves are attached to fruit trees, while roads are blocked by placing a small screen of boughs or a row of sticks across them. In New Zealand a person who found a piece of drift timber secured it for himself by tying something around it or by giving it a chop with his ax. A simple bit of flax attached to the door of a private house made everything in it inviolable. By the same device a person might stop up a road over his land or protect any property left in an exposed position. When a chief laid a *tapu* on anything, he set up a post and painted it red, the sacred color among the Maori.[101] In the Marquesas Islands, where white was the sacred color, a strip of white cloth attached to any piece of property or to a holy place served as the sign of taboo. Tabooed objects in the Hawaiian Islands were also indicated by small white streamers or by other signs well understood and always respected.

The length of time during which taboos remain in force varies

with their character. Some inherent taboos are usually permanent, such as those affecting sacred persons and sacred objects and those relating to the consumption of certain foods and to the intercourse of the sexes. Other inherent taboos are of a temporary nature, for example, those which concern birth, puberty, marriage, and death. The duration of imposed taboos depends upon the pleasure of the imposer; they are often temporary, as when restrictions are put on hunting and fishing to secure a closed season and on the growing crops until harvest time. Many primitive peoples also mark by a temporary cessation of the normal activities, fasting, and other forms of abstinence certain occasions of special significance in the community life. The negative regulations which characterize them are true taboos, and the whole period of their continuance is a tabooed period.

A state of taboo which has been formally imposed by the constituted authorities may be as formally lifted by an act of desacralization. There are various methods of doing so, all equally efficacious. The natives of Dobu, an island which belongs to the D'Entrecasteaux group, impose upon themselves a period of taboo, the so-called *gwara*, after the death of a man of importance in one of their villages. All the inhabitants refrain from scaling the coconut palms and betel-nut palms and from touching the fruit of these trees. How long this ordinance will be observed depends upon the social position of the dead man and upon other circumstances. Only when it is ready to expire do the natives of the Kiriwina (one of the Trobriands) dare to visit their Dobuan friends. When they arrive, the Dobuans put up a show of real hospitality, for the visitors must break the taboo by scaling the palms and taking the fruit. This procedure, declares our authority, is in accordance with the widespread Papuan-Melanesian custom of ending a tabooed period; "in all cases, someone else, who is not under the taboo, has to put an end to it, or to force the imposer of the taboo to break it."[102]

The western tribes of Viti Levu, largest of the Fiji Islands, in former days possessed a secret association known as the Nanga. Its sanctuary and lodge formed the earthly dwelling place of the ancestral spirits; it was a tabernacle as holy to those Fijians as was the structure in the wilderness to the Israelites; there the first fruits of the yam harvest were presented to the ancestors, and there the young men of Viti Levu were introduced to the mysteries of the tribe. When the *nanga* enclosure was being raised, the people suspended all other work. Not even food-plant-

ing might be done at such a time. "If any impious person transgressed this law, 'he would only plant evil to himself and to his kinsfolk'." After completing the enclosure, the workmen returned to the settlement, where they found the chief priest in attendance. He held in his arms a large wooden dish piled high with cooked yams cut into small pieces. Each man went up to the priest and took a portion of the yams, which he ate standing and in solemn silence. The ceremony instituted a release from the taboo of secular activities which had prevailed.[103]

In New Zealand a council house under construction was very *tapu*. No woman might enter it and no cooked food might be taken inside it. When completed and ready for occupancy, it had to be ceremonially named and opened to the public. The officiating priest ascended the roof and chanted a spell which lifted the taboo off the building. Before people could enter, however, three women of rank went through the doorway to "trample the threshold." Were this not done, the ridgepole (the sacred backbone of the house) would sag down and the appearance of the mansion would be spoiled.[104]

The savage, fortunately for his peace of mind, knows ways of avoiding objects mystically dangerous and charged with occult power. These may be removed to a safe distance, or be carefully isolated, or be subjected to a variety of insulating regulations. When, however, a state of taboo has not been avoided or cannot be avoided, the savage seeks an antidote or disinfectant for it by means of purificatory rites. Since the pollution or sanctity is conceived of as being material in character, the methods used to get rid of it will be such as find use in dealing with material objects.[105]

A method of purification found particularly in the Polynesian area consisted in transferring a state of taboo from one person to another person who could safely absorb or neutralize occult power without deleterious consequences to himself. When a Tongan became *tabu* from touching a superior chief or any of the latter's possessions, he dared not feed himself before he had touched the soles of a grandee's feet with his hands, which he then rinsed in water. Were no water near, it was enough to rub his hands with the stem of a plant and thus get the needed moisture. "He may then feed himself without danger of any disease which would otherwise happen, as they think, from eating with tabooed hands; but if anyone think he may have already (unknowingly) eaten with tabooed hands, he then sits down before

a chief, and taking the foot of the latter, presses the sole of it against his own abdomen, that the food which is within him may do him no injury, and that consequently he may not swell up and die." However, if anyone touched the person or garments of the highest chief, the Tui Tonga, who might be described as the pope of the Tonga Islands, the *tabu* incurred could not be removed by resort to another chief, since no other chief equaled him in rank. Only he could do it, but, "to avoid the inconvenience arising from his absence, a consecrated bowl (or some such thing), belonging to Tooitonga, is applied to and touched, instead of his feet. In Mr. Mariner's time, Tooitonga always left a pewter dish for this purpose, which dish was given to his father by Captain Cook."[106]

A Maori, suffering from an attack of *hauhauaitu*, which may be described as a nervous condition caused by some infringement of the law of *tapu*, could be cured if he crawled between the legs of the chief of his clan. In some cases a person so afflicted got the eldest-born woman of a high-ranking family to step over him as he lay on the ground.[107] A taboo-breaker might also be cured by rubbing his hands on a sweet potato or on fern root which had been cooked over a sacred fire. This food was then eaten by the highest representative of his family in the female line.[108] In New Zealand, as has been noticed, women of high rank possessed a special *tapu*-lifting function. Still another way of accomplishing the same result was to touch a child and take food and drink from its hands. The child became, in turn, taboo, but only for a day.[109]

Purification can be accomplished by transferring the infection to a sacred object, as illustrated by the Tonga practice with reference to the Tui Tonga. A Hawaiian ruler, as part of the installation or coronation ceremony, bathed in the sea. While so doing, a priest struck him on the back with a sacred branch plucked from a tree which grew in the precincts of the temple and at the same time offered up the prescribed invocation. Any impurity which the king might have contracted was thus removed.[110] In a Maori ceremony of purification a piece of consecrated wood was passed over the right shoulder of the tabooed person, then round his loins, and back again over his left shoulder. Afterward the stick was broken and either buried, burned, or cast into the sea.[111] No doubt this disposition of it was supposed to get rid of the deadly virus which it had acquired.

Pollution (or sanctity) may also be transferred to an animal

or scapegoat, which will then be driven away from the community or, less commonly, will be killed.[112] In the Fiji Islands a tabooed person first washed in a stream and then wiped his hands on a pig or a turtle. The animal in this case was not slaughtered, but became sacred to the chief.[113]

A Zulu wife will not partake of sour milk for some time after her marriage. She was bought with milk-giving cattle, and for her to eat her own purchase price would be defiling. After a visit to her father, from whom she brings a goat, a sheep, or a cow, according to the rank of the parties, the taboo is lifted. The animal is slaughtered, and the *isisila*—the defilement—then passes into the dead animal from the milk, which henceforth may be safely consumed. She has "cleaned her spoon."[114] The Akikuyu of Kenya transfer the guilt of incest to a he-goat, which is then killed. If this ceremony were not performed, the culprit would die.[115]

A human being may serve as a scapegoat. In some parts of New Zealand, when an epidemic raged, the Maori performed the following ceremony. Some man was selected as a temporary scapegoat, and to his body a fern stalk was loosely attached. After the priestly expert had recited a charm or invocation over him, he waded into the water, immersed himself, and when completely submerged released the fern stalk, letting it float away. The epidemic was thus transferred to the scapegoat and then to the fern stalk, and as the latter disappeared so did the evil influence which affected the people.[116]

Among the Baganda, after a new king had been crowned, two men, bound and blindfolded, were brought before him. One of them he freed and made guardian of his wives in the royal enclosure. The other prisoner was taken, along with a cow, a goat, a dog, a fowl, and the ashes of the late king's sacred fire, to the Bunyoro frontier. There both man and animals were maimed, so that they could not crawl back into Uganda, and were left to perish miserably. The ceremony was designed "to do away with any uncleanness" which might attach to the king or to the queen upon their accession to the throne.[117]

Purificatory rites by means of a physical purgation vary endlessly in detail, but they are mostly reducible to a few great classes. The principal ones include aspersion and ablution with water (sometimes also with blood); the application of other detergents such as white earth or clay, ashes, and dung; unction; burning and fumigation; rubbing and brushing; and flagellation.

Several forms of purgation may be combined in a single ceremony. The services of a specialist in the thaumaturgic art are often required to give potency to the ritual.

In many cases it is not difficult to discover the reasons for the choice of a particular method of physical purgation. The use of water is world-wide, for water is the universal cleanser. Mud, clay, dung, and other substances containing liquids, when daubed on the person, absorb dirt and sweat; why should they not also absorb ritual uncleanness? Unguents, applied to the skin and hair, are commonly used for cosmetic purposes; their employment in many purificatory rites is therefore understandable. The power of fire to dry up miasma and destroy infection must have been recognized by man at an early period; how natural to subject the ritually unclean to flames and smoke. The purifying quality of ashes and charcoal is doubtless derivative from that ascribed to fire. An object which defiles the person can often be rubbed away or brushed away; therefore rubbing or brushing may be equally efficacious to get rid of a mysterious defilement. In the same way the practice of removing dust and dirt by beating perhaps accounts for flagellation as a purificatory rite.[118] And when emetics, cathartics, and sweat baths are taken to get rid of bodily impurity it is an easy step to their use for riddance from ritual impurity.

Some features of purificatory rites are intended to mark the termination of a state of taboo and the complete severance from things ceremonially unclean that has been at length achieved. Here belongs the common custom of putting on new clothes—for clothes make the man. Shaving of the head or eyebrows and depilation are also frequently practiced to indicate that purification has been accomplished; conversely, the hair and nails may be allowed to grow for the same purpose.

Referring to the native peoples of South Africa generally, a competent authority observes that "a Kafir seems to gain in self-confidence as he conforms to the customs of cleansing which his fellows adopt. The act enables him to face the world once more. His self-respect is restored, and he feels clean, even though there be but little readjustment of his moral nature."[119] This statement is evidently of wide application. The consciousness that the prescribed ceremonies of purification have been duly performed acts as a counter-suggestion to the malaise, the sense of oppression, the dismay, and even the positive terror aroused by the violation of a taboo. A great weight has been lifted from the

offender's shoulders; relieved of all anxiety as to the unpleasant consequences of his action, he can now lead a normal life and take his usual place in the community.

Purificatory rites come in time to be the special care of magicians and priests. Great has been their service in freeing man from the disabilities imposed by a taboo system, and richly have they been rewarded for the performance of what, under the circumstances, was an indispensable function.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER I

[1] See Sir J. G. Frazer, "Taboo," *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th ed., 1888), XXIII, 15–18, reprinted in *Garnered Sheaves* [London, 1931], pp. 90–92); N. W. Thomas, "Taboo," *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed.), XXVI, 337–41; R. R. Marett, "Tabu," Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,* XII, 181–85; F. B. Jevons, *An Introduction to the History of Religion* (2d ed., London, 1902), pp. 59–95; C. H. Toy, *Introduction to the History of Religions* (Boston, 1913), pp. 239–64; W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society* (New Haven, 1927), II, 1095–1132, IV, 577–604; A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Taboo* (Cambridge, 1939), The Frazer Lecture, 1939.

[2] In the Hawaiian dialect *t* is pronounced *k* and Tongan *b* is pronounced *p*. See E. Tregear, *The Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary,* p. xxiii.

[3] Edward Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* (2d ed., London, 1856), p. 101.

[4] E. S. C. Handy, "Polynesian Religion," *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin,* No. 34, p. 318, note 32.

[5] A list of the cognate forms and equivalents of *tapu* or *tabu* in the languages of Polynesia and Melanesia will be found in William Churchill, *The Polynesian Wanderings* (Washington, D.C., 1911), pp. 263 f. A much fuller list, which includes Micronesia and Indonesia, is given by F. R. Lehmann, *Die polynesischen Tabusitten* (Leipzig, 1930), pp. 301–11. See also C. Mensch, *Taboe, een primitieve vrecsreactie. Studie over de taboebepalingen bij de Indonesische Volken* (Amsterdam, 1937), pp. 28–35.

[6] James Cook and James King, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (London, 1784), I, 286, 305 f., 338, 350, 410 f.; II, 40, 249; III, 101, 163 f. Vols. I–II were by Cook, Vol. III was by King.

[7] William Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (2d ed., London, 1831), IV, 385–90.

[8] By the Marquesans, "anything opposed to the ordinary customs of the islanders, although not expressly prohibited, is said to be 'taboo'" (Herman Melville, *Typee* [new ed., Boston, 1892], p. 328). In Madagascar the term *fady,* equivalent to *tabu,* is applied equally to acts which are simply contrary to good manners and hence meet only popular disapproval and to those which are offensive to the ancestors and entail supernatural punishment (Ralph Linton, *The Tanala* [Chicago, 1933], p. 229). Among the Tswana and related tribes of the Bechuanaland Protectorate the word for taboo (*moila*) means "something forbidden" and may refer to any prohibited act, whatever its sanction. It is used, more particularly, with reference to prohibitions where the consequences of disobedience follow automatically, without the direct intervention of any specific human agency (I. Schapera, *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* [Oxford, 1938], p. 39).

[9] Archibald Campbell, during a residence of thirteen months (1809–1810) in the Hawaiian Islands, knew of only one instance of capital punishment for taboo-breaking. That was the case of a man who violated the sanctity of a temple. He got drunk, quitted it during a tabooed period, and entered the house of a woman. He was seized, his eyes were put out, and afterward he was strangled (*A Voyage Round the World* [3d ed., New York, 1819], p. 121). Urey Lisiansky tells of an islander condemned to death for eating a coconut during a tabooed period (*A Voyage Round the World* [London, 1814], p. 117).

[10] Even in Polynesia the connection of taboo with the gods appears as a secondary phenomenon. "My own observation of the Polynesians," writes Professor Radcliffe-Brown, "suggests to me that in general the native conceives of the change in his ritual status as taking place as the immediate result of such an act as touching a corpse, and that it is only when he proceeds to rationalize the whole system of taboos that he thinks of the gods and spirits—the *atua*—as being concerned" (The Frazer Lecture, 1939, pp. 14 f.).

[11] Referring to the "spirits" which protect coconut trees among the Mailu of British New Guinea, Professor Malinowski declares that "they are merely mechanical factors, bringing about, as an intermediate agency, the evil results inherent in the breaking of the taboo." A would-be violator does not fear them, considered as personal powers; what he fears is the bad luck in fishing which will result from his action (B. Malinowski, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia,* XXXIX [1915], 583). The Polynesian word *atua* does not always refer to a personal divine being. "The term is even applied to disease, and may include almost anything that is disagreeable or viewed as being supernatural" (Elsdon Best, *The Maori as He Was* [Wellington, N.Z., 1924], p. 67). Among the Thado Kuki of Assam, as an experienced observer points out, the terms "evil spirits" and "bacteria" are in effect synonymous. "To the Thado all sickness is caused by spirits, and when I asked an exceptionally intelligent interpreter why, in that case, quinine should cure malaria, he replied in some surprise that it was surely obvious; Europeans had discovered with greater exactitude than Kukis what precise smell each variety of evil spirit disliked most, and hence used quinine for fear, chlorodyne for a flux, and castor oil for a pain in the stomach" (J. H. Hutton, in *Man,* XXXIV [1934], 76). The Bahima evil spirits, a numerous company, are mostly identified with the various maladies such as neuralgia, fever, bubonic plague, and smallpox, from which the natives suffer (Sir H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate* [2d ed., London, 1904], II, 631). A similar identification is made by the Bangala of the Upper Congo, among whom the names of serious illnesses are also the names of the spirits responsible for sending them. See J. H. Weeks, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XL (1910), 377.

[12] J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa* (London, 1856), p. 395; compare pp. 210 f. Among the Zulu, personal taboos sometimes originate in dreams. One of Canon Callaway's native informants refers to the case of a man who is troubled by daily dreams which he does not understand. "At length he becomes ill; and there is certain food he is obliged to abstain from, being told in his sleep not to eat such and such food. So he no longer eats that food. If he eat it from opposition, his health suffers. At length he leaves it alone, saying, 'A spirit has visited me'" (Henry Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu* [London, 1870], p. 183).

[13] A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), pp. 89 f. Arunta medicine men have the power of seeing and communicating with the ancestral spirits, or *iruntarinia.* Children who are born with their eyes open also have this power when they arrive at maturity, provided always that they grow up modest and sedate in bearing. The *iruntarinia,* it

seems, never reveal themselves to scoffers, frivolous people, and chattering men and women. Children born with their eyes closed cannot have intercourse with spirits when they reach maturity unless they become medicine men (Sir Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* [London, 1899], p. 515).

[14] A. Cabaton, *Nouvelles recherches sur les Chams* (Paris, 1901), p. 46.

[15] T. C. Hodson, *The Meitheis* (London, 1908), pp. 118 f.

[16] J. B. Dunbar, in *Magazine of American History*, VIII (1882), 749.

[17] G. A. Allen, in *Smithsonian Report for 1890*, pp. 615 f.

[18] John Martin, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands . . . . from the Extensive Communications of Mr. William Mariner* (3d ed., Edinburgh, 1827), I, 307.

[19] W. A. Reed, *Negritos of Zambales* (*Department of the Interior, Ethnological Survey Publications*, Vol. II, Part I), (Manila, 1904), p. 65.

[20] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (London, 1900), pp. 41 f.

[21] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 2 f. See, further, pp. 308 ff.

[22] Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London, 1926), I, 191.

[23] James Mooney, "The Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part I, p. 296.

[24] Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, in *Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, pp. 281 f.

[25] H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (2d ed., London, 1927), II, 578.

[26] The ethical and religious systems of antiquity contain various terms that bear a close resemblance in signification to taboo. The Babylonian *mamit* described that state of ritual impurity or ceremonial uncleanness attending certain circumstances or actions (C. Fossey, *La magie assyrienne* [Paris, 1902], pp. 52, 58; R. C. Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia* [London, 1904], Vol. II, pp. xxxix ff.). The Hebrew *tame* referred to things dangerous, not to be touched, ritually defiling; as W. Robertson Smith pointed out, it "is not the ordinary word for things physically foul; it is a ritual term and corresponds exactly to the idea of taboo" (*Kinship and Marriage in Ancient Arabia* [2d ed., London, 1903], p. 309). For a list of Biblical passages containing *tame* see Jacob Singer, *Taboo in the Hebrew Scriptures* (Chicago, 1928), p. 102. The sense of mystic perilousness and unapproachableness also sometimes attaches to the term *qadosh* (rendered in the English version of the Old Testament by "holy"). The two ideas of sacredness and pollution are combined in the Greek τὸ ἅγος, but they were usually discriminated, ἁγνός or ἅγιος being devoted to the sense of "sacred" and ἐναγής to that of "unclean" or "accursed." Among the Romans the original signification of *sacer* was simply taboo, that is, "accursed" or "sacred" according to circumstances. As W. W. Fowler has shown, the word did not convey a sinister meaning in late Roman times, but rather referred to that which is consecrated or sacrificed to a benevolent deity. In all its archaic uses, however, the sinister meaning is prominent (*Roman Essays and Interpretations* [Oxford, 1920], pp. 23 f.).

[27] E. E. V. Collocott, in *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1921), XXIII, 416.

[28] E. Tregear, *The Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*, *s.v.* "Tapu."

[29] R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa* (New York, 1914), p. 80.

[30] The Rev. W. J. Cleveland, in Riggs's *Dakota-English Dictionary* (*Contributions to North American Ethnology,* VII, 507 f.).

[31] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia* (London, 1920), I, 347; II, 82 ff., 89.

[32] F. E. Williams, *Drama of Orokolo* (Oxford, 1940), pp. 111 f. At Saa in Mala (one of the Solomon Islands) all persons and things in which supernatural power resides are said to be *saka,* that is, "hot." Powerful ghosts are *saka,* so also are men who have knowledge of things supernatural. A person who knows a charm which is *saka* mutters it over water, thus making the water "hot" (R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* [Oxford, 1891], pp. 191 f.)

[33] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders* (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 267 ff., 307 ff., 404.

[34] On *mana* and related terms see R. R. Marett, in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,* VIII, 375–80, and M. Löhr and R. Thurnwald, in Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte,* VII, 4–15. See further, H. I. Hogbin, "Mana," *Oceania,* VI (1935–1936), 241–74 (for the Melanesian data only).

[35] See Ernest Crawley, "Sexual Taboo," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXIV (1895), 116–25, 219–35, 430–46; *idem, The Mystic Rose* (London, 1902), especially pp. 76–132. A new edition of this work, revised and enlarged by Theodore Besterman, has appeared (2 vols., London, 1927).

[36] Martin-Mariner, *op. cit.,* 3d ed., I, 133, note. A Tongan under taboo "must not feed himself with his own hands, but must be fed by somebody else. He must not even use a toothpick himself, but must guide another person's hand holding the toothpick. If he is hungry, and there is no one to feed him, he must go down upon his hands and knees, and pick up his victuals with his mouth. And if he infringes upon any of these rules, it is firmly expected that he will swell up and die; and this belief is so strong that Mr. Mariner thinks no native ever made an experiment to prove the contrary. They often saw him feed himself with his hands after having touched dead chiefs and, not observing his health to decline, they attributed it to his being a foreigner and being governed by different gods" (Martin-Mariner, *loc. cit.*).

[37] Edward Tregear, *The Maori Race* (Wanganui, New Zealand, 1904), p. 95.

[38] Richard Taylor, *Te Ika A Maui* (2d ed., London, 1870), p. 168.

[39] See H. Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies* (2d ed., New York, 1932), pp. 49 ff., 106 ff.

[40] H. I. Hogbin, "Education in Ontong Java," *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1931), XXXIII, 607 f.

[41] Raymond Firth, *We, the Tikopia* (London, 1936), p. 157.

[42] W. H. Beaver, *Unexplored New Guinea* (2d ed., London, 1920), p. 66.

[43] Hortense Powdermaker, *Life in Lesu* (New York, 1933), p. 268.

[44] W. G. Ivens, *Melanesians of the South-East Solomon Islands* (London, 1927), p. 251, referring particularly to the islands of Mala and Ulawa.

[45] Best, *The Maori as He Was,* p. 83. If a seer disregarded a rule of *tapu,* he at once lost his power of second sight and became spiritually blind—that is, "he would be unable to see the portents and signs by means of which the gods warn man of dangers that threaten him, and enable him to peer into the future" (*loc. cit.*).

[46] E. H. Gomes, *Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks of Borneo* (London, 1911), pp. 197 f.

[47] W. Matthews, "The Study of Ethics among the Lower Races," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* XII (1899), 6.

[48] Sir Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1904), pp. 515 f.

[49] P. Beveridge, in *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* (1883), XVII, 27. Similarly, among the tribes of the Elema district of British New Guinea boys undergoing initiation are told that if they eat any food tabooed to them "they will speedily become bald and prematurely shrivelled in body; disease and death will come upon them, and their names will be held in disgrace among their relatives" (J. [H.] Holmes, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXXII [1902], 422).

[50] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia,* pp. 470 f.

[51] H. I. Hogbin, *Law and Order in Polynesia* (London, 1934), pp. 143 ff., 158 f. See, further, *idem,* "Spirits and the Healing of the Sick in Ontong Java," *Oceania,* I (1930), 145–66.

[52] Martin-Mariner, *op. cit.,* 3d ed., I, 172, note. According to the same authority the Tongans also supposed that taboo-breakers were particularly liable to be bitten by sharks. Consequently, all suspected persons had to go into shark-infested waters, and the one who was bitten or devoured was adjudged to be guilty (II, 186).

[53] W. D. Alexander, *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People* (New York, 1891), pp. 39, 66.

[54] Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* (2d ed.), pp. 114 ff. Cf. J. L. Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand Performed in the Years 1814 and 1815* (London, 1817), II, 170. *Makutu* was the general name for witchcraft or sorcery among the Maori. In the case referred to, it was usually practiced by a person in an inferior position or by one who did not dare show his animosity openly. The sick man would consult a diviner, who might be able to point out the culprit and also to nullify the evil effects of the broken *tapu.* See Tregear, *Maori Race,* pp. 201 f.

[55] C. W. Hobley, *Bantu Beliefs and Magic* (London, 1922), pp. 103, 142. Mr. Hobley enumerates no less than sixty-eight *thahu* among the Akikuyu. Tribal elders of the highest grade enjoy, as a rule, immunity from *thahu,* probably because of the sanctity which they acquire by the performance of certain sacrifices. They may thus be considered as a primitive priesthood (p. 127).

[56] Hobley, *op. cit.,* p. 134.

[57] W. Matthews, in *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* XI (1898), 107. The reluctance of the Navaho to send their children away to school is due to the knowledge that the children will be obliged to violate food taboos; they will have to eat ducks, geese, and fish or go hungry (p. 106).

[58] Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, in *Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* p. 144.

[59] See L. Lévy-Bruhl, *Primitive Mentality* (London, 1923), pp. 291–306; *idem, How Natives Think* (London, 1926), pp. 263–76.

[60] Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (2d ed.), III, 46 f.; see also I, 395 f. The Maori regarded a person seriously ill as suffering from "a preternatural visitation of retributive justice, which it would be impious to resist by any human expedient" (Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand,* II, 303).

[61] Charles Hose and William McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo* (London, 1912), II, 8. According to Carl Bock, no one is allowed to enter the sickroom; the patient is left to himself (*The Head-Hunters of Borneo* [2d ed., London, 1882], pp. 214, 230).

[62] Rafael Karsten, *The Civilization of the South American Indians* (London, 1926), pp. 472 ff.

[63] W. Matthews, in *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology,* p. 420.

[64] F. Boas, in *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History,* XV, 124 f. These Eskimo, who hold that sickness is the result of taboo-breaking, require the sick person to confess his sins to the medicine man, before ceremonies for his recovery can be performed. If, nevertheless, the patient dies, "it is believed that he had some mental reservation and was not quite honest about his confession" (J. W. Bilby, *Among Unknown Eskimo* [London, 1923], p. 207).

[65] Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia,* pp. 769 f., on the authority of J. M'Alpine.

[66] *Old New Zealand,* by a Pakeka Maori (London, 1884), pp. 95 ff. A *pakeka* Maori is a "foreigner turned Maori." Maning received adoption into a Maori tribe and married one of its women.

[67] *New Zealand and Its Aborigines* (London, 1845), p. 76.

[68] *Te Ika A Maui* (2d ed.), p. 164.

[69] E. Tregear, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XIX (1890), 100.

[70] Emma Hadfield, *Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group* (London, 1920), pp. 165 f.

[71] J. Merolla da Sorrento, "A Voyage to Congo," in John Pinkerton, *A General Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1814), XVI, 238.

[72] M. F. Field, *Religion and Medicine of the Ga People* (Oxford, 1937), p. 118 and note 1, p. 119.

[73] See Lévy-Bruhl, *Primitive Mentality,* pp. 273–79; Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion* (London 1933–1936), III, 142–98.

[74] James Dawson, *Australian Aborigines* (Melbourne, 1881), p. 70.

[75] R. Thurnwald, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie,* XLII (1910), 134. The Nasioi of Bougainville think that death by violence, either in battle or as the result of an accident, is shameful, and that those who come to such an untimely end must live apart from the other ghosts in the world beyond the grave (E. Frizzi-München, *Ein Beitrag zur Ethnologie von Bougainville und Buka, Baessler-Archiv,* Beiheft VI, p. 11).

[76] A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo* (Leiden, 1904–1907), I, 70.

[77] *Ibid.,* I, 91.

[78] A. Henry, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXXIII (1903), 102.

[79] J. P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas* (London, 1926), p. 283.

[80] J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas* (London, 1921), p. 262.

[81] A. Playfair, *The Garos* (London, 1909), p. 105. The Garo believe that a man killed by a tiger or an elephant will be reincarnated in the form of the animal that caused his death (*loc. cit.*).

[82] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa* (London, 1887), p. 13. In South Africa the drowned man is said to have been "called by the river," that is, by the river demons. No attempt is made to save a drowning person (J. Macdonald, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XX [1891], 124 ff.). Similarly, the Greenland Eskimo shrink from assisting one of their number who has met with a serious accident at sea (Fridtjof Nansen, *Eskimo Life* [2d ed., London, 1894], p. 137). This fear of one who has obviously been doomed to die for his misdeeds is manifested by the natives of Kamchatka. We learn from an old writer that if anyone fell into the water they thought it a great sin to pull him out; rather ought they to keep him down by force until he drowned. Should the poor wight manage

to reach land nobody admits him to a dwelling, or speaks to him, or gives him food, for they consider him as being virtually dead. He must either remove to a distance or perish of hunger at home (G. W. Steller, *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka* [Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1774], p. 295 and note).

[83] P. A. Talbot, *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 63 f. The peoples of Southern Nigeria, it is said, do not recognize the possibility of an accident. For every misfortune there must be a reason, either the violation of some taboo or the commission of some act which has drawn upon the person the anger of the gods or the ancestors. When among the Yoruba a person is nearly killed by lightning; when among the Ibo a birth takes place in a house; or when among the Abuan a death takes place in a house—these are all instances of punishment by the unseen powers. No consideration is shown for the culprit. It is even better for him that his friends should lay additional penalties upon him, so that he may more quickly expiate his wrongdoing (*idem, The Peoples of Southern Nigeria* [Oxford, 1926], III, 708 f.).

[84] André Arcin, *La Guinée française* (Paris, 1907), p. 431.

[85] E. Mangin, in *Anthropos,* IX (1914), 732.

[86] The Gullah Negroes in the coastal regions of South Carolina and Georgia, along with the typically West African belief in multiple souls and a very vivid belief in ghosts, have special rites for persons who die by drowning, lightning, smallpox, and suicide. See W. R. Bascom, "Acculturation among the Gullah Negroes," *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1941), XLIII, 49.

[87] The Kayan of Borneo go so far as to distinguish between *malan* and *parit,* their two words for taboo. *Malan* applies to acts involving risk to the entire community, *parit* to those involving risk only to the persons committing the forbidden acts (Hose and McDougall, *op. cit.,* II, 14, note 1; see also p. 125, note 1).

[88] The languages of some Melanesian peoples contain special terms differentiating between an inherent and an imposed state of taboo. In the Banks Islands "the difference between a naturally sacred character and that which follows upon an authoritative separation from common uses" is marked by the use of two words, *rongo* and *tambu,* corresponding with which in the New Hebrides are *sapuga* and *gogona.* A naturally sacred character (*rongo, sapuga*) is derived from the presence of a spirit in an object or from the association of a spirit with such an object (Codrington, *The Melanesians,* p. 181). In the Solomon Islands this distinction does not seem to be recognized (p. 215).

[89] W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines* (Brisbane, 1897), p. 57.

[90] C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge, 1910), pp. 299 ff.

[91] George Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians* (London, 1910), p. 273; R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 592.

[92] Codrington, *The Melanesians,* pp. 75 f., 216. Dr. Rivers points out that such a prohibition, or *soloi,* is not now a taboo or at least is no more than a modified or degenerate taboo. Unless its infraction is discovered by the property owner or is revealed by confession, the offender suffers no evil consequences. Of course, to those not members of the Tamate societies, including women, children, and uninitiated men, the *soloi* shares in the general sense of mystery which belongs to the societies as a whole. An offense against the *soloi* in their case, as in that of initiates, is really punished by their fellow men, but the belief that the punishment is inflicted by the ghosts of the dead "brings the whole matter into the category of religion" (W. H. R. Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society* [Cambridge, 1914], II, 410; cf. I, 92 ff.).

[93] H. B. Guppy, *The Solomon Islands and Their Natives* (London, 1887), p. 32.

[94] Ivens, *Melanesians of the South-East Solomon Islands*, pp. 253 ff. In 1894 a chief of the village of Saa on the island of Mala tabooed both beach and river when his daughter died. No native, in consequence, could get water from the river or bathe in it, nor could there be any fishing along the beach (p. 254). In San Cristoval chiefs had the right to place a taboo (*tongo*) on certain streams or parts of the sea so that no fishing could take place in them until the taboo was removed. After the chief's death his right to taboo became the property of his son. To break a taboo was to steal it, and in the old days many wars are said to have been caused by the breaking of a chief's *tongo* by some other chief (C. E. Fox, *The Threshold of the Pacific* [London, 1924], pp. 297, 303).

[95] Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 215 f.

[96] Thomas Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians* (3d ed., London, 1870), pp. 197 f. In New Caledonia taboos were both imposed and enforced by the chiefs, who put to death those whom they wished to punish for an infraction of their prohibitions (Viellard and Deplanche, *Essais sur la Nouvelle-Calédonie* [Paris, 1867], p. 67).

[97] Brown, *New Zealand and Its Aborigines*, p. 13; Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* (2d ed.), p. 111; Taylor, *Te Ika A Maui* (2d ed.), pp. 168 f.; *Old New Zealand*, by a Pakeka Maori, pp. 137 ff. The custom of judicial robbery of a taboo-breaker or of any offender against tribal custom was known in New Zealand as *muru* ("stripping"). In a rough way it corresponded to our law whereby a man is required to pay "damages," only the damages were both assessed and collected by the culprit's own friends and acquaintances. Great abuses naturally crept into the system, so great, indeed, as to make the retention of any sort of personal property almost an impossibility and, in great measure, to discourage any inclination to labor for its acquisition. *Muru* is amusingly described by Judge Maning (*Old New Zealand*, pp. 83 ff.). See also Augustus Earle, *A Narrative of Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand in 1827* (Christchurch, New Zealand, 1909), p. 84. After the death of a chief a stripping party visited the bereaved family and took away everything movable, even digging up root crops and spearing and devouring the tame pigs. If by any chance the mourners were not so stripped, "they would be sure deeply to resent the neglect" (William Colenso, in *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* [1868], I, 41, separate pagination). The *muru* custom was also observed when a person had met with a serious accident. "Why a people," says Mr. Best, "should pay for the privilege of being afflicted by some trouble is a somewhat difficult problem for the European mind to solve, though it appears to be clear enough to the Maori" (Elsdon Best, *ibid.* [1905], XXXVIII, 206). The explanation lies in the Maori belief that people who suffered a grave misfortune were revealed as taboo-breakers. It was the duty of their relatives and friends to make sure that they paid the penalty for their misdeeds. Wrongdoing must be expiated.

[98] A. J. von Krusenstern, *Voyage Round the World* (London, 1813), I, 172, referring particularly to the island of Nukuhiva. See also Vincendon-Dumoulin and Desgraz, *Iles Marquises ou Noukahiva* (Paris, 1843), p. 262.

[99] E. S. C. Handy, "The Native Culture in the Marquesas," *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin*, No. 9, p. 259. Such a taboo, based on any color, might also be revealed by a god to some highly inspired person. See Mathias G——— [Garcia], *Lettres sur les Iles Marquises* (Paris, 1843), p. 52.

[100] Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (2d ed.), IV, 386 f. Cf. J. J. Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands* (2d ed., Boston, 1843), pp. 56 f.; H. T. Cheever, *The Island World of the Pacific* (Glasgow, [1851]), p. 87.

[101] "When a person died, his house was thus colored; when the tapu was laid on anything, the chief erected a post and painted it with the *kura;* wherever a corpse rested, some memorial was set up; oftentimes the nearest stone, rock, or tree served as a monument; but whatever object was selected, it was sure to be made red. If the corpse was conveyed by water, wherever they landed a similar token was left; and when it reached its destination, the canoe was dragged on shore, thus distinguished, and abandoned" (Taylor, *Te Ika A Maui* [2d ed.], p. 209). According to another early authority, a place which was made *tabu* for a time might be marked by a wooden image of a man daubed over with red earth (A. S. Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand* [London, 1859], I, 102). For numerous instances of the use of blood or red paint to mark sacred or tabooed objects see Robert Briffault, *The Mothers* (New York, 1927), II, 412–17.

[102] Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (London, 1922), p. 346.

[103] L. Fison, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XIV (1885), 18 f.

[104] Tregear, *Maori Race,* pp. 278 f. According to another account, the three women, besides being well-born, had to be elderly and in perfect health (T. E. Donne, *The Maori* [London, 1927], p. 25). In this ceremony the peculiar taboo-lifting function of women of rank seems to be connected with the idea that, while they were common because of their sex, they were sacred because of their high birth. Hence, their sacredness neutralized that of the house, thus making entrance within it safe for all women. See Margaret Mead, "Social Organization of Manua," *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin,* No. 76, p. 118. A house might also be made *noa,* or common, by a woman who entered the building through the window. She ate there some cooked food and then went out through the doorway (*The Old Time Maori,* by Makereti [London, 1938], p. 294).

[105] See E. N. Fallaize, "Purification (Introductory and Primitive)," Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,* X, 455–66; L. R. Farnell, "The Ritual of Purification and the Conception of Purity," in *The Evolution of Religion* (London, 1905), pp. 88–162; L. Lévy-Bruhl, *Primitives and the Supernatural* (London, 1936), pp. 342–95.

[106] Martin-Mariner, *op. cit.* (3d ed.), II, 187 f.

[107] E. Best, "Maori Religion and Mythology," *Dominion Museum Bulletin,* No. 10, p. 222. According to Mr. Best, the practice seems to have been due to a belief that the innate power (*mana*) of the male and female generative organs had a preservative or curative effect. The Maori also entertained the contrary belief as to the harmfulness of generative power, especially of that emanating from women. The myths of the Maori assign an inferior position to the female sex, which is associated with evil, misfortune, and death (*loc. cit.*). See also *idem,* "Maori Beliefs Concerning the Human Organs of Generation," *Man,* XIV (1914), 132 ff.

[108] Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* (2d ed.), p. 110.

[109] Ernest Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand* (London, 1843), II, 105.

[110] Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (2d ed.), III, 110.

[111] William Yate, *An Account of New Zealand* (2d ed., London, 1835), p. 86.

[112] On the transference of all manner of evils to inanimate objects, animals, and human beings see Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Scapegoat* (London, 1913), pp. 1–71, 224–28 (*The Golden Bough* [3d ed.], Part VI).

[113] Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition* (Philadelphia, 1845), II, 99 f.

[114] David Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas* (Edinburgh, 1875), p. 197.

[115] P. Cayzac, "La religion des Kikuyu (Afrique orientale)," *Anthropos,* V (1910), 311.

[116] Elsdon Best, "Maori Religion and Mythology," *Dominion Museum Bulletin,* No. 10, p. 199. See also Taylor, *Te Ika A Maui* (2d ed.), p. 101. As Mr. Best points out, the object of the temporary scapegoat's immersion seems to have been to insulate him completely from the evil influence which had been transferred to the fern stalk.

[117] John Roscoe, *The Baganda* (London, 1911), pp. 109, 200. The sacred fire which burned night and day at the entrance to the king's enclosure was extinguished at his death and the chief in charge of it was strangled by the fireplace (p. 103).

[118] As Sir James Frazer observes, beating or scourging as a religious or ceremonial rite was originally a mode of purification. "It was meant to wipe off and drive away a dangerous contagion, whether personified or not, which was supposed to be adhering physically, though invisibly, to the body of the sufferer. The pain inflicted on the person beaten was no more the object of the beating than it is of a surgical operation; it was a necessary accident, that was all. In later times such customs were interpreted otherwise, and the pain, from being an accident, became the prime object of the ceremony, which was now regarded either as a test of endurance imposed upon persons at critical epochs of life, or as a mortification of the flesh well pleasing to the god. But asceticism, under any shape or form, is never primitive." See Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful* (London, 1913), I, 65, in *The Golden Bough* (3d ed., Part VII). On flagellation as a mode of dispelling evil influences generally, see *idem, The Scapegoat* (pp. 259 ff.), in *ibid.,* Part VI.

[119] Dudley Kidd, *The Essential Kafir* (2d ed., London, 1925), pp. 257 f.

## CHAPTER II

# THE REPRODUCTIVE LIFE

THE processes of generation and reproduction, so mysterious to us, are still more mysterious to the savage. His ignorance of them is profound. Little wonder, therefore, that for him a woman's ability to produce children indicates her possession of occult power and that both pregnancy and parturition should be regarded as extremely dangerous conditions, when numberless precautions must be taken to safeguard woman and child, husband and household, and, not seldom, the entire social group.[1]

Many pregnancy regulations of a precautionary character are sympathetic prohibitions. An expectant mother may be subjected to various food restrictions, sometimes for her own good but more often for the good of the child. What is usually feared is the transmission of specific qualities or characteristics of the forbidden object. A Papuan woman avoids fat foods during her pregnancy lest the child be a monstrosity, and she does not smoke tobacco lest the child be stillborn. In one African tribe no pregnant woman may eat hot food, because the natives believe that the child stretches out its hand to take the food swallowed by the mother and it will be scalded thereby. In another African tribe a woman while pregnant must not eat goose lest her child have the long neck of that fowl, and she must also avoid the flesh of the hartebeest, because that animal gives birth to its young blind, and if she ate it her child would likewise be born blind. The husband's diet is sometimes restricted for similar reasons, but the prohibitions observed by him usually affect his everyday actions and pursuits; for instance, he may be forbidden to take violent exercise or climb trees or mount the house roof, lest his wife have a miscarriage. Similar ideas also account for numberless other precautions. Thus, during pregnancy both husband and wife avoid turning a lock lest the child's fingers become bent and powerless; no knots are tied by them, for that would mean a difficult delivery. In none of these cases are we dealing with taboos. A violation of the customary regulations may excite

social disapproval or even lead to some measure of ostracism; it does not result in defilement for the parents, nor does it require their ceremonial purification.

But pregnancy is also regarded as a state of ritual uncleanness in which the woman is exposed to the assaults of evil spirits, to witchcraft, and to malefic influences generally. In the Gilbert or Kingsmill Islands of Micronesia "when a woman was known to be pregnant, the greatest care was taken to conceal her condition from all outsiders. . . . . Remnants of her food, toilet materials, old clothes, and all other things closely connected with her person were burned as soon as might be, for through such things some foreign sorcerer might most easily bring evil upon her."[2]

In some islands of the Malay Archipelago a pregnant woman never leaves the house without a knife with which to frighten away evil spirits.[3] Among the Battak of Sumatra pregnant women put protective images in their hair; hence such women are called "those who are wearing amulets upon their heads."[4] As soon as a Basuto woman is with child a sheep is sacrificed, and the skin of the animal is made into an apron, which serves to screen her from witchcraft.[5] Perhaps the same purpose explains a curious custom of the Wataveta of Eastern Equatorial Africa. When signs of pregnancy are shown by a woman, a deep fringe of tiny iron chains is hung over her eyes. It hides her face and also prevents her from seeing clearly.[6]

The Ga people of the Gold Coast consider it very necessary that a pregnant woman should protect herself against witches, who are wont to prey on the spirits of unborn children. So she proceeds to wash herself in water containing a powerful herb and small pinches of every kind of food which anyone can suggest or contribute, whether the eatables are those of the tribe or foreign or European in origin. The idea is that, however catholic in her eating, the witch will discover that her own food has been included in the decoction. "The food with which the woman bathed then protects her by saying to the witch, 'I am your own food. You cannot hurt me without hurting yourself'."[7]

Some restrictions imposed upon a pregnant woman are intended to protect the community against her occult power. The natives of Geelvink Bay in Dutch New Guinea do not allow her to engage in planting, lest the crop be destroyed by wild pigs.[8] The Bukaua forbid her to walk on the seashore or near the mouth of a river; if she did so, her blood would kill all the fish.[9]

Among the Maori the child of a woman of the highest rank was *tapu* even before its birth. Consequently, the expectant mother was not allowed to perform any laborious work. More especially was she forbidden to carry any food products on her back; to do so would have had a most injurious influence on the unborn child. The Maori believed that the proximity of food products to *tapu* persons, objects, and places polluted them.[10]

The Bechuana do not allow a pregnant woman to enter a hut where there has been a recent birth. Nor may she go into a sick-room, not even that of her own husband. Nevertheless, if a sick husband is very anxious to see his wife when she is with child a meeting between them can be arranged. It is necessary, however, for a magician to make a mixture of powdered charcoal, fat, and the woman's urine and anoint the sick man's body with this protective salve. Then he may safely receive her.[11] The Ba-ila of Northern Rhodesia think it often necessary to protect a sick person against the "baneful influences" emanating from pregnant women and those that have had a miscarriage. A shed is built in the forest and there the patient lives while being doctored.[12] A pregnant woman is dangerous in many other ways. If she enters a hut where a child has just been born, its skull will part asunder; if she passes through a calabash garden, the calabashes will drop off their stalks or split; if she passes a tree laden with fruit, the fruit will fall to the ground; if she goes near a litter of pups, their heads will split and they will die; if she goes near a hen sitting on a nest of eggs, these will all crack.[13] Among the Wabena, an East African tribe, a pregnant woman who meets a sick person must silently sprinkle water on his back; otherwise "his heart will stand still within him and his sickness will increase and he will die." Should this take place, the woman would be held responsible and be liable to pay blood money. When rain is about to fall, a pregnant woman must go indoors, hide under a blanket, and keep silent until the rain is over; otherwise there will be a fearful thunderstorm and the village will probably be destroyed by lightning.[14]

The Safwa, another East African tribe, do not allow a pregnant woman to sit on a piece of firewood which belongs to the men; if she did so it would be thrown away as being unclean. Nor must she sit on the footstool in the hut. Her husband at this time does not sleep at home, but in the public house of the village. He takes there his guns and spears; if these weapons remained in the hut with his pregnant wife he never henceforth could kill any

game with them.[15] The Konde of Nyasaland require a pregnant woman to keep away from growing crops, from food that is being cooked, and from beer that is being brewed.[16] Among the Banyoro of Uganda a pregnant woman must not come near clay pots when drying; otherwise they would break when being baked.[17]

The Uaupés of Brazil believe that if a pregnant woman were to eat meat a domestic animal or tame bird partaking of it would die, a dog would become incapable of hunting, and a man would ever after be unable to shoot that particular kind of game.[18] The Arawak forbid her to eat game caught by hunting dogs; if she did so, these would never be able to hunt again.[19] By the Yakut of northern Siberia a pregnant woman is considered in some sense unclean. She spoils the gun of a hunter and lessens the good fortune of a handicraftsman.[20]

Not only the pregnant woman but also her husband may sometimes be subject to restrictions. Among the Kiwai Papuans no man whose wife was pregnant or menstruating could join the turtle fleet. "If such a one were to do so the turtle on seeing him would know about him and would sink to the bottom of the sea."[21] A man of the Yabim tribe does not go fishing during his wife's pregnancy, for the fish would flee his presence and the sea would become agitated.[22] The Monumbo, another Papuan tribe, subject a man to so many restrictions during his wife's pregnancy and confinement and while she is nursing that he is virtually a pariah, shunned by everybody.[23] In New Ireland a man with a pregnant wife must not go on fishing expeditions or wild pig hunts. If he does so, he will meet with no success. Nor may he engage in warfare.[24] Among the Sea Dayak of Borneo a man is not entirely prevented from working because of his wife's pregnancy, but he must first get someone to start the work for him if he is to carry it on with a fair chance of success. This disability endures after the birth of the child until it cuts its first teeth.[25] The Bechuana of South Africa believe that an elephant will single out a man whose wife is pregnant and will ruthlessly attack him.[26]

The very general avoidance of sexual intercourse between husband and wife, either during the entire pregnancy or toward the latter part of it, seems to be usually motivated by fear of the impurity of women at this time: disobedience would result in sickness, deformity, or even death for the child; the mother would produce no milk or sour milk; the father would be unsuccessful in hunting and fishing.[27]

On the other hand, sexual intercourse may sometimes be required during pregnancy even until the time of childbirth. The Wik Monkan, a tribe of the Northern Territory of Australia, are firmly persuaded that repeated sexual acts are necessary to build up the baby from the seminal fluid.[28] The Mountain Arapesh of British New Guinea entertain a somewhat similar belief. It is their idea that the mother's blood, no longer issuing forth in the menstrual flow, becomes half of the material of the child's body, and that the other half is made of semen. For the first two months of pregnancy, there must be continual cohabitation in order to build up the child, but as soon as the mother's breasts show discoloration it must cease, for the infant is now "fast" in the womb.[29]

The Kgatla of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, who also attribute a woman's pregnancy to the mixing of her menstrual blood with her husband's semen, believe that he will not be injured by connection with her. In fact, he is expected to approach his wife frequently, in order that his semen may continue to add to the flesh of the child growing in her womb. However, should someone not responsible for her pregnancy sleep with her, her husband would be injuriously affected. A woman pregnant by a lover sometimes refuses, therefore, to cohabit with her husband lest she harm him, in which case he readily suspects that she has been unfaithful to him.[30]

The Tswana generally continue sexual intercourse right up to the wife's confinement, so that the husband's "blood" (his semen) may help to strengthen the child in its mother's womb.[31] The same view as to the necessity of continual sexual intercourse for the growth of the fetus is entertained by the Azande (Niam-Niam). This notion, it is said, may help to account for the extraordinary attachment which exists between husband and wife among the Azande.[32] Among the Ekoi and other tribes of Southern Nigeria it is customary for husband and wife to cohabit more often during the latter's pregnancy than at other times. Cohabitation is continued until the moment of birth, for the delivery of the child is believed to be thereby expedited.[33]

Being in a state of taboo, a woman may be required to live in seclusion during a part or the whole of her pregnancy. In the Marquesas Islands a special birth house was built, and the husband remained there with his wife as a protection against evil spirits until the time of her confinement drew near.[34] In the Caroline Islands not only was the woman secluded but she was

also wrapped up in mats from head to foot until the birth of her child.[35] Seclusion among the Toda takes place at or about the fifth month of pregnancy. The woman then retires to a special hut which has been built near the village, the distance depending upon the degree of sanctity of the village. She stays there for nearly a month, and purificatory rites are performed over her. While in seclusion she is visited by relatives and friends, who do not venture to come near the hut but speak to her from some way off. She now returns home and resumes her normal activities, but after the birth she must again go to the hut for another period of seclusion and purification.[36] Among some Lower Congo tribes, as soon as women become pregnant, they take up their quarters in huts built at a distance from the village and there remain until the children are weaned.[37]

At the time of childbirth the mother's mystic dangerousness is redoubled in intensity and the need for precautionary measures becomes all the more imperious. She may be required to give birth in the open air and not in the house, or to retire to some secluded spot away from the community. She may be allowed no assistance or only that of female relatives or friends. In the Buandik tribe of South Australia the wife went far away from home to be confined. The husband did not receive her until her days of purification were over.[38] An Arunta woman, when her child is about to be born, leaves her husband's camp and goes to that special part of the main camp which may not be entered or even approached by men. She remains there for three or four weeks after childbirth. The father is not allowed to see the child until the mother returns to her husband's camp.[39]

Among the Mountain Arapesh of British New Guinea a birth must take place "over the edge of the village." In bad weather, or where the bush does not provide shelter, a temporary birth house is erected. Any woman may act as midwife, except the pregnant woman's own mother, who would become blind if she witnessed her daughter's delivery. Lochial blood is impure. None of it must fall on the village ground. If it was eaten by pigs they would go wild and devastate the yam gardens.[40]

In Wogeo, one of the Schouten Islands, all contact with a parturient woman is avoided during the two months that she remains in seclusion. If she should die in childbirth or after it no mourning rites are held for her, and while she is being buried by the nearest relatives all the other villagers retire to the bush. The natives account for these taboos as being due to the lochia—

"because of the blood."[41] In the island of Tumleo, off the northeastern coast of New Guinea, the mother is secluded for from five to eight days, but only after the birth of her first child. No man, not even her husband, may see her at this time. The luckless man who did so would swell up and die.[42] The people of Mala, one of the Solomons, do not allow the parturient mother to be touched by any of the women accompanying her. Should a woman do so she must go into thirty days' seclusion along with the mother.[43]

In the Marquesas Islands the fear of the birth contamination was so great that if an accidental delivery occurred in the family dwelling it was destroyed by fire, just as was done when a death occurred in it.[44] On account of the *tapu* pertaining to both birth and death among the Maori, few persons were ever born or ever died in a dwelling house in New Zealand. A woman of inferior status was usually delivered in the open air. A woman of rank had her confinement in the "nest house," a dwelling placed at some distance from the settlement and tabooed against the intrusion of slaves and commoners. After the mother, her child, and the attendants had quitted the house, it was destroyed, and all objects in it were burned by the priest.[45]

The Visayan of the Philippines remove everything from the house when a birth is about to take place in it, just as is customary when a person is dying there; unless this were done the weapons and fishing nets would be useless and the fighting cocks—their most highly prized possession—would no longer be able to fight.[46] In the Nicobar Islands an expectant mother retires to a birth house and takes her husband with her. She remains there until after the birth of her child, sometimes for as long as six months. If she gave birth in a dwelling house, it would become unclean and would be pulled down.[47]

Among the Hottentots the husband quitted his hut as soon as his wife's pains came on and did not return until she had been delivered. Should he do so, he would be adjudged unclean and have to forfeit a sheep as a "cleansing."[48] In the Ba-ila tribe of Northern Rhodesia "it is taboo for a woman to give birth in a hut; were she to do so and the child be born dead, she would suffer heavy penalties: her husband might enslave her and her children, unless they were redeemed by her clansmen. All grain and medicines in the hut would have been contaminated, and hence would be destroyed."[49] In the Quissama tribe of Angola a woman, when her labor pains begin, goes alone into the forest and remains there until the child is born. She may then return

home, but the infant continues to be secluded for a time.[50] The Fan of French Equatorial Africa allow no male person to be present at a confinement. Not even the father, the husband, or the medicine man may enter the house at this time.[51]

Among the Araucanian Indians of southern Chile women were formerly not allowed to give birth within the village, "as it was considered to cause infectious diseases."[52] Among the Coroado of Brazil a woman must give birth in a carefully secluded spot in the depth of the forest, and special care is taken to protect the place from moonlight.[53] The Uaupés, when a birth occurs in a house, take everything out of it, including their pots and pans and bows and arrows; otherwise these objects would be affected by uncleanness and would have to be destroyed.[54]

Among the Central Eskimo a small hut or snow house is built for the parturient woman, and here she awaits her delivery. She may be visited by friends, but even these must leave her when the birth takes place.[55] The Tlingit Indians of Alaska require a mother to give birth in the open air, however inclement the season may be. She is then allowed to enter a rude shelter, where she remains for ten days.[56] Among the Point Barrow Eskimo, women about to be confined are always isolated. In winter they occupy a little snow hut; in summer, a little tent.[57] The Eskimo about Bering Strait isolate a woman as unclean only when she is bearing her first child.[58]

Among the Chukchi of northeastern Siberia, when confinement approaches, no stranger may enter the inner family room and even near relatives of the male sex must keep away. When labor begins, all males, not even excepting small children, leave the room and do not return until every trace of the birth has been removed.[59] A Gilyak woman "never dares" to give birth to a child at home; she must, in spite of the severity of the season or stormy weather, go out of the hut for the purpose. A special hut is prepared for her, but it is very uncomfortable and both mother and child suffer from the exposure to the elements.[60]

After delivery takes place the woman's household is often placed under an interdict, which may also involve the entire community. Among some Victoria tribes, though the woman remains in her husband's shelter, he himself must live elsewhere. Indeed, the entire settlement is temporarily abandoned when a birth occurs, only two married women remaining to care for the patient in her time of trial.[61]

Among the Yabim, a tribe in what was formerly German

New Guinea, the inhabitants of a village stay at home on the morning after the birth of a child. This is regarded as a necessary precaution if the fruits of the fields and gardens are not to be spoiled by the noxious influences emanating from a woman in childbed.[62] Among the Sulka of New Britain not only are the men of a village in need of purification after a birth has occurred in it, but their weapons and the cuttings of the plants they are about to put in the ground require similar treatment.[63] In Efate, one of the New Hebrides, the men keep away from the house in which a birth has taken place. This restriction applies only to the day of birth. They say that otherwise they "would contract the *ninam* or uncleanness and that in consequence 'their eyes would be darkened (that is, they would be weak) in war,' and that if, having contracted it, they went to their plantations, the yams would rot."[64] In Ceram, one of the Moluccas, it is taboo for the inhabitants of a village to go to their plantations for three days after a birth has taken place.[65]

The Garo of Assam consider the impurity of childbirth so contaminating that it is forbidden for anybody to go near a cultivated tract of land on the day when a child is born in the village. They think that whatever crop is visited on such a day will be cursed and blighted. This is said to be the only instance among the Garo of a taboo which affects the community as a whole.[66]

The Naga tribes have numerous taboos (*genna*), some affecting single households only and others being extended to the community at large. Household *genna* are observed for various reasons, of which one is the birth of children or of domesticated animals. The restrictions apply to all the normal inmates and to any others, such as midwives, who may be temporarily members of the family.[67] When a birth occurs in a Zulu kraal all the inhabitants "eat medicine, *i.e.*, something to protect themselves from any evil influence. They do the same on the occasion of a death."[68] Among the Amaxosa the food of a lying-in woman is taboo to men. A man who ate it would be reduced to the weakness of an infant.[69]

We might expect to find, and we do sometimes find, that the impurity of a parturient woman is supposed to be most pronounced when she has a miscarriage or is delivered of a stillborn child. Some Bantu-speaking tribes of South Africa, including the Thonga and Pedi, believe that a woman's miscarriage makes the whole country impure and brings on a drought. "Let me quote," writes the missionary Junod, "the *ipsissima verba* of

Mankhelu, the great medicine-man of the Nkuna Court. I shall never forget the earnest tone of his voice, his deep conviction when he uttered to me the following words, as a kind of revelation. 'When a woman has had a miscarriage, when she has let her blood flow secretly and has buried the abortive child in an unknown place, it is enough to make the burning winds blow, and to dry up all the land: the rain can no longer fall, because the country is no longer right. Rain fears that spot. It must stop at that very place and can go no farther. This woman has been very guilty. She has spoilt the country of the chief because she has hidden blood which has not yet properly united to make a human being. That blood is taboo! What she has done is taboo. It causes starvation'."[70]

The Amaxosa believe that if their cattle should cross the tracks of a woman who has had a miscarriage they will become weak and die. Accordingly, her husband prepares a medicine as an antidote, and this she has to administer to each animal.[71] Bavenda men are firmly convinced that if they have sexual relations with women who have miscarried, they will die of consumption.[72] The Barotse require a woman who is delivered of a stillborn child to live for a month in a grass hut outside the village. She may return home after her purification, but her husband does not sleep with her until she has had intercourse with some other man.[73] The Ba-ila regard a woman who has had a miscarriage as very dangerous. A man may acquire a certain disease from cohabiting with her, from smoking her pipe, or even from walking near the place where the fetus was buried. So contagious is the disease that a woman after a miscarriage must not enter a hut until she has been purified. Her husband will not resume cohabitation with her until she has had connection with another man to whom she thereby transfers the disease.[74]

Among the Bakaonde a woman who has had a miscarriage or has a stillborn child cannot touch any fire except her own, or any dishes and other household articles. She must retire to a shelter on the outskirts of the village, where she stays until her breasts are dry. Then the shelter is set on fire, while the woman is still inside it. She rushes out and goes to a river for a purificatory bath in which certain herbs are placed. Having donned new clothes, she returns to the village and resumes marital relations with her husband. Still other ceremonies are proscribed for her husband and herself before every taint of evil is removed from the village and its inhabitants.[75] Among the Ngumba of the

Cameroons a woman who bears a dead child is treated as doubly unclean.[76]

The Bribri Indians of Costa Rica require the usual seclusion of a woman in childbed, but her pollution (*bukurú*) is especially deadly if she miscarries or gives birth to a stillborn child. She is then considered so dangerous that all contact with things she has used is avoided, and her food is passed to her at the end of a long stick.[77]

The Eskimo of Baffin Land think that the body of a lying-in woman exhales a vapor which would adhere to the souls of seals if she ate the flesh of any seals except those caught by her husband, by a boy, or by an aged man. "Cases of premature birth require particularly careful treatment. The event must be announced publicly, else dire results will follow. If a woman should conceal from the other people that she has had a premature birth, they might come near her, or even eat in her hut of the seals procured by her husband. The vapor arising from her would thus affect them, and they would be avoided by the seals."[78] Among the Polar Eskimo miscarriages are very frequent, perhaps as a result of too early marriages. A woman so unfortunate as to have one is subject to numberless restrictions, and these are only removed when the sun is in the same part of the heavens as when she suffered her affliction. It is believed highly dangerous for a woman to keep her miscarriage a secret, in order to avoid the severe penance involved. She may fall ill herself or she may bring misfortune upon the whole community, through the failure of the fishing or some assault of the forces of nature.[79]

When children are born deformed in any way or with some striking abnormality, the mothers may be subjected to more than the usual restrictions and their offspring not allowed to live.[80] The Basuto put to death children born with feet first and those who cut their upper before their lower teeth.[81] Bavenda children born feet first or with any deformity are killed by the midwives, who pour boiling water over them. Such children are often buried inside the hut near the wall, so that their bodies will be in perpetual shade. Should the sun ever shine on their remains, the mother would be afflicted with abdominal pains.[82]

The Bambwela of Northern Rhodesia think that a child who cuts its upper teeth before its lower ones is a herald of great evil in store for both parents and relatives. Before the English administration of the country there was a strong feeling that such a child should not be allowed to live. The mother herself would

put it out of the way, either by drowning it or by thrusting it head first into an ant-bear hole. Such murders do not now take place, but in their stead a rite is practiced whereby the village is purified from the evil spirit manifest in the unhappy infant. There is ceremonial beer drinking by the village folk, though not by the parents and relatives; cessation of all work during the day; and a general abstention from sexual intercourse that night. This rite performed, the child should suffer no disability whatever, but the older people are still inclined to find in its preservation the origin of the ills which may afflict them.[83] The Bakaonde of Northern Rhodesia require that a child cutting its upper incisors before its lower ones be thrown into the river. Such a child would be very dangerous if allowed to live. Every time one of its milk teeth fell out or one of its nails came off someone would die. The mother who tried to hide the child's condition and did not kill it would be constructively guilty of murdering many people, a risk she dares not take. But sometimes the child is preserved. The mother may be allowed to put into a calabash all its teeth as these come out, all loose nails, all nail parings, and all shorn hair. When the last milk tooth has been added to the collection in the calabash she places this on her back, as she would carry a baby, and wrapped in the same cloth in which the child had been carried. Then she goes to the river and drops the calabash into the water, just as she would have done with the real child, that is, by loosening the cloth and letting the baby fall into the stream. She does not look around, but as she hears the splash of the calabash she calls out, "Here is the *lutala*" (the tabooed child.)[84]

The Akikuyu of Kenya used to strangle a child born feet first and bury it at the crossroads and not in the family cemetery. Were such a child allowed to live it would grow up to be a thief or a murderer, a disgrace to its parents.[85] Among the Ibo of Nigeria children born with teeth, or with hand or foot first, crippled children, and those who cut the upper before the lower teeth were destroyed or disposed of to slave dealers.[86]

The Cayenne Indians of Guiana decided the fate of a child as soon as it was born. If it had any physical defect, it was killed without pity and buried without ceremony; hence, no dwarfs, hunchbacks, lame persons, or cripples were to be seen in a Cayenne community.[87] Pima children born deformed were taken by the midwife, who allowed them to die of exposure and lack of nourishment. "So strong was the feeling of the Pimas against

the abnormal that they tried in recent years to kill a grown man who had six toes."[88]

The custom of putting twins to death, or one of them at least, is extremely common and widespread. Various reasons have been alleged for doing so, particularly the difficulty and extra trouble of rearing two infants at once. Twins are sometimes regarded as an indication of unfaithfulness on the mother's part, because of the notion that two children born at the same time cannot have one father. They are also sometimes supposed to have been engendered by an evil spirit, which entered the mother. This animistic explanation is obviously associated with the fears and forebodings excited by the abnormality of twins. Being abnormal, they are dangerous, and, being dangerous, radical measures must be taken to preserve the community from their malefic influence.[89]

The tribes of Central Australia usually destroy twins at once because of their uncanniness.[90] In the Solomon Islands and the Bismarck Archipelago one of the twins—the first-born—is killed. Were this not done, both would die. The child is killed by its grandmother and is immediately buried. No men are allowed to witness these proceedings.[91]

In Nias, when a mother gives birth to twins, they are usually killed, but in the Mentawei Islands their lives are spared. No great harm is held to have been done. "Some people think, however, in the case of girl and boy twins, that the pair will not live long, because they have come into too close contact with each other in the womb."[92] For the low-caste people of Bali, who comprise the great majority of the inhabitants of the island, the birth of boy and girl twins constitutes a great calamity. Famine and disaster to the entire village can be averted only by the temporary banishment of the mother and her children, followed by purificatory rites and offerings to the evil spirits. When these have been completed and the twins have become mature, they are allowed to marry, for their incestuous connection in the mother's womb is believed to have been already atoned for.[93] The Battak of Sumatra think that twins, especially when of different sexes, betoken bad luck. It is feared that when they grow up they will commit incest with each other. They are often killed or are allowed to die from lack of care.[94] The Kayan of Borneo kill one of the twins, generally the girl, if they are of different sexes. This is done to preserve the life of the survivor, for the Kayan think that, should both be spared, any misfortune affecting the

one would be transferred to the other, because of the sympathetic bond believed to exist between them.[95]

The Bontoc Igorot of northern Luzon "do not understand twins." Carabaos (water buffalo) have only one offspring at birth; so why should women have two offspring, they ask. The natives believe that one of the two children is the progeny of an *anito*, a spirit of a dead person. The more quiet of the twins, or, if they are equally quiet, the larger one, is at once placed in a water jar and buried alive.[96]

The Khasi of Assam argue that as they have but one First Ancestress and one First Ancestor, so one child, either male or female, should be born at one time. A twin birth is accordingly regarded as the punishment for a transgression committed by some member of the clan. "When the twins are of opposite sexes the *sang* [taboo] is considered to be extremely serious, the Khasi idea being that defilement has taken place within the womb."[97]

The Malagasy considered twins very unlucky. One of them would often be sent away to be brought up elsewhere or would be put to death as soon as born.[98]

The Zulu and other South African peoples manifested great horror of twins and usually put them to death. Now that British rule has extended throughout the country the killing of twins is forbidden, but the practice is difficult to put down because of the secrecy which invests it. People do not like to talk about twins, and the fact of their existence is hidden, if possible, by the parents. A mother who bears twins is taunted with belonging to a disgraceful family; in the old days, if she bore them a second time, she was killed as a monstrosity.[99] Among the Bavenda of the Transvaal twins were killed immediately after birth, either by the midwife or the mother. Their bodies were placed in one pot, which was buried in a damp place by the riverside. If this were not done, the natives feared that the land would be afflicted by a drought.[100]

Among the Thonga, twins (and triplets) arouse the same terror as children prematurely born. Twins are a calamity for the whole land because they prevent the rain from falling. In former times one of the children was put to death; now the mother and her offspring must leave the village immediately and live in a miserable little hut apart from the inhabitants. Until her preliminary purification by the medicine man, no one in the village must eat anything, and on the day after this rite all work in the fields is tabooed. The woman's uncleanness continues until her

final purification. She lives absolutely shut off from the community; she has her own utensils and does her own cooking; and people speak to her only from a distance. "Women fear that, if they touch anything belonging to the mother of twins, if they smear themselves with her provision of fat, or if the defiled one smears herself with their fat, they will also incur the dreadful misfortune of giving birth to twins."[101] The Herero of southwestern Africa think that twins are a manifestation of the displeasure of "Heaven," affecting the whole tribe and calling, therefore, for a ceremonial purification of everybody. This is performed by the parents of the twins, who collect a fortune from the fines which all must pay to regain the celestial favor.[102]

In former days the Afungwe, a Lake Nyasa tribe, seem to have put twins in a basket at the crossroads and to have left them there to die. Now the exposure is merely a ceremonial act and the twins are preserved, though the basket is still left at the crossroads. Upon returning to the village, the father must mix the blood of a goat with a medicine prepared by the doctor and then must sprinkle the liquid in front of each house in the village, over the grain bins, the pigeon cots, and the goat pen, and, lastly, over the cattle kraal. Were this not done, a blight would fall on the village; the inhabitants would fall seriously ill and swell up all over, the grain would rot, and the cattle would die.[103]

Among the Akamba of Kenya, if a woman bears twins the first time she has children, the twins are *thahu*, or ceremonially unclean. An old woman of the village, generally the midwife, stuffs grass in their mouths until they are suffocated and then throws them out into the bush. If a cow or a goat bears twins the first time, the same practice is followed. But neither human nor animal twins are thus treated when they appear at a second or still later birth.[104] Among the Nandi, another East African tribe, the mother of twins is ceremonially unclean for the rest of her life. She remains in the same state of permanent taboo as the murderer of a fellow clansman. The woman is given her own cow and is not allowed to touch the milk or blood of any other animal. She may not enter a house until she has sprinkled a calabash of water on the ground, and she may never again cross the threshold of a cattle kraal.[105] The Wawanga of Mount Elgon (Kenya) do not permit the mother of twins to look at a cow with a calf, for fear lest the cow's milk should dry up. She must not cut grain at harvest time or sow seed in the plantations without taking special precautions against her impurity. If she passes by

fermented grain used for making beer, she must spit on it and take some in her mouth and restore it to the pile; otherwise the beer will be spoiled. She smears white clay on her temples and forehead whenever she visits a neighboring village, to counteract the effects of her evil presence. She does the same when she goes to sow or to reap.[106]

The Abongo or Ishogo of French Equatorial Africa confine the mother of twins in her hut and forbid her to communicate with her neighbors. Only her parents may enter the hut as long as her seclusion continues; a stranger who did so would be sold as a slave. To prevent an accident of this sort, the hut is always indicated by a particular sign. Twins are kept apart from other children until six years of age or older, when they are ceremonially admitted into the life of the community.[107] In Calabar twins are put to death, and their mother often shares the same fate. Sometimes she is driven into the bush and left to perish miserably. The father may also be expelled, but he is allowed to return to society upon payment of a fine. By some tribes a village is built in the outskirts of each town, and there the mothers of twins live for the rest of their days.[108] Among the Bassari of Togoland, if the twins are the first-born children, then one is kept and the other is buried alive. When the twins are of different sexes, then the boy is kept; if of the same sex, then the stronger child. A woman who has borne twins is not permitted to approach a farm at the time of sowing and reaping, lest she destroy the crops. Only after the birth of another child may she take part in agricultural labor.[109]

Among the Edo of Southern Nigeria, when twins have been born in a village, no one may eat or make a fire there until they have been destroyed.[110] By the Ibo twins are destroyed without delay, and at the same time reproaches are heaped upon the stricken mother. Her own attitude toward them is as scornful as that of her relatives, and she refuses even to look at them. The natives sometimes say that a twin birth is contrary to the nature of human beings. There must be a difference between mankind and the brute creation. To function as an animal is to degrade humanity. Twins are the punishment for some neglect on the part of the mother (or the father) to offer sacrifices or to perform the prescribed funeral rites. They may also be the punishment for some crime committed but unconfessed, particularly murder. "The visitation of twins is a sort of detective agency bringing past crimes to light." Whatever the cause of the visitation, the

unwanted children must be removed from the village without delay. To allow them to live would be to court disaster. So they are crammed alive into an old water pot, which is deposited in the bush.[111]

The practice of killing twins—either both of them or only the second—seems to be general among the aborigines of South America, who look upon two children at a birth as a most unnatural and ominous occurrence.[112] Some Amazonian Indians kill one of the twins because, as they declare, it is only animals who bear more than one at a birth, "and the Indian's aversion to anything resembling the brute creation is intense."[113] Among the Kobéua of northwestern Brazil, if the twins are of the same sex it is the second one which is immediately killed after birth; if one is a boy and the other a girl it is the latter which is sacrificed.[114]

The custom of twin-killing among the Sáliva Indians of Colombia seems to find an explanation in the native conception of the soul. These Indians believe that when a child is born the father loses part of his soul. When two children appear at a birth the father suffers a double loss, which may prove fatal to him. He is very angry with his wife, for he thinks that she bore twins purposely in order to tear his soul in pieces, bring on his demise, and leave her free to marry some other man with whom she is enamored. So he gives her a terrible beating and orders her to kill the second twin without delay. A father entertains no fears for his soul if his wife bears him several children in natural succession, one every year or every two years. In such a case the wound to his soul, caused by the birth of a child, has time to heal before the birth of the next child, so that a man with a strong and robust soul can safely surround himself with many offspring.[115]

Some of the Indian tribes of North America held twins in abhorrence and frequently killed them.[116]

The Tungus of Manchuria detest twins—"a woman is not a bitch or a pig, and must have only one child." They allow nothing to be borrowed, bought, or taken from a woman who has had twins or from her husband, lest the same calamity fall on other people.[117]

Innumerable are the vagaries of the human mind! Some primitive peoples welcome the advent of twins, deeming them the bearers of good fortune and regarding them with the utmost respect and even reverence.[118] The Hottentots, we are told by an old writer, regarded boy twins as a "mighty blessing." But there

was little or no rejoicing if the twins were girls. Quite commonly one of them, "the worst featured of the two," was buried alive or otherwise destroyed.[119] The Bomvana believe that twins can drive away hail. A hut inhabited by them is safe from lightning.[120] The Masai of Tanganyika Territory eagerly desire twins. These wear a necklace made of leather and cowrie shells to distinguish them from other children.[121]

By the Baganda of Uganda twins were regarded as due to the direct intervention of a god, and hence they had to be most carefully treated. "Any mistake on the part of the parents, or any sickness which befell the twins, was looked upon as the result of the god's anger, which might extend to the whole clan." Both mother and father were made sacred, not polluted, by the twin-birth, and they remained so until an elaborate ceremony had been performed to remove the odor of sanctity attaching to their persons.[122] By the Banyoro the birth of twins is regarded as a propitious event and the happy parents are recipients of congratulations.[123] The Lango, a Nilotic tribe of Uganda, think that twins bring good luck, not only for the family and clan, but also for the whole village. The same auspicious character attaches to triplets.[124] The Shilluk call twins "children of the great spirit" and protect them by many ceremonies against all possible evils.[125]

The Manja of French Equatorial Africa celebrate the advent of twins with dances and libations. Marvelous powers are attributed to twins; serpents and scorpions are under their domination. A person stung by a scorpion can at once be healed if the first finger of a twin is placed on the wound. Twins themselves never fear snake bite or scorpion sting. By means of the serpents twins can hurl curses, and through the same intermediaries they can kill parents who mistreat them.[126] In most parts of the Benin territory twins are of good omen.[127]

By the Yoruba no phenomenon is invested with greater importance or with deeper mystery than that of twin births. Twins are "almost credited" with extra-human powers, and the influence of their birth is exerted even upon single children that may be born after them.[128] The mother pays special honor to twins while living. Should one of them die she replaces it by a wooden image which must be carried about, washed, and dressed just as the baby was cared for. Sacrifices of food are offered to twins and the mother receives the congratulations of her neighbors.[129]

In Dahomey twins are treated more carefully than other children. They are always dressed alike, and if one of them receives

a gift the other must have a similar gift.[130] The Kpelle of Liberia regard twins as born sorcerers. Hence they enjoy an exceptional position as long as they live. The people treat them with respect, not unmixed with fear, and make many gifts to them to gain their good will.[131]

For the Maricopa Indians the birth of twins was a fortunate event. Twins and deformed children, unlike ordinary children, were thought to be reborn. They came to this world merely as visitors; hence, if mistreated, they would return to their home in the spirit land.[132] Some of the southeastern Indian tribes, including the Natchez and the Cherokee, considered that the younger of twins was likely to make a good prophet. It was thought that triplets might know still more of hidden things and future events.[133] The Thompson Indians of British Columbia called twins "grizzly-bear children" or "hairy feet," because a mother about to be delivered of twins was generally made aware of the fact by the repeated appearance of the grizzly bear in her dreams. Twins were supposed to be under the protection of this animal and to be endowed by it with special powers, such as the ability to create good or bad weather. After the birth of twins the parents moved away from the village and lived in a lodge made of fir boughs and bark until the twins were about four years old. During this period of seclusion the twins were constantly purified by means of fir twigs or boughs dipped in water and were not allowed to come in contact with the villagers.[134]

It is a common rule that all cohabitation must cease, not only just after a woman's confinement, but up to her final purification. Furthermore, husband and wife frequently avoid each other until the child is weaned or until it can walk or until it can speak.[135] If sexual intercourse is resumed immediately after the woman has been purified the previous taboo of cohabitation finds a ready explanation in the fear of the woman's uncleanness. When, however, the taboo continues in force for a long time, even for several years after the woman's purification, or when it applies to intercourse by the husband with other women during this period, an explanation must be sought in the assumed dangerousness of any sexual relations. The danger anticipated is usually for the child, but sometimes the wife or the husband is supposed to pay the penalty for a breach of continence.

The Koita of British New Guinea do not allow cohabitation until the child can toddle about; "if it is resumed before then the child will weaken, sicken and perhaps die."[136] The Mountain

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The Koita of British New Guinea do not allow cohabitation until the child can toddle about; "if it is resumed before then the child will weaken, sicken and perhaps die."[136] The Mountain

Arapesh strictly forbid intercourse by the father, not only with the mother of his child but also, if he has two wives, with his second wife. The taboo is observed until the child can walk or talk.[137]

In the Trobriand Islands husband and wife do not have sexual intercourse until their child can walk, or, according to a stricter rule, until it is weaned when about two years old. The stricter rule is always observed by men with several wives. Should the mother, even of an illegitimate child, copulate too soon after giving birth, the child would surely die.[138] In New Ireland mother and father are not supposed to have sexual relations with each other during the nursing period, which lasts for two or three years. Nor may they cohabit with anyone else at this time. If the mother did so, her milk would not be good. If the father did so and then took up his child and played with it, the child would "smell" his impurity, sicken, and perhaps die.[139]

The people of Buka in the Solomons interdict intercourse with a mother until the child is at least two years old. There is no prohibition of the husband's relations with other women, whether his wives or sweethearts, so that continence is not imposed upon a man. A woman who fails to observe the taboo is supposed to bring ill health to her child. Some women who cohabit in secret give their child a decoction of certain leaves to drink, this being supposed to counteract the bad effects of their act. But, in general, women strongly resent any attempt by their husbands to approach them during the tabooed period. A man who divorced his wife for refusing him access at a time she considered too soon after the birth of their child, aroused the unfavorable sentiment of the village and never got another wife.[140]

The Thonga prohibit sexual intercourse between husband and wife for some time after childbirth, "owing to possible contamination by the lochia." Violation of this taboo would be a very great sin, indeed, if the mother again conceived. When the child begins to crawl, a rite called "tying the cotton string" is performed to celebrate the child's formal reception into the family. After this the parents may resume cohabitation, but they avoid conception until the child is weaned.[141]

A Basuto husband is separated from his wife for only four days after her confinement. A special ceremony, called "the helping," is performed to introduce them to each other. Unless this is done, the husband will swell up; if he had intercourse with his wife before the performance of the ceremony he will die. Some say that he would die if he had intercourse with a woman not his

wife.[142] Wabena women are not supposed to have sexual relations while nursing a child; if they did, the child would die. This taboo is ceremonially broken when the baby is a few months old, in order to make it strong. After obtaining the sanction of their elders and receiving from them a medicine for the child similar to that given to a girl at her first menstruation, husband and wife spend a night or two together. They must then refrain again from intercourse until the child is weaned.[143] Among the Bangala (Boloki) of the Upper Congo a woman never had sexual relations with her husband for about three months before her confinement and until the child was weaned. "It was believed that if this prohibition were not observed, the child would sicken and die."[144] The Bambala believe that intercourse with a nursing mother would be fatal to her. If she dies soon after childbirth her husband is accused of murder and is heavily fined, or, more often, is compelled to submit to the poison ordeal.[145] Among the Manja of French Equatorial Africa the husband does not cohabit with his wife from the fourth month of her pregnancy until the child is weaned, that is, for a period of more than a year and a half, sometimes for two years. Should he break the taboo, he risks being wounded when fighting.[146] The Baya think that were a man to have intercourse with his nursing wife her milk would turn sour and endanger the child's life.[147] Among the tribes of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast a woman resumes sexual intercourse with her husband only when two years have elapsed after giving birth. It is believed that if a woman became pregnant again before her child could eat native food the child would die.[148]

This prohibition of sexual intercourse between husband and wife helps to account for the custom of polygyny. A man with only one wife must remain continent, perhaps for a long time, unless sexual relations outside of wedlock are permissible. That the prohibition benefits the mother is obvious, for it enables her to "space" her pregnancies. That it benefits the child is no less obvious, especially among primitive peoples who drink no animal milk and eat no farinaceous food. A second pregnancy for a nursing mother means that her first child must be weaned before it is old enough and strong enough to assimilate solid food, or, if she continues to nurse it, that her milk will be so impoverished as to be injurious to the child. Some primitive peoples expressly recognize the practical utility of the taboo. In the Fiji Islands husband and wife keep apart for three years, or even four years,

after childbirth, so that no other baby may interfere with the time considered necessary for suckling strong and healthy offspring. "The relatives of a woman take it as a public insult if any child should be born before the customary three or four years have elapsed, and they consider themselves in duty bound to avenge it in an equally public manner. I heard of a white man, who being asked how many brothers and sisters he had, frankly replied 'Ten!' 'But that could not be,' was the rejoinder of the natives, 'one mother could scarcely have so many children.' When told that these children were born at annual intervals and that such occurrences were common in Europe, they were very much shocked, and thought it explained sufficiently why so many white people were 'mere shrimps'."[149]

In the Tonga Islands, before the missionaries had introduced European ideas of family life, the native social system required the mother to abstain from sexual relations during the entire nursing period, in order to avoid a second gestation and consequently the premature weaning of her first child.[150] The Kgatla of the Bechuanaland Protectorate forbid sexual relations between husband and wife only for the first two or three weeks after she has given birth. It is their duty, however, to see that she does not become pregnant again until the child is weaned.[151] In Dahomey, where parents do not cohabit for at least six months after the birth of a child, and in many cases for a year thereafter, it is well understood that frequent pregnancies injure the health of a mother and cause her to produce sickly offspring.[152] Ibo parents are expected to refrain from sexual intercourse for a period of about three years, because it is taboo for a woman to bear another child until the one she is nursing is no longer dependent on her for sustenance. So the husband seeks another wife, a procedure which she favors.[153]

The woman's uncleanness usually continues for some time after the birth of the child. She may have to observe various restrictions, particularly in regard to food, and undergo a purificatory ceremony before resuming her normal life. In the Euahlayi tribe of New South Wales the woman must remain in her special camp for about three months. Every night for the first month she must lie on a steam bed made of dampened eucalyptus leaves. During her seclusion she is not allowed to touch anything belonging to another, for what she touched would become unclean and unfit for use. Her food is brought to her by some old woman.[154]

Among the Sinaugolo of British New Guinea a woman gen-

erally stays at home for about a week after childbirth, and during this time her husband does not enter the house where she is. For about a month she must not handle food or cook it, and when eating food prepared for her by her friends she uses a sharpened stick to transfer it to her mouth.[155] A Kiwai woman, after recovering from childbirth, makes a gift of food from her garden to the women who assisted at her confinement. No man partakes of this food, for if he did he would be stricken by paralysis.[156] Some of the tribes on the northwest coast of New Guinea require a woman to stay indoors for several months after bearing a child. When she does quit the house she must cover her head with a hood or a mat; if the sun shone on her, one of her male relatives would die.[157]

In Murua or Woodlark Island, to the east of the Trobriands, a woman giving birth for the first time is secluded in a temporary room constructed for the purpose at the end of her mother's house. She and her child stay there for a month or more, exposed to the smoke of a fire which is kept constantly burning in the room. The smoke prevents any evil spirit from harming them, at a time when they are most susceptible to injury from unseen powers. As a further safeguard, the mother frequently rubs herself and her child with coconut oil.[158] The Buin people of Bougainville Island require a woman to stay in the birth house for a week after her confinement. She is visited only by those female relatives who are married. Mother and child then have a ritual washing in a creek and sit down to a feast in which the kinswomen participate. The mother may not go home nor may the husband see his child until these purifications have been accomplished. Once home the wife resumes her usual occupations, but she does not leave the house, go fishing in the river, or enter a garden or the forest until another ceremonial feast has been held. This takes place in from three to six months, though a big chief will wait for nearly a year. Should a mother break any of the taboos, evil spirits would attack her child. The ghosts of the ancestors, angry at the mother's disobedience, would be reluctant to defend it.[159]

A New Caledonian woman usually gives birth not in her own but in a neighboring village. She remains away for sixty days. Before she returns to her husband's abode she must submit to purification and make an offering to the tribal sorcerer.[160] In Fiji a woman after giving birth had to lie down for ten days, and all food, except taro broth and baked fish, was forbidden her.[161]

In Manahiki, or Humphrey's Island, the woman for ten days after her delivery was not allowed to handle food and consequently had to be fed by some other person.[162] A Tahitian woman after childbirth lived for two or three weeks in a temporary hut erected on sacred ground. During this period she might not touch food and had to be fed by another. Only the mother was allowed to touch the child at this time; anyone else who did so was subjected to the same restrictions until the ceremony of purification had been performed.[163] In Hawaii the mother remained secluded for seven days; during this time she might not eat ordinary food but partook of a broth made from the flesh of a dog.[164] Maori women, at least those of the more important families, were secluded for about a month after their confinement. They were *tapu* and because of that condition were believed to be especially dangerous to people engaged in cultivating the sweet potato, a standard article of diet.[165]

Among the Tenguian of Northern Luzon a fire is kept constantly burning for twenty-nine days in the room where a woman has been confined. The father must carefully prepare each stick of wood to be burned, for should it have rough places on it the child would have lumps on its head. That the fire is intended primarily as a protection against evil spirits and only incidentally to keep the mother warm appears from the belief that they are wont to attack a house where a birth or a death has occurred. The mother for these days follows a very strict regimen and bathes each day in water in which certain herbs and leaves, distasteful to evil spirits, are boiled.[166] The purification of a Malay mother deserves to be called an ordeal by fire. For it a kind of rough couch is prepared upon a small platform. Under the latter a fireplace is constructed and a roaring fire lighted. The women must recline on this couch two or three times in the course of a day and remain on it for an hour or more. As if this were not enough, one of the heated hearthstones is frequently wrapped in a piece of flannel or old rags and applied to the patient's stomach to roast her still more effectively. This ceremony of "ascending the roasting-place" is carried out every day for the forty-four days of purification.[167] Among the Shans a fire is lighted near a mother who has given birth and is kept burning night and day, whether the weather be hot or cold, for nearly a month. Her husband does not eat food cooked by her during this time nor does she cook for herself. It is necessary that her mother or sister or some female friend should stay in the house and cook for both of them.[168]

Among the Adivi, an aboriginal people of southern India, when a woman feels the first birth pangs she leaves the village and goes to a little leaf or mat hut some distance away. There she brings forth her child unaided, unless a midwife can be called in time before the child is born. A midwife who arrived after the birth would not be allowed to go near the mother. For ninety days the mother lives alone. Food for her is placed on the ground near the hut, but no one approaches her, under pain of being turned out of the village for ninety days. The woman's husband generally builds a hut near that of his wife and stays in it much of the time to watch over her, but he too must not approach her lest he become ceremonially unclean and suffer banishment. On the ninetieth day the headman of the village calls upon the woman to quit the hut. Her clothes are then washed, she puts on clean clothes, and undergoes a ceremonial purification in her own house. Despite this rigorous regime, it is said that the death of a mother or of her child never occurs during the period of seclusion.[169]

The bed on which a Malagasy mother lies after giving birth is hung above and about with large rush mats. Sometimes a fire is kindled under the bedstead itself, "so that the poor mother is nearly suffocated with the smoke." Formerly it was a common practice to place some prickly plant at the foot of the bed and along one side of it to drive away evil spirits.[170]

The Zulu required a mother to be carefully secluded in her hut for a month after childbirth, and during this period the people of the kraal "were doctored by special medicines, lest they should be influenced for evil by the birth of the child." A mother who neglected her seclusion, or "incubation" as it was called, would never have any more offspring.[171] A Bavenda mother remained secluded until the child's umbilical cord dropped off, about four days after her confinement. Her husband was informed of the birth of the child and of its sex, but he might not see or touch it until the mother's seclusion was over. An infringement of this taboo would inevitably result in his having a disease of the eyes.[172] A Herero woman who has given birth to a child lives in a special hut which her female companions have constructed for her. Both the hut and the woman at this time are "sacred." Men are not allowed to see the lying-in woman until the navel string has separated from the child, otherwise they would become weaklings and when later they went to war they would be killed.[173]

Certain of the tribes absorbed by the Barotse compelled a

woman, after having given birth, to sleep with two strange men before returning to her husband.[174]

Among the Akikuyu of Kenya childbirth imposes only a brief period of seclusion for the mother—four days after the birth of a girl and five days after that of a boy.[175] The Nandi do not permit a woman, for one month after the birth of a child, to touch food with her hands. Her house must be cleansed with water and cow dung. Until her child is weaned she must proceed to a river every morning and wash her hands and arms. During this time she may not touch any part of her body; if she wishes to scratch herself a stick must be used for the purpose.[176] Among the Baganda, as soon as the child was born, "the midwife sent a boy, who had to be a younger brother of the child's father, to fetch a log of wood, which was placed upon the fire and kept burning for the first nine days after the birth. No one was allowed to take any fire or water from the house during the nine days. When they were completed, the log was cast away upon some waste land, and was supposed to remove any evil that might be in the house. No one was allowed to enter the house; the mother had her meals with the midwife, and was said to be lying in *alkali,* and to be unapproachable. When the nine days (or in the case of some clans, seven days) were ended, the woman went out to wash, and her house was swept, and cleansed from all traces of the birth."[177]

The Latuka of the Upper Nile secluded a mother for fourteen days. During this time the father may neither enter his house nor see his child. The mother is visited only by the women who were present at the birth. They take charge of the household duties and care for the child. At the end of the seclusion period the mother and child are completely washed from head to foot, and the mother's hair is shaved off and burned. The purificatory fire which has been blazing all this time is extinguished and the house is swept and sprinkled with water. Mother and child are then led to the door, where the grandfather, or if he be dead, the father, gives the child its name.[178] Among the Twi of the Gold Coast the uncleanness of the mother lasts for seven days after childbirth, but she is not allowed to go out in public or to visit friends until three months have elapsed.[179]

It was formerly the custom among the Araucanians of southern Chile not to permit a woman to give birth to a child within the village; if she did so, infectious diseases would follow. "She was driven out, on beginning to feel the labour pains, and re-

tired to the banks of the nearest stream or lake. As soon as the child was born the mother stepped into the water and performed the necessary ablutions, returning afterwards to a small hut constructed for the purpose near the *ruca*, which constituted her home. Here she remained a week, attended by some compassionate friend. At the end of this time she bathed again and returned to her own home, where all her relations and friends were assembled to celebrate a feast in honour of the babe."[180] The Muskogee Indians required a woman who had given birth to stay away from the community for three "moons," exclusive of that "moon" in which she had been delivered. Were this rule not observed, she would be held responsible for any sudden sickness or death among the people.[181]

A Huron or an Iroquois mother never gave birth in her own hut but always in a little house outside the village. She remained secluded for some time—for forty days in the case of a first child. When she was ready to return to her abode, the fire there was extinguished and a new fire built.[182] Among the Fox Indians an expectant mother builds a little hut and goes there when her confinement draws near. Should the birth house not be ready in time, she is left alone in the wigwam, but this would be a most unfortunate *contretemps*, for the child will die before its parents if it has no house of its own. Neighbor women attend the mother. The men keep out of her way, else they also would have to seclude themselves. The mother remains in the birth house thirty days for a boy and forty days for a girl. At the end of this period she bathes herself and the baby, burns the birth house and its contents, sprinkles herself and the baby with the ashes and goes back to her household.[183]

The Dakota Indian mother, if not on the first day of the child's birth, at any rate very soon after, goes to a stream or lake to wash away her uncleanness. If the season is winter, she cuts a hole in the ice to perform this purificatory rite.[184] Of the California Indians it has been said, in general, that the mother after childbirth "was regarded as more or less defiled, though this feeling usually did not approach in intensity those connected with either death or the woman's periodical functions."[185]

The Netsilik Eskimo of Polar America require a woman who has given birth and has returned home to observe various restrictions. She must have her own cooking utensils. She must never eat in the house of a stranger and never during the day, only early in the morning and late at night. Raw meat is forbidden

her, as well as what comes from the inside of an animal such as guts and eggs. She always drinks ice-cold water, for lukewarm water would make her child weakly.[186] Among the Koryak, a tribe of northeastern Siberia, the mother, for a full year following the birth of her child, must not eat ringed seal, white whale, fresh fish, or raw thong seal. These prohibitions are intended to prevent unclean women from coming into contact with the animals which form the chief source of subsistence for the people.[187]

The uncleanness of childbirth usually affects the child as well as the mother and requires purification for the one as well as for the other. A Maori child came into the world an object exceedingly *tapu* and might be touched only by those equally *tapu* until after the following ceremony had been performed. The father first proceeded to roast some fern root over the blaze of a sacred fire. He then took the child in his arms and after touching head, back, and other parts of its body with the fern root, he ate the food. This was known as "eating the child all over." The next morning, at daybreak, the child's eldest relative in the direct female line repeated the rite in precisely the same manner. The child was then quite *noa*, or free from restriction, and might be safely handed about among the relatives to be fondled in their arms. It also received a name at this time.[188] The Maori also had a baptismal ceremony. When the child was eight days old, the parents and friends assembled by the side of a stream. A priest stuck a *karamu* branch upright in the water. The child's navel string was cut off with a piece of shell and fastened to the branch. The priest then sprinkled the child with the water flowing around the branch; sometimes he immersed the child. Naming the child completed the ceremony.[189]

The Amaxosa wash a newly-born child for ten days. After the first washing, that is, on the day of its birth, comes the ceremony of "waving through the smoke." A fire is made of certain twigs whose smoke has an acrid smell. The mother then takes up her child and, holding the little arms in one hand and the little legs in another, swings it gently to and fro through the smoke, meanwhile turning it about so that all parts of its body are exposed to the smoke. The fire is then extinguished.[190] Among the Herero of southwestern Africa "a new-born child is washed—the only time he is ever washed in his life—then dried and greased, and the ceremony is over."[191]

The Swahili, who occupy the island of Zanzibar and the opposite mainland, require a woman to remain in seclusion and on a

diet for forty days after giving birth. At the end of this time she and her husband must cohabit. Father, mother, and child then bathe one after the other in the same water. This ceremony, called "diet breaking," is considered necessary for the child's health.[192] Among the Banyoro, on the third or fourth day after the birth of a child, the priest presents it to the ancestral spirits and begs their favors for it. He accompanies each petition by spitting on the child's body and pinching it.[193] The Yoruba purify both mother and child with the water which is always in the earthen vessels placed before the images of the gods. It is brought to the house and thrown up on the thatched roof and, as it drops down from the eaves, the mother and child pass three times through the falling drops. A priest then bathes the child's head with water of purification, repeats three times the name by which the child is to be known, and holds it so that its feet touch the ground. The fire is now extinguished in the house, the embers carried away, live coals brought in, and a fresh fire lighted. When these ceremonies have been performed and the house has been carefully swept out, purification is complete.[194]

As soon as a Pima child was old enough to creep about it was taken by the parents to a medicine man to receive the rite of purification. He put a sacred pebble and an owl feather into a seashell containing water, which was then drunk by the parents and the child. They also ate some white ashes or a little mud. Meanwhile, the medicine man waved an eagle feather to and fro. "This simple ceremony was sufficient to thwart the malice of all evil demons; lightning would not strike the child, and the possibility of accidents of all kinds was thus precluded."[195]

Among the Hopi Indians mother and child are purified together. The mother must not see the sun or put on her moccasins until the fifth day after childbirth. She then bathes her head and her baby's also in a suds made of *amole* root; this done, she is at liberty to go out of doors and to resume her household duties. The bathing must be repeated on the tenth and fifteenth days, and on the twentieth day she takes a vapor bath. Until these rites have been performed she is not allowed to eat meat or salt, and she may drink only warm water and juniper tea. The house is also thoroughly cleansed at this time. The sweepings of the floor are placed in a bowl, which is then thrown, with its contents, over the rim of the mesa.[196] The Cherokee believed that if the ceremony of washing a child when three days old was omitted the child would die.[197] Among the Takelma Indians of Oregon

a child, a month after its birth, was taken to the river and waved five times over the water "as a sort of 'baptismal' rite."[198]

The family and social responsibilities of the husband would ordinarily make it very inconvenient, if not impossible, for him to observe all the taboos which burden the wife after her confinement. In common with other men, the husband is often not allowed to be present on the occasion of childbirth; sometimes he may not visit his wife during the period of her seclusion which follows; and sometimes, as we have seen, he is forbidden to have intercourse with her for a long time after her return home. Such restrictions are accounted for by the impurity of the wife, not by that of the husband. Nevertheless, there are peoples who believe that the husband shares the wife's impurity and who, quite logically, impose upon him pains and penalties more or less similar to hers. He is secluded, limited in his diet, not permitted to follow his usual vocations, and obliged to undergo various ceremonies of a purificatory character. These practices are clearly a recognition of the intimate ties uniting the parents, so that what happens to the one affects the condition of the other. Just as the husband, during his wife's pregnancy, may be obliged to observe various restrictions for his own good or for that of his fellows, so while she is lying-in he must share the usual restraints imposed upon women in the puerperal period. The custom may also acquire a secondary meaning as a public recognition of the father's parentage and his assumption of the responsibilities that go with parenthood.

Among the Motu near Port Moresby, British New Guinea, the husband shuts himself up for some days after the birth of his first child and eats nothing. He is *helaga,* or taboo.[199]

In Buka, an islet off the northern coast of Bougainville Island, the husband is also taboo. As soon as his wife's labor pains begin, he stops working and remains indoors, not in the hut where the birth is taking place but in that of another of his wives or of a neighbor. For the first three days he does nothing but sit before the fire and doze. On the fourth day he may visit his wife and child and may walk about the village but not beyond it. On the fifth day he washes with his wife in the sea. He then resumes his usual occupations. The Buka people say that since the father had "made the child come up" he was responsible, as well as the mother, for its welfare at birth and for the first few days of its life; hence he must take the necessary precautions. Our informant tells of a young man of "advanced" views who refused to keep

the customary rules. When his child died shortly after its birth, the natives were not surprised: he had been punished for his temerity.[200]

In some parts of Dutch Borneo the father of a newly-born child does not leave the village for four days. His wife must remain in it for an entire month.[201] When a birth is about to take place in an Ainu family the father must stay at home close to the fire or else leave his house and repair to that of some friends. He must be very quiet, "as though forsooth he was ill," for six days. During this time he neither drinks wine nor worships the gods. On the morning of the seventh day he returns to his own dwelling, but must abide there quietly for another period of six days.[202]

The Paduang Karen do not allow a father, for the first six days after the birth of his child, to associate with any person outside his own family or even to address a fellow-villager. This seclusion is said to be intended to prevent the transmission of the danger and weakness of childbearing to the other members of the community.[203] Among the Tangkhul of Manipur "the husband may not go out of the village or do any work after the birth of a child for six days if the child be a boy, or for five days when the child is a girl."[204] In Car Nicobar the husband remains idle and has his food cooked for him for about a month after the birth of his child. "In some cases husbands consider it advisable to observe greater precautions by commencing to do little or no work a few months before their wife's expected confinement, more especially abstaining from any such work as felling trees and digging holes for hut posts." The belief is that if the father failed to observe the rule prescribing idleness the child would be liable to fits.[205]

Some birth customs found in India reveal similar ideas of the father's uncleanness. Among the Erekula or Yerukula of southern India "directly the woman feels the birth pangs she informs her husband, who immediately takes some of her clothes, puts on his forehead the mask which the women usually place on theirs, retires into a dark room, where there is only a very dim lamp, and lies down on the bed, covering himself up with a long cloth. When the child is born, it is washed and placed on the cot beside the father. Asafetida, *jaggery* [unrefined sugar], and other articles are then given, not to the mother, but to the father. During the days of ceremonial uncleanness the man is treated as the other Hindus treat their women on such occasions. He is not

allowed to leave his bed, but has everything needful brought to him."[206]

Among the Kuravar of Malabar, "as soon as the pains of delivery come upon a pregnant woman, she is taken to an outlying shed, and left alone to live or die as the event may turn out. No help is given to her for twenty-eight days. Even medicines are thrown to her from a distance; and the only assistance rendered is to place a jar of warm water close by her just before the child is born. Pollution from birth is held to be worse than that from death. At the end of the twenty-eight days the hut in which she was confined is burnt down. The father, too, is polluted for fourteen days, and at the end of that time he is purified, not like other castes by the barber, but by holy water obtained from Brahmans at temples elsewhere."[207] Among the Korama of Mysore, the husband, as soon as his wife is confined, "goes to bed for three days and takes medicine consisting of chicken and mutton broth spiced with ginger, pepper, onions, garlic, etc. He drinks arrack and eats as good food as he can afford, while his wife is given boiled rice with a very small quantity of salt, for fear that a larger quantity may induce thirst. There is generally a Korama midwife to help the wife, and the husband does nothing but eat, drink, and sleep. The clothes of the husband, the wife, and the midwife are given to a washerwoman to be washed on the fourth day, and the persons themselves have a wash. After this purification the family gives a dinner to the caste-people, which finishes the ceremonial connected with childbirth."[208] After the confinement of a Paraiyan woman in Travancore "the husband is starved for seven days, eating no cooked rice or other food, only roots and fruits; and drinking only arrack or toddy."[209]

The Maler or Sauria Paharia, an aboriginal tribe of the Rajmahal Hills in Bengal, do not allow a father to do any work for five days after the birth of his child. He stays quietly in the house during this time. Should he touch anyone's bed or go into anyone's field, he must provide a sacrificial fowl. Its blood is sprinkled over the bed or over the field. Were this not done his uncleanness would bring sickness to the owner of the bed or destroy the crops in the field. When the child is named, soon after its birth, the house is cleaned and the clothes of the parents are washed. But the parents may not go visiting (for a month in case of a boy or for two months in case of a girl), nor are they permitted to touch the possessions of other people.[210] The father also plays a prominent role in the birth customs of the Hindus of central and north-

ern India. He joins in the taboos which affect his wife and, like her, receives a ceremonial purification.[211]

The Bechuana of South Africa do not allow a father to enter a house for two months after the birth of his child. Nor may he join in hunting excursions during this time.[212] Among the Bangala a father observes certain food restrictions before the birth of his child. He does not hunt or fish during his wife's pregnancy and confinement, unless she obtains from a medicine man certain charms which allow him to engage in these occupations and also insure for her an easy delivery and a healthy child. While a man is observing the taboos, he is said to be in a state of *liboi*, a noun derived from a verb meaning "to be confined."[213]

Among the Yahgan or Yamana of Tierra del Fuego a man who has just become a father spends the whole day beside the fire in his hut, eats sparingly, refraining from certain foods, and gives up his usual occupations. These restrictions continue for several days. They are always more strictly observed for his first child than for a later child.[214]

Among some Guiana Indians (Caribs, Arawak, Warrau) "it is practically the husband who is isolated and does the 'lying-in.' Indeed, the woman is isolated only during actual delivery, which takes place either out in the bush, in a separate shelter, or in a compartment specially partitioned off from the rest of the house. With the bath that she takes within a comparatively few hours after the interesting event has occurred, her isolation, and with it any dangerous influence of her recent condition, ceases." Among the Makusi and Wapisiana, both parents engage in a "lying-in" for a shorter or longer period after the birth of their child. All these tribes consider the father to be as unclean as the mother, and his uncleanness is occasionally supposed to persist for a long time. A Mainland Carib, for instance, must devote himself to the service of an old Indian for several months; during this period he has to be submissive and look upon himself as a real slave. If a visitor enters his house while he is "lying-in," that visitor's dogs will die. The Arawak and Warrau say that if a man during the period when he ought to be "lying-in" has sexual relations with any women other than his wife, his newborn child will not live.[215]

The taboos kept by a mother during her pregnancy and her puerperal period, together with those obligatory on a father at the same times, are a proclamation of parenthood. Father and mother, having brought a child into the world, thus indicate their readiness to care for it, even though doing so requires them to

observe many irksome and often painful restrictions. The inclusion of the child in the birth ceremonial binds it to the parents by ties of custom superimposed upon those of natural affection and also gives to it a recognized status in the community. Here, as elsewhere in a primitive group, ritual plays a significant part in promoting social cohesion.

The conviction that women in their catamenial periods are unclean and consequently dangerous to themselves and to others is well-nigh universal among primitive peoples. All the mystic perils which for the savage invest pregnancy and parturition are likewise present at menstruation, and especially at the first coming of the menses. All the restrictions affecting a pregnant or parturient woman consequently appear, often in intensified form, at this time.[216]

A rule of wide observance requires men to abstain from intercourse with their menstruating wives, and the rule may take the form of a taboo against such intercourse. In the Luritja group of Central Australian tribes it is believed that a man who cohabits with a woman in her courses will get thin and finally die.[217] Among the Rengma Naga "no one would think of attempting to have connection with his wife during her monthly period. Were he to do so he would never again enjoy good fortune."[218] Of the Tswana, a tribe in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, it is said that few men will ever dare to sleep with a menstruating woman, lest they become afflicted with a virulent form of sickness. So strong is this belief that many a girl has been able, temporarily at least, to escape the attentions of an ardent but unwelcome lover by pleading her monthly illness as an excuse.[219]

The Anyanja of Nyasaland believe that a man who has intercourse with a menstruating woman will die unless he takes a medicine in time to counteract the effects of his indulgence.[220] The Reindeer Chukchi require husband and wife to sleep apart during the latter's menstruation; otherwise the woman will fall sick and soon become sterile. "Foolish people," we are told, sometimes do not observe this restriction.[221]

The attitude of men toward menstruating women is commonly one of deep-seated fear and abhorrence. Among the South Australian tribes boys and uninitiated men were required to sleep at some distance from the huts of adults and to leave their quarters as soon as daylight dawned. This was a precaution to safeguard them from seeing some of the women, who might have been menstruating.[222]

In the Encounter Bay tribe, if a boy or a young man came near a menstruating woman, she uttered a warning cry, and he made a circuit to avoid her. Boys were told from infancy that if they saw a menstruous woman they would become gray-headed before their time and their strength would fail prematurely.[223] In the Wakelbura tribe of Queensland there is a regulation which forbids women from coming into the encampment by the same path as the men. "The reason for this is the dread with which they regard the menstrual period of women. During such a time, a woman is kept entirely away from the camp, half a mile at least. A woman in such a condition has boughs of some tree of her totem tied around her loins, and is continually watched and guarded, for it is thought that should any male be so unfortunate as to see a woman in such a condition, he would die. If such a woman were to let herself be seen by a man, she would probably be put to death."[224]

Men of the Kabi (Kaiabara) and Wakka tribes of Queensland evince a great aversion to passing under a rail or a leaning tree. They say that the blood of a menstruating woman may be on the wood and that some of it may fall upon a person passing underneath.[225] The Arunta do not allow a menstruating woman to gather *irriakura* bulbs, a staple article of food; if she did so, the supply of bulbs would fail.[226] The Kakadu of Arnhem Land, Northern Territory, think that if menstrual blood gets into the tracks of men their feet will be sore; if dogs eat it, the dogs will die.[227] The Murngin, in the same part of Australia, forbid a man from going out with a menstruating woman in a canoe; should the taboo be broken a great mythical snake would swallow up everybody.[228] In the western group of the Torres Straits Islands the seclusion of pubescent girls and the taboos observed by them at this time are explained by "an intense fear of the deleterious and infective powers of the menstrual fluid," these powers being considered to be greatest at puberty.[229]

In Buka a menstruating woman must not prepare food for any man, even for her husband; in consequence, she has to arrange for someone to cook his meals. She must not work in the taro garden, for if she did the pigs would eat the plants and the crop would be poor. She must not enter a canoe, or a storm would arise and the canoe would capsize. Nor must she go into the sea, either to wash or to fish, under penalty of spoiling the fishing. Buka women agree in declaring menstruation a nuisance. Most of them are said to shorten its duration or to cause it to be omitted

for a month or more by taking certain medicines made from plants.[230] In Malekula, one of the New Hebrides, a menstruous woman may not enter a garden in which young plants are growing. Her husband is subject to the same prohibition while she is in this condition.[231]

The Marquesans considered menstrual blood to be the most defiling of all things. A person who touched it, even by accident, acquired a malady which contracted his joints, particularly those of feet, hands, and fingers.[232] There are Marquesan mothers who even today refuse to sit on a chair, for fear that a child might subsequently walk or crawl under it.[233]

The natives of Mangareva believed that one who entered the little house where a menstruating woman was secluded would become blind. Contact with her clothing would have the same disastrous effect.[234] If a Maori man touched a menstruous woman he would be *tapu*; if he had intercourse with her or ate food cooked by her he would be *tapu* "an inch thick." Of all the spirits which entered the body of a taboo-breaker and preyed upon his vital parts the most deadly were the *kahukahu*, the spirits of human germs supposed to be contained in the menstrual fluid.[235]

The Maori believed that if a woman in her courses went to a sea beach where cockles were found all these shellfish would desert the place and "migrate to pastures new." If she tried to cook the kernels of certain berries in a boiling spring, the effort would be useless; the kernels would remain quite hard. If she went to a fire made for the purpose of attracting muttonbirds, none of the birds would venture near it but could be heard crying and screeching. Then the fowlers knew that a menstruous woman was among them. In this condition she was debarred from taking part in the cultivation of gourd plants, because, if she did so, the plants would surely die.[236]

In Nauru or Nawodo, one of the Gilbert Islands, menstruating women wear mats around their bodies to indicate their condition. They are not allowed to eat fish which men have caught at sea in canoes, lest they spoil the fishing. However, the women may eat fish which they have themselves caught on the reef.[237] In the Marshall Islands menstruous women may not eat fish caught with net and weir on the outer reef, nor may they walk on the beach where fish appear in shoals.[238]

The Menangkabau of central Sumatra think that if a menstruating woman went near a rice field the rice (paddy) would be spoiled.[239] The Toradja of central Celebes have no ceremonies

for a girl on the arrival of puberty, but she must not go near a tobacco field wearing a petticoat stained with menstrual blood. To do so would blight the tobacco. Such a garment has its usefulness, however; it will keep wild pigs out of a rice field.[240]

The Baca of South Africa believe that if a man should touch a menstruating woman his bones would become soft and he would be unable henceforth to take part in warfare or in any manly exercise.[241] The Ba-ila consider a woman in her courses to be dangerous. She must not eat in company with a man, else he would lose his virility. She must not sleep in her husband's bed. She must not handle other people's pots, or eat out of their basins, or drink out of their cups, or smoke their pipes. She must not cook food for anybody or draw water for anybody. She must not enter a village other than her own. She must not wear fine clothes. For five days she is taboo (*tonda*); then she washes and rejoins her fellows.[242] Among the Wabena of Tanganyika Territory it is a common practice, prior to sowing seed, to deposit some of it in water that has been tinted red with the bark of a special tree. The crops will be thus protected from blight, if a menstruous woman happens to walk across the field. To the same end some people put red earth around their tobacco patches.[243] Suk warriors do not eat anything that has been touched by a menstruous woman, lest they lose their virility—" 'in the rain they will shiver and in the heat they will faint'."[244]

By the Akamba a girl's first menstruation is considered to be a very critical period of her life. Should this condition appear when she is away from the village, she returns home at once, being careful to walk through the grass and not on a path. If she followed a path and a stranger accidentally trod on a spot of blood and then indulged in sexual intercourse before her menstrual blood ceased to flow, she would never bear a child.[245] The Akikuyu regard anyone who touches menstrual blood as unclean; if a man cohabits with a menstruating woman both are unclean.[246]

It was formerly the custom among the Bakongo for menstruating women to live apart in a special house. The custom has now been given up, but they still confine themselves to the more obscure part of their own homes and for exit and entrance use the back door. "During these times a woman is not permitted to cook her husband's food, nor food for any male member of her family; neither is she allowed to touch anything belonging to a man, nor return a man's salutation. If she has to pass near where some

men are sitting who are likely to give her the equivalent of 'Good morning,' or 'Good evening,' she deliberately puts her pipe in her mouth, and gripping it firmly with her teeth she makes it stick out straight in front of her, as a sign that she may not answer, for she is regarded as unclean."[247]

The Ga people of the Gold Coast believe that their river gods object to menstruating women being ferried over rivers and upset a boat carrying such polluted passengers.[248] The Twi of the Gold Coast are persuaded that their gods have a "great repugnance" to menstruating women. It is the general opinion that such women are unclean. Women often take advantage of this belief by pretending that their menstrual period is at hand. They go off into the bush and there enjoy the society of their lovers without restraint.[249] In Southern Nigeria a menstruating woman is not allowed, as a rule, to enter her husband's house. Nor may she do any cooking for him. They say that if a man accepts food from her he will fall sick almost at once.[250]

By many American Indian tribes a menstruating woman is supposed to pollute everything with which she comes into contact. As a Toba declared, "When a woman has her menstruation the evil spirits are angry with her."[251] The Caribs of British Guiana think that a man who eats food prepared by a woman during her monthly periods will never be well and that he will have bad luck in hunting if a menstruating woman touches his weapons.[252]

The Winnebago believe that by contact with a woman in her courses even sacred objects lose their power. "If the Winnebago can be said to be afraid of any one thing it may be said it is this —the menstrual flow of women—for even the spirits die of its effects."[253] When a Cheyenne girl first menstruates everything that has a sacred character must be taken out of the lodge; even the feathers that a man ties in his hair are removed. A menstruating woman must not enter a lodge where there is a medicine bundle or bag, for should she do so her flow would be increased. The young men will not eat from a dish or drink from a pot used by a woman in this condition because, if polluted, they would surely be wounded in the next fight. Married men expect the same thing to happen if they lie beside their menstruating wives.[254]

The Karok, a California tribe, believed that if a menstruating woman touched or even approached any medicine being given to a sick person, the patient would die.[255] The Sekani Indians of northern British Columbia allowed a menstruating woman to eat only dried meat or dried fish. "If she ate fresh meat or fresh fish

at this season she would spoil the hunters' luck. Since even to look at a hunter would impair his success in the chase, she covered her eyes whenever she left her shelter. She might not walk in a hunter's trail, or touch his beaver net, though she could handle his knife, ax, or snowshoes. If she looked inside the den of a black bear that a hunter had slain he would kill no others; and if she walked through running water no more fish would be caught in that stream."[256] The Tlingit were persuaded that the look of a menstruating woman would destroy the luck of a hunter, a fisher, or a gambler and would even turn objects into stone.[257]

Among all the Tinne, whose name is sometimes given to the northern Athapascan Indians, hardly any other being was the object of so much dread as a menstruating woman. "While in that awful state, she had to abstain from touching anything belonging to man, or the spoils of any venison or other animal, lest she would thereby pollute the same, and condemn the hunters to failure, owing to the anger of the game thus slighted. Dried fish formed her diet, and cold water, absorbed through a drinking tube, was her only beverage. Moreover, as the very sight of her was dangerous to society, a special skin bonnet, with fringes falling over her face down to her breast, hid her from the public gaze, even some time after she had recovered her normal state."[258]

According to another account, which refers to the Tinne of the Yukon Valley, Alaska, these Indians believe that menstrual blood contains the very essence of femininity. Hence girls at puberty must avoid all contact with men, especially with young men, for this would make them unfit for all manly pursuits—unfit for the hunt, for the salmon run, or for any kind of heavy work. A man so unfortunate as to have had contact with a girl at puberty may fish, as women do, and busy himself with the common chores about the house, but he is good for nothing more. "He may as well don the petticoat." Of course, no young man with a spark of ambition would willingly expose himself to such a blight nor would a young woman wish to bring it upon him. The puberty taboos, therefore, are rather rigorously observed.[259]

Among the Netsilik Eskimo menstruating women are expected to make their condition known to all, so that hunters may be aware of their uncleanness and thus easily avoid them.[260] Among the Maritime Chukchi a woman in her courses must carefully avoid approaching her husband, lest her breath spoil his chances as a hunter of sea animals and even expose him to the risk of being drowned.[261] A Samoyed woman during her men-

strual periods and also for the first eight weeks after giving birth is regarded as an "abominable creature." She must not touch any food, present anything to a man, or eat any game recently killed.[262]

It is usual for a girl, when first menstruating, to be secluded either in her own abode or in some special dwelling, to be subjected at this time to a more or less rigorous regimen, and, when her ordeal is over, to undergo a purificatory rite. Seclusion and purification may also be required of all women at their monthly periods. Among some of the tribes of southeastern Australia a pubescent girl is thoroughly smoked by the old woman (not her mother) who has charge of her in the bush. The efficacy of the fumigation is sometimes increased by rubbing the girl's body with opossum fat and ground charcoal.[263] The Arunta and Ilpirra of Central Australia require a girl at her first menstruation to sit over a hole for two days. She is not supposed to stir from the spot during this time. When the flow ceases, she fills in the hole and returns to the camp.[264]

The practice of secluding girls at puberty, as found among some of the natives of New Ireland, one of the Melanesian Islands, has been described by an eyewitness. "One day we heard of a girl in a *buck*, so we went to see her. A *buck* is the name of a little house, not larger than an ordinary hen-coop, in which a little girl is shut up, sometimes for weeks only, and at the other times for months. . . . . Briefly stated, the custom is this. Girls on attaining puberty or betrothal, are enclosed in one of these little coops for a considerable time. They must remain there night and day. We saw two of these girls in two coops; the girls were not more than ten years old, still they were lying in a doubled-up position, as their little houses would not admit of them lying in any other way. These two coops were inside a large house; but the chief, in consideration of a present of a couple of tomahawks, ordered the ends to be torn out of the house to admit the light, so that we might photograph the *buck*. The occupant was allowed to put her face through an opening to be photographed, in consideration of another present."[265]

The Andaman Islanders require the seclusion of a girl at the first symptoms of puberty. She sits in a special hut, with her legs doubled up beneath her and her arms folded. "A piece of wood or bamboo is placed at her head for her to lean against, as she may not lie down. If she is cramped she may stretch one of her legs or one of her arms, but not both legs or both arms at the same time. To feed herself she may release one of her hands,

but she must not take up the food with her fingers; a skewer of *cainyo* wood is given her with which to feed herself. She may not speak nor sleep for twenty-four hours. Her wants are attended to by her parents and their friends, who sit near her to keep her from falling asleep. The girl sits thus for three days. Early every morning she leaves the hut to bathe for an hour in the sea. At the end of the three days she resumes her life in the village."[266]

Among the wilder Vedda of Ceylon no special measures are taken when a woman menstruates, for she is allowed to eat the ordinary food and to sleep in the cave as usual. The village Vedda, however, and most of those who have mixed at all with the Singhalese, strictly isolate menstruous women in a little shelter erected for them a few paces from the family hut. "At Bendiyagalge, where the Henebedda and Kolombedda people were staying at the time of our visit, menstruous women stayed apart at one corner of the cave; they were fed from the pot in which the food for the community was cooked, but we do not think they would touch it or assist in any way in the cooking. At Omuni a menstruous woman is isolated under a rough shelter where she is waited upon by a younger unmarried sister or cousin who, it is stated, should not herself have attained puberty. During her seclusion she may not eat any food cooked at the ordinary fire, but a special platter is kept for her use. The girls who look after her suffer no restrictions. This happens every time a girl or woman menstruates."[267]

An experienced missionary tells us that among the Zulu and kindred tribes, "when the first signs of womanhood show themselves, a girl, should she be walking or working in the fields, runs to the river and hides herself for the day among the reeds that she may not be seen by men. Her head she covers with her blanket that the sun may not shine on it and shrivel her up into a withered skeleton, an assured result of any disregard of custom. At night she returns home and is closely secluded for a period of seven days. She then resumes her work . . . . Precautions must be taken against accidents, as these may happen at any moment. Scores of times did I put the question to South Africans: 'Why do your women never enter the village by the paths the men follow?' before I could get a satisfactory answer . . . . Gradually and indirectly I came to know that the restriction was designed to avoid accidents such as might happen with the advent of womanhood unexpectedly."[268]

Nandi girls, on arrival at puberty, are subjected to the rite of "circumcision." Three days before this is to take place their god-

mothers give them a strong purge and shave their heads. After the operation the girls are regarded as ceremonially unclean. They wear long garments reaching from the neck to the feet, and their heads are enveloped in a kind of mask which has only two holes in front for the eyes. They also remain in seclusion in their mothers' huts for a month or more until their purification is completed by walking completely submerged four times through a pool in a river. The girls may now be married, but if no husbands come for them their seclusion continues for several weeks longer.[269]

When a Baganda girl first menstruated, she was secluded and not allowed to handle any food or to enter the house of her brother or uncle. Her female relatives attended to all her wants. "She was described as being 'at peace' (*atude wamirembe*), or being 'outside'; when she recovered, the relative with whom she was staying had to jump over his wife; or if she was near to them, the girl had to go and tell her parents that she had just recovered, whereupon her father had to jump over her mother. . . . . The first menstruation was often called a marriage, and the girl was spoken of as a bride. When a girl cultivated her first plot of garden alone, and brought the first-fruits from it, her relative with whom she lived had to jump over his wife, or her father had to jump over her mother, before they partook of the food. This caused the garden, and all her future work in the garden, to be fruitful. It was for a similar purpose that her father, or the relative with whom she lived, jumped over his wife at her first menstruation; for if this practice were omitted, the girl would not have children (so it was thought), or they would die in infancy. A girl or woman who did not menstruate was looked upon askance, and if a man married such a woman, then every time that he went to war he wounded her with a spear sufficiently to draw blood; otherwise he would be sure to fall in battle. Such women were also said to have a malign influence on gardens, and to cause them to become barren if they worked in them."[270]

The Uaupés of Brazil confine a pubescent girl in the house for a month and during this time provide her with only a little bread and water. Then she is brought out, perfectly naked, and her relatives and friends of her parents belabor her across the back and breast with pieces of an elastic climber until she falls senseless or dead. If she recovers, the flagellation is repeated four times, at intervals of six hours, "and it is considered an offense to the parents not to strike hard." Finally, the sticks are dipped

into pots of meat and fat and are given to the girl to lick. She is now considered to be a marriageable woman.[271]

The taboos affecting menstruous women are nowhere more numerous or more rigidly observed than among the North American Indians. The Chickasaw, we are told by an old authority, "oblige their women in their lunar retreats, to build small huts, at as considerable a distance from their dwelling-houses, as they imagine may be out of the enemies' reach; where, during the space of that period, they are obliged to stay at the risque of their lives. Should they be known to violate that ancient law, they must answer for every misfortune that befalls any of the people, as a certain effect of the divine fire; though the lurking enemy sometimes kills them in their religious retirement . . . . They reckon it conveys a most horrid and dangerous pollution to those who touch or go near them, or walk anywhere within the circle of their retreats; and are in fear of thereby spoiling the supposed purity and power of their holy ark, which they always carry to war. . . . . The non-observance of this separation, a breach of the marriage-law, and murder, they esteem the most capital crimes. When the time of the women's separation is ended, they always purify themselves in deep running water, return home, dress, and anoint themselves."[272]

"The Indian women," says Captain Carver, referring more particularly to the Naudowessies (Sioux or Dakota), "are remarkably decent during their menstrual illness. In every camp or town there is an apartment appropriated for their retirement at those times, to which both single and married women retreat and seclude themselves with the utmost strictness during their periods. The men, on these occasions, most carefully avoid holding any communication with them, and the Naudowessies are so rigid in this observance that they will not suffer any belonging to them to fetch such things as are necessary, even fire, from those female lunar retreats, though the want of them is attended with the greatest inconvenience."[273]

Winnebago women "always take their blankets with them when they go to a menstrual lodge, for they never lie down but remain in a sitting posture, wrapped in their blankets. The women are always watched, so that when their menstrual flow comes everything is in readiness and lodge poles are placed around them and a lodge erected above their head just about large enough to fit their body. They are not permitted to look upon the daylight nor upon any individual. If they were to look out during the day

the weather would become very bad, and if they were to look at the blue sky it would become cloudy and rain. If they looked at anyone that person would become unfortunate. For four days they do not eat or drink anything; not even water do they drink. They fast all the time. Not even their own bodies do they touch with their hands. If they ever have any need of touching their bodies, they use a stick. If they were to use their hands in touching their bodies, their bones would be attacked with fever. If they were to scratch their hands, their heads would ache. After the fourth day they bathe in sight of their houses. Then they return to their homes and eat."[274]

By the California Indians a girl at puberty "was thought to be possessed of a particular degree of supernatural power, and this was not always regarded as entirely defiling or malevolent. Often, however, there was a strong feeling of the power of evil inherent in her condition. Not only was she secluded from her family and the community, but an attempt was made to seclude the world from her. One of the injunctions most strongly laid upon her was not to look about her. She kept her head bowed and was forbidden to see the world and the sun. Some tribes covered her with a blanket. Many of the customs in this connection resembled those of the North Pacific Coast most strongly, such as the prohibition to the girl to touch or scratch her head with her hand, a special implement being furnished her for the purpose. Sometimes she could eat only when fed and in other cases fasted altogether. Some form of public ceremony, often accompanied by a dance and sometimes by a form of ordeal for the girl, was practised nearly everywhere."[275]

The mysteriousness and therefore the assumed dangerousness of pregnancy, childbirth, and menstruation have thus given rise to many restrictions affecting women in primitive society. Seclusion, fasting, cessation of the usual activities, and avoidance of the opposite sex are normal features of the taboos enforced. These taboos are especially rigorous when a woman first becomes pregnant, gives birth to her first child, or menstruates for the first time, since it is on such critical occasions that she is most a peril to herself and to the community. The mystic dangers anticipated center around the lochial and catamenial discharges. Sometimes we are expressly told that this is the case, as among the Thonga, "where any birth is taboo, owing to the lochia."[276] As for the menstrual blood, the horror which it excites is frequently mentioned or is clearly implied by our authorities.

The wide diffusion of these taboos, the rigor of their observance, and their survival among many peoples of archaic civilization and even among civilized peoples today points to their great antiquity. The ideas back of them must be deeply implanted in the human mind. Some taboos, as we shall see, turn out to have a certain practical value, but it is difficult to discover any specific utility for most of those which have now been considered. The trouble, pain, and hardship which they involve have been unnecessary—a tribute paid to man's ignorance and folly through unnumbered centuries.

The attainment of reproductive power by males is marked by physical and physiological changes scarcely less impressive than in the case of females. Consequently, boys at puberty or at initiation (when this rite does not coincide with the arrival of puberty) are often thought of as being in a dangerous state, dangerous to themselves as well as to others. The precautions and avoidances which they must then observe and the purificatory rites to which they are submitted correspond in character to those imposed upon pubescent girls. Boys, also, must undergo a period of seclusion and retirement from the world; they must submit to a severe restriction of the quantity and quality of their food; they must bear with fortitude many torments and ordeals; and they must take part in various ceremonies intended to express the idea that they have "died" to their old childish ways and have now entered the "new life" of manhood, with all its attendant privileges and responsibilities. It is usual to initiate a number of boys at the same time. During their initiatory seclusion the novices receive a careful training in everything that pertains to their future career. They learn various practical arts; the native songs, dances, and games; the traditions and taboos; and the customs relating to marriage. The moral code imparted at this time is often of surprising excellence, though, of course, it relates only to fellow-tribesmen. The novices are also told the legends concerning the deity who founded and still watches over the ceremonies; sometimes they are shown an image of him; and they are allowed to utter his real and secret name, which women and children never know. The initiatory rites form, in short, a covenant with the tribal god and a sacred bond of brotherhood between all who participate in them.[277]

Just as girls at their first menstruation are forbidden to see or be seen by men or to hold any communication with them, so boys being initiated are carefully separated from women, even

their own mothers and sisters. This separation may continue for some time after the initiatory ceremonies are concluded. In the Narrinyeri tribe of South Australia, the novices are not allowed to eat any food which is restricted to women. They are also forbidden to eat with women, "lest they grow ugly or become gray." Everything they possess or obtain becomes "sacred" (*narumbe*) from the touch of women.[278] Among the Kurnai of Victoria the novices "are specially warned against touching a woman, or letting a woman touch them, or receiving anything from one. Even the shadow of a woman falling on a boy at such a time would be evil magic."[279] Among the Lower Murray tribes the boys may not look at a woman for three months after initiation, "as the sight of one during this probation would be the means of entailing numberless misfortunes, such as withering up of limbs, loss of eyesight, and, in fact, general decrepitude."[280] Among the tribes of the Elema district, British New Guinea, boys during initiation live in the men's house. Their food is left there by the women, who, however, must not talk to them or be seen by them.[281] In the northern New Hebrides boys undergoing initiation are placed in enclosures where they remain unwashed and with very little food and water for sometimes thirty days. No woman, under pain of death, may look upon them until they have returned to ordinary life. "They come out black with dirt and soot, and are not to be seen until they have washed. Not long ago a girl from the Uta, inland, saw by accident this washing. She fled to Tanouki, where the Mission school is, for refuge, but they could not protect her. The Uta people sent for her and she went, knowing that she could not fail to die, and they buried her, unresisting, alive."[282] No Basuto woman is allowed to approach the boys who have been circumcised and are secluded thereafter for three months in the bush.[283] Among the Thonga the high fence of thorny branches, surrounding the lodge where the secret rites take place, may not be seen by uninitiated persons, especially women.[284]

Elaborate festivities mark the return of the newly-initiated to ordinary life, and they become the objects of much attention on the part of the marriageable girls. At such a time a good deal of license, especially in sexual matters, is often accorded them, and a period of almost indiscriminate cohabitation ensues. This may be regarded as a formal removal of the prohibition previously resting on unions of young people of immature age. Initiation is usually followed by marriage, but where the number of women is limited or the conditions of existence are very difficult, full

matrimonial privileges are not always immediately accorded to the initiates. The Australian elders, in particular, seem to be very successful in monopolizing the women of the class with which they may marry.

Puberty rites for girls are not, as a rule, socialized. Girls remain in seclusion alone or attended by female relations until their ordeal is over. Often there is no attempt at a formal initiation, with secret ceremonies in which all the married women participate. On the other hand, the rites for boys have both a civil and a religious character, being designed to prepare them for their duties as members of the tribe (the initiated men) and to admit them to the mysteries of the tribal religion. These objects are secured, however crudely and imperfectly. There can be no question as to the general excellence of the initiatory training, nor as to its permanent effects for good upon the character of the initiates. In primitive communities destitute of all governmental authority save that of the tribal elders, the boys' initiation rites make possible a system of social control which demands and receives the unquestioning obedience of every member of the community. It is this fact which gives to them their extraordinary significance.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER II

[1] See J. A. MacCulloch, "Pregnancy," Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,* X, 242–44; E. S. Hartland, "Birth (Introduction)," *ibid.,* II, 635–42; Arnold van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (Paris, 1909), pp. 57–92; Ploss-Bartels-Bartels, *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde* (11th ed., Leipzig, 1927; English translation, edited by E. J. Dingwall, *Woman* [London, 1935], 3 vols.). See also Sir J. G. Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul* (*The Golden Bough,* 3d ed., Part II) (London, 1911), pp. 145–57; L. Lévy-Bruhl, *Primitives and the Supernatural* (London, 1936), pp. 292–341.

[2] A. Grimble, "From Birth to Death in the Gilbert Islands," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* LI (1921), 34.

[3] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik-en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* ('s Gravenhage, 1886), pp. 72 (Amboina), 207 (Watubela Islands), 417 (Kisar).

[4] J. R. Warneck, *Die Religion der Batak* (Göttingen, 1909), p. 95.

[5] E. Casalis, *The Basutos* (London, 1861), p. 251.

[6] Sir H. H. Johnston, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XV (1886), 8. Among the Wachagga, neighbors of the Wataveta, a pregnant woman wears a noisy iron rattle upon her thigh (W. L. Abbott, in *Report of the U.S. National Museum for 1891,* p. 398).

[7] M. J. Field, *Religion and Medicine of the Ga People* (Oxford, 1937), p. 164.

[8] J. L. van Hasselt, in *Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft (für Thuringen) zu Jena,* IX (1891), 102. On the other hand, there are primitive peoples who seek the services of pregnant women in agricultural work. The

inhabitants of the Nicobar Islands think themselves very lucky to get a pregnant woman to plant seed in their gardens (Sir R. C. Temple, in *Census of India, 1901,* III, 206). Among the Zulus she sometimes grinds corn, which is subsequently burnt among the half-grown crops as a means of fertilizing them (Dudley Kidd, *Savage Childhood* [London, 1906], p. 291). For further instances see Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings (The Golden Bough,* 3d ed., Part I) (London, 1911), I, 139 ff.

[9] S. Lehner, in R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea* (Berlin, 1913), III, 425 f.

[10] E. Best, "Ceremonial Performances Pertaining to Birth, as Performed by the Maori of New Zealand in Past Times," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XLIV (1914), 129.

[11] W. C. Willoughby, *Nature-Worship and Taboo* (Hartford, Connecticut, 1932), pp. 128 f.

[12] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia* (London, 1920), I, 231.

[13] *Ibid.,* II, 10 f.

[14] A. T. Culwick and G. M. Culwick, *Ubena of the Rivers* (London, 1935), pp. 359 f.

[15] Elise Kootz-Kretschmer, *Die Safwa* (Berlin, 1926–1929), I, 66 f.

[16] D. R. MacKenzie, *The Spirit-ridden Konde* (London, 1925), p. 106.

[17] John Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 79.

[18] A. R. Wallace, *A Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro* (London, 1853), pp. 501 f. An Indian woman of Wallace's acquaintance had to live on cassave bread and fruits, abstaining from all animal food, peppers, and salt (*loc. cit.*).

[19] E. F. Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana* (London, 1883), p. 233.

[20] W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts. Abridged from the Russian of Sieroshevski," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXXI (1901), 96.

[21] E. B. Riley, *Among Papuan Headhunters* (London, 1925), p. 119.

[22] K. Vetter, in *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel,* XIII (1897), 87.

[23] F. Vormann, in *Anthropos,* V (1910), 411.

[24] Hortense Powdermaker, *Life in Lesu* (New York, 1933), pp. 63, 267. In Lesu, a village of New Ireland, a man and his wife observe the same sexual taboos, though for a much shorter time, when their pigs are giving birth. They do not cohabit when the pig is expected to give birth and also during the first month that the young pig is suckled. Should this taboo be broken, the young pig would sicken and die, "and pigs are very valuable property" (pp. 79 f.).

[25] F. W. Leggatt, in H. L. Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo* (London, 1896), I, 98. The Sea Dayak make a distinction between the two species of taboos which they observe, namely, those which absolutely forbid certain kinds of work to a person under the ban and those which allow other kinds of work to be undertaken if started by someone not subject to the ban (Roth, *loc. cit.*).

[26] Willoughby, *Nature Worship and Taboo,* p. 129.

[27] W. L. Warner, *A Black Civilization* (New York, 1937), p. 78 (Murngin of Arnhem Land, Northern Territory of Australia); Powdermaker, *Life in Lesu,* p. 63 (New Ireland); S. Ella, in *Report of the Fourth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science* (1892), p. 62 (Loyalty Islands); C. G. Seligman, "The Medicine, Surgery, and Midwifery of the Sinaugolo," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXXII (1902), 301 (British

New Guinea); E. Tregear, *ibid.*, XIX (1890), 103 (Maori); W. D. Hambly, *The Ovimbundu of Angola* (Chicago, 1934), pp. 183 f.; Gerhard Lindblom, *The Akamba* (Uppsala, 1920), p. 29; J. H. Weeks, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XL (1910), 367 (Lower Congo tribes); P. F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), V, 426 (Hurons and Iroquois).

[28] D. F. Thomson, "Fatherhood in the Wik Monkan Tribe," *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1936), XXXVIII, 375 ff.

[29] Margaret Mead, in *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History,* XXXVII, 350.

[30] I. Schapera, *Married Life in an African Tribe* (London, 1940), pp. 198 f.

[31] *Idem, A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* (Oxford, 1938), p. 154.

[32] Sir H. H. Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo* (London, 1908), II, 676.

[33] P. A. Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria* (Oxford, 1926), II, 354.

[34] E. S. C. Handy, "The Native Culture in the Marquesas," *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin,* No. 9, p. 72.

[35] G. L. D. de Rienzi, *Océanie,* II (Paris, 1836–1837), 178.

[36] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 313 ff. The Toda ceremonies are carried out only when a woman is bearing her first child, and when, therefore, her uncleanness may be considered at its maximum.

[37] Herbert Ward, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXIV (1895), 289.

[38] Mrs. James Smith, *The Booandik Tribe of South Australian Aborigines* (Adelaide, 1880), p. 5.

[39] F. J. Gillen, in *Report on the Work of the Horn Scientific Expedition to Central Australia,* Part IV, p. 166.

[40] Margaret Mead, in *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History,* XXXVII, 414.

[41] H. I. Hogbin, in *Oceania,* V (1934–1935), 331.

[42] W. J. Erdweg, in *Mittheilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien,* XXXII (1902), 280. The Yir-Yorunt, a Queensland tribe, do not allow a young man to be present at the birth of a child (L. Sharp, "Ritual Life and Economics of the Yir-Yorunt of Cape York Peninsula," *Oceania,* V [1934–1935], 40). Doubtless young men are considered to be more susceptible to the contagion of feminine impurity than are men of riper years.

[43] W. G. Ivens, *The Island Builders of the Pacific* (London, 1930), p. 104.

[44] E. S. C. Handy, "Polynesian Religion," *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin,* No. 34, p. 48.

[45] Edward Tregear, *The Maori Race* (Wanganui, New Zealand, 1904), p. 41; E. Best, "The *Whare Kohanga* (the 'Nest House') and Its Lore," *Dominion Museum Bulletin,* No. 13, pp. 9, 15.

[46] W. H. Millington and B. L. Maxwell, "Philippine (Visayan) Superstitions," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* XIX (1906), 209.

[47] E. H. Man, *The Nicobar Islands and Their People* (London, [1932]), p. 66.

[48] Peter Kolben, *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope* (London, 1731), I, 140.

[49] Smith and Dale, *Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia,* II, 7.

[50] F. G. H. Price, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* I (1872), 188 f.

[95] Charles Hose and William McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo* (London, 1912), II, 156.

[96] A. E. Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot* (*Department of the Interior, Ethnological Survey Publications,* Vol. I) (Manila, 1905), p. 60.

[97] P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis* (2d ed., London, 1914), p. 127. The Ao consider twins very unlucky (J. P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas* [London, 1926], p. 267). The Sema also dislike them, partly owing to the added trouble for the mother, partly to a belief that, being less strong than single children, if one dies the other will not long survive. Some people believe that the birth of twins is followed by the early death of both parents (J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas* [London, 1921], p. 262). On the other hand, the Memi are said to think twins very lucky; hence they are always helped first when any food is being distributed (J. Shakespear, in J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas* [London, 1921], pp. 341 f.). It is difficult to reconcile this statement with the fact that no work is done on the day when twins are born—it is a *genna* or tabooed day.

[98] H. F. Standing, *The Children of Madagascar* (London, 1887), p. 31.

[99] Kidd, *Savage Childhood,* pp. 45 ff.

[100] Stayt, *op. cit.,* p. 91.

[101] Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (2d ed.), II, 319, 433 ff. For the unsavory details of the woman's final purification see p. 436.

[102] E. Dannert, in (South African) *Folk-Lore Journal,* II (1880), 109 ff. According to a later authority, the parents are regarded as unclean and may not speak to anyone or be greeted by anyone until they have been purified (J. Irle, *Die Herero* [Gütersloh, 1906], pp. 96 ff.). The uncleanness of the parents probably explains the fact that among the Awemba the father of twins is the only male who is allowed to visit a girl during her seclusion at her first menstruation (C. Gouldsbury and H. Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia* [London, 1911], p. 159).

[103] Gouldsbury and Sheane, *op. cit.,* pp. 275 f.

[104] C. W. Hobley, *Bantu Beliefs and Magic* (London, 1922), p. 114. Similar customs prevail among the Akikuyu (pp. 154 ff.).

[105] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi* (Oxford, 1909), pp. 68, 91.

[106] K. R. Dundas, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XLIII (1913), 33.

[107] P. B. Du Chaillu, *L'Afrique sauvage* (Paris, 1868), pp. 226 f.

[108] Hugh Goldie, *Calabar and Its Mission* (London, 1890), pp. 23 ff.

[109] H. Klose, *Togo unter deutscher Flagge* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 509 f.

[110] N. W. Thomas, in *Man,* XIX (1919), 173.

[111] G. T. Basden, *Niger Ibos* (London, [1938]), pp. 181 f. On the treatment of twins by other Nigerian tribes see Talbot, *Peoples of Southern Nigeria,* III, 719 ff.; Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa* (London, 1897), pp. 472 ff.

[112] Rafael Karsten, *The Civilization of the South American Indians* (London, 1926), p. 148.

[113] T. W. Whiffen, in *Folk-Lore,* XXIV (1913), 45.

[114] Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern* (Berlin, 1910), II, 146.

[115] H. von Walde-Waldegg, in *Primitive Man,* IX (1936), 42 f.

[116] J. R. Swanton, in *Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* p. 361 (Creek Indians); F. Boas, in *Thirty-seventh Annual Report,* pp. 686 ff. (Kwakiutl). While the Quinault Indians of Washington are said to have manifested "no horror" of twins, nevertheless, the parents had to

observe a number of taboos. They might not fish for twenty days, lest the fish stop running. The father, in addition, refrained from hunting for two years, in order not to frighten away all game animals. He sometimes camped in the woods for a month after the birth of twins (R. L. Olson, *The Quinault Indians* [Seattle, Wash., 1936], p. 100).

[117] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social Organization of the Northern Tungus* (Shanghai, 1929), p. 275, note 1.

[118] For the widespread belief that twin children possess extraordinary powers over nature, especially over rain and the weather, see Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* (*The Golden Bough*, 3d ed., Part I), I, 262–69.

[119] Kolben, *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, I, 142 f.

[120] P. A. W. Cook, *Social Organization and Ceremonial Institutions of the Bomvana* (Cape Town and Johannesburg, [1931]), p. 103.

[121] M. Merker, *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1904), p. 51.

[122] Roscoe, *The Baganda*, pp. 64 ff.

[123] C. W. Hobley, *The Soul of Central Africa* (London, 1922), pp. 186 f. The Banyoro do not observe the same attitude toward triplets, whose birth is regarded as a calamity. If left alive they would bring some evil on the country. The mother and her children, together with her father and mother, are taken to some waste land and put to death. The father is not killed, but his eyes are gouged out so that he may never again behold the king, who would be injured by his polluting glance (*loc. cit.*).

[124] J. H. Driberg, *The Lango* (London, 1923), p. 144.

[125] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk* (Mödling bei Wien, 1925), p. 275.

[126] A. M. Vergiat, *Mœurs et coutumes des Manjas* (Paris, 1937), pp. 48 ff.

[127] H. L. Roth, *Great Benin* (Halifax, England, 1903), p. 35.

[128] Samuel Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas* (London, 1921), p. 80.

[129] S. S. Farrow, *Faith, Fancies, and Fetich, or Yoruba Paganism* (London, 1926), pp. 21 f., 58. However, in the eastern part of Yorubaland, in the district of Ondo, twins are put to death as soon as possible (p. 58).

[130] M. J. Herskovits, *Dahomey* (New York, 1938), I, 263. Infants born with some anomaly, for example, one with the umbilical cord about the neck, or with a caul, or with feet foremost, are put in the category of twins and are treated accordingly (I, 272).

[131] Diedrich Westermann, *Die Kpelle* (Göttingen and Leipzig, 1921), p. 68.

[132] Leslie Spier, *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River* (Chicago, 1933), p. 213.

[133] J. R. Swanton, in *Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 615.

[134] J. Teit, in *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, II, 310 f.

[135] See Robert Briffault, *The Mothers* (New York, 1927), II, 390–97; Edward Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (5th ed., London, 1921), III, 67–70.

[136] C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 86. A similar rule is observed by the Keraki (F. E. Williams, *Papuans of the Trans-Fly* [Oxford, 1936], p. 175).

[137] Margaret Mead, in *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, XXXVII, 345.

[138] Bronislaw Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia* (New York, 1929), p. 233.

[139] Powdermaker, *Life in Lesu*, p. 79.

[140] Beatrice Blackwood, *Both Sides of Buka Passage* (Oxford, 1935), pp. 156 f. Among the Buin people of Bougainville Island sexual intercourse is avoided only during the time that the mother is secluded in the birth hut (Hilde Thurnwald, "Woman's Status in Buin Society," *Oceania*, V [1934–1935], 166).

[141] Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, I, 56 ff., 188.

[142] H. Grützner, "Über die Gebräuche der Basuto," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie, und Urgeschichte*, 1877, p. (78) (bound with *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. IX).

[143] Culwick and Culwick, *Ubena of the Rivers*, p. 375.

[144] J. H. Weeks, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XL (1910), 367. Similar rules prevail among the Bakongo (*idem, Among the Primitive Bakongo* [London, 1914], p. 148).

[145] E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XXXV (1905), 410.

[146] Vergiat, *Mœurs et coutumes des Manjas*, p. 42 and note 2.

[147] A. Poupon, in *L'Anthropologie*, XXVI (1915), 125.

[148] A. W. Cardinall, *The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast* (London [1920]), p. 69.

[149] Berthold Seeman, *Viti* (Cambridge, 1862), p. 191. The Fijians have a word, *dabe*, which signifies the injury sustained by a child whose parents have cohabited too soon. In the opinion of the natives the decay of the custom of sexual abstinence during the period of lactation is an important cause of the infant mortality prevalent among them. See G. H. Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers, *The Clash of Cultures and the Contact of Races* (London, 1927), pp. 125, 146 f., 191.

[150] Sir Basil H. Thomson, *The Diversions of a Prime Minister* (Edinburgh and London, 1894), p. 375.

[151] Schapera, *Married Life in a South African Tribe*, p. 200. The couple practice *coitus interruptus* or use some other contraceptive method.

[152] Herskovits, *Dahomey*, I, 268.

[153] Basden, *Niger Ibos*, p. 230.

[154] Mrs. K. L. Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe* (London, 1905), p. 39. Among some of the tribes of New South Wales part of the woman's hair is burned off just before she returns from her seclusion. Every vessel that has been used by her is also burned (W. Ridley, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, II, [1873], 268).

[155] C. G. Seligman, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XXXII, (1902), 302.

[156] Riley, *Among Papuan Headhunters*, p. 28.

[157] J. L. van Hasselt, in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde*, XXXI (1886), 587.

[158] A. P. Lyons, in *Man*, XXV (1925), 131.

[159] Hilde Thurnwald, "Woman's Status in Buin Society," *Oceania*, V (1934–1935), 165.

[160] Glaumont, "Usages, mœurs, et coutumes des Neo-Calédoniens," *Revue d'ethnographie*, VII (1889), 79.

[161] W. Deane, *Fijian Society* (London, 1921), pp. 13 f.

[162] George Turner, *Samoa* (London, 1884), p. 276.

[163] Captain James Wilson, *Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean* (London, 1799), p. 354.

[164] David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* (Honolulu, 1903), pp. 183 f. These restrictions applied only to royal mothers and other women of rank, who were in a state of taboo during their entire pregnancy and until their final purification. Commoners did not observe the restrictions (*loc. cit.*).

[165] E. Tregear, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XIX (1890), 98; Elsdon Best, *The Maori as He Was* (Wellington, New Zealand, 1924), p. 99.

[166] Fay-Cooper Cole, *The Tenguian* (Chicago, 1922), pp. 265 ff.

[167] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (London, 1900), pp. 342 ff. The Mintira or Mantra of the Malay Peninsula place a mother near the fire in order to keep away the evil spirits anxious to drink her blood (J. R. Logan, in *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia,* I [1847], 270). For the Siamese ritual of purification, in which exposure to fire also plays a large part and a part exceedingly prejudicial to the welfare of both mother and child, see H. G. Q. Wales, "Siamese Theory and Ritual Connected with Pregnancy, Birth, and Infancy," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* LXIII (1933), 446 f.

[168] Mrs. Leslie Milne, *Shans at Home* (London, 1910), pp. 33 f.

[169] F. Fawcett, in *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay,* I, (1886–1889), 536 f. The Adivi, also called Forest Gallas, form a section of the Gollavalu of Mysore.

[170] Standing, *The Children of Madagascar,* p. 29.

[171] Dudley Kidd, *The Essential Kafir* (2d ed., London, 1925), p. 201.

[172] Stayt, *The Bavenda,* p. 86.

[173] E. Dannert, in (South African) *Folk-Lore Journal,* II (1880), 63. From this account it would appear that the Herero woman is extremely dangerous to men, so that "sacred" in her case might better be expressed by "unclean." However, we learn that her mysterious influence is positively beneficial to cattle, for every morning the milk of all the cows is brought to her so that she may consecrate it by touching it with her lips. See Hans Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika* (Oldenburg and Leipzig, [1891]), p. 167; Irle, *Herero,* p. 94.

[174] Stirke, *Barotseland,* p. 62. The woman's purification, by transferring the birth contamination to strangers, is further illustrated by the Thonga rule which requires the mother of twins to sexually "deceive" four men one after another, all of whom will die. She hears that so-and-so "becomes livid, that his body swells, that he is dead! She knows the reason. He has taken her defilement!" (Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* [2d ed.], II, 436). By the Akikuyu the mother of twins is handed over to another man until she has borne him a child; then she returns to her husband. The mother of a child that cuts its upper teeth before its lower must cohabit for a month with a friend of her husband (Hobley, *Bantu Beliefs and Magic,* pp. 154 f.).

[175] W. S. Routledge and Katherine Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People* (London, 1910), p. 147.

[176] Hollis, *The Nandi,* pp. 65, 92.

[177] Roscoe, *The Baganda,* p. 55.

[178] Franz Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika* (Berlin, 1894), p. 795.

[179] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa* (London, 1887), p. 223.

[180] R. E. Latcham, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XXXIX (1909), 359 f.

[181] James Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), p. 124.

[182] Charlevoix, *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France,* V, 425.

[183] Mary A. Owen, *Folk-Lore of the Musquakie Indians of North America* (London, 1904), pp. 63 ff.

[184] S. R. Riggs, in *Contributions to North American Ethnology,* IX, 208.

[185] A. L. Kroeber, "The Religion of the Indians of California," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology,* IV, 325.

[186] Knud Rasmussen, *The Netsilik Eskimos* (Copenhagen, 1931), p. 261. *Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition,* Vol. VIII.

[187] W. Jochelson, in *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History,* X, 101.

[188] Edward Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* (2d ed., London, 1856), pp. 144 f.

[189] Richard Taylor, *Te Ika A Maui* (2d ed., London, 1870), p. 185.

[190] Soga, *op. cit.,* p. 293.

[191] Sir Francis Galton, *The Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa* (London, 1853), p. 190.

[192] H. Zache, "Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie,* XXXI (1899), 64.

[193] Sir H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate* (2d ed., London, 1904), II, 587. A similar spitting ceremony, accompanied by naming the child, is found among the Mandingo of Senegambia (Mungo Park, *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa* [London, 1816], I, 401 f.

[194] A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (London, 1894), p. 153.

[195] Frank Russell, in *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* p. 187.

[196] J. G. Owens, "Natal Ceremonies of the Hopi Indians," *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology,* II (1892), 165 ff.

[197] A. W. Whipple, Thomas Ewbank, and W. W. Turner, *Report upon the Indian Tribes,* p. 35. *Reports of Explorations and Surveys . . . . in 1853-4* (Washington, D.C., 1856), Vol. III. Among the Cherokee purification in running water formed a part of every tribal function. Hence, in the old days, the town house was always placed close to the bank of a river (J. Mooney, "The Cherokee River Cult," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* XIII [1900], 2).

[198] E. Sapir, in *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1907), IX, 275.

[199] James Chalmers, *Pioneering in New Guinea* (London, 1887), p. 164.

[200] Blackwood, *Both Sides of Buka Passage,* pp. 159 f.

[201] H. P. A. Bakker, in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde,* XXIX (1888), 415.

[202] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and Their Folk-Lore* (London, 1901), pp. 235 f.

[203] H. M. Marshall, *The Karen People of Burma* (*Ohio State University Bulletin,* Vol. XXVI, No. 13) (Columbus, Ohio, 1922), pp. 287 f.

[204] Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur,* p. 177. In one Tangkhul village the father is tabooed in his house for ten days, while the mother goes out the day after the child is born (p. 178).

[205] E. H. Man, quoted by H. L. Roth, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXII (1893), 215. See, further, George Whitehead, *In the Nicobar Islands* (London, 1924), pp. 115 ff.

[206] John Cain, in *Indian Antiquary,* III (1874), 151.

[207] Edgar Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India* (Madras, 1907), p. 548.

[208] Thurston, *op. cit.,* p. 549, quoting G. K. Rao.

[209] S. Mateer, "The Pariah Caste in Travancore," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (n.s., 1884), XVI, 188.

[210] R. B. Bainbridge, in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1907–1910), II, 61.

[211] William Crooke, *Things Indian* (London, 1906), pp. 59 f.; *idem, Natives of Northern India* (London, 1907), p. 197.

[212] John Campbell, *Travels in South Africa . . . . Second Journey* (London, 1822), II, 207.

[213] J. H. Weeks, *Among Congo Cannibals* (London, 1913), p. 132.

[214] Martin Gusinde, *Die Yamana* (Mödling bei Wien, 1937), pp. 711 f.

[215] W. E. Roth, "An Inquiry into the Animism and Folk-Lore of the Guiana Indians," *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* pp. 321 f., with references to authorities.

[216] See Sir J. G. Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful* (*The Golden Bough,* 3d ed., Part VII) (London, 1913), I, 22–100; Robert Briffault, *The Mothers* (New York, 1927), II, 365–90.

[217] G. Róheim, "Women and Their Life in Central Australia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* LIII (1933), 234.

[218] J. P. Mills, *The Rengma Nagas* (London, 1937), p. 212.

[219] Schapera, *Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom,* p. 38.

[220] H. S. Stannus, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XL (1910), 305. Among the Akamba, another East African tribe, married people usually perform coitus when the woman is menstruating, because of the belief that she can be impregnated only at this time (Lindblom, *Akamba,* p. 40).

[221] W. Bogoras, in *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History,* XI, 491 f.

[222] E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Discovery into Central Australia* (London, 1845), II, 304. According to Eyre, menstruating women were not allowed to eat fish of any kind. Nor might they go near the water, else the men would have no success in fishing (II, 295).

[223] R. B. Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria* (Melbourne, 1878), I, 46, quoting H. E. A. Meyer.

[224] A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), pp. 776 f., on the authority of J. C. Muirhead. A Queensland blackfellow, having learned that his wife had lain on his blanket at her menstrual period, killed her and died of terror himself within a fortnight (W. E. Armit, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* IX [1880], 459). For the Mara myth of the origin of the menstruation taboos see Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia,* p. 602.

[225] John Mathew, *Two Representative Tribes of Queensland* (London and Leipzig, 1910), pp. 177 f.

[226] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia,* p. 473.

[227] Sir Baldwin Spencer, *The Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia* (London, 1914), p. 327.

[228] Warner, *A Black Civilization,* p. 76. This seems to be the only menstruation taboo of general observance by the Murngin. In some of the tribes

in the Kimberly division of Western Australia the men are said not to evince any disgust or horror of the menstrual state, nor do the women think of themselves as unclean. However, a woman who is menstruating keeps "unobtrusively" out of the way and camps apart (Phyllis M. Kaberry, *Aboriginal Woman, Sacred and Profane* [London, 1939], p. 238).

[229] C. G. Seligman, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, V, 201.

[230] Blackwood, *Both Sides of Buka Passage*, pp. 269 f.

[231] A. B. Deacon, *Malekula, a Vanishing People in the New Hebrides* (London, 1934), p. 156. Similarly, among some of the tribes of the western Sudan, the men refrain from every kind of work, from traveling, and from hunting during the menstruation of their wives. Since polygyny is common, men have many occasions for enforced idleness. See Louis Desplagnes, *Le plateau Central Nigérien* (Paris, 1904), p. 227.

[232] Eyriaud des Vergnes, in *Revue maritime et coloniale*, LII (1877), 727 f.; cf. Louis Rollin, *Les Iles Marquises* (Paris, 1929), p. 171.

[233] E. S. C. Handy, in *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin*, No. 34, p. 47. According to this authority contact with menstrual blood was supposed to cause leprosy (*loc. cit.*).

[234] Honoré Laval, *Mangareva* (Paris, 1938), p. 225.

[235] E. Tregear, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XIX (1890), 101; Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* (2d ed.), pp. 115, 292.

[236] E. Best, in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, XIV (1905), 215. An early missionary noticed that at Mangaia the work of planting and weeding taro beds was assigned to "girls" under sixteen years of age and to women who had "passed the prime of life" (John Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands* [London, 1838], p. 211).

[237] E. Stephen, in *Oceania*, VIII (1936–1937), 43.

[238] August Erdland, *Die Marshall-Insulaner* (Münster in Westphalia, 1914), p. 139.

[239] J. L. van der Toorn, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsche-Indië*, XXXIX (1890), 66.

[240] N. Adriani and A. C. Krujt, *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradja's van Midden-Celebes* ('s Gravenhage, 1912), II, 3.

[241] J. Macdonald, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XX (1891), 119.

[242] Smith and Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, II, 27.

[243] Culwick and Culwick, *Ubena of the Rivers*, p. 253.

[244] M. W. H. Beech, *The Suk* (Oxford, 1911), p. 11.

[245] C. W. Hobley, *Ethnology of A-Kamba and Other East African Tribes* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 65. In this case, it will be observed, the penalty for the breach of a taboo is paid, not by the innocent stranger or by the woman with whom he cohabited, but by the real culprit, the girl herself.

[246] *Idem, Bantu Beliefs and Magic*, p. 112.

[247] Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo*, pp. 108 f. An Azimba girl, while menstruating, wears a special apron to indicate her condition. After she marries, the apron is hung over her bed. If her husband does not see it there he knows that she is unclean. See H. C. Angus, "The 'Chensamwali'; or Initiation Ceremony of Girls as Performed in Azimba Land, Central Africa," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie, und Urge-*

*schichte,* 1898, p. (480) (bound with *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie,* Vol. XXX). Mandingo women, when menstruating, paint their faces yellow (Thomas Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone* [London, 1803], II, 207).

[248] Field, *Religion and Medicine of the Ga People,* p. 112.

[249] Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast,* pp. 94 f. Among some Nigerian tribes menstruating women may not take the regular path in front of a *juju* house (R. G. Granville and F. N. Roth, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXXVIII [1898], 110).

[250] Talbot, *Peoples of Southern Nigeria,* III, 712.

[251] Rafael Karsten, *The Toba Indians of the Bolivian Gran Chaco* (*Acta Academiæ Aboënsis,* Humaniora IV) (Åbo, 1923), p. 28. A menstruating woman is believed to be in grave danger from the attacks of evil spirits. They strive to enter her through the genitals and other orifices of the body, and if they succeed, she will either fall ill and die or give birth to a monster. The Toba Indians fancy that these demonic powers take the form of snakes, which in great number, although in invisible shape, make their onset on the girl. The snakes are also dangerous to women at childbirth; hence these Indians cover carefully the ventral parts of the mother after her delivery. See Karsten, *Civilization of the South American Indians,* pp. 10, 145.

[252] John Gillin, *The Barama River Caribs of British Guiana* (*Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology,* Vol. XIV, No. 2, Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 72.

[253] P. Radin, in *Thirty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* p. 137.

[254] G. B. Grinnell, "Cheyenne Woman Customs," *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1902), IV, 13 f.

[255] Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (*Contributions to North American Ethnology,* Vol. III, Washington, D.C., 1877), p. 32. The Cherokee Indians do not allow a stranger to enter a house where a person lies seriously ill. This regulation is intended to prevent any contact with a menstruous or a pregnant woman. Should the patient be visited by anyone who came from a house where such a woman resides the doctor's treatment would be neutralized. See J. Mooney, "The Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees," *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology,* pp. 330 f.

[256] D. Jenness, in *National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No. 84* (*Anthropological Series,* No. 20), p. 56.

[257] J. R. Swanton, in *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* p. 428.

[258] A. G. Morice, in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto, 1906), p. 218.

[259] J. Jetté, "On the Superstitions of the Ten'a Indians," *Anthropos,* VI (1911), 699. For the Tinne menstrual blood has health-preserving and curative qualities, because it embodies the principle of life. Hence a mother who has lost several children will require a surviving child to wear a harness made out of a woman's drawers soiled with her blood. Rags thus soiled are steeped in a basin of water, and the liquid will then be used as a lotion to bathe young children or will be administered to them as an internal remedy. A mother never uses blood which she could obtain from herself, but always obtains the soiled rags from another woman. The idea seems to be that her own child has already received from her all the vital power she could impart, so that it is necessary for the treatment to procure an additional store of vitality from someone else (*ibid.,*

pp. 257, 703). The Ainu of Japan consider menstrual blood to possess a talismanic property, so much so that a man who sees a drop of it on the floor will wipe it up and rub it over his chest. He will even ask the menstruating woman to give him a piece of her menstrual cloth (B. Pilsudski, *ibid.*, V [1910], 774). The Mountain Arapesh of British New Guinea believe that a man who sees a *marsalai,* a supernatural being usually embodied in some water creature, will die unless he can get the help of a menstruating woman. "She either gives him a drink of water in which leaves stained with menstrual blood have been soaked or she massages his chest or beats him upon the chest with her closed fist, while he holds aloft his right hand, the hand which he uses in hunting, to keep 'the power of getting food for children'" (Margaret Mead, in *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History,* XXXVII, 345). In this ceremony the potency of the woman will exorcise the evil influence possessing the man, but since contact with her is dangerous it must not be allowed to affect his prowess as a hunter. The Ba-ila of Northern Rhodesia believe that tsetse flies can be driven away if menstruating women will go where the flies are, sit down, and allow themselves to be bitten. Thus their mysterious radiation, ordinarily so baneful, may be turned to a beneficent use (Smith and Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia,* II, 27). Among the Bavenda of the Transvaal, before a wife is restored to normal life after her confinement, she is visited ceremonially by her husband, who proceeds to rub on the palms of his hands and the soles of his feet a powder made from the blood of a menstruous woman. The wife then presents him with a bracelet. It must be given to him before he may accept food from her or sit anywhere in the hut where she has sat during the birth of the child. If this purificatory rite is not performed, the husband will be attacked by a shivering disease from which he will not recover (Stayt, *The Bavenda,* p. 88).

[260] Rasmussen, *Netsilik Eskimos,* p. 262.

[261] W. Bogoras, in *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History,* XI, 492.

[262] J. G. Georgi, *Les nations Samoyèdes et Mandshoures (Description des toutes les nations de l'empire de Russie,* Part III) (St. Petersburg, 1777), p. 15.

[263] R. H. Mathews, *Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales and Victoria* (Sydney, 1905), pp. 132 ff.

[264] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia,* pp. 460 f.

[265] George Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians* (London, 1910), pp. 107 f., quoting the Rev. R. H. Rickard.

[266] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders* (Cambridge, 1933), p. 93.

[267] C. G. Seligman and Brenda Z. Seligman, *The Veddas* (Cambridge, 1911), p. 94 f.

[268] James Macdonald, *Religion and Myth* (London, 1893), pp. 196 ff.

[269] Hollis, *The Nandi,* pp. 59 f., 90 f. The "circumcision" of Nandi girls is confined to excision of the clitoris; for this purpose a special knife is used.

[270] Roscoe, *The Baganda,* p. 80. Jumping over a wife or stepping over her legs is regarded by the Baganda as equivalent to, or as a substitute for, cohabitation with her (p. 357, note 1). It seems to be clear from the account above that, while the Baganda display the usual attitude toward a menstruating woman, they also regard her condition as entirely natural and consequently manifest some fear of a woman who does not menstruate. The catamenial flow has for them beneficent as well as malefic qualities. The Warundi, another East African tribe, instead of secluding a girl at puberty, lead her all over the house and have her touch everything, so that she may bless the objects with which she comes into

contact. See Oscar Baumann, *Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle* (Berlin, 1894), p. 221.

[271] Wallace, *Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro,* p. 496.

[272] Adair, *History of the American Indians,* pp. 123 f.

[273] Jonathan Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America* (3d ed., London, 1781), pp. 236 f.

[274] Paul Radin, in *Thirty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* p. 137, quoting an Indian informant.

[275] A. L. Kroeber, in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology,* IV, 324.

[276] Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (2d ed., II, 319); cf. p. 357. Among the Latuka of the Upper Nile the earth on which lochial blood has fallen must be scraped up with a shovel and buried, together with the water used to wash the child and the knife with which its navel string was cut (Emin Pasha, in Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika,* p. 795).

[277] See Count Goblet d'Alviella, "Initiation (Introductory and Primitive)," Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,* VII, 314–19; Sir P. J. Hamilton-Grierson, "Puberty," *ibid.,* X, 440–46; R. Thurnwald, "Junglingsweihe," Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte,* VI, 172–87; H. Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies* (2d ed., New York, 1932), pp. 20–73; A. van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (Paris, 1909), pp. 93–164; A. E. Jensen, *Beschneidung und Reifezeremonien bei Naturvölkern* (Stuttgart, 1933). On the ritual of death and resurrection see Sir J. G. Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful* (*The Golden Bough,* Part VII) (London, 1913), II, 225–78.

[278] George Taplin, in J. D. Woods (editor), *The Native Tribes of South Australia* (Adelaide, 1879), pp. 17 f., 69.

[279] Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia,* p. 402. Novices are also forbidden to eat of a female animal (p. 633).

[280] P. Beveridge, in *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales,* XVII (1883), 27.

[281] J. [H.] Holmes, "Initiation Ceremonies of Natives of the Papuan Gulf," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXXII (1902), 420 f.

[282] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), p. 87.

[283] K. Endemann, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie,* VI (1874), 38.

[284] Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (2d ed.), I, 77.

## Chapter III

# SEPARATION OF THE SEXES

The supposed uncleanness of women at certain periods of their reproductive life would seem to be chiefly responsible for the widespread notion of their permanent uncleanness, and that notion, in turn, accounts for the imposition of various taboos designed to prevent the contact of the sexes or to minimize the danger believed to be involved in such contact. These taboos weigh heavily on women in primitive society and restrict their activity in many ways, both secular and religious. It is significant in this connection that cases are known where *old* women, who have therefore passed the age of menstruation and childbearing, are considered more or less as men and so are no longer subject to the usual restrictions on their sex.

The natives of Central Australia refer to an old woman by a term which, translated literally, means "woman father."[1] Among the Zulu old women "are called men" and are allowed to go near the army when it starts out on a campaign.[2] Among the South American Indians old women are "no more real women," and may, therefore, take part in certain tribal ceremonies and indulge in habits which are considered unwomanly for their younger sisters.[3] At a feast of the Winnebago "all the young girls nearing the age of puberty will be absent, but the old women, who have passed their climacteric, sit right next to the men, because they are considered the same as men as they have no menstrual flow any more."[4]

It is a common idea that eating and drinking are acts attended with special peril, for what is consumed might be blasted by the evil glance of a stranger or an enemy, or some malicious spirit might enter one's body along with the food and drink. There is also the widespread fear that the remnants of a person's food may be used magically to injure him. For these and similar reasons people will avoid eating in a strange village or in public; sometimes they take their meals behind closed doors or in strict seclusion. Still more usual is the custom of men and women eating apart,

the former almost always before the latter. This sexual separation in eating may sometimes be simply an outcome of the inferior status of the female sex; the men satisfy their hunger first and with the best of the food. In other cases, the custom has been dictated by dread of woman's uncleanness. The custom, whatever its origin, is widespread.[5]

Among some of the Queensland aborigines men, boys, and girls (up to four or five years of age) eat together; all the other women, without distinction of any sort, eat apart.[6] It was formerly the rule among the Torres Straits Islanders for the father and his sons to take their meals before the mother and her daughters. This rule did not prevail in the Murray Islands, but even there the husband reserved to himself the right of choosing certain tidbits.[7] On the island of Meli, one of the New Hebrides, the men prepare all their food in their own clubhouse, access to which is forbidden to women. Anything that a woman cooks is considered unclean for a man.[8] In New Caledonia husband and wife eat together, but otherwise the sexes keep apart at meals.[9]

Some Samoan chiefs of inferior rank permitted their wives to eat with them, but, generally speaking, women and children did not eat with men.[10] In the Marquesas Islands the rule prevailed that a wife must not eat in the same place as her husband or prepare her food at his fire. Those who violated the prohibition might be killed or severely chastised; sometimes, however, their punishment was left to the angered spirits, who made them ill.[11]

According to an early visitor to the Hawaiian Islands, the women were forbidden "when in their houses, to eat in company with men, and even to enter the eating-room during meals. The men, on the contrary, may enter the rooms in which women dine, but must not partake of anything." When in the fields or at sea, the two sexes ate together and used the same vessels, "the calabash excepted, in which each sex has its own dainty."[12] In the Society Islands women never ate with the men. The fires at which the men's food was cooked, the baskets in which it was kept, and the house where the men ate—all were "sacred" and prohibited to women under pain of death. "Hence the inferior food, both for wives, daughters, etc., was cooked at separate fires, deposited in distinct baskets, and eaten in lonely solitude by the females, in little huts erected for the purpose."[13] Among the Maori men would not eat with their wives nor would male children eat with their mothers, "lest their *tapu* or sanctity should kill them."[14]

Among the Bantu-speaking peoples of South Africa the men

eat by themselves and are waited upon by their wives and children. The latter, as a rule, eat after the men have finished.[15] Men of the Warua tribe (Central Africa), who will not allow anyone to see them eating and drinking, are doubly careful that no woman's gaze shall fall upon them when doing so.[16] Among the Suk of Kenya Colony "women and men feed apart for fear that one of the former be menstruous. But even a barren woman may not eat with men. Nor can women and men drink out of the same calabash. Men may not even touch a woman's calabash, and the woman may only touch the men's for the purpose of cleansing when empty."[17] An Ovimbundu wife carries the food which she has cooked to the village council house, where the men meet each evening. Then she returns to her own home, to eat alone or with her young children.[18] Among the Kpelle of Liberia, while mealtimes may coincide, meals are not taken together. The husband eats with his grown-up sons and his wife with the other children.[19]

For the American Indians there is abundant evidence that women did not eat with the men but separately and only after their husbands and male relatives had been satisfied.[20]

Contact between men and women is often avoided by arrangements for their separate living and sleeping quarters. The men's clubhouses, which are a common feature of primitive society throughout the world, further emphasize the separation of the sexes in daily life. Access to these resorts is ordinarily forbidden to women, sometimes under pain of death for disobedience.[21]

The division of occupations between the sexes, while in general determined by economic considerations and the special requirements of primitive life, has also been affected by notions of the uncleanness of women. Even when we are not expressly informed by our authorities that such is the case, we may surmise with much probability that these notions often account for the very common practice of carefully separating what is men's work from what is women's.[22]

In the Hawaiian Islands women might not engage in agricultural work or in fishing. Since the men did the cooking, not only for themselves but for the women also, there was little left for the latter to do but to make dress materials and mats.[23] In New Zealand, on the other hand, the natural sanctity of a man was too great to permit him to engage in menial tasks. Consequently slaves and women who were not *tapu* did all the culinary work. Since it was also forbidden for men to carry burdens on their shoulders, because their backbones were so especially sacred, this

duty likewise fell on the women, boys, and slaves.[24] Maori women did not have anything to do with carving, the building of houses, and the manufacture of canoes. Tattooing was always a masculine occupation. "Strong elements of *tapu* entered into the delimitation of all these occupations." The same was true of the cultivation of the *kumara* (sweet potato), and in those districts where it was raised most extensively women were debarred from planting and harvesting it, "lest they should exert a destructive influence" on the crop.[25]

The Toda of southern India are a pastoral people, and their interests, both economic and religious, center about their buffaloes. The daily life of the men is largely devoted to the care of these animals and to labor in the dairies. The buffalo is a sacred animal; the dairy itself is almost a temple; and the dairyman is only one remove from a priest. The idea of ceremonial purity runs through the whole of the Toda dairy rites, so much so that a man who has acquired any specific uncleanness cannot hold office in the dairy, tend the sacred buffaloes, or even approach the members of the higher grades of the dairyman-priesthood. As for women, they take no part in the dairy ritual nor in the operations of milking and churning, and they are regularly excluded from the dairies themselves. They may approach a dairy only at appointed times when they receive buttermilk given out by the dairyman, and then they must keep to a particular path. They must also avoid the paths by which the buffaloes travel when leaving or approaching a village. One of the dairymen is so sacred that when he goes to a dwelling care is taken to remove from it the emblems of womanhood—pounder, sieve, and broom—though the women themselves remain. During certain dairy ceremonies the women must leave the village altogether.[26]

Among the Bantu-speaking tribes of South Africa "the care of the cattle and dairy is the highest post of honour amongst them, and this is always allotted to the men. They milk the cows; herd the oxen; and keep the kraals, or cattle yards. The women are never (under the pain of heavy chastisement) permitted to touch a beast: even the young calves and heifers are tended by the lads or boys, and should a woman or girl be found in or near the cattle, she is severely beaten. A curious custom prevails amongst them in connection with this usage. If a woman has necessity to enter a cattle kraal, she is obliged, if married, to bring her husband with her, or nearest male relative, if not, to the gate of the enclosure. He then lays his assegai on the ground, the point being

inside the entrance, and the woman walks in on the handle of the weapon. This is considered as a passport of entrance, and saves her from punishment; but, even in this case, strict inquiry is made as to the necessity for such an entrance, nor are the men very willing to grant, too frequently, such an indulgence to them."[27] Bechuana men, besides tending the herds, must do all the heavy work of plowing, because plows cannot be used except with oxen to draw them.[28] Amaxosa women are not supposed to go into the cattle kraal, for they would defile it and make the bones of the cattle weak. Nowadays "enlightened" women do so, in order to get cow dung, but if they are menstruating they remain outside.[29] The Barotse think that a woman who entered a cattle kraal would have an immediate and untimely menstrual discharge.[30]

The Kgatla of the Bechuanaland Protectorate now allow women, when ritually clean, to herd and milk the cattle. Under certain circumstances, however, the old taboo is still enforced. Women who are still newcomers from the village, whose bodies are "hot" with the scent of the village and of sexual life, will cause the cattle to abort; such people must wait for a week or so before they help with the herding and milking. Menstruating girls and girls who live loosely are not allowed to drink milk. Their bodies are said to be "dirty," and by drinking the milk they will injure the cows from which it comes. Pregnant women must not walk through a flock of goats or sheep, for they would cause the animals to sicken or to abort, while they themselves would have miscarriages. While women may ordinarily enter a kraal in order to gather the dung, which is used as fuel and for smearing the floor of the hut, they may not do so after the kraal has been "doctored" and the animals are inside it; to do so would nullify the effects of the doctoring. The Kgatla also forbid husband and wife to cohabit near the kraal. Should this prohibition be disregarded, the cattle would make a hole in the fence and run away; one of the animals would never return.[31]

Among the Banyoro of Central Africa the milking of cows falls entirely to men—"women are strictly forbidden to touch a cow's udder."[32] The Baganda forbid girls and women to herd the cows or milk them.[33] The Dinka of the White Nile think it very desirable for their cows to be milked by boys and girls who have not reached puberty. Women must never do the milking and men, even old men incapable of sexual relations, ought not to do so except in case of necessity.[34] Many other cattle-breeding

tribes of Africa similarly debar women from contact with their herds, but the custom is not universal. Thus, among the Masai milking is done by the women; among the Suk the women are assisted in this task by children (under puberty) and by boys who have reached puberty but have not yet been circumcised.[35]

In Morocco the general uncleanness of women subjects them to many taboos. They may not enter on the threshing floor or go into the granary lest they spoil the *baraka* (virtue) of the grain. In one place it is said that if an unmarried woman goes into a subterranean granary, she will never marry; that a married woman who does so will be childless; and that a pregnant woman will have a miscarriage. Some tribes do not allow women to work in a vegetable garden or gather vegetables from it. Women are also supposed to be injurious to bees; consequently the honey is always gathered by men. There are people who do not allow a woman to ride on their beasts of burden, for fear of injury to the animal. In some places she is forbidden to enter a shop, even though she be the shopkeeper's wife; if she did so the shop would lose its *baraka* and there would no sale.[36]

Fear of women's uncleanness and, in particular, of their menstrual flow, doubtless accounts for certain other restrictions often imposed upon them. Among some Queensland tribes "a woman must not on any account step over anything belonging to a man." Should she step over his fishing line, for example, he would throw it away.[37] The natives of Duke of York Island do not allow a woman to go into a new canoe, for if she did no shark would ever be caught by the fishermen who used it.[38] In Mala, one of the Solomon Islands, ordinary fishing nets are avoided by women lest their touch should cause the nets to become ceremonially defiled and fail to catch fish. The turtle net enjoys a particular sanctity, and while being made may not be seen by women.[39] No New Caledonian woman is allowed to travel in a canoe before it has been taken on a long voyage.[40]

In Tikopia bonito fishing is exclusively a masculine pursuit, for the presence of a woman in a canoe at this time is taboo.[41] Marquesan women might not enter canoes and consequently could neither engage in fishing nor travel from island to island.[42] They were also forbidden to wear red and dark clothes, to engage in the games of stilt-walking and javelin-throwing, or to blow conch shells.[43]

In the Hawaiian Islands canoes were taboo to women except under exceptional circumstances when women had to be carried

as passengers. The canoe was associated in the native mind with fishing (men's work), with the transportation of food and goods (men's work), and with the disposal of the skeletal remains (of men only) after death.[44] Maori women were not allowed to go near the site chosen for a house or where it was in process of erection. The men working on it were also *tapu* to women. A violation of these rules meant that the house could never be completed.[45]

Among the Sema Naga of Assam it is strictly *genna*, or taboo, for men to put on or use in any way a woman's petticoat; to do so would destroy all chance of success in war or hunting. It is also *genna* to beat a house with a petticoat, an action which has the same disastrous outcome for the inmates. "One case the writer knew of in which a chief had a somewhat serious family quarrel because his wife in a passion took her petticoat and beat his gun with it, and exposed her nakedness to the gun. He has never been able to hit anything with that gun since—a fact."[46]

A rule of general observance among the Bantu-speaking peoples of South Africa forbids a woman from sitting in certain parts of the hut, for these are appropriated to the men. However, old women, who are well past childbearing and who are often called men, may do so; "there is no longer any need to restrict them."[47] Another rule found among these same peoples requires a husband, in bed with his wife, not to touch her with his right hand; "if he did so, he would have no strength in war, and would surely be slain."[48] Konde women must not touch or go near the hunting weapons, which are kept in the roof of the house.[49] Among the Suk a woman is not allowed to see a smith at work. Should she do so, "his weapon would become heavy in his hand and he would go mad and die."[50] Among the Barea man and wife seldom share the same bed because, as the natives explain, the wife's breath might make her husband weak.[51] Yoruba women might not ply a canoe on the lagoon. The penalty for doing so was death.[52]

Chippewa women never go before a man.[53] Among the Thompson Indians of British Columbia should a woman, especially one who was menstruating, "cross in front of a gun, the latter was useless for war or for the chase. The owner of the gun washed it at once in 'medicine,' or struck the woman with it once on each principal part of the body, thereby breaking the spell." Other weapons of the chase or of war, if exposed to the same deleterious influence, were treated in a similar fashion.[54] A Lapp woman observed many taboos. The rear door by which game was taken into the hut might not be used by her, nor might she touch

any game animal that had been caught. A menstruating woman was not allowed to step over her husband's feet or gun, or to go where fishermen usually exposed their catch, or to milk cows.[55] A Samoyed woman may not tread in any part of the hut except her own corner, nor may she pass in front of the fire for fear of profaning it. When traveling, she does not follow in the track of the men or the reindeer, but must walk at one side.[56]

Food restrictions observed by men are occasionally more numerous or more burdensome than those imposed upon women. As a rule, however, it is the women who must abstain from certain articles of food, especially delicacies. No doubt masculine selfishness largely accounts for their dietary disabilities, but these are sometimes to be explained by fear of feminine uncleanness. As we have seen, pregnant, puerperant, and menstruating women may be required to avoid certain foods of general consumption, such as fish and game, because eating them would spoil the luck of the fisher or hunter; the impurity of the women would be transmitted in some way, mysterious to us but obvious to the savage, to the animals forming the chief source of his food supply. The ill effects of certain foods on the female sex, considered as the weaker vessel, are also sometimes alleged to be the reason for forbidding them to women. The prohibitions, however they originate, often take the form of taboos.

In the Encounter Bay tribe of South Australia old men appropriated to themselves the roe of fishes; if women, young men, or children ate of that dainty they were believed to grow prematurely old.[57] Some Queensland aborigines in the neighborhood of Cape York did not allow women to eat many kinds of fish, including some of the best, "on the pretence of their causing disease in women, although not injurious to the men."[58] In North Queensland, though a food taboo is generally declared by men, it can sometimes be declared by women, but then only in the interest of the male sex.[59] Among the natives of Arnhem Land the more savory kinds of food are often reserved for men, particularly for the older men.[60]

Concerning some of the tribes of what was formerly German New Guinea we are told that the "menu" is so arranged that the good things, the dainties, are reserved for the men.[61] In New Britain women are not allowed to eat pork, which is greatly esteemed; "the men are very angry when women eat it."[62] Some articles of food, "mostly dainties," including turtle, dugong, and human flesh, were tabooed to New Caledonian women.[63]

In the Society Islands women might not eat hogs, fowls, several kinds of fish, coconuts, and plantains.[64] In the Marquesas Islands the foods prohibited to them included the chicken at all times, the pig at certain times, and the octopus in some places, together with bananas, coconuts, and coconut milk.[65] Turtles and certain kinds of fish were tabooed to commoners, both men and women, and were reserved as dainties for chiefs and priests.[66] In New Zealand the women seem to have eaten whatever the men ate, with the exception of human flesh.[67] Everywhere in Polynesia that the *kava* drink was used women were strictly forbidden to partake of it, and in certain island groups it was reserved for chiefs alone.[68] In all the Naga tribes women are subjected to a much stricter series of food taboos than are men.[69] The Amaxosa believe that women who eat eggs become incontinent and also incapable of conception.[70] The Temba and Fingo think that eggs contain powerful aphrodisiac qualities and when eaten by women will drive them to seek men from other kraals. A recognized sexual advance by a woman is to say, "I shall cook eggs for you."[71]

The Bahima of Uganda allow men to eat beef and the meat of certain antelopes and buffalo, but women are generally restricted to beef.[72] The flesh of goats and sheep, fowls and eggs, and milk are tabooed to women of the Lugwari tribe of Uganda. It is believed that those who do not comply with the restrictions will not bear children.[73]

In former days the Ovimbundu of Angola did not allow their women to eat eggs.[74] The Bayaka, a Bantu-speaking tribe of the Belgian Congo, forbid both fowls and eggs to women; if a woman eats an egg she is supposed to become mad, tear off her clothes, and run away into the bush. The men eat "almost any flesh (except that of dogs)."[75] The Bangongo, a subtribe of the Bushongo, prohibit women from eating domestic animals and even those birds which are most often hunted. Among wild animals the leopard and crocodile are also forbidden to women, these being reserved to the old men.[76] Among the Coroado of Brazil the women, "to the evident advantage of their selfish law-giving halves, are prohibited from the eating of many animals."[77]

The Polar Eskimo allow women to eat certain animals and certain parts of animals only after having given birth to five children. The forbidden articles of diet include young seals, narwhals, all small animals such as hares and ptarmigans, the entrails, heart, lungs, and liver of all animals, and eggs.[78]

Religious disabilities often rest on women, who must not defile sacred things by coming into contact with them. Sometimes the idea appears that the women themselves would be injured by such contact, for, as compared with the men, they have little power of resistance against spiritual influences which may be harmful as well as helpful, which may kill as well as cure.[79]

In Australia it is a rule without exception that women may not witness the solemn ceremonies initiating lads into manhood. Referring particularly to the Murngin of Arnhem Land, Northern Territory, a competent authority declares that with them a woman makes little "sacred progress" during her lifetime because she has nothing to do with the secret rites, symbols, and totemic myths of the tribe. All initiated men, as the result of their initiation, possess a sacredness which never belongs to women.[80]

Among the Keraki of southwestern New Guinea there are no female practitioners of the accredited branches of magic such as rain-making, divination, doctoring, and sorcery. Women have only an insignificant part in public religious ceremonies and no part at all in the esoteric rites. Nor have they any knowledge of the sacred myths of the tribe.[81] In the Melanesian Islands women and children are generally excluded from religious rites.[82] Fijian women might not enter any temple.[83]

In Tikopia sex distinctions in religion are carefully preserved. Little girls are constantly warned to keep away from the temples and from ritual performances debarred to older women. As they grow up, the admonitions of parents and relatives emphasize still more strongly the exclusion of women from much of the religious life of the community. However, it is to be noticed that there are certain ceremonials in which only women take part, so that they have some place, albeit a minor one, in Tikopia religion.[84] In the Marquesas Islands any woman who entered the *hula-hula* ground set apart for religious exercises, or even so much as pressed with her feet the shadows cast by the trees within it, suffered death.[85] In the Hapai group of the Tonga Islands women were never allowed to enter the temples and sacred precincts, "and even the presence of pigs in the enclosure was not considered so dreadful a desecration as that of women."[86] Tahitian women were excluded from all religious festivals.[87] Hawaiian women took no part in public worship, as it was supposed that their touch would "pollute" anything offered to the gods in sacrifice.[88] In the Gilbert Islands and the Marshall Islands women are excluded from the more important festivals of the inhabitants.[89]

Among the Ainu of Japan, though a woman may prepare a divine offering, she may not present it. "Accordingly, women are never allowed to pray, or to take any part in any religious exercise."[90] Among the Toda women do not participate in the dairy ritual; they are also debarred from such occupations as divining and the practice of sorcery.[91] The Santal of Bengal do not allow women to take part in a sacrifice except when it is a purely domestic performance honoring the ancestors and family gods. Even in this case they may not serve in any way unless there are no men at hand to help the officiating priest. When a sacrifice is made at a holy grove or elsewhere outside the house, not only are women debarred from attendance at the rite but they are also forbidden to eat the flesh of the sacrificed animal. What the men do not eat of it is burned. Nor may a woman climb trees in a holy grove, for evil spirits would punish such a desecration with sickness and death.[92]

Among the Wanguru of Tanganyika Territory "as a rule" the men prepare and administer the various medicines, interpret omens, and perform religious ceremonies.[93] The Galla forbid women from approaching the sacred tree where worship is celebrated.[94] An Ibo wife, it is said, lives in fear of her husband's gods; she may not serve them or handle their images.[95]

Women have a very subordinate role in the religious feasts and ceremonies of the South American Indians, and in certain dances they are not allowed to take part at all. "The mask-dances, for instance, are generally considered to be so dangerous for women—as also for children—that by merely looking at the masks they might die on the spot. Likewise, they are strictly forbidden to see some other religious instruments, such as the flutes and bull-roarers used by many Brazilian tribes. They may never enter the 'men-houses' or 'flute-houses' where the religious instruments are kept and the secret ceremonies are performed; any infringement of these rules would prove fatal to them."[96]

Mexican women burned incense before the idols, tended the sacred fire, swept the temple area, prepared the daily offerings of food, and presented these to the gods, "but they were entirely excluded from the office of sacrificer and the higher dignities of the priesthood."[97] By the Pima Indians of Arizona myths are not usually told in the presence of the women, who, consequently, know only imperfect fragments of them.[98] The Takelma Indians of southwestern Oregon do not permit women to engage in the ceremonies performed on the first appearance in spring of salmon and

acorns.[99] Nootka women are never invited to the great feasts which take place in winter.[100]

The Aleuts jealously guard their religious ceremonies from women, "the greatest disaster" being threatened in case of an infraction of the rule. For instance, a whale hunter who had broken the taboo would be seized with a violent nose-bleeding and swelling of his entire body, often followed by insanity or death. The sea-otter hunter would meet with no success, even though surrounded by sea otters. He could not kill one of them. The animals would laugh in his face.[101] Lapp women were excluded from sacred localities because of the belief in their uncleanness at certain times; they were also under disabilities as to touching a drum or making an offering.[102] Similarly, among the Samoyeds women had no part in the cult of the gods.[103]

The fear of women at special periods of their reproductive life or of women at all times has thus brought about and maintained a far stricter separation of the sexes than would naturally result from their differing capacities, attitudes, and interests and from their unlike responsibilities in the food quest and the perpetuation of the species. Besides emphasizing sex differentiation and intensifying sex antagonism, this fear has limited the field of women's activity, restricted their opportunities, and laid upon them many onerous and unnecessary restrictions. In so far as such an attitude prevails, it must affect adversely the status of women in primitive society. Ideas which, from our more enlightened point of view, can only be described as superstitions, have thus combined with male selfishness to put a handicap on women over and above that imposed by their physical inferiority to men.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER III

[1] G. Róheim, "Women and Their Life in Central Australia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, LXIII (1933), 258.

[2] Henry Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu* (London, 1870), p. 440, note 23.

[3] Rafael Karsten, *The Civilization of the South American Indians* (London, 1926), p. 15, note 1.

[4] Paul Radin, in *Thirty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 137, quoting an Indian informant. The same belief is found among the Fox Indians (T. Michelson, in *Fortieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 231).

[5] See Ernest Crawley, "Taboos of Commensality," *Folk-Lore*, VI (1895), 130–44; *idem*, *The Mystic Rose* (London, 1902), pp. 148–78.

[6] W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography Bulletin*, No. 3, p. 7.

[7] A. C. Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits,* IV, 130.

[8] Arthur Baessler, *Südsee-Bilder* (Berlin, 1895), p. 203.

[9] J. J. Atkinson, in *Folk-Lore,* XIV (1903), 254.

[10] J. B. Stair, *Old Samoa* (London, 1897), p. 122. Another authority declares, however, that men, women, and children all ate together at the evening meal (George Turner, *Samoa* [London, 1884], p. 115).

[11] Charles Clavel, *Les Marquisiens* (Paris, 1885), p. 66.

[12] Urey Lisiansky, *A Voyage Round the World* (London, 1814), p. 127. Archibald Campbell states, however, that when at sea men and women ate together, but not out of the same dish (*A Voyage Round the World* [3d ed., New York, 1819], p. 133).

[13] William Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (2d ed., London, 1831), I, 129.

[14] Richard Taylor, *Te Ika A Maui* (2d ed., London, 1870), p. 168. This seems to be perhaps a unique case of the transmission of masculine properties to women and not *vice versa.* In New Zealand every superior person or gentleman (*rangatira*) was more or less taboo. Judge Maning calls this the ordinary personal *tapu,* or *tapu rangatira,* to distinguish it from the more dangerous kinds of *tapu* connected with religious ceremonies, war customs, and the handling of the dead. The personal *tapu,* "though latent in young folks of *rangatira* rank, was not supposed to develop itself fully until they had arrived at mature age and set up house on their own account. The lads and boys 'knocked about' amongst the slaves and lower orders, carried fuel or provisions on their backs, and did all those duties which this personal *tapu* prevented the elders from doing, and which restraint was sometimes very troublesome and inconvenient" (*Old New Zealand,* by a Pakeka Maori [London, 1884], p. 97).

[15] James Macdonald, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XIX (1890), 279.

[16] V. L. Cameron, *Across Africa* (London, 1877), II, 71.

[17] M. W. H. Beech, *The Suk* (Oxford, 1911), p. 11.

[18] W. D. Hambly, *The Ovimbundu of Angola* (Chicago, 1934), p. 148.

[19] Diedrich Westermann, *Die Kpelle* (Göttingen and Leipzig, 1921), p. 67.

[20] Sir R. Schomburgh, in *Journal of the Ethnological Society,* I (1848), 270 f. (Guiana Indians); Nicolas de la Rosa, in *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1901), III, 617, 638 f. (Indians of Colombia); A. de Herrera, *The General History of the Vast Continent and Islands of America* (London, 1725–1726), IV, 175 (Indians of Yucatan); B. de Sahagun, *A History of Ancient Mexico* (Nashville, Tenn., 1932), I, 244 (Aztecs); James Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), p. 140 (Creek, Chickasaw, Cherokee, and other tribes); L. H. Morgan, "Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines," *Contributions to North American Ethnology,* IV, 99 f. (Iroquois); H. R. Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontiers* (Philadelphia, 1851), p. 603 (Chippewa); George Catlin, *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians* (London, 1876), I, 123 (Mandan); Sir John Richardson, *Arctic Searching Expedition* (London, 1851), I, 383 (Kutchin).

[21] See H. Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde* (Berlin, 1902), especially pp. 202–13; H. Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies* (2d ed., New York, 1932), pp. 1–19; Robert Briffault, *The Mothers* (New York, 1927), I, 508–13.

[22] Instances are known—they seem to be rare—of taboos forbidding men from having anything to do with women's work, such as the manufacture of pots.

Among the Sema and Chang of Assam a man may not come near a woman so engaged; otherwise, the pots would crack in the firing (J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas* [London, 1921], p. 64, note 1). Similarly among the Nandi of Kenya no man may approach the place where the women are making pots or watch the women at work. A thief who took a pot would die the next time the owner began heating her wares (A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi* [Oxford, 1909], pp. 35 f.). The Suk (neighbors of the Nandi) believe that if a man should look at an unfinished pot this would be broken within a month, and that death within a year would be the fate of a man who stepped over a pot (Beech, *op. cit.*, p. 17). As Dr. Briffault has shown, pot-making is almost everywhere in the hands of women and is often attended with all manner of precautions (*The Mothers*, I, 466 ff.).

[23] Adolf Bastian, *Inselgruppen in Oceanien* (Berlin, 1883), p. 248.

[24] J. M. Brown, *Maori and Polynesian, Their History and Culture* (London, 1907), p. 68; *Old New Zealand*, by a Pakeka Maori, pp. 101 f.; Edward Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand* (London, 1851), p. 296. Boys could shoulder burdens because their personal *tapu* was not supposed to be fully developed. Slaves could do so safely because, having been captured in war and taken away to another tribe, they ceased to be under the protection of any spirits (*atua*). The *atua* of their own tribe did not care to follow them into a hostile tribe and amid hostile spirits. "They are therefore independent of the law of *tapu*, as far as they are individually concerned—a fortunate circumstance for the comfort of the female portion of the community; for it is owing to this belief that male slaves are able to assist them in a variety of menial offices connected with carrying and cooking food" (Edward Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* [2d ed., London, 1856], pp. 82 f.). A Maori slave who served faithfully and industriously was sure to become a person of some consequence in his new community. On the other hand, if by any chance he returned to his old tribe he could never recover his former social position there. As a slave, he lost the natural sanctity which every free-born man possessed, and it could not be restored to him by the tribesmen without their incurring the anger of the spirits who had punished the man by allowing him to be captured and enslaved. See W. Colenso, in *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, 1868, I, 22 (separate pagination).

[25] Raymond Firth, *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori* (London, 1929), pp. 196 f.

[26] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 27 f., 72 f., 245 f., 566 f. According to Captain H. Harkness the boys of a family freely enter the dairy and do much of the work there (*Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race Inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills* [London, 1832], p. 24). The exception in favor of boys, presumably under puberty, is doubtless due to their sexual immaturity.

[27] Francis Fleming, *Southern Africa* (London, 1856), pp. 214 f.

[28] E. Holub, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, X (1881), 11; H. E. Rouquette, *ibid.*, XVI (1887), 134. According to John Campbell, while cows are always milked by men, goats are always milked by women (*Travels in South Africa . . . . Second Journey* [London, 1822], II, 213).

[29] J. H. Soga, *The Ama-Xosa: Life and Customs* (Lovedale, South Africa, [1931]), p. 300. The entrance to the cattle kraal is also forbidden to women, but this taboo is less imperative for old women who are no longer menstruating (p. 354). See further Gustav Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's* (Breslau, 1872), p. 115.

[30] D. W. Stirke, *Barotseland* (London [1922]), p. 72.

[31] I. Schapera, in *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1934), XXXVI, 578 f.

[32] R. W. Felkin, in *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh,* XIX, 148.

[33] John Roscoe, *The Baganda* (London, 1911), p. 416.

[34] C. G. Seligman, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XLIII (1913), 656.

[35] A. C. Hollis, *The Masai* (Oxford, 1905), p. 290; Beech, *The Suk,* p. 9. The Namaqua, a Hottentot tribe, so far from fearing the deleterious influence of women, take pains to lead a girl, when menstruating for the first time, round the village. She touches all the rams in the folds and the milk vessels in the houses (Sir J. E. Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa* [London, 1838], I, 169).

[36] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), pp. 339 ff.

[37] A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), p. 402. In the Turrbal or Turribul tribe a woman who stepped over a man would be instantly killed (*Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland* [Brisbane, 1904], p. 14). The natives of New Caledonia think that a canoe would be endangered did a woman step over the cable (Lambert, *Mœurs et superstitions des Neo-Calédoniens* [Nouméa, 1900], p. 192). The Rengma Naga forbid a woman to step over a hunting dog as it lies asleep on the ground (J. P. Mills, *The Rengma Nagas* [London, 1937], p. 94). Malagasy porters believe that if a woman should stride over their poles the skin of the bearers' shoulders would certainly peel off the next time they took up their loads (James Sibree, *The Great African Island* [London, 1880], p. 288). In South Africa a woman must not step over her husband's stick; should she do so, he could not hit anyone with it in a village brawl. If she steps over his assegai it will never kill or even strike an enemy, and it is at once discarded and given to the boys to play and practice with (James Macdonald, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XX [1891], 130). The Baganda believe that should a woman step over a man's weapons they will not aim straight and will not kill unless they have been first purified (John Roscoe, *ibid.,* XXXII [1902], 59). Among the Bakene, when a man is making a new line or net, his father's wives must keep away from him, lest they should accidentally step over the materials of his work. No net over which a woman has stepped would retain fish; they would merely pass through its meshes. This misfortune can be avoided, however, if the net-maker provides an offering of food to the spirit of the net (John Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu* [Cambridge, 1915], p. 155). A Banyoro potter is careful to place his pots when drying where they will not be stepped over by a woman; did this happen, the pots would break when being baked (*ibid.,* p. 79). By the Chippewa articles which have been stepped over by a woman "are considered unclean and are condemned by the men" (Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs,* p. 603). Among the Labrador Eskimo a woman during her catamenial period must never step over a kayak; if she did so, "the evil influence believed to emanate from her condition would cause the game to avoid the kayak." See E. W. Hawkes, *The Labrador Eskimo* (*Geological Survey Memoir,* No. 91) (Ottawa, 1916), p. 134. Everything which a Samoyed woman steps over becomes unclean and requires purification (P. von Stenin, in *Globus,* LX [1891], 173). For additional illustrations of the widespread reluctance to step over persons and things see Sir J. G. Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul* (*The Golden Bough,* 3d ed., Part II) (London, 1911), pp. 423 ff.

[38] George Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians* (London, 1910), p. 241.

[39] W. G. Ivens, *The Island Builders of the Pacific* (London, 1931), p. 117.

At Mala and Ulawa going under trees up which a woman has climbed, lying on mats over which women have stepped, or passing in any way under women are acts that involve ceremonial defilement for men (*idem, Melanesians of the South-East Solomon Islands* [London, 1927], pp. 251 f.).

[40] Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 192. The men will not touch anything upon which women have been sitting or lying. Whalers on a cruise went without food sooner than touch some rice in the hold of their boat where women had been resting (J. J. Atkinson, in *Folk-Lore*, XIV [1903], 255).

[41] Raymond Firth, *We, the Tikopia* (London, 1936), p. 471.

[42] Herman Melville, *Typee* (new ed., Boston, 1892), pp. 17, 192 ff., 328. Cf. C. S. Stewart, *A Visit to the South Seas* (New York, 1831), I, 240.

[43] E. S. C. Handy, "The Native Culture in the Marquesas," *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin*, No. 9, p. 37. According to Siméon Delmas, only a "husband might touch his wife's clothes." If another man touched them or the materials for making them he would become leprous (*La religion ou le paganisme des Marquisiens* [Paris, 1927], p. 66). *"Tapu,"* wrote Robert Louis Stevenson of the Marquesans, "encircled women upon all hands. Many things were forbidden to men; to women one may say that few were permitted. They must not sit on the *paepae* (dwelling platform); they must not go up to it by the stair; they must not eat pork; they must not approach a boat; they must not cook at a fire which any male has kindled. . . . . It will be noticed that these prohibitions tend, most of them, to an increased reserve between the sexes. Regard for female chastity is the usual excuse for these disabilities that men delight to lay upon their wives and mothers. Here the regard is absent; and behold the women still bound hand and foot with meaningless proprieties!" (*In the South Seas*, Part I, chap. vi).

[44] E. S. C. Handy, "Dreaming in Relation to Spirit Kindred and Sickness in Hawaii," in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber* (Berkeley, 1936), p. 127.

[45] *The Old Time Maori*, by Makereti (London, 1938), p. 294. Cf. T. E. Donne, *The Maori Past and Present* (London, 1927), pp. 72 f. "One day," writes Mr. Donne, "I visited a tribe that was engaged in the construction of a large and carved meeting-house (*whare whakairo*). One man only was at work inside the building, and he was engaged in carving an important slab for the front of the house. This man had only a slight knowledge of English . . . . As I watched the carver deftly using his mallet and chisel in transforming a huge log of *totara* timber into a work of art on conventional Maori lines, I saw a middle-aged woman approaching the house with the apparent intention of entering it. I therefore said, 'Here comes a white woman.' The carver looked up, realized her intention, dropped his carving implements, jumped to his feet and rushed to the *pae pae* (threshold) just as the stranger raised a foot to step over it. When she was in this unbalanced position the Maori reached her and placing his hands on her chest he gave her a vigorous push which was almost a blow; she disappeared backwards down an embankment, tumbling head over heels more quickly than she had done anything else in her life. The Maori stood rigid, with livid face and a wild light in his eye. He had avoided the pollution of the house by fractions of a second and only those who know the Maori mind can realize the trend of his frightened thoughts at that moment . . . . I acted as peacemaker, explained the position, and informed her that in event of her having crossed the threshold the house would have become useless and the Maoris would have had to destroy it."

[46] J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas* (London, 1921), p. 18.

[47] Dudley Kidd, *The Essential Kafir* (2d ed., London, 1925), p. 239.

[48] James Macdonald, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XX (1891), 140.

[49] D. R. MacKenzie, *The Spirit-ridden Konde* (London, 1925), p. 133.

[50] Beech, *The Suk,* p. 18.

[51] Werner Munzinger, *Östafrikanische Studien* (2d ed., Basel, 1883), p. 526.

[52] A. K. Ajisafe, *The Laws and Customs of the Yoruba People,* London, 1924, p. 31.

[53] Schoolcraft, *op. cit.,* p. 603.

[54] J. Teit, in *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History,* II, 327.

[55] R. H. Lowie, "Religious Ideas and Practices of the Eurasiatic and North American Areas," in *Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman* (London, 1934), p. 186, citing authorities.

[56] J. G. Georgi, *Les nations Samoyèdes et Mandshoures* (*Description de toutes les nations de l'empire de Russie,* Part III) (St. Petersburg, 1777), pp. 14 f.

[57] H. E. Meyer, in J. D. Woods (editor), *The Native Tribes of South Australia* (Adelaide, 1879), p. 187.

[58] John Macgillivray, *Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake* (London, 1852), II, 10.

[59] For instance, the women may be quarreling, perhaps over some inequality in sharing food, when one will suddenly pronounce it all taboo in favor of her husband, or of her son, or of any male belonging to the same exogamous group as herself. The food cannot then be eaten or touched by anyone else. See W. E. Roth, in *North Queensland Ethnography Bulletin,* No. 11 (*Records of the Australian Museum,* Vol. VII, No. 2, p. 76).

[60] Knut Dahl, *In Savage Australia* (London, 1926), p. 22.

[61] Bernhard Hagen, *Unter den Papua's* (Wiesbaden, 1899), p. 234.

[62] Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians,* p. 126.

[63] J. J. Atkinson, in *Folk-Lore,* XIV (1903), 235. The prohibition of human flesh to women seems to have been usual, if not universal, in the South Seas. It was found at Tanna in the New Hebrides (W. Gray, in *Report of the Fourth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science,* 1892, p. 663); in the Fiji Islands (Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition* [Philadelphia, 1845], III, 97); and in the Marquesas Islands (Eyriaud des Vergnes, in *Revue maritime et coloniale,* LII [1877], 729). Among the Maori human flesh was *kai tapu,* or sacred food, and might be eaten only by warriors who were themselves *tapu* (Edward Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand* [London, 1851], p. 69). This prohibition is also found in West Africa. Among the Fan it is taboo (*eki*) for a woman to eat, or even to prepare for eating, the flesh of slain warriors (L. Martrou, in *Anthropos,* I [1906], 752). Among the Baya tribes the men still eat human flesh with great gusto, but anthropophagy has always been forbidden to women. The Baya think that men could not eat the flesh of a fellow villager without being poisoned; only slain enemies may be safely consumed. Women, not being warriors, would be obliged to feast on their own people and wholesale poisonings would be the outcome. Hence the taboo laid upon them (A. Poupon, in *L'Anthropologie,* XXVI [1915], 105). In some parts of the Ibo territory women were not allowed to partake of human flesh; in other parts men and women shared alike (G. T. Basden, *Niger Ibos* [London, 1938], p. 127).

[64] Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (2d ed.), I, 129.

[65] E. S. C. Handy, in *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin,* No. 9, p. 262.

[66] Louis Rollin, *Les Iles Marquises* (Paris, 1929), p. 171. In Fotuna (one of the Horne Islands) the king has the right to all the turtles caught off the

coast. They are kept near the royal residence. Before one can be eaten at a ceremonial feast it is necessary for the king to remove the prohibition of use. He puts on his insignia of rank and then with a small strip of bamboo solemnly strikes each morsel of turtle that is presented to him (S. P. Smith, in *Journal of the Polynesian Society,* I [1892], 41).

[67] Edward Tregear, *The Maori Race* (Wanganui, New Zealand, 1904), pp. 85, 358.

[68] E. S. C. Handy, in *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin,* No. 34, p. 46. Similarly, in the New Hebrides, only men brew and drink *kava* (Baessler, *Südsee-Bilder,* p. 203). At Tanna the mixing of the chewed root in water is done by a virgin boy. This is necessary because the hands of a married man are regarded as perpetually unclean. No woman may be present when *kava* is prepared and drunk (W. Gray and S. H. Ray, in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie,* VII [1894], 231). No woman is allowed in the vicinity of the *kava* house at any time (C. B. Humphreys, *The Southern New Hebrides* [Cambridge, 1926], p. 83).

[69] Hutton, *The Angami Nagas,* p. 396.

[70] Soga, *The Ama-Xosa: Life and Customs,* p. 354.

[71] B. J. F. Laubscher, *Sex, Custom and Psychopathology* (London, 1937), p. 83.

[72] J. Roscoe, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XXXVII (1907), 101.

[73] R. E. McConnell, *ibid.,* LV (1925), 453.

[74] Hambly, *The Ovimbundu of Angola,* p. 285.

[75] E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXXVI (1906), 41, 51.

[76] *Iidem, Notes ethnographiques sur les peuples communément appelés Bakuba, ainsi sur les peuplades apparentées. Les Bushongo* (Brussels, 1910), p. 119.

[77] Franz Keller, *The Amazon and Madeira Rivers* (London, 1874), p. 84.

[78] Knud Rasmussen, *The People of the Polar North* (London, 1908), pp. 121 f.

[79] See R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion* (New York, 1924), pp. 205–20.

[80] W. L. Warner, *A Black Civilization* (New York and London, 1937), pp. 6, 394. It is true, nevertheless, as Miss Kaberry points out, that among neighboring tribes in the Kimberly division of Western Australia the women have certain ceremonies to which the men have no access and that there are taboos in regard to women's business which the men must respect. In other words, women are not entirely excluded from contact with the supernatural world; they are not completely identified with the realm of the profane. See Phyllis M. Kaberry, *Aboriginal Woman, Sacred and Profane* (London, 1939), pp. 187 ff.

[81] F. E. Williams, *Papuans of the Trans-Fly* (Oxford, 1936), p. 149.

[82] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), p. 127.

[83] Thomas Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians* (3d ed., London, 1870), p. 145.

[84] Firth, *op. cit.,* pp. 145, 471 f.

[85] Melville, *Typee* (new ed.), p. 133.

[86] John Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands* (London, 1838), p. 274, note.

[87] J. A. Moerenhout, *Voyages aux îles du Grand Océan* (Paris, 1837), II, 70.

[88] Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (2d ed.), I, 129.

[89] C. E. Meinicke, *Die Inseln des Stillen Oceans* (Leipzig, 1875–1876), II, 338.

[90] B. D. Howard, *Life with Trans-Siberian Savages* (London, 1893), p. 195. It seems that among the Ainu the men are afraid of the prayers of the women. An old man said to Mr. Batchelor, "The women as well as the men used to be allowed to worship the gods and take part in all religious exercises; but our wise and honoured ancestors forbade them to do so, because it was thought they might use their prayers against the men, and more particularly against their husbands. We therefore think with our ancestors that it is wiser to keep them from praying" (John Batchelor, *The Ainu and Their Folk-Lore* [London, 1901], pp. 550 f.).

[91] J. H. Shortt, in *Transactions of the Ethnological Society* (n.s., 1869), VII, 251; Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 245 f., 566 f.

[92] P. O. Bodding, "On Taboo and Customs Connected Therewith amongst the Santals," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVII (1898), Part III, No. 1, pp. 15 f.

[93] T. McVickar, in *Primitive Man*, VII (1934), 22.

[94] W. C. Harris, *The Highlands of Aethiopia* (2d ed., London, 1844), III, 56.

[95] Basden, *Niger Ibos*, p. 208.

[96] Karsten, *Civilization of the South American Indians*, p. 14.

[97] F. S. Clavigero, *The History of Mexico* (2d ed., London, 1807), I, 274 f.

[98] Frank Russell, in *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 206.

[99] E. Sapir, in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XX (1907), 33.

[100] G. M. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* (London, 1868), p. 53.

[101] Ivan Petroff, *Report on the Population, Industries, and Resources of Alaska* (Washington, D.C., 1884), (Department of the Interior, *Tenth Census*, Vol. VIII), p. 155. According to W. H. Dall, however, women have dances from which men are excluded (*Alaska and Its Resources* [Boston, 1897], p. 389).

[102] Lowie, in *Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman*, p. 186.

[103] Georgi, *Les nations Samoyèdes et Mandshoures*, p. 137.

## Chapter IV

# SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

Many primitive peoples display a lively fear of the consequences of sexual intercourse either for themselves or for others. Mystic dangerousness invests the organs of generation: they are a seat of occult power. Because a woman is so often regarded as temporarily or permanently unclean, contact with her in the intimacy of the sexual embrace would naturally be considered to involve pollution, sometimes for the man alone, sometimes for the woman as well. Such an idea combines readily with the further notion that the physical uncleanness resulting from the discharge of fluid by both parties, at the completion of cohabitation, becomes a source of ritual uncleanness. This is especially true of the seminal fluid, which may sometimes be believed to pollute a man who has had no connection with a woman.[1] It follows, therefore, that even as between married couples sexual intercourse may be held to produce pollution and to require their ceremonial purification.[2]

The people of Kiwai, an island off the southern coast of New Guinea, never allow a woman who has frequent sexual intercourse with her husband to treat a sick person, for her "mere presence" might endanger the patient's life. If a man wishes to visit regularly a sick person (for instance, his brother), he must cease to cohabit with his wife during the time.[3]

The natives of New Britain are very careful that no one who has just engaged in sexual intercourse shall come into the presence of a wounded man undergoing treatment, for the patient would be certain to die in consequence. Such a visit can be made with safety only when one day at least has elapsed since the carnal connection. This regulation does not apply to cases of ordinary sickness, but it does apply to the case of a parturient woman. Her child would surely die were it violated.[4]

At Malekula (one of the New Hebrides) a man who has cohabited with his wife on the previous night does not enter a new garden, where the yams are still young and growing, though he does enter gardens in which the yams are almost ready to be

harvested.[5] At Erromanga a man may on no account touch his own food with his hands after he has had connection with a woman. He must wait twenty-four hours and first wash himself before doing so. Until then he holds his food in a leaf and eats from the leaf. Nor may he go into his gardens until the same period has elapsed, lest his yams be injured. This prohibition does not affect women.[6]

The Bechuana of South Africa consider that for the recovery of a sick man it is of the utmost importance that his nurses abstain from all sexual intercourse, licit or illicit. "The mere presence of an adulterer or adulteress in a sick room is dangerous to an invalid; and if a woman were to visit her paramour in his sickness, or even permit him to hear her voice in the distance, he would suffer a relapse, and probably die. A man who has lent his wife to a friend is tabooed from visiting that friend in sickness, or speaking within earshot of the invalid, or attending his funeral."[7] Among the Thonga married people constitute a danger for those members of the community who are in a weak state of health. They must not come into contact with boys recently circumcised, because in that case the wounds would not heal properly. Nor must they enter the hut of a person dangerously ill; this would hasten his death. People who are just recovering from a disease must tie around their ankles a particular kind of root. It will protect them from the perspiration or emanation left by married people in their footprints, "because, as one of my informants said, . . . . 'married people are hot'."[8]

Among the Kgatla of the Bechuanaland Protectorate "the restrictions on sexual intercourse are associated with the idea that at certain times a person's blood becomes 'hot' and until he has 'cooled down' he is in a condition harmful to others with whom he comes into very close contact. Both men and women still capable of bearing children are 'hot' immediately after intercourse, and, since they presumably lead active sexual lives, they are accordingly debarred from taking part in certain forms of ritual." It is believed that if a "hot" person indulges in coitus before "cooling down" his or her partner in the act will meet with misfortune. A man who had intercourse with a "hot" woman might be stricken with disease or be crippled or become impotent; he might even die. To avoid such consequences he must be successfully doctored. When a "hot" man sleeps with a woman, she will have irregularities of menstruation and may ultimately become sterile, unless, again, she is successfully doctored. Because of these dangers

arising from "hot blood" all people thus affected are expected to refrain from sexual intercourse until they have cooled down. In the teaching given children the need for doing so is stressed very strongly. A proverb is often quoted in this connection: "A suicide is not mourned," meaning, that if you deliberately sleep with an unclean woman and are injuriously affected thereby, no one will sympathize with you; it was your own fault. Our authority considers that the symptoms in both men and women are almost certainly those of gonorrhea, a disease fairly common among the Kgatla but not specifically identified by them because it is regarded as one of the complaints arising from infection by "hot blood."[9]

The Zulu have a saying, "The lap of that woman is unlucky," referring to a man, just married, whom the foe stabs at the first onset of battle.[10] Among the northern Ngoni of Nyasaland married men did not go to war, as a rule, because their comrades considered them unreliable.[11] At the erection of a new Ngoni village, when two people are chosen to make a ritual "beating of the bounds" and to cut the first tree, the choice falls on a young girl either immature or just past puberty, "who is not always thinking things" and on a man "who is not always snatching things." The satisfaction of the sexual instinct is thus referred to.[12]

The Nandi regard the sexual act as producing ceremonial uncleanness. People after cohabitation are said to be "dirty" (*simwek*). They must purify themselves by bathing or by taking a purge. The term *simwek* is likewise applied to women at menstruation, to a man who has had an involuntary seminal emission, to the warrior who has killed an enemy, to one who has eaten the flesh of an animal killed by a poisoned arrow or by lightning, or of an animal that has died of a disease, and to a person who has touched a corpse. It further applies to those who have prepared poison or have eaten locusts, and to the whole tribe when it has been defeated in war.[13] Some East African tribes think that if people cohabit while the cattle are out grazing the animals will die.[14] Presumably, the pollution produced by sexual congress is believed to affect the food of the cattle and, through the food, the animals themselves.

Among the Loango Negroes the father and other men may see a newly born child only after its navel string has been cut and burnt, and then only if on the preceding night they have not indulged in sexual intercourse.[15] An Ijaw woman, on the morning

after cohabitation with her husband, must always wash before cooking.[16]

Among the Creek Indians a wounded man was isolated in a hut at some distance from the village and was carefully protected from dangerous visitors. "But what is yet more surprising in their physical, or rather theological regimen, is, that the physician is so religiously cautious of not admitting polluted persons to visit any of his patients, lest the defilement should retard the cure, or spoil the warriors, that before he introduces any man, even any of their priests, who are married according to the law, he obliges him to assert either by a double affirmative, or by two negatives, that he has not known even his own wife, in the space of the last natural day."[17] The same taboo is still observed by the Kwakiutl of British Columbia. They do not allow a young couple, just married, to see a sick person, because, as the Indian informant declared, they believe that the man and his wife are "always in bed together, and that is the same as menstruation." The exhalation from the couple is bad for the sick person, who may die from its effects.[18]

Taboos of sexual intercourse are commonly imposed on certain critical occasions. They form a feature of the *intichiuma* ceremonies performed by the rude aborigines of Central Australia to bring about the breeding of the animals and the flowering of the plants upon which the natives depend for food. In the Kaitish tribe, for example, a headman must have no intercourse with his wife all the time he is performing the rites to make the grass grow, for if he did so the grass seed would not sprout properly and his body would swell up when he tasted any of it. In the rain-making *intichiuma* of the same tribe the men concerned with the rites must similarly abstain from women.[19] At Yam, one of the Torres Straits Islands, warriors might not sleep with their wives before battle, else "bow and arrow belong other fellow he smell you, he smell what you do night, he shoot you, you no got luck."[20]

Among the natives in the neighborhood of Port Moresby, New Guinea, the rule prevails that the leader of a trading voyage to procure arrowroot must observe strict continence until the return from the expedition. "They say if this is not done the canoe of the chief will be sunk on the return voyage, all the arrowroot lost in the sea, and he himself covered with shame. He who observes the rule of self-denial, returns laden with arrowroot, has not a drop of salt water to injure his cargo, and so is praised by his companions and crew."[21] The Kiwai Papuans think that a man who cohabits with his wife before going on the warpath will

probably be killed. "During the days preceding a fighting expedition the warriors eat in the men's house, and at least in the notions of certain people must avoid having their food cooked by women who are used to sexual intercourse. The young warriors abstain from playing with the girls and do not even speak to them."[22] The Koita, another Papuan tribe, insist on continence when a new garden is being made, otherwise the yams will grow but poorly.[23]

In Rossel Island, which belongs to the Louisiade Archipelago, a taboo on sexual intercourse is imposed for two or three months while a large net is being fabricated. It must be abandoned if one of the fabricators breaks the taboo.[24] In the Trobriand Islands the men weeding and clearing the plantations must not approach women.[25] A similar prohibition is observed by these islanders in time of war. Not only must a man abstain from sexual intercourse, he must also avoid sleeping on the same mat or on the same bedstead with a woman. "Any amorous dalliance at such a time would be regarded as dangerous to the community's chances for winning the war, and therefore as shameful and unseemly."[26]

The inhabitants of Wogeo, one of the Schouten Islands off the northern coast of New Guinea, are afraid of possible contamination by sexual intercourse unless both parties are in the proper condition to engage in it. Women, it seems, are automatically and easily cleansed by the process of menstruation, but men, in order to protect themselves from disease, must periodically incise the male member and allow a quantity of blood to flow. This operation is often called "men's menstruation." A man who performs it on himself avoids sexual intercourse until his wounds have healed, about two months later. Should he have intercourse before the expiration of the allotted time, both parties are likely to die, though they may save themselves by confessing their guilt and by carrying out a magical rite. These savages, who believe that the penalty for touching a woman in her courses is a wasting disease certain to be fatal, are also careful to avoid contact with a "menstruating man." He himself takes various precautions: he does not touch his skin with his fingernails and when he eats he uses a fork. The operation of incision is also carried out after the performance of certain tasks which involve great danger to those who take part in them. They include the erection of a new men's house, the burial of a corpse, participation in an expedition with intent to commit murder, and initiation of a youth into manhood. All such undertakings are polluting to

men, and the flow of blood, which follows the operation, is considered to be necessary for their purification. There are other undertakings, not regarded as so dangerous, for which incision is necessary but to a lesser extent. Thus, the owner of a trading canoe must perform the operation on himself, but the members of his crew are satisfied with avoiding their wives. Similarly, when a net for snaring wild pigs is first made, the workers operate on themselves, but when the net is subsequently used all they need to do is to leave women alone. A person who has performed the incision rite is said to be *bwaruka*, a word whose meaning corresponds in some respects to that of the Polynesian *mana*.[27]

The Manus of the Admiralty Islands observe continence for two or three days before going to war and for five days before fishing with large nets.[28] The natives of New Britain "were very particular in preserving chastity during or before a fight, and they believed that if a man slept with his wife he would be killed or wounded." Sexual intercourse was also forbidden while the ceremonies of the secret societies were being performed and when some new song-dances were being learned. A man who violated the last-mentioned taboo could not sing correctly.[29] The New Caledonians require women to remain continent for some time before they plant the gardens and for some time after their work has been completed.[30] Marquesan women, when making coconut oil, must be continent for five days, otherwise they would be unable to extract any oil from the nuts.[31]

In the Caroline Islands a strict rule requires a man about to go fishing to abstain from sexual intercourse for eight or nine days before he sets out. This period he spends in the clubhouse where unmarried men live. A man who violates the taboo and persists in joining the party of fishers will get some dangerous malady, particularly a swelling of the legs. So great is the fear of sexual contagion among these islanders that men are not allowed to touch fishing gear for twenty-four hours "after they have fulfilled their conjugal duty."[32] The natives of the Mortlock Islands, a part of the Caroline group, proscribe any sexual intercourse in time of war; a man who violated the rule would die a sudden death.[33] During the fishing season, which lasts for six to eight weeks, every Yap fisherman is subject to many restrictions. He keeps away from the village, even when resting, and lives in the men's clubhouse. Women are very strictly tabooed to him; he may not even look at a woman. "If the heedless fisherman steal but a glance, flying fish will infallibly bore out his eyes at night."[34]

On the island of Halmahera warriors keep continent in order to preserve their strength.[35] Among the Malays of the Malay Peninsula the strictest chastity is observed in a stockade, lest the bullets of the garrison lose their power.[36] Among the Kachin (Chingpaw) of Burma the brewing of beer is regarded as a very important undertaking; the women, while engaged in it, have to live in "almost vestal seclusion."[37] Some of the tribes of Assam believe that until the crops are harvested "the slightest incontinence might ruin all." Assamese headhunters, both before and after a raid, may not cohabit with their wives or eat food cooked by a woman. "Indeed, so strong is the *genna* [taboo] against any intercourse with women, that on one occasion a woman, the wife of the headman, who was quite ignorant of the fact that her husband was returning with a party of warriors to lay the heads before the war stone, spoke to him . . . . When she learnt the awful thing she had done, she sickened and died."[38] The Lhota Naga require women engaged in the making of pots to refrain from sexual intercourse. The women must also avoid any strong-smelling food, such as beef, goat's flesh, dog's flesh, or fish, for eating these would cause the pots to "ring" badly. No outsider may look on while the pots are being fired, and only those women who help the potters in carrying the pots or in collecting fuel may be present when these are fired. Were a man to see the pots at this critical stage of their manufacture they would all crack.[39]

The necessity of continence upon certain occasions is strongly emphasized by some South African peoples. The Zulu, when about to go to war, must not associate with their wives; otherwise they would lose all power of discrimination in battle and would soon be killed.[40] The Thonga prohibit sexual relations in warfare, during the whole period that hunting parties are absent, and in time of an epidemic. This prohibition does not apply so severely to unmarried boys and girls "amusing themselves" as it does to regularly married people, for it is chiefly the bad conduct of the latter which endangers the community at a critical epoch.[41]

Among the Ba-ila of Northern Rhodesia the occasions when sexual intercourse is interdicted are very numerous. A woman making beer must abstain, or the beer would not ferment. She must abstain just before sowing her fields, lest the seed should fail to sprout. The people who thresh out the grain and those who store the grain are also required to be continent. A man starting on a journey keeps away from all women the night before, or he would have bad luck on the road and fail to accomplish his busi-

ness. Some men will not visit women before going on a hunt, for fear lest they should be hurt on the way or be mauled by a wild beast. Other men, on the contrary, regard intercourse as giving them good luck in hunting. The smelters of iron do not engage in sexual intercourse. Above all, warriors must be strictly continent as soon as preparations for fighting have begun. A breach of this rule would mean certain death in the fight and would very likely involve the entire army in disaster.[42] The Bambala impose a strict taboo for the smelters of iron while away from the village. If a workman wishes to visit the village, he must on no account have connection with his wife. The women staying in the village must not wash, or anoint themselves, or put on any ornaments that might attract masculine glances. They are regarded as being in the same condition as recently bereaved widows. Should a workman transgress the rule of continence by having intercourse with his wife or with any other woman, the smelting would be a failure.[43]

The Bechuana assert that during the performance of the boys' puberty rites, which last for nearly three months and are soon followed by the puberty rites for girls, cohabitation was tabooed to the entire community. "This prohibition has long fallen into disuse; and those of us who know something of the incontinence of these people find it difficult to believe that it was ever observed. Sexual intercourse is, however, still taboo for those who are taking any part in the puberty rites; and it is believed that violation of the taboo would be followed by great fatality among the neophytes."[44]

The Konde of the Lake Nyasa region impose continence upon married couples during wartime. A warrior who is guilty of illicit intercourse will be killed at the first spear throw before he has a chance to hurl his own weapon, while a chief will be defeated and his men slain.[45] The Wagiriama think that if men have intercourse with their wives during wartime "they will be unable to kill any of their enemies, and that if they themselves receive a trifling wound it will prove fatal."[46] The Wasania, a neighboring tribe, say that if a man has intercourse with his wife during a hunt he will meet with bad luck and find no game.[47]

A Masai man preparing poison must be continent during the eight days that he is so engaged, and the man and woman chosen to make honey wine must be continent for two days before they begin to brew and for the six days that the brewing lasts. The Masai think that if the couple were to have intercourse at this

time the wine would be undrinkable and the bees which made the honey would fly away.[48] The Akikuyu do not allow sexual intercourse to take place during an eight days' festival held to secure divine blessing on their flocks and herds. Any breach of the rule would be followed by a mortality among the animals.[49] The Banyoro of Uganda require men engaged in making charcoal, digging the iron ore, and smelting it, to observe strict chastity.[50]

The Bakongo require a woman to remain continent while planting pumpkin and calabash seeds. If she fails to observe the rule during this delicate operation, the crop will be a failure. However, she may make the holes for the reception of the seeds, but her girl child or another woman who has remained continent must drop them into the ground and cover them over.[51]

Among the Azande (Niam-Niam), another tribe of the Belgian Congo, a red powder derived from a poison creeper finds use in divination. It is mixed with water and then is squeezed into the beaks of domestic fowls, which are compelled to swallow the paste. From the behavior of the fowls thereafter, especially by their death or survival, the Azande believe themselves able to divine the future and discover hidden things. The poison creeper does not grow in their country, and a long and dangerous journey must be made to procure it. Those who take part in such an expedition observe taboos on sexual intercourse, on oiling their bodies, and on eating certain animal and vegetable foods. Were the taboos broken, the expedition might end in disaster and the poison lose its potency.[52]

In the old kingdom of Congo (Loango), when the sacred pontiff made a circuit about the country, all the people observed strict continence, and those who did not do so suffered death. They thought that this precaution was necessary to preserve the pontiff's life. Warning of his presence abroad was given by the public crier, so that no one could plead ignorance as an excuse for a breach of the law.[53]

The Fan of French Equatorial Africa subject smiths to many burdensome taboos, especially of a sexual nature. These must be observed for two months before the working of iron begins and as long as it continues. The smith's craft, in consequence, is highly unpopular.[54]

A Baya hunter must have no intercourse with his wife for three days before he starts out on an expedition.[55] Some Nigerian tribes (the Mbolli and Abuan) do not allow any sexual relations during the making and planting of farms. "Till every 'seed of

Proserpine' has been laid in the dark ground . . . . neither wife nor maid may yield to the prayer of husband or lover; for should the strictest chastity fail to be practiced during this period, the farm of the frail one would yield but scanty increase."[56] Ibibio men, while on the warpath, are forbidden to sleep in or even near a house where women may be found.[57] Among the Kwotto conscientious hunters abstain from sexual intercourse for a considerable time before starting out on the chase, lest the efficacy of their weapons be impaired. Should a woman touch them, not only would they become useless, but she herself would get a skin disease and be obliged to scratch herself continually. After returning from a hunt the men commonly have no relations with women for a month or two, in order to avoid illness. The idea seems to be that by contact with spiritual influences—in this case the souls of the slain animals—a hunter becomes saturated with a dangerous potency, so that it is prudent to allow some of it to "wear off," as it were, before resuming the normal sex life. Serious-minded fishers often observe the same restriction.[58]

The Jivaro of eastern Ecuador require the maker of a blowgun or of a shield to remain continent during its manufacture, as well as to observe various dietary restrictions. If he does not keep these taboos, the blowgun or shield will prove defective and not fulfill its purpose.[59] The Huichol Indians (in the Mexican state of Jalisco) ascribe divine powers to a little species of cactus, the *hikuli*, eating of which throws them into a state of ecstasy. The plant does not grow in their country, but has to be gathered every year by men who undertake a long journey for the purpose. The cactus gatherers must remain continent. Anyone who broke the rule would fall ill and, moreover, would jeopardize the success of the expedition.[60] Among the Zuñi sexual relations are taboo (*teckwi*) during the ten days of the winter solstice, for four days following the planting of prayer sticks, and while dances and other religious performances are held. In many ceremonies the taboo is extended to include touching, addressing, or even seeing a person of the opposite sex.[61] According to the testimony of an old authority, the Indian tribes in what is now the southeastern part of the United States practiced continence while on the warpath. They also abstained from sexual intercourse "even with their own wives" for three days and nights before going to war.[62] Karok hunters, before setting forth, abstained for three days from touching any woman; failure to do so meant that they would miss their quarry.[63]

Among the Nootka (Aht) of Vancouver Island the men who are to take part in whale fishing must prepare themselves for this work by abstaining for several months from their usual food and from intercourse with their wives. They must also wash themselves morning, noon, and night and rub their bodies with twigs or a rough stone. Should there be any accident during the expedition, such as the damaging or capsizing of a canoe by a whale, it is assumed that some of the crew have failed in the preparatory offices, and a strict inquiry is instituted by the chief men of the tribe. Delinquents are severely dealt with.[64]

The pollution resulting from sexual intercourse would naturally be intensified when it takes place outside the bonds of matrimony. The belief is widespread that adultery, fornication, and incest contaminate the guilty parties and, in addition, may bring disaster to those with whom they come into contact or to the entire social group. Such ideas cannot have been without influence in evoking an incipient ethical attitude toward illicit sexual relations.[65]

Conjugal fidelity, in primitive society, is much more commonly required of the wife than of the husband. Nevertheless, there are both monogamous and polygamous peoples who condemn and punish severely the commission of adultery by either party to a marriage. Other peoples consider adulterous relations so abominable that these are supposed to carry with them some automatic penalty which is visited on the offenders or on the social group. To commit adultery is, then, to break a stringent taboo, with ill luck or disaster as the consequence.

Among some of the Queensland tribes blindness is supposed to afflict men who persistently rape married women when alone and unprotected out in the bush. This punishment is not automatic, however; it is necessary for the man whose honor has been sullied to work nefarious magic on the visual organs of the culprit without the latter's knowledge. The culprit becomes incurably blind and can see no more women to assault.[66] The natives of Duke of York Island believe that if the wife of a fisherman commits adultery while he and his associates are away on an expedition, it will be impossible for them to catch a shark.[67]

In some of the Solomon Islands cases of difficult parturition are explained as due to the uncleanness of the mother, who had committed adultery. The people of Mala resort to divination to discover the name of the man responsible for her condition. If he is found, he confesses and pays a money fine. The birth there-

upon takes place without further difficulty.[68] Fijian women are taught that concealment of illicit love "will inevitably engender a long train of ailments and bad luck, which may be avoided by open confession. When childbirth is difficult the sufferer is exhorted to make a clean breast of all her affairs. When she does not do so, the midwives mention the names of those they suspect, and when at last they utter that of the real father the babe comes forth without further difficulty." Illicit love is as bad for the man as the woman. Youths who have had amours are enjoined to confess before marriage, for otherwise they will suffer from a sort of general debility or anemia and will probably die.[69]

In Ontong Java, a group of coral islands which lie to the northeast of the Solomons and whose inhabitants speak a Polynesian dialect, "a case of flagrant adultery will disturb a village. The women gather around the well and discuss the matter for hours. Their general conclusion is that the woman is unworthy of her sex. At the same time the men talk about the incident as they sit on their platforms above the beach. They abuse the two culprits and as a rule suggest appropriate punishments." The natives say that even if the husband does not take summary vengeance on the adulterer the *kipua* (ancestral spirits) will do so by making him mortally ill. "When, for the sake of a discussion, I ventured to doubt the efficacy of punishment by the *kipua*, I was always overwhelmed by dozens of examples which seemed to the natives conclusively to prove that it did take place."[70]

In the Marquesas Islands an unmarried girl enjoyed sexual freedom; once married, she was strictly reserved to her husband.[71] Similarly, a Maori girl was *noa*, or common, until her marriage. She could select as many companions as she liked, without being thought guilty of any impropriety. When, however, she was given away by her friends to someone as her future master she then became *tapu* to other men and might be put to death for unfaithfulness.[72] A difficult parturition was explained by some breach of the taboo rules by the woman, and a seer endeavored to discover what she had done or failed to do.[73]

The Sea Dayak of Sarawak believe that if a wife is unfaithful while her husband is away on the warpath he will surely lose his life in the enemy's country.[74] The Kayan, another Bornean people, believe that the spirits will surely punish adultery by visiting the whole community with failure of the crop and other misfortunes.[75]

Karen children are told that adultery and fornication are dis-

pleasing to the god of heaven and earth. In consequence, the rains do not come or do not come at the proper time, the dry season is irregular, and the crops are bad. When such has been the case for a year or two, the villagers are persuaded that the calamity is due to the secret sins of some of their members. The transgressors, when discovered, must make a propitiatory sacrifice of a hog. The woman takes one foot of the hog and the man takes another, and with the feet they scrape out furrows in the ground. These are filled with the hog's blood. Then they scratch the ground with their hands and pray to the god of heaven and earth, humbly confessing that by their act the productiveness of the country has been destroyed.[76] The aboriginal inhabitants of the Rajmahal Hills in Bengal imagine that adultery, undetected and unexpiated, brings disaster to the village, which will be plague-smitten or ravaged by tigers or other animals.[77]

Every year in January, on a day fixed by the chief, the adult males of a Bechuana tribe go through a purificatory rite which consists in anointing the body with the juice of the leaves of the *lerotse*, a kind of gourd. The rite is performed in the great kraal of the tribe. Then every man goes to his own kraal, assembles the members of his family, and repeats the anointing process on them. Only after this has been done is it allowable to eat of the new crops. That night every man sleeps ritually with his chief wife. If the wife has committed adultery during the preceding year, she must confess the deed before her husband comes to her and must be purified the next morning. The husband's father presides at the ceremony. It is performed by a witch doctor, who fumigates the woman and her husband with the smoke of a bean-plant placed in a pot between the woman's knees as she sits on the ground. Her husband sits opposite her, with her knees between his own. He makes a slight cut with a razor under her navel and she does the same thing to him. To the blood which follows this operation each one adds a little medicine and then rubs the mixture into the cut in the other's abdomen. The purification is now completed and may be followed by the ritual coitus.[78]

Among the Bavenda of the Transvaal a woman who has given birth is visited soon after by a medicine man, who questions her as to the legitimacy of her child. If she does not answer truthfully, the child will be dead by sundown. If she confesses adultery, her husband will claim two head of cattle from her seducer. There the matter ends, for the child is regarded as the husband's property. It often happens that the mother suffers intense pain before

she is given her child to suckle. In that case the midwives refuse to summon the doctor to rub her breasts, so that she may give milk, until she has divulged the name of her lover. "Sometimes the agony is so great that the mother will say any name that she thinks will satisfy her persecutors, in order to escape from her sufferings, although she may be innocent of the indiscretion to which she confesses." If she owns to a lover, her breasts must be purified with a lotion.[79]

Adultery, for the Thonga, includes only sexual relations with a married woman by anyone not her husband. A man, whether married or unmarried, is permitted such relations with a girl. In this South African tribe adultery is considered to be a very great sin, partly because it is a theft, the married woman being owned by a master, and partly because it is the violation of a taboo and involves contamination. For the adulteress it means that she will have a protracted and difficult labor. This conviction is so strong that when a woman knows that the child she is about to bear is not her husband's she will admit the fact secretly to the midwife, in order to spare herself untold suffering at confinement. But the adulterer gets off by paying a fine to the aggrieved husband—as much money as is necessary to buy a wife.[80]

The Mashona of Southern Rhodesia explain a difficult birth by the adultery of either the husband or the wife. The child cannot be delivered until the adultery has been confessed and the paramour's name revealed.[81] The Mashona are firmly persuaded that an elephant can detect an adulterous man when it meets him and that it immediately starts in pursuit of him. However, if the adulterer makes a full confession, the animal will spare his life. A man whose wife is unfaithful will also be chased. Women are therefore urged to remain virtuous, lest they expose their husbands to the danger of being charged by elephants.[82] The Ba-ila of Northern Rhodesia regard a miscarriage with horror and believe it to be the penalty for adultery.[83]

An Awemba woman, even *in extremis*, must name her lover. The man whom she mentions is called a murderer, he is held guilty without further investigation, and is obliged to pay a heavy fine to the injured husband. When both mother and child die in childbirth, people think that she must have committed adultery with many men.[84] In the Nyasaland Protectorate "Isolde is expected to make, without delay, full confession of her fault to her husband, who otherwise would die if he partook of food in company with Tristan . . . . A somewhat similar idea is the universal belief

that a woman whose husband has been unfaithful will grow ill and die of her next child; or that a child at the breast will die if its father is unfaithful to the mother. All the deaths of women with child, or of a child at the breast, are attributed to this cause. Nothing, however, appears to happen nowadays to the guilty father, except that he is excluded from the family mourning ceremonies."[85]

When Ngoni men were away fighting, the people at home, and especially the wives of the warriors, feared to commit adultery lest harm should happen to the absent ones. A man who had committed adultery before going to war was "afraid in his heart" that he might act the coward. If a man whose wife he had seduced saw him when he was wounded, his wounds suppurated and he collapsed. A Ngoni woman guilty of adultery was said to be "bound" or "tight," and because of this condition she might expect a difficult confinement. As the birth took place in the husband's village, the woman was at the mercy of her female relatives-in-law, who, if delivery was delayed, tried to force her to confess her guilt. If, however, they were convinced of her innocence, they turned on the husband and accused him of unfaithfulness. Until he confessed, they believed that the child could not be born.[86] The Konde require a wife to be faithful to her husband while he is out hunting, for if she committed adultery he would meet his death in the chase.[87]

The Washamba of Tanganyika Colony think that protracted labor pains are a proof that the woman has had sexual relations with several men.[88] The Wagogo, in the same part of Africa, ascribe a man's failure in hunting to his wife's infidelity during his absence. They also think that her unfaithfulness exposes him to the danger of being wounded or killed by wild animals.[89]

The Akamba of Kenya consider it highly dangerous for a woman who has been confined to indulge in sexual relations with anyone except her husband before she menstruates for the first time after giving birth. Her adultery would most probably result in the death of her child.[90] We are also informed that in this tribe cohabitation with a married woman, while the cattle are out grazing, taboos them and causes them to die. However, the woman is generally afraid of bringing evil on the precious cattle, so she confesses what has been done. The animals are taken out of the kraal, purificatory medicine is placed on the ground before the gate, and they are then driven over the medicine. The woman also has to be ceremonially purified by an elder.[91]

Among the Akikuyu, if a man's son commits adultery with one of his father's wives, and the father is still alive, the father becomes *thahu*, or ceremonially unclean. The father takes the uncleanness because he begot the son. The latter must make peace with his sire by the formal present of a big male goat. This *thahu* is a very serious matter, and if it is not quickly removed by the council of elders the father will die.[92]

The Baganda punished an adulterer with death unless he was related to the person wronged, in which case the latter might be willing to accept a money compensation. "The worst consequence to the injured husband was the anger of his fetiches and gods, whose custodian was his wife. By her action the wife had involved her husband in their displeasure; he was thus left exposed to the malice of any enemy and his danger was increased in time of war, because the gods had withdrawn their protection from him. Adultery was also regarded as a danger to children; it was thought that women who were guilty of it during pregnancy caused the child to die, either prior to birth, or at the time of birth. Sometimes the guilty woman would herself die in childbed; or, if she was safely delivered, she would have a tendency to devour her child, and would have to be guarded, lest she should kill it. It was also supposed that a man who had sexual intercourse with any woman not his wife, during the time that any one of his wives was nursing a child, would cause the child to fall ill, and that unless he confessed his guilt, and obtained from the medicine man the necessary remedies to cancel the evil results, the child would die."[93]

The Ovimbundu of Angola believe that an adulterous woman will die in childbed, unless a medicine man is called in to cure her.[94] The Warega of the Belgian Congo allow a man to cohabit with his wife until her delivery draws near; they think, however, that if he has sexual relations with another woman during this time, the child will die.[95] Among the Bushongo it is taboo (*ikina*) for a husband whose wife is pregnant to "carry on" with another woman or even to meet one of his former sweethearts; if he did so, the expected child would die.[96] The Bahuana believe that adultery by a pregnant wife will be fatal to her child.[97] A Bakongo hunter must not commit adultery. "The test of a man's faithfulness in this is whether he hits or misses when he shoots. Should he habitually miss, he is unquestionably guilty."[98]

The Ga people of the Gold Coast are certain that an adulterous woman will die in childbed. Such a one enters her confinement in

secret terror. It is said that friendly relatives often gag a parturient woman, in order to prevent disgraceful disclosures by her. To call out the father's name when in labor gives vigor to the child, wakens its spirit, and causes it to move a "step" toward birth. Sometimes the child does not respond until the woman has called out several names besides that of her husband.[99] The Ale Nsaw Ibo of Nigeria believe that their sex regulations were imposed by the direct command of the Earth Goddess. "All our women," declared a native informant, "were sacred to Ale, therefore in olden days no man might reach out a hand to touch a woman's leg or foot. Should a man meet a woman going to [the] bush, he must at once hide his eyes or pass by another way. In those days it was a very terrible sin to commit adultery. Should he fall into this crime, he was not only heavily fined but at once made outcaste. Never again was he permitted to join any 'company.' Never again might he drink or eat with others. As regarded his own family, because he was of their kin they would help to collect the fine, but after this was paid off they would have nothing further to do with him."[100] Among the Ibibio adultery—at any rate with a father's wife—was taboo and was also forbidden by law. The adulterer had to sacrifice to the ancestors or to the Earth Goddess in order to purify his house from pollution; he also paid a fine or damages for his transgression.[101] Nearly all the Southern Nigerian tribes hold it a very grave sin for a woman to prepare food for her husband when she has just returned from committing adultery. The sin is especially heinous if the sexual act takes place while the food is being cooked, for in that case her husband will probably die. A woman who does not confess to such adultery before giving birth will endanger both her own life and that of her offspring.[102] In Sierra Leone it is believed that a married woman who commits adultery during pregnancy will have a miscarriage or bear her child prematurely.[103]

When Huichol men are far away in search of the sacred cactus, the women whom they have left at home must be faithful to them. Infidelity on the part of a wife would cause her to fall sick and at the same time would probably result in the failure of the expedition.[104] The Tarahumara think that a woman who falls sick because of an illicit relationship can be cured provided she received no payment from her lover. But if she accepted money or goods of any kind her fate is sealed.[105] Among the Quinault Indians of Washington the wives of the whalers must observe strict continence during the absence of their husbands. "Should

a woman be unfaithful while the hunt was on, the whales would be wary and 'wild,' and the men would be unable to kill any."[106] Among the Haida of Queen Charlotte Islands, while the men were engaged in warfare, their wives "all slept in one house to keep watch over each other; for, if a woman were unfaithful to her husband while he was with a war-party, he would probably be killed."[107] The Aleuts believe that sea-otter hunters whose wives are unfaithful during their absence, or whose sisters are unchaste, lose all power to kill the animals and return home with empty hands.[108] It is said of the Greenland Eskimo that a man avoids another man's wife more because he shrinks from quarreling with the husband than because he regards adultery as morally wrong. Yet among them there is current a saying which suggests at least a vague moral condemnation of the act. "The whale, the musk-ox, and the reindeer left the country because men had too much to do with other men's wives."[109]

In primitive society post-pubertal and prenuptial intercourse between the sexes may be tolerated and even approved, especially if it is regarded as a method of courtship or as a form of "trial marriage." When, however, cohabitation results in pregnancy for the girl, she often becomes an object of reprobation as a taboo-breaker and, with her partner, requires a ceremonial purification. Unless this takes place, the guilty couple will suffer for their misdeed; more commonly, the evil anticipated will descend upon the entire social group. The fear of a possible pregnancy may also lead to the imposition of a taboo of all sexual intercourse before marriage.

The Sulka of New Britain believe that unmarried people who have carnal knowledge of each other contract a pollution (*sle*), which is fatal unless they confess their fault at once and undergo a purificatory ceremony. Until this has been done, they are dangerous to others as well as to themselves. They are shunned by everybody; no one will take anything from them; and children are warned not to approach them. A guilty man is publicly purified, in the following manner. First, he drinks a mixture of sea water and ginger, to which some shredded coconut has been added. Next, he is thrown into the sea. The leaves out of which he drank the nauseating potion are taken by him into the water and placed under stones at the bottom. Then the man bathes, strips off the clothing which he had worn when polluted, and throws it away. Meanwhile, the men are watching him from the beach and singing a song. He finally emerges from the water, puts on a new loin

cloth, and rejoins his fellows. A ceremony of purification (of a simpler kind) is also necessary for persons who have come upon a couple engaged in sexual intercourse.[110]

The Lubu of central Sumatra believe that an unmarried girl who becomes pregnant incurs the pollution called *looi;* it is so dangerous that she spreads misfortune wherever she goes.[111] In Nias it is also the general opinion that an unwedded girl who becomes *enceinte* brings misfortune to the entire community. Hence when the rain fails for a while, all the maids in the village are carefully scrutinized to discover whether one of them may not show the sign of pregnancy—vomiting.[112]

The Sea Dayak of Borneo ascribe an excessive rainfall to the immorality of two young people. The higher powers are invoked to pardon the sin, the offenders are banished from their homes, and the bad weather is then said to cease.[113] The Sibuyau, a subdivision of the Sea Dayak, attach an idea of great indecency to irregular connections. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, they fine the lovers and sacrifice a pig to appease the higher powers. Were this not done, sickness or some other great calamity would descend on the entire tribe.[114] The Blu-u Kayan suppose that sexual intercourse between unmarried persons is punished by the spirits. The relatives of the guilty pair will meet with no success in farming, fishing, or hunting.[115] Among the natives of the Rajmahal Hills in Bengal sexual intercourse between unmarried peoples is strongly reprobated. A hog and a goat must be sacrificed, and the blood of those animals is then sprinkled on the guilty couple "to wash out the stain" from the land.[116]

A custom which once prevailed among the Basuto indicates that with them the chastity of unmarried youths was regarded as essential for ritual correctness. The Basuto always lighted a new fire in a house where a birth had taken place. "For this purpose it was necessary that a young man of chaste habits should rub two pieces of wood quickly one against another, until a flame sprung up, pure as himself. It was firmly believed that a premature death awaited him who should dare to take upon himself this office after having lost his innocence. As soon, therefore, as a birth was proclaimed in the village, the fathers took their sons to undergo the ordeal. Those who felt themselves guilty confessed their crime, and submitted to be scourged rather than expose themselves to the consequences of a fatal temerity. The same result was obtained by offering them some milk to drink, in which certain drugs had previously been mixed. The imprudent youth,

who might be led from motives of shame to accept this challenge, did not go unpunished; malignant blotches broke out all over his body, the hair fell from his head, and if he escaped death, he could not avoid the infamy of his double fault."[117]

A Nandi girl who gives birth to a child before she marries is regarded with contempt for the rest of her life. She is never allowed to look inside a granary, "for fear of spoiling the grain."[118] The Dorobo, a hunting tribe of Kenya, allow only the children of the village (or perhaps very old women) to eat the first crop of honey out of a new hive. "The reason of this is said to be that if a young woman were to eat any and then misconduct herself with a man, the honey crop would be spoilt and the bees would not enter any of the hives hung up on that day."[119] By the Akamba illicit relations between a woman past the age of child-bearing and a youth were thought to result in his becoming impotent. Both parties had to be ceremonially purified.[120]

Should a Lango girl be found in illicit intercourse with a man out of doors, or should she complain of such intercourse, all passers-by throw grass on the spot, for the evil influence of the high god Jok is immanent there. "The man is said to have 'brought god' on the girl."[121]

The Ovakumbi of Angola believe that the incontinence of young people under the age of puberty, if it were not severely punished, would cause their king to die within the year. Death was formerly the penalty imposed for this offense.[122] When the country of Loango is suffering from drought and a famine results, the natives attribute it to the commerce of men with immature girls. Every effort is made to discover and punish the guilty parties. If found, they are heavily fined and made to dance naked before all the people, who throw heated gravel and bits of glass at them as they run the gantlet.[123] Among the Baduma of Lake Chad "a child born out of wedlock is looked on as a disgrace and must be drowned. If this is not done, great misfortunes will happen to the tribe. All the men will fall sick, and the women, cows, and goats will become barren."[124]

The reprobation of incest is probably universal in primitive society, for there are no communities known to be without prohibitions applying to sexual intercourse within certain degrees of real or artificial relationship. Nearly all savages condemn the union of parent and child and of brother and sister, but outside of these forbidden degrees the restrictions on mating vary greatly from tribe to tribe and from people to people. However incest

may be defined, the abhorrence which it excites is profound. Death is the usual penalty for its commission. The dread power of the taboo may also be invoked to uphold the incest rule.[125]

Some Queensland tribes have a belief in a supernatural being called Kohin. His home is in the Milky Way, but at night he roams about the earth in the guise of a gigantic warrior and kills whomever he meets. "It is said that Kohin is offended by anyone taking a wife from the prohibited sub-class or not wearing the mourning necklace for the prescribed period, or eating forbidden food. Such offences bring on the offenders Kohin's anger, and sooner or later the person dies in consequence."[126] In the Omeo tribe of Victoria closely related people who had carnal connection were supposed to be bitten by supernatural snakes, and the punishment was the more dreaded because it might hang over the culprit for years.[127]

The Trobriands form an island group lying off the east end of New Guinea and inhabited by Papuo-Melanesians. The natives are divided into four totemic clans and these clans are exogamous. A man calls all the females of the clan to which he belongs his "sisters," and he may not marry one of them. Professor Malinowski found, however, that the breach of exogamy, when it concerns temporary cohabitation and not marriage, is by no means a rare occurrence among the natives and that their attitude toward it is usually lenient. "If the affair is carried on *sub rosa* with a certain amount of decorum, and if no one in particular stirs up trouble—'public opinion' will gossip, but not demand any harsh punishment. If, on the contrary, scandal breaks out—everyone turns against the guilty pair and by ostracism and insults one or the other may be driven to suicide." Clan incest is also supposed to be punished automatically, the offenders being visited by disease or death. Nevertheless, even these penalties can be avoided, for the natives know certain magical spells and rites to nullify the evil consequences of the breach of the taboo. "It is no doubt better not to run the risk—the counter-magic may have been imperfectly learned or faultily performed—but the risk is not great."[128]

In Ontong Java marriage is forbidden between persons who apply relationship terms to one another. But here, as in the Trobriands, clan incest is regarded rather leniently by the social group. Sexual relations and even marriages do take place within the prohibited degrees. "Nothing is done to the culprits, notwithstanding the disapproval which everyone feels. They are not punished by the community in any definite manner, for instance

by mutilation or death. Yet if one or other of the pair is taken ill it is almost certain that people will say that the *kipua* are punishing him." These ancestral spirits are also believed to punish, not only incestuous persons, but also their descendants.[129]

We are told that in Tikopia, whose essentially Polynesian inhabitants have been little affected by European civilization, unions of close kin and even those of half-brothers with half-sisters do not excite more than an expression of community disapproval. Such unions are allowable, but the children which result from them will be diseased or weakly and likely to die young. The parents of the guilty pair, while living, took no steps to prevent the commission of incest, but after death they vent their accumulated spleen upon the offspring.[130] The Samoans "say that, of old, custom and the gods frowned upon the union of those in whom consanguinity could be closely traced. Few had the hardihood to run in the face of superstition; but if they did, and their children died at a premature age, it was sure to be traced to the anger of the household god on account of the forbidden marriage.[131] The Gilbert Islanders believed that if people guilty of incest went unpunished the sun would hide his face from the place where the sin had been committed. The offenders were killed in some manner. The lightest punishment was to put the couple aboard a small canoe, with a few coconuts and a paddle (but not a sail), and thus abandon them to their fate.[132]

Many Bornean peoples, who suppose that adultery and fornication imperil not only the culprits but the community as well, entertain similar ideas about the evil effects of incest. In Sarawak, while almost all offenses are punishable by fines only, this is not true of incest. The Kayan think that incestuous relations gravely endanger the whole household and may result in starvation through failure of the rice crop. Accordingly, they put the culprits to death, either by driving a bamboo stake through their bodies or by enclosing them in a wicker cage which is then thrown into the river. Sexual relations between a man and his adopted daughter are most strongly reprobated. "The punishment of the incestuous couple does not suffice to ward off the danger brought by them upon the community. The household must be purified with the blood of pigs and fowls; the animals used are the property of the offenders or of their family; and in this way a fine is imposed. When any calamity threatens or falls upon a house, especially a great rising of the river which threatens to sweep away the house or the tombs of the household, the Kayans are led to

suspect that incestuous intercourse in their own or in neighbouring houses has taken place; and they look around for evidences of it, and sometimes detect a case which otherwise would have remained hidden."[133] By the Murut and Dusun of British North Borneo such calamities as plagues, floods, drought, and famine are ascribed to some undetected act of incest. The participants, if found, will be taken upstream from the village and killed in the river, so that their blood may flow past the village and wash away the effects of their act. Sometimes their blood is sprinkled about the village.[134]

In Celebes incestuous relations are supposed to produce a failure of the crops and in Halmahera to be followed by torrential rains, earthquakes, or volcanic eruptions.[135] The Bagobo of Mindanao think that incestuous relations "cause the sea to rise and cover the land."[136] The Khasi of Assam, who are divided into strictly exogamous clans, regard sexual intercourse between a man and a woman of the same clan as the greatest sin which can be committed. The offenders would be made outcasts and would be refused any funeral ceremonies after death. The Khasi think that clan incest results in all sorts of disasters: people will be struck by lightning or killed by tigers, the women will die in childbed, and so forth. These consequences can be avoided, however, if the priest sacrifices a pig and a goat to the higher powers.[137]

The idea that incest has injurious effects, not on the guilty parties, but on innocent persons is found among many African peoples. Some of the Bantu-speaking tribes of South Africa think that the failure of a newly born child to take the breast is caused by the mother's or the father's unfaithfulness "in heart at least."[138] Some other South African tribes think that the offspring of unions within the prohibited degrees of relationship are monsters.[139]

The Washamba believe that the result of incestuous unions is the woman's sterility or the premature birth of her child. When one of their women, after being married, lost three children in succession, the calamity was attributed to incest which she had accidentally committed with her father before her marriage.[140] The Akikuyu forbid the marriage of the children and grandchildren of brothers and sisters. Breach of this rule is considered a very great sin. The offspring of such marriages will surely die, for their *thahu* or ceremonial uncleanness cannot be purged by any ceremonial. The parents are unaffected. It sometimes happens that a young man unwittingly marries a girl who turns out to be his first or second cousin, and in that case the elders can

perform a rite to sever the bond of blood relationship existing between the couple.[141] The Akamba think that a woman who has had incestuous relations with her brother cannot give birth to the child she has conceived by him; she is sure to have a miscarriage unless purified by the elders.[142]

A Bakyiga girl who went wrong with some man of her own clan and got a child by him was driven away from her home and clan and had to live elsewhere. This harsh treatment "was due to the fear of ghosts, for her deed would anger the dead of the clan, who might cause illness among the living if the crime was not thus severely punished." However, if she did not conceive, she was not punished for intercourse with a fellow clansman.[143] Among the Banyoro a girl guilty of incest was taken out of the kraal and sent away to friends, "for her presence would bring ill-luck to her home; the children would die or the cows cast their calves."[144] The Dinka of the White Nile think that incest angers the ancestral spirits. A girl who has committed it will have no children when she marries and she will then be forced to confess her act. An atoning sacrifice is made. Should the girl or one of her relatives die before this has taken place, her lover is held responsible and incurs bloodguiltiness. He must supply a bull for sacrifice. The father of the girl smears some of its stomach contents over the bodies of the couple, thus removing the bloodguiltiness of the man and rendering the woman capable of bearing children.[145] The Bavili (Fjort) of Gabon are persuaded that if a man marries a woman of his mother's clan, the rains will not come in their due season.[146]

The Caribs of British Guiana believe that almost any kind of ill luck or sickness may result from the commission of incest. However, if a man is willing to take the chance of disaster, his fellows only laugh at him or regard him as singularly foolhardy.[147] The Navaho do not marry within their own clan; if they did, declared an Indian informant, "their bones would dry up and they would die."[148] It is said of the Kenayern, an Alaskan tribe of Cook's Inlet, that in former times men did not marry within their own totemic group. In later times this custom was not rigidly observed, and to the resulting promiscuity the old people attributed the great mortality which decimated the tribe.[149] Some of the Alaskan tribes agree with South African natives that the offspring of incestuous unions are monsters. These are born with walrus tusks, beards, and other disfigurations.[150]

Primitive society affords numberless instances of restrictions

affecting relatives by blood or marriage, particularly father and daughter, mother and son, parents-in-law and children-in-law, brother and sister, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, and certain cousins. The restrictions take various forms; for instance, a person may not be allowed to mention the name of another, or speak to him, or eat in his presence, or take anything at his hand, or live under the same roof with him. Avoidance rules are socially enforced, for failure to observe them is at the least a serious breach of etiquette, and in some cases their infraction is punished severely, even by death or banishment from the community. In other cases avoidance rules rank as true taboos.[151]

In the Jajaurung tribe of Victoria "whenever a female child was promised in marriage to any man, from that very hour neither he nor the child's mother [was] permitted to look upon or hear each other speak, nor hear their names mentioned by others; for if they did, they would immediately grow prematurely old and die."[152] The Wurunjerri, another Victorian tribe, believed that if a woman spoke to her son-in-law or to his brother her hair would turn white.[153] Among the Arunta a man may not eat the flesh of any animal which has been caught and killed, or even handled or seen, by certain persons. These include his father-in-law, the children of his sisters, the father of his mother-in-law, and other relatives. One who violated the taboo would become severely ill.[154]

The Kai of New Guinea forbid parents-in-law and children-in-law to mention each other's names. A person who does so is likely to die of consumption.[155] Among the Dusun of British North Borneo you must not mention by name your father, your mother, your father-in-law, and your mother-in-law. The Dusun say that if a man uttered the name of his mother his knees would swell.[156] Among the Dravidian-speaking tribes of the Central Indian Hills one of the most important taboos forbids a man from coming in contact with the wife of his younger brother. The Dharkar believe that a man would acquire a stain if her shadow even crossed his path.[157] By the Birhor, a jungle tribe of Chota Nagpur, the names of certain relatives are tabooed. To utter them will surely bring sickness or some other misfortune to the person who does so or to a member of that person's family.[158]

The Ba-ila of Northern Rhodesia are persuaded that the utterance of certain personal names, such as those of one's father and mother and those of one's parents-in-law, brings misfortunes upon the person named or upon oneself.[159] The Bakaonde, another Rhodesian tribe, consider that for a man to enter his mother-in-

law's hut or to look at her is only a shameful act without disastrous consequences, but for him to have sexual relations with her means that his wife will die.[160] A Mashona couple, two or three months after their marriage, pay a formal visit to the wife's parents and observe certain rites, among which is the presentation of a few goats by the husband to his father-in-law. Until this public recognition of the marriage has taken place the son-in-law dares not meet his wife's parents, who think that their backs would be injured if he did so.[161]

By the Konde of the Lake Nyasa region it is considered one of the greatest of misfortunes for a man to see his daughter-in-law even by accident. He will fall into one sickness after another and finally will die a weak and miserable old man. Some people believe that he will no longer be able to stand upright, but will have to crawl on his buttocks for the rest of his life. On the other hand, a daughter-in-law who sees him has merely committed a breach of good manners and suffers no ill effects from her action.[162] Among the Baganda, if a son-in-law accidentally saw his mother-in-law's breasts, he sent to her in compensation a bark-cloth with which to cover them, "lest some illness, such as tremor, should come upon him." A man might not hold any communication with his father's sisters' daughters or his mother's brothers' daughters; these cousins were even forbidden to approach each other or hand each other anything. Failure to observe such avoidance meant that they would fall ill, their hands would tremble, and they could do no work.[163] The Batamba, another tribe of Uganda, permit neither the parents nor the brothers and sisters of married children to sleep under the same roof. They say that otherwise sickness is caused. "The sickness is called *bujugumiro,* 'trembling,' from the verb *kujugumira,* 'to shiver or tremble.' This cannot be got out of their heads, and no amount of talking or arguing will convince them of the opposite. I have attended," continues our missionary informant, "many cases of this disease and I have not known one to recover . . . . The disease following does not come as a punishment from the gods, but as they say . . . . 'the illness comes by itself.' "[164]

The Indians of Yucatan believed that if a betrothed man were to encounter his future father-in-law or mother-in-law he could never beget children.[165] The Navaho Indians think that a man who looks his mother-in-law in the face will grow blind. The shouts warning men and mothers-in-law against an accidental meeting are said to be the commonest sounds in a Navaho camp.[166]

Rules of avoidance affect chiefly persons of opposite sex who are forbidden to mate. That such rules originated in the desire to prevent, at all costs, the commission of incest, is a matter of opinion; that they have this result is a matter of fact.

Birth and puberty are great natural crises in human life, times of high solemnity and significance, when every precaution must be taken against the mystic dangers which invest them. A mysterious and dangerous character also attaches to marriage as a critical event which brings the parties into a new phase of existence, and the supposed peril confronting them is increased because of the ideas so often entertained as to the defilement which results from sexual intercourse.

The strictest continence may be required of newly married people on the first night following their marriage and often for a much longer period. A violation of the rule is sometimes believed to be fraught with disaster for the couple. Among the Canelos Indians of Ecuador husband and wife do not sleep together the first night after their marriage; if they did so, the husband would die. The reason which the natives give for this taboo is that a most dangerous demon (*supai*) claims the right to spend the wedding night with the bride. This right is voluntarily ceded to him by the bridegroom, although there is danger that the woman, having had intercourse with the demon, will either fall ill or become pregnant with a monstrous child. Even on the following night intercourse between husband and wife is dangerous, because the demon still wants the woman for himself, and sometimes the danger is not supposed to be quite over until two or three children have been born of the marriage.[167] A newly married couple, among the ancient Mexicans, passed four days in prayer and fasting, "without proceeding to any act of less decency, fearing that otherwise the punishment of heaven would fall upon them. . . . . Until the fourth night the marriage was not consummated; they believed it would have proved unlucky, if they had anticipated the period of consummation."[168]

Even where continence is not observed, a ritual purification may be necessary after the first connection between husband and wife. For the Mountain Arapesh of British New Guinea this is exceedingly dangerous, and both parties have to perform a ceremony to rid themselves of the great heat of sexual intercourse. Were the ceremony omitted, the man would be unable to hunt game and grow yams; the woman could not bear children.[169] Among the Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego the husband, upon rising in the

morning, takes a sea bath; if he did not do so his dogs would die.[170] The Thompson Indians of British Columbia require a newly married couple, though sleeping under the same robe, to refrain from sexual intercourse for a time, generally for four nights. After the wife has had connection with her husband she arises before daybreak, repairs to a stream, and washes herself. She spends the whole day in seclusion.[171] With the Eskimo of Kodiak, an island off the coast of Alaska, it is customary for both bridegroom and bride to bathe in hot water after the wedding night "for the purification both of himself and his partner."[172]

Continence is only one of many restrictions often imposed upon a newly married couple. It may be thought necessary for the bridal pair to keep awake during the wedding night. Some of the tribes of Dutch Borneo believe that if the couple slept at this time evil spirits would make them ill or they would have unlucky dreams.[173] In one district of Morocco "if the bride remains long alone before the bridegroom enters the room so that she dozes and is then awakened and frightened by the noise he makes, she may be struck by *jnun* [evil spirits] and get a distorted face or lose her senses."[174] The silence which a bride must observe on the wedding night and the prohibition imposed on her of speaking to anyone but her husband for some time after the marriage, often until she has given birth to a child, are other regulations. Newly married people may also be obliged to go without food for a time or to abstain from eating certain kinds of food or to avoid eating and drinking in public. The Masai, an East African tribe, believe that if either bride or bridegroom eats anything at the wedding feast she or he will suffer from eruptions around the mouth.[175]

Inactivity, or at least a cessation of the normal activities, may be imposed upon the bridal pair, or particularly on the bride. Among the Nandi, another East African tribe, the bridal pair for a whole month are waited upon by the bridegroom's mother, "as it is unlawful for the bride during this period to work."[176] Wataveta brides, for the first year of married life, "are screened from vulgar sight, exempted from all household duties, and prohibited from all social intercourse with all of the other sex except their husbands. They are never left alone, are accompanied by someone wherever they wish to go, and are not permitted to exert themselves in the least; even in their short walks they creep at a snail's pace, lest they should overstrain their muscles."[177]

It is not improbable that many of the precautions and absti-

nences imposed upon newly married couples, while now matters of nuptial etiquette, with a purely social sanction for their observance, were at one time genuine taboos. In some instances, as in those just cited, bride and bridegroom, like boys and girls at puberty and women during pregnancy and parturition, are regarded as being especially susceptible to evil influences or to the assaults of evil spirits. The restrictions which the couple observe under such circumstances are intended to avert or neutralize an anticipated danger or to remove a supposed uncleanness.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

[1] Among the Bechuana of South Africa a man who has a seminal emission in his sleep becomes ceremonially unclean and must bathe his whole body, "by no means a daily habit," before association with his fellows (W. C. Willoughby, *Nature Worship and Taboo* [Hartford, Conn., 1932], p. 127). Similarly, the Nandi of East Africa apply the term "dirty," equivalent to taboo, to a man who has had an involuntary seminal emission (A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi* [Oxford, 1909], p. 92). The Berbers and Moors of Morocco do not allow a holy place, a mosque, or a shrine to be entered by a man defiled by a pollution until he has washed himself. "Should he do so he would suffer some misfortune; he would get blind, or lame, or mad, or he or some member of his family would become ill or die, or he would lose some of his animals, or his corn-crop would be bad" (Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* [London, 1914], pp. 334 f.).

[2] Taboos sometimes relate to the performance of the sexual act. The Ainu think that a woman should not move, ever so slightly, during coitus. If she does so, her husband will meet with misfortune and will die a poor man (B. H. Chamberlain, *Ainu Folk-Tales* [London, 1888], p. 55). Some Semang of Malaya forbid a man to have intercourse with his wife in the daytime; to do so would be displeasing to Tapern, who seems to be a deified tribal ancestor (I. H. N. Evans, *The Negritos of Malaya* [Cambridge, 1937], pp. 141, 173 f.). The Akamba believe that if a man has connection with a woman from behind she will not conceive unless he smears himself with the contents of a goat's stomach as a purificatory rite (C. W. Hobley, *Ethnology of A-Kamba and Other East African Tribes* [Cambridge, 1910], p. 103). Among the neighboring Akikuyu this method of cohabitation entails a very serious pollution for both parties (*idem, Bantu Beliefs and Magic* [London, 1922], p. 110). Among the Lango, a Nilotic tribe of Uganda, coitus is only permitted within a house and at night (J. H. Driberg, *The Lango* [London, 1923], p. 161). It is taboo (*tschina*) for couples in Loango to have intercourse outside the house; this may take place only behind closed doors, not on the earth but on a couch, not during the day, and not if other people are in the room (E. Pechuël-Loesche, "Indiscretes aus Loango," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie,* X [1878], 26). The Edo forbid copulation on the ground. One who does so must sacrifice a goat to the Earth Mother (P. A. Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria* [Oxford, 1926], III, 713). The same rule prevails among the Ibo and, indeed, throughout almost the entire Niger Delta (*idem, Some Nigerian Fertility Cults* [Oxford, 1927], pp. 32 f., 124). At Fez in Morocco sexual intercourse is avoided in moonlight, for a child conceived in such circumstances would have ringworm (Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* [London, 1926], I, 128).

[3] G. Landtman, *The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea* (London, 1927), p. 224.

[4] George Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians* (London, 1910), p. 274.

[5] A. B. Deacon, *Malekula, a Vanishing People in the New Hebrides* (London, 1934), p. 170.

[6] C. B. Humphreys, *The Southern New Hebrides* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 174.

[7] Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

[8] H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (2d ed., London, 1927), I, 188 f.

[9] I. Schapera, *Married Life in an African Tribe* (London, 1940), pp. 194 ff. The condition of "hotness" here described would seem to be equivalent to the state of taboo.

[10] Henry Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu* (London, 1870), p. 441.

[11] Margaret Read, "The Moral Code of the Ngoni and Their Former Military State," *Africa*, XI (1938), 13.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 21 and note 5.

[13] Hollis, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[14] C. Dundas, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XLV (1915), 274, with special reference to the Akamba, Akikuyu, and Atheraka.

[15] E. Pecheül-Loesche, "Indiscretes aus Loango," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, X (1878), 30 f.

[16] Talbot, *Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, III, 739.

[17] James Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), p. 125.

[18] F. Boas, in *Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 719.

[19] Sir Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1904), pp. 293, 295.

[20] C. G. Seligman, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, V, 271.

[21] George Turner, *Samoa* (London, 1884), pp. 349 f., from information supplied by a native pastor.

[22] K. Landtman, "The Magic of the Kiwai Papuans in Warfare," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XLVI (1916), 323.

[23] C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 140.

[24] W. E. Armstrong, *Rossel Island* (Cambridge, 1928), p. 20.

[25] Bronislaw Malinowski, *Coral Gardens and Their Magic* (London, 1935), I, 119. Sexual intercourse in or close to the plantations is also prohibited (*loc. cit.*).

[26] *Idem, The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia* (New York, 1929), p. 492. An individual transgressor of the war taboos is also punished. "Should he indulge in intercourse, a hostile spear would pierce his penis or his testicles. Should he sleep nose to nose with his sweetheart, he would be hit on the nose or thereabouts. Were he to sit even on the same mat with a girl, his buttocks would not be safe from attack" (*loc. cit.*).

[27] H. I. Hogbin, in *Oceania*, V (1934–1935), 330 f. The ritual incision of the penis, to let "bad blood" out, is also practiced by the Mountain Arapesh of British New Guinea, who, in addition, insert small sharp twigs in the urethra. The practice is begun before adolescence by small boys imitating older boys and

is continued at set periods throughout life. As in Wogeo, it is essentially a purificatory rite—in pidgin English, "washwash." See Margaret Mead, in *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History,* XXXVII, 346 ff.

[28] R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 395.

[29] Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians,* pp. 154, 274.

[30] J. J. Atkinson, in *Folk-Lore,* XIV (1903), 256.

[31] G. H. von Langsdorff, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise um die Welt* (Frankfurt a. Main, 1812), I, 132.

[32] Fréderic Lutké, *Voyage autour du monde* (Paris, 1835–1836), III, 168 f.

[33] M. Girschner, in *Baessler-Archiv,* II (1912), 185. The offender is supposed to be speared by the war-god Rasim, who has a particular aversion toward women.

[34] W. H. Furness, *The Island of Stone Money* (Philadelphia, 1910), pp. 38 f.

[35] J. G. Riedel, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie,* XVII (1885), 68.

[36] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (London, 1900), p. 524. On the coast of Selangor fishermen observe continence for seven days (p. 315).

[37] John Anderson, *Mandalay to Momien* (London, 1876), p. 138.

[38] T. C. Hodson, "The 'Genna' amongst the Tribes of Assam," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXXVI (1906), 94, 100. See also *idem,* "Head-Hunting among the Hill Tribes of Assam," *Folk-Lore,* XX (1909), 142.

[39] J. P. Mills, *The Lhota Nagas* (London, 1922), p. 41.

[40] Callaway, *Religious System of the Amazulu,* pp. 437 f.

[41] Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (2d ed.), I, 189; II, 357 ff.

[42] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia* (London, 1921), II, 44.

[43] *Ibid.,* I, 206 f.

[44] Willoughby, *Nature-Worship and Taboo,* pp. 126 f.

[45] D. R. MacKenzie, *The Spirit-ridden Konde* (London, 1925), p. 103.

[46] W. E. H. Barrett, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XLI (1911), 22.

[47] *Ibid.,* p. 31.

[48] A. C. Hollis, *ibid.,* XLIV (1910), 481.

[49] H. R. Tate, *ibid.,* XXXIV (1904), 261.

[50] John Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 75.

[51] J. H. Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo* (London, 1914), p. 252.

[52] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande* (Oxford, 1937), pp. 260, 271 f.

[53] J. B. Labat, *Relation historique de l'Ethiopie occidentale* (Paris, 1732), I, 259 f. Cf. W. Winwood Reade, *In Savage Africa* (New York, 1864), p. 288.

[54] Günter Tessmann, *Die Pangwe* (Berlin, 1913), I, 225. The fear of bringing anything of a sexual character into connection with the pure fire of the smithy is so extreme that those workmen whose wives menstruate while the smelting is going on must purify themselves (I, 226).

[55] A. Poupon, in *L'Anthropologie,* XXVI (1915), 133.

[56] Talbot, *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults,* pp. 121 ff. The taboo in question is said to have been imposed by the direct command of the Earth Mother. It prevails while the people are living on their plantations, but not when they are in the towns. Throughout this part of Nigeria it is regarded as a grave sin against the Earth Mother for the women to yield to the embraces of any man,

whether lover or husband, while lying on the ground. The sin is of yet deeper dye if committed on farm land than in the depth of the bush, and in the old days a couple convicted of such an offense would have been promptly put to death by their outraged townsfolk. There is a special procedure for converting a "bush" place, where cohabitation is not allowed, into a village where it can take place with impunity (Talbot, *loc. cit.*).

[57] *Idem, Life in Southern Nigeria* (London, 1923), p. 223.

[58] J. R. Wilson-Heffenden, *The Red Men of Nigeria* (London, 1930), pp. 176, 179 f.

[59] M. W. Sterling, in *Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* No. 117, pp. 83, 87.

[60] Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (London, 1903), II, 129.

[61] Ruth L. Bunzel, "Introduction to Zuñi Ceremonialism," *Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* p. 503 and note 32.

[62] Adair, *History of the American Indians,* p. 163.

[63] Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (*Contributions to North American Ethnology,* Vol. III), (Washington, D.C., 1877), p. 31.

[64] G. M. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* (London, 1868), p. 227.

[65] See Sir J. G. Frazer, *Psyche's Task* (2d ed., London, 1913), pp. 44–110. This work was reissued in 1927 under the title of *The Devil's Advocate.*

[66] W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines* (Brisbane, 1897), p. 160; *idem, North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin,* No. 5, p. 22.

[67] Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians,* p. 241.

[68] W. G. Ivens, *Melanesians of the South-East Solomon Islands* (London, 1927), p. 251; *idem, The Island Builders of the Pacific* (London, 1930), p. 110.

[69] A. B. Brewster, *The Hill Tribes of Fiji* (London, 1922), p. 198. In the Lau Archipelago a difficult birth or subsequent complications are believed to be the result of broken taboos on the part of the mother or the father. It is usually assumed by the men of the husband's clan that his wife has committed adultery. Instead of consolation, therefore, she receives nothing but reproaches from her husband's male relatives. The women, on the other hand, sympathize with her, for they all agree that adultery does not influence the process of birth (Laura Thompson, *Fijian Frontier* [New York, 1940], p. 31).

[70] H. I. Hogbin, *Law and Order in Polynesia* (London, 1934), pp. 153 f.; see also 164 f. In one case Dr. Hogbin found that the death of a man whose wife had been unfaithful to him was attributed to the *kipua.* They had killed him "to spare him the disgrace of becoming a laughing-stock on account of the conduct of his wife" (p. 158).

[71] Von Langsdorff, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise um die Welt,* I, 132.

[72] Richard Taylor, *Te Ika A Maui* (2d ed., London, 1870), p. 167. Cf. William Brown, *New Zealand and Its Aborigines* (London, 1845), p. 35. We are told by an excellent authority that cohabitation before marriage seldom occurred. If it did and the girl became pregnant, the man married her. A man never deserted a girl who had a child by him, even if he was married. Either he or his people would take the child or she could bring it up herself. But in any case the father generally claimed it. Rarely did a woman of high birth commit adultery. When this happened, she was usually put to death and in many instances her partner suffered the same fate. Moreover, her husband's people would hold a raiding party at the woman's home and could be bought off only by large gifts (*The Old Time Maori,* by Makereti [London, 1938], pp. 100,

104 ff., 117). See also E. Best, "Maori Marriage Customs," in *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute,* XXXVI (1903), pp. 51 f.

[73] Edward Shortland, *Maori Religion and Mythology* (London, 1882), p. 30.

[74] Mrs. F. E. Hewitt, "Some Sea-Dayak Tabus," *Man,* VIII (1908), 187.

[75] A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo* (Leiden, 1904–1907), I, 367.

[76] F. Mason, in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* XXXVII (1868), Part II, pp. 141, 147 f. Cf. A. R. McMahon, *The Karens of the Golden Chersonese* (London, 1876), pp. 334 f.

[77] Thomas Shaw, in *Asiatic Researches* (Calcutta, 1795), IV, 73.

[78] W. C. Willoughby, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXXV (1905), 311 ff. If the husband should be away from home and unable to return for this ceremony, the wife is entitled to proceed to the ritual coitus with some other man. The husband cannot complain of her doing so, for it is he, not she, who suffers from not having had this intercourse with his wife. His plight is a sad one, and his chances of surviving the year are very slight. When he returns home he dares not enter his premises, for he would pollute them by his presence; his very shadow, falling on one of his children, would be fatal to the child. It is necessary for him to undergo the same rite of purification indicated for a faithless wife. While this averts the worst consequences of his condition, there must be no sexual connection between him and his wife until the next tribal purification. A breach of the rule would be punished by his own death or by that of his wife or child. But if the wife has not completed the sexual part of the ceremony with another man during her husband's absence, they can perform it together, for in that case neither of the parties is in a state of taboo (Willoughby, *loc. cit.*).

[79] H. A. Stayt, *The Bavenda* (Oxford, 1931), p. 87.

[80] Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (2d ed.), I, 40 f., 196 ff. The Pedi, on the other hand, taboo any sexual relations before marriage, while after marriage a woman who has had children may have intercourse with a man not her husband. The precautions taken by the Pedi to preserve the virginity of their girls do not seem to be due to any great elevation of the moral standard in this tribe. They have their source, apparently, in the belief "that the lochia, the secretion which flows after the birth of a child, and even more after a miscarriage, is highly poisonous and greatly injures the man who has relations with a woman during the days following on it." It is understandable, therefore, that a young husband should be particularly anxious to be sure that his young wife is physically pure. See Junod, *op. cit.,* I, 98 f., 297 f.

[81] Charles Bullock, *The Mashona* (Cape Town and Johannesburg, [1928]), pp. 199 f.

[82] *Idem, Mashona Laws and Customs* (Salisbury, Rhodesia, 1913), p. 85.

[83] Smith and Dale, *Ila-speaking Peoples,* II, 6.

[84] Cullen Gouldsbury and Hubert Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia* (London, 1911), pp. 178, 57.

[85] H. Coudenhove, "Feminism in Nyasaland," *Atlantic Monthly,* CXXXII (1923), 194. Among the Anyanja, when a man's wife dies in childbirth, he is often accused of having killed her by his infidelity during her pregnancy (H. S. Stannus, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XL [1910], 305). According to another account of the Anyanja, a man caught in adultery must get another man to cohabit with his wife before he can return to her. He must pay the substitute for this service four yards of cloth or something of equal value; otherwise the substitute can claim the wife and carry her off (Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa* [London, 1897], p. 415). The Achewa (Ajawa)

believe that a husband will fall ill if he eats food into which his wife has put salt, either during her courses or after she has committed adultery (A. G. O. Hodgson, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* LXIII [1933], 129).

[86] Margaret Read, "The Moral Code of the Ngoni and Their Former Military State," *Africa,* XI (1938), 4, 17 f.

[87] MacKenzie, *Spirit-ridden Konde,* p. 134.

[88] A. Karasek and A. Eichhorn, in *Baessler-Archiv,* I (1910–1911), 188.

[89] H. Cole, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXXII (1902), 318 f.

[90] Gerhard Lindblom, *The Akamba* (Uppsala, 1920), p. 35.

[91] C. W. Hobley, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XLI (1911), 412.

[92] *Idem, Bantu Beliefs and Magic* (London, 1922), pp. 111 f.

[93] John Roscoe, *The Baganda* (London, 1911), p. 262; cf. pp. 55, 72.

[94] W. D. Hambly, *The Ovimbundu of Angola* (Chicago, 1934), p. 187.

[95] C. Delhaise, *Les Warega (Congo Belge),* (Brussels, 1909), p. 147.

[96] E. Torday, *On the Trail of the Bushongo* (London, 1925), p. 195.

[97] E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXXVI (1906), 288.

[98] G. C. Claridge, *Wild Bush Tribes of Tropical Africa* (London, 1922), p. 88.

[99] M. J. Field, *Religion and Medicine of the Ga People* (Oxford, 1937), p. 168.

[100] Talbot, *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults,* p. 123.

[101] *Idem, Life in Southern Nigeria,* p. 220.

[102] *Idem, Peoples of Southern Nigeria,* III, 712. The Abadja believe that if a woman, while cooking, commits adultery and does not at once confess her fault to her husband, she will fall sick; if she continues to be obstinately silent, she will die (III, 716).

[103] E. D. Vergette, *Certain Marriage Customs of Some of the Tribes in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone* (Sierra Leone, 1917), p. 8.

[104] Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico,* II, 129.

[105] W. C. Bennett and R. M. Zingg, *The Tarahumara* (Chicago, 1935), p. 230.

[106] R. L. Olson, *The Quinault Indians* (Seattle, Wash., 1936), p. 46.

[107] J. R. Swanton, in *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History,* VIII, 56.

[108] Ivan Petroff, *Report on the Population, Industries, and Resources of Alaska* (Washington, D.C., 1884) (Department of the Interior, *Tenth Census,* Vol. VIII), p. 155.

[109] Fridtjof Nansen, *Eskimo Life* (2d ed., London, 1894), pp. 172 f.

[110] M. Rascher, in *Archiv für Anthropologie,* XXIX (1904), 211. The same pollution results from legitimate intercourse between married people, but they can themselves cleanse it away. They learn how to do so at the time of their marriage (Rascher, *loc. cit.;* cf. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee,* p. 179.

[111] J. Kreemer, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië,* LXVI (1912), 323.

[112] G. A. Wilken, *Verspreide Geschriften* ('s Gravenhage, 1912), I, 591.

[113] J. Perham, in H. L. Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North*

*Borneo* (London, 1896), I, 180. See also Charles Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak* (London, 1886), I, 69 f.

[114] Sir Spenser St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East* (2d ed., London, 1863), I, 63.

[115] Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo,* II, 99.

[116] Thomas Shaw, in *Asiatic Researches* (Calcutta, 1795), IV, 70.

[117] E. Casalis, *The Basutos* (London, 1861), p. 267. The Basuto never permitted defiled persons to have anything to do with harvesting the grain (p. 252).

[118] Hollis, *The Nandi,* pp. 17, 76.

[119] Hobley, *Bantu Beliefs and Magic,* p. 253.

[120] Lindblom, *The Akamba,* p. 149.

[121] Driberg, *The Lango,* p. 161.

[122] C. Wunenberger, in *Les missions Catholiques,* XX (1888), 262.

[123] R. E. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind* (London, 1906), pp. 53, 67 ff. According to an earlier authority, if an epidemic sickness prevailed in the land, if the rain did not come at the appointed season, or if there was a crop failure, the sinning couple were likely to be sacrificed by the enraged people (E. Pechuël-Loesche, "Indiscretes aus Loango," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie,* X [1878], 26).

[124] P. A. Talbot, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XLI, 1911, 247.

[125] Cases are known of incest being deliberately committed for some ulterior end. Among the Thonga a hippopotamus hunter will sometimes have sexual relations with his own daughter, in order to acquire magical power over the game. "This incestuous act, which is strongly taboo in ordinary life, has made him into a 'murderer': he has killed something at home; he has acquired the courage necessary for doing great deeds on the river!" (Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* [2d ed.], II, 68). The Mashona think that the commission of incest is a cure for the bite of certain deadly snakes (Bullock, *Mashona,* p. 316, note 1). The Lamba, while abominating incest, consider that its commission may bring good luck to an elephant hunter about to go in quest of ivory (C. M. Doke, "Social Control among the Lambas," *Bantu Studies,* II [1923–1926], 41). Among the Ba-ila, if a man wants very special luck, he will procure from a witch doctor a charm called *musamba* and "under the doctor's instructions he commits incest with his sister or daughter before starting on his undertaking. That is a very powerful stimulus to the talisman" (Smith and Dale, *Ila-speaking Peoples,* I, 261). The Anyanja, a tribe of Nyasaland, believe that a man who has intercourse with his sister or his mother is thereby rendered bulletproof (H. S. Stannus, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XL [1910], 307). Among the Antambahoaka of Madagascar hunters, fishers, and warriors, before setting out on an expedition, have sexual relations with their sisters or nearest female relatives. Here, again, the act of incest is supposed to make for success in the business at hand (A. van Gennep, *Tabou et totémisme à Madagascar* [Paris, 1904], pp. 342 f., on the authority of G. Ferrand. The same magical potency acquired by a violation of the stringent incest taboo may also be acquired by cannibalism. Among the Queensland tribes of Cape York Peninsula the eating of human flesh is regarded as a terrible thing; it is *kunta-kunta,* which means hard, strong, dangerous, sacred, that is, taboo. "But, by means of the appropriate ritual the danger may not only be averted, but it may even become a source of power, making a man specially brave, and giving special prowess in hunting" (D. F. Thomson, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* LXIII [1933], 511; cf. *ibid.,* LXIV [1934], 252). Similarly in Lepers'

Island, one of the New Hebrides, the natives think that to eat human flesh is a dreadful thing. One who does so is one afraid of nothing. "On this ground men will buy flesh when someone has been killed, that they may get the name of valiant men by eating it" (R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* [Oxford, 1891], p. 344).

[126] A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), p. 498. According to Mr. Howitt's informant, Kohin seems to be a "glorified and deified blackfellow" (p. 499).

[127] R. Helms, in *Proceedings of the Linnean Society of New South Wales* (2d ser., 1895), X, 392.

[128] Bronislaw Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (London, 1926), pp. 78 ff.

[129] Hogbin, *Law and Order in Polynesia,* pp. 155, 158.

[130] Raymond Firth, *We, the Tikopia* (London, 1936), pp. 333 ff.

[131] Turner, *Samoa,* p. 92.

[132] Arthur Grimble, "From Birth to Death in the Gilbert Islands," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* LI (1921), 26.

[133] Charles Hose and William McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo* (London, 1912), II, 196 ff. The Sea Dayak require a man who wishes to marry his first cousin to perform a special ceremony of purification "to avert evil consequences to the land" from such a union (H. L. Roth, "Low's Natives of Borneo," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXI [1892], 133). Hugh Low tells of a Hill Dayak chief who married his granddaughter, although his wife and the girl's mother, his own child, were still alive. People complained that since this incest had been committed "no bright day had blessed their territory; but that rain and darkness alone prevailed, and that unless the plague-spot were removed, the tribe would soon be ruined" (*Sarawak* [London, 1848], pp. 300 f.).

[134] Owen Rutter, *The Pagans of North Borneo* (London, 1929), p. 141.

[135] G. A. Wilken, in *Globus,* LIX (1891), 22; M. J. van Baarda, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië,* XLV (1895), 514.

[136] Fay-Cooper Cole, *The Wild Tribes of the Davao District, Mindanao* (Chicago, 1913), p. 98.

[137] P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis* (2d ed., London, 1914), pp. 77, 94, 122 f.

[138] A. Kropf, *A Kaffir-English Dictionary* (Lovedale, South Africa, 1899), p. 46.

[139] Joseph Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country* (London, 1857), p. 45.

[140] A. Karasek and A. Eichhorn, in *Baessler-Archiv,* I (1910–1911), 186.

[141] Hobley, *Bantu Beliefs and Magic,* pp. 118 f.

[142] *Idem, Ethnology of A-Kamba and Other East African Tribes,* p. 103.

[143] John Roscoe, *The Bagesu and Other Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate* (Cambridge, 1924), p. 176.

[144] *Idem, The Bakitara or Banyoro* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 67.

[145] C. G. Seligman and Brenda Z. Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* (London, 1932), p. 157.

[146] Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind,* pp. 53, 67 ff.

[147] John Gillen, *The Barama River Caribs of British Guiana* (*Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology,* Vol. XIV, No. 2) (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 74.

[148] J. G. Bourke, *The Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (New York, 1884), p. 279.

[149] F. P. von Wrangell, *Statistische und ethnographische Nachrichten über die russischen Besitzungen an der Nordwestküste von Amerika (Beiträge zur Kenntniss des russischen Reiches und angränzenden Länder Asiens,* Vol. I) (St. Petersburg, 1839), pp. 104 f.

[150] Petroff, *Report on the Population, Industries, and Resources of Alaska,* p. 155.

[151] On avoidance, in general, see Frazer, *Psyche's Task* (2d ed.), pp. 75–96; Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage* (5th ed.), I, 439–54; W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society* (New Haven, 1927), III, 2015–23 and IV, 1149–55; Richard Thurnwald, "Meidung," in Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte,* VIII, 121–31.

[152] Joseph Parker, in R. B. Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria* (Melbourne, 1878), II, 156. Cf. George Taplin, in J. D. Woods (ed.), *The Native Tribes of South Australia* (Adelaide, 1879), pp. 32 ff.

[153] Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia,* pp. 199, 256 f. Among the Wurunjerri, when a woman's son-in-law sent a present of game to her husband, she would rub charcoal over her face, especially over her mouth, and then she could safely eat this food (p. 257).

[154] Sir Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1899), p. 469.

[155] C. Keysser, in R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea* (Berlin, 1911), III, 46.

[156] I. H. N. Evans, *Among the Primitive Peoples in Borneo* (London, 1921), p. 168.

[157] W. Crooke, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXVIII (1899), 238.

[158] S. C. Roy, *The Birhors* (Ranchi, 1925), p. 137.

[159] Smith and Dale, *Ila-speaking Peoples,* I, 368.

[160] F. H. Melland, *In Witch-bound Africa* (London, 1923), p. 83.

[161] Bullock, *Mashona Laws and Customs,* p. 21; *idem, The Mashona,* p. 261.

[162] MacKenzie, *The Spirit-ridden Konde,* pp. 107 f.

[163] Roscoe, *The Baganda,* 128 f.

[164] M. A. Condon, in *Anthropos,* VI (1911), 377 f.

[165] Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Histoire des nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique-Centrale* (Paris, 1857–1859), II, 52 f.

[166] Bourke, *Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona,* p. 247. We are told, however, that a Navaho may marry his (prospective) mother-in-law first and then her daughter, thus making both women his wives and avoiding the taboo (L. Ostermann, in *Anthropos,* III [1908], 862).

[167] R. Karsten, *Contributions to the Sociology of the Indian Tribes of Ecuador (Acta Academiæ Aboënsis,* Humaniora, I, No. 3) (Abo, 1920), pp. 69, 72 f.

[168] F. S. Clavigero, *The History of Mexico* (2d ed., London, 1807), I, 320 f.

[169] Margaret Mead, in *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History,* XXXVII, 344. For a description of the ceremony see p. 348.

[170] J. M. Cooper, in *Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* No. 63, p. 157.

[171] J. Teit, in *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History,* II, 326.

[172] Urey Lisiansky, *A Voyage Round the World* (London, 1814), p. 199.

[173] M. T. H. Perelaer, *Ethnographische beschrijving der Dajaks* (Zalt-Bommel, 1870), p. 53. In Java the couple about to be married must not sleep during the night preceding the wedding lest some grave misfortune befall them (R. Schmidt, *Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien* [Berlin, 1904], p. 422).

[174] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco,* p. 237.

[175] M. Merker, *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1904), p. 48.

[176] Hollis, *The Nandi,* p. 64.

[177] Charles New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa* (London, 1873), p. 360.

## Chapter V

# DEATH AND THE DEAD

Some very rude peoples, for instance, the Central Australians, do not recognize the possibility of natural death, while other rude peoples, for instance, the Andaman Islanders, account for all sudden deaths by demonic agency. In the lower culture, generally, death is very seldom considered to be necessary and inevitable, except perhaps when a man dies in battle, by the open violence of a fellow tribesman, or as the result of a quite obvious accident. Sickness and death following sickness are almost always ascribed to non-natural causes, especially sorcery practiced by some human enemy. It is sometimes thought that a man's death is due to the escape of his soul, which has a propensity for wandering away from the body, with disastrous results to its owner. And as we have seen, death is often believed to be the irremediable, ineluctable consequence of a broken taboo.

Nor are these the only explanations offered. It is a common idea that the ghost of one who has died, particularly one who came to his end in an untimely manner, is malignant and is likely to avenge himself upon the survivors by making them die too. Often, again, a man's death is attributed to an evil spirit which entered his body and, having killed him, is supposed to lurk about him or in the neighborhood, seeking other victims as well. It is impossible sharply to distinguish animistic conceptions of this nature from the vaguer conception of death as a sort of miasma, or atmospheric poison, spreading a fatal influence far and wide. The belief in the pollution of death seems to be, essentially, a simple conclusion drawn from the experience (as in pestilences) that when one person has died other persons are likely to die also. Such beliefs have been confirmed and strengthened as the result of the emotional reactions produced by the phenomena of death: dread of the corpse as a strange, uncanny object; disgust at the corruption of the flesh; and fright, or at least uneasiness, at the sudden, unwelcome reminder of our common mortality.[1]

In order to safeguard the living against the dangerous ghost

or the pollution of death, persons dangerously ill are often isolated, or left untended, or removed from the dwelling and taken out of doors to breathe their last. Sometimes they are buried or otherwise disposed of while the spark of life still glows fitfully within them.

The Yerkla-mining of South Australia, who never bury their dead or dispose of them in any way, leave a dying person alone, but as comfortable as possible and near a fire. Then the entire tribe quits the neighborhood and does not return to it for a considerable length of time.[2] In the New Hebrides persons so ill as to be delirious were buried alive.[3]

When a Maori became ill he was not allowed to remain in a dwelling house but was taken outside the village and placed in a temporary shed erected in the bush. If anyone died in a house it became *tapu* and could not be used again. Great inconvenience would have been the result, for some houses were the common abode of perhaps thirty or forty persons.[4] The Mangyan of Mindoro abandon a sick person as soon as his condition becomes serious. After a time they steal back to learn whether he is still alive or dead; if by any chance recovery has begun, they do what they can to help the patient.[5] Among the Serrano of Luzon, when a sick person does not show signs of recovery, he is taken from his bed and laid upon a hide on the ground outside the house. A child stays by to fan him and keep off the flies. Only water is given him until death takes place.[6]

The Singhalese, fearful lest a person dangerously ill may die and thus pollute the house where he lies, remove him to an adjoining temporary building.[7] Among the Tanala of Madagascar people who fall sick and become unconscious are placed in that part of the forest where the dead are thrown. Should they revive and return to the village, the people stone them to death.[8] Among the Basuto a sick person, obviously approaching his end, is taken out of the hut if it is possible to remove him without causing his instant death.[9] The Masai, an East African tribe, take every care to prevent a death from occurring in a village. As soon as a young or middle-aged person shows signs of approaching demise, the sufferer is hastily carried out into the bush and left to die there.[10] The Ho of Togoland abandon a dying man, for they fear lest his eyes fasten on them and his ghost molest or even kill them.[11]

The Lengua Indians of Paraguay remove a dying person from the village and leave him alone to breathe his last. "No kindly word is spoken to him, no friendly hand holds his, though he is still

living, still conscious. Oftentimes he suffers the agonies of thirst, but no one attends to his needs. And yet these Indians are not unfriendly; they grieve for their dying friend; they will miss him and mourn his loss; but their cruel belief overcomes all natural feelings."[12] Among the Itonama of Bolivia, when the relatives of a sick man believe that his end is near, they try to close as tightly as possible his nose, mouth, and eyes, so that the death contagion will not be communicated to someone else. As a result of this precaution, very sick people are suffocated.[13] The Nicaragua Indians abandon a sick man whom they consider certain to die. Since they leave with him neither food nor drink, he does soon die.[14] It is customary among the Navaho Indians for a dead man's hut to be burned and its site abandoned. When, for any reason, this is not done, a person dangerously sick and likely to die will be taken out to some lonely spot, brush will be piled about him as a protection against wild animals, and there he will be left unattended until death puts an end to his suffering. Sometimes, however, food is brought to him.[15]

Among the Northern Maidu of California a person who had been long sick was sometimes tied up, in a squatting position, in a bearskin and was buried before death.[16] If the Makah, a Washington tribe, are convinced that a patient cannot recover, it is customary to turn him out of doors to die. Particularly will this be done when he is suffering from an ailment which they do not understand. If he were to die in the house, all the other inmates would perish of the same disease.[17] Among the Central Eskimo, if a person dies in a dwelling among its inmates, everything in the hut must be destroyed or thrown away. To avoid doing so, they build a small snow house or hut, according to the season, and carry into it a man believed to be fatally ill. Some food is left with him, but he has no attendants. As long as there is no fear of his sudden demise, his relatives and friends may visit him, but when death impends the house or hut is shut up and he is left alone.[18]

While some primitive peoples manifest little or no repugnance in the presence of the dead and while others eat their dead, either to satisfy the claims of hunger or to acquire the qualities of the deceased, the usual attitude toward a corpse is one of loathing and terror comparable to that exhibited toward a parturient or a menstruous woman.

The aborigines of Victoria think that a corpse should not be brought into contact with human hands or with the earth.[19] The

Koita, a Papuan tribe, have a special term (*aina*) to indicate the contagious and highly dangerous quality of a corpse.[20]

In the Trobriand Islands the maternal kinsmen of the deceased must keep away from the corpse. Were they to touch it or even to come near it, they would themselves fall ill and die. The pernicious influence of a corpse is conceived materially as something which pollutes the air. The name of this exhalation or essence is *bwaulo*, a word which also describes the cloud of smoke surrounding a village, especially on calm, hot days.[21] A Fijian, having defiled himself by contact with the corpse of a person who died a natural death, is not allowed to touch food with his hands for several days.[22] The natives of the Lau Archipelago believe that the odor of a dead body may cause three kinds of ailments, these being leprosy, external sores with a bad smell, and internal sores. To protect mourners from becoming thus affected a corpse is usually buried within three hours of death.[23]

In Samoa, while a dead body is in the house, no food may be eaten there; hence the family take their meals outside or in another house. Those who attended the deceased are most careful not to handle their food, but are fed for several days "as if they were helpless infants." Baldness and loss of teeth are the penalties anticipated for violation of this rule.[24] In the Tonga Islands, when a corpse was being taken to the burying ground, all persons in the roadway or the adjacent fields were obliged to keep out of sight under pain of becoming tabooed. Those who showed themselves at such a time were killed on the spot.[25] To the Maori "the remains of the dead and of all connected therewith were (and are) highly *tapu;* and such places as *wahi-tapu* (burial grounds) . . . . are not lightly to be approached. The association of food, particularly cooked food, with anything *tapu* is most objectionable in Maori eyes."[26]

With reference to the Manobo of Mindanao, we are told that the utter fear of the person of a dead man and of his soul is one of the most marked features of their culture. "In the death-chamber and hovering around the resting-place of the dead there is a certain noxious influence by the infection of which one is liable to become an object of attraction to the dark-visaged, hungry, soul-ghouls that, lured by the odor, stalk to the death-house and await an opportunity to secure a victim."[27]

In Madagascar the taboos connected with death and funeral ceremonies are very numerous. Death is so polluting that all persons in contact with the corpse, even those who merely assist

at the obsequies, become contaminated. The pot in which water was heated to bathe the corpse, the mattress on which the corpse was placed, the litter used to convey the corpse to the grave—all are objects not to be touched. A person cannot even pass near them without absorbing the evil influences which emanate from them. They must be destroyed. Rice taken into a house where a dead man lies will not fructify. To go to a rice field after returning from a funeral will result in the rice becoming sterile. To enter a house where there are silkworms, after seeing a dead man, will cause the worms to die. If one meets a brooding hen, before being purified from the death pollution, the eggs will not hatch. To build a house upon the site of an ancient tomb is to bring disaster upon the occupants of the house and their offspring.[28]

Of the Basuto the missionary Casalis remarks that "death, with all that immediately precedes or follows it, is in the eyes of these people the greatest of all defilements. Thus the sick, persons who have touched or buried a corpse, or who have dug the grave, individuals who inadvertently walk over or sit upon a grave, the near relatives of a person deceased, murderers, warriors who have killed their enemies in battle, are considered impure." The extreme haste with which interments take place frequently results in persons being buried alive. "Ignorant old women, overcome by superstitious fears, run away at the sight of convulsions or a fainting fit, crying, 'It is all over, he is dead!' and without further examination the patient is smothered up in skins, and soon dies of suffocation."[29] The Bechuana entertain very pronounced ideas as to the uncleanness of a corpse or of anything connected with death; hence those who have touched a dead body or dug a grave wash themselves or expose themselves to the smoke of a purificatory fire.[30] The Rwala Bedouin carefully avoid a dead body.[31]

The Bribri Indians of Costa Rica denote by the word *nya,* "filthy," the ceremonial uncleanness connected with death. All objects that have been in contact with a corpse must either be thrown away, or destroyed, or purified by a medicine man.[32] The Makah Indians of Washington believe that it is very bad luck to look on the dead. Hence a corpse must be covered from sight at once. No sooner has a person breathed his last than he is securely rolled up in blankets, firmly bound with ropes, and boxed. The practice probably leads to murder, since if a person is not really dead they take good care to insure that he will be shortly.[33] The Quinault Indians believe that were a person to eat anything while passing by a grave his mouth would grow awry and

remain henceforth in this uncomfortable position.[34] The Clallam and Twana do not like to have their children go near the dead, for children are more susceptible to evil influences than are adults.[35]

The Labrador Eskimo "have little fear of death itself, which the hunter braves many times a day on the shifting ice, nor do they express any particular emotion in putting an animal to death, or killing a man, for that matter. But they do have a superstitious fear of a corpse, owing to the malignant influence which it is supposed to exert, and are very much afraid of ghosts. They will never pass by one of their burying places at night . . . . It is a great misfortune to have any one die unexpectedly in the house, as it contaminates everything in it. When an inmate is near his end, you will see his housemates removing all the household furniture and weapons."[36] The Greenlanders throw out of the house all the belongings of a dead man, lest these should pollute the survivors and bring them misfortune. All the movables in the house are likewise taken outside until evening, when the smell of the corpse has passed away.[37] The Central Eskimo allow only the relatives of the deceased to touch his body.[38] The Bering Strait Eskimo are very averse to having a dead body in the house. This repugnance is so strong that the relatives of a dying man frequently dress him in his grave clothes, in order that he may be placed in the grave box and removed immediately after death has occurred.[39]

The Chukchi of northeastern Siberia will not touch a dead body with bare hands.[40] Among the Yakut the remains of a deceased person, wherever buried, inspire great fear. They cause major interferences with nature, "arousing winds, blizzards, and bad weather. The remains of a shaman produce all these phenomena in a very extraordinary degree."[41]

There are many primitive peoples who abandon, either temporarily or permanently, a place where a death has occurred. The custom seems to be common, if not universal, among the Australian aborigines. The Arunta burn the man's camp or the woman's camp, according to the sex of the deceased, and then seek a new site for the local group.[42] In the Mara tribe of northern Australia "as soon as anyone dies, the camps are immediately shifted, because the spirit, of whom they are frightened, haunts its old camping ground."[43] The natives of Queensland, who have the same custom, nick the trees where one of their number died to show that a death occurred on the spot.[44]

The Kenakagara, a Papuan tribe near Port Moresby, always remove to a new village when a number of deaths have taken

place in their midst.[45] The inhabitants of a Keraki village also migrate—but only temporarily—after a death.[46] When a Maori chief was buried in a village it became *tapu,* and no one, on pain of death, was permitted to go near it.[47]

Among the Dusun of British North Borneo the death of a person in a newly built village, within six months of its completion, will result in its abandonment.[48] The Sakai of Perak in the Malay Peninsula invariably burn down the house where a death has occurred and forsake their settlement, even though they must sacrifice a crop of tapioca or sugar cane.[49] Among the Mantra of Malacca, should a death occur in a clearing, nothing more is planted there. After the crop on the ground has been gathered, they abandon the clearing.[50]

The Andaman Islanders think that the spirit of a dead man haunts not only his burial place but also the encampment where he died. They abandon it after the return of the funeral party and move to a new camping ground.[51] The Nicobar Islanders desert a settlement where a death has occurred and return to it only for the purpose of gathering the ripened produce of the plantations.[52]

The wilder Vedda of Ceylon leave the corpse of a man or woman in the cave or rock shelter where death occurred. The site is then quickly abandoned by the community and will be avoided for a long time. "When an attempt is made to discover the nature of the noxious influence felt in the place of death, the usual answer given is to the effect that 'if we stayed where the death had occurred we should be pelted with stones'." In many instances there seems to be no definite idea that the dead man is the active agent in the stone-throwing, although some natives believe that his ghost is responsible for such disturbances.[53]

The Sakalava of Madagascar always break up their settlement after a death in it and remove to a distance. "This perpetual fleeing before death of course prevents the population from becoming settled in its habits, and produces a most unsubstantial style of house-building."[54]

After the headman of a Thonga kraal dies it will be abandoned, but only when the whole year of mourning for him has elapsed. After a commoner's death his hut is thrown into the bush, though the village is not abandoned. "But should these deaths increase, then the divinatory bones may order the place to be deserted, as it is defiled and dangerous."[55]

The Masai take every precaution to prevent a young or a

middle-aged person from dying in the village. As soon as signs of approaching dissolution are shown, such a person is hastily carried into the bush and left there to breathe his last. If by some mischance he dies in the village, it is moved as soon as possible. Very old men and women are allowed to die peacefully in the village, but the hut where the death occurred must be left to fall into ruin and the village must be moved about a month after the funeral ceremony.[56] The Akamba do not shift their village to a new site after a death has occurred in it, but the villagers must be purified. This is done by an old man specially versed in such matters. He slaughters a goat, removes the contents of its small stomach, and mixes these in a calabash with certain plants. The villagers sit in a circle about the celebrant, who sprinkles them with the mixture. The walls of the house where the death occurred and the bed on which the dead person lay are also sprinkled. Until this ceremony has been performed there must be no sexual intercourse in the village.[57]

The Bahima, a pastoral people of Uganda, bury commoners in the dung heap of the kraal. They then abandon the place and build a new kraal some distance away.[58] The Banyankole of Uganda also remove to a new kraal after the mourning period is over. With them mourning lasts for three or four years.[59] The Wawamba bury a dead man in his house, which is thereupon abandoned. When a chief dies, the village is generally deserted.[60] The Ogowe desert a settlement after the death in it of a prominent man, especially a chief. The houses are left to fall into ruins or are burned.[61]

The Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco shift their camps after a death.[62] With the Anabali and other Orinoco tribes it was formerly the custom, when anyone died, to bury him in the place where he had his hearth. They would then forsake the village and all their fields, and build anew at a distance of a dozen leagues or more. They said that after death had once entered their village they could no longer live in security. When these tribes subsequently advanced to a more settled life, they contented themselves with breaking up the house of a deceased person and burning everything which he possessed.[63] The Sumu Indians of the Mosquito Coast carried the moribund into the bush and let them die there. If they died in the settlement, this had to be abandoned.[64] The Cree Indians of Canada, when a death has occurred, shift their camp for several miles.[65]

Abandonment or destruction of the dwelling in which a death

has occurred is a widespread custom. Some aborigines of Victoria pulled down the rude hut of the deceased and frequently burned it, because no one would inhabit the spot where a death had taken place.[66] Among the Southern Massim of British New Guinea the house in which a married man or woman had died is often allowed to decay or is destroyed, either immediately after the person's death or upon the decease of the surviving partner.[67] The Keraki do not abandon a house where someone has died if it is a new house and in good order. But an old house will be left empty for perhaps a year after the occupant's death and then will be ceremonially destroyed.[68] The Kai, another Papuan tribe, desert the house in which anybody has died. If the deceased was a chief or a man of importance, the whole village is abandoned and a new one built elsewhere.[69]

In New Zealand in almost every *pa*, or fortified settlement, "nearly half the houses belonged to the dead." When the owner died, he was buried in his house, which was then deserted with all it contained. No one ever entered it again, for the red paint on the door showed that it was *tapu*. "These abandoned houses, being in every stage of decay, gave a very unsightly appearance to the *pa*."[70] In the Marshall Islands the hut of a deceased chief is abandoned and allowed to fall into decay.[71]

Among the Land Dayak of Borneo, who build large communal houses, the apartment of a family in which a death occurs is tabooed for seven days and nights.[72] When a death occurs among the Mangyan of Mindoro they flee at once, leaving everything in the house undisturbed and closing all paths to it with brush. The relatives of the deceased then hide in the jungle and change their names.[73] The Ainu assert that in former times it was their custom to burn down the family hut when the oldest woman of a family died, for they feared the ghost would return and bring evil upon them. Nowadays the woman, when getting very old and likely to die soon, has a tiny hut to herself. This is burnt after her demise.[74]

The Hottentots abandon the hut in which a death has occurred and leave its contents untouched.[75] Among the Basuto no one may occupy a hut in which a death has taken place.[76] Among the Mashona a widower abandons the hut in which his wife died. A widow continues to live in the hut where her husband died, but it must first be purified by the doctor.[77] The Chinyai bury a corpse under the floor of the house, which is then closed up and abandoned. When a chief dies, the whole village will be deserted.[78]

The Barotse, a people akin to the Zulu, almost always abandon the hut of a deceased person.[79]

Among the Ngoni (Angoni) of Northern Rhodesia the hut where a death occurred is never used again and is allowed to fall into decay. The natives say that they observe this custom so that the man's ghost may return to his former haunts.[80] Among the Akikuyu, when a stranger comes to a village and dies in a hut there, the hut, with all it contains, is completely abandoned, if the owner belongs to the Kikuyu section of the tribe. If he belongs to the Masai section, the hut is abandoned only until the death pollution has been ceremonially removed. The Akikuyu also require a new hut to be immediately demolished should the owner's wife find herself menstruating on the day she lights the first fire in it. This custom applies to both sections of the tribe.[81] The Basoga of Uganda never occupy a hut where a death has occurred.[82] The Bavuma, a people allied to the Basoga, destroy the hut where a death has occurred.[83]

The Bangala of the Upper Congo bury a man in his house. It is then deserted. If he owned several houses (one for each wife he possessed) all of them would be destroyed.[84] It is customary with the Yoruba of the Slave Coast to close the apartment in which a corpse is interred. Rich families even abandon the house altogether. In former days the house was burned.[85]

Among the Fuegians the hut where a native has died is usually burned and the place where it stood is abandoned for a long time by the friends of the deceased.[86] The Guiana Indians who live in the forest and build flimsy houses abandon the dwelling of a deceased person and never return to it. The Indians of the savannah build in a more substantial fashion and sometimes continue to occupy such a dwelling.[87] The Tarahumare Indians of Mexico, besides destroying the house where someone has died, break up the household utensils which it contained.[88]

The Cahuilla Indians of southern California burn the house of a deceased man, together with all his possessions. However, on some of the reservations many Indians have built frame houses. One of these would not be destroyed unless three deaths had occurred in it.[89] The Navaho burn a house where a death has occurred. No one will approach the site, even for years afterward, because it is believed to be haunted by the spirit of the deceased.[90] Among the Chippewa it is usual to burn the wigwam after the decease of an inmate. The clothes and other personal possessions of the dead are often included in the holocaust.[91]

Among the Blackfeet, when a great chief or noted warrior died and was buried in his lodge, this would be moved some distance from the camp and his weapons, war clothes, pipe, and medicine would be placed in it. The lodge would never again be entered.[92] The Thompson Indians of British Columbia, who burned the summer lodge in which an adult person died, spared the more solid and elaborate winter house. They took care, however, to purify the latter with water in which tobacco and juniper had been soaked, before occupying it again. If two or more persons died in the winter house at the same time or in close succession, then it was invariably destroyed.[93]

Among the Eskimo of Bering Strait, if a person dies suddenly of a strange or unusual disease, the occupants of the dwelling immediately desert it.[94] Yakut people who can afford the sacrifice will abandon a house where a death has occurred, though they may come back after a time. In one part of the Yakut territory it was formerly the practice, when anyone had died in a house, for the occupants to depart hastily, leaving there the dead man with all the goods which had been his when alive.[95] The Kamchadal of Kamchatka always desert a house in which a person has died and remove to another dwelling some distance away. The corpse is cast out, to be eaten by dogs, and with it the clothes of the deceased. Anyone who wore these was believed to be in danger of an early death.[96]

The custom of destroying the goods and chattels of a dead man or of putting them into the grave with him may often be interpreted as a simple form of funeral sacrifice designed to supply the ghost with all things needful for his life in the other world. Where ghost fear is strong, an explanation may sometimes be found in the desire to prevent the dead man from returning to his former haunts in search of what belongs to him. There can be little doubt, however, that dread of the death pollution is the leading motive here as elsewhere. In primitive thought a man's possessions are saturated with his personality. They form a part of him, almost as much as his hair, his saliva, his footprints, and his name, which are so generally employed in magical arts. To destroy a man's weapons, tools, ornaments, and clothing after his demise seems to the survivors an elementary precaution, and to make assurance doubly sure not only his personal property but all objects even remotely associated with him are sometimes destroyed also. The custom, whatever its origin, will tend to be kept up as an expression of grief on the part of the survivors or as their tribute

to the deceased, thus holding a place among the formal mourning ceremonies perhaps long after the ideas on which it was based have passed away.[97]

The aborigines of southeastern Australia very generally buried the scanty possessions of a deceased person with him. In the Wolgal tribe, for instance, all his belongings were "put out of sight." Similarly in the Geawe-gal tribe "all the implements, the property of a warrior, were interred with his body, and indeed every piece of inanimate property he possessed."[98] The tribes of Victoria buried with the dead man all his property except his stone axes. These were considered too valuable to be thus disposed of and were inherited by the next of kin.[99] By the Wonkonguru of the Lake Eyre district all the personal belongings of a dead man are broken at his grave, "so that his spirit will not come back and use them"; those of a woman, however, are not broken.[100] This practice seems to be uncommon among the more economical natives of the Northern Territory of Australia, who regularly assign all the belongings of a dead person to some special individual, such as a mother's brother. The Kakadu, however, break up and burn a dead man's weapons and do the same with all the possessions of a dead woman.[101]

Among the Eastern Islanders of Torres Straits, if a man died childless his widow handed over all his effects to his male relations, who broke them up and burnt them. Even his stone-headed clubs were chipped into small pieces and thrown upon the fire. If an only son died all his goods, and his father's likewise, were broken up and destroyed in the same manner; sometimes the parents collected them inside the house and burned it down with its contents. Then they would ask their friends to destroy the produce of their gardens and make a clean sweep of every growing thing.[102] In Mabuiag, one of the Western Islands of Torres Straits, the mourners went to the dead man's gardens and slashed at the taro, knocked down the coconuts, pulled up the sweet potatoes, and destroyed the bananas.[103]

Among the Roro-speaking tribes of British New Guinea many of a dead man's effects, though not his jewelry, are broken or damaged and hung beneath the eaves of his house, which is then deserted and allowed to decay.[104] Similarly among the Kiwai Papuans the most valuable ornaments of the deceased are usually kept by the heir. The remaining ornaments are destroyed or are given to people outside his or her group, sometimes to those in other villages. "The near relatives do not want to keep the things

of everyday use which have belonged to the dead person, lest they should themselves die."[105] The Tamo of Bogadjim signalize the death of a prominent man by cutting down his coconut palms, killing his pigs, and breaking up his pots, bows, and other personal possessions.[106] In the D'Entrecasteaux Archipelago the kinsfolk of the deceased blacken their bodies, shave their heads, and put on white cane armlets; "then, if their grief should overwhelm them, they break the dead man's pots and his canoe, perhaps even cut down his yam vines and banana trees and such of his coconut palms as chance to be in bearing . . . . A few years since, a Wagifa man was carried off to gaol. His relatives, thinking he was gone forever, cut down his yam vines and bananas and several of his coconut trees as though he were already dead."[107]

The Sulka of New Britain destroyed all of a man's property after his death; if he had been wealthy or distinguished, his wives were killed as well.[108] In Bougainville Island most of a man's possessions are sacrificed during the funeral ceremonies. Not only are his provisions consumed, but his taro plantation and coconut palms will also be destroyed. The natives are said to fear the anger of his ghost were they to take what had been his property.[109] In New Georgia, one of the Solomon Islands, all the property of a dead man is "sacred" during the hundred days of mourning for him. No one touches his coconuts, canoe, or house; even his dog, if he had one, is allowed to starve, for no one will care for it.[110] Upon the death of a native of San Cristoval, another of the Solomons, his trees are cut down, his nuts and yams are strewn about the ground, and his bowl is broken. A favorite dog or pig is also buried in a grave; in the case of a dog the bowl from which it fed will be broken, and in the case of a pig its owner's pig-hunting spear will be stuck up at the grave and never used again.[111]

In the island of Tanna, one of the New Hebrides, a man's coconut trees are chopped down after his death, but all other trees, together with his personal possessions, are transmitted to his heirs.[112] In Erromanga, on the other hand, the coconut trees are not sacrificed. For some years before his death the owner of the trees will speak of them as belonging to one of his sons, so that, when he dies, everyone says that the trees are the son's and not the father's. The natives appreciate the desirability of preserving the trees and have devised a legal fiction to make this possible.[113] The New Caledonians make a clean sweep of the dead man's pos-

sessions. His houses and nets are burned; his plantations are ravaged; and his coconut trees are cut down.[114]

The natives of Niue, or Savage Island, uprooted all the plantations of a person who had died. His fruit trees were also felled and cast into the sea.[115] In the Marquesas Islands it was only when a chief had no children that his personal possessions were buried with him, but in all cases the things associated with the corpse, such as blankets and bier, were destroyed.[116] By the Maori the "personal apparel" of a deceased person was never used again.[117]

In the Nicobar Islands all the bulk of the portable property of the deceased such as (in the case of a man) his spears, pots, baskets, paddles, plates, and other articles are broken or otherwise made unserviceable. They are then taken to the cemetery to be deposited on the grave or at the headpost.[118] The Saora, or Savara, an aboriginal hill tribe of the Madras Presidency, burn with the dead man everything he possessed—his bows and arrows, daggers, necklaces, clothes, ax, and reaping hook for cutting paddy. Even his money, or at least some of it, is cast into the fire.[119] Most of the Vedda groups, it is said, do not exhibit any avoidance of a dead man's property, but among the Henebedda the betel bag, unless it were a very good one, would be left with the corpse, and in many cases its contents would not be eaten, but deposited near the dead man. The areca-nut cutter and lime-box, which during his life had always been carried in the bag, were preserved. Before these precious objects could be safely used they had to be made harmless; thus the old headman of the Henebedda exposed his father's lime box and areca cutters under a bush for ten days and more. "It was necessary to do this, since if these objects had been used immediately, the individuals using them would probably have contracted the same illness as that from which the dead man suffered."[120]

The custom under consideration is or has been very general among the native tribes of South Africa. We are told there was "an idea that something connected with death attached to the personal effects of the deceased, on which account whatever had belonged to him that could not be placed in the grave, his clothing, mats, head-rest, etc., was destroyed by fire. The hut in which he had lived was also burned, and no other was allowed to be built on the spot. If he had been the chief, the whole kraal was removed to another site. Those who touched the corpse or any of the dead man's effects were obliged to go through certain cere-

monies, and then to bathe in running water before associating again with their companions."[121] The Bushmen, who dislike to touch a corpse, "owing to the fear of bad luck," usually bury the ornaments of a dead man with him.[122] Among the Bogo of East Africa it is a common practice, when the head of a family dies, to burn everything in the house, even the store of food. The dead man's possessions are first packed in boxes before being thrown into the fire. His family, impoverished by their sacrificial act, are supported until the next harvest by the other villagers.[123]

The Bangala of the Upper Congo build a shelter over a grave, with a rough table under it. On this are placed bottles, saucepans, plates, mugs, and other articles, while stools and chairs are put under it and at its side. These objects are "killed," that is, broken. "All the natives told me that the articles were killed to keep people from stealing them, yet they had an idea that the things thus displayed not only served as a memento of the deceased but helped him, in his present state, in some indefinable way. Undoubtedly they had forgotten the reason for 'killing' the articles. The stealing reason was not sufficient to meet the case, as no one would be found with so much hardihood as to rob a grave, they had too wholesome a fear of spirits to do that; besides detection would have been easy and dire punishment follow the theft."[124] The Balolo, upon the death of a freeman, cut down all his banana trees and leave the fruit of his plantation to rot on a platform. No one dares to touch the fruit.[125] The Bana of the Cameroons heap upon a grave the shattered hut of the deceased, together with all its furnishings, even the smallest object which he had ever used in life.[126] The Yoruba of the Slave Coast, on the day after a funeral, burn everything which the deceased had in daily use, such as his pipe, mat, and calabashes, and other things of small value. Formerly, the destruction of property was much more extensive.[127]

It is a general rule among the Fuegians to destroy everything which a dead man owned. The Selk'nam (Ona) burn his property, and his faithful wife also casts into the flames many of her own treasured possessions. An exception is made of the valuable hunting dogs, for the natives say that their former owner would not like to have the people slay animals which had been his companions and useful servants. The Yamana (Yahgan) burn a man's possessions or cast them into the sea. Some of them may be placed in the grave, not as a funeral sacrifice, but because the survivors want to get rid of all things which belonged to the deceased.[128] A Patagonian who has amassed a little property by

stealing from the whites or by trading with his neighbors can leave nothing to his children. Everything that he has is destroyed at his death; even cattle, horses, and hunting dogs are killed. This practice helps to account for the natural indolence of the natives and forms an obstacle to their progress in the arts of life. "Why should they occupy themselves with the future when they have nothing to hope from it?"[129] The Lengua Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco, who burn the village where a death has occurred and go elsewhere, likewise burn the personal property of the deceased. If he possessed any domestic animals, these are generally killed. They say that unless these precautions were taken the ghost would haunt them.[130] The Abipones bury with a dead man his entire property or burn it in a bonfire. When a chief or notable warrior dies, the horses which he most prized are killed and fixed on stakes around his grave.[131] By the Bororó of Brazil everything which a dead man possessed is burned or thrown into the river, so that (as the natives say) he will not have any excuse for coming back to get them.[132]

Many of the Orinoco tribes, the Tamanac for instance, ravage the fields of a dead man and cut down the trees which he planted.[133] The Itonoma of Bolivia abandon the fields of a deceased person (an adult) and do not harvest their growing crops. The land will never be used again; it belongs to the dead. These Indians do not meddle with clay utensils and other objects found in old houses where people have died and in tombs; such things, also, belong to the dead.[134] Of the purificatory ceremonies of the Toba Dr. Karsten writes: "When the natives burn such things as have belonged to the departed or been in some contact with him, this practice is solely due to their fear of the infection or pollution of death attaching to such things. They are therefore given over to the fire, the strongest means of purification they know. But it ought to be added that this infection of death is always personified—that is, it is the death-demon with which the Indians fear to come into contact. If anybody, especially any one of the relatives, keeps these things and, for instance, eats from a vessel which had been used by the deceased, the evil demon may enter into him or her and cause disease and death."[135] Among the Miskito Indians of Honduras and Nicaragua it was frequently the custom to deposit all the personal property of a deceased person in his grave. Even his livestock had to be killed and his plantations and fruit destroyed.[136]

The Indians in the southwestern part of the United States

still observe to some extent the custom of abandoning or destroying the house in which an adult person died, and also his clothing and other possessions. "Many of the tribes recognize clearly that the burning of everything with which the deceased came into contact hinders contagion." Among the Zuñi an adult's blankets are buried with him, his extra clothing and bedding are thrown away, the door of the house is left wide open for four days and nights, and then the house, before reoccupancy, is whitewashed and the floor newly plastered with mud.[137] When a Pima householder died it was formerly the custom to burn down his dwelling—"an excellent hygienic precaution, but detrimental to the development of architecture. The other structures about the premises were either burned or piled on the grave. Personal property was similarly destroyed, and if there was any livestock it was killed and eaten by anyone who chanced to be on hand, though the immediate relatives never partook of such food."[138] Some Apache Indians, besides burning the house where a man died and burying with him or destroying everything which he owned or which he had used while sick, shoot his horses and cattle.[139] The Havasupai burn the dead man's house and choicest possessions, kill two or three of his good horses, and allow his land to lie idle and weed-covered for one or two years. If a man or woman died while a crop was standing, half of it would be used by the heirs and the other half cut down to dry until it could be burned. It is customary to give death-bed instructions to this effect and sometimes, also, for the destruction of any fruit trees on a person's land.[140]

The Pomo Indians of California stripped themselves of their possessions after a death in the family, after the death of even a small child. "They not only burn up everything that the baby ever touched, but everything that they possess, so that they absolutely begin life over again—naked as they were born, without an article of property left."[141] In former days the Quinault of Washington not only tore down the house in which a man died, but they also buried with him or put on his grave all his personal property. They believed that the use of any clothing which had belonged to a man no longer living "would be speedy death."[142] The Talkotin (Tautin) of British Columbia deposited with the dead man all his worldly goods, and his friends purchased other articles to be placed with them in or on the grave.[143] No Thompson Indian could with impunity take possession of the bow and arrows, the long leggings and moccasins of a departed tribesman,

nor was it safe for anyone who did not possess a strong guardian spirit to smoke his pipe. His clothing, before being used, was washed and hung out for several days. It was also necessary to disinfect his traps and snares by suspending them for a long time in a tree far from any human habitation or graveyard.[144]

Among the Eskimo of Greenland the son inherits the father's tent and umiak (open boat); pots and soapstone lamps may also be inherited. But weapons and implements which a man made himself, even a sealer's kaiak (decked canoe) will be buried in his grave. "Thus the personal right of possession of these things is so strongly developed that it has a religious character."[145] Among the Point Barrow Eskimo, "all the personal property of the deceased is supposed to become unclean and must be exposed with him."[146] Similar practices are found among various Siberian tribes.[147]

The waste of both consumable and capital goods entailed by such a wholesale destruction of private property is obvious. It keeps many a primitive community sunk in direst poverty. It must also account, to no slight extent, for the indolence and lack of ambition displayed by the savage. Unable to transmit his belongings to his descendants, he is thus deprived of one of the strongest motives which prompt men to the accumulation of wealth. That it has occasionally a beneficial outcome by preventing the spread of infectious diseases is also obvious. While some American Indians are said now to recognize the sanitary value of the practice, the fact that it is not usually observed after the death of a child indicates that other considerations than those of sanitation account for its origin. And the destruction of a man's domestic animals and growing crops points to the same conclusion. Whatever is good in this taboo, as in most other taboos, has been a by-product, something undesigned and unforeseen. So curiously, oftentimes, do human ways work out.

For primitive thought a man's name is a part of himself, as much so as his bodily members. One who knows it can perform evil magic against him or exert malefic influence over him. A man's name is also frequently identified with his soul, which can be injured by its utterance. Accordingly, real names are often kept secret and substitutes for them are employed in ordinary life; still more commonly names are surrounded with a variety of prohibitions intended to prevent their unauthorized use. Name avoidance seems to be in most cases a regulation whose infringement is socially punished, occasionally by a heavy fine, expulsion

from the community, and even by death. In some cases, however, the regulation ranks as a genuine taboo.[148]

If the names of the living are not to be pronounced, all the more will a similar prohibition be extended to those of the dead. While the name endures, the owner still endures; to use it is to summon him from the world of shades. Moreover, since the name of the dead man bears the contagion of death (name and thing named being one), the survivors who utter it will be polluted no less certainly than by handling his corpse or making use of his personal possessions. The prohibition may be perpetual, but it is sometimes limited either to the duration of the funeral ceremonies or to that of the mourning period. Coupled with the suppression of the dead man's name, either temporarily or permanently, is the practice on the part of the survivors of changing their own names, so as to baffle a returning ghost or the evil spirit believed to be responsible for the death, or, again, as a disguise to escape the death pollution.[149]

We are told of the Tasmanians that to introduce, for any purpose whatever, the name of one of their deceased relatives, "called up at once a frown of horror and indignation, from a fear that it would be followed by some dire calamity."[150] Among the Maraura-speaking tribes of the Lower Darling River the names of the departed were never mentioned, "not out of respect but out of fear."[151] Queensland aborigines never utter the names of the dead lest their spirits should hear the voices of the living and thus discover the whereabouts of those whom they have left behind.[152] Should a native wilfully mention the name of a deceased person, he will have to submit to any mischief which the spirit of that person thus called upon may inflict.[153]

The tribes of Central Australia will not utter the name of a deceased person during the period of mourning, unless it is absolutely necessary to do so, and then it is only done in a whisper for fear of disturbing his ghost. If he heard it mentioned, he would conclude that his kinsfolk were not mourning for him properly and would come and trouble them in their dreams.[154] Some tribes of northwestern Australia never mention a dead man's name after his burial; to do so would allow him to return and frighten them at night in the camp. He is spoken of only as "that one," the speaker at the same time pointing in the direction of his grave.[155] The Tiwi of Melville and Bathurst Islands not only forbid the use of a dead man's name but also of any word resembling it. "Spirits are not only malignant, they are also unreasonable,

and whereas a live man would not quarrel with you for using an ordinary word resembling his name, his ghost is quite likely not to appreciate the difference. Hence the prohibition against similar words."[156]

In New Guinea a man's name "always dies with him."[157] The Dobuan believe that an infringement of the name taboo entails disastrous consequences except on two occasions. When a person of importance is ill and apparently dying, a sorcerer who possesses beneficent powers may call by name upon the spirit of an ancestor to save the patient. It is also permitted to invoke an ancestral spirit in confirmation of a very solemn oath.[158] The Yabim avoid mentioning the names of the dead lest their ghosts, who pass the time in the forest eating unpalatable fruits, should suspend this occupation, return to the living, and vex them.[159] In the D'Entrecasteaux Islands the names of the dead must not be mentioned, "at least not before their memory has begun to fade." A person whose name happens to be the same as that of any one who has died is obliged to drop it at once and take another.[160] In Buin, a district of Bougainville Island, not the names of the living but those of the dead are changed. The latter receive "names of the other world," which were usually chosen by their bearers while alive.[161]

The Sea Dayak of Borneo often change the names of their children because of the great dislike of mentioning one who is dead.[162] No Toda likes to speak of the dead by name. It is strictly forbidden to mention the name of a dead elder relative.[163] In the funeral lamentations each mourner mentions the deceased by the name which indicates the bond of kinship between himself and the dead person, but does not utter the personal name.[164]

The Bushmen of South Africa "are very unwilling to speak of death, or of those who have died, and avoid the subject as much as possible."[165] The Basuto manifest a strong disinclination to mention the dead by their names.[166] Among the Nandi a dead person may not be named, except at the ceremonial naming of a child or the curing of someone who has fallen ill. If a dead person must be mentioned, he is referred to as "the deceased" or as "rubbish."[167] When a Masai child or woman dies, the body is thrown away and the person's name is "buried," that is, never again mentioned by the family. The same procedure is followed with warriors, who are unmarried. However, if an elder dies and leaves children, his descendants are named after him.[168]

Among most of the Indian tribes of South America the names

of the dead are tabooed.[169] The prohibition of the use of such names seems to have prevailed widely among the Indians of North America, where, however, it did not always assume the character of a taboo. Thus, we are told that the California Indians disliked to mention a dead man's name because doing so would cause his relatives and their friends great grief. Among some tribes the worst insult which a person could inflict upon another was to speak of the latter's dead relatives and especially to mention them by name.[170]

Various observers have pointed out how these avoidances and precautions are an insuperable bar to the development of tribal history. Thus Mr. Beveridge, referring to some of the tribes of New South Wales, declares that their custom of endeavoring persistently to forget everything which had been connected with the dead "entirely precludes the possibility of anything of a historical nature having existence amongst them; in fact the most vital occurrence, if only dating a single generation back, is quite forgotten, that is to say, if the recounting thereof should necessitate the mention of a defunct aboriginal's name."[171] To the same effect Mr. Gatschet declares that the Klamath Indians of Oregon possess no historic traditions going back more than a century "for the simple reason that there was a strict law prohibiting the mention of the person or acts of a deceased individual by using his name. This law was rigidly observed among the Californians, no less than among the Oregonians, and on its transgression the death penalty could be inflicted. This is certainly enough to suppress all historical knowledge within a people. How can history be written without names?"[172]

The observance of rest days is by no means unknown to peoples in the lower stages of culture, and with them one occasion for suspending the ordinary occupations is after a death. The prohibition of work at this time usually forms only one of a number of regulations, which also prohibit sexual intercourse, impose partial or complete abstinence from food, and place a ban on loud talking, singing, dancing, and the wearing of ornaments and gay apparel. All these taboos are often confined to the family or at most to the relatives of the deceased; in other cases, where the sense of social solidarity is strong, they affect the entire community. They may sometimes be explained along animistic lines. The ghost of a dead man is supposed to remain for a time with the body in the grave or near the scenes of its earthly life. Until the funeral ceremonies are over, prudence requires the survivors

to avoid all conspicuous activity, lest they attract the unwelcome attentions of the ghost. A similar period of quiescence is sometimes considered to be necessary when the death has been attributed to an evil spirit, which may be on the lookout for other victims. But the belief in the polluting power of death itself affords a more general explanation of the practices under discussion.

Communal taboos, requiring the cessation of work after a death, are not found among the Australian aborigines and are found only occasionally among the Melanesians, who occupy the great island group extending from New Guinea to the Fiji Archipelago. Such taboos are observed, however, by many other peoples, notably by the natives of Borneo, the hill tribes of Assam, the Malagasy, and the Bantu-speaking tribes of South Africa and East Africa. In the New World they are found well developed among the Eskimo of Greenland, Baffin Land, and Alaska. They also prevail among the Asiatic Eskimo, a fact which reinforces the argument for the transmission of cultural elements between northwestern America and northeastern Asia.[173]

Among the Sea Dayak of Borneo, when a death occurs in a village, "it is tabooed to work on the farm: at busy times for three days; at other times for seven days."[174] When a chief dies, the natives refrain from work for a longer period than is usual upon the death of a commoner.[175] With the Naga of Manipur it is not necessary or usual for the entire community to observe *genna* in cases of non-mysterious death. But all cases of death by sudden illness, by accident, by the hand of an enemy, and by wild animals or snakes require the imposition of these periods of abstinence and quiescence.[176]

Upon the decease of a Malagasy king or queen many practices are tabooed (*fady*) to the common people, such prohibitions extending to various periods according to the will of the new ruler. Thus, to sing, to play music, to clap hands, to laugh boisterously, to dance, to wear ornaments or brightly colored garments, to dress or anoint the hair, to wear a hat, to cut the nails, to clean the teeth, to bathe, to gaze in a mirror, and to carry the arms akimbo are all *fady*. Such tasks as pottery-making, spinning, and metal-working are often suspended. Furthermore, no one is allowed to lie on a bedstead or to ride in a palanquin or on horseback, and everyone is expected to shave the head and uncover the shoulders. Many of these regulations are also enforced after the death of a near relative.[177]

It is, or used to be, the rule among the Zulu tribes that no one labors in the fields on the day following a death.[178] After the death of a chief, work of every sort was suspended for six months.[179] The Akikuyu of Kenya Colony, who observe many taboos connected with the corpse, regard the day after a death as unlucky. "People will not travel, and goats and sheep will not bear, and all the inhabitants of the village shave their heads. The women will not go out for four days. On the next day the sons who have taken part in the burial do not work."[180] The Nilotic Kavirondo do not cultivate the fields for three days after the death of a person of importance, and for ten days after the death of a chief.[181] Their neighbors, the Basoga, sometimes extended the days of mourning for a deceased chief to two months. It is said that the crops not infrequently suffered because of the strict prohibition of work in the fields.[182] Certain Abyssinian tribes refrain from plowing, sowing, and grinding grain until a corpse is buried.[183]

The restrictions after a death are prominent among the Eskimo, who possess an extensive system of taboos. Thus, with the Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Strait, it is forbidden "to scrape the frost from the window, to shake the beds or to disturb the shrubs under the bed, to remove oil-drippings from under the lamp, to scrape hair from skins, to cut snow for the purpose of melting it, to work on iron, wood, stone, or ivory. Furthermore, women are forbidden to comb their hair, to wash their faces, and to dry their boots and stockings."[184] Some Alaskan villagers abstain from work on the day when a death occurred and, in many instances, on the day after such an event. After the death of a shaman no work will be done in a village for three days.[185]

The Reindeer Chukchi of northeastern Siberia forbid any kind of woman's work with needle and scraper during the period of the funeral ceremonies. This rule applies to all the houses in the camp or village, and even to other settlements in the vicinity.[186] The Koryak stopped all work in the settlement before the last rites to the dead. No one went hunting or sealing, no one went to fetch wood, and the women did no sewing. At the present time the regulation is so far abrogated as to apply only to those in the house where the body lies.[187]

All persons who have anything to do with a dead body, including undertakers and gravediggers, the relatives of the deceased, and mourners, are often in a state of taboo which continues until their ceremonial purification.[188]

Some Australian tribes on the Lower Murray River forbade mourners to speak for ten days, while the corpse was being reduced to a mummy over a slow fire.[189] Among the Dieri of South Australia those who handled a corpse were unclean for several days.[190] In the Kakadu tribe of Northern Territory the men and women of a camp in which a death has occurred must purify themselves. Often those in other camps will do the same, "when they hear of the death of any special person." The men light a fire of grass stalks and, while the smoke curls around them, pour water over one another's heads and then rub themselves with a special kind of charcoal. The women daub themselves all over with yellow ochre or mud and put on mourning bracelets. At this ceremony the spears, throwing-sticks, and tomahawks of the men, and the mats, baskets, dilly bags, and digging sticks of the women—in fact, all the possessions of the camp—are purified by smoke from the fired grass.[191]

Among some of the Massim of southeastern New Guinea the relatives who have taken part in a funeral go down to the sea and bathe, and so do the widow and children, "because they have supported the dying man." After this purification in the salt water the widow and children also shave their heads.[192] The Elema people of the Papuan Gulf require a grave to be dug by old women, because gravedigging is "an unwholesome business for which they are fitted." A funeral procession is made up almost entirely of women.[193] Keraki gravediggers, after finishing their work, must wash carefully and remove any dirt from their fingernails, so as to rid themselves of any taint from the corpse. Upon their return to the village they are enveloped in a cloud of ashes thrown at them in handfuls by the people.[194]

In Aurora, one of the New Hebrides, the female mourners may not go into the open for a hundred days after a burial, nor may they so much as show their faces to anyone. They stay indoors during this time and cover themselves with a large mat reaching to the ground.[195] In Malekula the two men who buried a body remained secluded in the clubhouse for thirty days. They did not stand upright but crawled on all fours, with their hands and knees inserted into coconut shells to avoid contact with the ground. They did not touch any food except their own. On the thirtieth day of the confinement they discarded the coconut shells, once more stood erect, came out of the clubhouse, and received a new name. Fifteen days later they emerged finally from retirement and returned to normal life.[196] Gravediggers in New Cale-

donia have to remain near the grave for four or five days. They neither shave nor cut their hair, they abstain from certain viands, and do not touch with their hands the food brought to them. This is placed on leaves, and they take it up with their mouths or with a stick. They also wear a peculiar headdress. In spite of the ceremonial pollution which gravediggers must constantly acquire, they are treated with great respect; common people never pass near them without stooping.[197] In Fiji the office of gravedigger for chiefs was hereditary in a certain clan. After the funeral the digger, having first been painted black from head to foot, went into seclusion. He never ventured forth, except for short excursions, and then only after he had covered himself with a long mantle supposed to render him invisible. His food was brought to him at night, by silent bearers who placed it just within the doorway. His seclusion might last a long time, for several months, apparently.[198]

In Samoa, "those who attended the deceased were most careful not to handle food, and for days were fed by others as if they were helpless infants. Baldness and loss of teeth were supposed to be the punishment inflicted by the household god if they violated the rule." On the fifth day after the funeral they purified themselves by bathing the face and hands with hot water, and then they were "clean."[199] In Tahiti all persons employed in embalming were, during the process, carefully avoided by everyone. "They did not feed themselves, lest the food, defiled by the touch of their polluted hands, should cause their own death, but were fed by others."[200]

The *tapu* of those who handled a corpse or conveyed it to its last resting place was among the Maori "a most serious affair. The person who came under this form of the *tapu* was cut off from all contact, and almost all communication, with the human race. He could not enter any house, or come in contact with any person or thing, without utterly bedeviling them. He could not even touch food with his hands, which had become so frightfully *tapu* or unclean as to be quite useless. Food would be placed for him on the ground, and he would then sit or kneel down, and, with his hands carefully held behind his back, would gnaw it in the best way he could. In some cases he would be fed by another person, who, with outstretched arm, would manage to do it without touching the *tapu'd* individual; but this feeder was subjected to many and severe restrictions, not much less onerous than those to which the other was subject. In almost every populous native village

there was a person, who, probably for the sake of immunity from labour, or from being good for nothing else, took up the undertaking business as a regular profession, and, in consequence, was never for a moment, for years together, clear of the horrid inconveniences of the *tapu,* as well as its dangers."[201]

In Yap, one of the Caroline Islands, the nearest relatives of the deceased are secluded in a solitary place for twenty-seven days after the funeral, because, say the natives, their persons are infected with the smell of death (*liu*). After their return to the village they must not do any work or eat certain kinds of food for another period of thrice nine days. Their liberty to walk about continues to be restricted for a still longer period, until they are supposed to be quite rid of the death pollution.[202]

Some of the Dayak tribes of Borneo regard all the kindred of a deceased person as "unclean" for a period of from three to seven days. For the immediate relatives—husband, wife, and children—the uncleanness lasts much longer and ends only when the final feast of the dead is held.[203] The Bontoc Igorot of Luzon are said to manifest little sign of fear or awe in the presence of the dead. Nevertheless, when a man is buried they make the greatest haste to fill up the grave, lest, while engaged in their labors, cawing crows fly over it, dogs bark in its neighborhood, and snakes or rats cross the trail. Great evil would follow any such untoward happening. When all is finished, those who have taken part in the burial hurry away at a dogtrot to wash themselves in the river.[204] A Karen gravedigger must wash his clothes after a funeral. A failure to do so would involve him in misfortune.[205] In the Nicobar Islands all who have had any part in a funeral go down into the water and wash their feet; only after they have thus cleansed themselves may they enter any "good" house, that is, any house which is ceremonially clean. The next day is one of solemn rest for the mourners. They may not sing, dance, laugh, or eat certain kinds of food for several days after the funeral. Those who have become impure by actual contact with the corpse are subject to still other restrictions lasting for a month or more.[206]

The pastoral Toda take the utmost precautions on the occasion of a death, because of the susceptibility of the cattle and the milk to ceremonial defilement. All who go near the corpse become impure or *ichchil,* a term which likewise designates the impurity of childbirth. The whole family in which the death has occurred is spoken of as being *ichchil.* Anyone who goes to a village where the relics of the deceased are being kept in the period between the

first and second funerals becomes *ichchil.* Those who wish to attend a funeral and yet would avoid pollution must sit at a distance and take no part in the proceedings. A person who has incurred the pollution of death remains in this dangerous state until the next new moon.[207] To purify the places where funeral rites took place the Toda perform a ceremony which includes the killing of a buffalo. Blood is drawn from the dead animal and mixed with earth in a basket; bark may also be added. The mixture is then scattered over the spots where the buffalo was caught and killed and where the dead man or his relics had been deposited at the two funerals. The ceremony is not performed for women. No use is made of the flesh of the buffalo, and its body is left where it falls.[208]

In Madagascar "no corpse is allowed to be buried in the capital city, or to remain in it beyond a very short time. The rough bier on which the body is carried is thrown away in the neighbourhood of the grave as polluted; no one would dare to use it even for firewood, but it is left to decay with the weather. Besides this, after a funeral the mourners all wash their dress, or at least dip a portion of it in running water, a ceremony which is called *afana,* 'freed from,' and is supposed to carry away the uncleanness contracted from contact with or proximity to a corpse."[209]

Among the Thonga the contamination of death necessitates purification, most rigorous for the widows and, in a descending scale of severity, for the gravediggers, the inhabitants of the bereaved village, the relatives residing in other villages, and the relatives of the wives of the deceased. Moreover, all the villagers must refrain from sexual intercourse throughout the mourning period and even during the last days of the deceased when his death is imminent. After the death of a headman or some other great personage all the married couples of the village have "sexual relations in the ritual fashion." Each woman then washes her hands and thus cleanses them from their "impurity." Finally both men and women bathe in a stream. This sexual rite of purification takes place several weeks after the funeral, and until it has been performed a husband must not have intercourse with his wife.[210]

Among the Nandi of Kenya three adult relatives of a dead person take away the corpse at nightfall and leave it in the bush, there to be eaten by hyenas. While doing so, they must be very careful not to stumble, lest misfortune come to the whole family. Upon their return to the village, they bathe in a river, anoint their bodies with fat, partially shave their heads, and live in the hut of

the deceased for four days, during which time they may not be seen by a boy or a female. They may not touch food with their hands, but must eat with the help of a potsherd or a chip of gourd, and they may not drink milk.[211] The Akamba allow only old men to touch a dead body, to be present at a burial, to dig a grave, or to perform the ritualistic sweeping of a hut where a death occurred. For others these actions are under a taboo, whose violation brings on a disease. The old men do not require purification.[212]

Among the Twi of the Gold Coast "persons who have touched the corpse are considered unclean; and, after the interment, they proceed in procession to the nearest well or brook, and sprinkle themselves with water, which is the ordinary native mode of purification." Among the Ewe of the Slave Coast "contact with a corpse renders a person unclean, and he must purify himself by washing in water from head to foot." Among the Yoruba after a death the priest sprinkles corpse, room, and spectators with water of purification.[213] To touch a dead body or to have anything to do with a grave is considered by the Lower Niger tribes a pollution. It is unlucky for a man to come into a house with the earth of the grave upon his person. All who perform the office of washing and dressing a corpse must purify themselves.[214]

The aborigines of South America subject mourners to many taboos. Thus the Lengua Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco require the near relatives of the deceased to be closely muffled up and to live apart from other people for the space of a month, "taking their food alone, and never sharing in the common pot." They are regarded as unclean and must be purified with hot water at the expiration of the mourning period.[215] The restrictions which the Taulipang and other Guiana tribes impose upon the nearest relatives of a deceased person are almost identical with those which a girl observes at her first menstruation. The mourners may not speak in loud tones. They may not eat big game. Everything eaten or drunk by them must first be made harmless by an appropriate incantation. They do no work for a month. They do not visit the manioc plantations while the corpse is mouldering, lest the crop fail. As a native declared, "The manioc would sense the corruption of the corpse and would also become corrupt."[216]

The Creek Indians believed that certain malefic influences emanated from a corpse even after it was laid in the ground. Persons in its vicinity were subject to aches and pains about the

joints of the legs and in other places. Even the dirt that fell upon a gravedigger's clothing, or dirt from a grave over which a person had stepped, was likely to bring on rheumatic pains. A person who dug a grave could communicate his ailment to others.[217] After contact with a corpse an Iroquois Indian bruised leaves of the common plantain, put them in water, and washed his face and eyes with the decoction. It "would not be well" for a sick person or a child to be seen by one who had neglected this purificatory rite.[218]

The funeral ceremonies formerly observed by the Hupa Indians of California were followed by a ceremonial purification of the relatives and the gravedigger. After the burial they retired to the sweat house, where a priest proceeded to compound a potent medicine of boiled herbs. This he applied to the heads, arms, and legs of the persons to be purified, saying, "This will make your body new, you will have good luck again when you hunt or fish or gamble." The gravedigger rubbed the palms of his hands and the soles of his feet because his hands had handled the corpse and his feet had trodden the grave. Then they all went to the riverside, washed again with the medicine, and finally bathed in the river. These proceedings were repeated several times on different days. The gravedigger had to observe still other ceremonies before becoming rid of the pollution which made him so dangerous to his fellows.[219] The fear which the Indians of Washington exhibit toward a corpse and their horror of touching it "oftentimes gives rise to a difficulty as to who shall perform the funeral ceremonies, for any person who handles a dead body must not eat of salmon or sturgeon for thirty days."[220]

The Seechelt of British Columbia, who believe that a dead body is inimical to the salmon, require the relatives of a deceased person to refrain from eating salmon or from entering a creek where salmon are found. The prohibition is not observed, however, after the fish have arrived in such numbers that there is no danger of their being frightened away. A similar rule prevails among the neighboring Lillooet.[221] Among the Kutchin or Loucheux Indians those who perform the last offices for the dead are required to observe various restrictions. They must not eat fresh meat, unless no other food is available; they must tear meat with their teeth, the use of a knife being forbidden to them; and they must drink out of a gourd carried on their person and not out of any drinking or cooking vessel. They wear peeled willow wands round their arms and necks and carry them in their hands. "These

are supposed to keep off infection and to prevent any evil which might follow the handling of a deceased body."[222] Among the Eskimo of Bering Strait the housemates of the deceased must remain in their accustomed places in the house for four days following the death, while the shade is believed to be still about. They wear fur hoods, "to prevent the influence of the shade from entering their heads and killing them." The dead man's former bedfellows must not on any account leave their places at this time. "If they were to do so the shade might return and, by occupying a vacant place, bring sickness or death to its original owner or to the inmates of the house."[223]

Widows and widowers, because of their intimate relationship with the deceased, must observe innumerable precautions, avoidances, and purificatory rites, and widows, in particular, are sometimes treated as if they were lepers.[224] In the Euahlayi tribe of New South Wales a widow has to cover herself with mud and sleep beside a smouldering fire all the night following her husband's death. Three days later she goes down to a creek, to be laved in the water and well smoked at a fire the men have built on the bank. After these purificatory measures have been taken, the ban of silence which had rested upon her is lifted, but for several months she must wear a widow's cap and keep her face daubed with pipe-clay.[225] A Central Australian widow is required to smear her hair, face, and breasts with pipe-clay. In some cases she may not speak for as long as twelve months after her husband's death but must communicate by means of the gesture language.[226]

The Roro-speaking tribes of British New Guinea require a widow or a widower to remain at home as much as possible for from four to ten months. During this time the bereaved spouse must go out only by the back of the house and must be so well wrapped up as to be unrecognizable by any person of the opposite sex. For the first few weeks after her husband's death the widow should be careful, when quitting her abode, "to let herself down heavily so as to simulate falling or rolling from the house," and whenever she goes abroad, her friends, realizing her weakness, should support her on their arms. Among these tribes both widows and widowers shave the head as a sign of mourning.[227]

Among the tribes inhabiting the Hood Peninsula a widow or a widower lives in seclusion for two or three months, shaves the head, blackens the body, and wears a special costume appropriate to her (or his) grief-stricken condition.[228] A Kai widow erects

a little hut over the grave, and there she eats and sleeps for several weeks. She goes about as little as possible, and she does not bathe. A widower is subject to the same restrictions.[229]

In the Trobriand Islands a widow is secluded in a small cage within her home. "She must not leave the place; she may speak only in whispers; she must not touch food or drink with her own hands, but wait till they are put into her mouth; she remains closed up in the dark, without fresh air or light; her body is thickly smeared over with soot and grease, which will not be washed off for a long time." This purgatorial confinement continues for a period which varies from about six months to two years, according to the status of her husband.[230] In Eddystone Island, one of the Solomons, a widow discards all ornaments and wears nothing but dark cloth. She neither cuts her hair nor whitens it with lime. A small enclosure, just large enough for her to lie in, is made for her inside the house. If her husband had been a chief, she must remain quite invisible, with her knees drawn up like those of the dead man. When the widow of either a chief or a commoner goes out to satisfy nature, she must crouch under a mat. A widow, after her purification has been accomplished, is never called by her own name but is always addressed as *namboko*.[231] A Maori widow remained in a state of taboo until the bones of her husband had been scraped and brought to their final resting place. The same custom was observed by a widower.[232]

The Agutaino of Palawan, one of the Philippines, do not allow a widow to quit her abode for seven or eight days after her bereavement; even then she must avoid meeting anybody, for whoever looks upon her dies at once. As she goes along she hits on the trees with a wooden peg to give warning of her approach; the trees themselves soon die.[233] A Tenguian widow, during the three days that her late husband's body is kept in the house, sleeps under a fish net. This is a most necessary precaution, for near the place of death lurks a spirit only awaiting a favorable opportunity to cohabit with the spouse of the deceased. Once she felt his cold embrace she would die. The meshes of the net entangle the long fingers of the spirit and prevent his close approach. The widow takes off her beads, puts on old garments and a bark headband, and places over her head a large white blanket, which she wears until after the burial. All relatives of the dead man likewise don blankets and abstain from work. The members of the immediate family observe still stricter precautions. They eat only corn, touch nothing bloody, do not swing their arms when walking, and

do not mount a horse. Under no circumstances may they leave the village or join in festivities. A failure to keep these taboos is followed by swift punishment, generally meted out by the spirit of the dead person.[284]

Many tribes of South Africa and East Africa require coitus by a widow or a widower as the final feature of the ceremony of purification. Among the Bechuana men and women who had lost their partners during the preceding twelve months spent a night in a temporary booth and engaged in "miscellaneous cohabitation."[285] Before a Thonga widow can remarry she must have sexual intercourse with another man whom she deceives. If the act keeps its ritual character, the man will take on the malediction of death and she will be purified. If, on the contrary, the man accomplishes the whole act, the widow returns home in despair. She has failed, and special medicines are needed to cope with her dangerous condition. The man who has unconsciously purified a widow and who becomes aware of the fact will likewise have recourse to the doctor's medicines to get rid of the pollution of death.[286] A Ba-ila widower is in a state of taboo. "There is hanging about him something contagious: something left over from his marital relationship with his deceased wife. . . . . We have heard this explained as being the spirit (*muzhimo*) of the deceased which attaches itself to him and his clothes; but it would appear to be physical rather than psychical, for it can be got rid of by transferring it to somebody else." A female friend of his deceased wife comes to his hut; he has intercourse with her; the act frees him from impurity; he is ready to marry again. A widow is likewise in a state of taboo, which prevents her from carrying on her usual occupation or from remarrying until she has been purified. A relation of her deceased husband has intercourse with her, but if he does not put in an appearance she seeks some other man to remove the defilement from her.[287]

The Bakaonde of Northern Rhodesia, neighbors of the Ba-ila, have reduced the purification of widows and widowers to what may be described as a business basis. A fee is paid by the widow (or by her relatives) to her husband's heir for sleeping with her for a night or so. However, should she be old or ill-favored, it is enough for him to take her before the people and rub a little white flour on her body or put some white beads on her. By the one means or the other he releases the spirit of her deceased husband. For the same purpose a widower buys the services of his deceased wife's sister, or, failing her, of some other woman with whom

he may pass the night. If the widower is old and unattractive, the woman chosen may content herself with entering a hut with him and cutting her abdominal string, a simple procedure, indeed, but sufficient to release the unwanted spirit of his deceased wife. The only objection to these arrangements (from the native point of view) is that many men refuse to clear a widow of her spiritual encumbrance unless they are paid an exorbitant fee. Until it is paid, the widow is not free to marry or even to leave the village of her late spouse. Widowers can usually look out for themselves, but the same excessive demands on them are often made before the necessary woman is produced. Should the man remarry or cohabit elsewhere, he is then liable to pay compensation to his new wife's relatives for having married before being cleared. This is because of the belief that the spirit of the deceased wife will be inimical to the new wife if the proper formalities have not been observed. The relatives of the deceased wife will also expect compensation from him "for not doing as he should."[238]

In one of the two social divisions of the Akikuyu the death of an elder is followed by a ceremony to cleanse the village from the "stain of death." Then the elders select one of their number who is very poor and of the same clan as the deceased to sleep in the hut of the senior widow of the deceased and have connection with her. He generally continues to live in the village and is looked upon as a stepfather to the children.[239] Among the Atheraka of southeastern Kenya after the death of the head of a family the sons may take the younger widows as their wives, "but not until the brother of the deceased has ceremonially cohabited with the principal wife of the deceased." If this rite is not observed before a son marries one of his father's widows, he will become taboo (*makwa*), and only the medicine man can remove his impurity.[240] An Akamba widow, after the purification of the villagers, must sleep with the dead man's brother as her husband, or, if he had no brother, then with another elderly man. Similarly a widower purifies himself by having intercourse with one of his other wives. A man with only one wife must find another woman whose husband had recently died and cohabit with her.[241] Among some of the tribes of Ruanda, a district to the west of Lake Victoria, ritual coitus is prescribed for the purification of a widow. One or two months after the death of her husband she must cohabit with a stranger at cockcrow in the morning. Cohabitation is not complete, however; if it were so the man would die.[242] A Nandi widow is "unclean." As long as she is in mourning,

no warrior may enter her house; she may not go near warriors or stand up while they are sitting down; and she must speak in a whisper. In this tribe widows are not allowed to remarry or again wear married women's earrings.[243]

The Lower Congo tribes prescribe rather elaborate purificatory rites for a widow, but only after the death of her first husband. "She must take his bed, and one or two articles he commonly used, to a running stream. The bed is put in the middle of the stream and the articles placed upon it. The woman washes herself in the stream, and afterwards sits on the bed. The medicine man goes to her and dips her three times in the water, and dresses her. Then the bed and articles are broken, and the pieces thrown downstream to float away. She is now led out of the stream, and a raw egg is broken and given to her to swallow. A toad is killed and some of its blood is rubbed on her lips, and a fowl is killed and hung by the roadside. After these sacrifices have been made to the spirit of the departed one, she is free to return to her town. On arriving there, she sits on the ground and stretches her legs before her and her deceased husband's brother steps over them. She is now purified, and will be free to marry when the time of her widowhood is completed." These proceedings must be carried out in all their detail, as otherwise no other man will seek her in marriage. A widower who has lost his first wife must also observe somewhat similar ceremonies to "wash away the death," as the natives say.[244]

Widows in West Africa are confined to their huts, where they sit on the ground, eat little food, and remain in a state of filth and abasement until the ghost of their husband has finally quitted this world. In Calabar they have to keep watch, two at a time, in the hut when the body is buried, and they have to pay out of their separate estate for the entertainment of all friends of the deceased who do him the honor of a visit. "If he has been an important man, a big man, the whole district will come, not in a squadron, but just when it suits them, exactly as if they were calling on a live friend. Thus it often happens that even a big woman is bankrupt by the expense."[245] Among some tribes of Togoland a widow must remain completely secluded for five or six weeks. During this time she carries a good stout stick with which to ward off possible attacks from her husband's ghost. Even after she comes out of the hut, she must be safeguarded for the next six months, since the ghost, until the expiration of this period, is likely to revisit the neighborhood. Then, after certain ceremonies, she may remarry.[246] At Agweh, on the Slave Coast, a widow

had to stay shut up for six months in the room where her husband was buried. At the end of her seclusion a fire was lighted and red peppers were cast into it. After she had been almost stifled by the pungent fumes, she might safely mix again with the outside world.[247]

The Twi of the Gold Coast require a widow, some months after her bereavement, to offer a sacrifice to the tutelary deity of the family. To have intercourse with a man before the performance of this rite would expose her to some grave misfortune, while her partner would fall a victim to the wrath of the deceased husband's ghost.[248] Among the Ibo of Nigeria the widow must stay at home during the day. When she goes out at night she does so by the back of the house, where the wall has been broken down to permit her egress. She does not cook for anyone and no one cooks for her, except a small girl who has not yet put on neck ornaments. She may not touch any male person except a small boy who has not yet begun to wear a loincloth. Only her son may visit her, and then only at night. No one may enter the water where she is washing or step over her legs. These restrictions continue in force for twenty-eight days after the burial of her husband.[249]

The Patagonian Indians required widows and widowers to remain secluded in a tent. They held no communication with the outside world, fasted, abstained from certain articles of diet, did not wash, and blackened themselves with soot. After mourning in this way for a year they were allowed to remarry.[250] A Zuñi widow or widower "must not approach the fire, must not touch or be touched by any one, must not receive anything directly from the hand of another person, must not talk, and must sleep very little, if at all." These restrictions are in force for four days.[251] A Lillooet widow may not eat fresh food for a year. She may not sleep on the customary bed or sleeping mat, but on a special bed of red fir branches. A young widow requires ceremonial cleansings to insure that she will live long and be innocuous to her second husband. Should a widow marry shortly after the death of her former husband, without having been thus purified, her second husband's life would be very short. A Lillooet widower abstains from fresh meat for some time—the younger the man the longer his abstention. A young widower has also to refrain from sexual intercourse for a year, the more particularly if he possesses esoteric or mystery powers.[252]

The impurity of widows and widowers was very pronounced among the Thompson Indians. Immediately after the death of the

husband or wife, the survivor went out and passed four times through a patch of rosebushes. For four days she or he had to wander about, either in the evening or at daybreak, wiping the eyes with fir twigs, which were then hung in the branches of trees. It was also necessary, as a precaution against blindness, to rub four times across the eyes a small smooth stone taken from running water. The stone was then thrown away. For the first four days the survivor might not touch food, but used sharp-pointed sticks instead of fingers. For an entire year a widow or a widower slept on a bed of fir branches and washed every morning and evening in the creek. Failure to perform these ceremonies carried the penalty of sore throat, loss of voice, or blindness. No flesh of any kind and no fresh fish might be eaten for an entire year. Certain fruits were also forbidden during this period. Any grass or branches upon which a widow or a widower sat or lay down withered up. A widow might not pick berries for a year, or else the whole crop would fall from the bushes or wither up. A widower might not hunt or fish because of the resulting bad luck for himself and for other hunters and fishers.[253]

Homicide within the peace group, whether a joint family, a village, a clan, or even a tribe, is a rare occurrence among primitive peoples, who, because of its rarity, are often at a loss how to deal with it. Frequently no definite penalty is prescribed for its commission. In some cases, however, the manslayer is under taboo, as being a source of danger not only to himself but also to his fellows. A deadly pollution surrounds him; the ghost of his victim, wrathful at being so hurriedly and so unpleasantly dispatched to the other world, pursues him, even as the Furies pursued Orestes. All the mystic perils with which the savage invests death are accentuated when it has been due to violence. Hence homicide, even when justifiable or accidental, sometimes calls for elaborate rites of purification.[254]

These rites have not been found in Australia, but they are known in various parts of New Guinea. When a Koita had killed a fellow tribesman, whether man or woman, the blood was not washed off the spear or club, but was allowed to dry on it. The killer bathed in salt or fresh water on his way to the village and then went to his house, where he remained secluded for about a week. "He was *aina*, and might not approach women, and though there apparently were no food taboos, he lifted his food to his mouth with a single-pronged fork made of pig or kangaroo bone. His women folk did not necessarily leave the house, though they

took care not to approach him. At the end of a week, he built a rough shelter in the bush, in which he lived for a few days, often in the company of other men of about his own tribal status." During this time he made a new waistband, which he wore on his return to the village. After a ceremonial dance had been held, he went home and ceased to be *aina*. "A man who had killed another was stated to get thin and to lose condition. This was because he had been splashed with the blood of his victim, and as the corpse rotted, so he too wasted. So firmly was this believed, that in the old days a man who got thin without losing his health, and for no obvious reason, would have been suspected of having killed somebody."[255]

Among the natives of the Andaman Islands a man who has killed another in a private quarrel or in a fight between two villages retires to the jungle and lives there for several weeks, or even months. Only his wife and one or two of his friends may visit him and feed him, for he is not allowed to touch any food with his hands, nor may he handle a bow or an arrow. If he breaks either of these rules, it is thought that the spirit of his victim will make him ill. This period of seclusion is followed by a ceremony of purification.[256]

Both the murderer and the accidental killer are under a taboo in many parts of Africa. Among the Amaxosa "if anyone kills a man he is considered unclean." He must then roast his meat upon a fire of a particular kind of wood which gives the meat a bitter taste. Having eaten it, he must rub his face with the cooled fragments of the burnt wood until his face is quite black. After a certain time he may wash himself, rinse his mouth with milk, and dye himself brown again. "From this time he is clean."[257] The uncomfortable feelings which affect a murderer, feelings which we should call remorse and ascribe to conscience, the Ba-ila ascribe to the ghost of his victim. The ghost is supposed to lodge itself in the region of the epigastrium, whence it can be expelled by means of an emetic or by cupping. "The physical basis for such a belief is, of course, that the solar plexus becomes disturbed by excitement of the higher centers." The Ba-ila have another idea of the murderer's condition seemingly more like obsession than possession. They think that a killer is haunted by the ghost of the slain man or that the ghost is in him—the idea is very vague. A native went to stay at a village and fell sick there. The diviner declared that he had committed murder and that a ghost haunted him. The man was therefore driven away, for had

he been allowed to remain many of the villagers would have died.[258]

The Nandi treat the killer of a fellow clansman as "bitter or unclean" (*ngwonin*) for the rest of his life. He may never again enter a cattle kraal except his own, and whenever he wishes to go into a hut he must strike the earth twice with a rhinoceros-horn club before crossing the threshold. However, this state of permanent bitterness or uncleanness can be removed if he succeeds in killing two other Nandi of a different clan and himself pays the blood money to the relatives of the murdered men.[259] The Akikuyu believe that if a man who has killed another man of his own clan goes to a village and eats with a family in their hut, those who entertained him will become polluted (*thahu*). In this case a medicine man must be called in to purify both the hut and its occupants.[260] The Atheraka require a murderer to be purified by a tribal elder, who smears the blood of a goat over small incisions made on the culprit's body. Were this rite omitted, the murderer would continue on his bloody course, slaying friends and foes alike.[261] Among the Kavirondo a murderer lives in a hut apart from the village. An old woman attends to his wants and cooks for him. She also feeds him, because he may not touch food with his hands. The period of separation lasts for three days. On the fourth day a man who has himself committed murder, or has at some time killed a foe in battle, takes him to a stream and washes him all over. Next, the murderer is fed a ceremonial meal consisting of goat's flesh and porridge. Then the skin of the goat is cut into strips, which are wound around his neck and wrists. It is said that until these purificatory rites have been performed the ghost of the slain man cannot depart for the place of the dead but hovers about the murderer.[262]

Negroes of the Cameroons, in a case of accidental homicide, carry out a ceremony to remove the bloodguiltiness which would otherwise attach to the manslayer. The relatives of the slayer and the slain having assembled, an animal is killed and everyone present is smeared with its blood.[263] The Builsa and other tribes of the northern Gold Coast require certain purificatory ceremonies to be performed over a murderer on the third day after the commission of his deed. Until these take place, he may not enter his wife's hut. He may not speak to her or to his children. Relatives and strangers alike communicate with him only by signs. Food is brought to him by a man who has himself committed murder. He sleeps in company with other former murderers on

the mound of his ancestors. A murderer is known because he must wear upon his neck a little piece of wood. One who has killed another by accident is not subjected to purification.[264] We are told that among the Kru of Liberia blood revenge usually takes place only during wartime. In the thick of battle a man may shoot some member of his own clan against whom he bears a grudge. If this happens, the murderer must immediately search out an intimate friend and confess what he has done. Then they proceed to the nearest stream. The murderer fills his gun barrel with water and drinks the water. He is now absolved from the crime he has committed. Were the purificatory rite not performed the taboo power (*kla*) inherent in the crime would suffice to cause his death.[265]

Throughout Morocco private manslayers are regarded as unclean. Poison oozes from underneath their nails; hence anybody who drinks water in which a manslayer has washed his hands will fall dangerously ill. Those who eat with him from the same dish are careful to avoid any portion of the food which his fingers have touched. Indeed, people often refuse to eat in company with a homicide. In one part of Morocco he is not allowed to butcher an animal, to skin one, or to cut up its meat, and at a market he must keep at a little distance from the meat offered for sale by the butchers. "When the governor wants to squeeze money out of the butchers he sends to them a homicide, who can punish any obstinacy on their part simply by touching the meat to make it unsalable." One who has taken human life is not allowed to go into a vegetable garden or an orchard, to tread on a threshing floor, to enter a granary, or to go among the sheep. He is also forbidden to visit a mosque.[266]

Similar ideas of the uncleanness attaching to those who have committed homicide in private quarrels are found in North America. The Omaha Indians subjected a murderer, whose life had been spared, to various pains and penalties. He must walk barefoot. He might not eat warm food, raise his voice, or look around. Even in warm weather he had to keep his robe drawn tightly about him and tied at the neck. He was obliged to hold his hands close to his body. He was not allowed to comb his hair. When the tribesmen were going on a hunt, he must pitch his tent about a quarter of a mile from the encampment, "lest the ghost of his victim should raise a high wind which might cause damage." No one wished to eat with him. At the end of this period of ostracism the kindred of the murdered man said, "It is enough. Be-

gone, and walk among the crowd. Put on moccasins and wear a good robe."[267] The Ponka believe that ghosts surround a murderer and keep up a constant whistling. He can never satisfy his hunger, though he gorge himself. He must not be allowed to roam at large lest high winds arise.[268]

Among the Cheyenne Indians a murderer who had succeeded in escaping the vengeance of the murdered man's relatives camped by himself for a long time. The tribal court considered his case and the chief summoned the relatives to learn from them what compensation would satisfy them for their loss. When the blood fine had been paid by the murderer's kinsmen, he might return to the camp. But henceforth he was a marked man. He might not eat in the same lodge with his fellows, use their dishes, or drink out of their cups. If by any chance he drank from a cup not his own, it would often be thrown away; if not, it would be purified. He carried his own pipe and tobacco, for no one would smoke with him or take a pipe from him as it was passed from hand to hand. If unmarried, he probably never secured a wife, for no woman would consent to live with him. Even the bison avoided him because he had a bad smell. Indeed, he was supposed to decay inwardly and to be destined to die and blow away. Among these Indians deliberate homicide was most unusual, "only five or six cases in more than fifty years."[269]

Among the Chinook of Oregon an old man who has a guardian spirit (and hence is protected against evil influences) takes the manslayer in charge and subjects him to various purificatory rites. Even after these have been completed people never eat in company with a murderer, nor is he ever allowed to see them eating. And he may never look at a helpless child.[270]

Where there is no recognized public authority to deal with cases of homicide, taboos of the rigorous character that has been described doubtless act as a restraining influence upon a would-be murderer. No doubt, also, the physical cleansings and purgations to which a murderer is subjected have their value when they come to be regarded as in some measure an expiation for moral guilt, a cleansing from the taint of sin committed. This is certainly true of the Moroccan tribes, among whom, as Professor Westermarck observes, "the uncleanness of a manslayer is not merely due to the blood pollution but also to his sin." Among the Omaha Indians the restrictions laid upon a manslayer had also assumed something of an ethical character, because his deed was considered offensive to Wakanda. No one would eat with such a per-

son, for they said, "If we eat with whom Wakanda hates, for his crime, Wakanda will hate us."

The fear of the wrathful ghost of a slain man or of the contamination which his death involves for all who have had a hand in it is further illustrated by the precautions sometimes taken by executioners. Among the Shans of Burma "it was the curious custom of executioners to taste the blood of their victims, as they believed if this were not done illness and death would follow in a short time."[271] Among the Bakongo of the Lower Congo a convicted murderer is taken to the crowded market place and made drunk with palm wine; "then the chief man of the district dances round him with a sword, and flashing and waving it about the culprit's head he makes a cut in the forehead, and on touching the prisoner for the third time, someone rushes out of the crowd, and cuts off the murderer's head, and his body is burned to ashes. By reducing the body to ashes they believe that they thereby destroy his spirit, and thus prevent the spirit from seeking revenge by bewitching his executioners."[272] By the Ibo and other Delta tribes of Southern Nigeria war captives are beheaded on a special slaughter ground some distance from the town. The performance of this office is a high honor conferred by the king on notables and important personages only. It is necessary for the executioner to lick the blood left on the sword blade after the decapitation and also to remain in his house for three days. "During this period he sleeps on the bare floor, eats off broken platters, and drinks out of calabashes which are also damaged. On the fourth day, dressed in his best clothes and ornamented with a number of eagles' feathers and any fineries he may possess, he sallies forth and walks around the town, paying visits to all his most intimate friends."[273]

Among the Tupi, a Brazilian tribe, a warrior who had put his war captive to death, gave himself one more name, painted and scarified his body, fasted, and for an entire day lay in his hammock, where he passed the time shooting into wax with a small bow and arrows. The shooting was done in order that his aim might not become uncertain because of the shock of the death-blow which he had administered.[274] The Guanches of the Canary Islands went so far as to taboo a butcher. This functionary was always an outcast and generally a criminal, who expiated his crime by having to imbue his hands in the blood of innocent animals. He could make his wants known only by pointing to the objects which he required, for his least touch carried pollution.[275]

Homicide in warfare, though not generally reckoned as murder according to the more refined ideas of civilized man, by the savage is often considered to involve the same dangerous consequences that attend the taking of human life by private manslayers. The man who has slain an enemy in fair fight or foul must therefore submit to various taboos and undergo a ceremonial cleansing from the pollution which invests him, precisely as the murderer of a fellow clansman.[276]

The natives of Central Australia do not engage in anything which can be described as organized warfare, but there are frequent brawls between local groups and totem classes, resulting, occasionally, in loss of life. The Arunta think that the ghost of a man killed openly in a fight or secretly by an avenging party follows the manslayers in the shape of a little bird (*chichurkna*) and watches for an opportunity to injure them. If any member of the party fails to hear its cry, he will become paralyzed in the right arm and shoulder. So at night, when it flies over the camp, they have to be wakeful and keep the right arm and shoulder carefully concealed from the bird's dangerous glance. When they hear its cry their minds are relieved, for now they know that the ghost is powerless to do them any harm.[277]

Warriors newly returned from the field of their exploits are taboo (*ngove*) among the Mekeo tribes of British New Guinea. They retire to a clubhouse where they pass most of the time squatting around the fire. What little food they are allowed to eat must not be touched with their hands but must be carefully conveyed to their mouths by means of a fork. At the end of their seclusion they wash themselves in water in which have been infused the leaves of certain plants. They may now leave the clubhouse during the day, but must return to it at night. They do not engage in any work, or wear their ornaments, or approach their wives for several months thereafter. Finally a big feast, with the slaughter of many pigs, is held, and the warriors are then released from the restrictions laid upon them.[278] Among some of the Southern Massim the killer or captor of a man who is to be eaten at a cannibal feast goes straight to his house and stays there for about a month. He is said to be afraid of the "blood" of the dead man, and it is for this reason that he takes no part in the feast; if he did, his belly would become "full of blood" and he would die. "But there is something more subtle than the actual blood, though connected with it, of which he goes in terror . . . . It seemed rather as if certain imperceptible qual-

ities emanating from the blood lingered about the scene of the cannibal feast, and adhered to a certain extent to those who had taken part in it long after all physical traces had been removed, and that these influences were specially injurious to the provider of the feast."[279] The Orokaiva imposed various restrictions on a man who had slain another in a raid. He might not eat any portion of his victim's body, a prohibition also applying to the slayer's father, mother, and nearest relatives. He might not drink pure water out of the river, but only water which had been stirred up and made muddy by the feet of a non-slayer. He might not eat taro cooked in the pot, but only that which had been roasted in an open fire. He might not indulge in sexual intercourse. These restrictions lasted for a few days, and then the slayer brought them to an end by eating the same kind of stew given to initiates at the end of their seclusion. In one instance, observed by our authority, the man had to allow himself to be thoroughly bitten by ants before consuming the purificatory stew.[280] The tribes at the mouth of the Wanigela River require a warrior to cleanse himself and his weapons. He is secluded for three days. On the fourth day he dons all his best ornaments and badges for taking life, sallies forth fully armed, and parades in all his finery through the village. On the fifth day a hunt is organized and a kangaroo is selected from the game killed. The animal is cut open and its liver and spleen are rubbed over the warrior's back. He then goes to the nearest water and bathes, while all the young, untried warriors swim between his straddled legs in order to gain some of his strength and courage.[281]

The Fijians, who enjoyed a well-deserved reputation for bloodthirstiness, held in high honor the person who had slain a member of a hostile tribe, whether old or young, whether man, woman, or child, whether in open fight or by treachery. Nevertheless, the slayer had to submit to a variety of restrictions. After a formal anointing or consecration with red oil, he retired to a special hut where he passed the next three nights. During this time the hero might not lie down but had to sleep as he sat, nor might he change his bark-cloth garment, nor remove the red paint from his body, nor enter a house in which there was a woman. During the three days he was on an incessant march, followed by half a score of young men reddened like himself.[282]

In the Marquesas Islands the warrior's gun or spear with which he had killed a man became *tapu* as well as himself, and such a weapon was given the name of its victim.[283]

All members of a Maori war party were *tapu* to women until the fighting was over. They cooked for themselves during this time and took particular pains that their food should not be put near a weapon or touched by the right hand. It had to be carried to the mouth with the left hand.[284] We may surmise that the precaution was intended to prevent the right hand, which grasped the spear, from being made useless by infected food. The warriors, upon their return, were released from the *tapu* which had invested them. Two fires were kindled, and at each of these the priestly expert roasted a single sweet potato. The priest ate the tuber cooked at one of the fires, and the other was eaten by a woman chosen to take part in the ceremony. The performance was accompanied by the recital of incantations. The warriors were now free to mingle with their fellows and resume their normal lives.[285]

The natives of the Pelew Islands used to indulge in constant head-hunting, because a human head was deemed by them to be indispensable for various ceremonials. The successful hunters, if young men who never before had been out on an expedition, came under a taboo (*meay*) and remained secluded in the village clubhouse for three days. During this time they might not bathe or touch a woman; their diet was rigorously limited; and they were required to rub themselves with the leaves of a certain plant and to chew betel for purification from pollution. Old head-hunters, who had been on many expeditions and had cut off many heads, did not observe these restrictions, unless, indeed, their hands had actually touched the dead body of the victim.[286]

Among the Basuto, who form the eastern branch of the widespread Bechuana people, "ablution is especially performed on return from battle. It is absolutely necessary that the warriors should rid themselves, as soon as possible, of the blood they have shed, or the shades of their victims would pursue them incessantly, and disturb their slumbers. They go in a procession, and in full armour, to the nearest stream. At the moment they enter the water a diviner, placed higher up, throws some purifying substances into the current. This is, however, not strictly necessary. The javelins and battleaxes also undergo the process of washing."[287]

Among the Thonga the slaying of enemies in battle entails great glory for the slayers, but also great danger to them. "They have killed. So they are exposed to the mysterious and deadly influence of the *nuru* and must consequently undergo a medical

treatment. What is the *nuru? Nuru* is the spirit of the slain which tries to take its revenge on the slayer. It haunts him and may drive him to insanity: his eyes swell, protrude, and become inflamed." He will go out of his mind, be attacked by giddiness, and the thirst for blood may even lead him to fall with murderous intent upon members of his own family. To avoid such terrible consequences the slayers are placed under many taboos. They put on old clothes, eat with special spoons, and from special plates and broken pots. They are not allowed to drink water. Their food must be cold; if it was hot, it would make them swell internally, because, say the natives, "they are hot themselves, they are defiled." Sexual relations are absolutely forbidden them. After some days a medicine man comes to purify them and "remove their black." When this has been accomplished, all the implements used by the slayers during their seclusion and all their old garments are tied together, hung upon a tree, and left there to decay.[288]

A warrior of the Lumbwa tribe, Kenya, who has killed a man, returns home screaming the name of the tribe to which his foe belonged. The villagers come out to meet him and throw grass upon him. He then goes to the river, bathes ceremonially, and plasters red and white earth on his head and body. His shield and spear are similarly daubed with mud. For the next month he lives more or less in seclusion. During this time women and children may not eat of the leavings of his food, and they shun his presence. When the month is up the killer seeks a strange woman, preferably a woman thought to be barren, and has connection with her; the husband, should he be cognizant of the act, shows no resentment. The warrior's purification is now completed.[289]

The Kavirondo warrior is rubbed with medicine (generally the dung of goats) "to prevent the spirit of the deceased from worrying the man by whom he has been slain."[290] The Ja-Luo require a successful warrior to shave his head and hang a fowl's head from his neck. This must be done before he enters his village. He now returns home and gives a big feast to propitiate the ghost of the slain man.[291]

The Jivaro of eastern Ecuador and Peru are at the present time the most warlike of all the Indian tribes in South America. So assiduously do they devote themselves to the military art that they are in some danger of wiping themselves out. With the Jivaro, however, the successful warrior is subjected to many restrictions. In the evening of the day their enemies have been

killed all the men who have taken part in the massacre slightly prick themselves over the whole body, using for this purpose a painted arrow. This is done to protect them against the spirits of the slain enemies. That night the slayer will dream, and in the dream he meets the spirit, who says to him, "Come, let us dance together." The warrior's own soul or spirit then answers, "No, I cannot dance, for I have my body full of sores." If he has not pricked himself as described, he will in the dream accept the invitation of the enemy spirit and then he will soon die. As soon as the Jivaro has dispatched his foe he is allowed to eat only boiled and mashed manioc, and this food he must cook himself, for no other man and still less a woman would be allowed to prepare it. When the warriors eat they never touch the manioc with their fingers, but use small wooden pins to pick up the food. Since their hands had been polluted with the blood of their enemies, the food would share the pollution if they touched it, and they would expose themselves to death. Moreover, the warriors are not allowed to bathe or wash themselves in any way until they reach home. Until a certain feast is celebrated, several months later, they may not have sexual intercourse or even sleep in the same room with a woman.[292]

The Pima Indians of Arizona observed no custom with greater strictness than that which required purification of the warrior who had slain his foe in battle. "Attended by an old man, the warrior who had to expiate the crime of blood-guilt retired to the groves along the river bottom at some distance from the villages or wandered about the adjoining hills. During the period of sixteen days he was not allowed to touch his head with his fingers, or his hair would turn white. If he touched his face it would become wrinkled. He kept a stick to scratch his head with . . . . He then bathed in the river, no matter how cold the temperature. The feast of victory, which his friends were observing in the meantime at the villages, lasted eight days. At the end of that time, or when his period of retirement was half completed, the warrior might go to his home to get a fetish made from the hair of the Apache whom he had killed. The hair was wrapped in eagle down and tied with a cotton string and kept in a long medicine basket. He drank no water for the first two days and fasted for the first four. After that time he was supplied with pinole by his attendant, who also instructed him as to his future conduct, telling him that he must henceforth stand back until all others were served when partaking of food and drink . . . . The explanation offered for

the observance of this law of lustration is that if it is not obeyed the warrior's limbs will become stiffened or paralyzed."[293]

The Maricopa of southern Arizona exhibited great fear of their slain enemies, and all persons who had had contact with them submitted to a stringent purification for sixteen days. Purification was also required of those who had taken women and children as captives.[294] Chickasaw warriors became unclean by the shedding of blood and had to observe a three days' fast.[295] A Natchez warrior, who for the first time had taken a prisoner or cut off a scalp, was required to refrain for a month from seeing his wife or eating meat. Unless these taboos were observed, the soul of the man whom he had killed in battle or of the prisoner whom he had burnt would occasion his death. Failing such an outcome, he would probably die from the first wound received in another fight, or at least would gain no further advantage over the enemy.[296] A Thompson Indian who had killed an enemy blackened his face with charcoal. If this were not done, the spirit of his victim would cause him to become blind.[297]

The Kwakiutl of British Columbia, with whom cannibalism was a ceremonial rite, subjected the eaters of human flesh to many restrictions. They were not allowed to work, gamble, or approach their wives for the space of a year, and for four months of this time they had to live alone in the bedrooms. When they quitted the house for a necessary purpose, they used a secret door in the rear, instead of the ordinary exit. During the four months of seclusion each man in eating had a spoon, dish, and kettle of his own, these utensils being thrown away at the end of the period. Each man kept a copper nail to scratch his head with; were his own fingernails to touch his skin they would drop off. He could drink not more than four mouthfuls of water at a time. For the first sixteen days after eating human flesh he was forbidden to eat any hot food, and for the whole of the four months to cool hot food by blowing on it with his breath. When his period of seclusion was over, he pretended to have forgotten the ordinary ways of men and had to learn everything anew.[298]

The fear of the volitional activity of ghosts and evil spirits and the fear of death itself as a dangerous contaminating influence thus account for innumerable mortuary taboos observed by primitive peoples. Such taboos and the beliefs upon which they rest are widespread throughout the aboriginal world. They have sometimes been useful by imposing a sort of quarantine upon the persons of the sick and upon human bodies in process of dissolu-

tion. They have also helped to inculcate a respect for human life, as the result of the restrictions laid upon manslayers. On the other side, and greatly weighing down the scales against them, must be set the economic waste which they have needlessly sanctioned and the pains, penalties, and sacrifices which they have needlessly involved.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER V

[1] See Robert Hertz, "Contribution à une étude sur la representation collective de la morte," *L'année sociologique,* X, 48–137 (reprinted in *Mélanges de sociologie religieuse et folklore* [Paris, 1928]); E. S. Hartland, "Death and Disposal of the Dead (Introductory)," Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,* IV, 411–44; Edward Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (London, 1906–1908), II, 515–52; A. van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (Paris, 1909), pp. 209–36; L. Lévy-Bruhl, *How Natives Think* (London, 1926), pp. 276–84, 301–22; *idem, The "Soul" of the Primitive* (London, 1928), pp. 220–61; *idem, Primitives and the Supernatural* (London, 1936), pp. 248–64; Sir J. G. Frazer, "On Certain Burial Customs as Illustrative of the Primitive Theory of the Soul," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XV (1886), 64–104 (reprinted in *Garnered Sheaves* [London, 1931], pp. 3–50); *idem, The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead* (London, 1913), I, 31–58; *idem, The Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion* (3 vols., London, 1933–1936).

[2] A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), p. 450.

[3] George Turner, *Samoa* (London, 1884), pp. 336 f.

[4] Richard Taylor, *Te Ika A Maui* (2d ed., London, 1870), p. 170.

[5] D. C. Worcester, *The Philippine Islands and Their People* (New York, 1898), p. 427.

[6] F. H. Sawyer, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines* (London, 1900), p. 277.

[7] John Davy, *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon and of Its Inhabitants* (London, 1821), p. 289.

[8] J. Sibree, in *Folk-Lore Record,* II (1879), 42.

[9] Minnie C. Cartwright, "Folk-Lore of the Basuto," *Folk-Lore,* XV (1904), 255 f.

[10] L. S. B. Leakey, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* LX (1930), 204 f. A similar custom prevails among the Akikuyu. With them, however, the removal of the sufferer to the wilderness is said to be done with his full consent. If he recovers, he is restored to his home (W. S. Routledge and Katherine Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People* [London, 1910], p. 170). According to Father C. Cagnolo, it often happens that sick persons are thrown out into the bush and left to die when they are not really mortally ill (*The Akikuyu* [Nyeri, Kenya, 1933], p. 142).

[11] Jakob Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme* (Berlin, 1906), p. 632.

[12] W. B. Grubb, *An Unknown People in an Unknown Land* (London, 1911), pp. 161 f. The "cruel belief" referred to is that terrible misfortunes will result if a dead man remains unburied when the sun goes down (p. 160). It sometimes happens that a person is buried before he is quite dead (G. Kürze, "Sitten und Gebräuche der Lengua-Indianer," *Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft [für Thuringen] zu Jena,* XXIII [1905], 20).

[13] Alcide d'Orbigny, *L'homme américain (de l'Amérique méridionale)* (Paris, 1839), II, 241.

[14] K. Sapper, in *Globus,* LXXVIII (1900), 273.

[15] H. C. Yarrow, "A Further Contribution to the Study of the Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians," *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology,* p. 123, quoting Dr. John Menard.

[16] R. B. Dixon, in *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History,* XVII, 245.

[17] J. G. Swan, in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge,* Vol. XVI, No. 220, p. 82.

[18] F. Boas, in *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology,* p. 612.

[19] R. B. Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria* (Melbourne, 1878), I, 104.

[20] C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 161. *Aina* also conveys the idea of "sacred," "set apart," "charged with virtue" (p. 101, note 2); it means, therefore, "taboo."

[21] Bronislaw Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia* (New York, 1929), pp. 150, 450.

[22] Lorimer Fison, *Tales from Old Fiji* (London, 1904), p. 163.

[23] Laura Thompson, *Fijian Frontier* (New York, 1940), p. 130.

[24] Turner, *Samoa,* p. 145.

[25] John Martin, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands . . . . from the Extensive Communications of Mr. William Mariner* (3d ed., Edinburgh, 1827), I, 318, and II, 187.

[26] James Cowan, *The Maoris of New Zealand* (Christchurch, New Zealand, 1910), p. 115. According to an early authority, the Maori might not eat on or near any place where a corpse had been buried, nor might they take a meal in a canoe while passing such a place (J. S. Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders* [London, 1840], I, 239). When the Maori practiced cremation, a corpse would be burned in some rocky or sterile spot where there was no likelihood of the ground ever being cultivated (E. Best, "Cremation amongst the Maori Tribes of New Zealand," *Man,* XIV [1914], 111).

[27] J. M. Garvan, *The Manobos of Mindanao* (*Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences,* Vol. XXIII) (Washington, D.C., 1931), pp. 121 f.

[28] A. Grandidier, "La mort et les funérailles à Madagascar," *L'Anthropologie,* XXIII (1912), 322 ff. Young people are not allowed to look at a corpse. In former days no one under forty years of age might enter a tomb at a funeral (H. F. Standing, "Malagasy 'Fady,'" *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine,* No. 7 [1883], p. 73).

[29] E. Casalis, *The Basutos* (London, 1861), pp. 203 f., 256 f. The feet of a man who had stepped over a grave were singed in a purificatory flame (D. F. Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto, Ancient and Modern* [London, 1912], p. 261).

[30] Gustav Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's* (Breslau, 1872), p. 201.

[31] Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), p. 670.

[32] W. M. Gabb, in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* XIV (1874–1875), 504 f.

[33] J. G. Swan, in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge,* Vol. XVI, No. 220, pp. 84 f.

[34] C. Willoughby, in *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1886,* Part I, p. 277.

[35] M. Eells, in *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 176.

[36] E. W. Hawkes, *The Labrador Eskimo* (*Geological Survey Memoir*, No. 91) (Ottawa, 1916), pp. 118 f.

[37] David Cranz, *Historie von Grönland* (Barby and Leipzig, 1765), I, 300.

[38] F. Boas, in *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 612 f.

[39] E. W. Nelson, in *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part I, p. 314.

[40] W. Bogoras, in *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1901), III, 95 f.

[41] W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts. Abridged from the Russian of Sieroshevski," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XXXI (1900), 100.

[42] Sir Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1899), p. 498.

[43] Sir Baldwin Spencer, *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia* (London, 1914), p. 254.

[44] *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland* (Brisbane, 1904), p. 36.

[45] James Chalmers and W. W. Gill, *Work and Adventure in New Guinea* (London, 1885), p. 102.

[46] F. E. Williams, *Papuans of the Trans-Fly* (Oxford, 1936), p. 366.

[47] G. F. Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand* (London, 1847), I, 279.

[48] I. H. N. Evans, *Among the Primitive Peoples of Borneo* (London, 1922), p. 163.

[49] A. Hale, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XV (1886), 291.

[50] W. W. Skeat and C. D. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* (London, 1906), II, 111. The house of a deceased person is also abandoned and, as a rule, the villagers decamp in a body (*loc. cit.*).

[51] E. H. Man, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XII (1883), 145. According to A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, the natives may return to the deserted spot after the period of mourning is over (*The Andaman Islanders* [Cambridge, 1933], p. 108).

[52] E. H. Man, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XV (1886), 450.

[53] C. G. Seligman and Brenda J. Seligman, *The Veddas* (Cambridge, 1911), pp. 123, 125. Cf. J. Bailey, in *Transactions of the Ethnological Society* (n.s., 1863), II, 296.

[54] James Sibree, "Malagasy Folk-Lore and Popular Superstitions," *Folk-Lore Record*, II (1879), 41; *idem, The Great African Island* (London, 1880), pp. 290 f.

[55] H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (2d ed., London, 1927), I, 319.

[56] L. S. B. Leakey, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, LX (1930), 204 f.

[57] Gerhard Lindblom, *The Akamba* (Uppsala, 1920), pp. 100 f.

[58] John Roscoe, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XXVII (1907), 102.

[59] *Idem, The Northern Bantu* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 129.

[60] Franz Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 309 f.

[61] Oskar Lenz, *Skizzen aus Westafrika* (Berlin, 1878), pp. 208 f.

[62] Grubb, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[63] W. E. Roth, "An Inquiry into the Animism and Folk-Lore of the Guiana Indians," *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* p. 159, citing J. Gumilla, *Historia natural del Rio Orinoco* (Barcelona, 1791), I, 206 f.

[64] E. Conzemius, in *Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* No. 106, p. 153.

[65] C. Leden, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie,* XLIV (1912), 816.

[66] Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria,* Vol. I, p. xxx.

[67] Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea,* pp. 525, 631 f. Professor Seligman thinks it probable that the house is destroyed, not on account of any fear of death as such, but because of the feeling that "any intimate association with objects connected with the dead of foreign clans is to be avoided at almost any cost. It may be suggested that the house of a married individual has been so intimately associated with the deceased man or woman, a member of a strange clan, that it may be regarded as having in some measure become identified with the dead stranger so that after his death it becomes unfit to continue in existence among the folk of the hamlet" (p. 13, note 2).

[68] Williams, *Papuans of the Trans-Fly,* p. 376.

[69] C. Keysser, in R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea* (Berlin, 1911), III, 83.

[70] Taylor, *Te Ika A Maui* (2d ed.), p. 221. Cf. Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders,* I, 110 f.

[71] August Erdland, *Die Marshall-Insulaner* (Münster in Westfalen, 1914), p. 325.

[72] Sir Spenser St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East* (2d ed., London, 1863), I, 175. The village itself is tabooed for a day following the death (I, 173).

[73] Worcester, *The Philippine Islands and Their People,* p. 427. The Tagbanua of Palâwan tear down a house in which a death has occurred, while those of Busuanga always abandon such a house (pp. 108 f., 496).

[74] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and Their Folk-Lore* (London, 1901), pp. 130 f. According to another account, the house where a man dies is deserted. His nets, cooking pot, implements, and household articles, though of great value to his neighbors, would never be touched by them (S. C. Holland, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* III [1874], 238).

[75] Peter Kolben, *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope* (London, 1731), I, 138.

[76] Minnie C. Cartwright, "Folk-Lore of the Basuto," *Folk-Lore,* XV (1904), 258.

[77] Charles Bullock, *The Mashona* (Cape Town and Johannesburg, [1928]), p. 269.

[78] Lionel Decle, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXIII (1894), 420.

[79] *Idem, Three Years in Savage Africa* (London, 1898), p. 79.

[80] W. A. Elmslie, *Among the Wild Ngoni* (London, 1899), p. 71.

[81] C. W. Hobley, *Bantu Beliefs and Magic* (London, 1922), pp. 122 f. Elsewhere Mr. Hobley suggests that these practices may in some measure account for the low type of domestic architecture among the Akikuyu and Akamba. There is little incentive for the people to build large permanent structures which may have to be deserted or destroyed at any moment (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XLI [1911], 406).

[82] Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu,* p. 227.

[83] J. F. Cunningham, *Uganda and Its Peoples* (London, 1905), p. 130.

[84] J. H. Weeks, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XXXIX (1909), 109.

[85] A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (London, 1894), pp. 159 f.

[86] P. Hyades and J. Deniker, in *Mission scientifique du Cap Horn,* VII, 379.

[87] Sir E. F. Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana* (London, 1883), p. 225.

[88] Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (New York, 1903), I, 384.

[89] Lucile Hooper, in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology,* XVI, 344.

[90] C. Mindeleff, "Navaho Houses," *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* p. 475.

[91] H. Gillman, in *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science,* XXXIV (1885), 416.

[92] G. B. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (New York, 1892), p. 193.

[93] J. Teit, in *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History,* II, 331.

[94] E. W. Nelson, in *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* Part I, p. 440.

[95] W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts. Abridged from the Russian of Sieroshevski," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXXI (1900), 100.

[96] Marie A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia* (Oxford, 1914), p. 144, citing S. P. Krasheninnikoff.

[97] See Frazer, *Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion,* II, 119–38; Lévy-Bruhl, *How Natives Think,* pp. 323–37.

[98] Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia,* pp. 461 f., 464. Cf. Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria,* I, 104. Some tribes of New South Wales hang up the weapons, rugs, nets, and other belongings of a dead person on trees for about two months, then wash them and distribute them among the relatives (F. Bonney, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XIII [1884], 135). The purificatory intent of this procedure is obvious.

[99] James Dawson, *Australian Aborigines* (Melbourne, 1881), p. 63.

[100] G. Horne and G. Aiston, *Savage Life in Central Australia* (London, 1924), p. 152.

[101] Spencer, *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia,* p. 243.

[102] C. S. Myers and A. C. Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits,* VI, 159.

[103] A. C. Haddon, *ibid.,* V, 250. Our informant adds that "the food was destroyed for the sake of the dead man; as the natives said, it was 'like goodbye'."

[104] Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea,* p. 274.

[105] G. Landtman, *The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea* (London, 1927), p. 263.

[106] B. Hagen, *Unter den Papua's* (Wiesbaden, 1899), pp. 258 f.

[107] D. Jenness and A. Ballantyne, *The Northern D'Entrecasteaux* (Oxford, 1920), p. 114.

[108] R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 185.

[109] R. Thurnwald, in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft,* XXIII (1910), 346.

[110] B. T. Somerville, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXVI (1897), 403.

[111] C. E. Fox, *The Threshold of the Pacific* (London, 1924), p. 211. The custom of cutting down a dead man's fruit trees is found elsewhere in the Solomon Islands, as in Florida and Mala. This is not done with any notion that such things follow a man in any ghostly form, but, according to the natives, as a mark of respect and affection (R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* [Oxford, 1891], pp. 255, 263). It would seem that here, as in Mabuiag, Torres Straits, the original significance of the custom has been forgotten.

[112] C. B. Humphreys, *The Southern New Hebrides* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 61.

[113] *Ibid.*, pp. 152 f. There is some doubt whether this custom is observed by commoners as well as by chiefs.

[114] Lambert, *Mœurs et superstitions des Néo-Calédoniens* (Nouméa, 1900), p. 235.

[115] Turner, *Samoa*, p. 306.

[116] E. S. C. Handy, "The Native Culture in the Marquesas," *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin*, No. 9, pp. 76, 261 f.

[117] Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, II, 110 f., 230.

[118] E. H. Man, *The Nicobar Islands and Their People* (London, [1932]), pp. 131 f., 138. In Car Nicobar some of the palms which a rich man possesses will be destroyed at his death, while others "will be made taboo for a number of years, and so they will be 'unclean' and may not be used for food or drink by any of the inhabitants" (George Whitehead, *In the Nicobar Islands* [London, 1924], p. 194).

[119] F. Fawcett, in *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, I (1886), 249.

[120] Seligman and Seligman, *The Veddas*, p. 123.

[121] G. McCall Theal, *Ethnography and Condition of Africa before A.D. 1505* (London, 1919), I, 221 f. Cf. James Macdonald, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XIX (1890), 276; Dudley Kidd, *The Essential Kafir* (2d ed., London, 1925), pp. 81 f., 248.

[122] S. S. Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari* (London, 1925), p. 145.

[123] René Caillié, *Travels through Central Africa to Timbuctoo* (London, 1830), I, 164 f.

[124] J. H. Weeks, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XXXIX (1909), 453.

[125] Sir H. H. Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo* (London, 1908), II, 652.

[126] G. von Hagen, in *Baessler-Archiv*, II (1911), 108.

[127] Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, p. 159.

[128] Martin Gusinde, *Die Selk'nam* (Mödling bei Wien, 1931), p. 552; *idem*, *Die Yamana* (1937), p. 1109. Cf. George Catlin, *Last Rambles among the Indians of the Rocky Mountains and the Andes* (London, 1868), p. 292.

[129] Alcide d'Orbigny, *Voyage dans l'Amérique meridionale* (Paris and Strasbourg, 1843), II, 99 f., 183.

[130] Grubb, *op. cit.*, pp. 122 f., 169.

[131] Theodor Koch, *Zum Animismus der südamerikanischen Indianer* (*Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, Vol. XIII, Supplement) (Leiden, 1900), p. 61. Cf. Martin Dobrizhoffer, *An Account of the Abipones* (London, 1822), II, 273.

[132] Karl von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens* (Berlin, 1894), p. 502.

[133] Alexander von Humboldt, *Reise in die Aequinoctial-Gegenden des neuen Continents* (Stuttgart, 1860), IV, 156.

[134] E. Nordenskiöld, "Die religiösen Vorstellungen der Itonoma Indianer in Bolivia," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie,* XLVII (1915), 106 f. The Itonoma have been Christianized for two centuries.

[135] Rafael Karsten, *The Toba Indians of the Bolivian Gran Chaco* (*Acta Academiæ Aboënsis,* Humaniora, IV) (Åbo, 1923), pp. 95 f.

[136] E. Conzemius, in *Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* No. 106, pp. 155 f.

[137] A. Hrdlička, "Physiological and Medical Observations among the Indians of Southwestern United States and Northern Mexico," *ibid.,* No. 34, p. 230.

[138] Frank Russell, in *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* pp. 194 f.

[139] A. B. Reagan, in *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History,* XXXI, 317.

[140] Leslie Spier, *ibid.,* XXIX, pp. 233, 292 f.

[141] Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California (Contributions to North American Ethnology,* Vol. III) (Washington, D.C., 1877), p. 206. Among the Northern Maidu, "owing to the general custom of burning most, if not all, of the property of a man at his death, there was little that could be inherited." Such things as were not destroyed passed by inheritance to his surviving kinsfolk, especially to his oldest son (R. B. Dixon, in *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History,* XVII, 226). By far the most important of the Maidu mortuary ceremonies is the annual "burning" by mourners of various articles—skins, hides, dresses, caps, beads, necklaces, baskets—in honor of and for the use of the dead. The offerings are often so numerous that the fire is nearly smothered by the great amount of things thrown into it. Each family sacrifices to its own relatives. After doing so for three or four years the members of the family seem to feel that the welfare of their dead has been sufficiently assured, and, as a rule, the sacrifice will be discontinued (pp. 245 ff.).

[142] C. Willoughby, in *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1886,* Part I, pp. 276 f.

[143] Ross Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River* (London, 1831), II, 388.

[144] J. Teit, in *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History,* II, 331.

[145] W. Thalbitzer, "Ethnographical Collections from East Greenland," *Meddelelser om Grønland,* XXXIX (1914), 524. With reference to the Central Eskimo, F. Boas declares that since a great part of a man's personal property is destroyed at his death or placed in his grave, "the objects which may be acquired by inheritance are few" (*Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology,* p. 580).

[146] John Murdock, in *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology,* p. 425. It is probable, thinks our authority, that the man's friends manage to remove the more valuable articles from his house before his death takes place (*loc. cit.*).

[147] Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia,* p. 147.

[148] In the D'Entrecasteaux Islands engaged couples do not use their real names when speaking to each other, and invent fancy names instead. "There are some who believe that the seed taro will wither and die if this name taboo be broken" (Jenness and Ballantyne, *The Northern D'Entrecasteaux,* p. 98).

Among the Naga tribes of Manipur each person has a private name, which he must keep strictly secret. If it becomes known, the whole village is tabooed, or *genna,* for two days, and a feast must be provided at the expense of the offender (T. C. Hodson, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXXVI [1906], 97).

[149] See Sir J. G. Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul* (*The Golden Bough,* 3d ed., Part II) (London, 1911), pp. 349–74.

[150] J. Barnard, in *Report of the Second Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science* (1890), p. 605; cf. James Bonwick, *Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians* (London, 1870), p. 183.

[151] R. H. Holden, in George Taplin (ed.), *The Folklore, Manners, and Customs of the South Australian Aborigines* (Adelaide, 1879), p. 27.

[152] Carl Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals* (New York, 1889), p. 279.

[153] W. E. Roth, in *North Queensland Ethnography Bulletin,* No. 5, pp. 20, 37. At Cape Bedford, when an aboriginal unintentionally makes use of a forbidden name (such as that of a dead person), he will immediately correct himself, saying "my mouth is foul," and then expectorate (*ibid.,* No. 11, *Records of the Australian Museum,* Vol. VII, No. 2, p. 78).

[154] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia,* p. 498.

[155] E. Clement, in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie,* XVI (1904), 9.

[156] C. W. M. Hart, "Personal Names among the Tiwi," *Oceania,* I (1930–1931), 288.

[157] C. W. Abel, *Savage Life in New Guinea* (London, [1901]), p. 89. There are certainly exceptions to this rule. The tribes at the mouth of the Wanigela River take every opportunity to report a dead man's name. It is also customary for his relations to adopt his name, prefixed by a title denoting their relationship to him (R. E. Guise, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXVIII [1899], 211 ff.).

[158] W. E. Bromilow, *Twenty Years among Primitive Papuans* (London, 1929), pp. 89 f.

[159] K. Vetter, in *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel,* XIII (1897), 92.

[160] Jenness and Ballantyne, *op. cit.,* pp. 91 f.

[161] R. Thurnwald, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie,* XLII (1910), 129.

[162] E. H. Gomes, *Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks of Borneo* (London, 1911), pp. 320 f.

[163] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 462 f.

[164] *Ibid.,* p. 406.

[165] S. S. Dornan, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XLVII (1917), 52.

[166] Minnie C. Cartwright, "Folk-Lore of the Basuto," *Folk-Lore,* XV (1904), 258.

[167] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi* (Oxford, 1909), p. 71.

[168] *Idem, The Masai* (Oxford, 1905), pp. 304 f.

[169] Rafael Karsten, *The Civilization of the South American Indians* (London, 1926), p. 205. The Lengua Indians refer to a dead man as "he who was" (Grubb, *op. cit.,* p. 170).

[170] A. L. Kroeber, "Notes on California Folk-Lore," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* XIX (1906), 143. The Hupa tell of a time when so many names were tied up by wholesale deaths that it was necessary to abrogate for a while the rule forbidding their use and allow them to become again current (P. E.

Goddard, in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology,* I, 74).

[171] P. Beveridge, in *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales,* XVII (1883), 65.

[172] A. S. Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon (Contributions to North American Ethnology,* Vol. II, Part I) (Washington, D.C., 1890), p. xli.

[173] See H. Webster, *Rest Days* (New York, 1916), pp. 62–74. On fasting and restrictions in diet after a death see Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas,* II, 298–309. Nearly all the instances cited by Professor Westermarck refer to the obligatory fasting of a widow or a widower and of the near relatives of the deceased. There seem to be few cases where the custom is socialized. Among the Abipones, when a chief died, all members of the tribe abstain for a month from eating fish, their principal dainty (P. F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire du Paraguay* [Paris, 1756], I, 468. Among the Upper Thompson Indians of British Columbia "nobody was allowed to eat, drink, or smoke in the open air after sunset (others say after dusk) before the burial, else the ghost would harm them" (J. Teit, in *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History,* II, 328).

[174] L. Nyuak, in *Anthropos,* I (1906), 413.

[175] Gomes, *op. cit.,* p. 139.

[176] T. C. Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur* (London, 1911), pp. 100, 152, 166, 174; cf. *idem,* "Mortuary Ritual and Eschatological Beliefs among the Hill Tribes of Assam," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft,* XII (1909), 449.

[177] H. F. Standing, "Malagasy 'Fady,'" *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine,* No. 7 (1883), p. 74. Some necessary occupations could not be entirely abandoned during the mourning period, but they were not called by the usual names; they were referred to by such expressions as "going into the country" or "settling down in the fields" (J. Sibree, "Curious Words and Customs Connected with Chieftainship and Royalty among the Malagasy," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXI [1891], 219).

[178] Kidd, *The Essential Kafir* (2d ed.), p. 253.

[179] Lieutenant Farewell, in W. F. W. Owen, *Narrative of Voyages to Explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia, and Madagascar* (London, 1833), II, 397.

[180] Routledge and Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People,* p. 172.

[181] C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda* (*Occasional Papers of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* No. 1), (London, 1902), p. 28.

[182] Sir H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate* (London, 1902), II, 176 ff.

[183] Werner Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien* (2d ed., Basel, 1883), p. 528 (Barea and Kunama).

[184] F. Boas, in *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History,* XV, 121 f.

[185] E. W. Nelson, in *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* Part I, pp. 312 ff., 319. The Bering Strait Eskimo observe various precautions after killing food animals such as salmon and whales, so that their shades may not be offended and bring bad luck upon the killer and his people. A hunter who has taken part in the capture of a white whale must not do any work for the next four days, that being the time during which the ghost of the whale is supposed to stay with its body. Moreover, the use of all iron instruments is forbidden in the village during these four days. Anyone so impious as to cut a whale's body with an iron ax will die. These Eskimo have a special

name "for a spot of ground when certain things are tabooed, or where there is to be feared any evil influence caused by the presence of offended shades of men or animals, or through the influence of other supernatural means. This ground is sometimes considered unclean, and to go upon it would bring misfortune to the offender, producing sickness, death, or lack of success in hunting or fishing. The same term is also applied to ground where certain animals have been killed or have died." In the latter case the ground is thought dangerous only to the person who performs there some forbidden act, such as chopping wood with an iron ax on the shore where a dead white whale has been beached. Death is also the consequence of cutting wood with an iron ax where salmon are being dressed (pp. 438, 440).

[186] W. Bogoras, in *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History,* XI, 521.

[187] W. Jochelson, *ibid.,* X, 104 f.

[188] See Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul,* pp. 138–45. The mourning costume has been explained as originally a disguise adopted to protect the survivors from the ghost of the recently deceased (*idem,* "On Certain Burial Customs as Illustrative of the Primitive Theory of the Soul," in *Garnered Sheaves,* pp. 13, 42 ff.). According to E. S. Hartland, the primary purpose of mourning costume (or absence of costume) is to distinguish those who are under taboo from their fellows; "it is the sign of the plague" ("The Philosophy of Mourning Clothes," in *Ritual and Belief* [London, 1914], p. 235). Westermarck suggests that since a mourner is more or less polluted for a certain period clothes worn by him then would also become polluted and could not be used afterward; hence old clothes will be worn or none at all (*Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas,* II, 545).

[189] Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand,* I, 95.

[190] S. Gason, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXIV (1895), 171.

[191] Spencer, *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia,* pp. 242 f.

[192] Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea,* p. 611.

[193] F. E. Williams, *Drama of Orokolo* (Oxford, 1940), p. 114.

[194] *Idem, Papuans of the Trans-Fly,* p. 366.

[195] Codrington, *The Melanesians,* p. 281.

[196] A. B. Deacon, *Malekula, a Vanishing People of the New Hebrides* (London, 1934), p. 572.

[197] Lambert, *Mœurs et superstitions des Néo-Calédoniens,* pp. 236 ff.

[198] Fison, *Tales from Old Fiji,* p. 167; cf. *idem,* in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* X (1881), 139.

[199] Turner, *Samoa,* p. 145. Cf. George Brown (*Melanesians and Polynesians* [London, 1910], p. 402), who describes the undertakers as being *paia,* or "sacred."

[200] William Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (2d ed., London, 1831), I, 403. At the funeral rites observed by the Tahitians for chiefs and persons of rank the corpse was placed on a platform and underneath this a hole was dug in the earth. The priest then prayed to the god, "by whom it was supposed the spirit of the deceased had been required," that his "sins" might be deposited in the hole and not be attached to the survivors. As soon as the ceremony was over, those who had touched the body or the garments of the dead man fled precipitately into the sea to cleanse themselves from pollution. They also cast into the sea the clothes worn by them when performing the funeral offices.

Having finished their ablutions, they gathered a few pieces of coral from the bottom of the sea and returned to the platform. They addressed the corpse, saying, "With you may the pollution be." Then they threw down the coral on the top of the hole that had been dug to receive all defilement connected with the dead (I, 401 ff.).

[201] *Old New Zealand,* by a Pakeka Maori (London, 1884), p. 105; cf. Edward Tregear, *The Maori Race* (Wanganui, New Zealand, 1904), p. 200.

[202] S. Walleser, "Religiöse Anschauungen und Gebräuche von Jap (Deutsche Südsee)," *Anthropos,* VIII (1913), 1052.

[203] F. Grabowsky, in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie,* II (1889), 182.

[204] A. E. Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot* (*Department of the Interior, Ethnological Survey Publications,* Vol. I) (Manila, 1905), pp. 78 f.

[205] F. Mason, in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. XXXV (1866), Part II, p. 29.

[206] Whitehead, *In the Nicobar Islands,* pp. 190 ff.; cf. Man, *Nicobar Islands and Their People,* p. 141.

[207] Rivers, *The Todas,* p. 368.

[208] *Ibid.,* p. 390.

[209] Sibree, *Great African Island,* p. 290; cf. H. F. Standing, "Malagasy 'Fady'," *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine,* No. 7 (1883), p. 73.

[210] Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (2d ed.), I, 152 ff. By "sexual relations in the ritual fashion" is to be understood *semine non immisso* (I, 516). Thonga gravediggers must be married, because married people alone can get rid of the defilement caused by contact with a corpse (I, 137).

[211] Hollis, *The Nandi,* p. 70. The Akikuyu, who also deposit corpses in the bush, likewise impose stringent taboos upon the relative who has discharged this final duty to the dead. See J. M. Hillebrandt, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie,* X (1878), 404 f.

[212] Lindblom, *Akamba,* pp. 95 ff. The old men receive no purification doubtless because, being so near death themselves, they can take risks which younger people ought to avoid.

[213] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa* (London, 1887), p. 241; *idem, The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (London, 1890), p. 160; *idem, The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (London, 1894), p. 155.

[214] A. G. Leonard, *The Lower Niger and Its Tribes* (London, 1906), pp. 174 f.

[215] Grubb, *An Unknown People in an Unknown Land,* p. 169.

[216] Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Von Roroima zum Orinoco* (Stuttgart, 1923), III, 168.

[217] J. R. Swanton, "Creek Religion and Medicine," *Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* pp. 615 f.

[218] J. B. N. Hewitt, in *American Anthropologist,* III (1890), 389.

[219] P. E. Goddard, "Life and Culture of the Hupa," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology,* I, 71 ff. Elsewhere we learn that all persons who had touched a corpse were obliged to keep their heads covered until after the purificatory ceremony, "lest the world be spoiled" ("Hupa Texts," *ibid.,* I, 224, note).

[220] J. G. Swan, *The Northwest Coast* (New York, 1857), pp. 212 f.

[221] C. Hill-Tout, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXXIV (1904), 33; *ibid.,* XXXV (1905), 139.

[222] W. L. Hardisty, in *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1866,* p. 317.

[223] E. W. Nelson, in *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* Part I, p. 313. A five days' festival of the dead, held by these Eskimo, included much singing, drumming, and dancing in honor of the departed. Upon the conclusion of these ceremonies, the performers drew their hands over their bodies, as if wiping something away, stamped on the floor, and slapped their thighs. By these actions they cast off all uncleanness that might be offensive to the shades (p. 371).

[224] See Sir J. G. Frazer, *Psyche's Task* (2d ed., London, 1913), pp. 142–48; *idem, Folk-Lore in the Old Testament* (London, 1919), III, 71–81. E. S. Hartland has assembled much evidence for a widespread belief that widows are haunted by their deceased husbands, who seek a renewal of sexual intercourse with them. See his essay, "The Haunted Widow," in *Ritual and Belief,* pp. 194–234.

[225] Mrs. K. L. Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe* (London, 1905), p. 93.

[226] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia,* p. 500. In the Warramunga tribe the custom of compulsory silence after a death is observed, not only by the widow, but by the greater number of women in any camp. Some of them become so proficient in the use of the gesture language and so accustomed to it that they never resume the use of their tongue, preferring to converse by means of gestures for the rest of their days (*iidem, Northern Tribes of Central Australia,* pp. 525 f.).

[227] Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea,* p. 276. For the Koita observances see pp. 162, 164.

[228] R. E. Guise, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXVIII (1899), 210 f.

[229] C. Keysser, in Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea,* III, 83.

[230] Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia,* pp. 157 f.

[231] A. M. Hocart, "The Cult of the Dead in Eddystone of the Solomons," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* LII (1922), 84.

[232] Ernest Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand* (London, 1843), II, 40.

[233] F. Blumentritt, in *Globus,* LIX (1891), 182.

[234] Fay-Cooper Cole, *The Tenguian* (Chicago, 1922), pp. 285 f.

[235] W. C. Willoughby, *Nature-Worship and Taboo* (Hartford, Conn., 1932), p. 208.

[236] Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (2d ed.), I, 204 f.

[237] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia* (London, 1920), II, 61 f.

[238] F. H. Melland, *In Witch-bound Africa* (London, 1923), pp. 103 f.

[239] Hobley, *Bantu Beliefs and Magic,* p. 98.

[240] *Ibid.,* p. 132.

[241] Lindblom, *The Akamba,* p. 101. As among the Atheraka, a man must not succeed to one of his father's wives before the principal widow has cohabited with her late husband's brother. If he breaks this rule, he becomes taboo. To remove the impurity thus produced it is necessary to make a ceremonial payment to the brother, who represents the angered spirit of the deceased. Then a piece of wood, about fifteen inches long, is inserted in the woman's vagina

and with it the man's penis is touched twice or thrice. Next, one of the elders takes the stick and hurls it across a river, saying, "I throw this evil away." Finally, the brother cohabits with the widow in the evening. The man's impurity is now removed. He must never have anything to do with that woman again, though he may marry another of his father's wives (C. W. Hobley, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XLI [1911], 412).

[242] P. S. Schumacher, in *Anthropos,* X–XI (1915–1916), 797.

[243] Hollis, *The Nandi,* p. 72. Masai widows are also not allowed to remarry; they become concubines (Max Weiss, *Die Völkerstämme im Norden Deutsch-Ostafrikas* [Berlin, 1910], p. 385).

[244] J. H. Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo* (London, 1914), pp. 272 ff.

[245] Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa* (London, 1897), pp. 483 f.

[246] *Ibid.,* pp. 487 f.

[247] Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa,* p. 160.

[248] *Idem, The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa,* pp. 241 f.

[249] N. W. Thomas, "Some Ibo Burial Customs," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XLVII (1917), 175.

[250] Thomas Falkner, *A Description of Patagonia* (Hereford, 1774), p. 119.

[251] Ruth L. Bunzel, "Introduction to Zuñi Ceremonialism," *Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* pp. 503 f.

[252] C. Hill-Tout, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXXV (1905), 138 f.

[253] J. Teit, in *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History,* II, 332 f.

[254] See Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul,* pp. 165 ff.; *idem, Psyche's Task* (2d ed.), pp. 111 ff.; *idem, Folk-Lore in the Old Testament,* I, 78 ff.

[255] Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea,* pp. 129 f.

[256] Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders,* p. 133.

[257] H. Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa* (London, 1812–1815), I, 257.

[258] Smith and Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia,* II, 136 f. The killing of a clansman is not a crime, but is an offense against his clan, against the communal god, against the person's ghost, and against the hidden powers of nature. "The clan is injured in that it loses a member, and anything that injures a member injures the clan. The communal god, the guardian of the community, is injured in the killing of one of his people . . . . There is the man's own ghost to be reckoned with also, who resents being ushered violently into the cold, dreary ghost-world, and may retaliate by haunting the slayer and, moreover, there is something uncanny about spilling blood . . . . something which sets the mysterious world-forces against you. These, it must be conceded, are considerable checks upon the man-slaying propensities of the Ba-ila" (I, 414).

[259] Hollis, *The Nandi,* pp. 74, 91.

[260] Hobley, *Bantu Beliefs and Magic,* p. 108. The spearhead or sword with which the murder was committed is blunted and is then thrown into a deep pool in the nearest river. "They say that if this were not done the weapon would continue to be the cause of murder" (p. 233). Among the Akamba the weapon used to inflict death is nearly always an arrow. This is carried away and placed on a path where a passer-by is likely to see it, pick it up, and thus

acquire its mysterious and baneful essence. "If this is not done the evil is said to remain with the family of the deceased" (p. 237). Among the Konde of Nyasaland the spear with which a murder has been committed is cut off short at the haft and the blade bent over with a stone. The weapon is then hung up in the roof of a relative of the murderer (D. R. MacKenzie, *The Spirit-ridden Konde* [London, 1925], p. 89).

[261] C. Dundas, "The Organization and Laws of Some Bantu Tribes in East Africa," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XLV (1915), 270.

[262] Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu,* pp. 279 f. Among the Bagesu a murderer kills a goat, smears his chest with the contents of its stomach, and throws the remainder upon the roof of the murdered man's house to appease his ghost (p. 171).

[263] Autenrieth, "Zur Religion der Kamerun-Neger," *Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft (für Thuringen) zu Jena,* XII (1893), 93 f.

[264] A. W. Cardinall, *The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast* (London, [1920]), p. 93.

[265] H. S. Mekeel, "Social Administration of the Kru," *Africa,* X (1937), 79 and note 1.

[266] Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London, 1926), II, 10 f. In some instances murderers act as doctors. The curative powers attributed to them are obviously due to an association between the idea of killing a man and that of killing an illness (*loc. cit.*).

[267] J. O. Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology,* p. 369. According to a later account, deliberate murder was regularly punished by banishment of the culprit for four years, unless he was sooner forgiven by the relatives of the murdered man. During this time the murderer had to keep outside the village and might hold no communication with anyone except his nearest kindred (Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, in *Twenty-seventh Annual Report,* p. 215).

[268] J. O. Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology,* p. 420.

[269] G. B. Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians* (New Haven, 1923), I, 353 ff.

[270] F. Boas, "Chinook Texts," *Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* No. 20, p. 258.

[271] Mrs. Leslie Milne, *Shans at Home* (London, 1910), p. 192.

[272] Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo,* pp. 62 f.

[273] Leonard, *The Lower Niger and Its Tribes,* pp. 178 ff.

[274] *The Captivity of Hans Stade of Hesse* (Hakluyt Society, Vol. LI) (London, 1874), p. 159. See further G. Friederici, "Über eine als Couvade gedeutete Wiedergeburtszeremonie bei den Tupi," *Globus,* LXXXIX (1906), 59–63.

[275] J. W. Gambier, in *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1894,* p. 548; Alice C. Cook, in *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1900), II, 483 ff. The cleaners and embalmers of corpses were likewise subject to taboos (Cook, *loc. cit.*).

[276] See Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul,* pp. 157–65; *idem, Aftermath* (London, 1936), pp. 234–46; see also L. Lévy-Bruhl, *Primitives and the Supernatural* (London, 1936), pp. 279–87. There are some very logical savages, who, not content with imposing all sorts of avoidances and abstinences upon hunters and fishers while away on their expeditions, also subject them to various purificatory rites upon their return, after the animals have been killed and the fish have been caught. For instances among the Eskimo, the Kayan of Borneo,

and some South African tribes see Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul,* pp. 204–9, 219–23. For further instances relating to "animalicide" see Lévy-Bruhl, *op. cit.,* pp. 287–91.

[277] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia,* pp. 494 f.

[278] Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea,* p. 333.

[279] *Ibid.,* pp. 557 f.; cf. pp. 562 ff.

[280] F. E. Williams, *Orokaiva Society* (Oxford, 1930), pp. 173 ff. The author thinks that these observances are not only purificatory but also defensive in character. They seem to be meant to drive away the spirit of the slain man, as well as to remove the uncleanness of his slayer (p. 175).

[281] R. E. Guise, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XXXVIII (1908), 213 f.

[282] Thomas Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians* (3d ed., London, 1870), pp. 44 ff. The elaborate ritual which Williams described was observed for a chief's son who had slain his first man. Presumably, warriors of lower rank or of no rank whatever were subjected to less onerous restrictions.

[283] E. S. C. Handy, in *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin,* No. 9, p. 135, on the manuscript authority of I. R. Dordillon.

[284] Tregear, *Maori Race,* pp. 332 f. The members of a war party, before starting out, went to the bank of a stream, where they were sprinkled, one after another, by a priest (*idem,* in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XIX [1890], 110 f.). This, no doubt, was a rite of consecration, which endowed them with strength and grace for their undertaking.

[285] E. Best, "Maori Religion and Mythology," *Dominion Museum Bulletin,* No. 10, pp. 241 f. A woman, the *wahine ariki,* played the leading role in another Maori rite for the desacralization of warriors. She was the elder female of the elder branch of the family from which the members of the tribe traced their descent. It was her business, upon the return of the war party, to swallow an ear of the first enemy killed in battle. Only she could taste human flesh; if another woman did so, the men would meet with a great reverse when next they went to war (Edward Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand* [London, 1851], pp. 68 ff.).

[286] J. [S.] Kubary, *Ethnographische Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Karolinischen Inselgruppe und Nachbarschaft,* Heft I, *Die socialen Einrichtungen der Pelauer* (Berlin, 1885), p. 130.

[287] Casalis, *The Basutos,* p. 258. The Basuto say, "Human blood is heavy, it prevents him who has shed it from running away" (p. 309). The warrior taboo seems to be general among the Bechuana tribes. A man who has slain an enemy in battle must on no account enter his own courtyard, for it would be a serious thing if even his shadow were to fall on his children. He studiously avoids his family and friends until after purification (W. C. Willoughby, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXXV [1905], 305).

[288] Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (2d ed.), I, 477 ff. The Awemba, a tribe of Northern Rhodesia, believe that unless slayers are purified from bloodguiltiness, they will go mad (J. H. W. Sheane, "Wemba Warpaths," *Journal of the African Society,* No. 41, pp. 31 f.). A Nandi warrior, who has slain an enemy, carefully washes off the blood on the spear or sword into a grass cup and then drinks the blood. "If this were not done it is thought that the man will become frenzied" (Hollis, *The Nandi,* p. 27).

[289] J. Barton, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* LIII (1923), 47.

[290] Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate,* II, 743 f.

[291] *Ibid.*, II, 794.

[292] Rafael Karsten, "Blood Revenge, War, and Victory Feasts among the Jibaro Indians of Eastern Ecuador," *Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* No. 79, p. 34. For the purification procedure, "the washing of the blood," see pp. 35 ff.

[293] Frank Russell, in *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* pp. 204 f. This long period of retirement, immediately after a battle, greatly diminished the value of the Pima when serving with the United States troops against the Apache. The bravery of the Pima was praised by all army officers having any experience with them, but their rigid observance of the custom described made them very unreliable as scouts and allies (*loc. cit.*).

[294] Leslie Spier, *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River* (Chicago, 1933), pp. 179 ff.

[295] James Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), p. 388.

[296] P. F. X. de Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North America* (edited by L. P. Kellogg) (Chicago, 1923), II, 252.

[297] J. Teit, in *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History,* II, 357.

[298] F. Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the U.S. National Museum for 1895,* pp. 433 f.

## Chapter VI

# STRANGERS AND STRANGE PHENOMENA

For primitive peoples strangers are enemies; their hostile intentions are suspected and dreaded, often with good reason. The distrust and even hatred felt toward them seems also to be based on the very fact of their strangeness. Being unknown, they are invested with mysterious and dangerous qualities which make them carriers of evil, potent in cursing, and proficient in all manner of nefarious magic. As such, taboos regularly attach to them.[1]

The aborigines of Victoria, who were almost if not quite omnivorous, nevertheless would not touch any food which had been partaken of by a stranger. Nor did they like to handle the weapons of strangers, fearing that these might "communicate sickness and might cause death."[2] With reference to the tribes of central and northern Australia, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen observe that nothing could be further from the truth than the conception of them as being in a state of constant hostility. In almost every camp of considerable size there are to be found members of strange tribes paying visits and often taking part in the ceremonies. "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 peculiar dread of magic from a distance."[3] The Mailu, a Papuan tribe, do not like to have a stranger enter one of their villages unbidden or unconducted. They fear lest his shadow may fasten itself upon them. Nor do they like to eat before strangers.[4] For the Mountain Arapesh sexual relations with a stranger are dangerous. Even intercourse with one's wife, if she comes from a distance, contains an element of danger until several months have elapsed and the partners have become habituated to each other. A man who goes abroad should keep away from all women except those who are related to him and in whose houses he can therefore sleep without fear of sorcery.[5]

The inhabitants of Niue, or Savage Island, invariably put to death natives of other islands who drifted to their shores, as well as any of their own people who had gone away in a ship and returned home. "This was occasioned by a dread of disease. For years after they began to venture out to ships they would not immediately use anything obtained, but hung it up in quarantine for weeks in the bush."[6] The natives of the Tenimber or Timorlaut Archipelago will not bury a stranger who happens to die while among them. They fear that if they did so some calamity would descend upon the land.[7]

The Kayan of Borneo are very careful that no stranger shall handle a young child or gaze upon it too closely. The more influential the stranger, the more his contact is feared, for any such contact or notice may attract to the infant the unwelcome and probably injurious attentions of the spirits.[8] Three deaths which occurred while an American explorer was leading an expedition up the Baram River in Sarawak were ascribed by the natives to the presence of the strangers, who were thereupon requested to return.[9] An Italian traveler in New Guinea was asked by some Alfuru to leave their village as soon as possible, because his presence brought bad luck. "Our sons began to die," they said to him, "so soon as you came and looked at them. Five died in three days. It is you who have killed them with your eyes. Depart, or all the rest will perish."[10] Similarly, the natives of Ta-tsien-lu, on the eastern borders of Tibet, associated unusually cold weather in June with the presence of a foreign naturalist among them and compelled him to quit the country.[11]

Among the Tangkhul of Manipur no stranger may enter a house where a birth has occurred—for six days in the case of a boy and for five days in the case of a girl. They fear lest the presence of a stranger might harm the child at the time when it is most susceptible to evil influences.[12] The Western Rengma, after a birth, do not allow the parents to speak to strangers for ten days.[13] The Lhota forbid speech between parents and strangers for six days after the birth of a boy and for five days in the case of a girl.[14]

A stranger who dies in an Andamanese community is buried without ceremony or is cast into the sea. Among some of the tribes it was formerly the custom to cut his body into pieces and burn them. They said that his blood and fat, which were potent for evil, would then be driven up to the sky in the smoke of the fire and thus rendered harmless to the living. The blood of stran-

gers disposed of in this manner is seen in the glow of the sky at sunset.[15]

The four tribes of the Nilgiri Hills—the Toda, Badaga, Kota, and Korumba—have long lived close to each other, yet culturally they possess little in common and still avoid much social intercourse. When Korumba magicians have occasion to call on their Kota clients, the women and children of a Kota village run for the safety of their homes and cower inside them until the visitors have gone. All transactions between the Kota and Korumba take place outside the village limits of each tribe. In like manner, while Kota musicians have to be present at all major ceremonials of the Toda, "if the band comes too close to a dairy, the place is polluted and can only be resanctified by elaborate purificatory rituals." In short, any intimate contact between members of the different tribes is stringently forbidden.[16]

When a stranger dies in a Thonga village, and no one knows him, "he does not matter." The grown-up men attach a rope to his body and dump it into a hole. There is no contagion from a dead stranger, and therefore no ceremony of purification is required.[17] The Akamba and other East African tribes think that a man who has sexual intercourse on a journey into foreign parts will bring bad luck on his village.[18] The Akikuyu, after building a new hut, are afraid to procure fire for it direct from another village, lest some unknown contamination be brought with the fire or with the firewood. To do so is a very risky proceeding, particularly for young children, who might get thin and fall ill.[19]

A missionary in the Lower Congo region refers to the anxiety which the natives felt at the arrival of himself in the country. Wise men shook their heads and declared that "the San Salvador people would die very fast; that there would be no rain; pestilence and disasters of all kinds would surely follow."[20] A stranger dying in Loango may not be buried there. His body is tied up in mats and hung between two posts. Sometimes his people will redeem it and take it away.[21] When an Ashanti man (or woman) gets up from a chair or a stool and does not intend the reseat himself almost at once, he reverses it and places it on its side. Sometimes he tilts it against the wall. This is a precaution against any stranger sitting in the chair or on the stool and leaving there an evil influence.[22]

The Jivaro Indians of eastern Ecuador ascribe all diseases, whether endemic or imported from the whites, to disease-spirits, but they know no other way of protecting themselves against a

visitation by these demonic powers than by running away from them. Thus, when smallpox breaks out in a village, the inhabitants abandon the place, at least for some time. "Under such circumstances," declares Dr. Karsten, "it is easy to understand the anxiety with which the Indians, when a strange white man arrives, always ask whether he 'brings disease.' Both in his own person and in his clothes, and the other mysterious things which he brings with himself, the strange guest is supposed to carry germs of dangerous disease. My eating and drinking plates and cups were especially regarded as taboo, and at the first time of my staying among the Jibaros at least no one of the women would on any account have eaten from my plates or drunk from a cup. Disease and death was believed to be the probable consequence of such carelessness."[23] The Bakaïri of Brazil attribute sickness, death, and other evils to the sorcery practiced by strangers from beyond their borders.[24] It is a common notion among the Plains Indians that "strangers, particularly white strangers, are ofttimes accompanied by evil spirits."[25]

The Siberian Chukchi whose fire has gone out on the cold and timberless tundra cannot borrow fire from his neighbor, for the fire of a strange family is regarded as infectious and as harboring evil spirits. Fear of pollution extends also to all objects belonging to a strange hearth, to the skins of the tent, and to the sleeping room. "The Chukchee from far inland, who travel but little, when they come to a strange territory fear to sleep in tents or to eat meat cooked on a strange fire, preferring to sleep in the open air and to subsist on their own scant food supply. On the other hand, an unknown traveler, coming unexpectedly to a Chukchee camp, can hardly gain admittance to a tent."[26] The Orotchi of the Amur region think that misfortunes such as forest fires, winters with excessively deep snow, and the silting up of rivers, have multiplied for them with the coming of Europeans; "they even go so far as to lay the appearance of *new* phenomena like thunder at the door of the Russians."[27]

It is not uncommon for purificatory ceremonies to be performed over strangers before they are allowed to enter a community and mingle with its inhabitants. Sometimes the strangers themselves take such precautions. Those who return to their own land from a sojourn abroad may also be required to undergo a ceremonial cleansing. In some parts of Victoria, when a strange tribe has been invited into a district and is approaching the encampment of the tribe which owns the land, "the strangers carry lighted bark

or burning sticks in their hands, for the purpose, they say, of clearing and purifying the air."[28] Among some of the southeastern tribes of Australia a stranger must first bite off a mouthful of cooked meat handed to him on a skewer by his host. Then the host mixes a little earth with water and gives the stranger a drink. He may now freely eat the food and drink the water of the tribe which he has visited, but were he to do so without having performed the prescribed ceremonial he would become ill and sores would break out on his body.[29] In Nanumea, an island of the Ellice group, strangers from ships or from other islands were not allowed to hold any communication with the people until they had been taken to the temples, where prayers were offered "that the god would exert his power and drive away any disease or treachery which these strangers might have brought with them."[30]

A Maori, journeying in a strange region, was in a state of *tapu*. Upon his return he might not go home before the *tapu* had been removed by a priest.[31] The Kayan of Dutch Borneo are said to fear the evil spirits which dog the footsteps of travelers even more than their own local demons. There is justification for this attitude, since returning travelers bring with them infectious diseases, especially influenza. Some of the tribes require a man who has come back from a long journey to remain secluded for four days in a special hut before he is allowed to go to his own house.[32]

It is customary among the Lao of northern Siam for the master of the house to offer sacrifice to his ancestral spirits before receiving and entertaining a stranger. The spirits would punish any neglect of this rite by sending disease on the inmates.[33] A Naga, when entering or quitting a strange village, strikes his ears, forehead, and stomach with a sprig of wild indigo, which he then places in his kilt. This is intended to prevent any ill consequences to him from his visit.[34] The Western Rengma think that strangers bring evil magic with them. If a stranger comes to a village and settles there, the inhabitants observe a *genna*, or season of taboo, for an entire day. The Eastern Rengma do the same, but only if the stranger brings his cooking pots and other utensils with him.[35]

When Bechuana travelers returned from foreign parts, "they were not permitted to rejoin the family circle till they had been lustrated with 'holy water,' or, sometimes, cleansed with that still more potent purifier, the gall of a sacrificed ox, so as to free them from any occult influence that may have touched them while abroad." Few natives now observe this custom, though in every

tribe there are still some people who walk punctiliously in the old ways.[36] The Basuto even fumigated cattle captured in war before the animals were allowed to mix with their own herds.[37] Before a stranger may be received by a Thonga village he must submit to a purificatory ceremony similar to that which follows the death of an important member of the community, and all the inhabitants of the village are purified with him.[38] In Angola a man who had returned home after a long absence from his family might not engage in sexual intercourse until he had washed his genitals with medicine. It was also necessary for a magician to make certain chalk marks on his forehead. This purification prevented the transmission to his wife of any evil influence which he might have contracted from his relations with foreign women.[39] In Benin a stranger must wash his feet before entering the country.[40] Among the nomadic Arabs of Morocco, as soon as a stranger appears in a village, some water or, if he be a person of distinction, some milk is presented to him. If he refuses to partake of it, he is not allowed to go about freely, but has to stay in the village mosque. "On asking for an explanation of this custom I was told that it is a precautionary measure against the stranger; should he steal or otherwise misbehave himself, the drink would cause his knees to swell so that he could not escape."[41]

Navaho Indians, who return from captivity in another tribe, are washed from head to foot, "in order that all alien substances and influences may be removed from them."[42]

A traveler in foreign parts, in addition to human enemies, faces all the mysterious terrors of the unknown. Some of the clans of the Kurnai, a tribe of Victoria, had a belief in the existence of a being called Lohan, who watched over them and caused their country to be deadly to strangers. "It was therefore to him that they attributed the taboo which protected them against the visits of other tribes."[43] With the Maori the dread of trespassing was so strong that on going to a strange land rites were carried out to make it *noa*, or common, "lest, perchance, it might have been previously *tapu*."[44] The Thonga think that certain tormenting spirits frequently attack those who go to another district and follow them in their further migrations.[45]

The general effect of these taboos affecting strangers and strange lands is obviously to confirm the ethnocentrism of the savage. It has been said of the Australian natives that "sorcery makes them fear and hate every man not of their own coterie, suspicious of every man not of their own tribe; it tends to keep

them in small communities, and is the great bar to social progress."[46] The statement is evidently of general application. It should be added, however, that this attitude often coexists with a rigid observance of the law of hospitality, so that a stranger may sometimes enjoy extraordinary privileges as a guest. The taboo on the stranger and the practice of hospitality toward him, in order to secure his blessing or to avoid his curse, can ultimately be traced to the same root—his strangeness.

All things out of the ordinary, all things strange and unfamiliar, are mysterious to the savage. Whatever has this character may sometimes be treated with special consideration and even reverence; it becomes a talisman bringing good fortune, or an amulet averting misfortune, or a fetish object supposed to be possessed by a helpful spirit. It may also be avoided as harmful, and in some cases the avoidance takes the form of a taboo.

The missionary, James Chalmers, once noticed that the natives in the neighborhood of Port Moresby, New Guinea, were much astonished at the contents of his traveling bag. They had never before seen pins and needles, thread and scissors. The most astonishing thing to them was a small case which contained a thermometer, barometer, and compass. When Chalmers tried to show them the uses of these instruments, they begged him to shut up the case and put it away as soon as possible, for otherwise, they said, "we shall all be sick."[47] A British administrator in New Guinea, referring to the Gosisi tribe, tells us that if anyone tried to do some writing in their presence they promptly took to their heels. So great was their fear of paper and pencil that no native would remain near a government office for more than a few minutes at a time.[48] Some Maori were once shown a watch. "The ticking was so wonderful to their conceptions, that they believed it to be nothing less than the language of a god; and the watch itself, being looked upon as the *Etua,* was regarded by the whole of them with profound reverence."[49] The Dusun "attribute anything—whether good or bad, lucky or unlucky—that happens to them to something novel which has arrived in their country."[50]

Among the wilder tribes of Ceylon soap is under a ban, the prohibition applying particularly to the scented variety. Soap, it seems, serves as an attraction to "devils," who afflict the users of it for the rest of their days. Consequently villagers in the remote jungle areas never use soap and try to be always as dirty as possible.[51] The people of Oudh, British India, "regard a tiled roof as *tabu,*" probably, thinks our informant, because at some not remote

period they lived like gypsies under a rude shelter of reeds.[52] When bananas were first introduced among the Ba-ila of Northern Rhodesia one of the natives, to whom some of the fruit was offered, turned from it with the utmost consternation. "No! No! I have never seen that before! It is *tonda*" [taboo]. It is also *tonda* for anyone to see the mole out of its burrow. This creature rarely appears on the surface during the daytime. "If you saw it, it would grin and one of your friends would die in consequence." To see it in the burrow is, however, quite harmless.[53]

It is a very common belief among the Akamba of Kenya that iron is antagonistic to rain; hence in the district of Kitui iron implements are not used for work in the fields. Our authority thinks that probably the same belief explains their objection to the railway. "I talked once to an old man on the subject, but got very little out of him excepting a look which plainly said that if I did not know that to lay an iron band all across the country was enough to drive all rain away, what did I know!"[54] By the Patagonians "any unfamiliar object that they do not comprehend, as, for instance, a compass or a watch, is regarded with suspicion as being tenanted by an evil spirit."[55] Medicine men among the Guiana Indians avoid all articles of food not indigenous to their country; these are said to be "tabooed" to them.[56]

The Bribri Indians of Costa Rica distinguish two kinds of ceremonial uncleanness, namely *nya* and *bukurú*. Anything that has been connected with a death is *nya*. The worst sort of *bukurú* emanates from a young woman in her first pregnancy. It also attaches to weapons and utensils after long disuse, and these before being used again must be purified. In the case of portable objects left undisturbed for a lengthy period, it is customary to beat them with a stick before touching them. "I have seen a woman take a long walking-stick and beat a basket hanging from the roof of a house by a cord. On asking what that was for, I was told that the basket contained her treasures, that she would probably want to take something out the next day, and that she was driving off the *bukurú*. A house long unused must be swept, and then the person who is purifying it must take a stick and beat not only the movable objects, but the beds, posts, and in short every accessible part of the interior. The next day it is fit for occupation."[57] By some of the Aleuts any articles of Russian manufacture found on the beach were considered "unclean" and were at once thrown away.[58]

This lively fear of the strange and unfamiliar accounts in

large measure for the conservatism of savages and their repugnance toward innovation of any sort. A missionary, after twenty-five years of teaching the Congo natives (his remarks apply particularly to the Bangala), declares that though they have a wonderful power of imitation they lack inventiveness. Their inventive capacity has been socially suppressed. For generations it has been customary to accuse of witchcraft anyone who has started a new industry or begun a new art. "To know more than others, to be more skillful than others, energetic, more acute in business, more smart in dress, has always caused a charge of witchcraft and death."[59] Or, to take another case, how slowly must the Wanika move forward, among whom, "if a man dares to improve the style of his hut, to make a larger doorway than is customary, if he should wear a finer or different style of dress to that of his fellows—he is instantly fined; and he becomes, too, the object of such scathing ridicule, that he were a bold man indeed who would venture to excite it against himself."[60] The persecuting tendency of savages is an outcome of the idea of collective responsibility, the idea that all may suffer for the guilt of one. Hatred of the non-conformist thus becomes an expression of the sense of group welfare. The lot of the innovator, in consequence, is still harder among primitive folk than among ourselves; if lowly born, he is promptly clubbed; if a chief and something happens to him, either by disease or accident, men see in his fate the righteous punishment for impiety and a warning against any departure from the good old ancestral ways. What Walter Bagehot called the "cake of custom" is more deeply hardened, more firmly fixed, than ever.

Various aspects of nature, strange or terrifying, give rise to taboos. The Bukaua of northern New Guinea believe that a person who points a finger at a rainbow will get ulcers in the armpits. The punishment is sent by the angered spirits of murdered men, whose blood forms the rainbow.[61] In Mindanao, one of the Philippine Islands, there is a tribe, living in a crater-like valley, whose members have heard of, but have never seen, the sea. To behold it, they believe, would be certain death for anyone who did so.[62] Upon returning from an attempt to ascend Mount Kilimanjaro, believed by neighboring tribes to be tenanted by demons, some Englishmen were sprinkled with "a professionally prepared liquor, supposed to possess the potency of neutralizing evil influences and removing the spell of wicked spirits."[63] The Ona of Tierra del Fuego, who respect and fear such natural objects as moun-

tains, the sun, moon, stars, lakes, and woods, do not speak loudly of them or stare at them too long. They say that if you speak ill of a mountain in its presence it will send rains and winds.[64] The Jivaro of eastern Ecuador believe that their rain god lives in the solitudes of the cloud-capped mountain peaks. "If offended by disrespectful invasion of his dwelling place, he causes heavy rains to fall upon the traveler, produces floods in the streams, and makes the way difficult and dangerous." No native will speak while crossing the summit of the mountain particularly associated with him. The Jivaro river god haunts a great cataract of the Marañon, and accordingly the same rule of silence is observed by the Indians when passing through the gorge of this river.[65]

Among the Guiana Indians certain words, mostly of Spanish origin, must not be spoken during a voyage. To utter them is the surest way of offending the water spirits, who will cause the boat to capsize or to be wrecked. Paraphrases of the tabooed words are accordingly employed.[66] These Indians, before attempting to shoot a cataract for the first time, or on the first sight of any new place, and every time a striking rock or mountain is seen, avert the ill will of the spirits of such places by rubbing red peppers in their eyes. Lime juice may be used as a substitute. On one occasion, when neither peppers nor limes were available, the Indians carefully soaked a piece of indigo-dyed cloth and then rubbed the dye into their eyes.[67] This temporary occlusion of vision has been mentioned by other travelers. Some Carib Indians, on first gaining sight of a range of mountains never seen before, had tobacco juice squeezed into their eyes.[68] The Arawak, when visiting any new place for the first time, put creek or river water in their eyes. Were this not done, the evil spirits lurking in the vicinity would make their eyes sore and perhaps inflict on them other sicknesses as well. "One woman maintained that, independently of any evil spirits, the very novelty of the scene might give her sore eyes, in the absence of the usual precaution."[69]

The Bribri Indians of Costa Rica think that any place such as a mountain peak not previously visited, or not visited for a long time, is especially *bukurú* (ceremonially unclean).[70] The Greenlanders will not pronounce the name of a glacier as they row past it, fearing lest it should be offended and throw off an iceberg.[71] The Aleuts considered it "a punishable offense" to talk unnecessarily and unfavorably of stars and clouds.[72]

Thunder and lightning account for many taboos. Some Queensland tribes, among whom the lack of pigmentation of hands

and feet is by no means rare, explain the abnormality by assuming that the afflicted person must have picked up some splinters from a tree which had been struck by lightning.[73] The Maori thought that a man struck by lightning had violated some taboo: the god Tupai (one of the lightning deities) punished him for his act.[74]

The Semang, the very primitive Negritos of Malaya, believe that certain actions are most displeasing to the higher powers, who punish the performance of them by sending a great storm, with thunder and lightning. Then the water will well forth from under the earth, and the offenders will be struck by lightning or swallowed up in the liquescent earth. Such terrible consequences can be avoided only by a blood sacrifice. The blood must be drawn from the leg or some other part of the body and then be thrown upward into the air. People will do this when a bad thunderstorm is approaching.[75] The Sema Naga treat a man killed by lightning as accursed and bury him in some out-of-the-way place.[76] The Ao Naga will not eat an animal killed by lightning. If any part of a lightning-struck tree should be used as firewood, the heads of all the children in the house would be covered with sores.[77]

The Bantu-speaking peoples of South Africa display much fear of thunderstorms, which are very impressive in that part of the world.[78] The Amaxosa "conceive that thunder proceeds from the direct action of a deity; and if a person is killed by lightning, they say that God (Uhlanga) has been amongst them. On such occasions they sometimes remove their residence from the spot, and offer a heifer or an ox in sacrifice. If cattle are struck by lightning, they are carefully buried."[79] By the Zulu a house or an animal struck by lightning is tabooed. However, the Zulu believe that such an object contains the "power" of the lightning: consequently, to protect the people against it, the doctors sometimes order an ox killed by lightning to be eaten. The people do so, but while eating they take emetics continually, and, when the repast is finished, they wash themselves and are given medicines. The doctors will also scarify their own bodies and rub in medicines mixed with the flesh of a lightning-struck animal. Thus the doctors get into sympathy with the heaven where storms appear; they know now when it is going to thunder and lighten; and they can take appropriate measures to preserve the people from harm.[80]

When lightning strikes the central square of a Thonga village, the event is portentous of great evil to come. If the medicine man is able to exhume the mysterious bird which causes lightning, or at least the coagulated urine (called Heaven) which the bird has

deposited, the people are not obliged to destroy their village and move away. But if he fails in his efforts, they must do so, "as the presence of the mysterious power of Heaven inside the circle of huts would bring disaster." It is taboo to warm oneself at a fire made of the wood of a tree that has been struck by lightning, or to use it as fuel.[81]

The Nandi include among people ceremonially unclean, or taboo, those who have eaten the flesh of an animal killed by lightning. When a hut has been struck by lightning a member of the Toyoi clan (whose totems are the soldier ant and rain) is called upon to burn the hut down. If an ox has been lightning-struck, it is the duty of some men of this clan to turn the animal over on its side; this done, adult persons may safely cut off a piece of the meat and eat it. They may not converse while eating, and after the meal the bones must be put in a heap for burning. Before returning home they must proceed to the nearest river and bathe themselves. The spot where the bones are burned is covered with thorns and stones, so that it cannot be trodden on by man or beast. When cattle have been killed by lightning, the herd must be purified in the nearest river. Here the warriors stand in two lines along the banks, and the unmarried girls, who are stripped, stand in front of them in the water. The herd is driven between the girls and each cow is sprinkled with water as it passes. Then the girls drive the cattle home, while the men sit down near the river and recite a prayer to the sun god. A tree that has been struck by lightning may not be used for building purposes or fuel.[82]

The Ja-Luo of Kavirondo desert a house which has been struck by lightning if anyone in it is killed. However, they do not scruple to use the wood for other purposes.[83] The Wawanga of Mount Elgon require all the inhabitants of a village to be purified by the medicine man if lightning strikes a hut or kills a man or an animal.[84] The Bahima (Bahuma) of Uganda and the Banyoro have a "strange belief" that when lightning kills any cows the rest of the herd must not be removed from the place until the medicine man has released them by making an offering to the thunder god.[85]

The Fan of French Equatorial Africa always try to find out what particular *eki*, or taboo, has been broken by a man whom lightning killed, and a fetish priest is called upon to make an investigation. Funeral rites are never performed for the victim. His body is carried without ceremony into the bush and buried beneath an anthill, so that it may be quickly destroyed. Sometimes it is placed along a line of marching ants for still more

prompt disposal. Nor will his skull be preserved with the skulls his ancestors; he has died a "bad death," and all memory of him must be blotted out as soon as possible.[86] The Yoruba think that people who have been nearly killed by lightning or whose houses have been lightning-struck must have broken some taboo or done some act which withdrew from them the protection of the gods or of the ancestors. Hence such wicked people are not assisted in any manner.[87]

Khebioso (So) is the lightning god of the Ewe of the Slave Coast. His name means, literally, "the bird" or "bird-like creature that throws out fire." Some people believe that the crash of thunder is really the flapping of his enormous wings. When a house is struck by lightning and set afire, the blaze must not be extinguished. To do so would bring down the vengeance of the god upon the entire community for acting contrary to the manifest wishes of the god. A house which has been lightning-struck and not set afire is at once invaded by a mob of priests and "wives" of the god, who, while pretending to search for the holy thunderbolt, strip the house of everything portable. A heavy fine is levied on the owner of the house, often so heavy that he cannot pay it. He will then be made a slave, and his whole family may be enslaved as well. The fact that the house was struck is conclusive evidence that its inmates must have been guilty of some sin of commission or omission that aroused the anger of the god. The body of a man killed by lightning is dragged by the priests and "wives" of Khebioso to some open space and exposed on a platform. It is not supposed to be buried, but, if the victim was a freeman, the priests usually allow it to be ransomed for burial. In the case of a slave, the consorts of Khebioso cut pieces of the corpse as it lies on the platform and chew them without swallowing them, while they cry out to the passers-by, "We sell you meat —good meat." It is said that in former days the priests and their female companions used to eat the bodies of all persons killed by lightning.[88]

The White Mountain Apache of Arizona, in common with other Indian tribes, recognize the existence of occult power in certain natural phenomena, plants, animals, and some human beings. This power, for which they have a name, can be acquired by prayers and also by the performance of certain ritual acts. When so acquired, it becomes a means of combating the very sources from which it emanates. Lightning is a very great source of occult power. People with guilty consciences live in dread of the ap-

proaching lightning season, because sinners are so often struck down by a bolt from the blue. However, there are very "holy" men, invested with occult power to a great degree, who know how to perform a ceremony for protection against lightning.[89] The Omaha Indians, when a man had been killed by lightning, slit the soles of his feet and buried him face downward. If these precautions were taken, his ghost went at once to the spirit-land and gave no further trouble to the living. The house where he had lived was deserted.[90]

The moon, because of its brilliant light, periodical transformations, and regular movement through the sky, seems to have aroused the interest and excited the imagination of primitive man to a far greater degree than did the sun, the planets, or any of the constellations. The fears aroused by eclipses of the moon, by its disappearance at the end of the lunation, and by its phases have given rise to innumerable taboos. Their existence in Polynesia, Indonesia, and Africa, to say nothing of the survivals of them in Asiatic and European lands, throws light on the origin of the Hebrew Sabbath and of its assumed Babylonian original.[91]

Eclipses of the moon are sometimes considered unfavorable for work and may also be accompanied by fasting and other forms of abstinence. Lunar and solar eclipses require a Naga community to declare a *genna* and suspend, for a time, the ordinary occupations.[92] When the Toda know that an eclipse is about to occur, they abstain from meat and drink; when it is over, they have a feast and eat a special food prepared on all ceremonial occasions.[93] In southern India the people retire into their houses during an eclipse and remain behind closed doors. "The time is in all respects inauspicious, and no work begun or completed during this period can meet with success; indeed, so great is the dread, that no one would think of initiating any important work at this time."[94] The natives of northern India are said to consider it a great crime to partake of food, drink water, or answer the calls of nature during an eclipse.[95] Among the Wasania, a tribe of Kenya, no cohabitation takes place during an eclipse.[96]

The obscuration of the moon at the end of the month has been sometimes explained as due to its descent to the underworld; hence the *interlunium* may be considered a dangerous and inauspicious period. This attitude seems to be prevalent among the Dravidian-speaking peoples of India. The Kanarese of Hyderabad and Mysore do not work in the fields on the last day of the month. If a child is born at this time, they believe that someone in the

family will die. If a cow or a buffalo has a calf at this time, it must be sold. On the evening before new moon no one may eat cooked food. The new moon is consecrated to the dead.[97]

The Maler or Sauria Paharia of the Rajmahal Hills in Bengal, who regard Sunday as unlucky and do not work in the fields, pay visits, or get married on this day, observe much the same restrictions during the period of the moon's invisibility. Marriages will not be fruitful if consummated during the dark of the moon and, in general, the time is associated with sickness and bad luck.[98] Similar notions are entertained by various African peoples. The Zulu would not engage in battle on the "dark day" of the moon.[99] The Akikuyu of Kenya, who regard the moon as the sun's wife, suppose that when the moon comes to maturity the sun fights with her and kills her. While she is "dead," as the natives say, no journeys are undertaken, no sacrifices are offered, and no sheep are killed. It is further considered that goats and sheep will not bear on the day after the disappearance of the moon.[100] The Akamba, a tribe related to the Akikuyu, believe that on the day which completes the month no child is born and no domestic animal gives birth. One of the Akamba clans is called *mu-mwei* (*mwei* signifying "moon"), and by the members of this clan no house may be swept on the last day of the month.[101]

The time of new moon and full moon, much less commonly of each half-moon, may be a season when taboos are imposed and placatory rites observed. The very newness of the moon, rising apparently from the dead, is an element of interest; its contrasts, in shape, size, and position in the heavens, to the old moon, further deepen the impression of its significance; and its function of inaugurating the month not only gives to it a special place in calendar systems but also invests it with the emotional importance belonging to the commencement of any new period. These ideas of lunar influence are naturally extended to the full moon, which is often regarded as marking the division of the lunar month, and in some instances to the half-moons, as indicating the other prominent stages in a lunation.

The Hawaiians observed four taboo periods, of two nights and one day each, in a lunation. These were dedicated, respectively, to the four great gods of the native pantheon. The first was that of Ku, from the third to the sixth night; the second, that of Hua, at full moon, including the fourteenth and fifteenth nights; the third, that of Kaloa, on the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth nights; and the fourth, that of Kane, on the twenty-seventh and twenty-

eighth nights. During these taboo periods a devout ruler generally remained in the temple, engaged in prayer and sacrifice. Women at such times were forbidden to enter canoes. Sexual intercourse was also prohibited.[102]

Various Bornean peoples observe lunar taboos. Among the Land Dayak at full moon and on the third day thereafter, "no farm work may be done, unless it is wished that the paddy should be devoured by blight and mildew. In some tribes the unlucky days are those of the new and full moon and its first and third quarters."[103] "At certain seasons of the moon, just before and just after the full," the Sea Dayak tribes "do not work at their farms; and what with bad omens, sounds, signs, adverse dreams and deaths, two-thirds of their time is not spent in farm labour."[104] The Kayan call the full moon the "evil moon" and at this time suspend all important business, such as house-building and boat-building.[105]

The Sakai, an aboriginal people occupying the center of the Malay Peninsula, observe a three days' taboo of work on the plantations when the moon "falls" at the rising of the sun; when the moon is at the full and looks "swelled"; and when the moon has begun to decline and is "notched like a reaping knife." A similar taboo, lasting two days, is in force when the old moon is about to die. Were the taboo broken, someone in the house would die. Moreover, no work may be done for two days when the new moon appears, lest wild pigs come and ravage the crops. Thus among the Sakai thirteen days out of every lunar month are not available for agricultural operations.[106]

Many African peoples entertain pronounced ideas regarding the unfavorable influence of the moon's changes on human activities. The Zulu welcome the appearance of the new moon with demonstrations of joy, but on the following day they abstain from all labor, "thinking that if anything is sown on those days they can never reap the benefits thereof."[107] The Bapiri, a tribe of the Bechuana stock, stay at home at new moon and do not go out to the fields. "They believe that if they should set about their labor at such a season, the millet would remain in the ground without sprouting, or that the ear would fail to fill, or that it would be destroyed by rust."[108] Of another Bechuana tribe, the missionary Livingstone remarks, "There is no stated day of rest in any part of this country except the day after the appearance of the new moon, and the people then refrain only from going to their gardens."[109]

The Baziba, who dwell to the west and southwest of Lake Victoria, are said to be one of the few tribes in this part of Africa having "a recognized day of rest, independently of the Christians' Sabbath. The two first days of every moon are universal holidays."[110] The Akamba consider it very unlucky to move cattle or livestock of any kind from one place to another, or even to give presents of any stock, during the first four days of the new moon.[111] The Mendi of Sierra Leone hold a new-moon festival, when they abstain from all work, "alleging that if they infringed this rule corn and rice would grow red, the new moon being a 'day of blood'."[112]

The mystic dangerousness of strange persons, strange regions, strange objects, and strange natural phenomena likewise attaches to occasions when the normal current of the community life is interrupted and when what may be called a crisis presents itself. In general, any time of special significance inaugurating a new era or marking the transition from one state to another, any time of storm and stress, any time when untoward events have occurred or are expected to occur may be invested with taboos designed to meet the emergency and to ward off the threatened danger or disaster. Taboos are also commonly imposed in connection with important undertakings, such as a military expedition, the commencement of the fishing season, the first planting, harvesting, and house-building.

On all these occasions a period of abstinence and quiescence is rigidly enforced. The ordinary occupations may be suspended, fasting and continence required, public assemblage discontinued, fires and lights extinguished, songs, dances, and loud noises forbidden, and the settlement closed or quarantined against outsiders. Such negative regulations closely resemble some of the observances which mark the great crises in human life at birth, puberty, marriage, and death. It is reasonable to conclude that, with the deepening sense of social solidarity, observances once confined to the individual or to his immediate connections would often pass over into those performed by the community at large or would, at any rate, provide a model for them. We cannot always discover the particular reasons which account for them, but they would seem to be expressions of an ancient doctrine—"In quietness shall be your strength."[113]

Periods of communal abstinence are not known in Australia, and only faint indications of them have been found in New Guinea and the Melanesian Islands. They are, or have been, numerous

among the Polynesians, the Indonesian inhabitants of Borneo and other islands of the East Indies, and also among the Tibeto-Burman peoples of southeastern Asia, particularly of Assam and Burma. The many resemblances which the custom under consideration exhibits throughout this wide area may perhaps be explained as the outcome of an extensive and long-continued diffusion of cultural elements from the Asiatic mainland over the island world of the Pacific. Similar taboo periods are observed in Africa.[114]

In the Society Islands and the Marquesas Islands the bonito fishing in November or December opened with a ceremony removing the prohibition which had previously rested on the capture of that fish. A strict taboo of all activity marked the first day of the proceedings: no one could approach the seashore, or make a fire, or cook food, or even eat before the going-down of the sun. The customary employments of the men in canoe-building and house-building and of the women in the preparation of cloths, mats, and thread were abandoned; "in a word, all work was forbidden; it was a day of silence and devotion." Meanwhile the priests remained in the temple, engaged in prayer, and their assistants prepared an altar to receive the first fish caught. At nightfall the single canoe which had gone forth to the fishing returned with the catch of bonito. Several of the largest fish were placed on the altar, and the others were entirely consumed in a blazing fire before the altar. The fish caught on this day belonged to the gods and those caught on the following day to the high priest, but on the third day fishing was opened to all.[115]

Among the Maori the preparations for mackerel fishing included the observances of various taboos. All persons engaged in making or mending nets, the ground where the nets were made, and the river, on the banks of which the work went on, were in a state of taboo. Nobody might walk over the ground, no canoe might pass up or down the river, no fire might be made within a prescribed distance, and no food might be prepared until the taboo season came to an end.[116]

The Maori also observed communal taboos in connection with the planting of the *kumara,* or sweet potato, a very important article of food. When the time to plant came, "everything was *tapu.* The people fasted and did no cooking. The waters of the lake were *tapu;* no canoes were allowed to put out and no fishing was done." The skull of a tribal chief of high rank was disinterred and placed in the garden, in order that its occult power

(*mana*) might guard the plantation and assist in securing a bountiful harvest.[117]

On the island of Yap, one of the Carolines, two old "wizards," before whom all important questions come for decision, have the power of laying taboos on an entire village. The periods of seclusion and abstinence have been known to last for six months. The critical occasions giving rise to their imposition are a time of drought, famine, or sickness; after the death of a chief or famous man; and before a fishing expedition. "In short, any great public event is thus celebrated, and, in fact, there is always a *tabu* in full swing somewhere or other, to the great disgust of the traders, who only see in these enforced holidays an excuse for idling, drunkenness, and debauchery."[118]

The periods of enforced idleness, abstention from sexual intercourse, and other restrictions, observed by the inhabitants of the Mentawei Islands, are known as *punan*. The "great" *punan* arises from any circumstance which vitally affects the welfare of the community: when a chief erects a house for himself, when a new chief is inaugurated or a new priest is chosen, when a village is visited by an epidemic, or when a villager has been killed by a crocodile. The "little" *punan* relates rather to individuals and to families. Many are the occasions when it is imposed—at house-building, at the setting out of a garden, at boat-making, and when a native leaves his village to settle elsewhere. It is especially obligatory for women during pregnancy, at childbirth, and for eight months thereafter. It occurs also as an accompaniment of marriage, when there is sickness in a family, and when some member of the household has died. All crises in the communal and individual life of the people are thus kept as periods of restriction; in some cases, however, these have become festivals and holidays.[119]

When the people of Bali are confronted by some real or imaginary danger, such as an epidemic, an earthquake, or a lunar eclipse, they at once take measures to drive away the evil spirits which have caused the ominous event. This object is supposed to be accomplished partly by verbal commands. "Go away! go away!" addressed to the demons, and partly by means of an unearthly uproar of shouting and knocking. Then follow two days of absolute silence, the stillness of the grave. During this period, known as *sepi,* no one ventures out of doors and no strangers are admitted to the village. Even the usual domestic work, including cooking, is discontinued. The interdict against all activity is lifted on the

third day, but even then work in the rice field and buying and selling in the markets are forbidden. The evil spirits, it is believed, would like to return at once to their old haunts; hence they must be led to think that Bali is not Bali but some uninhabited island.[120]

Among the Kayan of Dutch Borneo the whole period of rice cultivation, from the initial task of selecting a site to the final storing of the rice in the granaries, is supposed to be subject to supernatural influences. Without the consent of the spirits no farm work may be undertaken; without a strict regimen of sacrifices and taboos their aid cannot be secured for the growth and maturing of the crops. An observer, who has described in detail the agricultural rites of the Kayan, tells us that the sowing festival lasts several weeks and that during this period certain communal regulations are enforced. On the first day of the festival everyone, except the very old and the very young, must refrain from bathing; then for eight successive days no work may be done and no intercourse may be held with neighboring communities. The presence of strangers, so the people believe, would frighten or annoy the spirits and consequently endanger the welfare of the crops. After the rites at sowing come those which inaugurate the hoeing of the fields, and finally the harvest festival, eight days in duration, when the rice has been safely garnered and the long period of labor and anxiety is at an end.[121]

With the Naga tribes of Manipur, as with the Kayan of Dutch Borneo, the regular communal taboos are for the most part connected with the crops. "Among all these tribes from the day of the first crop *genna* to the final harvest home all other forms of industry and activity are forbidden. All hunting, fishing, tree- and grass-cutting, all weaving, pot-making, salt-working, games of all kinds, bugling, dancing, all trades are strictly forbidden—are *genna*—lest the grain in the ear be lost."[122] Similar taboos are imposed on many other occasions. A rain-compelling ceremony, when the headman works magic for the benefit of the entire village, is accompanied by a *genna*. Communal *genna* are also proclaimed after the occurrence of unusual phenomena, such as earthquakes, eclipses of the sun or moon, and the appearance of comets. The destruction of a village by fire makes necessary a *genna* before any steps are taken to rebuild the houses. Such an event indicates that spirits inimical to the people are about and active; consequently the mere sight of a neighboring village afire is enough to require the imposition of a *genna*. The outbreak of

an epidemic sickness, the occurrence of mysterious cases of death, the return to the village of a party of warriors with heads taken in a foray, the deliberations of the village council, and the annual festival of the dead are likewise followed by *genna*.[123] An early writer, commenting on these practices among the Angami Naga, remarks that there is "no end to the reasons on which a *kennie* must or may be declared, and as it consists of a general holiday when no work is done, this Angami Sabbath appears to be rather a popular institution."[124]

Periods of communal abstinence and quiescence are observed by various African peoples. Among the Basuto "certain solemn and important circumstances demand the consecration of certain days of repose. They abstain from all public labor on the day when an influential man dies. At the approach of clouds which give promise of rain they abstain from going to their fields, or they hasten to leave them, in order quietly to await the desired benediction, fearing to disturb Nature in her operations. This idea is carried to such an extent that most of the natives believe that, if they obstinately persist in their labor at such a moment, the clouds are irritated and retire, or send hail instead of rain. Days of sacrifice, or great purification, are also holidays. Hence it is that the law relative to the repose of the seventh day, so far from finding any objection in the minds of the natives, appears to them very natural, and perhaps even more fundamental than it seems to certain Christians."[125]

With the northern clans of the Thonga the establishment of a new kraal is a most momentous business, giving rise to a great number of positive regulations, abstinences, and prohibitions observed by the inhabitants. The period, about a month in length, during which the moving takes place, is dominated by two great taboos. First, sexual relations are absolutely forbidden. Any violation of this rule will cause the headman to become ill, perhaps paralyzed, while the guilty woman will never be able to bear children again. Second, no one may wash his body during the month, for doing so might cause the rain to fall and thus interfere with the building operations. When the new huts and the fence around them have been completed, the men and the women assemble in two separate groups and ask each other if they have observed their vows of continence. If one of them confesses to having sinned, the whole work is spoiled and must be begun elsewhere. If all have managed to remain continent for the month, they proceed to a purifying ceremony similar to that which takes place

during the mourning rites. Each couple has sexual relations according to a fixed order of precedence, one couple every night, and then they all go and trample on the spot where the women wash their hands. Very similar ceremonies of removal are observed by the Ronga clans of the same tribe. With these clans still other taboos are enforced. No one may light any fire in a village until it has been quite finished, and crushing mealies in mortars and dancing are also forbidden. Whistling is likewise under the ban, as it might result in the village becoming bewitched before the medicine man had protected it with his charms. Our informant points out that among these ceremonies for the removal of a village there are many features also met in the boys' initiation rites and the mourning for the dead, and that this resemblance finds an explanation in the common need of removing ritual impurity. All the adult members take part in the cleansing process, and so the new village begins a new and purified life.[126]

The Nandi, probably in former times a hunting tribe, have now taken to agriculture and raise large crops of millet and eleusine grain. The process of farming is invested by them with many restrictions: no one while in a plantation may carry a spear or rest a spear on the earth; thigh-belts must not be worn; a hide must not be dragged along the ground; and whistling is strictly forbidden. Work is prohibited for an entire day following an earthquake, a phenomenon which Nandi speculation, in common with other savage philosophies, attributes to the movements of underground spirits. "After an earthquake or a hailstorm, when a death has occurred in the family, if a hoe breaks, or a beast of prey seizes a goat, no work may be performed in the fields for the rest of the day and for twenty-four hours afterwards, as it is believed that any sick person who eats the grain when harvested, or who drinks beer made from the grain, will die, and that pregnant women will abort."[127]

Among the Bakongo and other tribes of the Lower Congo region when there is much sickness in a town, or on account of drought, or because many pigs or goats have died, or because the animals and fowls will not breed properly—in short—if much bad luck has been experienced—"the whole town is placed under certain restrictions, such as 'that nothing tied up is to be carried into or through the town,' and consequently all bundles and parcels must be undone outside the town and carried loosely into it; or the restriction may be that no water is to be carried into the town on the head of any person, and thus every woman as she

draws near to the town takes her water-bottle from its well-poised position on her head and carries it in her arms. These restrictions are removed when they are supposed to have served their purpose."[128]

The Guinea Negroes perform annual rites for the expulsion of evil spirits. The ceremony of demon-riddance, formerly held at Cape Coast Castle, on the Gold Coast, was intended to drive the devil Abonsam out of the town by means of a great uproar of shouts, screams, beating of sticks, rattling of pans, and firing of guns, in which proceedings all the inhabitants joined. "The custom is preceded by four weeks' dead silence; no gun is allowed to be fired, no drum to be beaten, no palaver to be made between man and man. If, during these weeks, two natives should disagree and make a noise in the town, they are immediately taken before the king and fined heavily. If a dog or pig, sheep or goat be found at large in the street, it may be killed, or taken by anyone, the former owner not being allowed to demand any compensation. This silence is designed to deceive Abonsam, that, being off his guard, he may be taken by surprise and frightened out of the place."[129]

Some of the Nigerian peoples celebrate a festival called *obaza* for fifteen days after they have cleared the ground for their new crops. At this time many kinds of work are prohibited, no woman may make cloth, nor may anyone labor on his farm under penalty of a fine for doing so. If a man did any planting while the festival continued, a leopard might carry off his wife or child to the farm on which he worked. The festival is said to be celebrated in order that the crops may be abundant.[130]

The economic maladjustment often resulting from these taboos observed upon critical occasions is real; the taboos slow up the pace of work, diminish production, and, in extreme cases, when they are very frequently imposed, the result is the impoverishment of the community. Too many compulsory holidays, especially when not periodic in character, result in fitful, intermittent labor rather than in a steady and continuous occupation. On the other hand, the negative regulations have often a definite psychological value. They represent a kind of folk technique for the avoidance of possible pollution or the unwelcome attentions of the spirits. The consciousness that all precautions have been taken is itself invigorating: the social group goes forward, henceforth, with renewed strength and confidence to the tasks which lie before it.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

[1] See Sir P. J. Hamilton-Grierson, "Strangers," Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,* XI, 883–96; Sir J. G. Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul* (London, 1911), pp. 101–16 (*The Golden Bough,* 3d ed., Part II); A. van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (Paris, 1909), pp. 35–56.

[2] James Dawson, *Australian Aborigines* (Melbourne, 1881), pp. 18, 53.

[3] Sir Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1904), pp. 31 f. Of the Australian aborigines, generally, E. M. Curr remarks that they believe all strangers are in league to take their lives by sorcery. Hence they hate strangers and regularly massacre those of the male sex who fall into their power (*The Australian Race* [Melbourne, 1886–1887], I, 85).

[4] M. J. V. Saville, *In Unknown New Guinea* (London, 1926), p. 281.

[5] Margaret Mead, in *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History,* XXXVII, 355 f.

[6] George Turner, *Samoa* (London, 1884), pp. 305 f. Cf. A. W. Murray, *Missions in Western Polynesia* (London, 1863), pp. 360, 368.

[7] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik-en-kroesharige rassen tusschen Celebes en Papua* ('s Gravenhage, 1886), p. 306.

[8] Charles Hose and William McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo* (London, 1912), I, 158. Cf. A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo* (Leiden, 1904–1907), I, 74, 163.

[9] W. H. Furness, in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* XXXV (1896), 313.

[10] L. M. d'Albertis, *New Guinea* (London, 1880), I, 53.

[11] A. E. Pratt, in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* (n.s., 1891), XIII, 341.

[12] T. C. Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur* (London, 1911), p. 177.

[13] J. P. Mills, *The Rengma Nagas* (London, 1937), p. 201.

[14] *Idem, The Lhota Nagas* (London, 1922), p. 146.

[15] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders,* (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 109 f., 287.

[16] D. G. Mandelbaum, "Cultural Change among the Nilgiri Tribes," *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1941), XLIII, 19 f.

[17] H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (2d ed., London, 1927), I, 165.

[18] C. Dundas, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XLV (1915), 274.

[19] C. W. Hobley, *ibid.,* XLI (1911), 409.

[20] W. H. Bentley, *Pioneering on the Congo* (London, 1900), I, 137; cf. p. 166.

[21] E. Pecheül-Loesche, *Volkskunde von Loango* (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 210.

[22] A. W. Cardinall, *In Ashanti and Beyond* (London, 1927), p. 216.

[23] Rafael Karsten, *The Civilization of the South American Indians* (London, 1926), p. 470.

[24] Karl von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 232 f.

[25] R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians* (Hartford, Conn., 1886), p. 119.

[26] W. Bogoras, in *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1901), III, 97.

[27] E. H. Fraser, in *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (n.s., 1891–1892), XXVI, 15.

[28] R. B. Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria* (Melbourne, 1878), I, 134.

[29] R. H. Mathews, *Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales and Victoria* (Sydney, 1905), p. 59. According to A. W. Howitt a stranger has to drink muddy water, three mouthfuls on each occasion of the ceremony. These he must let trickle slowly down his throat; if he did otherwise, his throat would close up (*The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* [London, 1904], p. 403, referring to the Jajaurung, a tribe of Victoria).

[30] Turner, *Samoa,* pp. 291 f.

[31] E. Best, "Maori Religion and Mythology," *Dominion Museum Bulletin,* No. 10, p. 238.

[32] Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo,* II, 102; *idem, In Centraal Borneo* (Leiden, 1900), I, 165.

[33] É. Aymonier, *Notes sur le Laos* (Saigon, 1885), p. 196.

[34] Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur,* p. 135.

[35] Mills, *The Rengma Nagas,* p. 225.

[36] W. C. Willoughby, *Nature-Worship and Taboo* (Hartford, Conn., 1932), p. 222 and note. According to an early authority, the Bechuana purified themselves after a journey by shaving their heads, "lest they should have contracted from strangers some evil by witchcraft or sorcery" (John Campbell, *Travels in South Africa . . . . Second Journey* [London, 1822], II, 205).

[37] D. F. Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto, Ancient and Modern* (London, 1913), p. 260.

[38] Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (2d ed.), I, 153, 313 f.

[39] Ladislaus Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika* (Pest and Leipzig, 1859), p. 203.

[40] H. L. Roth, *Great Benin* (Halifax, England, 1903), p. 123.

[41] Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London, 1926), I, 540.

[42] W. Matthews, in *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology,* p. 410.

[43] Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia,* p. 485; cf. p. 403. The Bloomfield tribes of Queensland recognize the existence of a nature spirit named Yirru, who lives in the ground. "The older men, to whom the country originally belonged, will give out that certain tracts of it are 'yirru,' with the result that if any females or males (other than themselves) eat or camp there, or disturb the soil in any way whatever, this spirit will punish them with grievous sores, etc." (W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography Bulletin,* No. 5, p. 291).

[44] Edward Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* (2d ed., London, 1856), p. 103.

[45] Junod, *op. cit.* (2d ed.), II, 480.

[46] Curr, *The Australian Race,* I, 58.

[47] James Chalmers and W. W. Gill, *Work and Adventure in New Guinea* (London, 1885), p. 159.

[48] Sir William MacGregor, in *Annual Report on British New Guinea, 1896–1897* (Brisbane, 1898), p. 12.

[49] J. L. Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand* (London, 1817), p. 254.

[50] Frank Hatton, *North Borneo* (London, 1886), p. 233.

[51] B. Josef, in *Man,* XXXV (1935), 101.

[52] W. Crooke, in *Folk-Lore,* XIV (1903), 103.

[53] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia,* II (London, 1920), 89.

[54] C. Dundas, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XLIII (1913), 525. By the Bakongo the forge of a blacksmith is considered sacred, and they never steal from it. If anyone did so he would contract a severe form of hernia; if anyone was bold enough to sit on the anvil, his legs would become swollen (J. H. Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo* [London, 1914], p. 249). On superstitions connected with iron see Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul,* pp. 224–39, who suggests that they reach back to "that early time in the history of society when iron was still a novelty, and as such was viewed by many with suspicion and dislike" (p. 230).

[55] G. C. Musters, *At Home with the Patagonians* (2d ed., London, 1873), p. 192.

[56] W. H. Brett, *The Indian Tribes of Guiana* (London, 1868), p. 363.

[57] W. M. Gabb, in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* XIV (1874–1875), 504.

[58] Ivan Petroff, *Report on the Population, Industries, and Resources of Alaska* (Department of the Interior, *(Tenth Census,* Vol. VIII) (Washington, D.C., 1884), pp. 159 f.

[59] J. H. Weeks, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XXXIX (1909), 135.

[60] Charles New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa* (London, 1874), p. 110.

[61] S. Lehner, in R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea* (Berlin, 1911), III, 466. This superstition is widespread. In the Loyalty Islands, if a rainbow appeared frequently, it was regarded as a harbinger of a famine or a hurricane. Children were strictly forbidden to point at one, for doing so would cause their mothers to die (Emma Hadfield, *Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group* [London, 1920], p. 113). The Marshall Islanders think that if anyone points at a rainbow, the finger with which he points will become crooked (August Erdland, *Die Marshall-Insulaner* [Münster in Westfalen, 1914], p. 340. The Dusun of Borneo believe that the finger will rot (I. H. N. Evans, *Studies in Religion, Folk-Lore, and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula* [Cambridge, 1923], p. 15). When the Karen see a rainbow in the west early in the morning, they say that the king of Hades has again appeared to set up a funeral post for his children. Such a post is intended to remind them that many of their number have died without receiving the proper funeral rites and that some sort of calamity will follow in consequence of the neglect. So the people are terrorized when the rainbow appears, especially if it is accompanied by thunder or an earthquake. If a native ever pointed to it, he would at once thrust his finger into his navel, in order to avoid the loss of the offending member (H. M. Marshall, *The Karen People of Burma* [Columbus, Ohio, 1922], p. 228). The Ao Naga say that it is very unlucky to point a finger at a rainbow; the finger will become crooked if you do so (J. P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas* [London, 1926], p. 305). The Western Rengma believe that if you point at a rainbow you will become ill. The Eastern Rengma believe that you will have a child born to you with two fingers growing together. This calamity can be averted, however, by biting a whetstone at once (Mills, *The Rengma Nagas,* p. 245). The Cherokee will not point at the rainbow, fearing lest the finger swell at the lower joint and become permanently misshapen. A similar belief is found among many other Indian tribes. See James Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,*

Part I, pp. 257, 442. The Fan of French Equatorial Africa believe that twins should never look at a rainbow, but the reason assigned by the natives for this belief is not stated by our authority. See É. Allégret, "Les idées religieuses des Fan (Afrique Occidentale)," *Revue de l'histoire des religions,* L (1904), 217.

[62] Fay-Cooper Cole, *The Wild Tribes of the Davao District, Mindanao* (Chicago, 1913), p. 183.

[63] New, *op. cit.,* p. 432.

[64] J. M. Cooper, in *Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* No. 60, p. 154, citing C. R. Gallardo, *Los Onas* (Buenos Aires, 1910), pp. 339 ff.

[65] M. W. Sterling, *ibid.,* No. 117, p. 116. All the principal nature gods and culture heroes of the Jivaro are endowed with *tsarutama,* the "impersonal magical force" which gives supernatural properties to certain classes of animals, plants, and natural phenomena (*idem,* "Jivaro Shamanism," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* LXII [1933], 137).

[66] W. E. Roth, "An Inquiry into the Animism and Folk-Lore of the Guiana Indians," *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* pp. 252 f.

[67] E. F. Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana* (London, 1883), pp. 368 f. "The extreme pain of this operation, when performed thoroughly by the Indians, I can faintly realize from my own feelings when I have occasionally rubbed my eyes with fingers which had recently handled red peppers; and from the fact that, though the older practitioners inflict this self-torture with the utmost stoicism, I have again and again seen that otherwise rare sight of Indian children, and even young men, sobbing under the infliction" (*loc. cit.*).

[68] R. H. Schomburgk, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,* VI (1836), 229.

[69] W. E. Roth, in *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* p. 299.

[70] W. M. Gabb, in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* XIV (1874–1875), 504 f.

[71] Fridtjof Nansen, *Eskimo Life* (London, 1894), p. 233.

[72] Petroff, *op. cit.,* p. 153.

[73] W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography Bulletin,* No. 5, pp. 6, 21.

[74] Edward Tregear, *The Maori Race* (Wanganui, New Zealand, 1904), p. 201.

[75] I. H. N. Evans, *The Negritos of Malaya* (Cambridge, 1937), pp. 170 ff. The tabooed actions are very miscellaneous in character. Among the Jehai they include the killing of a millipede, shooting a certain species of owl with the blowpipe, flashing a mirror in the open air, and having intercourse with one's wife in the daytime. The Lanoh consider that laughing at a cat or a dog is extremely displeasing to the higher powers. Other acts which may bring on punishment in the shape of a storm are marriages among near relatives, disrespectful methods of address between relatives, and too great intimacy among boys and girls (pp. 172 ff.). Similar notions are found among the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula, the peninsular Malays, and the Orang Dusun of British North Borneo (pp. 81 f., 87 f., 199 ff., 271 f.).

[76] J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas* (London, 1921), p. 262.

[77] Mills, *The Ao Nagas,* p. 305.

[78] John Maclean, *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs* (Mount Coke, South Africa, 1858), pp. 85 f., 122; Dudley Kidd, *The Essential Kafir* (2d ed., London, 1925), pp. 124 f.

[79] George Thompson, *Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa* (London, 1827), p. 352. The missionary, Joseph Shooter, repeats this statement almost verbatim (*The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country* [London, 1857], p. 217).

[80] Henry Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu* (London, 1870), p. 380 and note 30, pp. 402 f. This Zulu "inoculation," by the infusion of some matter from a tabooed object into a person, who thereby becomes immune against the evil resident in the object, may be compared with a practice found among the Konde of Nyasaland. After the grave of a chief has been filled up, the members of the burial party partake of a medicine made from the clippings of the dead man's nails and hair. This is done, we are informed, to prevent the disease which killed him from spreading to the survivors (D. R. MacKenzie, *The Spirit-ridden Konde* [London, 1925], pp. 301 f.).

[81] Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (2d ed.), I, 319; II, 313 ff. Thonga magicians know how to make a powerful charm from the flesh, feathers, and urine of the marvelous lightning bird. The charm is put in a place where a theft has been committed, then the clouds begin to appear, and toward evening a storm breaks. Lightning strikes the thief in his hut and causes the stolen article to appear. "I saw this happen," declared a native. To a Thonga charm used to protect gardens against thieves there is added a little powder obtained by burning a branch from a tree which has been struck by lightning (that is, by Heaven). Sometimes the magician will burn branches of the tree in the garden and bring them near to the growing plants in order that these may be surrounded by the smoke. If a thief enters a garden, "Heaven will kill him," say the natives (II, 442 ff.). Among the Bakwena, when a hut is to be purified after the owner's death, the medicine man in charge of the proceedings carries a splinter from a tree that had been blasted by a stroke of lightning, a tree so "terribly taboo" that he would never dare touch it until he had first fortified himself with very potent charms (Willoughby, *Nature Worship and Taboo,* pp. 205 f.). Thus what is in the highest degree sacred can be used to counteract the baleful influence emanating from what is in the highest degree polluted.

[82] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi* (Oxford, 1909), pp. 9, 45, 86 and note 5, pp. 92, 99.

[83] Sir H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate* (2d ed., London, 1904), II, 794.

[84] K. R. Dundas, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XLIII (1913), 49.

[85] John Roscoe, *The Soul of Central Africa* (London, 1922), p. 158.

[86] R. P. H. Trilles, *Le totémisme chez les Fan* (Münster in Westfalen, 1912), pp. 338 ff.

[87] P. A. Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria* (Oxford, 1926), III, 708 f.

[88] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (London, 1890), pp. 37 ff.

[89] G. Goodwin, "White Mountain Apache Religion," *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1938), XL, 26 ff. Apache men and women wear amulets made of lightning-riven wood, generally pine, cedar, or fir from the mountain tops. These objects are cut in the semblance of the human form and decorated with incised lines representing the lightning. Captain Bourke once saw a sacred bundle which he was allowed to feel but not to open. It contained some of the lightning-riven twigs "upon which they place such dependence" (J. G. Bourke, in *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology,* pp. 465, 587). By the Maricopa lightning-struck trees are avoided for fear of contracting some sickness (Leslie Spier, *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River* [Chicago, 1933], p. 295).

[90] J. O. Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology,* p. 420; *idem,* "Omaha Folk-Lore Notes," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* II (1889), 90. The Creek Indians believed that one who had been struck by lightning and "lived to tell the tale" could cure diseases of all kinds (J. R. Swanton, "Religious Beliefs and Medical Practices of the Creek Indians," *Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* p. 638).

[91] See H. Webster, *Rest Days* (New York, 1916), pp. 14 f., 20, 32 and note 2, p. 34 and note 1, pp. 37, 131–38, 144–49. See also Robert Briffault, *The Mothers* (New York, 1927), II, 422 ff.

[92] Hodson, *The Naga Tribes,* pp. 166 f.

[93] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 580, 592.

[94] Edgar Thurston, *Omens and Superstitions of Southern India* (London and Leipzig, 1912), p. 44.

[95] R. G. Chaube, "Some of the Most Popular Beliefs and Superstitions of the Hindus of Northern India," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay,* V, 326.

[96] W. E. H. Barrett, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XLI (1911), 35.

[97] L. Gengnagel, "Volksglaube und Wahrsagerei an der Westküste Indiens," *Ausland,* LXIV (1891), 871 f. If a cow calves on the new-moon day, her milk, it is believed, will kill the owner (P. Kershasp, "Some Superstitions Prevailing among the Canarese-speaking Peoples of Southern India," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay,* VII, 84).

[98] R. B. Bainbridge, in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* II (1907–1910), 50.

[99] J. Y. Gibson, *The Story of the Zulus* (London, 1911), p. 175.

[100] W. S. Routledge and Katherine Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People* (London, 1910), p. 284.

[101] C. W. Hobley, *Ethnology of A-Kamba and Other East African Tribes* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 53.

[102] W. D. Alexander, *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People* (New York, 1899), pp. 50 ff.; David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* (Honolulu, 1903), p. 56. Malo, a native writer, versed in Hawaiian antiquities, declares that the seasons of taboo were not observed during the four *makahiki* months of the year, when the regular religious services were suspended for games and ceremonies in honor of the god Lono. The same statement is made by A. Fornander (*An Account of the Polynesian Race* [London, 1878], I, 123, note 2).

[103] William Chalmers, in H. L. Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo* (London, 1896), I, 401.

[104] Charles Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak* (London, 1866), I, 149.

[105] Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo,* I, 415.

[106] I. H. N. Evans, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XLVIII (1918), 183.

[107] Lieutenant Farewell, in W. F. W. Owen, *Narrative of Voyages to Explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia, and Madagascar* (London, 1833), II, 397.

[108] G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa* (London, 1905), p. 414.

[109] David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London, 1857), p. 235. An earlier writer, referring to the Bechuana in general, says that when the new moon appears, "all must cease from work, and

keep what is called in England a holiday" (Campbell, *Travels in South Africa . . . . Second Journey,* II, 205).

[110] J. F. Cunningham, *Uganda and Its Peoples* (London, 1905), p. 294.

[111] Hobley, *Ethnology of A-Kamba and Other East African Tribes,* p. 104.

[112] Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa,* p. 146.

[113] Evans-Pritchard points out that when taboos are put on the routine activities of a community, in connection with important undertakings, the attention of its members is focused on the importance of the business in hand. Thus prohibitions of sexual intercourse, the eating of certain foods, dancing, and the like put a drive behind the labor to be accomplished. He compares taboos forbidding a man to do what he is normally accustomed to do with the ritual obscenity permitted or even prescribed on certain occasions. "A common function of both the taboo and of the special acts of obscenity is to make a break in the ordinary routine of an individual's life and so give emphasis to the social value of the activity with which the taboo and the obscenity are associated" (E. E. Evans-Pritchard, "Some Collective Expressions of Obscenity in Africa," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* LIX [1929], 325, 328 f.).

[114] See Webster, *Rest Days,* pp. 8–61.

[115] J. A. Moerenhout, *Voyages aux îles du grand océan* (Paris, 1837), I, 516 f. See also Mathias G——— [Garcia], *Lettres sur les Îles Marquises* (Paris, 1843), p. 210.

[116] William Yate, *An Account of New Zealand* (London, 1835), p. 85.

[117] James Cowan, *The Maoris of New Zealand* (Melbourne, 1910), pp. 116 f.

[118] F. W. Christian, *The Caroline Islands* (London, 1899), p. 290.

[119] A. Maass, "Ta-ka-kai-kai Tabu," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie,* XXXVII (1905), 155 f. The greater part of this article is concerned with the analogies between the taboo system in the Mentawei Islands and related systems in Indonesia and Polynesia. For a later account of these seasons of restrictions see E. M. Loeb, "Mentawei Social Organization," *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1928), XXX, 415 ff. The author calls them *punen* and cites a Dutch authority (J. F. K. Hansen, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië,* LII [1915], 174), who declares that the natives are in a state of *punen,* with its attendant taboos, for about ten months in the year. "The *punen* system brings enforced idleness, prolonged abstention from sexual intercourse for longer periods than are known perhaps to any other people on earth, intermittent periods of feast and famine, and an utter inability of the people to absorb foreign elements of culture, such as the rearing of non-sacrificial animals (as cattle), or the cultivation of rice, which requires steady labor. On the other hand, it has lasted because of the insistence of the seers, who play upon the credulity of the people. Likewise, it appeals to the group feelings of the people, keeping them united in a brotherhood of faith, a common ownership of material possessions, and an equality of rank and prestige" (p. 419).

[120] R. van Eck, in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (n.s., 1879), VIII, 58 ff.

[121] Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo,* I, 166 ff.

[122] Hodson, *The Naga Tribes,* pp. 167 f.

[123] *Ibid.,* pp. 109, 144, 151 ff., 166 f., 173 ff.

[124] John Butler, in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (n.s., 1875), Vol. XLV, Part I, p. 316. This observer describes the *kennie* as a system of taboo, "strikingly similar to that in vogue among the savages inhabiting the Pacific islands."

[125] E. Casalis, *The Basutos* (London, 1861), pp. 260 f.

[126] Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (2d ed.), I, 318 ff.

[127] Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 20.

[128] Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo*, pp. 247 f.

[129] "Extracts from Diary of the late Rev. John Martin, Wesleyan Missionary in West Africa, 1843–1848," *Man*, XII (1912), 138 f. Cf. A. J. N. Tremearne, *The Tailed Head-Hunters of Nigeria* (London, 1912), pp. 202 f.

[130] N. W. Thomas, in *Man*, XVIII (1918), 141.

## Chapter VII

# SACRED PERSONS

Many persons, it has been shown, are in a state of temporary taboo by reason of their ritual uncleanness or pollution. The regulations imposed upon them are intended to prevent their occult power, their "virus" or "electric force," from being discharged with unhappy results upon outsiders. There is also the intention to conserve and strengthen the vital energy of those who have become dangerous to themselves as well as to others and who, in consequence, require all possible aid to carry them safely through a critical period.

Precisely the same attitude is exhibited toward a class of persons in a state of permanent taboo—those chiefs, kings, magicians, and priests so commonly regarded as "sacred." On the one hand, they are feared and avoided, since they are not of common clay; on the other hand, every precaution must be taken to prevent the dispersion of their sacredness. When taboos investing them are broken by an ordinary man, the sacred person may be defiled and deprived of his sanctity. The same result may follow when the culprit is the sacred person himself, who purposely or unwittingly disregards the customary rules and restraints under which he lives. Sometimes the ordinary man alone pays the penalty for sacrilege; sometimes the sacred man alone suffers from the sacrilegious act; and sometimes, again, both parties are involved in a common disaster.

If it seems strange that sacred persons should be treated in much the same fashion as polluted persons, the explanation lies in the ambivalence of the conception of taboo. Primitive thought does not clearly distinguish sacredness from uncleanness, what possesses the odor of sanctity from what reeks with impurity. For primitive thought the all-important distinction is between anything taboo and therefore untouchable, unusable, and anything which may be safely touched and used by all. The common characteristic of sacred persons and polluted persons is their mystic dangerousness.

To set forth all the ways in which men have gained authority by force or fraud, by their own talents or by the weakness or foolishness of others would be almost equivalent to writing a treatise on political science. In whatever way the leader emerges from the common herd the fact of his emergence is proof that he is in some degree a superior being. Among the Melanesians, if a man gains renown as a fighter, "it has not been his natural strength of arm, quickness of eye, or readiness of resource that has won success; he has certainly got the *mana* of a spirit or of some deceased warrior to empower him, conveyed in an amulet of stone round his neck, or a tuft of leaves in his belt, in a tooth hung upon a finger of his bow hand, or in the form of words with which he brings supernatural assistance to his side."[1] Similarly among the Maori the *mana* of a priest was evidenced by the truth of his predictions and the efficacy of his incantations, the *mana* of a doctor by the recovery of his patients, and the *mana* of a warrior by his uninterrupted success in battle.[2] Thus the leader leads, not simply because of his exceptional gifts, but also because he is thought to be endowed with occult power which his fellows lack or do not possess to the same extent as he. Furthermore, the man who believes in himself, as we say, or who believes in his *mana,* as the savage would say, for that reason will be more likely to rise to the top than a man who feels less confidence in his possession of this wonder-working power. It is not difficult to understand how, with the growth of religion and social life, the ruler is regarded with increasing veneration, how he becomes ever more sacred, more taboo, until at length the divinity "that doth hedge a king" attains a complete development. And it may also be readily understood that many a ruler would consciously and of set purpose strive to widen the gulf between himself and his subjects, the better to secure their respect and command their obedience. The more sacred they hold him, the more caution will they exercise in their intercourse with him and the more inclined will they be to accept him as one who reigns, not by their consent, but by the "grace of God."

Sacred persons are subjected to restrictions not imposed on ordinary people or to more severe restrictions than those observed by ordinary people; from them a greater orthodoxy, so to speak, is demanded than from laymen. Being especially sensitive to malign influences, they must be protected against all manner of evil, while their followers require special protection against their occult power. Danger for themselves and for others attaches to their

bodies (especially head, hair, nails, and blood), their names, their food, their clothing, their habitations, and their personal possessions. What they may do or may not do, their going and coming, their eating and drinking, and, indeed, all their activities are carefully regulated. The taboos and other prohibitions investing them will be redoubled where the idea prevails that the sacred person, particularly the chief or the king, controls the order of nature and is held responsible, therefore, for the growth of the crops, the increase of animals hunted or domesticated, rainfall, and the general well-being of his people.[3]

Chieftainship in Australia is nonexistent; in New Guinea and the adjacent Melanesian Islands it is incipient; but throughout Polynesia there formerly existed a class of chiefs, with gradations of rank and sometimes with a supreme potentate who may be called a king. They were credited with the possession of occult power and were regarded with the utmost veneration. "Considering the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands as but slightly removed from barbarism," writes the missionary Ellis, "we are almost surprised at the homage and respect they paid to their rulers. The difference between them and the common people was, in many respects, far greater than that which prevails between the rulers and the ruled in most civilized countries. Whether like the sovereigns of the Sandwich Islands, they were supposed to derive their origin by lineal descent from the gods, or not, their persons were regarded as scarcely less sacred than the personifications of their deities."[4]

Captain Cook, as we have learned, first came upon the taboo system at Tongatabu, where the king of the Tonga Islands resided. Cook tells us that if the king happened to go into a house belonging to one of his subjects, it could never again be occupied by the owner; consequently, wherever he traveled, particular houses were prepared for his reception.[5] According to William Mariner anyone who touched the body or the possessions of a superior chief tabooed himself, but this was not supposed to produce any ill effects unless he fed himself with his own hands before performing a ceremony for the removal of the taboo infection. There was also a ceremony to remove the state of taboo that resulted from having accidentally eaten food which a superior chief had touched or from having eaten food in his presence.[6]

Today, after a century of missionary work among the natives, the chief still possesses for them an aura of sanctity. His head and back are the most sacred parts of his body. No one touches the

head of a superior or passes close behind his back without an apology; in the case of a great chief he would not pass there at all. No one may consume any food or drink left by a superior. "The penalty for the violation of this rule is a sore throat, which can, however, be cured by being stroked by the superior whose victuals have caused the trouble, or by one of still higher rank. A person suffering from a sore throat, which he suspects to have been caused in this way, will take a short cut to cure by resorting at once to the highest chief available. In earlier days the cure used to be effected by an application of the chief's foot to the sore spot, but the hand has been found equally efficacious and is now usually employed. Should anyone desire to help himself from the platter of a superior the unseen powers may be cheated by a little simple collusion. After the inferior has helped himself to the tabued viands, an immediate application of the superior's hand will ward off all unpleasant consequences." Eating and drinking in the presence of a chief of much higher rank than oneself are also taboo; the prohibition may be overcome, however, by retiring to a short distance and turning the back to the superior person.[7]

In Samoa chiefs of high rank always partook of their meals separately, since whatever they touched was supposed to acquire their sacredness. All food left by them at the close of a meal was taken to the bush and thrown away, "as it was believed that if a person not belonging to this sacred class ate of it, his stomach would immediately swell from disease, and death speedily ensue." Anything used by one of these chiefs was sprinkled with a particular kind of coconut water to remove its sanctity and make it usable by others. Thus the spot where he had sat or slept received a sprinkling as soon as he had quitted it. Since anyone who touched the chief or any objects which he had touched was in imminent danger of death, visitors who sat on either side of him, together with the attendants who waited on him, were likewise sprinkled. The ceremony was also observed on the occasion of deposing a chief and depriving him of his titles. Newly tattooed persons and those who had contaminated themselves by contact with a dead body were purified in the same manner.[8]

In Tahiti "everything in the least degree connected with the king or queen—the cloth they wore, the houses in which they dwelt, the canoes in which they voyaged, the men by whom they were borne when they journeyed by land, became sacred—and even the sounds in the language, comprising their names, could no longer be appropriated to ordinary significations. Hence, the

original names of most of the objects with which they were familiar, have from time to time undergone considerable alterations. The ground on which they even accidentally trod, became sacred; and the dwelling under which they might enter, must for ever after be vacated by its proprietors, and could be appropriated only to the use of these sacred personages. No individual was allowed to touch the body of the king or queen; and everyone who should stand over them, or pass the hand over their heads, would be liable to pay for the sacrilegious act with the forfeiture of his life. It was on account of this supposed sacredness of person that they could never enter any dwellings, excepting those that were specifically dedicated to their use, and prohibited to all others; nor might they tread on the ground in any part of the island but their own hereditary districts." The sovereign and his consort always appeared in public on men's shoulders and, if they journeyed on land, they went in this manner from place to place. When it was necessary to change bearers their Majesties, to avoid touching the ground with their feet, vaulted upon the shoulders of the new bearers, "with much greater dispatch than the horses of a mail coach are changed, or an equestrian could alight and remount . . . . It is said that Pomare II once remarked, that he thought himself a greater man than King George, who only rode a horse, while he rode a man."[9]

In the Hawaiian Islands many regulations preserved the sanctity and consequently the privileged position of an important chief. A taboo staff warned commoners of his neighborhood, he wore the royal feather coat, he had the high seat in the double canoe, and he took the headship of the feast. To him belonged the choicest food, the richest clothing, and the most splendid ornaments. Furthermore, he was able to feed and thus keep dependent upon himself a large body of retainers, all in duty bound to carry out his will. Thus the taboo system "constituted as powerful an instrument for the control of the labor and wealth of a community and the consequent enjoyment of personal ease and luxury as was ever put into the hands of an organized upper class. It profoundly influenced class distinctions, encouraged exclusiveness and the separation of the upper ranks of society from the lower."[10]

The commoner who did not prostrate himself when a chief came forth, who did not sit when his bathing water was carried past, who walked about while his name was being chanted, or who stood or sat at the entrance of his house was put to death.[11] The same fate visited the luckless wight whose shadow fell upon

a chief's house, his back, his robe, or anything that belonged to him.[12]

The sacredness of a Hawaiian king extended to everything he touched; hence even his food had to be put into his mouth by another person. The predecessor of Kamehameha I (died 1819) "was taboo to such a degree that he was not allowed to be seen by day. He only showed himself in the night; if any person had but accidentally seen him by daylight he was immediately put to death; a sacred law, the fulfillment of which nothing could prevent."[13]

Among the Maori the *ariki,* or chief of a tribe, was the descendant of the elder son of the elder son of each generation back to the original ancestor of the tribe. Because of his origin he seemed to be more than human; he embodied all there was of the tribal sacredness; and at any time he could communicate with the tribal gods. Perhaps no other people more fully recognized than did the Maori the "mysterious *mana* of primogeniture," the occult power that belonged to the chief by virtue of his divine lineage.[14] An *ariki* made everything he touched so sacred that it might not be used by anyone else. An early missionary to New Zealand tells of a chief who threw down a precipice a very good mat because it was too heavy to carry; when asked why he did not leave it suspended on a tree so that another traveler passing by might take it, he replied that his *tapu* would kill the wearer. A chief's blood partook of his sanctity, and anything on which it flowed, though it were but a single drop, became consecrated to him and his property.[15] "A party of natives came to see Te Heuheu, the great chief of Taupo, in a fine large new canoe. Te Heuheu got into it to go a short distance; in doing so he struck a splinter into his foot, the blood flowed from the wound into the canoe, which at once tapued it to him. The owner immediately jumped out, and dragged it on shore, opposite the chief's house, and there left it." The chief's house was sacred; no one might eat in it except the chief, who had his meals by himself, generally on his veranda. He might not carry food; to do so would destroy his sacred character and cause his death, or a slave might eat the food and perish. The head of a chief was the most sacred part of his body. If he only touched it with his fingers, "he was obliged immediately to apply them to his nose, and snuff up the sanctity which they had acquired by the touch, and thus restore it to the part from whence it was taken."[16] For the same reason a chief could not blow on the common fire with his mouth, for his sacred breath

would communicate its sanctity to the flame and make it unfit for cooking food.[17]

By the Maori the *atua*, or spirits, were not supposed always to punish the person who had broken a taboo affecting a chief. More generally it was the chief himself who suffered from the disregard of his sacredness. "For this reason, chiefs and other sacred persons are always ready to resent any infractions of the law of their *tapu*, whether caused by the ignorance or by the design of others; and many an unfortunate slave has been killed because he had been careless enough to carry his master's hair-comb, or some other part of his dress, within the limits of the family kitchen."[18]

The high estimate which the great chiefs placed on their personal sacredness involved them in constant fighting with one another. Any disregard of the respect due them, whether intentional or not, was brooded over and sooner or later was avenged by some act of violence or insult to the offender. Bloodshed and even the extermination of a tribe might thus follow a breach of etiquette.[19]

In the Fiji Islands "the person of a high-rank king (for the title is often given to the head of a village) is sacred. In some instances these Fijian monarchs claim a divine origin, and, with a pride worthy of more classical examples, assert the rights of deity, and demand from their subjects respect for those claims. This is readily yielded; for the pride of descent which runs so high among the chiefs is equalled by the admiration in which their lofty lineage is held by the people, who are its sincere and servile worshippers. Republicanism is held in contempt by the Fijians, and even the United States have a king when American citizens speak of their president to a native of the islands. The king is supposed to impart a degree of sacredness to whatever he may wear or touch."[20]

Essentially similar ideas and customs are found in other parts of the world. Among the Malays, "not only is the king's person considered sacred, but the sanctity of his body is believed to communicate itself to his regalia, and to slay those who break the royal taboos. Thus it is firmly believed that anyone who seriously offends the royal person, who touches (even for a moment), or who imitates (even with the king's permission) the chief objects of the regalia, or who wrongfully makes use of any of the insignia or privileges of royalty, will be *kena daulat*, i.e. struck dead by a quasi-electric discharge of that Divine Power which the Malays suppose to reside in the king's person, and which is called *Daulat* or 'Royal Sanctity'."[21]

Among the Thonga of South Africa the prestige of a chief is maintained, "not by a great display of riches and of power, but by the mystical idea that, as the body lives by nourishment taken through its head, so the life of the nation is sustained through its chief." The chief is the nourishing earth; he is the bull without whom the cows cannot bring forth; he is the husband, and the land without him is like a woman who has no spouse; he is a forest in which his people hide themselves from danger. Conscious of this exalted position, a chief is careful not to mix too familiarly with his subjects. He eats alone in his hut or with only certain favorites; sometimes he will disappear for a time "just like a big caterpillar when it enters the ground and becomes a chrysalis," so the natives say; he does not permit his name to be lightly pronounced; he must be addressed by the royal salutation. In the old heathen days no one would shake hands with a chief because he was a dangerous being, his whole body was sacred.[22] The king of the Banyoro, an East African tribe, was regarded by his people as almost a deity. His person, his food, his clothing, his actions, and everything connected with him bore a sacred character. He passed his days engaged in ceremonies for the good of his faithful subjects, especially for the increase of the herds of cattle constituting their wealth.[23]

The precautions so often taken by ordinary men in eating and drinking are naturally redoubled in the case of royal personages, whose food and drink might be polluted by the glance of commoners or, consumed by them, might become a deadly poison. Not only in Polynesia, but also widely in Africa, it is the practice for rulers to observe seclusion at their meals. The king of the Monbuttu in the Belgian Congo eats by himself and in privacy. No one may see the contents of his dish, and every particle of food which he leaves is carefully deposited in a special pit. Whatever he handles is sacred and may not be touched. A guest, even though of the highest rank, may not even light his pipe with embers from the king's fire that burns before the throne.[24]

When the supreme ruler of the Cazembe (Balonda) of Angola is about to drink, all who are present prostrate themselves and avert their faces.[25] In Loango the king's sacredness is so great that anyone seeing him eat or drink is put to death. A few privileged courtiers may be present at the royal repast, but they must conceal their faces or else the king hides his head under a robe.[26] In Dahomey the king's person was sacred. His subjects affected to believe that he never ate or slept. It was criminal to

say the contrary. He always ate in secret, and any man who saw him doing so suffered death. When he drank in public, as he did on certain occasions, his subjects all turned aside their heads, and women held up curtains to screen the monarch from polluting glances.[27]

Many other taboos invest the dusky potentates of Africa. In Uganda, as in Tahiti, the king and queen were carried about in public on the shoulders of special bearers. These dignitaries belonged to the Buffalo clan. When a bearer became tired, he shot the king on to the shoulders of a second man, without allowing the royal feet to touch the ground. The bark cloths upon which the king sat while thus being transported were carefully guarded, "lest they should be contaminated by the touch of people from other clans."[28] Anyone who touched the sacred person of a Cazembe ruler, without his permission, invariably died from the shock. Even when permission had been granted, the penalty could be evaded only by touching the royal hands in a special manner.[29] For the king of the Bateke, a Lower Congo tribe, to look upon that river is to imperil his life.[30] The king of Loango may not look on the sea and often, also, on any river. Accordingly, he is obliged to make many long detours when he goes traveling.[31] The king of Dahomey was not allowed to behold the sea.[32]

Among the Kilba, a tribe of Northern Nigeria, the divine chief never visited the village where he had formerly resided lest disaster fall on the inhabitants. He might not pick up anything from the ground lest his sacredness—"the dynamism of his person"—should blast the crops. If he shook his fist in a man's face that man would go mad. Except for the purpose of swearing an oath, no one might touch the mat on which he sat. He ate and drank in private, attended by a single official who sat with head averted while the meal continued. His food was cooked by an old woman past the age of menstruation.[33]

Some of the Nigerian kings are never allowed outside their own premises. This rule is occasionally much more rigid, "the incarcerated puppets being visible only to their families and personal attendants, and of course to the priests, while in certain cases—Benin city for example—the outside public and strangers are permitted to see their feet alone, which are pushed out from behind a screen."[34]

That ideas of the sacredness of rulers have served as a prop of despotism needs no labored argumentation. As William Mariner declared of the Tonga Islanders, the respect that was uni-

versally paid to chiefs formed "the stable basis of their government." Without that respect, nourished though it was upon ideas of taboo, how much more difficult must have been the problem of governing a wild and turbulent people. Yet ideas of this sort, when carried to their logical conclusion, provide a natural check upon tyranny. The almighty divine king is hedged about with so many taboos that he loses all freedom of action and ends, not infrequently, by becoming a helpless puppet, a *roi fainéant,* who reigns but does not rule, while the real power lies in the hands of his mayor of the palace or with some priestly coterie.

Magicians and priests, those specialists in the mysterious and the uncanny, acquire by initiation or a novitiate their own store of occult power; they, too, are often looked upon as sacred persons and hence are affected by all the conditions pertaining to the notion of sacredness. Taboos and other negative regulations protect them from contamination by intercourse with what is unclean and likewise safeguard the laity against dangerous contact with their occult power.

Among the Orokaiva, a Papuan tribe, there has developed in quite recent years a taro cult. This is a placation of ancestral spirits believed to control the growth of the taro plant, the staple food of the natives. The taro "experts," who have charge of the cult, must undergo a kind of probation and observe certain taboos, particularly a taboo against washing themselves. Running water, it seems, will not only cleanse away impurity but will also carry off and dissipate the *mana* of the expert, thus rendering his operations futile. Novices in training are allowed, however, to wash themselves in still, swampy water.[35] In the D'Entrecasteaux Islands, off southeastern New Guinea, nearly every hamlet has its professional "singer," who knows the proper incantation to make the yams grow. At the time of planting and for six months thereafter he and his wife must sleep apart. Not until the seventh month comes round and the yams have ripened is the restriction removed; if he failed to observe it the yams would be sure to wither. Certain prized foods are also tabooed to the singer during this period.[36]

In Efate, one of the New Hebrides, if a sacred man (a magician and rain maker) passed through a village where a death had occurred or even by a house where a child had been born, he would immediately purify himself. One method of doing so was to break off a forked branch from a particular plant and, after the necessary incantation, to draw the branch down his body and limbs,

thus "sweeping away the defilement." The sacred man might also preserve his sacredness unimpaired if he was sprinkled with the milk of a coconut.[37]

In Samoa the high priest and prophet, Tupai, "was greatly dreaded. His very look was poison. If he looked at a cocoanut tree it died, and if he glanced at a breadfruit tree it also withered away."[38] Maori priests, as well as Maori chiefs, were highly dangerous to commoners. We are told that once when an epidemic broke out and two hundred warriors perished, the misfortune was explained by the fact that someone had taken palm leaves from the sleeping mat of a priest engaged in an important religious ceremony.[39] In Yap, one of the Carolines, the belief in magic is very prevalent, and magicians are correspondingly numerous and influential. They observe certain taboos. Thus, the magician who pronounces incantations over the people must abstain from eating fish for three, five, or nine days, according to the importance of the incantation. Sometimes he is not allowed to go near his wife. He may not eat food cooked by a woman or a child. However, an old woman, past the age of childbearing, is free to cultivate his garden for him and to take his produce to his house. The war magician must never eat anything that grows in a hostile district. This taboo is still maintained, although wars have long been things of the past.[40]

Among the Naga tribes the *khullakpa,* or priest-chief, acts in a representative capacity for his village, whenever a rite is to be performed which requires the whole force of the community behind it, a force which operates through him. Many elaborate taboos invest him, in order to prevent any accident which might impair the efficacy of his sacred office. He must submit to various food restrictions, must content himself with only one wife, and must even separate himself from her on the eve of a ceremony. In one group he is not allowed to eat in a strange village, nor, whatever the provocation, to utter a word of abuse. The violation of any one of these taboos is thought to bring down misfortune on the entire village. The village rites "seem in many cases to be inspired by the belief that man, *the man,* the *khullakpa,* when fortified by the whole strength and will of the village, is able to control and constrain forces which are beyond his control if unaided. He relies on coöperative magic."[41]

Among the Toda of the Nilgiri Hills the sacred milkman (*palol*), who has charge of the sacred dairy, submits to many burdensome restrictions during his priesthood, which may extend

over a long period of years. He must live in the dairy, never visiting his home. He must be celibate; if married, he must leave his wife. He must never cut his hair or pare his nails. He must never cross a river by a bridge but must use a ford, and only certain fords. He may not attend the funeral of a fellow clansman unless he resigns office. An ordinary man may approach him on two days of the week only; on other days any conversation with him must be carried on from a considerable distance. No ordinary man is allowed to touch his hallowed body, for if that happened he would be defiled and hence incapable of holding office. The eating and drinking of this holy personage are also subject to certain regulations, though the only food forbidden to him is chillies. The *palol* loses all sanctity upon giving up his position, nor does he derive any marked social importance from having held it.[42] In a village of the Kota (neighbors of the Toda) the priest is carefully kept from contaminating contacts. He does not eat from vessels used by laymen; when he visits a fellow villager he must occupy a certain reserved part of the house; and he may no more join in the ordinary social dances "than a bishop may publicly demonstrate the tango." Contact with women is in the highest degree dangerous to him. He has only one wife, therefore, and avoids sexual intercourse with all other women. The priest's wife also bears a sacred character and she in turn, must have no relations with any man except her husband. The Kota practice fraternal polyandry, but in this case the preservation of a sacrosanct priesthood is regarded as more important than of enforcement of the rights of brothers.[43]

The principal magician holds a high position among the Nandi of Kenya. He tells the people when to plant their crops, obtains rain in time of drought, and makes women and cattle fruitful. No war party can be successful unless he has sanctioned it in advance. His person is regarded as sacred. No one may approach him with weapons in the hand or speak in his presence unless first addressed. It is most important that no one should touch his head, for doing so might result in the loss of his magical powers.[44] Among the Masai the head chief and magician lives on milk, honey, and goat livers; if he ate any other food he could no longer divine the future and devise potent charms.[45]

The Ga of the Gold Coast impose numerous taboos upon a priest. He must not see a dead body, and when about to die he must be taken from the place of his god. He must refrain from sexual intercourse on certain days of the week and before performing

certain ceremonies. He must not eat fermented food. He must not be spoken to while eating. He must not eat on any day until the sun has shone. Observance of this prohibition during the rainy season might seem to result in his starvation, but "some kind friend always goes outside, gazes at the streaming clouds, and shouts cheerily that the sun is shining." A priest who deliberately breaks his taboo is put to death. But if he does so by accident and realizes his mistake in time, he makes an offering of rum, accompanied by due apologies to the god, and escapes punishment.[46]

In West Africa the heads of the secret societies, whether or not representing the guardian gods of the societies, are generally considered sacred persons. They are hedged about by ceremony and kept sacrosanct by a circle of taboos that even the leading officials dare not pass. In some cases their seclusion is quite real. A few of them are never seen at all. The head of the Egbo society is indicated only by a pillar, carved with phallic signs and a tortoise. The head of the Oro society is indicated only by a mask, sometimes carried on the shoulders of a deputy. The head of the Ayaka society allows only an arm to be seen, and that merely when he stretches it round the corner of his hut to receive the gifts of the faithful. "The Grand Tasso goes into a privacy hardly ever broken, living and dying alone. When he realizes that the hand of death is upon him he goes into the bush, builds there a palm-frond thatch, and lying within its shade, awaits calmly his dissolution. After a period of time the council meets for the election of his successor, whose first duty must be the finding of that lonely, ant-cleaned skeleton to add its skull to the others that form the official mitre. The Mama Koome of Bundu is a solitary old woman who allows no one to visit her for any longer time than that occupied by a consultation, who denies herself the solace of relative and friend when ill, and who may not be buried by any other than the Grand Tasso, whose duty and privilege it is." Even when the head of a society is merely a promoted member of the council, the secret of his identity may be known only to a few members.[47]

Perpetual celibacy is sometimes required of priests and priestesses.[48] Priestesses among the Ewe of the Slave Coast are forbidden to marry, as being already spouses of a god, and the same rule prevails among the Twi of the Gold Coast. But they are not debarred from sexual intercourse with priests.[49] Among the Bachama of Northern Nigeria the medium of the god held most in honor is a woman. She conveys to the god the wishes of the people

and reports his responses. The woman is regarded as being married to the god, who is believed to leave his shrine in the bush every evening and come to her house in the town.[50]

Some of the aborigines of the New World imposed celibacy upon sacred men and women. In Patagonia the male "wizards" had to be celibates.[51] In Mexico the women who served in the temples might not engage in sexual intercourse. Those who were known to have broken their vows suffered death. If their sin remained secret, they tried to appease the anger of the gods by fasting and austerity of life, fearing lest as punishment their flesh would rot.[52] The Huichol, an Indian tribe of Mexico, believe that a man who wishes to become a shaman must be faithful to his wife for five years and that, if he violates this rule, he will be taken ill and lose the power of curing.[53]

The holy men of Zuñi do not abstain from marriage, for celibacy as a way of life does not commend itself to the community. They are expected to observe, however, long periods of continence in connection with the performance of their elaborate ceremonies. The various priesthoods also have their "retreats," usually lasting for four or six days, when the members sleep and eat together in some house where their sacred possessions are kept and hold frequent sessions for song, prayer, and meditation, especially at night. Those who approach the gods with a request ought to avoid all disturbing activities, to withdraw from the world, and to concentrate their thoughts upon securing from the supernatural powers the desired blessings.[54] In Isleta continence is required for four days before engaging in a religious ceremony. A daily emetic is taken by the participants. Abstinence of this sort may be practiced, not only by the priests, but also by laymen who want "to help," that is, to increase the efficacy of the ceremonial. Were one to break the taboo of sexual intercourse one might turn into a rock or a log or an animal. When people go into a "retreat" they must totally abstain from food and drink for the usual four days. It is also necessary for them to observe the prohibition of killing anything, not "even a spider or a fly."[55] A Blackfoot priest had to be not only virtuous but also "serious and clean-minded."[56]

Magicians and priests are thus subject to essentially the same taboos as those which invest chiefs and kings. They are all more or less sacred beings. Hence there may be no clear differentiation between the royal and the sacerdotal offices: the chief or king sometimes has magical or priestly functions, and the magician or priest sometimes assumes political authority. King-priests and

priest-kings are still found in primitive society, while the Pharaohs of ancient Egypt, the Inca rulers of Peru, and the Mikados of Japan illustrate the survival into historic times and among relatively civilized peoples of the combination in a single man of civil ruler and vicar of God on earth.

Laymen, as well as civil and spiritual rulers, may be made sacrosanct. Among the Wiradjuri of New South Wales messengers "are regarded as sacred, and may safely travel anywhere, so long as they possess the proper sign or emblem of their office." Messengers enjoyed the same immunity, even among hostile tribes, elsewhere in New South Wales and Victoria.[57] Among the Samoans heralds were held inviolate in time of war and were never molested.[58] The tribes of Nukuhiva, one of the Marquesas Islands, had little intercourse because of their mutual hostility. It was possible, however, for a man who had established friendly relations with someone in another tribe to venture with impunity into its country, as his person was then taboo.[59]

Members of male secret societies possess a certain measure of sanctity, marking them off from women, children, and uninitiated men and increasing with their passage from the lower to the higher degrees. Stringent taboos invest their persons and preserve them from contact with outsiders during the performance of the secret rites. The initiates, wearing masks and special costumes, often personate animals and present songs, dances, and *tableaux vivants* which form a dramatization of the native myths and legends. Ancestor worship and the cult of the dead sometimes loom large in the rituals of the societies; the chief masquerader may be a personification of the spirits of the dead; and the performers may wear skull-masks and represent ancestral individuals whose memory is to be recalled. Ceremonies for the production of rain, the ripening of the crops, the multiplication of food animals, and the healing of the sick are associated with many secret societies.[60]

Chiefs, kings, magicians, and priests often undergo purification before assuming office, and further purification is sometimes required of them from time to time during the performance of their duties. They may also receive a formal initiation or consecration, something always necessary for membership in secret societies. The idea back of initiatory or consecrative rites seems to be that freedom from possible pollution (as secured by a purificatory ceremony) does not suffice to remove the mystic dangerousness involved in contact with anything sacred; it is further necessary that those who are to perform sacred acts should themselves

acquire sanctity. The incompatibility between things sacred and things polluted exists as well, though to a less degree, between things sacred and things common, profane, or *noa,* to use the Polynesian designation.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

[1] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), p. 120.

[2] *Old New Zealand,* by a Pakeka Maori (London, 1884), pp. 175 ff.

[3] See Sir J. G. Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul* (London, 1911) (*The Golden Bough,* 3d ed., Part II), pp. 1–17, 131–37; *idem, Psyche's Task* (2d ed., London, 1913), pp. 6–19.

[4] William Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (2d ed., London, 1831), p. 101.

[5] James Cook and James King, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (London, 1784), I, 410.

[6] John Martin, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands . . . . from the Extensive Communications of Mr. William Mariner* (3d ed., Edinburgh, 1827), II, 186 ff.

[7] E. E. V. Collocott, "The Supernatural in Tonga," *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1921), XXIII, 421 f.

[8] J. B. Stair, *Old Samoa* (London, 1897), pp. 121 f., 127 f. Cf. George Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians* (London, 1910), p. 231.

[9] Ellis, *op. cit.* (2d ed.), III, 101 ff. According to another early account, any land touched by the feet of Tahitian rulers became their property (Captain James Wilson, *A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean* [London, 1799], p. 329). The contact of persons in a state of taboo with the ground is often held to involve a dissipation of their occult power. The ground acts as a good conductor of "spiritual electricity." See Sir J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (London, 1913), (*The Golden Bough,* 3d ed., Part VII), I, 1–18. Mr. Migeod cites instances of this belief (chiefly from Africa) in connection with boys at initiation into manhood, brides, initiates into secret societies, chiefs, dancers, and sacred inanimate objects. See F. W. H. Migeod, "Mystical and Ceremonial Avoidance of Contact with Inanimate Objects," *Folk-Lore,* XXXII (1921), 245–61.

[10] Martha W. Beckwith, "The Hawaiian Romance of Laieikawai," *Thirty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* p. 310.

[11] *Idem.,* "Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii," *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin,* No. 95, pp. 112, 136.

[12] David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* (Honolulu, 1903), p. 83. Cf. Jules Remy, *Ka Mooolelo Hawaii, Histoire de l'Archipel Havaiien* (Paris and Leipzig, 1862), pp. 159, 161.

[13] Otto von Kotzebue, *A Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Beering's Straits* (London, 1821), III, 247.

[14] W. E. Gudgeon, in *Journal of the Polynesian Society,* XIV (1905), 130; XV (1906), 38.

[15] When a chief was being tattooed—a bloody operation—the inhabitants of his village lived under a temporary taboo and might not feed themselves with their hands (H. L. Roth, "Maori Tatu and Moko," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXXI [1901], 44). The Naga of eastern Assam, who regard

tattooing as a sacred operation, taboo the house where it is being done, in order to keep out strangers. When women are tattooed, not even men or boys of their own family are allowed to remain in the house (W. H. Furness, *ibid.*, XXXII [1902], 455).

[16] In Fiji the chiefs took great pride in their hair and required it to be most carefully cut and arranged. Each chief maintained a number of barbers, who, being in a permanent state of taboo, might not touch food and had to be fed by attendants (J. E. Erskine, *Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific* [London, 1853], p. 254).

[17] Richard Taylor, *Te Ika A Maui* (2d ed., London, 1870), pp. 164 f. A Maori girl once borrowed a chief's robe as a sleeping garment. During the night the insects on it annoyed her so much that, according to the native practice, she caught and ate them. The next day her infant child became ill, the consequence, as she supposed, of her having eaten the sacred insects. The spirits were angry with her and punished her by afflicting the child. When it grew worse, she strangled it (G. F. Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand* [London, 1847], II, 143). On one occasion all the inhabitants of a village became taboo from eating the wild cabbage which had grown on a site formerly occupied by a chief's dwelling (Edward Tregear, *The Maori Race* [Wanganui, New Zealand], 1904, p. 197). The story is told of a chief of high rank who had swallowed a codfish bone. It stuck in his throat and threatened to suffocate him. None of the bystanders dared to offer any help, for a man who touched the chief's head would have forfeited his life. A missionary finally succeeded in extracting the bone. When the chief had sufficiently recovered to be able to speak, he gave orders to take from the missionary the instruments with which the operation had been performed, "as a payment for having drawn blood from him and for touching his head when he was sacred" (William Yate, *An Account of New Zealand* [2d ed., London, 1835], p. 104, note).

[18] Edward Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* (2d ed., London, 1856), pp. 115 f. According to another early account, to mention food in connection with anything "sacred" or *tapu*, such as the head or the hair of a chief, was "considered as an insult, and revenged as such" (G. F. Angas, *Polynesia*, London [1866], p. 149).

[19] W. E. Gudgeon, in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, XIV (1905), 65.

[20] Thomas Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians* (3d ed., London, 1870), p. 19. As this missionary authority points out, the influence of the chiefs was also "greatly increased by that peculiar institution found so generally among the Polynesian tribes—the *tabu*" (p. 20).

[21] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (London, 1900), pp. 23 f. In Malacca the regalia include a book of genealogy, a code of laws, a vest, and a few weapons; in Perak they are drums, pipes, flutes, a betel box, a sword, a scepter, and an umbrella. In Selangor the regalia consist of the royal instruments of music, together with a betel box, a tobacco box, a spittoon, an umbrella, and several swords and tufted lances. On state occasions these are carried in procession (pp. 24 ff.).

[22] H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (2d ed., London, 1927), I, 381 ff.

[23] John Roscoe, *The Bakitara or Banyoro* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 90.

[24] Georg Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa* (3d ed., London, 1878), II, 45.

[25] F. T. Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveller's Life in Western Africa* (London, 1861), II, 256.

[26] Adolf Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste* (Jena, 1874–1875), I, 262 f. An instance is recorded of a king's son who accidentally

saw his father drinking palm wine. He was executed on the spot (W. Winwood Reade, *Savage Africa* [London, 1863], p. 286).

[27] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (London, 1890), p. 162. Cf. Sir R. F. Burton, *A Mission to Gelele, King of Dahome* (London, 1864), I, 244 f.

[28] John Roscoe, *The Baganda* (London, 1911), p. 155.

[29] Valdez, *op. cit.*, II, 251 f.

[30] A. Cureau, *Les sociétés primitives de l'Afrique équatoriale* (Paris, 1912), p. 379.

[31] Bastian, *op. cit.*, I, 263 ff. An old writer pointed out that the heir to the Loango throne inherits also various abstinences and obligatory ceremonies and that these increase as he grows older until, when he ascends the throne, he is well-nigh "lost in the ocean" of them (O. Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique* [Amsterdam, 1686], p. 336).

[32] Béraud, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (5th series, 1866), XII, 377.

[33] C. K. Meek, *Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria* (London, 1931), I, 185 f. For the taboos observed by the divine chief among the Kam, another tribe of Northern Nigeria, see *ibid.*, II, 539 f.

[34] A. G. Leonard, *The Lower Niger and Its Tribes* (London, 1906), pp. 371 f.

[35] F. E. Williams, *Orokaiva Magic* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 9 f., 32 f.

[36] D. Jenness and A. Ballantyne, *The Northern D'Entrecasteaux* (Oxford, 1920), pp. 123 f.

[37] Duff Macdonald, *Oceania* (Melbourne and London, 1889), p. 181.

[38] George Turner, *Samoa* (London, 1884), p. 23.

[39] Tregear, *The Maori Race*, p. 200.

[40] S. Walleser, in *Anthropos*, VIII (1913), 627, 1061.

[41] T. C. Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur* (London, 1911), pp. 102, 141 f.

[42] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 98 ff.

[43] D. C. Mandelbaum, "Polyandry in Kota Society," *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1938), XL, 577.

[44] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi* (Oxford, 1906), pp. 49 f.

[45] M. Merker, *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1904), p. 21.

[46] M. J. Field, *Religion and Medicine of the Ga People* (Oxford, 1937), pp. 8, 119.

[47] F. W. Butt-Thompson, *West African Secret Societies* (London, 1929), pp. 74 ff.

[48] See Gunnar Landtman (*The Origin or Priesthood* [Ekenaes, Finland, 1905], pp. 156 ff.), who also gives instances of extraordinary sexual liberties accorded to priests and priestesses.

[49] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (London, 1890), p. 142; *idem, The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa* (London, 1887), p. 121.

[50] C. K. Meek, "A Religious Festival in Northern Nigeria," *Africa*, III (1930), 327 f.

[51] Thomas Falconer, *A Description of Patagonia* (Hereford, 1774), p. 117.

[52] F. S. Clavigero, *The History of Mexico* (2d ed., London, 1807), I, 276.

[53] Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (New York, 1903), II, 236.

[54] Ruth L. Bunzel, "Introduction to Zuñi Ceremonialism," *Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* pp. 504 f.

[55] Mrs. Elsie C. Parsons, *ibid.,* p. 286.

[56] G. B. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales,* New York, 1892, p. 268.

[57] A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), p. 687; cf. 689 f.

[58] Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians,* p. 281.

[59] Herman Melville, *Typee* (new ed., Boston, 1892), p. 204.

[60] See H. Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies* (2d ed., New York, 1932), pp. 160–90. See also Camilla H. Wedgwood, "The Nature and Functions of Secret Societies," *Oceania,* I (1930–1931), 129–45.

## Chapter VIII

# SACRED THINGS

Since sanctity is both contagious and infectious, places associated with a sacred person, or with his ghost, or with a spiritual being, or with some extraordinary and therefore mysterious occurrence may become *loca religiosa*, as the Romans called them, and be invested with taboos. Caves, grottoes, and clefts in the rocks; springs, rivers, and lakes; hills and mountain tops; burial grounds and sepulchers have been such sanctuaries. With these may be included all sacred precincts and temples where the symbols and images of spiritual beings are preserved and where magical or religious ceremonies are performed.

In Australia the site of the initiation rites is strictly tabooed to women and uninitiated boys. The prohibition may be extended to an initiate of a lower degree. Among the natives of South Australia a circumcised youth might not go where the additional rite of subincision had been performed. The sanctity of a place of initiation is further secured by the general belief that the magicians have scattered over the ground magical articles which would be fatal to a trespasser who trod on them.[1] The Yir-Yorunt of Cape York Peninsula possess at least twenty-five sacred grounds. Of these, ten are "little sacred grounds," and no taboos or special rites are associated with them. But the remaining fifteen are "big sacred grounds," tabooed to women and children and to all men not properly "introduced" to them. The stones on these sites are accounted dangerous in themselves. Some of the myths reciting the origin of the holy places are secret. The clans in whose territory they are found keep them up, enforce the taboos relating to them, and, with the help of all qualified tribesmen, "introduce" the uninitiated to them.[2]

Each local group of the Mountain Arapesh, a tribe of British New Guinea, has a supernatural guardian, a *marsalai*. Under the guise of a monstrous two-headed snake or lizard, it lives in quicksands, bogs, or deep water holes and on sharp declivities, places especially inhospitable to man, "where the hunter's foot is likely

to slip and the quarry disappear mysteriously." The spirits of the dead gather near the places inhabited by *marsalai* and aid them in protecting the land of the community from intrusion by strangers. A menstruating or pregnant woman who approaches such a place, or, in the case of a pregnant woman, eats food which comes from it, risks the vengeance of the *marsalai.* There is danger that the creature may enter her body under the form of a snake and copulate with her until she dies. Perhaps her child may be so injured that it will be born prematurely or a monster. A *marsalai* is also hostile to people who have recently had sexual relations.[3]

In Kiriwina, one of the Trobriand Islands, clumps of old primeval forest still remaining near the villages of the natives are considered sacred. "If a person entered into one without uttering the proper incantations he would be struck dead according to [the] *tabu* placed on it by their ancestors; only old men went there to hatch their plots in secret when they wished to kill anyone by sorcery or to make war."[4]

In New Britain the Dukduk secret society had a piece of land, called the *tareu,* in which the lodge of the society was placed. "No woman nor any uninitiated man or boy dared go near this sacred enclosure."[5]

In the Solomon Islands a place associated with a *tindalo,* or ghost of power, is sacred. The man who has become a *tindalo* may be buried there or his relics may be kept there. Should a tree growing in the enclosure fall across a path, no one would step over the tree; no one would pass by when the sun was so low as to cast his shadow into the enclosure, for the ghost would draw his shadow from him. In the Banks Islands and the New Hebrides the sacred places are associated, not with ghosts, but with spirits that never were embodied in men.[6]

The mausoleum of a Marquesan chief seems never to have been violated by a rash intruder. A roll of white *tapa,* swinging from a pole set up in the enclosure, warned passers-by of the "inscrutable taboo."[7] The Marquesans also had sacred groves where religious rites were held and where the priests harangued their devotees. Such a place "was defended from profanation by the strictest edicts of the all-prevailing 'taboo,' which condemned to instant death the sacrilegious female who should enter or touch its sacred precincts, or even so much as press with her feet the ground made holy by the shadows that it cast."[8] By the Christianized natives of the Tonga Islands the sanctity formerly possessed

by their temples has now been transferred to their church buildings. These are considered so sacred that rain water falling on them is not stored or used. A child is said to have died "through drinking water which had dripped from a church roof into an empty tin placed under the eaves."[9] Among the Maori "a slave or other person not sacred would not enter a 'wahi tapu,' or sacred place, without having first stripped off his clothes; for the clothes, having become sacred the instant they entered the precincts of the 'wahi tapu,' would ever after be useless to him in the ordinary business of his life."[10]

The spirits presiding over the clans of Yap Island are worshiped in sacred groves. No wood may be cut in them, for the spirit whose sanctity is thus profaned would punish the trespasser severely. One of the groves is so holy that, were it cut down, all Yap would be destroyed by a typhoon.[11]

The men's house (*uma-luli*) among the natives of Timor almost invariably stands in a cleared space surrounded by a thick fence. "Within this fence no twig or branch may be broken or cut, no blade of grass plucked, and no stone overturned under the fear of the vengeance of the *luli;* no tobacco is permitted to be taken within the sacred boundaries, and no horse or buffalo may stray within it."[12] Similar regulations protect other places which have been made taboo (*pomali*) against intrusion: in a sacred grove no tree may be felled; in a sacred stream no one may go fishing or bathing; a sacred tract of land may not be cultivated. The places thus reserved from secular use are so numerous that they oppose a real obstacle to the economic development of the country.[13]

Every Ba-ila community has a grove consecrated to a demigod. No one meddles with the trees and with the brushwood which springs up around them, so that in time an impenetrable thicket is formed. Only the "priest" ever enters it and he but once a year, when he has to cut his way in.[14] In Yabe (on the Loango coast) a certain deity's hut is so sacred that anyone entering it, except for religious purposes, becomes the slave of the officiating priest.[15] On the Slave Coast the temples of the chief gods are usually placed in groves. From the tops of the trees long streamers flutter in the wind and testify to the sanctity of the locality.[16] Europeans are not allowed to enter a temple in Togoland; if a clothed foreigner did so, all the people would die overnight.[17]

In Nigeria nearly every Ibo town has a sacred tree in which the souls of the departed are supposed to dwell while awaiting

reincarnation. "So long as the least fragment of the tree lasts, the faithful shades cling to its ancient trunk or branches or even retire into the furthermost rootlets." When such a tree falls at last and decays, the family to which it belonged marks the spot where it formerly stood. No farm may be made on that spot. Were the ground cultivated, the ghosts would be unable to break through the earth to return to the light of day; they would be imprisoned there forever.[18]

Primitive peoples rely, as a rule, upon the principle of retaliation—"life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth"—when a homicide has been committed or a bodily injury inflicted by one person upon another. The satisfaction of vengeful feelings often results in blood-feuds between two groups, and their petty warfare may rage for years, unless sooner ended by payment of a blood-fine. Moreover, there is the failure to distinguish between an intentional and an unintentional wrong, the failure, in short, to recognize any extenuating circumstances. Justice thus becomes identified with revenge. The most important modifier of the rule of violence among savage and barbarous peoples has been the recognition of the right of sanctuary, giving time for angry passions to cool, permitting an investigation of the charges against an alleged offender, and making it possible to introduce the grand distinction between design and accident. Recognition of the right seems to find a fundamental explanation in the fear of committing any act which would disturb the peace of a sanctuary; to shed the blood of a fugitive in it would be to encroach upon its holiness.[19]

Among the Arunta of Central Australia the spot where sacred objects (*churinga*) are stored serves as a rudimentary asylum. Plants growing there are never touched; animals running there are never caught or killed; and a man who fled there would not be interfered with so long as he remained in its immediate neighborhood.[20] Among the Motu and Koita tribes near Port Moresby, British New Guinea, the men's house (*dubu*) offers safety to a person fleeing from an enemy. "Anyone smiting another inside the *dubu* would have his arms and legs shrivelled up, and he could do nothing but wish to die."[21] Such is the sacredness of the Elema men's house (*eravo*) that any impropriety there would be visited with supernatural punishment. It is "no place for quarrelling; not even for heavy tread on the floor-planks; and least of all for horseplay."[22] The men's house in San Cristoval, one of the Solomon Islands, serves as a sanctuary; bloodshed rarely occurs in it.[23]

In Samoa the tombs of chiefs, being considered sacred and

inviolable, were places of refuge.[24] In the Tonga Islands it was thought to be highly sacrilegious to quarrel or fight within any place which had been dedicated to a god or made sacred by the burial there of a great chief. A like taboo was frequently placed on a canoe, when a long voyage had to be made.[25] There were several "cities of refuge" on the island of Hawaii: manslayers, thieves, and those who had broken taboos were safe if they reached the sanctuary, the gates of which were always open. After a short stay there they might return home unharmed, for the protection of Keave, the tutelary deity of the sanctuary, was supposed still to abide with them.[26] The Maori also had sanctuaries or "cities of refuge."[27]

The Ovambo of southwest Africa abandon the village of a great chief after his death, but members of a certain family remain there to prevent it from falling into utter decay. A condemned criminal who escapes to such a deserted village is safe, at least for a time; not even the chief himself would venture to pursue a fugitive into the sacred place.[28] Among the Barotse and related tribes of the Zambesi the miscreant who throws himself upon the king's drums—huge wooden cylinders with skins stretched across their top ends—claims sanctuary and escapes punishment.[29] Trees and rivers are Nandi sanctuaries, and a man who takes refuge in them may not be killed. He exchanges his garment with his enemy, thus becoming a prisoner or slave, and remains as such until ransomed. To prevent his escape, the captor shaves the prisoner's hair and keeps it as a means of magical control over him.[30] In the Calabar district of West Africa there is a sanctuary where people accused of practicing witchcraft are safe if they reach it. "But an attempt at flight is a confession of guilt; no one is quite certain the accusation will fall on him, or her, and hopes for the best until it is generally too late. Moreover, flying anywhere, beyond a day's march, is difficult work in West Africa."[31]

Among the Ibani of Nigeria there are certain places of refuge, invariably the *ju-ju* houses of specific deities, which are set apart for the use of all those who have offended against the laws of their own country or have fled from it of their own free will. Thus Ekiba, the war god, has his temple containing a mud altar with his image and, in addition, a pair of elephant's tusks. "And just as with the Jews, so with these natives, the escaped criminal or refugee has but to lay hold of them, or in other cases, where there are no horns, merely on the altars, and his person, defiled though it is considered to be, at once becomes inviolate." While,

however, the culprits or runaways are still under the protection of the sanctuary, and, until their case has been investigated and decided by the council of elders, "they are regarded by the people with horror and loathing, as objects which are impure and full of evil. So much so, in fact, that a chance or casual meeting with one of them, on the part of some stray passer-by, ends in the ignominious flight of the latter. For while contact is not even to be thought of as being a downright misfortune, the forerunner of some hideous calamity, the mere fact of setting eyes on them is in itself sufficiently unfortunate." Not until they have undergone a ceremony of purification are they allowed to enter a house or approach any members of the community except the priests.[32]

An Ibo man (or woman) who flees to a sanctuary and claims its protection becomes a slave of the deity, until redeemed by the exchange of a cow or of some other valuable possession. If, however, such a fugitive demands safety for life, no redemption is possible. All dedicated persons are held sacred and inviolate, and anyone injuring them gets into serious trouble.[33] Similarly, among the Ga people of the Gold Coast fugitives who take sanctuary are regarded as the slaves of the fetish priest and of the king of the town. The priest employs them to cultivate his gardens and engage in menial tasks; the king uses them as messengers and drummers, and in other capacities. They need not always live in the immediate neighborhood of the fetish house.[34]

In the rural districts of Morocco the shrines of saints serve as asylums.[35] Among the Rwala Bedouin of northern Arabia the camps of certain tribes are universally recognized as places of refuge for murderers. They may pitch their tents in the tribal territory and pasture there their herds. If the blood price is paid, the murderers may then return unharmed to their own people.[36]

The Apache Indians extended the right of sanctuary to fugitives who took refuge in the medicine lodge or in the council lodge.[37] The Cherokee, Creeks, and probably other Indian tribes of the southeastern United States had places of refuge where a murderer was safe as long as he remained in one of them. Unless the murder was compounded, however, the friends of the slain man would seldom allow him to reach home alive. Echota, the old Cherokee capital, near the mouth of the Little Tennessee River, was the Cherokee asylum, commonly designated as the "white town" or the "peace town." The Creek asylum was the town of Coosa, on the Coosa River in Alabama. Though almost deserted when first visited by white men in the eighteenth cen-

tury, it was still a place of refuge for those who had taken life without design.[38]

Among the Osage, the houses of the two hereditary chiefs were used as sanctuaries, not only by members of the tribe, but also by those of other tribes, even enemies, who sought refuge in them.[39] Among the Carrier Indians, a branch of the Tinne, a man who has killed another finds the chief's tent a refuge as long as he is allowed to remain there. If he quits it, the chief is powerless to afford him further protection unless he wears one of the chief's garments. He is then secure from molestation, "for no person will attack him while clothed with this safeguard, sooner than he would attack the chief himself."[40]

In former days there was an Indian sanctuary in Paradise Valley far up on the slopes of Mount Rainier. "On gaining this mountain haven the pursued was safe from his pursuer, the slayer might not be touched by his victim's kindred. When he crossed its border, the warrior laid down his arms. Criminals and cowards, too, were often sent here by the chiefs to do penance."[41]

Most primitive peoples possess cultic objects so sacred that they must be approached with due caution and treated with becoming reverence. Such are the bull-roarers so often used in tribal initiation rites and those of secret societies, masks, musical instruments, fetishes, relics, altars, and images of the gods. Stringent taboos protect the *sacra* from being seen or touched by uninitiated or unclean persons; conversely, their revelation to those entitled to enter within the holy of holies often forms the culminating and most solemn feature of a religious or magico-religious ceremony.

In Australia, just as women and children might not intrude upon the sacred mysteries of the men, so they might never be shown the bull-roarer. Its peculiar humming or whirring sound, when rapidly swung, is supposed by them to be the voice of the spirit or god who founded and still supervises the initiation rites. Thus in the Urabunna tribe of Central Australia a boy at initiation is told that on no account may he allow a woman or a child to see the sacred stick, "or else he and his mother and sisters will tumble down as dead as stones."[42]

The Arunta sacred objects (*churinga*) include, besides wooden bull-roarers, bits of polished stone in a great variety of forms. Many of the *churinga* are associated with the mythical ancestors of the tribe, who wandered over the tribal territory and finally went down into the earth at the places where their *churinga* are

now deposited for safekeeping. Each one of these objects is supposed to be endowed with the attributes of its spirit owner and to impart to a man carrying it on his person courage and accuracy of aim as a fighter. Young men not yet initiated may not touch or even see the *churinga*.[43] The Nyul-Nyul of Dampier Land in Western Australia had a meeting ground which only initiated men might visit. Here stood a tree in which the *churinga* were kept, wrapped in a bundle and covered with an old sailcloth. Not even the keepers of this precious store visited the place without first consulting the tribal council, for each man owned at least one of the sacred objects. These rudely scored sticks, preserved with so much secrecy and care, symbolized the ancient spiritual life of the aborigines—"all that they possessed of myth and legend, all their social inheritance."[44]

By the Koko, a Papuan tribe, extreme care is taken to prevent the bull-roarers from being broken while in use. Should a bull-roarer break and a chip strike anyone, that person, when next he goes hunting or fighting, will be wounded by a boar's tusk or by an enemy's spear, as the case may be, and in the very place where the chip struck him.[45] To the Keraki, who live in southwestern New Guinea, a bull-roarer is far more than a mere slat of wood. Even to the man who handles it with skill gained from long practice, it is fraught with some hidden and dangerous power, which may be transmitted through him to his wife. Before and after using it he must abstain from sexual relations with her. She would become ill as the result of such intercourse while the influence of the bull-roarer still affected her husband.[46]

The Elema people of the Papuan Gulf make use of certain masks (*hevehe*), representing spirits, in the spectacular initiation ceremonies. When the masks are taken into the men's house, that building acquires additional sanctity; it has become mystically dangerous, a "hot house." Previously, all males had access to it, but now it may be entered only by men who know that the masks are really things made by human hands. This profound secret is revealed to boys at a special ceremony of initiation. Yet the boys, though qualified to frequent the men's house, do not do so. "They are afraid of the place. Youth is very nervous of the supernatural." The elders, moreover, would not tolerate them in the men's house. There are times when it is taboo to all except old men. "It would seem that increasing age confers some immunity against the supernatural, as against measles." Elema women are told "and affect to believe" that the masks are daughters of the sea-monsters

and that they have been brought up from the deep for a sojourn in the men's house.[47]

The Papuans of the Purari Delta apply the term *imunu* to many religious and ceremonial objects, such as bull-roarers and masks. Hunting charms, old relics, grotesque carvings, freaks of nature, are also said to be *imunu*. "Such objects are queer or mysterious or secret; they are holy in the sense that they are unapproachable or untouchable; they have some kind of potency for good or evil; they are treasured with the utmost care; age seems to add to the *mana* of them . . . . Anything which a native dreads for the harm it may do him, and fears because of its strangeness, and cajoles for its favours, and fondly treasures for its old associations, he will tell you is *imunu*."[48]

In New Britain, images of certain animals, made of stone or wood and roughly carved or painted, are kept in the lodge of the Ingiet secret society. Many of them have a human form, and all of them are looked upon with dread as being the abode of "destructive spirits."[49] Similarly in Florida, one of the Solomons, images of birds and fish, crocodiles and sharks, the sun, the moon, and men, are preserved in the sanctuary of the Matambala secret society.[50]

In Malekula, one of the New Hebrides, the tall tapering hats or masks worn by members of a secret society possess extreme sanctity. The methods of making and decorating them are secrets revealed only to initiates. It is a terrible accident for a mask to fall to the ground. In former days the luckless man who had such an accident while dancing was put to death. A man who stepped across part of a mask suffered the same fate. A dog, pig, or other animal which touches one is killed.[51] The ivory teeth of the sperm whale are the objects most revered by some of the Fijian tribes. A subtle aura seems to emanate from them, "breathing of mystery and religion." Even their name (*tambua*) derived from the Melanesian *tambu* (*tabu*), indicates that they are sacred objects. Those most sacred are kept in special baskets and are seldom seen except by the few who know of their existence. No worship is paid to them, but they serve as venerated mascots and embody the "luck" of the tribe.[52]

In New Zealand, the term *atua* was used in a wide sense. It included all supernatural beings, or manifestations of such beings, from the majestic Supreme Deity to low-class malignant spirits. Even inanimate objects were viewed as *atua*. Anything uncanny or strange, such as certain rocks and trees, would be so regarded.

Any impious interference with such objects always brought punishment to the offender.[53]

The Samoans paid reverence to sacred stones. In one island the shrine of the god Turia was a very smooth stone, which was kept in a sacred grove. The priest carefully weeded the ground about it and covered it with branches, so that the god might keep warm. "No one dared to touch this stone, lest a poisonous and deadly influence of some kind should at once radiate from it to the transgressor."[54]

The peoples of the Netherlands Indies say that, while plants and animals die, mortality does not pertain to stones. Hence these ought to be treated most respectfully. When in Dutch New Guinea some rocks had to be removed for the building of a road, the natives were convinced that this impious deed would be followed by an outbreak of pestilence among their pigs.[55]

The Karen of Burma, especially the wilder tribes, hold some stones in great reverence as possessing superhuman powers. They are generally private property, though in some villages there are stones "so sacred and powerful that none but certain of the wisest elders dare look on them." Such objects are generally pieces of rock-crystal or curiously stratified rock. "Anything that strikes the poor ignorant Karen as uncommon is regarded as necessarily possessing occult powers."[56] Among the Angami Naga stones of peculiar shape or appearance or of large size "readily become objects of awe." In one Angami village there is a stone which lies, white and shining, in the bed of a stream. To raise it or roll it to the bank would result in a fierce storm of wind or hail. The Sema Naga venerate any queerly shaped stone, but they most prize a water-worn black stone approximately spherical in shape and with a thin white stratum dividing it into two parts. Such an object gives success in war to the village fortunate to possess it. To remove it might injure the crops.[57] The Ao Naga, who worship sacred boulders, do not disturb them; to do so would be very likely to bring on a bad storm.[58]

Among the Ainu the cult of the *inau* plays a prominent part. These objects are of varied shapes, the most common type being a small stick of yellow wood whittled at the top into a mass of curled shavings. The *inau* are not gods or offerings, but living mediators between man and the gods. Without the *inau,* think the Ainu, "not a prayer would be heard, not a want would be satisfied, and life itself would be impossible."[59]

Certain bells, namely those which seem never to have had

tongues, are the most sacred of the Toda sacred objects. Nearly all receive offerings of milk, curds, or buttermilk during the dairy ceremonial. There is much reason to believe that their present sanctity has come about gradually, by a process of transference from the sanctity of the bell-cows or buffaloes to the bells which they carried.[60] Ceremonial arrows are important in the religious rites of the Vedda. The "more sophisticated" natives, who believe in the periodical uncleanness of women (a belief borrowed from the Singhalese), are careful to avoid contamination of these sacred objects. This is generally accomplished by keeping them in some remote spot such as a cave or in the roof thatch.[61]

The Wanika of Kenya possess a great drum made out of the hollowed section of a tree trunk. This drum is so sacred in character that when it is brought out all the uninitiated must hide, for should they see it they would surely die.[62] One of the Baganda clans had the care of a drum which was brought to court and beaten when the king wished to announce to his people the ending of a period of mourning. "The drum was sacrosanct; for example, if a slave disliked his master, and escaped to the drum-shrine, he became the servant of the drum, and could not be removed. So, too, if any person had been condemned to death and was able to escape to the shrine, he might remain there in safety, he was the slave of the drum. Should any cow, goat, or sheep stray there, it became the property of the drum, and could not be taken away or killed; it might roam about as it liked, in the future it was a sacred animal."[63]

The Yoruba of the Slave Coast express the idea of "supernatural and supersensuous power" by the term *ogan*. Wooden masks worn in the rites of the Oro secret society, the Oro stick, or bullroarer, and the magician's staff all possess *ogan*.[64]

The sacred trumpets, used by the Uaupés of Brazil to produce the *jurupari* (forest-spirit) music, are never shown to women; when their music is heard the women must retire to the woods. Death would be the penalty for even an accidental sight of these objects, "and it is said that fathers have been the executioners of their own daughters, and husbands of their wives, when such has been the case."[65] The Yahuna, another Brazilian tribe, say that if women and small children saw the sacred flutes, the former would die at once and the latter would eat earth, become sick, and then die.[66]

The people of San Miguel Acatán, a village of northwestern Guatemala, have long been nominal Christians, but their religious

beliefs and practices represent a fusion of elements drawn from ancient Mayan and Catholic sources. In the house of the chief priest reposes an old wooden cask, embodying such powerful supernatural forces as to be the most sacred object of the villagers. Prayers are offered to it; lighted candles illuminate it; and clouds of incense vapor continually bathe its sides. In the presence of the cask hats are always doffed, whether in the house or during those solemn processions when it is transferred from the home of the departing chief to that of his successor. No sorcery can harm the cask; indeed, by virtue of its protection the chief priest and his assistants are immune to black magic. Prayers for rain and other rites are performed before it. No one but the chief priest has access to the interior of this mysterious object, and he dares not reveal the contents. Gossip declares, however, that it holds two saints' images, a gold crown, some prayer books, and the land titles of the village.[67]

Among the Zuñi of New Mexico all sacred objects are taboo to people who do not "belong" to them. No one would dare to touch certain fetishes except the head of the priesthood which has them in charge, and no one but he and his female counterpart would enter the room where these are kept. The same is true, also, of the masks and the altars of the secret societies. Prayer sticks and ceremonial garments are handled with great respect, and no more than necessary. Recently a youth was found guilty of selling a mask. He managed to escape and so avoided a flogging by masked priests. They then whipped all the men in the kivas (assembly places) "for purification."[68]

The Cherokee, the Creeks, and some of the Plains Indians had sacred objects of tribal veneration; for example, the "flat pipe" of the Arapaho, and the great shell of the Omaha. Such an object formed a true palladium, upon whose continued safe possession the prosperity of the tribe depended. It was guarded by a priest and was seldom or never shown except on certain great occasions. Like the Hebrew Ark of the Covenant it was sometimes carried into battle to insure victory.[69] According to a common belief, the presence of so powerful an object would be enervating or positively dangerous to people in its vicinity unless they were fortified by a ceremonial tonic. "For this reason every great 'medicine' is usually kept apart in a hut or *tipi* built for the purpose, very much as we are accustomed to store explosives at some distance from the dwelling or business house."[70]

The sacred pole of the Omaha had to be greased every year

when the people were about to return home from the summer hunt. Were this ceremony neglected, a deep snow would fall when they started out on the next hunt.[71] The Omaha sacred pipes, or pipes of peace, were not shown to common people. They were feared by all except persons about to be made chiefs. If a pipe fell to the ground at the installation of a head chief, the ceremony could not be continued.[72] The sacred hat of the Cheyenne, made of a buffalo-cow's head, was kept in a special lodge under the guardianship of a man whose office was hereditary. "In old times a person was not permitted to stand up in the hat lodge; he who entered must walk to his place and sit down without delay. No one must speak in a loud voice. Low tones must always be used. A child brought into this lodge for the first time must be prayed over and warned to speak in a low voice. Some proper person must place his hands on the bundle containing the hat and then rub them down over both sides of the child's body. If by a mischance anyone should throw against the lodge a little stick or stone, he must be taken into the lodge and prayed over, and hands that had been placed on the earth should be passed over his body on both sides. An enemy who entered this lodge might not be harmed. He was safe—as safe as in his own home. In this lodge certain things were forbidden. No moisture must fall on the floor. No one might throw water on the floor nor spit on it, nor blow his nose with his finger there. Any of these things would cause a heavy rain-storm."[73]

The notion of sacredness, involving the imposition of protective taboos, is sometimes extended to non-cultic objects such as talismans and amulets. Among the Kenyah of Borneo each household has a bundle of charms hanging over the principal hearth beside the human heads and constituting the most precious possession of the household. No one, not even the chief, willingly touches or handles the bundle. When transferring it to a new house, some old man is specially told off for the duty, since he who touches it is in danger of death. "Its function seems to be to bring luck or prosperity of all kinds to the house; without it nothing would prosper, especially in warfare."[74]

The Ga people of the Gold Coast make much use of the "medicines" prepared and distributed by the medicine men. Each one is the abode, at least intermittently, of a spiritual being. In fact, the object itself is often spoken of loosely as a spiritual being and its owner as its father or controller. It is "something that can act but not be seen." Usually it has no name. Such a medicine

will act for anyone provided the owner has observed the proper ceremonies in becoming its possessor and also provided that he is careful about not violating any taboos attached to its use. There is an automatic quality about such a spirit or the object which it occupies—"press the right button and the machine works for you whoever you are." Its activities are specialized and limited. If its job is to cure lockjaw, there is no use in asking it to beget children. Various forms of uncleanness can spoil it. For instance, no medicine, good or bad, can retain its power if taken to a latrine. A man who has a protective medicine to make him proof against murder can be murdered in such a place. For that reason medicine men, chiefs, and other people likely to have enemies, who usually have protective medicines, carefully avoid public latrines. The most dangerous taboos for an ordinary person to break are those attached to his medicines, whether a healing one owned by a physician, a hunting one to bring success in the chase, or a trading one to safeguard against thieves. Usually the more valuable the services performed by a medicine the more exacting are the conditions attached to it. The breaking of the taboos not only spoils its efficacy but usually results in the illness and death of the owner. Not only are the taboos exacting, but they also involve a stern ethical code. "The holder of the medicine must refrain from adultery, stealing, trying to harm others, abusing others, or quarrelling. If others try to pick a quarrel he must turn the other cheek, but if unjustly attacked he may fight heartily, knowing that his medicine will fight with him. Medicines of this kind, with their great rewards and great demands, are naturally avoided by people who have not courage and character."[75]

Sacredness is frequently attributed to certain animals. These, when wild, are sometimes kept in captivity, and are protected by taboos. In the Solomon Islands the sacred animals include snakes, alligators, and sharks. Snakes which haunt a sacred place partake of its sanctity. Sharks are often thought to be the abode of ghosts, because a man sometimes announces that after dying he will appear in this fishy form. Any shark remarkable for size or color, which is observed to haunt a certain shore or rock, is believed to contain the ghost of such a man, and his name is given to it. Certain men, of whom it is known that after death they will be in sharks, are allowed to eat the sacred food reserved for these creatures. In both Saa and Ulawa, if a sacred shark had tried to seize a man and he had escaped, the people were so fearful of the shark's anger that they threw the unlucky fellow back into the

sea to be either devoured or drowned.[76] The natives of the Pelew Islands have sacred animals corresponding to the totems of the clans. One of the animals, the puffin, is often fed and tamed; it is never harmed.[77] In Formosa each tribe or village has a sacred animal, under whose protection the inhabitants believe themselves to be. This animal, for instance a serpent or a leopard, is kept in a cage and provided with food.[78]

On the Slave Coast of West Africa any person accidentally touched by the sacred python is thereby consecrated to the god and is required to serve it for the remainder of his days. At Whydah the people may not look upon this holy serpent, when it is led forth in procession, because, if they did so, "their bodies would at once become the prey of loathsome maggots."[79] The python is sacred in most parts of the Ibo country; it is never molested. The tortoise enjoys the same sanctity.[80]

Sanctity, being transmissible, can affect with its dangerous qualities whatever is done at a particular time; hence ordinary pursuits will be suspended during a period devoted to religious observances. Moreover, the success of the ceremonies would be jeopardized by the contact of what is sacred with what is certainly secular and possibly is polluting. When holy days come to be consecrated to divinities or to semi-divine beings, the notion easily arises that a god is pleased and flattered by the enforced idleness of his devotees. Abstinence from work thus takes its place among other rites as a recognized means of expressing reverence for the god; while, conversely, to labor on a holy day implies a disrespectful attitude toward him. These are sentiments reasonably certain of continued development, as priestly influence becomes predominant in any community. "The Lord thy God is a jealous God."[81]

The old Hawaiians celebrated a New Year's festival in honor of the god Lono. On the twenty-third of Welehu, which nearly corresponded to November, Lono's image was decorated and, when night came on, all the people went to bathe in the sea. This rite of purification having been accomplished, men and women donned new clothing in preparation for the festival to begin at sunrise on the morrow. During its continuance no fishing, no bathing, no pounding of bark cloth, and no beating of drums or blowing of conch shells was permitted. Land and sky and sea were taboo to Lono, and only feasting and games were allowed. The high priest was blindfolded and remained in seclusion. On the fifth day the bandage was removed from his eyes, and canoes

were allowed to put to sea. On the sixth day the taboo season began again and continued for about twenty days longer. The ceremonies at length drew to a close, the ornaments of Lono's image were packed up and deposited in the temple for another year, and all restrictions on fishing and farming were removed.[82]

The natives of Samoa possessed a complex pantheon of household and village gods, the recipients of prayer and sacrifice and, in the case of the village gods, provided with temples, served by priests, and honored with annual festivals. The Samoans had also war gods, who, like the other deities, were supposed to be incarnate in animals or embodied in inanimate objects. One of these militant divinities was the cuttlefish (*fe'e*). In one place Fe'e was a general village god whose province was not confined to war. "The month of May was sacred to his worship. No traveller was then allowed to pass through the village by the public road; nor was any canoe allowed in the lagoon off that part of the settlement. There was great feasting, too, on these occasions, and also games, club exercise, spear-throwing, wrestling, etc. . . . . In another district three months were sacred to the worship of Fe'e. During that time anyone passing along the road, or in the lagoon, would be beaten, if not killed, for insulting the god. For the first month torches and all other lights were forbidden, as the god was about and did not wish to be seen. White turbans were also forbidden during the festivities, and confined to war. At this time, also, all unsightly projecting burdens—such as a log of firewood on the shoulder—were forbidden, lest it should be considered by the god as a mockery of his *tentacula*."[83] Another village god, who rejoiced in the name of Titi Usi, or Glittering Leaf Girdle, received worship at the new moon. "At that time all work was suspended for a day or two. The cocoanut-leaf blinds were kept down, and the people sat still in their houses. Anyone walking in front of the house risked a beating. After prayer and feasting a man went about and blew a shell-trumpet as a sign to all that the ceremonies were over, and that the usual routine of village and family life might be resumed."[84]

When the god Ratu-mai-Mbulu (Lord from Hades) visited the Fiji Islands in December, the inhabitants lived very quietly for an entire month. During this time it was taboo to beat the drum, to sound the conch shell, to dance, to plant, to fight, or to sing at sea, "lest Ratu-mai-Mbulu be disturbed at his work of pouring sap into the fruit-trees and of pushing the young yam shoots through the soil."[85] A similar festival, if such it may be

called, was formerly observed by the Mboumbutho, a purely Melanesian tribe of Fiji. It lasted for ten days, and during this time the plantations might not be visited. From dawn to noon on the first day of the festival, no one was allowed to appear in public. The people shut the doors of their dwellings and remained recumbent on their mats. An absolute silence was maintained "for fear of disturbing the gods." The second day was also holy. The people kept within their villages and refrained from bathing. Those who bathed went mad; hence arose the expression, "Why are you such a fool; perhaps you bathed during the *ruku*?" It was believed, also, that children born at this time would grow up stupid and die prematurely.[86]

The religious ceremonies of the Dravidian-speaking peoples of India are marked by taboos, especially those imposing a cessation of labor. The Kota, an aboriginal tribe of Nilgiri Hills, hold an annual festival, called *kambata* or *kamata,* in honor of Kamataraya. It lasts about a fortnight. On the second day of the ceremony no work may be done except digging clay and making pots.[87] The Uraon keep three great feasts during the year. The first, known as *sarhul,* occurs in May. Its object is said to be the mystical marriage of the sun-god with the earth-goddess, in order that they may become fruitful and consequently bestow good crops. At the same time, the Uraon take care to propitiate all the village spirits, lest the latter frustrate the efforts of Sun and Earth to increase and multiply. On the eve of the appointed day no one is allowed to plow his fields.[88] A festival, called *ucharal,* is celebrated on the Malabar coast at the end of January, when Mother Earth has her annual menstruation. For three days at this time the people stop all work, except hunting: the house may not be cleaned; the daily smearing of the floor with cow-dung is discontinued; and even gardens may not be watered.[89]

Many African peoples have market weeks, beginning (or ending) with a market day. On the Lower Congo this sometimes bears an unfavorable character, and a distinct tendency exists to attach various restrictions to it. In the Guinea region the market day often, though not always, coincides with the general day of rest observed by an entire community. As such it may be dedicated to a god.[90]

The consecration of a particular day to a divinity is a common feature of polytheistic cults. Had we definite information concerning the origin and development of the great deities of the higher religions, it would probably appear that in most instances

their association with particular days is a secondary rather than a primary phenomenon. In other words, a period dedicated to a god, observed by his worshipers with abstinence from labor, and sometimes marked by complete quiescence may once have been a season of taboo devoid of any connection with a divinity. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that in some of the lower religions tabooed days have actually developed into holy days. Thus the four taboo periods in the Hawaiian lunar month, which were dedicated to the great gods of the native pantheon, must be considered to have had no original connection with any divinity, for among the Dayak of Borneo and other primitive peoples there are numerous taboos attaching to the phases of the moon and imposing communal abstinence. The Bontoc Igorot, a non-Christian people of northern Luzon, keep a sacred rest day, called *tengao,* which occurs, on an average, about every ten days during the year. It is dedicated to Lumawig, the only god throughout the Bontoc cultural area. These Igorot observe, however, various other festivals which are intended to propitiate, not Lumawig, but evil-minded spirits and are also marked by a compulsory cessation of labor.[91] The association of the *tengao* with Lumawig can scarcely be earlier than the emergence of this supreme being from the crowd of spirits, good and bad, in whose existence the Igorot so firmly believe. On the Slave Coast of West Africa an annual All Souls' festival is observed as a period of abstinence. It honors Egungun, a god who rose from the dead and after whom a powerful secret society has been named. A similar ceremony, imposing a cessation of labor for eight days, is found among the Gold Coast tribes, who, however, have not dedicated it to any divinity.[92]

Many peoples of the lower culture ascribe a peculiar sacredness to certain numbers, which, like names, are regarded as virtual entities and are endowed with occult power. It is seldom possible to account satisfactorily for the sacrosanct character of a given number; the original reasons for giving to it a special significance are usually veiled in that obscurity which hides the origin of most primitive beliefs.[93]

Among sacred numbers seven, in particular, has enjoyed a marked importance. With a symbolic and mystic significance, it occurs among the Babylonians, Greeks, and Hindus at the very dawn of their history, and it still plays a prominent role in the popular lore of India, China, and southeastern Asia. Cultural influences, emanating from the Asiatic mainland, may have introduced the cult of seven into Borneo and the Melanesian Islands.

Among the Dusun of British North Borneo that number bears a distinctly evil character. They consider twelve days of the month, beginning with the seventh and including also the fourteenth and twenty-first, as bad for agricultural labor. At such times they refrain from going to their rice fields, under penalty of failure of the crop, but other work than that on the farms may sometimes be performed.[94] When the first missionaries visited the New Hebrides and introduced the European week, with Sunday as a day of rest, the natives were much astonished to learn that the foreigners knew about their *bugi kai bituki*, or evil day. These Melanesians had never recognized any time divisions shorter than the lunar month, but it had long been a custom among them to mark the seventh day by certain taboos. The natives would not engage in warfare on the seventh day after the declaration of hostilities, nor would they attempt to execute vengeance on the seventh day after the receipt of an insult.[95] In certain parts of Fiji some degree of unluckiness attaches to the seventh day.[96] The Akikuyu of East Africa also ascribe a very special ill luck to the seventh day. A herdsman will not herd his flocks for more than six days, and on the seventh day he must be relieved by another man. One who has been away on a journey for six days will not return to his village on the seventh day; rather than do so he will go and sleep at the house of a neighbor a short distance away. Were this rule broken, he would certainly be struck down by some serious illness, and a medicine man would have to be called in to remove it. "This belief," we are told, "makes it easy for the missionaries to explain to the Akikuyu the meaning of the Christian observance of the Sabbath."[97]

Sacred rites must be carried out with the greatest exactitude, the most becoming reverence, and woe betide their practitioner who fails in these respects. In the Qat, the great dancing society of the Banks Islands, neophytes learned a very difficult dance, requiring several months of practice before a performance could be given. An error in the dance was considered so serious that the old men, "past their dancing days," would shoot their arrows into the group of performers, and if anyone was hit the blame was laid on the faulty dancer.[98] When the Areoi, a secret society widespread throughout the Polynesian area, gave a dramatic representation, an error of a single word or verse in the recitation would suspend the performance. Hence arose the necessity of a most rigorous apprenticeship before candidates were admitted to the society.[99]

Among the Sema Naga of Assam there is a personage called the *amthao* ("First Reaper"), whose business it is to start the cutting of each crop. The office may be held by either a man or a woman. It is unpopular, however, for the *amthao* is likely to die if he or she makes any mistake in the conduct of a ceremony, in particular one performed when the harvest promises to be exceptionally good.[100] In Ashanti "the custodians of the tribal lore, each of whom has his or her understudy, have to be absolutely 'word perfect.' Their memory is constantly exercised in the numerous rites they attend, at which they have to repeat correctly long lists of names and events in their proper order." Our authority, who attended a ceremony at which two old women recited the titles of the great ancestral spirits as far back as any record existed, was informed that in the old days two executioners would have been stationed behind the women and that if they made a mistake they were "taken away."[101]

Among the Zuñi of New Mexico whipping is a purificatory rite performed after any ceremonial misadventure, for instance, a fall by one of the sacred personators. Not only will the culprit himself be whipped, but other people as well, lest some disaster overtake the community.[102] In the dances performed by secret societies among the Kwakiutl of British Columbia no greater misfortune could occur than an error in the recitation or an unlucky slip in the dance. Such a mischance meant that the ill will of the spirits had been directed against the members concerned.[103]

Ritual formulas, whether employed as spells or prayers, are sacred. Occult power resides in them; hence they must be properly pronounced and only by magicians or priests qualified to use them. It may be assumed with some confidence that the magical and liturgical texts now collected in sacred books, the Bibles of mankind, were often preserved by memory and transmitted orally long before their fixation by writing. If this were not so, we should be at a loss to explain their ancient and sometimes very incomprehensible wording.

The myths and traditions of a primitive community possess a sacred character; they must not be spoken of lightly, or be told on ordinary occasions, or be represented in any unbecoming way.[104] A taboo, found in many parts of the world, forbids their recitation in the daytime. In Dobu, an island in the D'Entrecasteaux group, legends might be told only by night; otherwise both narrators and listeners would become fixed to one another and to the place where they were sitting (not standing, for that was also

taboo.)[105] The Sulka of New Britain believe that an evil-minded spirit, named Kot, objects to their recital of the tribal legends in the daytime. These must be told only after nightfall; otherwise Kot will send a thunderstorm and the people will be struck by lightning.[106] The natives of the Solomon Islands think that an impious person who dared to recite a myth during the daytime would become bald.[107] The Bechuana of South Africa say that were they to tell their stories before sunset the clouds would descend from the sky upon their heads.[108] The Baluba of the Belgian Congo observe the same restriction, though we are not informed as to the penalty for its violation.[109]

The Berbers of North Africa are persuaded that tale-telling by day sometimes has disastrous consequences for the narrator, but more often for children and other members of the family. In one group the narrator's uncle will acquire horns on his head; in another group the narrator will become ill and his children will be killed by the horns of savage animals; and in another group a female narrator will bear tiny children destined to be always little and weak or children that are monsters. Most commonly it is believed that the children of a male or female narrator will get scurvy.[110]

Taboos of tale-telling, not only during the daytime but also in summer, are numerous among the North American Indians. In many cases the taboos are supported by the belief that their nonobservance will cause snakes to appear. The Navaho celebrate their Mountain Chant, a nine-days' ceremony, only in the winter season when thunder is not heard and rattlesnakes are hibernating. "Were they to tell of their chief gods or relate their myths of the ancient days at any other time, death from lightning or snake-bite would, they believe, be their early fate."[111] When the buds had opened on the trees, the Iroquois stopped telling myths and for these substituted historical traditions. But when the leaves began to fall, the recital of myths again furnished the chief amusement of the people during their hours of leisure.[112]

The sacredness which attaches to chiefs, kings, magicians, and priests is naturally extended to their names. Great precautions are often taken to keep these secret or, if generally known, to prohibit their use by commoners, under severe penalties for a violation of the rule. Recourse must therefore be had to synonyms or to circumlocutions, when reference is made to such sacred persons, a fact which accounts for many dialectical differences in the speech of related tribes or peoples.[113]

In the Marquesas Islands and the Society Islands a high chief would select for his name or for that of his son (the heir apparent) the name of a familiar article, quality, or action. In such a case the common word would be used no longer and would be replaced by another coined for the occasion. Thus the king of Tahiti, being much troubled by a cough, assumed the name Pomare (night-cough). Immediately *po* ("night") was dropped from common use and *rui* used in its place, while *mare* was changed to *kare*. One of the early missionaries mentions upwards of forty words so changed in his time.[114] In Samoa an animal's name, if the same as that of a sacred chief, was at once changed, and the old name might never again be used in that chief's district.[115] In New Zealand any common word which happened to be that of a head chief was dropped from use and a substitute found for it, a practice which naturally produced a great many synonyms in the Maori language. Thus were a chief called Wai (water), a new name for water would have to be found, since the use of the chief's name in common parlance formed a violation of his sanctity.[116]

Among the Malagasy the circumstances which bring about the changed meaning of words and sometimes their temporary or total disuse are almost invariably associated with the king or head of a tribe.[117]

A Zulu chief usually changes his name upon arriving at manhood. Should he take the name of a common object, its old designation falls out of use and must be replaced by another in ordinary speech. "One chief was called Langa—the sun—and in that tribe the name of the sun was changed to *gala*, and so remains to this day, though Langa died more than one hundred years ago."[118] In Dahomey the king's name is always kept secret, lest some evil-minded person who learned it should do him harm. He is known simply by a mere title, or "strong name," which, unlike his birth-name, does not form part of his personality and hence can be safely uttered.[119]

The names of spirits and gods are frequently tabooed on certain occasions. Sometimes such names must never be pronounced. Utterance of the name of a supernatural being in ordinary conversation may be considered to pollute his sanctity or to give magical control over him; hence he is supposed to resent and punish such conduct. On the other hand, there may be a natural reluctance on the part of worshipers to attract the attention of a spiritual being by mentioning his name, especially if he is thought of

as irritable or perhaps malevolent. These ideas of the uncanny and fearsome blend gradually with those of growing reverence toward spirits and gods, until at length blasphemy comes to be regarded as a sin, one of the greatest of sins.

The tribes of southeastern Australia have a belief in an anthropomorphic being called Daramulun, Biamban, or Baiame, and also by other names. At one time he lived on the earth, when he gave men their customs, assigned them their hunting grounds, and established their initiatory rites. Afterward this tribal All-Father went to a land in or beyond the sky, where he still remains and keeps jealous watch over the morals of his people. Women know of his existence, but not by his real name, which is only revealed to the youth at their initiation into manhood. The men never use his name lightly or with levity. Among the Ngarigo and Wolgal tribes of New South Wales there is such a disinclination to pronounce his name that in speaking of him they generally use elliptical expressions such as "He," "the man," or "the name I told you of."[120]

On Murray Island, in Torres Straits, the culture hero in the myth which relates the origin of the initiation ceremonies is Malu, and by this name he is known to women and children. His real name, revealed only to the initiated and never to to be uttered by them, is Bomai.[121] The Barotse of South Africa shrink from pronouncing the name of their chief god, Nyambe. For it they substitute the word *molemo*, which, besides meaning God, also denotes good and evil spirits, talismans, and amulets.[122] By the Plains Indians "the name of the Great Spirit is seldom mentioned above a whisper and then only on rare and solemn occasions and never in ordinary conversation." Their language contains no word equivalent to even the smallest oath.[123] By the Makah of Cape Flattery, Washington, the name of their "Supreme Being" is never pronounced except by those initiated into their secret rites.[124]

Since sacred persons and spiritual beings cannot well remain nameless, the avoidance of one set of names for them compels the adoption of euphemisms. These are also used for the names of the dead, of animals to be propitiated or killed, of diseases, and, indeed, of anything and everything which needs to be approached with due caution.[125] Thus among the Malagasy, when the sovereign is ill he must not be called "ill," but "warmish." When dead, he must be said to have "turned his back." His corpse is not called by the usual name for a corpse; it is termed "the sacred thing." And he is not buried, but "hidden."[126]

The same motive which accounts for the use of euphemisms leads to the employment of so-called taboo languages as means of approaching and dealing with superior powers, whether human, natural, or supernatural in character. Both euphemisms and taboo languages are devices to separate things polluted or sacred from things which may be treated freely and without precautions.[127] For instance, the Samoans have a language of courtesy called "chief's language," which is always employed in speaking to, or of, a chief. In some cases it varies in accordance with the rank of the person addressed or to whom reference is made.[128]

These special forms of speech are well developed among the Malays of the Malay Peninsula. An example is the "camphor language" of the Jakun of Johor, who use it while absent in the forests searching for camphor, in order to propitiate the camphor-tree spirit. The use of the language forms only one part of the necessary ritual, which includes abstinence from certain kinds of food and from washing and bathing, as well as a sacrifice of a portion of each meal to the spirit. Furthermore, it is essential that the men and women left behind in the settlement should likewise speak this jargon while the camphor seekers are absent. Besides the "camphor language" the Malays have lists of words which must be used in speaking to royalty and under no other circumstances. There are also many euphemisms applicable to fishing, fowling, mining, warfare, and other occupations, as well as a "spirit language" used by magicians.[129]

The Vedda of Ceylon, together with some of the Singhalese, make use of a "jungle language" when hunting. It consists of a separate series of expressions for many animals, to the exclusion of the usual names for them. The natives believe that "unless a special dialect be employed while they are in the forest, they cannot expect to meet with any success in seeking honey, or hunting, or in avoiding dangerous animals."[130] The Toda of the Nilgiri Hills have a "sacred language" which is used only in the dairy ceremonial.[131]

The various taboos of sanctity which have now been passed in review—those affecting chiefs, kings, magicians, and priests, sacred places, sacred objects, sacred times, sacred numbers, sacred rites and formulas, and sacred names—have no such wide diffusion among primitive peoples as the taboos of pollution, particularly those in connection with the great crises of human life. Many taboos of sanctity must also be greatly surpassed in antiquity by those of pollution, for the regulations dealing with

sacred persons and all that affects them could have arisen only in a state of society relatively advanced. In short, the conception of taboo as "sacredness" represents a rather late development of human thought.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

[1] R. H. Mathews, in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* XXXIX (1900), 630; A. W. Howitt, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XIII (1884), 452, note 1.

[2] L. Sharp, "Ritual Life and Economics of the Yir-Yorunt of Cape York Peninsula, *Oceania,* V (1934–1935), pp. 26 f.

[3] Margaret Mead, in *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History,* XXXVII, 341 f., 344, 392.

[4] George Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians* (London, 1910), p. 239.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 60.

[6] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), pp. 175 ff. According to a later account, the people of the Solomon Islands have family shrines, which may be huts erected on poles or niches hewn out of the face of a cliff. In these receptacles they store the skulls of the deceased. The head, which is the only part of a corpse to be preserved, is cleaned very carefully, and in the case of an important chief the features are restored by molding a kind of putty made from a nut. The eyes and tattoo marks are formed of pearl shell, and for the hair the genuine article or a native fiber is used. A family shrine is strictly taboo to women. Countless spirits haunt the place (S. G. C. Knibbs, *The Savage Solomons as They Were and Are* [London, 1929], pp. 32 f.).

[7] Herman Melville, *Typee* (new ed., Boston, 1892), p. 252.

[8] *Ibid.,* pp. 132–33.

[9] E. E. V. Collocott, "The Supernatural in Tonga," *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1921), XXIII, 417.

[10] Edward Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand* (London, 1851), p. 293. Another reason for this precaution may have been the fear lest the clothes, pertaining as they did to the non-sacred world and possibly having been in contact with things unclean, would pollute the sanctity of the holy place. Maori scholars who entered the sacred school of learning had first to divest themselves of their garments and enter completely nude. They then put on special garments kept in the house for such occasions (E. Best, "Maori Religion and Mythology," *Dominion Museum Bulletin,* No. 10, p. 169).

[11] S. Walleser, "Religiöse Anschauungen und Gebräuche der Bewohner von Jap (Deutsche Südsee)," *Anthropos,* VIII (1913), 625.

[12] H. O. Forbes, *A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago* (London, 1885), p. 443.

[13] H. Zondervan, in *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* (2d series, 1888), V, 398.

[14] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia* (London, 1920), II, 183 ff.

[15] Adolf Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste* (Jena, 1874–1875), I, 219.

[16] A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (London, 1894), p. 98.

[17] H. Seidel, "System der Fetischverbote in Togo," *Globus,* LXXIII (1898), 342.

[18] P. A. Talbot, *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults* (Oxford, 1927), p. 130.

[19] See Albert Hellwig, *Das Asylrecht der Naturvölker* (Berlin, 1903); *idem, Beitrage zur Asylrecht von Ozeanien* (Stuttgart, 1906); Edward Westermarck, "Asylum," Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,* II, 161–64; *idem, The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (London, 1906–1908), II, 628–38.

[20] Sir Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1899), pp. 134 f. A similar sanctuary is found in the Kaitish tribe (*iidem, The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* [London, 1904], p. 270).

[21] James Chalmers and W. W. Gill, *Work and Adventure in New Guinea* (London, 1885), p. 186.

[22] F. E. Williams, *Drama of Orokolo* (Oxford, 1940), pp. 226 f.

[23] H. B. Guppy, *The Solomon Islands and Their Natives* (London, 1887), p. 67.

[24] Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition* (Philadelphia, 1845), II, 150. In Upolu, one of the Samoan group, the god Vave had his special residence in an old tree, which served as an asylum for murderers and others who had committed a capital offense. "If that tree was reached by the criminal he was safe, and the avenger of blood could pursue no further, but wait investigation and trial" (George Turner, *Samoa* [London, 1884], pp. 64 f.).

[25] John Martin, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands .... from the Extensive Communications of Mr. William Mariner,* 3d ed., Edinburgh, 1827, I, 189, II, 186.

[26] J. J. Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands* (2d ed., Boston, 1843), pp. 58 f. For a fuller account of the Hawaiian *pohonua* see William Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (2d ed., London, 1831), IV, 166 ff.

[27] Edward Tregear, *The Maori Race* (Wanganui, New Zealand, 1904), pp. 202 f.

[28] Hans Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika* (Oldenburg and Leipzig [1891]), p. 312.

[29] A. St. Hill Gibbons, *Exploration and Hunting in Central Africa* (London, 1898), p. 129.

[30] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi* (Oxford, 1909), pp. 74 f.

[31] Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa* (London, 1897), p. 466.

[32] A. G. Leonard, *The Lower Niger and Its Tribes* (London, 1906), pp. 465 ff. *Ju-ju,* in West African jargon, refers to anything sacred such as idols, temples, and fetishes.

[33] G. T. Basden, *Niger Ibos* (London, [1938]), p. 247.

[34] B. Struck, in *Globus,* XCIII (1908), 31.

[35] Arthur Leared, *Morocco and the Moors* (2d ed., London, 1891), p. 248.

[36] Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), pp. 491 ff.

[37] J. G. Bourke, "The Medicine-Men of the Apache," *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology,* p. 453.

[38] James Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), pp. 158 f.; J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* Part I, 207.

[39] Francis La Flesche, in *Thirty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 54.

[40] D. W. Harmon, *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interiour of North America* (Andover, Mass., 1820), p. 297. A Maori prisoner taken in war was made *tapu* if his captor threw his garment over him; "he who then touched the prisoner with a hostile intention touched also his preserver" (Richard Taylor, *Te Ika A Maui* [2d ed., London, 1870], p. 167).

[41] J. H. Williams, *The Mountain That Was "God"* (New York, 1911), p. 31.

[42] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 498.

[43] *Iidem, Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 130 ff.

[44] S. D. Porteus, *The Psychology of a Primitive People* (New York and London, 1931), pp. 35 f.

[45] E. W. P. Chinnery and W. N. Beaver, "Notes on the Initiation Ceremonies of the Koko, Papua," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XLV (1915), 71.

[46] F. E. Williams, *Papuans of the Trans-Fly* (Oxford, 1936), p. 183.

[47] *Idem, Drama of Orokolo*, pp. 224 ff.

[48] *Idem*, "The 'Pairama' Ceremony in the Purari Delta, Papua," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, LIII (1923), 362 f. On the concept of *imunu* see also J. H. Holmes, *In Primitive New Guinea* (London, 1914), pp. 150 ff.

[49] Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 76, quoting H. Fellmann.

[50] Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 94.

[51] A. B. Deacon, *Malekula, a Vanishing People in the New Hebrides* (London, 1934), p. 440.

[52] A. B. Brewster, *The Hill Tribes of Fiji* (London, 1922), pp. 22 ff.

[53] Elsdon Best, *The Maori as He Was* (Wellington, New Zealand), pp. 53, 67.

[54] Turner, *Samoa*, p. 62.

[55] A. C. Kruijt, *Het animisme in den Indischen Archipel* ('s Gravenhage, 1906), pp. 205 f.

[56] C. J. F. S. Forbes, *British Burma and Its People* (London, 1878), p. 295.

[57] J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas* (London, 1921), p. 407; *idem, The Sema Nagas* (London, 1921), pp. 174 f.

[58] J. P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas* (London, 1926), p. 217 and note 1.

[59] Leo Sternberg, "The Inau Cult of the Ainu," *Anthropological Papers Written in Honor of Franz Boas* (New York, 1906), pp. 427, 434. One name for the *inau* is *iwai-gi*, *iwai* meaning "taboo" and *gi* (*ki*) meaning "wood" or "stick" (W. G. Aston, "The Japanese Gohei and the Ainu Inao," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XXXI (1901), 134.

[60] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 424 ff.

[61] C. G. Seligman and Brenda Z. Seligman, *The Veddas* (Cambridge, 1911), pp. 137 ff.

[62] Charles New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa* (London, 1873), pp. 112 f. According to Burton, only the elders of both sexes may look on this drum (Sir R. F. Burton, *Zanzibar* [London, 1872], II, 91.

[63] John Roscoe, *The Baganda* (London, 1911), p. 167.

[64] S. S. Farrow, *Faith, Fancies, and Fetich, or Yoruba Paganism* (London, 1926), pp. 117 ff.

[65] A. R. Wallace, *A Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*

(London, 1853), pp. 348 f.; cf. p. 501. According to Dr. Karsten it is a common Indian idea that an evil spirit takes possession of a taboo-breaker and will kill such a person. Dying, the woman would become herself a demon and a source of grave danger to the community. She is put to death to anticipate such a contingency. "In this way we have, no doubt, to explain the custom, prevailing among many tribes, of killing women who have happened to see the masks, bull-roarers, or flutes used at the religious ceremonies." (Rafael Karsten, *The Civilization of the South American Indians* [London, 1926], pp. 311 and note 3; cf. p. 429 and note 2).

[66] Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianer* (Berlin, 1910), II, 293.

[67] Morris Siegel, "Religion in Western Guatemala: a Product of Acculturation," *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1941), XLIII, 68, 75.

[68] Ruth L. Bunzel, "Introduction to Zuñi Ceremonialism," *Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* pp. 479, 502.

[69] James Mooney, "Palladium," *Handbook of American Indians* (Part II), 193 f. In 1868 the Kiowa had a disastrous encounter with the Ute. Among the spoils of victory were two of the three Kiowa *taime,* these being sacred images which were never exposed to view except at the annual Sun Dance. The Ute took the *taime* home, but soon regretted having done so. The son of their capturer lost his life in a fight with another tribe, and shortly afterward their custodian was killed by a stroke of lightning. So the Ute turned over these potent and dangerous objects to an American, who was not afraid to put them on view in his trading post *(idem,* "Calendar History of the Kiowa," *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* Part I, pp. 322 ff.

[70] *Idem,* "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* Part I, p. 462.

[71] J. O. Dorsey, in *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology,* p. 235.

[72] *Ibid.,* pp. 217, 224, 359. We are also told that the keeper who prepared the sacred pipes for the chiefs when deliberating had to be very careful not to drop either pipe. "Should this happen that meeting of the council would be at an end, and the life of the keeper would be in danger from the supernatural powers" (Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, in *Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* p. 209.

[73] G. B. Grinnell, "Great Mysteries of the Cheyenne," *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1910), XII, 562 f. The "great mysteries" are the medicine arrows and the sacred hat.

[74] Charles Hose and William McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo* (London, 1912), II, 124 f.

[75] M. J. Field, *Religion and Medicine of the Ga People* (Oxford, 1937), pp. 111 f., 118 f. The author tells of one woman, a trader, who had a medicine to protect her from cheats and thieves. The attached conditions demanded perfect honesty on her part. On her death she left the medicine to her daughter, who was ignorant of the taboo attaching to it. One day, while trading in the market, the daughter stole a banana leaf to protect her head from the rain. Immediately one of her fingers became paralyzed and remained so. A medicine man diagnosed the case and said that the affliction was sent as a warning by the spirit, who would punish further offenses by death (p. 119).

[76] Codrington, *Melanesians,* pp. 178 f.

[77] J. [S.] Kubary, "Die Religion der Pelauer," in A. Bastian's *Allerlei aus Volks-und Menschenkunde* (Berlin, 1888), I, 38 f.

[78] W. Joest, in *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie,*

*Ethnologie, und Urgeschichte* (1882), p. (62), (bound with *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. XIV).

[79] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (London, 1890), pp. 57 ff.

[80] Basden, *Niger Ibos*, pp. 41, 158.

[81] See H. Webster, *Rest Days* (New York, 1916), pp. 85–100; *idem*, "Sabbath (Primitive)," Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, X, 885–89; *idem*, "Holidays," *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences*, VII, 412–15.

[82] W. D. Alexander, *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People* (New York, 1899), pp. 59 ff.; David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* (Honolulu, 1903), pp. 186–210.

[83] Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 29 f.

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[85] Sir Basil H. Thomson, *The Fijians* (London, 1908), p. 114. For an early account of this Lenten season see J. E. Erskine, *Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific* (London, 1853), pp. 245 f.

[86] Brewster, *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, pp. 91 ff., from information supplied by a native chief.

[87] J. W. Breeks, *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris* (London, 1873), p. 44.

[88] F. Dehon, in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1906), I, 144.

[89] C. K. Menon, "Some Agricultural Ceremonies in Malabar," *Madras Government Museum Bulletin*, V, 104 f.

[90] See Webster, *Rest Days*, pp. 106–18. Thomas states that "in the greater part of West Africa the rest day is a tabu period, entailing abstinence from the regular work, especially that of cultivating the fields, and devoted to the worship of the local gods, or some of them" (N. W. Thomas, "The Week in West Africa," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, LIV [1924], 192).

[91] A. E. Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot* (Manila, 1905) (*Department of the Interior, Ethnological Survey Publications*, Vol. I), pp. 205 ff. "It is safe to say that at least one feast is held daily in Bontoc by some family to appease or win the good will of some *anito*" [ancestral spirit] (p. 198).

[92] Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, pp. 107 f.; *idem*, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa*, pp. 227 f.

[93] See, in general, L. Lévy-Bruhl, *How Natives Think* (London, 1926), pp. 181–223.

[94] I. H. N. Evans, "Notes on the Religious Beliefs, Superstitions, Ceremonies, and Tabus of the Dusuns," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XLII (1912), 394 f.

[95] J. S. Suas, "Le septième jour aux Nouvelles Hébrides, Océanie," *Anthropos*, VII (1912), 1057; cf. *ibid.*, p. 50, note 1.

[96] A. M. Hocart, "The Seventh Day in Fiji," *Anthropos*, IX (1914), 330.

[97] C. W. Hobley, *Bantu Beliefs and Magic* (London, 1922), pp. 125 f.

[98] Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 86.

[99] J. A. Moerenhout, *Voyages aux îles du Grand Océan* (Paris, 1837), I, 501.

[100] Hutton, *Sema Nagas*, pp. 216 f.

[101] R. S. Rattray, *Ashanti* (Oxford, 1923), p. 219.

[102] Mrs. Elsie C. Parsons, in *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association,* IV, 285 f.

[103] F. Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the U.S. National Museum for 1895,* pp. 537 f.

[104] The Navaho Indians supply an instructive example of desacralization as applied to the representation of a ritual. "As is well known, the Navaho Indians have of late years taken to the weaving of sand painting blankets, that is to say, blankets in which the usual geometrical designs are replaced by more or less faithful copies of sand paintings belonging to the great curing ceremonies known as 'chants,' such as the Night Chant, the Mountain Chant, and the Shooting Chant. As the actual sand paintings of the rituals must be destroyed before nightfall of the day on which they are laid down in the ceremonial hogan and as, further, it is forbidden for the 'chanter' to keep a permanent record of the sand paintings which are part of his curing ritual, these sand painting blankets are, by definition, blasphemous—doubly so, indeed, for to the wrong of preserving what should be a transitory moment of holiness is added that of an illegitimate transfer of the picturing of an episode in a ritualistic origin legend from a sacred context to a mundane article of sale. The older Navaho are said to be very much opposed to these blankets, but the demand of the white man appears to be more powerful than religious sentiment.

"The weaver has a simple expedient for warding off the curse which follows tampering with sacred things. By deliberately changing the sand painting design here and there she feels that she absolves herself from the charge of blasphemy. The blanket decoration looks like a genuine sand painting to the white man, but to the gods and instructed Navaho the departures from ritualistic accuracy put the woven blanket into the class of profane objects. No curse need follow the weaving—at least, so it is hoped" (Edward Sapir, "A Navaho Sand Painting Blanket," *American Anthropologist* [n.s., 1935], XXXVII, 609).

[105] W. E. Bromilow, *Twenty Years among Primitive Papuans* (London, 1929), pp. 85 f.

[106] M. Rascher, in *Archiv für Anthropologie* (1904), XXIX, 216.

[107] Richard Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel* (Berlin, 1912), I, 430. Cf. W. G. Ivens, *Melanesians of the South-East Solomon Islands* (London, 1927), p. 10 (Mala and Ulawa).

[108] John Campbell, *Travels in South Africa .... Second Journey* (London, 1822), II, 205.

[109] E. Torday, *On the Trail of the Bushongo* (London, 1925), p. 41.

[110] Henri Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères* (Alger, 1920), pp. 104 f.

[111] W. Matthews, "The Mountain Chant; a Navaho Ceremony," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology,* p. 386.

[112] L. H. Morgan, *League of the Ho-Dé-No-Sau-Nee or Iroquois* (edited by H. M. Lloyd) (New York, 1904), I, 162. According to the editor's note (II, 255), the Iroquois believed that in summer the spirits of nature were awake and listening; in winter they hibernated like so many bears. For further illustrations see Frank Russell, in *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* p. 206 (Pima); J. O. Dorsey, in *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* II (1889), 190 (Omaha); Fanny D. Bergen, *ibid.,* IX (1896), 54 (Winnebago); A. F. Chamberlain, *ibid.,* IV (1891), 195 (Ottawa and Chippewa of Michigan); G. A. Dorsey, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee* (Boston, 1904), p. xxii; R. H. Lowie, *The Crow Indians* (New York, 1935), p. 107. The Taos Indians have a taboo or quasi taboo against telling tales in summer lest there be an untimely snowstorm. "But," added the native informant, "I do not believe it." (Mrs. Elsie C. Parsons, *Taos Tales* [New York, 1940], p. 1).

[118] See Sir J. G. Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul* (London, 1911) (*The Golden Bough*, 3d ed., Part II), pp. 374–86.

[114] S. Ella, "Dialect Changes in the Polynesian Languages," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XXIX (1899), 154 f.

[115] Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 280.

[116] J. S. Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders* (London, 1840), II, 126 f.

[117] J. T. Last, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XXV (1896), 66. See, further, J. Sibree, "Curious Words and Customs Connected with Chieftainship and Royalty among the Malagasy," *ibid.*, XXI (1891), 226 ff.

[118] James Macdonald, *ibid.*, XX (1891), 131. See also Miss Alice Werner, "The Custom of 'Hlonipa' in Its Influence on Language," *Journal of the African Society*, No. 15, pp. 346–56.

[119] Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, pp. 98 f.

[120] A. W. Howitt, "On Some Australian Beliefs," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XIII (1884), 192 f.; *idem*, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), p. 495.

[121] A. C. Haddon, *Head-Hunters, Black, White, and Brown* (London, 1901), p. 46.

[122] Emil Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa* (London, 1881), II, 301.

[123] H. M. Chittenden and A. T. Richardson, *Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S.J.* (New York, 1905), III, 1074. According to J. O. Dorsey the Omaha "are very careful not to use names which they regard as sacred on ordinary occasions; and no one dares to sing sacred songs except the chiefs and old men at the proper times" (*Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 370).

[124] C. G. Swan, in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, Vol. XVI, No. 220, p. 61.

[125] See J. A. MacCulloch, "Euphemism," Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, V, 585–88; Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 392 ff.

[126] H. F. Standing, "Malagasy 'Fady,'" *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, No. 7 (1883), pp. 73 f.

[127] See Frazer, *op. cit.*, pp. 405 ff.

[128] S. Ella, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XXIX (1899), 155. According to Robert Louis Stevenson "special words are set apart for [a chief's] leg, his face, his hair, his belly, his eyelids, his son, his daughter, his wife, his wife's pregnancy, his wife's adultery, adultery with his wife, his dwelling, his spear, his comb, his sleep, his dreams, his anger, the mutual anger of several chiefs, his food, his pleasure in eating, the food and eating of his pigeons, his ulcers, his cough, his sickness, his recovery, his death, his being carried on a bier, the exhumation of his bones, and his skull after death" (*A Foot-Note to History*, chap. i).

[129] W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* (London, 1906), II, 414–25.

[130] Seligman and Seligman, *The Veddas*, pp. 274 f., quoting Mr. Henry Parker.

[131] Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 615 f.

## Chapter IX

# SIN AND RITUAL DEFILEMENT

Public confession, the "speaking out" of sins committed, is a rite found in Melanesia, Polynesia, Indonesia, many parts of Africa, America (South, Central, and North), and in the Arctic area among the Eskimo and Siberian tribes. The rite has a regular association with other ceremonies whereby sins are removed and their effects neutralized or destroyed. It is practiced especially in cases of sickness, for to the savage sickness is sin or the result of sin. The majority of the sins confessed are sexual, adultery most of all. There can be no doubt that for primitive thought confession acts as a real purgation, an elimination of evil matter in the patient's body. As such it is comparable to the cathartics, emetics, and other purges so often employed for the same purpose. Confession has further efficacy because of the power attributed to the spoken word: naming the sin is to recall it, to give it form and substance, so that the officiating medicine man can deal with it in the prescribed manner. No vague announcement of sinfulness suffices; each sin that has been committed must be specified. Sometimes when the patient can think of nothing serious done by him he will confess imaginary sins. If the sin is taboo-breaking, an act which may endanger the community as well as the sinner, public confession of it serves as a notice to others to avoid him until his purification has been accomplished. Like the leper he has uttered the warning cry, "Unclean, unclean!"[1]

The Manus of the Admiralty Islands, north of New Guinea, require confession after any violation of their sex code. Adultery and fornication, in particular, are regarded as more or less dangerous to the participants or to their relatives. However, confession of a sexual sin wipes it out. It is the concealed sin only which excites the ire of the spirits. If you confess what you have done and then pay a fine to the mortal representatives of the avenging spirits, you or your relatives will escape all evil consequences. It is said that a man will describe an amour in the most matter-of-fact language, giving the name of the woman, the place, and the time,

and stating that later his brother became ill. But, he will add, he confessed the sin and paid for it, so his brother promptly recovered. "To the sinner who steadfastly refuses confession the community turns a cold, distrustful face. To make an alliance with such a one is courting death."[2]

In Samoa the priest might require the members of the family of a sick person to assemble about his bed and confess their sins. Each one confessed everything that he or she had ever done at any time and however long concealed—whether theft, adultery, seduction, lying, or invoking a curse upon the sick person.[3] A Maori, when lying ill, was called upon by the attendant priest to confess all his peccadilloes, as well as more serious offenses against the moral and religious laws. Having confessed and received absolution from the priest, he was considered to be in a condition of "moral and spiritual purity" which fitted him to undergo further ritual performances designed to bring about his recovery.[4] At Fakaafo, one of the Union Islands, the friends of a man who had died tried to learn the cause of his death. They went to a priest, who summoned the spirit of the departed and asked him to confess all the offenses which had brought him to an untimely end. The spirit, speaking through the priest, would acknowledge that he had stolen coconuts from such and such a place, or had fished in some forbidden spot, or had eaten the fish in which his family god was incarnated.[5]

In the Mentawei Islands, when the head of a family falls sick, the doctor urges him to make a clean breast of all the wrongful acts he has done. "Tell everything to me, be sure to conceal nothing." The father then proceeds to confess any violation of taboos by himself or a member of his household, after which the cure of the sick man is undertaken. From time to time the doctors impose new taboos upon their patients. A doctor frankly acknowledged that this practice accounted for the innumerable restrictions observed by the Mentawei people.[6]

Among the Mkulwe of Tanganyika Colony, when a man is severely ill, all the adult members of his kinship group assemble and proceed to confess, fully and sincerely, whatever sins (such as adultery, falsehood, or theft) each one may have committed. Then the person confessing casts toward the west splinters of wood and bits of straw, to be carried away by the wind even as his sins are now gotten rid of, never to return. If the sick man gets better, his recovery is attributed to the efficacy of the confession; otherwise, a doctor must consult the spirits in order to discover

who is concealing some of his sins and thus is hindering the recovery of the patient.[7]

The state of taboo which the Akikuyu of Kenya describe as *thahu* is called *thabu* or *makwa* by their neighbors, the Akamba. A person in this condition gets sores all over his body. Before the elders can cure the disease they must first diagnose its cause by questioning the sufferer about all that he has done; open confession is thus essential. "This fact gives a great value to the belief in *makwa*, for however secretly a breach of custom may have been committed, it will not fail to require an open confession." The disease is invariably venereal and is now often cured by medical missionaries, to whom even the Akikuyu flock for treatment. "The practical result of this may be good, but indirectly it is bad, because the public confession is evaded, and the moral restraint of the belief is in consequence destroyed."[8]

Among the Baganda a child would contract a sickness, characterized by nausea and general debility, if the mother had committed adultery either before its birth or while she nursed it. No cure was possible unless the guilty parties confessed their guilt and underwent, at the hands of the medicine man, a special ceremony of cleansing.[9] No Baganda woman might visit a well while she was menstruating; if she did so, the water would dry up. She herself would fall sick and die, unless she confessed her fault and the medicine man made atonement for her.[10]

Certain tribes of Togoland on the Slave Coast, who regard marriage within the same totemic group as incestuous, believe that it will cause a drought. A woman guilty of it is led first to the market and then to some of the temples and is there required publicly to confess the wrong which she has committed.[11]

Some Indian tribes of western South America are familiar with the practice of confession. The Aurohuaca of Colombia object to taking medicine, for they believe that all sickness is a punishment for sin. When a man falls ill, he sends for a *mama*, the village priest, governor, and doctor. To him the patient makes a secret and full confession. After hearing it, the *mama* must decide whether the sins confessed are mortal or whether they can be forgiven and the patient restored to health. This is a somewhat ticklish matter, since the sick man, if told that he must die because of his sins, usually proceeds to do so without delay. However, if the *mama* makes a favorable diagnosis, he proceeds to transfer the patient's sins to some bits of stone or shell, which are taken up in the mountains and laid where the first beams of the morning

sun will strike down on them and drive out the evil in them.[12] Similarly, among the Ijca, another Colombian tribe, the medicine man insists on confession by a sufferer, in order to find out why the spirits are angry with him and have made him ill.[13] In these instances the sins confessed are probably violations of taboos, though we are not expressly informed that such is the case.

It was customary among the Indians of Guatemala for a woman in labor to be ordered by the midwife to confess her sins, in order to expedite delivery of the child. In a case of difficult birth, the husband was required to confess his sins as well.[14]

The Huichol Indians require the strictest continence on the part of the men engaged in gathering the sacred cactus, the *kikuli,* which brings health and good luck to the tribe. While away from home, they must commit no transgressions and they must also purge themselves from past sins which they have committed. For every sin they tie a knot in a string, and then each one delivers this "rosary" to the leader of the expedition, who burns it. Meanwhile, the women left behind have confessed to Grandfather Fire with what men they have ever been in love. Not one must be omitted from the catalogue of lovers, for such an omission would mean that those away on the expedition would be unable to find even a single cactus plant. Each woman, in order to refresh her memory, prepares a string, made out of strips of palm leaves, and on this she ties as many knots as she has had lovers. The knotted string she brings to the temple, and, standing before the fire, she names all the men for whom there are knots on the string. This done, she throws it into the fire, and when the god has consumed it in his pure flame, all her sins are forgotten and she becomes clean.[15]

Carrier Indians, when seriously ill, believe that they will not recover unless they divulge to a medicine man every wrongful deed which they may have ever committed and have hitherto kept secret. This done, "they expect that their lives will be spared for a time longer."[16]

The Central Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay possess an elaborate system of taboos associated with their lives as hunters of seals, ground seals, and whales. Violations of the taboos are punished by the goddess Sedna, their chief deity. When one of the sea animals has been killed, its soul remains with the body for three days before going back to Sedna's underworld abode, to be sent forth again by her. If during the three days any taboo or prescribed custom is broken, the resulting uncleanness attaches

itself to the animal's soul and is conveyed to Sedna. It makes her hands sore, and she punishes the people who have caused her pains by sending to them sickness, bad weather, and starvation. The souls of the sea animals possess greater percipience than those of ordinary human beings. They can see how contact with a corpse causes objects touched by it to appear black in color; they can also see how flowing human blood produces a vapor which surrounds the bleeding person and everyone and everything that comes into contact with such a person. The dark color of death and the vapor of blood are exceedingly distasteful to the souls of the sea animals. No hunter thus affected would have any luck, for the animals could not come near him. He will therefore avoid having anything to do with a person who has touched a dead body or with one who is bleeding, particularly a menstruous woman or a woman who has recently given birth or has had a miscarriage. To prevent an accident of this sort, persons in such a state of uncleanness must make public announcement of the fact; if they do not do so, all the hunters will have ill luck. These ideas have given rise to the belief that the transgression of any taboo must be so announced, or otherwise the community will suffer for the acts of the evildoer. There are innumerable tales of starvation brought about by taboo-breaking which was not confessed and thus atoned for. In vain the hunters try to supply their families with food; gales and drifting snow make their efforts useless. Finally the help of the shaman is invoked, and he discovers that the misfortune of the people is the fault of one of their number. The guilty party is searched out; "if he confesses, all is well; the weather moderates, and the seals allow themselves to be caught; but if he obstinately maintains his innocence, his death alone will soothe the wrath of the offended deity."[17]

In the lower stages of culture the idea of sin does not imply a breach of the divine order or call for true repentance and regeneration of the inner man. It is a violation of a tribal custom, in particular, of a taboo. That the sin was one of omission rather than of commission, that it was nonintentional instead of intentional, is quite irrelevant: evil of some sort has been done and must be dealt with by some means or other.[18]

The people of Dobu, an island of the D'Entrecasteaux group, have no word for sin; they have not needed one. The only acts which the natives consider wrongful are removing a neighbor's landmark and stealing from the garden of a member of one's own tribe or of a friendly tribe. For either of these actions an offender

might be speared by the aggrieved party. His friends would make no attempt to avenge his death, because he had made himself an outcast from the community. But, for the rest, "the good people are the healthy, the wealthy in property and food, the wise in sorcery; the bad people are the poor, the weak, the aged, the sickly."[19] "Sin to the Maori," says an excellent authority, "was invariably connected with some infringement of *tapu*."[20] To much the same effect a missionary among the Battak of Sumatra declares that for them "sin is simply what offends the customs which all observe."[21]

An anthropologist, working among the Andamanese, did not meet a single native who believed that such actions as the murder of one man by another or adultery, aroused the anger of Puluga. The only actions at which Puluga is angry are purely ritual offenses, such as burning or melting wax, killing a cicada, and digging up yams.[22]

For the Malagasy the distinction of "pure" and "impure" is fundamental; it underlies all the religious life of the people. But the purity necessary for entering into relations with the higher powers and for retaining their good will is "wholly exterior" in character, "wholly material" in content.[23]

Among the Basuto the words "happiness" and "purity" are synonymous. When a native says that his heart is "black" or "dirty," he may equally mean that his heart is "impure" or "unhappy," and when he says that his heart is "white" or "clean," it is only from his explanation that we know whether he means that he is "pure" or "joyous." "As in their worship the creature has taken the place of the Creator, so unhappiness, the effect of sin, has caused them to lose sight of sin itself, and now suffering and accidents of all kinds to which humanity is liable are considered a *defilement,* and are called by that name."[24] Among the Zulu, the word applied to a dirty person "means that you have done or said something or somebody else has done so, which has bespattered you with metaphorical dirt—in the Scriptural sense, has defiled you. It is nearly the same as our expression 'his hands are not clean,' but only it is stronger."[25] The Bechuana refer to the ritual defilement which results from contact with anything taboo as *leshwe,* this being their common word for "dirt." To remove the defilement is "to wash the body." They also employ a number of special terms descriptive of particular methods of purification such as anointing, lustration, and fumigation. After ceremonial rehabilitation the patient is described as being "clean," "clear,"

or "pure." He is now freed from "all the terrors of contagion, ostracism, penance, and occult retribution" which oppress the mind of a taboo-breaker.[26]

To appreciate the position occupied by taboo in the life of the Ba-ila is not easy for "one trained in the Christian morality." The things summed up in their word *tonda* "include not only prohibitions due to a vague instinctive repulsion from deeds which the highest ethical consciousness recognizes as wrong, but also others which to advanced thought have no moral significance. To our minds there is a world of difference between theft and, say, eating a quail; but it is a sign of the weakness of their ethical discrimination that a breach of what we should call the 'ceremonial law' is rated a greater offence than a breach of the 'moral law.' We have constantly had proof of their inability to recognise the distinctive nature of morality, *i.e.*, as recognised by ourselves." The authors tell of an unusually intelligent native who complained that a woman had entered his house and stolen some of his things. The woman, previously, had aborted and hence was in a state of uncleanness when she committed the theft. The native might have forgiven the theft, but her ritual offense could be expiated only by the payment of a heavy fine.[27]

The Akikuyu have a moral code, but impurity is incurred, not by its transgression, but as the result of certain acts or accidents, some of them inevitable in the ordinary course of nature. When defilement has taken place, purification is necessary. For grave cases the services of a medicine man are required. The sufferer is subjected to an elaborate ceremony of cleansing, after which he is told to "vomit the sin," that is, to expectorate. This is done for all ritual disabilities which incur defilement.[28] With reference to the Wachagga, we are told that "a sin, wrongdoing, or breach of custom is not merely a matter demanding punishment or redress, but it imparts a bane or evil influence which remains unless the necessary purification follows. The point to be emphasized is that this mysterious force affects, not the evil-doer, but the person injured, so that it is he who must be purified. For instance, a man who is wounded is purified by the one who wounded him."[29]

The Ovimbundu of Angola have many high standards of conduct, but no idea of sin as being a violation of a command laid down by some authority which is more than human. The idea of crime is well developed among them, and there are many actions which are punishable as being in contravention to the laws of the tribe. Thus, adultery is a crime on a par with theft, but it is not

a sin. Suku, the Supreme Being, issues no commands, while ancestral spirits are concerned only with sacrifices and homage paid to them.[30] For the Bushongo the breaking of a taboo "is not a sin against God; it is a foolhardy act against the laws of nature, like overeating, or taking poison, and the punishment is generally sterility."[31] Among the Fan of French Equatorial Africa he who violates a taboo (*eki*) contracts a "stain" called *nsem*. This term is now used by the missionaries to explain the theological conception of "sin."[32] The taboos observed by the tribes of Southern Nigeria embrace "everything" which can be considered as sins. With them the consciousness of having sinned "is not an abstract sentiment but a feeling that they have personally offended the gods and ancestors who have shown them the right way and who send all their blessings and good fortune."[33]

According to Miss Kingsley the West African peoples make a clear distinction between a sin and a crime—between "god palaver" and "man palaver." The first is an offense against a spirit; the second is an offense against society. The group punishes a crime without the assistance of spirits, though one of them may be called on to aid in its detection or prevention. If the offense is against a great spirit, who would retaliate on the whole community, the offender is killed by the tribe or family on whom vengeance would otherwise fall; if only a minor spirit has been offended, the culprit is left to settle with it on his own account.[34]

With reference to the Siouan tribes of North America, a missionary who knew them well declares that "the Scriptural idea of sin" seemed to be wanting among them. They believed, however, that to break the taboo of any gens or subgens, or to violate any other ancient custom, was to commit a dangerous act.[35]

When an Atka of the Aleutian Islands had been guilty of sodomy or of too early cohabitation with a betrothed or intended wife, he could rid himself of the taint which he had acquired by a simple act of purification. Having selected a time when the sun shone brightly, he picked up certain weeds, carried them about for a while, in order that they might absorb the sin, and then laid them down. Next he called upon the sun to witness that he had thus cast away all wickedness from his person. Finally, he threw the grass into a fire, and after doing so he considered himself "cleansed of his sins."[36]

It is a great moment in the development of humanity when the meaning of cleanliness has passed from the external and physical to the internal and spiritual, when, instead of a bodily purga-

tion, the conscience is cleansed from the sense of guilt. But this moment has arrived only in the higher stages of culture; sin, as we conceive it, is a "late intruder" into the domain of religion and ethics. It remained for the Nazarene to summarize in a single sentence the whole religious and ethical development: "That which proceedeth out of the man, that defileth the man."

## NOTES TO CHAPTER IX

[1] See, in general, Raffaele Pettazzoni, *La confessione dei peccati* (3 vols., Bologna, 1929–1936).

[2] Margaret Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea* (New York, 1930), pp. 167 f. A high infant mortality, coupled with numerous deaths in middle age, serves to focus the attention of the Manus on their sins. Even a slight indisposition requires confession and a propitiatory payment to the spirits. "Hardly a night passes that the medium's whistle is not heard in some house where there is illness" (p. 326). Elsewhere Miss Mead mentions the fact that as between the Roman Catholic and Methodist missions the Manus prefer the former, which exact no tithes. They have heard, also, of the Catholic auricular confession and welcome it as a relief from their present custom whereby one's sins are loudly proclaimed to one's neighbors (pp. 317 f.).

[3] W. T. Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences* (London, 1866), p. 147. We are told that if a canoe was overtaken by a storm or driven out of its course by adverse winds, the crew, "like that of the Phoenician vessel in which Jonah was escaping," would demand that each one should confess any misdeeds which might have brought them into their present danger. Some "startling revelations" were made on these occasions (S. Ella, in *Report of the Fourth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science* [1892], p. 639).

[4] Elsdon Best, "Maori Religion and Mythology," *Dominion Museum Bulletin,* No. 10, pp. 198 f.

[5] George Turner, *Samoa* (London, 1884), p. 272.

[6] E. M. Loeb, in *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1929), XXXI, 72.

[7] A. Hamberger, in *Anthropos,* IV (1909), 309 ff.

[8] C. Dundas, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XLV (1915), 242 f.

[9] John Roscoe, *The Baganda* (London, 1911), p. 102. The medicine man added some of the woman's urine to other medicines and then rubbed the mixture on the woman's chest and on the chests of her children; "this was supposed to neutralize an evil that had attached itself to her or to them" (p. 72).

[10] *Ibid.,* p. 459.

[11] F. Wolf, in *Anthropos,* VI (1911), 456.

[12] F. C. Nicholas, in *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1901), III, 639 f.

[13] G. Bolinder, *Die Indianer der tropischen Schneegebirge* (Stuttgart, 1925), pp. 139 f.

[14] A. de Herrera, *The General History of the Vast Continent and Islands of America* (London, 1725–1726), IV, 148 (Decade III, Bk. VI, chap. ii).

[15] Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (New York, 1903), II, 129 f.

[16] D. W. Harmon, *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interiour of North America* (Andover, Mass., 1820), p. 300.

[17] F. Boas, in *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, XV, 119 ff. Among these Eskimo the shaman does his best to discover the reason why sickness or any other misfortune has come to the natives. He questions the sufferer persistently, and the latter believes that he must return true answers. The shaman asks, "Did you work when it was forbidden?" "Did you eat when you were not allowed to eat?" If the poor fellow happens to remember any such transgression, he replies, "Yes, I have worked." "I have eaten." The shaman replies, "I thought so," and issues his commands as to the manner whereby atonement shall be made (*idem*, in *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 592 f.).

[18] See L. H. Gray, "Expiation and Atonement (Introductory and Primitive)," Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, V, 635 f.; Nathan Söderblom, "Holiness (General and Primitive)," *ibid.*, VI, 731–44.

[19] W. E. Bromilow, *Twenty Years among Primitive Papuans* (London, 1929), p. 298.

[20] E. Best, "Maori Eschatology," *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, 1905, XXXVIII, 156.

[21] Johannes Warneck, *The Living Forces of the Gospel* (Edinburgh, 1909), p. 127.

[22] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders* (Cambridge, 1933), p. 160. Puluga or Biliku is a mythical being commonly regarded as female but also spoken of sometimes as male, and especially associated with the northeast monsoon. The only punishment which Puluga or Biliku ever inflicts on human beings, when she (or he) is angry with them for any reason, is to send violent storms (pp. 147, 156). See also E. H. Man, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XII (1883), 112.

[23] A. and G. Grandidier, "De la religion des Malgaches," *L'Anthropologie*, XXXVIII (1917), 248.

[24] E. Casalis, *The Basutos* (London, 1861), p. 255.

[25] David Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas* (2d ed., Edinburgh, 1875), pp. 169 f.

[26] W. C. Willoughby, *Nature-Worship and Taboo* (Hartford, Conn., 1932), pp. 197, 200.

[27] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia* (London, 1920), I, 348.

[28] W. S. Routledge and Katherine Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People* (London, 1910), pp. 256 ff. The name of this feigned vomiting is *potahikio*, derived from *tahika*, "to vomit" (F. P. Cayzac, in *Anthropos*, V [1910], 311). A Kikuyu falls ill. He tries the usual empirical methods of treatment. They fail, and he then summons a doctor to take charge of the case. The doctor declares that some enemy has induced evil spirits to enter the patient's body. These must be expelled. A small hole is dug and into it water is poured and certain powders are emptied. The doctor dips in two small horns, two goat's feet, and finally the bowels of a slaughtered goat. The mess is given to the patient to suck. The whole operation is carried on to the accompaniment of much cursing of the evil spirits and of commands to the sick man to vomit them forth. He makes every effort to do so. Our authority in one place calls this the ceremony of "sin-vomiting"; in another place he describes it as the "vomiting of evil spirits" (C. Cagnolo, *The Akikuyu* [Nyeri, Kenya, 1933], pp. 134, 189). After a performance of the Snake Dance by the Hopi Indians of Arizona the participants drink a decoction made from herbs. It acts as an emetic, and the vomiting is supposed to cleanse the body spiritually as well as physically (A. Hrdlička, in *Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, No. 34, pp. 240 f.). In this case

it is not pollution which is got rid of, but the dangerous sanctity acquired by the dancers through the performance of the rite. Among the Haida of British Columbia a man could increase his physical strength or obtain property, success in hunting, fishing, and fighting, and other good things by a rigid restraint in his diet, by continence, by sea-bathing, and by taking sweat-baths. Another excellent device was to drink warmed sea-water followed by a draught of fresh water; the emetic ejected all the contents of his stomach, "leaving him so much the 'cleaner' " (J. R. Swanton, in *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History,* VIII, 40). A pioneer missionary in the South Seas describes the ceremony by which the sons of a Samoan chief (who had accepted Christianity) themselves formally threw off their old heathen ways. This was done by the public eating of the species of fish tabooed to them. But it was done with fear and trembling, for the young men believed that the spirit residing in the fish might gnaw their vitals and cause their death. They immediately retired from the feast and swallowed a copious draught of coconut oil and sea-water, "which was certainly a most effectual method of preventing such an evil" (John Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands,* London, 1838, p. 373).

[29] Charles Dundas, *Kilimanjaro and Its People* (London, 1924), p. 155.

[30] W. D. Hambly, *The Ovimbundu of Angola* (Chicago, 1934), pp. 264 f.

[31] E. Torday, *On the Trail of the Bushongo* (London, 1925), p. 195. "Bad actions were not punished by God; their opposition to the laws of nature caused automatically, without divine interference, some unpleasant reaction. Thus, if the firstfruits were not presented to the ancestors it was the soil, deprived of the strength that had its source in this pious action, which would not bring forth the crops; it would remain barren as if no seeds had been sown. If a man broke the laws forbidding the marrying within his own clan, it was the blood of the clan in him that suffered from the pollution and made him suffer in his turn" (pp. 236 f.).

[32] L. Martrou, "Les 'Eki' des Fang," *Anthropos,* I (1906), 759.

[33] P. A. Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria* (Oxford, 1926), III, 709.

[34] Mary H. Kingsley, *West African Studies* (2d ed., London, 1901), pp. 413 f. Elsewhere Miss Kingsley declares that to a native sin "is not what it is to us, a vile treason against a loving Father, but a very ill-advised act against powerful, nasty-tempered spirits" (p. 135).

[35] J. O. Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology,* p. 521.

[36] Ivan Petroff, *Report on the Population, Industries, and Resources of Alaska* (Washington, D.C., 1884) (Department of the Interior, *Tenth Census,* Vol. VIII), p. 158. Petroff is quoting from the Russian priest Innocentius Veniaminoff, who worked among the natives of the Aleutian Islands and at Sitka during the early years of the nineteenth century.

## Chapter X

# ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF TABOO

The savage, who invests his sexual life with a multitude of negative regulations, likewise observes innumerable restrictions in the food quest, in the preparation and eating of food, and in the choice of what should and should not be consumed as food. Some restrictions have a general application; some affect the male or the female sex; some are confined to the younger members of the community; some refer to a particular group such as a totemic clan or a secret society; and some attach to chiefs, magicians, and priests, or to private persons. It is scarcely surprising that the savage should pay so much attention to his diet, for alimentation is even more essential than reproduction, hunger more urgent than sex-love, self-maintenance more necessary than self-perpetuation.[1]

Some food restrictions are based on a simple association of ideas by similarity or contiguity, such as the avoidance of the timid deer and hare, or the avoidance (by men) of all female animals, or the avoidance (by unmarried women) of the flesh of a male animal. Other restrictions rank as true taboos and depend on the pollution or sanctity ascribed to certain animals or plants. The apparent irrationality of the taboos is due to our ignorance of their history. No doubt dreams, visions, mishaps, and coincidental experiences give rise to many of them, or confirm them when once originated, as is the case with other primitive beliefs and customs.[2]

We have seen that among primitive peoples the world over boys and girls at puberty or while undergoing a formal initiation into manhood and womanhood are subjected to numberless restrictions, which include those of certain articles of food. Among the Australian aborigines the food taboos imposed on novices usually form part of a wider scheme of similar regulations affecting both young men and young women and only gradually relaxed as they grow older.[3]

In the Euahlayi tribe of New South Wales the taboos on dif-

ferent kinds of food, which were imposed on boys, were removed, one taboo at a time, by their attendance at successive initiation ceremonies, until, finally, they could eat what they pleased.[4] In the Warramunga tribe of Central Australia men are usually well on in middle age before being allowed to eat such things as wild turkey, rabbit-bandicoot, and emu. Only men who are really very old and whose "hair is turning white" may eat everything. Not only are the young men debarred from eating various dainties, but they are also required to bring in supplies of these for their elders.[5] In the Kaitish tribe the restrictions laid on young women are more numerous than those laid on young men, and for an infraction of each one a definite punishment is indicated.[6]

Some of our best authorities on the Australian aborigines are persuaded that the primary object of these prohibitions is to secure an abundant and superior supply of food for the elders, with the inculcation of discipline and habits of strict obedience on the part of the young men and women as a secondary though not unimportant object.[7] It may well be true, however, that in many cases the food restrictions affecting younger members of a tribe were not at first primarily designed to contribute to the material welfare of the elders. Nevertheless, this motive would tend to become uppermost in a community where the old men rule and the young people have such implicit belief in the terrible consequences of any infraction of their regulations. An acute and original thinker, the late Ernest Crawley, suggested that just as food was doubtless the first form of property so the first human laws were these food restrictions imposed and maintained by the tribal authorities.

A general but by no means universal rule requires the members of a totemic clan to abstain from eating the particular plant or animal associated with them. This may be freely eaten, however, by members of other clans. If the totem is a plant, it will not be gathered by the clansmen; if it is an animal, it will not be killed by them. Sometimes they may not touch it, or look at it, or speak of it by its proper name, but must use descriptive epithets instead. These prohibitions are taboos, and the penalties for their violation are such as characterize other taboos.

Where totemic taboos are found among hunting and fishing tribes, for instance, the Australian aborigines, their practical effect is to preserve the supply of a particular kind of food by diminishing the number of persons in search of it. "Supposing for example, that ten men go out into the bush in quest of food. Every

man of the party will take care that he does not injure his own totem during the day's rambles. If one assumes that each hunter has a different totem, then each man will allow a certain object to go free; or in other words, ten different animals or plants will not be molested. But in such an expedition there would generally be groups of men belonging to the same totem. For example, there might be three kangaroo men, two iguana men, one porcupine man, and four yam men. Then three of the party would not harm a kangaroo under any circumstances, two would allow iguanas to escape, one would not interfere with a porcupine, and four would not gather yams. Let us suppose that a mob of kangaroos be encountered, then our hunting party, instead of numbering ten men, really consists of only seven. If iguanas are met with, the hunters comprise but eight men. And if they come to a fertile patch of ground, only six yam-diggers are available." Thus some specific animal or plant is left unharmed by each member of the tribe, whether male or female.[8]

An elaborate system of food taboos has been discovered among some Queensland tribes. The social groups observing these restrictions are not totemic clans; they are the four exogamous subclasses (moieties) into which the tribe is divided. While the ordinary totemic clan has only one tabooed food, whether plant or animal, each subclass has several or even many articles of diet from which its members must abstain. The taboos are imposed on boys and girls at the arrival of puberty, that is, when they have passed through the first initiation ceremony. Apparently, only animal food is prohibited; no plants, trees, shrubs, or grasses come under an interdict. The prohibition of eating certain animals by members of the group is not necessarily extended to killing such animals. Mr. W. E. Roth, to whom we owe this information, believed that the exogamous classes were devised "to regulate the proper distribution of the total quantity of food available." The taboos in question certainly operate to bring this about. The husband, according to his subclass, lives on articles of food not those of his wife (or wives); both live on articles of food not those permissible to their offspring, who belong to a third subclass. "Hence, to put it shortly, whereas in a European community with a common dietary, the more children there are to feed, the less will become the share for the parents, in this North-West-Central Queensland aboriginal system the appearance of children will make no appreciable difference in minimizing the quantity of food available for those who give them birth. Any scarcity

in the total quantity of all the food is met by a change of camping ground."[9]

Food taboos often have an association with the cult of guardian spirits. In most cases these are animals. The tutelary animal may be provided by a magician, as in Africa and sometimes in Australia; it may appear to the individual in a dream or a vision, as in America; or it may be arbitrarily selected for a child by his parents. There are also cases of guardian spirits hereditary in the male line. The animal thus brought into an intimate relation with a person is usually sacrosanct to him.

In the Euahlayi tribe of New South Wales some members, principally magicians or men intended to be such, receive from their brothers in the magical art an animal familiar, the *yunbeai.* It is of great assistance to a man because he has the power to assume its shape; for example, if a magician who had a bird as his *yunbeai* was in danger of being wounded or killed, he could change himself into that bird and fly away. Sometimes a man (or a woman) who is very ill receives a *yunbeai,* and its strength goes into the patient and restores him to health. A man must never eat his animal familiar or he will die, and any injury to it hurts him too.[10]

In the Banks Islands there is also a definite identification of personality between a man and his *tamaniu,* or animal familiar. The injury or death of the one necessarily involves the illness or death of the other. A man who has obtained a *tamaniu* from some expert in magic keeps its abode very secret, for were this known, someone might kill it and thus kill the owner. The *tamaniu* is useful in two ways. It can be made to harm an enemy in the manner peculiar to itself; if it is an eel or centipede, it will bite him; if a shark, it will swallow him. The *tamaniu* also serves as a kind of life-token and, upon being interrogated, will tell a sick owner whether he is going to live or to die. One who has a *tamaniu* never eats an animal of the species to which it belongs.[11]

Among the Samoans every person from birth was supposed to be under the care of some "god," whose name happened to be invoked just as the child was born. Such a god appeared in the shape of some species of animal, and a man was careful never to injure or treat with contempt any member of the species. He would eat freely another man's incarnate deity, but on no account would he eat his own. If he did so, the god would avenge the insult by taking up an abode in the culprit's body and there generating an animal of the same kind until it caused his death.[12]

The *ngarong* of the Sea Dayak or Iban of Borneo is usually the spirit of a man's ancestor or deceased relative. To the man the spirit manifests itself in a dream, taking human form and announcing that it will be his "secret helper." On the day after such a dream a native will wander through the jungle and look for signs by which he may recognize the *ngarong;* "and if an animal behaves in a manner at all unusual, if a startled deer stops a moment to gaze at him before bounding away, if a gibbon gambols about persistently in the trees near him, if he comes upon a bright quartz-crystal or a strangely contorted root or creeper, that animal or object is for him full of a mysterious significance and is the abode of his *ngarong.*" When, as is most often the case, it takes the form of some animal, all individuals of that species become objects of special regard to him; he will not kill or eat the animal and he will try to restrain others from doing so. A *ngarong* may after a time manifest itself in some new form, but the man continues, nevertheless, to respect the animal form in which it first appeared. In some cases this cult spreads through an entire family or household, and a man's children and grandchildren will be under an obligation to respect the secret helper although they themselves are not aided by it.[13]

The cult of guardian spirits was widely developed among the American Indians, examples being the *nagual* of the Central American tribes and the *manitou* of the tribes of Algonquian stock. When the guardian spirit appears in animal form, the votary is sometimes careful not to injure animals of that species and to abstain from eating them. This is true, for instance, of the Hidatsa, the Arapaho, the Maidu of northern California, the Tinne, and the Copper Eskimo. More commonly, no such taboos are observed. By the Lillooet of British Columbia the most successful hunters of a particular species of animal are believed to be the men who have that species as their patron. The Eskimo of the Yukon district in Alaska freely eat the flesh of their patron animal; they also wear a piece of its skin or one of its bones as a talisman. Among the Thompson Indians, the Shuswap, and some other tribes, the guardian spirits are not whole animals but parts of animals, for instance, the head of a bird or a deer's nose; in such cases the votary abstains from eating only that part of the creature, while he freely partakes of all the rest.[14]

Special food taboos may pertain to individuals, to families, or to social ranks and classes. Among the natives of the Trobriand Islands a complex system of taboos, including those on food and

binding on both sexes, serve to indicate the different gradations of rank recognized by the people. For instance, a woman who marries a man of lower rank than herself must keep her food, cooking utensils, dishes, and drinking vessels apart from those of her husband. More commonly, it is the latter who is subject to restriction: he must forego such articles of diet as are forbidden to his wife. While the food prohibitions are true taboos, since illness results from even their accidental violation, the real force upholding them is the strong conviction that the tabooed food is disgusting and defiling in itself. "A citizen of Omarkana will speak of the stingaree eaters of the lagoon villages with the same disgusted contempt as the right-minded Briton uses towards the frog-and-snail-eaters of France, or the European towards the puppy-and-rotten-egg-eaters of China."[15]

Among the natives of Murua (Woodlark Island), to the east of the Trobriands, the observance of a special food taboo by parents and child establishes a strong bond between them. The taboo is imposed by the husband's father, but only after the birth of a first child begotten in lawful wedlock. It relates to certain fish and continues for the lifetime of those subject to it.[16]

Members of the Iniat (Ingiet), a secret society in New Britain, do not eat hogs, sharks, turtles, dogs, cuttlefish, and one or two kinds of fish. They believe that their souls reside permanently or temporarily in these animals. A man who is being initiated into any society is sometimes forbidden to eat certain articles of food for a long time, and often he voluntarily abstains from them after the restriction is lifted.[17]

In Mota, one of the Banks Islands, many people, perhaps as many as half the population, are not permitted to eat the flesh of certain animals or to eat certain fruits. The reason for the prohibition in most cases is that a person subject to the taboo is believed to be the animal or the fruit in question, because his mother received an influence from the one or the other before his birth. Thus should a woman sitting down in her garden or in the bush or on the shore find an animal in or near her loincloth, she carefully tends it, if a land animal, on the land; if a water animal, in a pool or stream. After a time it disappears, but its spiritual form enters the woman's body. When she gives birth, the child is regarded as being in some sense the animal (or fruit) which has been found and cared for by the mother. The child may not eat the animal during the whole of its life; serious illness or death would be the consequence of a violation of the taboo. If it is a

fruit that has been found, the child may not eat it or touch the tree on which it grows, the latter restriction applying when the fruit is inedible. Our authority mentions the case of a girl, an eel-child, who had unwittingly broken the prohibition. One day she went fishing with some companions. They caught some fish, including an eel. All were cooked in one pot and were then eaten. A few hours later the girl began to rave and became quite mad. "The people inquired into the doings of the child and found that she had not eaten any part of the eel, but only the fish cooked in the same pot, and this was held to be sufficient to have produced her condition." The idea underlying the prohibition of the plant or animal as food is that a person eating it would be feasting in cannibal fashion upon himself.[18]

Among the Bantu-speaking peoples of South Africa it is difficult to find a native who does not have at least one taboo (often on a particular kind of food), which he regards as all-important for his life and well-being. A "man of no principles" is a "man who eats anything"—a man without taboos. He who breaks a taboo is despised, is called all sorts of vile names, and, if his offense becomes publicly known, is branded as a social outcast.[19]

In the Wabena tribe of Tanganyika Colony every man has an inherited food taboo. It is attributed to some unfortunate experience of an ancestor. "He ate something which disagreed with him, or his eating it 'caused' his children to die." That particular article of diet henceforth becomes forbidden to him and his descendants. It may be an animal or part of one; less often it is a plant or a plant product. The people believe that dire consequences follow the violation of the food taboo. The alleged increase of leprosy at the present time is so explained. The Wabena now get about more than in former days, so that it is hard for a man to be sure of avoiding an unintentional transgression of the taboo. "Who knows, for instance, what may have been cooked in the pot borrowed from a friendly stranger?" To meet this difficulty there is a rite of recent origin whereby a man is absolved from the consequences of eating his *mwicko,* whether he does so by accident or of set purpose. He ceremonially eats it, when cooked by a medicine man, along with certain medicines. Neither he nor his descendants will suffer harm if this rite is carried out. It is most often practiced when the ban has been placed on a common article of food, thus producing great inconvenience. Sometimes a native will give up his old food taboo and take on another, "and this may account for the fact that some of the most notorious

gourmands possess the most uncommon and least inconvenient *mwicko!*"[20]

Among the Bangala of the Upper Congo everyone observes a taboo (*ngili*) of some kind of food. It is not uncommon to hear a person, as he goes through a town, crying out, "Exchange for a piece of antelope." Though he may kill that animal, it may not be eaten by him; he tries, therefore, to barter it for something eatable.[21] In the Lower Congo region there is scarcely an article of food which is not prohibited to this or that member of a tribe. Some taboos are inherited and so are always permanent, while others are imposed by a medicine man and so are often temporary. The inherited taboo passes from father to son, being about the only thing that is inherited among these tribes. As long as a daughter continues in her father's household or remains unmarried, she also must keep the taboo, but upon marriage she takes over that of her husband. A father will sometimes tell his child of the taboo in question; in most cases the announcement is left to the medicine man. To fail in the strict observance of a food restriction means dire consequences to the child—either some unknown but great misfortune or illness and disease sure to end in death. In one family the inherited taboo may be not to eat any wild animal with spots on it, such as a striped antelope. One who breaks this taboo gets a very bad skin disease. Or the taboo may be on hippopotamus flesh, which, when eaten, causes elephantiasis; or on a fish with opal eyes, whose consumption gives you ophthalmia; or on the great bullfrog, which, if you eat it, will make your eyes bulge out like the frog's. In all these instances the penalties are more or less in keeping with the broken prohibitions. On the other hand, the penalties of imposed taboos are quite arbitrary, being set forth according to the whimsical fancies of whatever "doctor" is called in to treat the patient. Thus, a woman troubled with fits might be ordered never to look in a mirror or gaze at her reflection in a stream, while a man might be told never to eat any form of cassava, a taboo equivalent to prohibiting a European from eating flour in any form. A food taboo may often be lifted after a brief period by the doctor who imposed it, provided he receives the proper fee for his services.[22]

There is good reason to believe that many of the taboos observed by the Lower Congo tribes are really beneficial, in spite of all the "fetish buffoonery" accompanying them. "A native doctor says, 'don't do this, don't go there, don't eat such and such,' the taboo including the very thing which is at the root of the disease.

The patient recovers because, unknowingly maybe, the taboo has hit upon the only remedy for the ailment. Again, the doctor forbids a patient to pass over a 'cross-road,' that includes the doorstep. Now rest is one of the principal items in the treatment of any disease, therefore the very fact that the patient stays in the house in obedience to a simple, sensible taboo, in many cases means recovery, which, after all, is the main thing. If the taboo is on food, the patient is probably cured of indigestion, scurvy, or some other disagreeable ailment, by a very wise and necessary abstention from meats or herbs which have caused the trouble."[23]

Personal food taboos are observed by the Bakalai or Bakele, a tribe of Gabon. Du Chaillu, who lived with them for some time, found that there was scarcely a man to whom some article of food was not tabooed. "Some dare not taste crocodile, some hippopotamus, some monkey, some boa, some wild pig, and all from this belief. They will literally suffer the pangs of starvation rather than break through this prejudice; and they very firmly believe that if one of a family should eat of such forbidden food, the women of the same family would surely miscarry and give birth to monstrosities in the shape of the animal which is *roondah,* or else die of an awful disease." In addition to such inherited taboos, which are observed by all the members of a man's family, the fetish doctor sometimes forbids a person to touch certain kinds of food. In this case the prohibition extends only to the man, and not to his family.[24] According to Dr. Nassau, long a missionary among the tribes of this region, it is difficult to ascertain the reason for imposing an *orunda.* The prohibited article or act would seem to be, however, a sacrifice, ordained for the child by its parents and the fetish doctor, as a gift to the governing spirit of its life. What is thus prohibited becomes removed from the child's common use, becomes sacred to the spirit. "Any use of it by the child will thenceforth be a sacrilege which would draw down the spirit's wrath in the form of sickness or other evils, and which can be atoned for only through expensive ceremonies and by gifts to the magician interceding for the offender." Dr. Nassau confesses to a "strong suspicion" that where the *orunda* laid on women relates to meat, "superstition has played into the hands of masculine selfishness, and denies to women the choice meat in order that men may have the greater share."[25]

In Calabar every person is subject to a taboo, which relates to a particular food or to the method of eating. "When, in consequence of the influence of white culture, a man gives up his Ibet.

he is regarded by good sound ju-juists as leading an irregular and dissipated life, and even the unintentional breaking of the Ibet is regarded as very dangerous. For example, in buying a slave the purchaser always inquires what is the slave's Ibet, because if the slave were given his Ibet to eat, he would get ill." According to one account, the elderly female relatives of a child meet together soon after its birth and find out, by their magic, what its taboo is to be.[26]

Three days after the birth of a Yoruba child the priest of the god Ifa, the most important deity, makes known what gods are always to be worshiped and what taboos (*ewo*) are always to be observed by the newcomer into the world. The taboos number four, the first being a prohibition of marrying a woman whose gods are the same as his own and the second a prohibition of eating one's omen animal (a rat, a bird, or a snake). The other two taboos apply, respectively, to a certain animal and a certain plant, which must never be eaten. These, then, are a man's personal *ewo,* distinguishing him from other men.[27]

Among the Kpelle and other Liberian tribes all men who have the same personal food taboos form brotherhoods. The members of such an organization must give one another unlimited help, must not go to law against one another, and when danger threatens, each one must support his fellows. A member, when going into a strange region, will look up his comrades there. They treat him as a near relative, protect him, and support him. The taboo descends from the father to his children; children frequently take the mother's also. A married woman retains her taboo and often adds to it that of her husband.[28]

The observance of personal food taboos seems to have been carried by West African slaves to Surinam. Among the Negroes of this Dutch colony every child at birth inherits from its father certain *kina* or *trefu.* These are prohibitions "against performing an act that is hateful to some supernatural agent with which the destiny of the individual is associated." Most *trefu* impose abstinence from certain foods throughout the entire course of a person's life. In addition to such dominant taboos, each person adds others as he grows older. Some come to him when he becomes the votary of a god or gods—for each deity likewise has its *trefu*—and the worshiper of any deity takes over its tabooed foods. Other taboos are acquired when he obtains or uses certain charms. The *trefu,* whether inherited or acquired, may prohibit the eating of a certain kind of fish, a special kind of meat, or

some vegetable. Milk, mutton, beef, and shellfish are most often tabooed. A child learns his *trefu* from his mother. She knows what things her husband must not eat and takes care that her child avoids them also. The penalty for failure to observe the inherited *trefu* is skin disease, at first a mild form of eczema, which develops into leprosy should the prohibitions be persistently disregarded. When a woman bears a child who later has skin eruptions, in spite of his observance of the *trefu,* his affliction is regarded as *prima facie* evidence that the woman had the child by a man other than her husband. The belief, we are told, serves as a social check on a wife's unfaithfulness.[29]

Among the North American Indians food taboos are sometimes imposed by a medicine man upon a patient whom he has cured. These are either temporary or permanent. Among the Tinne of central Alaska a man may be required to abstain from eating or drinking anything hot or from a certain kind of fish or meat. Such regulations are scrupulously observed. Their imposition enables the medicine man to keep a strong hold on the people, who are thus trained in the habit of obeying him and of following his directions.[30] Similarly, among the Central Eskimo a medicine man who has treated a sick person may impose upon him some dietary prohibition, for instance, of eating venison. A taboo of this sort is not permanent.[31]

The savage, though almost omnivorous, nevertheless avoids many foods which are not harmful but healthful and whose consumption would raise his standard of living. He fails to utilize all the means of subsistence available to him. Fish, swine, poultry, eggs, and milk are most commonly forbidden, but other useful foods also come under prohibition.

It is said that, while the Tasmanians ate shellfish, a scaled fish of any kind was an abomination to them and that they would rather starve than eat it.[32] As a rule, the aborigines of Victoria will not eat pork "or any kind of fat the nature and origin of which are not known to them."[33] The same repugnance to the flesh of swine is found in Queensland.[34] The Arunta and other Central Australian tribes will not eat mushrooms and toadstools. These are believed to be fallen stars and to be endowed with *arungquiltha,* noxious power or "evil magic."[35]

At Bartle Bay, British New Guinea, unmarried people of both sexes do not eat the wallaby, "lest this food should cause the members of the opposite sex to dislike them."[36] The natives of New Britain do not use milk or any of its preparations, although

blood is eaten when cooked with certain leaves and pieces of pork.[37] In the Torres Islands the shark is not eaten because one who did so would be caught by a shark when in the sea, and the sea-eel is not eaten because it is believed to be poisonous. The octopus is also avoided.[38] The people of Ulawa, one of the Solomon Islands, do not eat bananas or plant banana trees. "It was found that the origin of this restraint was recent and well remembered; a man of much influence had at his death not long ago prohibited the eating of bananas after his decease, saying that he would be in the bananas. The elder natives would still give his name and say, 'We cannot eat So-and-So.' When a few years had passed, if the restriction had held its ground, they would have said, 'We must not eat our ancestor.' "[39]

Among the Sow and some other tribes of Sarawak, goats, fowls, and a fine kind of fern, forming an excellent vegetable food, are forbidden to men, though women and children may partake of them.[40] The Dayak of Malintam and Njawan allow women and children to eat the flesh of apes, deer, and crocodiles, but circumcised men must not do so, under penalty of becoming mad.[41] The Ainu are said never to eat eggs.[42] Some of the coast tribes of Formosa do not eat fish.[43] Some tribes of Kafiristan "detest fish, though their rivers abound in them."[44] The flesh of hogs is never eaten by the Tangkhul of Manipur. Some people say that the pork eater would become prematurely gray, develop insanity, and die. Others predict his horrible death from boils.[45]

The Vedda avoid the flesh of elephants, leopards, jackals, bears, wild buffaloes, domestic buffaloes, and, in most cases, both wild and domestic fowl. Vedda shamans also abstain from eating the pig.[46] The natives of the Nicobar Islands do not use milk.[47] Among the Toda, while the milk of the non-sacred buffaloes may be drunk by anyone, that of the sacred buffaloes may not be used, except in the form of butter and buttermilk, by ordinary people.[48] Milk is not used by many other aboriginal tribes scattered over a wide area in India, and the aversion to using it prevails throughout eastern Asia and the East Indies.[49]

The Bantu-speaking peoples of South Africa very generally abstain from eating fish; they call fish water snakes, and avoid even touching them. Many natives will not eat pork, but this abstinence is neither so universal nor so stringent as is the rejection of fish.[50] Observance of the fish taboo is regarded as a mark of distinction; thus a Zulu boy, living with the Thonga, refused to eat fish as they did and boasted of his social superiority to them

on that account.[51] Almost everything in the way of meat is welcome to the Thonga, and caterpillars, coleoptera, larvae, and locusts are universally appreciated. Nevertheless, some people refuse to eat pork, "probably because pigs are modern," while snails are despised by everyone.[52] By the Zulu, fish and the hartebeest are never eaten. Formerly there was also a taboo of the gnu and of the eland, but these valuable food animals are now avoided only by girls and young unmarried women. It was believed that one who ate the inner fat of the eland would lose all power of procreation. Ducks, domestic fowls, and birds' eggs are consumed only by very young and very old people.[53]

The Wanyamwezi formerly never ate poultry and still avoid eating eggs.[54] The coastal Somali do not eat hens, eggs, birds, rodents, or game animals. The avoidances seem to be true taboos, for the natives would not use again a pan in which a fowl had been cooked by a European traveler among them.[55] Among the Atheraka of Kenya wild birds and fowls are not eaten except by uncircumcised children; eggs and fish are not eaten by anyone.[56] Nothing but dire starvation will induce the Akikuyu to eat wild meat. As regards fish, it is specifically laid down "by custom and tradition" that to eat them makes a person ceremonially unclean. Eggs, also, are not used as food.[57] By the Banyoro of Uganda goats, sheep, fowls, and all kinds of fish are "absolutely forbidden" to be eaten.[58] The Galla scorn to eat eggs.[59]

Milk is not used by the Bayaka of the Belgian Congo, although blood is eaten cooked.[60] While the Bahuana allow women to eat frogs, men must not do so, "under penalty of becoming ill."[61] The Bangala (Boloki) of the Upper Congo, who eat nearly everything that is eatable, including palm maggots, certain kinds of caterpillars, and large bats, regard milk with abhorrence. Anyone drinking milk is considered unclean for several days and is not allowed to take his meals with his family. They may milk the goats and sheep of the missionary without suffering defilement, but the fluid must not touch their lips. Raw eggs are also tabooed by the Bangala, although they will eat well-cooked eggs, no matter how unsavory these may be.[62]

The natives of the Loango coast abstain from the flesh of goats lest their skin scale off; from poultry lest their hair drop out; and from wild birds lest their children be born with crooked feet.[63] The Bakwiri of the Cameroons forbid the eating of fowls and eggs by women. The Bakundu extend this prohibition to men.[64] The Ashanti do not eat eggs and "cannot be persuaded to

taste milk."[65] An Ibo "revels in tinned milk," whereas he shudders at the thought of drinking milk fresh from the cow.[66] In Northern Nigeria, among the still heathen tribes, a man never milks his cattle.[67]

The aborigines of the Canary Islands never ate fish and did not know how to catch them.[68] Milk, whether of cow or goat or sheep or mare, is never drunk by the Lengua Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco. Old people consider it unfit for them. Young people are forbidden to drink it because of the idea that it will affect them not only physically but also mentally, and the Indians have no desire that their offspring should have animal characteristics.[69]

The Bororó of Brazil think that every tapir, every wild pig, and every alligator shelters the soul of a deceased tribesman; hence they never kill one of these animals unless a magician is within reach to exorcise its soul. "They believe if they should eat it they would surely die."[70]

Another Brazilian tribe, the Coroado, "will not taste the meat of the deer, lest they should lose their rich black hair; or the protuberance on the neck of the tapir, which is the best morsel, lest they should lose the love of their wives. In the same way they avoid the meat of the duck and of the cutia, a very savoury rodent, lest their children should acquire big, ugly-shaped feet and ears."[71] Certain food animals, notably the deer and the tapir, are not utilized by the Jivaro on account of taboos. While there is no hesitation in killing deer and furnishing them to white people to use as food, the natives themselves will not partake of deer meat.[72] Swine are tabooed as food by the Wapisiana of British Guiana.[73] The Guiana Indians, it is said, refuse to eat the flesh of such animals as are not indigenous to their country but were introduced from abroad, such as oxen, sheep, goats, and fowls. If there is an utter lack of other food, these will be sometimes eaten, but only after the medicine man or an old woman (who may take his place) has blown on them a number of times, "apparently on the principle that the spirit of the animal about to be eaten is thus expelled."[74]

By the Seri Indians of Mexico the smaller rodents, especially squirrels, are "excluded from the menu by a rigidly observed tabu of undiscovered meaning." As a result, the animals have multiplied so abundantly that their burrows honeycomb the land for hundreds of square miles and make much of it impassable for horses and nearly so for pedestrians. Thus invaders are kept out and the country is protected against aliens.[75]

Swine are never eaten by the Zuñi, who reserve them as food for their captive eagles. There is no taboo against swine, only disgust at the thought of eating the village scavengers. "They cannot comprehend why white people eat pork, and yet they eat food that would disgust us."[76] The Zuñi, also, will not eat fish or any other creature living in water. They say that in a desert land water is scarce and hence sacred. All things really or apparrently belonging to water, and all creatures living in it, partake of this sacredness. Fish, which eat water, chew it, and breathe it, are therefore especially sacred.[77]

The Navaho "must never touch fish, and nothing will induce them to taste one; their forests abound with wild turkey, but they are strictly forbidden to eat them; bears are quite numerous, but as they are also taboo they will not even touch a bearskin . . . . and the flesh of swine they abominate as if they were the devoutest of Hebrews."[78] Although the streams in the land of the Apache teem with fish, these are never eaten. Pork is also avoided by the Apache.[79] According to an old account, when swine were first brought among the Chickasaw Indians, "they deemed it such a horrid abomination in any of their people to eat that filthy and impure food, that they excluded the criminal from all religious communion in their circular town-house, or in their quadrangular holy ground at the annual expiation of sins, equally as if he had eaten unsanctified fruits. After the yearly atonement was made at the temple, he was indeed readmitted to his usual privileges."[80] The Pawnee Indians tabooed swine.[81]

It is said that some California Indians (near San Diego) would not eat the flesh of "large animals." When, however, a Franciscan mission was established in their territory the taboo had to be removed, for they were now fed largely on beef.[82] By the Twana and other Indians of Washington the mallard duck was not eaten until after the whites came into the country. They explained the prohibition by the fact that the bird fed on snails.[83]

Sometimes there are prohibitions regarding the preparation of food in certain ways and other rules which forbid the eating of it under certain circumstances. Evil spirits punish an Andaman Islander who offends them by baking or roasting pig's flesh, the smell of which they detest. Since it is also obnoxious to Puluga, a mythical being, he often assists them in discovering the delinquent. The same risk does not attend the boiling of pork, for the olfactory nerves of the fastidious spirits are not keen enough to detect the smell of pork prepared in this manner.[84] The An-

damanese, furthermore, dare not use for fuel in cooking turtle the wood of a certain tree whose bark supplies the fiber for making harpoon lines and turtle nets. Such an action is so abhorrent to "Mr. Moon" that he visits offenders with summary punishment. Men would have their throats cut and women would be deprived of their breasts. However, this particular wood may be safely burned when other animals, pigs for instance, are being prepared for food.[85]

For the Masai, milk is a sacred fluid. They never sell or give it to strangers. The most heinous act which a stranger can commit when among them is to boil milk. Doing this so enrages the cows that they will at once run dry. An offender against the rule must pay a heavy fine, or, failing that, "the insult to the holy cattle will be wiped out in his blood."[86] The Bahima of Uganda even say that "if a European puts his milk into tea it will kill the cow which gave the milk."[87] This aversion to boiling milk for fear of injury to the cattle is shared by many other pastoral tribes in Africa.[88]

Among the Pomeroon Arawak "when an animal is killed with an arrow-trap or a gun-trap, its flesh has to be cooked in a pot without a cover, over a fire that is not too large, so as to avoid any water boiling over. Were either of these matters not attended to, there would be no further use either for the arrow or for the gun, as all the game of the same kind as that recently trapped would take its departure to another region."[89] The Navaho taboo the wood of the corral in which antelopes are trapped and never cook food over a fire of wood from such an enclosure. They even keep at a distance from such a fire, dreading to feel its warmth or to inhale its smoke.[90]

A taboo of universal application among the Copper Eskimo of Coronation Gulf forbids the products of the land and of the sea from being cooked in the same pot at the same time. Accordingly, when the natives are living on the land and have stocks of both deer meat and seal meat, the one is cooked in the morning and the other at night. Nevertheless, both kinds of food may be eaten by them at the same time.[91] In many places on the coast driftwood would supply the natives with a fair amount of fuel if it were not deliberately avoided, as a rule, because of the taboo against mingling products of the sea with those of the land. Driftwood comes from the sea, consequently, caribou and fish that are caught in rivers and lakes, must not be cooked over a fire of that kind of wood.[92] By the Labrador Eskimo, sea foods and land foods are

not eaten together.[93] The Central Eskimo may not eat venison on the same day with whale, seal, or walrus flesh, nor may two such kinds of food lie together on the floor of the hut, or behind the lamps. They wash themselves before changing from the one food to the other.[94]

Among rude hunters, fishers, and food-gatherers much more is possessed collectively than individually. Most economic goods belong to the group as a whole; the individual has only a right of user which has not as yet passed into a recognized right of ownership. Camping places, hunting grounds, and fishing streams, together with objects employed for religious or magical purposes, such as sacred stones, masks, and bull-roarers, are looked upon as community property—sometimes that of a single family, but more often that of a clan or a tribe. In the light of these conceptions, it is scarcely surprising to learn that even the untutored savage realizes that there must be a closed season when certain plants are not to be gathered and certain animals are not to be killed, lest the supply of food, enjoyed by all members of the group, be seriously diminished if not entirely destroyed. To secure the observance of the food restrictions by everybody, they often take the form of taboos.

The *intichiuma* ceremonies of the Central Australian tribes are performed by men of the different totemic groups for the purpose of magically increasing the food supply of the entire tribe. Each group, the kangaroo men or the witchetty grub men for example, is believed to have immediate control over the numbers of the animal or plant whose name it bears. Each group is bound, therefore, to contribute to the general stock of food by working magic for the propagation of its totem. On no account may this be eaten until it is abundant and fully grown. Any infringement of the rule is thought to nullify the result of the magic and so to reduce the available supply of food. When the totem becomes plentiful, the nonmembers bring to the camp a large supply of the animal or plant. They do not eat it, however, until the men of the totemic group have eaten sparingly of it or have performed some simple rite, such as rubbing themselves with the animal's fat, and have given verbal permission. The season for kangaroos or witchetty grubs is now open. All may indulge in them freely, except those for whom the animal or plant in question is their totem.[95]

In the Mekeo district of British New Guinea the Fuluaari secret society has the responsibility of enforcing taboos on areca

nuts and coconuts, when the supply on the trees is running short, but these prohibitions are imposed by a special official, the *afu* (taboo) chief. When there is a good show of nuts, the chief proclaims that on a certain day the prohibition will be lifted. It has been known to endure as long as thirty-two weeks.[96] In the delta of the Purari River occupied by the Namau group of tribes large tracts of land, bearing coconuts, and long waterways were annually put under a taboo. A number of young men, wearing the masks of a secret society, patrolled the river banks and warned passers-by against taking the coconuts or catching the fish in that part of the river that had been marked off. The young men, whose persons were regarded as "sacred," carried bows and arrows and shot anyone who dared to ignore the taboo. It was "a primitive but effective way of preserving food which was the common right of all their people."[97]

Among the Massim tribes of southeastern New Guinea the reefs and fishing grounds in the immediate neighborhood of a hamlet are considered the property of that hamlet, and its old men have the power of protecting them by a taboo which is valid against all comers. Usually men of hamlets other than the one having the property right over a particular reef join in the first fishing after the removal of the taboo. The fish caught are divided equally among the fishermen.[98] Among the Mailu of Orangerie Bay, if fish become scarce in any particular place on the reef or near it, the old men or the headman of the clan owning rights over the reef erect a taboo sign on the spot. It stands for three or four lunar months. When, upon investigation, the fish are found to be plentiful again, the sign is removed and fishing is resumed.[99]

The natives of the Trobriand Islands put a taboo (*kaytubutabu*) on both coconut palms and betel-nut palms. It is imposed by a magician, who at the same time recites various spells designed to make the fruit plentiful. During its continuance the people are not allowed to eat or in any way use coconut in the village, though they may do so outside the village precincts. They must also refrain from making a noise, especially by chopping or hammering, and they must be careful not to allow any firelight to be seen in the village. If the coconuts were shocked by either sound or light, they would fall down unripe. The taboo period lasts for two months. As our authority observes, the real incentive for keeping the prohibitions is the belief that nonobservance of them would nullify the magician's spells.[100]

In New Britain there are no particular periods during which certain foods may not be eaten except when a taboo is placed upon them by a chief or by the Dukduk or some similar secret society. "This is generally done either to increase the quantity by making as it were a close season, or for monetary reasons."[101] Throughout the New Hebrides coconuts are under a taboo till all the other crops are planted, "and death is the penalty of eating the forbidden fruit."[102] In the Loyalty Islands a "big chief" would occasionally taboo all the coconut trees in his district. When the restriction was removed, the nuts were gathered into a huge pile and divided among the people. Nowadays the nuts are still tabooed, in order to provide a supply of copra.[103] In the Fiji Islands it was customary for a chief to put coconut groves under an interdict until the nuts ripened. Fishing grounds were also subject to the same restriction. While "fear of the gods" helped to support the taboo, an intending transgressor knew that he might be robbed of his possessions, have his gardens despoiled, or even be killed.[104]

Closed seasons seem to have been observed throughout the Polynesian area. In Tikopia, which lies to the northeast of the Banks Islands, the people are arranged in four divisions, each one with a chief and its own district. The chief has the power to taboo any particular place in order that the coconut trees on it may reach a proper size before being gathered.[105] At Tongatabu, according to the testimony of Captain Cook, the special officer "who presided over the taboo" inspected all the produce of the island, taking care that every man should plant and cultivate his quota and ordering what should be eaten and what not. "By this wise regulation they effectually guard against a famine; a sufficient quantity of ground is employed in raising provisions; and every article thus raised is secured from unnecessary waste."[106]

In the Society Islands certain foods were tabooed in times of dearth.[107] In the Marquesas Islands, should the quantity of breadfruit in a district be seriously diminished, the chief could taboo the trees for as long as twenty months so that they might recover their vigor. If fish were beginning to get scarce, a taboo might be laid on one part of the bay in order to allow the fish to spawn without being disturbed.[108] In the Hawaiian Islands, as elsewhere in the Polynesian area, fishing formed one of the chief means of livelihood and ranked next to agriculture in importance. Communal regulations relating to fishing were imposed twice a year in connection with two sacred fish, the *aku*, or bonito, and the *opelu*. Each was tabooed by turns for six months "not to be

eaten on pain of death."[109] It was customary for the Maori to place a *tapu* upon farms and their productions while ripening; rivers, also might be tabooed.[110]

The men's clubs (*kaldebekel*) in the Pelew Islands proclaim and enforce a taboo (*blul*) laid by the chiefs on coconuts, pigs, the betel tree, or anything else of which there is or may be a shortage. Formerly death was the penalty for a breach of such a prohibition; now the culprit is confined in the clubhouse until ransomed by the head chief.[111] In the Mortlock Islands, when the breadfruit becomes ready for eating, the chief taboos coconuts for three or four months so that there may be a sufficient supply of the old nuts. Fishing may also be placed under a general interdiction or be allowed to certain persons only, in order to conserve the supply of fish.[112]

Among the Naga tribes of Manipur numerous communal taboos forbid various activities, including hunting and fishing, at a time when the people are engaged in agricultural labor. Their effect is to provide a much-needed closed season for wild animals, "for these sportsmen spare not the does."[113]

The Purrah or Poro, a secret society of the Mendi of Sierra Leone, places its interdict "upon trees, streams, fishing-pots, fruit trees, oil palms, bamboo palms, growing crops, and in fact upon all and everything that is required to be reserved for any particular use."[114] A piece of rag, a stone, or a few sticks may be the only indication that a taboo has been imposed, but it is effective. "Water is kept uncontaminated; trees laden with fruit are not touched, except by the owner; the entrances of villages and special bush-paths are kept clean; fish are preserved when necessary; and a man's property is absolutely safe."[115] The imposition of such taboos seems to be a common function of the West African secret societies, for we are told that boys undergoing initiation into them learn from their instructors "why there should be close seasons for certain oil-bearing and fruiting trees, and for certain beasts, birds, and fish."[116]

It is said that the Fuegians abstained from shooting young birds before these were able to fly. When the surgeon on board the "Beagle" shot some ducklings as specimens, a native said to him, "Oh, Mr. Bynoe, very bad to shoot little duck—come wind —come rain—blow—very much blow."[117] The Guiana Indians believe that if they kill too many of one kind of game the "bush spirit" of that particular animal may come and do them harm.[118]

Among the Seri Indians the pelican is the bird held most in

regard, for it forms one of the chief articles in the native dietary. The principal haunt and only known breeding-place is an island in the Gulf of California. The pelican, a fleshy, sluggish creature, is almost defenseless when attacked on its sleeping grounds. If hunted indiscriminately, it would soon become extinct. "Yet it survives in literal thousands to patrol the waters of all Seriland in far-stretching files and veers seldom out of sight in suitable weather." Taboos among the Seri protect the bird during the breeding season.[119] The Hopi Indians of Arizona, who greatly prize eagle feathers as decorations in religious rites, regard these birds and their nests as the common property of the clans. They think it wrong to take all the young from the nest at any one time. "It is evidently due to this taboo that the perpetuation of the species in Tusayan is effected."[120]

These taboos thus have the practical effect of preserving the plants and animals most important in the group economy. Crops are allowed to mature, fruits to ripen, and beasts of field and fish in the sea to increase and multiply. By imposing a restraint on individual selfishness for the benefit of the group as a whole, such prohibitions have operated, unquestionably, to deepen the sense of community obligation.

Where closed seasons for plants and animals are observed, it is customary to present a portion of the earliest ripened crop, or of the game first killed, or of the fish first caught to the gods, the ancestral spirits, or chiefs and kings for their consumption before the people may partake of the new food. The gods, the ancestors, or earthly rulers as intermediaries between men and supernatural beings claim a share of the new produce, for to them it is due and without their blessing it may not be safely devoted to general use. What was originally a secular economic arrangement to safeguard the food supply of the community is thus taken into the sphere of religion.[121]

In certain districts of Viti Levu, the largest of the Fiji Islands, the first-fruits of the yam harvest were presented to the ancestors. The ceremony took place in the stone enclosure known as the *nanga*. No one might eat the new yams until this ceremony had been performed. The yams thus offered were piled up in the sacred place and left to rot there. An impious person who appropriated them would be smitten with madness.[122]

The sacrifice of first-fruits seems to have formed a regular part of the religious system of the Polynesians, for we possess accounts of it among the Hawaiians, the Samoans, the Maori,

the natives of the Society Islands, and those of the Tonga Islands. In the latter group the ceremony, called *inachi*, generally took place about October. It was observed with scrupulous care, since the people believed that to neglect it would bring upon them the vengeance of the gods. According to William Mariner, the *inachi* was the allotment of a portion of the fruits of the earth to the gods in the person of the divine chief, the Tui Tonga, an allotment made once a year, just before the yam crop had arrived at maturity.[123] Similarly the Hawaiians sacrificed the first-fruits of their orchards and gardens, together with a portion of their livestock, "as it was supposed death would be inflicted on the owner or the occupant of the land, from which the god should not receive such acknowledgment."[124] In Samoa it was usual to honor the village chief with the first-fruits. Calamities of all sorts were supposed to descend upon the family of anyone who failed to observe the custom.[125] Among the Maori the *kumara,* or sweet potato, was a sacred plant; all persons engaged in its cultivation were temporarily in a state of taboo; and the offering of its first-fruits formed a solemn religious ceremony.[126]

Ceremonies of first-fruits are common in Africa. With the Thonga there is a prohibition to partake of the new harvest before the gods, the chief, the sub-chiefs, the counselors, the headmen, and the older brothers in order of age have had their share. For others to precede them in its use would be a sin and would bring on them misfortune.[127] Among the Akamba the elders of the village, having gathered the first-fruits of the harvest, assemble at the village meeting place, where they sacrifice a goat. Then they cook samples of the various crops in a big pot, together with the stomach contents of the goat. When the food is ready, the women from the neighboring villages come around and receive some of it. Were this ceremony omitted the people would become taboo and be afflicted with diarrhoea. But, once performed, they may reap and eat of the crop in perfect safety.[128] On the Gold Coast the first-fruits festival, or yam "custom," generally occurs at the end of August, when the new yams are ripe. People must not eat them before the conclusion of the ceremonies by which the taboo on them is lifted. The "custom" has a double purpose: it is a thanksgiving to the gods for having protected the crops; and it also serves to prevent the people from eating the green and unwholesome yams. The fetish men determine when the yams are in a fit state for consumption and then fix the date for the ceremonies.[129]

Private property is frequently protected by the imposition of taboos. These include prohibitions of passage intended to preserve a tract of territory from intrusion; prohibitions affecting landed property, together with the crops and fruits upon it; and prohibitions affecting personal chattels and animals. They may be imposed directly by the owner or else a chief, a magician, or a secret society may be called upon to establish them. Their existence is usually indicated by some simple sign which is readily understood by the passer-by. Like all taboos they operate automatically; sooner or later the threatened evil descends on the hapless offender; he and his suffer sharp and condign punishment.[180]

Taboos of private property seem to be almost unknown among the wandering savages of Australia, who lead so literally a hand-to-mouth existence and whose possessions are confined to what a man wears or carries about with him, the things he finds or makes with his own hands. Some of the Queensland aborigines hang up a bull-roarer over anything which they wish to protect from molestation. A baby's navel-string can also be used to place a taboo on yams and other objects, because the natives think that anything brought to the spot where a newly born child is lying or which it is allowed to touch becomes affected with its occult power. A man who is going away from the camp, leaving there his arms and food, will sometimes first urinate near these possessions. They then become *tami* (equivalent to taboo), and he may be sure of finding them intact on his return.[181]

By the Eastern Islanders of Torres Straits a reddish powder called *kamer,* found in rotten driftwood, was believed to be very potent in magic, especially as a means of protecting gardens from thieves. When bananas or other foodstuffs were ripe, the owner of a garden would secretly prepare *kamer* and doctor one of his trees. "As the thief was not certain which tree had been poisoned, he was afraid to risk it and so left the food alone."[182]

The Massim tribes of southeastern New Guinea protect property by "no-trespass" signs. They make a distinction, however, between taboos automatically enforced and prohibitions having behind them only the force of custom and public opinion. At Wagawaga, on Milne Bay, the former class is indicated by the *giriba* sign, which has been smeared with a certain medicine and applied by an old man who knows the correct formulas to recite at the time. The latter class is indicated by the *hato* sign, which has been set up without this ceremony. A person who stole any object marked by the *giriba* sign would become sick. The owner himself

would suffer as severely as a stranger; in fact, he would not think of taking any fruit from a coconut tree thus protected until the taboo had been lifted by the man who imposed it. On the other hand, stealing anything marked by the *hato* sign, if undiscovered, involves no inevitably unpleasant consequences. If the thief were known, he would have to reckon with the owner or with the village authorities for his conduct.[133] At Bartle Bay taboos for the protection of private property can be imposed and removed only by specialists who own the incantations which go with them and make them efficacious. The incantations were bought from former owners, since deceased, and are sold to those who will preserve them in the future. "It must be noticed that there is no mystery in any part of the tabu, except the incantation. There must, one may suppose, be some unseen power at the back of it, but no one can explain what that power is. I asked the chief, Magaia, of Wamira: but his only answer was, 'Who knows?'—i.e., no one knows."[134] Among the Mailu, when an owner of a coconut tree suspects that his nuts will be stolen, he utters a spell and binds the nuts together with some of their own fiber. A man who steals them or intends to do so gets boils and swellings all over his body and eventually dies. Banana trees and taro patches are similarly protected.[135] Among the Orokaiva, while a native may be inclined to respect the taboo signs on private property out of consideration for the man—neighbor, relative, or friend—who has set them up, there is always in his consciousness a fear of the crippled leg or the crop of boils which he may get from interfering with objects possessing occult and evil power.[136]

In the Northern D'Entrecasteaux Islands groves and gardens are protected by taboos, each one with a definite penalty, such as an eruption of sores, for its infringement. Emaciation is another penalty, "and the whole hamlet will point the finger of reproach at the delinquent; his only cure is to bathe frequently in salt water." Despite all their taboos, the natives often rob the gardens and groves, although those of a man famed for his skill in magic would be respected.[137] In Dobu Island, which belongs to the D'Entrecasteaux group, all diseases are supposed to be caused by the violation of taboos with which incantations, "expressing black hatred in an extremely ugly form," are associated. There is a special incantation for each disease. Every man and woman knows at least one of these spells; sometimes as many as five will be known by a single person. The natives evince great fear of them. When Mr. Fortune obtained the incantation for gangosa,

his informant insisted that no word of it should be uttered near a human habitation; it must be uttered on a far and desolate shore. Both Mr. Fortune and his informant had to cleanse themselves in the sea after repeating the dreadful words and had to refrain from going near the village for several hours afterward. Taboos, reinforced in this manner, are commonly used to protect fruit trees situated away from the village. It would be quite out of the question to taboo a tree in the village, for everyone would contract a disease by mere propinquity to the tabooed object. Before a man can take the fruit from his own private tree he must first nullify the effect of the incantation, thus removing the taboo.[138]

Throughout the Melanesian area taboos safeguard private property. Among the Manus of the Admiralty Islands these are called *sorosol*. In some cases people breaking such prohibitions apparently do not suffer any evil consequences. The penalty is paid by their children, who are born blind or deaf or with some malformation, clubfeet, for instance. Other *sorosol* carry the penalty of causing a miscarriage or a stillbirth.[139] In New Britain people who do not respect the taboos protecting plantations and coconut groves will fall ill or suffer some other misfortune.[140] In the Solomon Islands a wife sometimes puts a taboo on her little possessions to prevent a greedy husband from seizing them.[141] Taboos are chiefly used, however, to protect coconut groves and taro patches. Hunting privileges over another man's land will be similarly safeguarded.[142]

In New Georgia the preventive against all trespass and robbery is the erection of *hope*. These property marks are fashioned in accordance with well-known "sympathetic" principles. At the entrance to his coconut plantation the owner will set up a single stick, three or four feet in length, with its top cleft for a short distance. In the opening are placed a bunch of dead leaves, a piece of fern root, and a wisp of grass. Sometimes the stick will be crowned with a skull, part of an ant's nest, or a large shell. The would-be thief, gazing on this complicated structure, has a picture of the fate in store for him: according to the emblem of sanctity exhibited will he wither away like the grass, become as hopelessly moribund as the original owner of the skull, or perish like the ants which once lived in the nest or the fish which once occupied the shell.[143] In Eddystone Island nearly every disease "is ascribed to the infraction of a taboo on the fruit of certain trees, especially the coconut and betel-vine, the taboo, as well as the sign by which

it is known, being called *kenjo.*" There are many varieties of *kenjo,* each one with special rites for its imposition and removal. The rites, as a rule, can be performed only by the man or small group of men owning the variety of *kenjo* in question. He and his fellows are consequently the only people who are able to treat the disease produced by the infraction of that particular *kenjo.* Thus, if a native violates the taboo called *kirengge* and in consequence suffers from epilepsy or some other convulsive seizure, he will consult as a doctor the man who is known to have the power of imposing and removing this kind of a taboo.[144]

In the Banks Islands a man, by virtue of his association with a spirit, will put a taboo on a path, part of the beach, a canoe, a fishing net, or fruit trees, "and no one would be surprised if sickness fell at once upon anyone who should break the *tapu.*" A minor prohibition, *soloi,* is also found, in which probably there is no direct reference to a supernatural sanction. "A person of no particular distinction would set his *soloi* before the trees or garden, the fruit and produce of which he wished to reserve for some feast, and intruders would know at any rate that he carried his bow and arrows." Stronger than any individual sanction for the protection of private property is that of the secret societies called Tamate. Each one has its leaf, and any member of a society can set such a leaf as a mark. To disregard it would bring down upon him the vengeance of all the members of the society.[145] At Tanna, one of the New Hebrides, the rule is, steal whatever you can without being found out. But a *tubahan* (taboo) "is a more effective barrier to petty thieving than the penalties of any police courts."[146] It was customary in the Fiji Islands to pick out good trees which could be used for making *kava* bowls and other special articles and reserve them by means of taboos, until they were wanted. Such trees were considered very valuable, because of their scarcity and the length of time required for their growth.[147]

Taboos to protect private property in coconut trees and other fruit trees find extensive use among the natives of Tikopia, who remain little influenced by European civilization. On the whole, the taboos operate effectively. People steal mainly from unguarded orchards or from those in which the owner has merely set up a no-trespassing sign. Sometimes a taboo is disregarded, however, either by a man so skeptical of its potency that he is ready to take the risk of breaking it, or by a man who is not afraid of doing so because he has previously dealt with its spirit guardians.[148] At Niue, also, the natives continue to impose property

taboos. A man who takes anything from a tabooed place and later discovers that it has been tabooed is likely to die from simple fear of the consequences of his action. If a theft from a taro patch has occurred, and the owner sees the hole where the taro stood, he puts a curse on the thief. This is done by inserting in the hole a stone wrapped in the leaves of a certain kind of fern; as a result, the thief has a stomach tumor.[149] In the Tonga Islands a person who wants to protect his coconuts, for instance, will go to a man who enjoys a reputation for curing a certain kind of disease and get him to taboo them. A thief would acquire the disease and for a cure would have to consult the man who imposed the interdict, paying him well for his services.[150] In Tahiti a sign indicating a property taboo continued to be respected long after the beliefs on which its sanctity was founded had ceased to prevail.[151]

The Samoans made extensive use of taboo signs to prevent stealing from plantations and fruit trees. Any sort of stick suspended horizontally from a tree expressed the owner's wish that a thief who touched the tree might have a disease running right across his body and remaining there until he died. A few pieces of clam shell buried in the ground and surmounted by some reeds tied together at the top warned a prospective thief that he would be afflicted with ulcerous sores. Another object of terror was the white shark sign, made by plaiting a coconut leaf in the form of a shark. When suspended from a tree, this was tantamount to an expressed imprecation that the culprit might be devoured by a white shark the next time he went fishing. Thus, declares our missionary authority, the Samoans offered no exception to "the remarkably widespread system of superstitious taboo; and the extent to which it preserved honesty and order among a heathen people will be readily imagined."[152]

At Vaitupu, one of the Ellice Islands, it was the special business of one of the four gods who ruled the earth "to watch and kill the thieves."[153] Many taboo signs, employed by the natives of Funafuti to protect their trees, are indistinct and easily overlooked by foreigners. The natives, even the children, readily detect them.[154] The people of Rotuma are said to be "honest to a degree." They believe that should a person touch or eat the food of another the owner, if he knows what has been done, can kill the thief by means of magic wrought on the food.[155]

During his residence among the Marquesans of Nukuhiva, Herman Melville noticed how frequently breadfruit trees and

coconut trees had a wreath of leaves twined in a peculiar fashion about their trunks. "This was the mark of the taboo. The trees themselves, their fruit, and even the shadows they cast upon the ground, were consecrated by its presence."[156] "The sanction of the tapu," writes Robert Louis Stevenson, "is superstitious; and the punishment of infraction either a wasting or a deadly sickness. A slow disease follows on the eating of tapu fish, and can only be cured with the bones of the same fish burned with the due mysteries. The cocoanut and breadfruit tapu works more swiftly. Suppose you have eaten tapu fruit at the evening meal, at night your sleep will be uneasy; in the morning, swelling and a dark discoloration will have attacked your neck, whence they spread upward to the face; and in two days, unless the cure be interjected, you must die. This cure is prepared from the rubbed leaves of the tree from which the patient stole; so that he cannot be saved without confessing to the kahuku the person whom he has wronged." It is not unusual among the Marquesans for people to taboo their trees secretly, so that they may detect a depredator by his sickness.[157]

The Maori, like some of the Melanesian peoples, distinguished between property taboos and prohibitions whose efficacy depended on the social position and influence of the person imposing them. To impose a taboo the first step was to set up a post on the edge of the forest or the bank of the stream to be safeguarded. A lock of hair or a bunch of grass was attached to the post. The officiating priest then recited an incantation "to sharpen the teeth" of the sign (*rahui*), "that it might destroy man." Anyone who violated the taboo thus imposed was believed to acquire, automatically, a wasting disease. A prohibition without an incantation could be imposed by a chief only, and its observance was a tribute to his prestige. A chief would set up a post and hang an old garment on it as a sign of the prohibition; sometimes this was proclaimed simply by word of mouth. Many kinds of economic resources were thus temporarily preserved: the streams to prevent fish being taken out of their due season; the forests for their products; cultivated food plants, flax, fern root, and places where red ochre was obtained.[158]

Taboos of private property are found widely in the East Indies.[159] The people of Flores believe that many diseases which afflict them come from eating some plant or fruit that has been tabooed. Even merely going into a plantation thus protected will have this result. The taboo is laid by a professional magician.[160]

In the island of Timor a "prevalent custom is that of the *pomali*, exactly equivalent to the 'taboo' of the Pacific islanders, and equally respected. It is used on the commonest occasions, and a few palm leaves stuck outside a garden as a sign of the *pomali* will preserve its produce from thieves as effectually as the threatening notice of man-traps, spring-guns, or a savage dog would do with us."[161] When one of the Kubu, a small tribe of southern Sumatra, finds a bee-infested tree in the forest, he clears away the brush around it, makes one or two hacks on the bark, and recites a spell. The tree is now his, and no one will dispute its possession with him.[162] Some of the Land Dayak of Borneo make rude figures of a naked man and woman. These are then placed opposite each other on the path to the farms. The spirit which inhabits each manikin will prevent inimical influences from affecting the farms, "and evil betide the profane wretch who lifts his hand against them—violent fever and sickness would be sure to follow."[163] In the Baram district an entire river is sometimes tabooed by the camphor collectors.[164]

The natives of the Nicobar Islands protect coconut trees by tying leaves around the trunks. "The vast majority accept the token as a warrant of ownership."[165] In Ceylon, "to prevent fruit being stolen, the people hang up certain grotesque figures around the orchard and dedicate it to the devils, after which none of the native Ceylonese will dare even to touch the fruit on any account. Even the owner will not venture to use it till it be first liberated from the dedication." This is done by a priest, who receives some of the fruit for his services.[166]

The Malagasy made use of various taboo signs to indicate ownership or possession. One of the commonest of these was a tall stick set upright in the ground and with a bunch of grass fastened at the top. A road or a path might be tabooed by putting a stick across it.[167]

The Cazembe, an Angola tribe, who keep their beehives on high trees in the forest, protect them by fastening a "piece of medicine" around the tree trunks. "The natives seldom rob each other, for all believe that certain medicines can inflict disease and death; and though they consider that these are only known to a few, they act on the principle that it is best to let them all alone."[168] The Wanika hang painted calabashes before the door of a hut to keep thieves away. Shells, dolls, and other objects, placed about plantations and in fruit trees, serve the same purpose. Death would overtake the thief disregarding such signs. "A charm bound to

the leg of a fowl, is ample protection for the village."[169] The Baganda put fetishes in the roof over the door to protect their dwellings from thieves. Fetishes were also placed in the gardens, "so that the food became taboo." Anyone stealing it would either be caught by the owner or killed by the food.[170] In Kavirondo people suspend a ball of clay by a string which is fastened to a stick and set up the object in a field as a safeguard against thieving.[171]

The Bakongo of the Lower Congo employ various protective devices to keep away trespassers. A hoe handle stuck in the ground with some manioc cores tied to it will make a thief very thin and ill. A stick daubed with paint will cause a man who steals from a farm to have a goiter; if the thief is a woman and is *enceinte* at the time, her child will be badly formed. An old basket hung in a fruit tree or against a door will give a backache to the thief or result in his (or her) sterility. A stone in a basket suspended from a fruit tree will afflict with a severe form of hernia anyone who steals from the tree or even attempts to climb it. According to our authority, such a sign is not a charm in itself but a warning to show that a curse has been placed on the object by the owner and also to show what kind of complaint a trespasser will acquire. The natives "consider it unfair to put a curse on the stealing of an article and not indicate it in some way."[172]

In Gabon a fetish is hung on the plantation fence or from the branches of plants in the garden to frighten away marauders.[173] "Your human policeman can be evaded or outrun if you steal a few potatoes from a field, but the spirit policeman cannot be so circumvented when he hangs done up in a bit of rag or put inside a little horn, on guard over an African farm. He will most certainly have you, and you will swell up and 'bust'." The efficacy of such prohibitions will be better understood when we consider that the plantations are not fenced-in gardens, but open clearings a mile or more from any settlement. For weeks at a time no owner comes near them; there is nothing to guard them against robbers but the ban.[174] Similar prohibitions make possible the "silent trade" in this part of West Africa. You may be in the depths of the forest far from human haunts; you notice by the pathside a little cleared space neatly laid with plantain leaves; on it are various articles disposed for sale—leaf tobacco, a few yams, and so forth. Beside each article are so many stones, beans, or cowries to indicate its price. Hanging from a branch above is an image of the market god, "who will visit with death any theft from that

shop, or any cheating in price given, or any taking away of sums left by previous customers."[175]

Among the Ewe of the Slave Coast the priests of a particular god know how to manufacture talismans consecrated to that god. These they sell at high prices to people who use them to protect both their persons and their property. Growing crops, thus safeguarded, are secure from pillage. Talismans are also of service in the "silent trade," for no native would dare to take anything thus offered for sale without depositing its stipulated value.[176] In New Calabar there used to be a fetish, or *ju-ju,* king who ranked above the civil king in all native matters. The bad characters of the town were not afraid to steal when they got a chance, even from the civil king, who was purely human as they were. "But," said the fetish king Quakery, in conversation with the Count de Cardi, "if I sent round a notice that, if the thieves did not immediately bring me the stolen articles my Ju-Ju would cause them (the thieves) to swell up and burst, you would see how quickly they would come to me and deliver up the stolen goods."[177]

The Ekoi of Southern Nigeria set up a bundle of palm leaves on a farm as a protection against stealing. A thief who violates the taboo will fall sick and die unless a certain dance is performed as a prophylactic.[178] The natives of the Northern Territories of Gold Coast Colony protect their plantations by stones marked with crosses and also by feathers, horns, and other objects suspended from sticks. "What particular power they are supposed to have I know not, and it is likewise, I presume, the ignorance of the native on this point which makes for the greater efficacy of the 'medicine'."[179]

Slaves from West Africa seem to have carried the property taboo to the New World, where it is still found among the Negroes of Surinam.[180] It was also known to some of the aborigines. An old writer tells us that the Caribs enclosed their plots of land, "onely with a little cotton line drawn out in length, to the height of a man's girdle, and they account it a matter of sacrilege, if any passe over the corde, and treade on the possessions of his neighbour, and hold it for certaine that whoso violateth this sacred thing, shall shortly perish."[181] In former days the people of Cumaná, Venezuela, protected their plantations by drawing round them a single cotton thread. Any one who tampered with it was believed to be doomed to a speedy death.[182] The Juris of Brazil stretch cotton threads across gaps in the fences surrounding their fields to protect the crops from trespassers.[183]

It is clear that beliefs and practices which we can only describe as "superstitions" have often been employed to buttress a system, previously existing, of individual ownership. While taboos of private property seem to be almost unknown among the Australian aborigines and to be very rare among the American Indians, they have a wide prevalence in New Guinea, Melanesia, Polynesia, and the Indonesian area and they are found in much of Negro Africa. To the operation of such taboos we may confidently assign no slight influence in developing a sense of the sacredness of private property among primitive peoples over a large part of the world.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER X

[1] See Richard Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche* (Stuttgart, 1878), pp. 114–27; Heinrich Schurtz, *Die Speiseverbote* (Hamburg, 1893) (*Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge,* Heft 184); Ernest Crawley, "Drinks, Drinking," Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,* V, 72–82; *idem,* "Food," VI, 59–63; Edward Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (London, 1906–1908), II, 290–345 (especially 319 ff.).

[2] Sir Baldwin Spencer has pointed out how among the Australian tribes a food restriction may become socialized. "A woman, while bearing a child, may once have eaten some special food and have, afterwards, been seriously ill. That, in itself, would be quite enough reason for a restriction to be placed on that particular food in regard to all women in the same condition" (*Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia* [London, 1914], p. 342). With reference to the Sema Naga, Mr. Hutton remarks that certain of their food taboos might easily have originated in the fact that a given article of diet was believed to have been injurious to some member of the group. If his descendants were prolific, the avoidance in question might in time be accepted by an entire kindred or larger social unit. "One is reminded of the reason given by some Semas for reaping by hand only, because one man once slashed his stomach and killed himself when reaping with a *dao*" (J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas* [London, 1921], pp. 396 f.).

[3] See Sir J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (London, 1910), IV, 217 ff; H. Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies* (2d ed., New York, 1932), pp. 65 ff.

[4] Mrs. K. L. Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe* (London, 1905), p. 23. For the removal of a particular taboo it was necessary to bring a boy and the food into forcible contact. Thus he was made free to eat the emu only after his father and the medicine man had rubbed some of the animal's fat on his joints and had put a piece of its flesh in his mouth. "The boy chewed it, making a noise as he did so of fright and disgust; finally he dropped the meat from his mouth, making a blowing noise through his lips of 'Ooh! Ooh! Ooh!' After that he could eat the flesh" (p. 24). Among the Kurnai a youth was allowed to eat the flesh of an animal previously forbidden to him after one of the old men suddenly and unexpectedly smeared some of its cooked fat over his face. This was done at the *Jeraeil,* the tribal initiation ceremony (A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* [London, 1904], p. 633).

[5] Sir Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1904), pp. 167 f., 612.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 611 f.

[7] Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1899), pp. 470 f.; Spencer, *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia*, pp. 612 f.; Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 640. *Per contra* R. Brough Smyth: "Some suppose that cunning old men established the laws for the purpose of reserving to themselves those kinds of food which it was most difficult to procure, and that one effect of their prohibitions was to make the young men expert in hunting; and it has been suggested that the eating of some animals was interdicted in order that the natural increase might not be prevented. In looking over the list of animals prohibited to young men, to women, and to children, one fails to see, however, any good reasons for the selection—unless we regard nearly the whole of the prohibitions as having their source in superstitious beliefs" (*The Aborigines of Victoria* [Melbourne, 1878], I, 234).

[8] R. H. Mathews, *Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales and Victoria* (Sydney, 1905), pp. 59 f. The author points out that among these tribes animals and plants which are prolific or numerous are the totems of a greater number of men than those which are more or less scarce; thus the wallaby, duck, and yam men exceed in number the porcupine and pelican men (p. 60).

[9] W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines* (Brisbane, 1897), pp. 57, 69 f.; cf. *idem*, in *Records of the Australian Museum*, Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 168 f.

[10] Mrs. K. L. Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 f., 23 f., 29 f.. "One old fellow told me once that when he was going to a public house he took a miniature form of his *yunbeai*, which was the Kurrea—crocodile—out of himself and put it safely in a bottle of water, in case by any chance he got drunk, and an enemy, knowing his *yunbeai*, coaxed it away. I wanted to see that *yunbeai* in a bottle, but never succeeded" (p. 21).

[11] W. H. R. Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society* (Cambridge, 1914), I, 154 ff.

[12] George Turner, *Samoa* (London, 1884), pp. 17 f. See also W. T. Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences* (London, 1866), pp. 106 ff.

[13] Charles Hose and William McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo* (London, 1912), II, 90 ff.

[14] On guardian spirits among the American Indians see Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, III, 370–456. See also Ruth F. Benedict, "The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America," *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, No. 29.

[15] Bronislaw Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia* (New York, 1929), pp. 31 f. The noun *bomala*, meaning taboo, takes the pronominal suffixes of nearest possession, a fact which signifies that a man's taboos are linguistically classed with those objects most intimately bound up with his person: parts of his body, his personal qualities (as mind and will), and his kindred (p. 461).

[16] A. P. Lyons, "The Significance of the Parental State amongst Muruans," *Man*, XXV (1925), 131 f. Cf. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "Father, Mother, and Child," *ibid.*, XXVI (1926), 159 f. With the Muruan custom may be compared that of the Tallensi of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, West Africa. These natives impose various prohibitions on the first-born son of a man with the idea of emphasizing the relationship between them. The son may

not have any contact with his father's clothes, grain-store, bow, or quiver—symbols of a man's personality—until his father dies and he succeeds to the status which accompanies possession of them. Nor may son and father eat together, lest the fingernail of one scratch the hand of the other. If this happened, the son would pine away and probably die. The same penalty would follow his infringement of the other taboos. See M. Fortes, "Kinship, Incest, and Exogamy of the Northern Tribes of the Gold Coast," in L. H. Dudley Buxton (editor), *Custom Is King. Essays Presented to R. R. Marett* (London, 1936), p. 247.

[17] George Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians* (London, 1910), pp. 72, 126. According to A. Hahl, each degree of Iniat has its particular food restrictions (*Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel*, XIII, [1897], 76). According to B. Danks, a person who ate pork or the forbidden kinds of fish would suffer from an inflated stomach and other physical ills, these ending in death (*Report of the Fourth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science* [1892], p. 618).

[18] Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society*, I, 151 f. A similar belief is found in the island of Motlav, not far from Mota (p. 153).

[19] Dugald Campbell, *In the Heart of Bantuland* (London, 1922), pp. 92, 95.

[20] A. T. Culwick and G. M. Culwick, *Ubena of the Rivers* (London, 1935), pp. 182 ff.

[21] J. H. Weeks, *Among Congo Cannibals* (London, 1913), p. 296.

[22] *Idem, Among the Primitive Bakongo* (London, 1914), pp. 245 ff. According to R. E. Dennett, many families observe the inherited taboos relating to animal food because their ancestors owed a debt of gratitude to the animals which are not now eaten. Various stories are told to account for the abstinence thus practiced (*Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Fjort* [London, 1898], p. 10). On these taboos, which are called *xina* or *tschina* on the Loango coast, see further, Adolf Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste* (Jena, 1874–1875), I, 183 f.; E. Pechüel-Loesche, *Volkskunde von Loango* (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 455–66.

[23] G. C. Claridge, *Wild Bush Tribes of Tropical Africa* (London, 1922), pp. 130 f. The author lived for twelve years among these tribes.

[24] P. B. Du Chaillu, *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa* (London, 1861), pp. 308 f.

[25] R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa* (New York, 1904), pp. 78 f.

[26] Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa* (London, 1897), pp. 455 f.

[27] S. S. Farrow, *Faith, Fancies, and Fetich, or Yoruba Paganism* (London, 1926), p. 95.

[28] Diedrich Westermann, *Die Kpelle* (Göttingen and Leipzig, 1921), pp. 56 f. The author points out that similar brotherhoods exist among the Mandingo of Senegambia.

[29] M. J. Herskovits and Frances S. Herskovits, *Suriname Folk-Lore* (New York, 1936), pp. 36 f. Of the two names for these food taboos *kina* comes from the Bantu (Loango) word *tschina*, and *trefu* is of Hebrew origin.

[30] J. Jetté, "On the Medicine-Men of the Ten'a," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XXXVII (1907), 172.

[31] F. Boas, in *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 593.

[32] J. E. Calder, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, III (1874), 16. Cf. H. Ling Roth, *The Aborigines of Tasmania* (2d ed., Halifax, England, 1899), pp. 63, 88. According to another account, the Tasmanians avoided fresh-water fish, but did eat marine fish, which were speared in shallow water and

were also caught in nets (James Bonwick, *Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians* [London, 1870], pp. 14 f.).

[33] Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, I, 237.

[34] Carl Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals* (New York, 1889), p. 225. The Wonkonguru of the Lake Eyre district cannot eat fresh pork even when they do not know what it is; their stomachs reject it. They can eat bacon, if not too greasy (G. Horne and G. Aiston, *Savage Life in Central Australia* [London, 1924], p. 144).

[35] Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 566.

[36] C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 580.

[37] Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, pp. 125 f.

[38] Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society*, I, 177. The shark is also avoided by the natives of Uripiv, an islet of Malekula in the New Hebrides (B. T. Somerville, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XXIII [1894], 381).

[39] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), pp. 32 f.

[40] Hugh Low, *Sarawak* (London, 1848), p. 266.

[41] J. M. van Barckel, *in Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde*, XXVI (1881), 431 f.

[42] A. S. Bickmore, in *Transactions of the Ethnological Society* (n.s., 1869), VII, 20.

[43] A. Wirth, in *American Anthropologist*, X (1897), 364.

[44] Fosberry, in *Journal of the Ethnological Society* (n.s., 1869), I, 192.

[45] T. C. Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur* (London, 1911), p. 182.

[46] C. G. Seligman and Brenda Z. Seligman, *The Veddas* (Cambridge, 1911), pp. 178 ff. The authors think that the avoidance of elephants, leopards, jackals, bears, and wild buffaloes is due to the fact that these animals are, and always have been, dangerous to hunt by a people so poorly armed as the Vedda; it was safer to hunt deer and venison was more palatable. But this explanation will not apply to the avoidance of domestic buffaloes and of both wild and domestic fowl.

[47] E. H. Man, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XVIII (1889), 367.

[48] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 239 f. "The restrictions on the use of the milk of the sacred animals have the general characters associated with taboos, and the whole daily ritual of the dairy would seem to be designed to remove the taboo. It is possible that at one time the milk of the sacred buffaloes was not used at all, and that these animals only suckled their calves. If the Todas had begun to milk the sacred buffaloes, it is natural that the milking and churning should have been accompanied by ritual designed to counteract the evils to be expected from the profanation of the sacred substance and the breaking of the taboo. In certain circumstances even now the Todas do not milk their sacred buffaloes, but allow them to suckle their calves only" (p. 241).

[49] See W. Crooke, "The Veneration of the Cow in India," *Folk-Lore*, XXIII (1912), 286 ff.; B. Laufer, "Some Fundamental Ideas of Chinese Culture," *Journal of Race Development*, V (1914), 167 f.

[50] Gustav Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's* (Breslau, 1872), pp. 106 f. According to another account, women are forbidden to eat fish, whereas fish, swine, hares, and poultry (but not wild fowl) are all "unclean" for men (J. Macdonald, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XIX [1890], 279). Menstruating women must not drink milk; if they did so, the cattle would die

(*ibid.*, XX [1891], 138). Evil consequences are also looked for if people who are living the sexual life should drink beestings. Among the Basoga the milk of a cow that has calved is taboo, except to boys (presumably not arrived at puberty); the prohibition continues until the umbilical cord has dropped from the calf. (John Roscoe, *The Bagesu and Other Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate* [Cambridge, 1924], p. 110). The Baganda do not allow a cow to be milked for the first four days after it has calved, but leave the milk for the calf. The rule might seem to be dictated by consideration for the calf; if so, how shall we account for the fact that during these four days the owner's wife is not allowed to cultivate the garden? (*idem, The Baganda* [London, 1911], p. 418). Among the Bahima of Uganda the milk from a cow that has calved may not be drunk by a married person for two or three days. A young boy may do so, however. Were the prohibition disregarded, the cow would cease to give milk and the calf would die (*idem, The Soul of Central Africa* [London, 1922], p. 92).

[51] H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (2d ed., London, 1912), II, 83 f.

[52] *Ibid.*, II, 80 ff. The Thonga clearly differentiate between their rejection of certain foods because of "disgust" (*nyena*), as in the case of pigs and snails, and of other foods because these are taboo (*yila*). In the latter class are four kinds of birds, the toad, and a species of beetle (II, 82 f.).

[53] Mrs. Eileen J. Krige, *The Social System of the Zulu* (London, 1936), p. 388.

[54] Sir R. F. Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa* (London, 1860), II, 281.

[55] G. A. Haggenmacher, in *Petermann's Mittheilungen, Ergänzungsband,* Vol. X, No. 47, p. 30.

[56] A. M. Champion, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XLII (1912), 81.

[57] W. S. Routledge and Katherine Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People* (London, 1910), pp. 49 f.

[58] John Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 137.

[59] Philip Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas* (Berlin, 1893–1896), I, 157.

[60] E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXXVI (1906), 42.

[61] Torday and Joyce, *ibid.*, p. 279.

[62] Weeks, *Among Congo Cannibals,* pp. 296 f.

[63] Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste,* I, 185.

[64] Bernhard Schwarz, *Kamerun* (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 177, 257.

[65] T. E. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee* (London, 1819), p. 319. According to Miss Kingsley, West Africans "have all a perfect horror of drinking milk, holding this custom to be a filthy habit, and saying so in unmitigated language" (*Travels in West Africa,* p. 451).

[66] G. T. Basden, *Niger Ibos* (London [1938]), p. 230. At Awka in the Ibo country men are not allowed to eat snails, though women and children may do so (p. 158).

[67] A. J. N. Tremearne, *The Tailed Head-Hunters of Nigeria* (London, 1912), p. 78.

[68] Alice C. Cook, in *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1900), II, 454.

[69] W. B. Grubb, *An Unknown People in an Unknown Land* (London, 1911), p. 137.

[70] W. A. Cook, *Through the Wildernesses of Brazil* (New York, 1909), p. 408. According to Karl von den Steinen, the flesh of deer cannot be eaten before it has been "blessed" by a medicine man. Some people will not eat it even when this ceremony has been held. The animal is therefore seldom killed. Certain kinds of fish, all particularly large and tasty, must also be "blessed" before they can be safely eaten. The souls supposed to be incarnated in all the tabooed animals are those of deceased medicine men; hence living medicine men seem to be specially qualified to remove the taboo (*Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens* [Berlin, 1894], pp. 491 ff., 511 f.).

[71] Franz Keller, *The Amazon and Madeira Rivers* (London, 1874), p. 84.

[72] M. W. Stirling, in *Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, No. 117, p. 107.

[73] R. H. Schomburgh, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, XV (1845), 28 f.

[74] E. F. Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana* (London, 1883), p. 368.

[75] W J McGee, in *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part I, p. 203.

[76] W. Matthews, in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XII (1899), 5.

[77] F. H. Cushing, quoted by W. Matthews, "Ichthyophobia," *ibid.*, XI (1898), 110. A violation of the fish taboo is followed by madness (Matthews, *loc. cit.*).

[78] A. M. Stephen, in *American Anthropologist*, VI (1893), 357. Linguistically, the Navaho belong to the widespread Athapascan stock of the far north. The Athapascan tribes, who dwell in well-watered regions, have no fish taboo; indeed, they almost subsist on fish for a considerable part of the year. Hence it is probable that the Navaho adopted this taboo from the sedentary tribes of the Southwest, after their entrance into New Mexico and Arizona (W. Matthews, in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XI [1898], 111).

[79] J. G. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook* (New York, 1891), p. 125.

[80] James Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), p. 133.

[81] J. H. Dunbar, in *Magazine of American History*, V (1880), 323.

[82] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Information Respecting . . . . the Indian Tribes of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1865), V, 215.

[83] M. Eels, in *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1887*, Part I, p. 622.

[84] E. H. Man, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XII (1883), 159. Puluga also dislikes very much the smell of burning beeswax and manifests his displeasure by sending a storm. "Owing to this belief it is a common practice secretly to burn wax when a person against whom they bear ill-will is engaged in fishing, hunting, or the like, the object being to spoil his sport and cause him as much discomfort as possible; hence arises the saying among them, when suddenly overtaken by a storm, that some one must be burning wax" (p. 154).

[85] E. H. Man, *ibid.*, pp. 153, 172 f. On these Andamanese taboos see also A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders* (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 116, 152 ff., 160 f., 273.

[86] Sir H. H. Johnston, *The Kilima-njaro Expedition* (London, 1886), p. 425. Cf. Joseph Thomson, *Through Masai Land* (4th ed., London, 1885), p. 445. According to another account, boiled milk is regularly drunk by sick persons (M. Merker, *Die Masai* [Berlin, 1904], p. 32).

[87] J. A. Meldon, in *Journal of the African Society*, No. 22, p. 142.

[88] See M. J. Herskovits, "The Cattle Complex in East Africa," *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1926), XXVIII, 516 ff. According to Sir J. G. Frazer, the

reluctance to subject milk to the heat of fire is due to the belief in a sympathetic relation between a cow and the milk drawn from her; the cow would dry up or actually perish. See *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament* (London, 1919), III, 118 ff. The rule which forbids meat and milk to be consumed at the same time or on the same day (a rule observed by the Masai, Suk, Nandi, and other East African tribes) may likewise be explained by the fear that the contact of the two substances in the stomach of the consumer would be injurious, if not fatal, to the cows (*ibid.*, III, 151 ff.).

[89] W. E. Roth, "An Inquiry into the Animism and Folk-Lore of the Guiana Indians," *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 295. Among the Arawak no food may be eaten after nightfall. Anyone guilty of this offense is "invariably" changed into an animal (pp. 184 f., 295). These Indians, when at sea or on a big river, are very careful as to what they do with the pot-spoon. After being used, it may be washed in the boat, but never is it washed in the sea or the river; to do so would cause squalls and storms (p. 267).

[90] A. M. Stephen, in *American Anthropologist*, VI (1893), 357 f.

[91] D. Jenness, "The Life of the Copper Eskimo," *Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913–18*, XII, 182 f. "Nature has ordained that certain animals shall live in the sea and others on the land. The Eskimo therefore must follow the same distinction, and keep the products of the two regions separate. He is a little vague as to who enforces the taboo. Sometimes he says that the animals themselves would be offended and avenge themselves on the transgressors, who would then die of starvation; sometimes that the shades of the Eskimo dead would take offense and wreak their vengeance by sending terrible storms or a plague of sickness and death, especially when the natives are living on the sea ice; at other times, again, it is a deity who dwells at the bottom of the sea and controls the supply of seals, or another living in the sky, or one of the many spirits that dwell in cliffs and tide-cracks and similar places, in so far as they have any fixed abode. But whatever the manner in which he thinks the taboo will be enforced—and the same Eskimo will believe in every one of them—there is no doubt whatever in his mind that punishment will inevitably follow disobedience. Woe betide the Eskimos if they fail to observe the due restrictions; sooner or later misfortune will overtake them in some form or another, and then the sin, however secret, is sure to come to light. Even if the wrongdoer does not confess immediately, as often happens, yet the shamans will soon discover his transgression when they invoke their familiar spirits and inquire into the cause of the misfortunes" (p. 182).

[92] D. Jenness, *ibid.*, p. 98.

[93] E. W. Hawkes, *The Labrador Eskimo* (Ottawa, 1916) (*Geological Survey Memoir*, No. 91), p. 133.

[94] F. Boas, in *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 595. These Eskimo also apply such "alternating prohibitions" to their occupations. They may not go out to capture walrus until they have finished working on garments of reindeer skin, and after the beginning of the walrus hunt no one may make such garments. When two natives were asked to make a sleeping bag of reindeer skin, they refused to do so, for it was then the walrus season. They "would both die, and no more walrus could be caught" (C. F. Hall, *Life with the Esquimaux* [London, 1864], II, 321). A distinction between products of the sea and those of the land is also drawn by some Queensland tribes, among whom, however, it relates to the nature of the punishment provided for young people violating the food taboos imposed upon them before their arrival at puberty. To eat the forbidden sea foods makes the culprit's hair turn gray. To eat the forbidden comestibles of terrestrial origin makes him sick, because the particular animal, whose flesh he so recklessly consumed, will build its nest or lay

its eggs inside the back of his neck. See W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography Bulletin,* No. 11 (*Records of the Australian Museum,* Vol. VII, No. 2, p. 76).

[95] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia,* pp. 167–211; *iidem, Northern Tribes of Central Australia,* pp. 283–327.

[96] A. C. Haddon, *Head-Hunters, Black, White, and Brown* (London, 1901), pp. 270 ff. The Fuluaari men are required to remain strictly continent while they guard the growing crops. They may not even look at a woman; if they happen to pass one, it behooves them to cast down their eyes modestly (*loc. cit.*).

[97] J. H. Holmes, *In Primitive New Guinea* (London, 1924), pp. 235 f.

[98] Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea,* pp. 576 f.

[99] B. Malinowski, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia,* XXXIX (1915), 586.

[100] *Idem, Coral Gardens and Their Magic* (London, 1935), I, 301 ff. Among these natives there is also a protective taboo to prevent the theft of ripening fruits or nuts so far from the village that they cannot be watched. A small parcel of medicated substance is placed on a stick, near or on the tree, and a spell is recited by the magician. The spell may be regarded as a "conditional curse," which would fall upon anyone who touched the fruit and bring upon him a disease. Sometimes a wood spirit is invited to reside on the stick and substance and to guard the fruit (*idem, Argonauts of the Western Pacific* [London, 1922], pp. 425 f.).

[101] Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians,* p. 126.

[102] John Inglis, in *Journal of the Ethnological Society,* III (1854), 62.

[103] Emma Hadfield, *Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group* (London, 1920), pp. 65 f.

[104] Thomas Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians* (3d ed., London, 1870), pp. 198 f.

[105] Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society,* I, 388 f.

[106] James Cook and James King, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (London, 1784), I, 410 f. William Mariner describes the ceremonial feasting and *kava* drinking by which a taboo, laid on hogs, fowls, and coconuts, was lifted. Such a restriction might last as long as eight months. A few plantations were not subject to it, in order that these foods might be available for occasional rites and also for the consumption of the upper classes (John Martin, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands . . . . from the Extensive Communications of Mr. William Mariner* [3d ed., Edinburgh, 1827], III, 117 ff., 173 f.).

[107] J. A. Moerenhout, *Voyages aux îsles du grand océan* (Paris, 1837), I, 531.

[108] Eyriaud des Vergnes, in *Revue maritime et coloniale,* LII (1877), 730. The Marquesans had a regular closed season for the bonito (Moerenhout, *op. cit.,* I, 516 f.). Robert Louis Stevenson comments on the "thoroughly sensible ends" for which devilfish, when growing scarce upon the reef, and coconut palms, when suffering by the plucking of green nuts, might be made taboo for a time. While many Marquesan taboos appear absurd enough, more often they were "wise and needful restrictions" (*In the South Seas,* Part I, chap. vi).

[109] W. D. Alexander, *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People* (New York, 1899), 52 f.

[110] J. S. Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders* (London, 1840), I, 275 f. The seaside was often tabooed by certain tribes which possessed the sole right of procuring shellfish on the beach (*loc. cit.*).

[111] J. [S.] Kubary, *Ethnographische Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Karolinischen Inselgruppe und Nachbarschaft,* Heft I, *Die socialen Einrichtungen der Pelauer* (Berlin, 1885), pp. 85 f.

[112] Otto Finsch, *Ethnologische Erfahrungen und Belegstücke aus der Südsee* (Wien, 1893) (*Separat Abgedrukt aus den Annalen des K. K. Naturhistorischen Hofmuseums in Wien,* Band III), pp. 305 f.

[113] Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur,* pp. 167 f.; cf. *idem,* "The 'Genna' amongst the Tribes of Assam," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXXVI (1906), 94.

[114] T. J. Alldridge, *The Sherbro and Its Hinterland* (London, 1901), p. 133.

[115] Dorothy Cator, *Everyday Life among the Head-Hunters and Other Experiences from East to West* (London, 1905), p. 192. See also B. Wallis, "The 'Poro' Society of the Mendi," *Journal of the African Society,* No. 14, p. 188.

[116] F. W. Butt-Thompson, *West African Secret Societies* (London, 1929), p. 141.

[117] Robert Fitz-Roy (editor), *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty's Ships "Adventure" and "Beagle"* (London, 1839), II, 180.

[118] W. E. Roth, in *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* p. 292. The belief referred to is illustrated by the Warrau story of a party of Indians who did nothing but hunt baboons until the grandfather of all baboons killed every one of them with his sharp claws. He and his spirit descendants were killed in turn, but before dying they choked and coughed a great deal and the grandfather swore that this choking and coughing should afflict the people forever. "We Warrau Indians have known the sickness for a long time as the 'baboon cough,' but you white people are ignorant of this, and persist in calling it whooping cough" (pp. 292 f.).

[119] W J McGee, in *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* Part I, p. 191.

[120] J. W. Fewkes, "Property-Right in Eagles among the Hopi," *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1900), II, 702. The Maricopa Indians consider eagle feathers, which are worn as ornaments in men's hair, to be exceedingly dangerous until treated by a shaman. He first puffed the smoke of four cigarettes over them and then sucked each one, in order to remove their "poison." After purifying a feather in this manner, the shaman tied it to a young man's hair. Even then its proud possessor would not dare to touch a drinking utensil after having touched the feather he wore. If he did so, people who used the utensil would get sick. See Leslie Spier, *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River* (Chicago, 1933), pp. 291 f.

[121] See J. A. MacCulloch, "Firstfruits (Introductory and Primitive)," Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,* VI, 41–45; E. N. Fallaize, "Harvest," *ibid.,* VI, 520–25; Andrew Lang, *Magic and Religion* (London, 1901), pp. 257–69. For an extensive collection of the evidence see Sir J. G. Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild* (London, 1912), (*The Golden Bough,* 3d ed., Part V), II, 48–86, 109–37; *idem, Aftermath* (London, 1936), pp. 402–7. See, further, Max Gluckmann, "Social Aspects of First-Fruits Ceremonies among the South-Eastern Bantu," *Africa,* XI (1938), 25–41, with a full bibliography.

[122] Lorimer Fison, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XIV (1885), 27. "The *nanga* was the 'bed' of the ancestors, that is, the spot where their descendants might hold communion with them; the *mbaki* were the rites celebrated in the *nanga,* whether of initiating the youths, or of presenting the first-fruits, or of recovering the sick, or of winning charms against wounds in battle" (Sir Basil H. Thomson, *The Fijians* [London, 1908], p. 147).

[123] See Martin-Mariner, *op. cit.* (3d ed.), II, 168–73, for a description of the ceremony.

[124] William Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (2d ed., London, 1831), I, 350.

[125] George Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia* (London, 1861), p. 327.

[126] Edward Tregear, *The Maori Race* (Wanganui, New Zealand, 1904), pp. 87 ff. Cf. *Old New Zealand,* by a Pakeka Maori (London, 1884), pp. 103 f. In the autumn, when the *kumara* was gathered, all paths leading to a village and its cultivated fields were closed off by being made *tapu.* The blockade prevented the report of an unusually fine crop of *kumara* from reaching outsiders, who might break in and try to carry it off by main force. Sometimes this happened and the cultivators lost their lives (*ibid.,* pp. 133 f.).

[127] Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (2d ed.), I, 394, 404; II, 28, 403 f.

[128] C. W. Hobley, *Bantu Beliefs and Magic* (London, 1922), p. 74.

[129] Mary H. Kingsley, *West African Studies* (1st ed., London, 1899), pp. 174 f., 450.

[130] See Sir J. G. Frazer, *Psyche's Task* (2d ed., London, 1913), pp. 20–43; Westermarck, *Moral Ideas,* II, 59–69; *idem,* "Die religiöse Sanktionierung des Eigentums auf tieferen Kulturstufen," *Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft,* X (1907), 81–92.

[131] W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography Bulletin,* No. 11 (*Records of the Australian Museum,* Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 75 ff.). Spittle, being also an intimate part of a man's personality, is sometimes used to protect his possessions. In the D'Entrecasteaux Islands a man expectorates on his fruit trees, making his saliva red by chewing betel nut; then bloody pustules will form on the head and body of a thief and he may even die (D. Jenness and A. Ballantyne, *The Northern D'Entrecasteaux* [Oxford, 1920], p. 74). When the Barotse, a South African tribe, "do not want a thing touched they spit on straws and stick them all about the object" (Lionel Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa* [London, 1900], p. 77). Among the Bakongo, "if a person is called away from his meal, he will pretend to spit on it, and no one will dare to touch the food while he is away" (Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo,* p. 239).

[132] A. C. Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits,* VI, 226.

[133] Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea,* pp. 574 ff.; cf. pp. 136 ff. (Koita).

[134] Seligman, *op. cit.,* pp. 643 f., quoting the Rev. Copland King.

[135] B. Malinowski, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia,* XXXIX (1915), 586 f.

[136] F. E. Williams, *Orokaiva Society* (Oxford, 1930), pp. 328 f. The author saw an eight-of-diamonds wedged in a split stick and set up in a village to forbid playing cards. It had been erected by a man of influence who had "somehow acquired conscientious scruples regarding the forbidden game" (p. 324).

[137] Jenness and Ballantyne, *op. cit.,* pp. 74 ff.

[138] R. F. Fortune, *Sorcerers of Dobu* (London, 1932), pp. 138 ff. The protection accorded by these taboos is not always adequate. Sometimes a daring thief will recite his own incantation over a tree from which he has stolen, trusting that the result will be to "infect" the owner if the owner's "infection" catches him (p. 83).

[139] Margaret Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea* (New York, 1930), p. 320.

[140] R. Parkinson, *Im Bismarck-Archipel* (Leipzig, 1887), p. 144.

[141] A. I. Hopkins, *In the Isles of King Solomon* (London, 1928), p. 128.

[142] B. T. Somerville, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXVI (1897), 404 f.

[143] *Ibid.,* p. 387. At Rubiana, while any owner of a coconut grove can raise

a *hope,* the effects of violating it may be frustrated by paying twenty shell rings, no more and no less, to the proprietor. We are told of a certain native, with decidedly capitalistic tendencies, who once took advantage of the owner's absence to enter a coconut grove and, with the aid of his numerous wives, to rob it of several thousand nuts. All he paid to the proprietor was the twenty rings, which did not begin to cover the cost of the depredation (*ibid.,* p. 388).

[144] W. H. R. Rivers, *Medicine, Magic, and Religion* (London, 1924), pp. 32 ff. Rivers and A. M. Hocart found in Eddystone Island about a hundred examples of such conjoined processes of taboo and medicine.

[145] Codrington, *The Melanesians,* p. 216. The *soloi* signs of the Banks Islands protect a man's property only from persons who do not belong to the society of which it is the badge. Consequently, a man who belongs to one large society would find its badge of little service, since his property would still be at the mercy of all the members of his society. However, a man usually belongs to several societies, and by combining their badges he may be able to protect his property against everybody (Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society,* I, 92).

[146] W. Gray, in *Report of the Fourth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science* (1892), p. 652.

[147] A. Liversidge, in *Man,* XXI (1921), 133.

[148] Raymond Firth, *Primitive Polynesian Economy* (London, 1939), pp. 204–12, 271.

[149] E. M. Loeb, "History and Traditions of Niue," *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin,* No. 32, p. 172.

[150] E. W. Gifford, "Tongan Society," *ibid.,* No. 61, p. 343.

[151] Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition* (Philadelphia, 1845), II, 33. Cf. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (2d ed.), III, 201. The early missionaries, Tyerman and Bennet, saw coconut trees with patches of leaves tied about the stems and prohibited to all except their owners. They were told that such a prohibition was seldom violated. When that happened, the delinquent was banished to a desolate island "as unworthy of honest society" (James Montgomery, *Voyages and Travels Round the World by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet* [2d ed., London, 1841], p. 23). In this case the punishment involved seems to have been only at human hands, but doubtless the trees were, or had been, also protected by the fear of a non-human punishment for interfering with them.

[152] Turner, *Samoa,* pp. 185 ff. At the time of Turner's writing belief in the power of these taboos had not been eradicated, and the sickness and dying hours of more than one hardened thief still brought out a confession of his guilt (p. 188).

[153] *Ibid.,* p. 283.

[154] Mrs. T. W. Edgeworth David, *Funafuti; or Three Months on a Coral Island* (London, 1899), p. 197.

[155] J. S. Gardiner, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXVII (1898), 409.

[156] Herman Melville, *Typee* (new ed., Boston, 1892), p. 325.

[157] *In the South Seas,* Part I, chap. vi. According to Ellis, a man who places a taboo on his own property has himself to observe the restriction, "so that, during its continuance, he dare not appropriate to his own use the smallest portion of the article thus prohibited" (*Polynesian Researches* [2d ed.], III, 314).

[158] Elsdon Best, "Notes on the Custom of 'Rahui'," *Journal of the Polynesian Society,* XIII (1904), 83–88. See also Firth, *Primitive Economics of the*

*New Zealand Maori*, pp. 247–52. An early authority on the Maori enumerates among the things which might be made *tapu*, property left in a house not occupied by its owner, a house containing seeds, a canoe lying on the beach, a tree selected for future working up into a canoe, and a sweet potato (*kumara*) plantation (Ernest Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand* [London, 1843], II, 100 f.).

[159] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik-en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* ('s Gravenhage, 1886), pp. 61 f. (Amboina), 114 f. (Ceram), 317 (Luang-Sermata Islands).

[160] Paul Arndt, *Mythologie, Religion und Magie in Sikagebiet (östl. Mittelflores)* (Emde, Flores, [1932]), p. 95. On the *ata busung*, or magician, see *ibid.*, pp. 290 ff.

[161] A. R. Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago* (10th ed., London, 1890), I, 149 f.; cf. II, 451.

[162] H. O. Forbes, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XIV (1885), 125.

[163] Sir Spenser St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East* (2d ed., London, 1863), I, 199.

[164] W. H. Furness, *The Home-Life of the Borneo Head-Hunters* (Philadelphia, 1902), p. 115.

[165] E. H. Man, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XV (1886), 449.

[166] Robert Percival, *An Account of the Island of Ceylon* (London, 1803), p. 198.

[167] James Sibree, *Madagascar before the Conquest* (London, 1896), p. 172. See, further, Arnold van Gennep, *Tabou et totémisme à Madagascar* (Paris, 1904), pp. 183–93.

[168] David Livingston, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London, 1857), p. 285.

[169] Charles New, *Life, Wanderings and Labours in Eastern Africa* (London, 1873), p. 106.

[170] Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 15.

[171] C. W. Hobley, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XXXIII (1903), 343.

[172] Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo*, p. 239. See also J. Merolla da Sorrento, "A Voyage to Congo," in John Pinkerton, *A General Collection of . . . . Voyages and Travels* (London, 1814), XVI, 238.

[173] Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 85.

[174] Mary H. Kingsley, *West African Studies* (2d ed., London, 1901), p. 397. The fetishes placed about a farm or a house "are said to blow to pieces and utterly destroy the thief; but the owner of the farm or house will walk upon them without a qualm, whilst the thief will walk long miles to avoid them. Moreover, should the owner make a mistake and set his fetish against one who is not guilty, or if he attempts to use it spitefully, the fetish force invoked will not only *not* attack the innocent, but will turn and smite the owner with the evils he has sought unjustly to induce in the guiltless" (Butt-Thompson, *West African Secret Societies*, p. 143).

[175] Miss Kingsley, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

[176] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (London, 1890), pp. 91 f.

[177] Le Comte C. N. de Cardi, "Ju-ju Laws and Customs in the Niger Delta," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XXIX (1899), 51 f.

[178] P. A. Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush* (London, 1912), p. 296.

[179] A. W. Cardinall, *The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast* (London [1920]), p. 86.

[180] K. Martin, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, XXXV (1886), 30.

[181] Peter Martyr, *De Nouo Orbe, or the Historie of the West Indies* (London, 1612), p. 296. (Decade VIII, chap. vi).

[182] C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Von dem Rechtszustande unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens* (Munich, 1832), pp. 37 f.

[183] *Idem, Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's, zumal Brasiliens* (Leipzig, 1867), I, 86. In Dutch Guiana a wisp of straw or a piece of cloth, if laid close to an article, will protect it from interference during the owner's absence (W. E. Roth, in *Thirty-eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 565).

## Chapter XI

# SOCIAL ASPECTS OF TABOO

The taboo system, which reached the acme of development in Polynesia, did not long survive the opening up of the islands to European settlement. Its innumerable restrictions had by this time become almost unbearable for the common people and scarcely less so for the chiefs and priests who were its beneficiaries. In several of the island groups, instead of being slowly and silently abrogated, it was ended by a revolution.

The first missionaries to the South Seas were sent out in the ship "Duff" by the (London) Missionary Society. They landed in 1797 at Tahiti. Pomare I, the king of the island, received them cordially, but years passed before their work of proselytization met any success. The first convert was Pomare II in 1812; he was then an exile on the neighboring island of Moorea. The king exhibited the sincerity of his conversion in a striking manner. One day when a turtle had been presented to him he ordered that this sacred animal, which had always been cooked over a sacred fire within the precincts of a temple and a part of whose flesh had been invariably offered to the idol, should be baked in the royal kitchen and served without the sacrificial act. "The king cut up the turtle and began to eat it, inviting some that sat at meat with him to do the same; but no one could be induced to touch it, as they expected every moment to see him either expire or writhe in strong convulsions. The king endeavoured to convince his companions that their idea of the power of the gods was altogether imaginary and that they had been the subjects of complete delusion; but the people could not believe him." The spread of the new religion was accelerated by the bold act of the priest of the temple in the district where the missionaries resided. Of his own free will and without any prompting by them, he publicly burned the idols in his charge. "The varied emotions of hope and fear, of dread and expectation, with a strange air of mysterious foreboding, agitating the bosoms of the multitude, were strongly marked in the countenances of the spectators; resembling, perhaps

in no small degree, the feeling depicted in the visages of the assembled Israelites, when the prophet Elijah summoned them to prove the power of Baal; or to acknowledge the omnipotence of the Lord God of Israel." This sacrilege, which the gods failed to punish in any way, shook the faith of the people in them, and it was not long before idols, temples, and altars were overthrown and used as firewood throughout Moorea. In 1815 Pomare II returned to Tahiti and reascended the throne of the island. The decisive defeat of a rebel army, whose leaders were opposed to the new religion, was followed by the speedy extirpation of the heathen cults.[1]

In the Hawaiian Islands the abolition of the taboo system late in 1819 was the work of the youthful Kamehameha II (Liholiho), who had succeeded his father only a few months previously. His action was influenced by knowledge of what Pomare II had done in Tahiti. Still more influential was the realization, on the part of both the king and his advisers, that the foreigners who visited the Islands after Cook's discovery of them constantly violated the taboos without suffering any evil effects. The leading chiefs, together with the high priest and the late king's two queens, had lost all faith in the power of their ancient deities and secretly resolved to make away with the taboo system. Kamehameha I had rigidly enforced it as a means of political control, but once its supernatural basis was undermined it could not long survive his death.

Immediately after his accession, Kamehameha II sounded out several of his principal chiefs, who announced their purpose not to observe any more taboos. Though several priests declared that the gods would punish any neglect of the time-honored ordinances, the high priest denied that evil results would follow. Soon afterward the king made a great feast, to which many chiefs, male and female, were invited from the different islands. The guests assembled, the men in one place and the women in another. When the meal was about to begin, the king ordered that some fowls and other dainties which women might not eat should be taken to them; he then entered their eating place, sat down among them, began to partake of the food, and directed them to do the same. "A shout of surprise burst from the multitude around; several other chiefs followed his example. The men and women sat promiscuously and ate the same food, which they called *ai noa,* general or common eating, in opposition to the former *ai tabu,* restricted or sacred eating." This public violation by the king

himself of one of the most stringent of the old taboos produced an effect like the fall of the keystone of an arch; the whole fabric of heathenism collapsed. The temples were destroyed, the high priest setting fire to the principal *marae* and its contents; the idols were overthrown; and the priesthood was abolished. Some of the "straighter sect" rose in revolt against these proceedings, but the civil war soon ended in a complete triumph for the king and his liberal-minded followers. All public worship and sacrifices now ceased. When the first missionaries arrived from the United States, early in 1820, the Hawaiians presented to them the strange spectacle of a people without a religion and ripe for conversion to Christianity.[2]

The first missionaries (Methodists) arrived in the Tonga Islands in 1822. They encountered strong opposition for many years, but George I (Taufaahau), who became king in 1845, gave them his support, and Christianity was at length firmly established in Tongatabu and the neighboring islands. We are told that the king, who seems to have been a man of independent mind, experimented with some of the taboo signs protecting gardens to assure himself of the impotence of the old gods.[3]

The first missionaries reached New Zealand as early as 1814, but a full quarter-century elapsed before Christianity was in the ascendant there. The missionaries did not observe any taboos, nor did the Maori expect them to do so, being foreigners of a race, and votaries of a religion, unlike their own. Converts were required to give up the observance of all taboos, with the result that as the number of natives professing Christianity increased the number of natives observing them as steadily declined, until at length the whole taboo system disappeared.[4]

While the abrogation of the taboo system by the Polynesians was thus the consequence of their intercourse with foreigners, especially with the missionaries, the old beliefs persist to some extent among those islanders least affected by European influence. At Niue taboos are still imposed, but for the most part on those things or actions which are forbidden by the missionaries. The Bible itself is considered by the natives as a book of instructions concerning the taboo and is called *Tohi Tapu,* while Sunday, a taboo day, is known as *Aho Tapu.*[5] In the Tonga Islands white, formerly the sacred color, seems still to possess a certain degree of sanctity. Quite recently one of the native ministers was engaged in "the lucrative sideline of tapuing coconut trees against rats, banana patches against horses, and yam plantations against

pigs. White calico, consecrated by contact with the Bible, was the *tapu* emblem employed."[6]

In Samoa certain high chiefs are still invested with taboos, but the observances relating to chiefs of lower rank, which were formerly motivated by fear of their contagious sanctity, have now become mere rules of etiquette.[7] Where European influence is more extensive, the term taboo may be retained but with an entirely secular significance. In Fiji a planter translates "Trespassers will be prosecuted" by "It is taboo to enter," while in Hawaii (Honolulu) signs reading *Kapu* are used for "No Trespassing," "No Passing Through," "Keep Off."

The decline and obsolescence of taboos in Polynesia throws light on the process which led to their elimination by civilized peoples in past ages. History records, indeed, no sudden and wholesale shaking off of burdens, as in Tahiti and Hawaii. With the progress of mankind prohibitions which had outlived their usefulness were gradually dropped, while those with some sense behind them were retained as religious interdictions, as moral precepts, or as legal enactments.

It is probable, moreover, that various taboos developed into rules of etiquette whose violation involved only vague public disapproval or, at the most, some degree of social ostracism. Every society has its standards of "good form," and these standards, could they be traced back far enough, might often be found to rest on primitive notions of pollution and sanctity. Rules of politeness, the ceremonial observances of courts, the euphemisms of our speech, even our sanitary regulations may have been influenced by such notions.

It is further probable that some of our popular superstitions in regard to "unlucky" objects, actions, words, and times are transformed taboos, these being still upheld by a vague fear of the evils which may follow from their violation, but without the importance, as regulators of conduct, which the original taboos assumed in the lower culture. It should be noticed, however, that primitive peoples themselves sometimes draw a distinction between prohibitions whose infraction results automatically in a state of ritual disability (pollution or sanctity), requiring a ritual purification, and prohibitions whose infraction does not taboo a person but only results in some misfortune for him if steps are not taken to avoid it. The Lushei Kuki of Assam, whose words *hrilh* and *sherh* carry the sense of "taboo," employ the term *thianglo* to refer to anything "unlucky," such as certain acts, dreams,

sights, and sounds. For instance, the sight of an atlas moth, an insect rare in the Lushei Hills, portends disaster. A native, thus duly warned, usually consults a priest or medicine man as to the best means of averting the threatened evil.[8]

A former missionary among the Bechuana points out that in some cases one cannot foresee whether a native will use the term "taboo" or the term "unlucky" with reference to certain situations or happenings. The master of a herd who has an animal which drinks its own urine, sucks its own teats, bleeds at the nose, ejects its cud, has its horns bored by carpenter-beetles, or beats the ground with its tail usually describes such an animal as "unlucky" and tries to get rid of it as soon as possible. But sometimes it is referred to as "taboo." In other cases "ill luck" is clearly distinguished from "taboo." For example, there are two trees in Bechuanaland whose branches are so numerous and so closely interwoven that it is difficult to climb into them and hard to fall out of them. A boy who falls from one of these trees is said to be "unlucky," and his ear must be cut so that the blood drops on the ground and the ill luck with it. On the other hand, an untimely or abnormal birth is always described by the stronger word "taboo."[9] Among the Akikuyu of Kenya, whose *thahu,* or taboos, are exceedingly numerous, these are not the same as precautions depending on the idea of unluckiness. It is unlucky for a Kikuyu woman to sleep with her leather garment inside out, but she is not tabooed if she does so. Any evil results may be averted if she simply spits on the garment and turns it the right way.[10]

There is nothing specifically religious or ethical in the conception of taboo; it seems to lie just as much outside religion and outside morality as notions of "unluckiness" among ourselves. But taboo cannot be considered *in vacuo.* On the one hand, the negative rules which it prescribes, after acceptance as binding by the group, gain inviolability and the sacredness which attaches to all customs long established and of unknown origin. On the other hand, these same rules come to be regarded as expedient for the welfare of the group and so acquire the moral character of all coercive social regulations. Taboo thus enters the spheres of both religion and morality.[11]

Taboos are self-enforcing thou-shalt-nots. This is largely true even when their infraction is held to be punished by spirits, for such punitive "agents" possess little or no personality and punish a transgressor almost if not quite automatically. The rationalization of a taboo system becomes possible when its rules are trans-

formed into religious interdictions. A personal, anthropomorphic god is a creature of reason, who requires of his followers only a reasonable obedience and whose wrath, if kindled against a transgressor, may be turned aside by prayer and offering. It now becomes possible to clear the ground of fettering prohibitions, as being unworthy of the god, and at the same time to invoke his authority for regulations of real usefulness. Thus the arbitrary rules of a taboo system are converted into divine ordinances—the commandments of a deity who would have his worshipers like himself. "Ye shall be holy, for I am holy." The actual process of rationalization escapes us. Among peoples rising into civilization it must have been chiefly the work of reformers whose names and whose activities remain unknown. Nor was it ever perfectly accomplished. The codes attributed to a semi-mythical Moses and Zoroaster and to a mythical Manu, along with regulations for which a utilitarian reason can be perceived, contain many a ritual prohibition which descends straight from savagery.

Once taboos are firmly established and socially recognized, a condition of mind (the conscience or the sense of duty) impels to prompt and unquestioning acceptance of them by everyone. Their character as "categorical imperatives" applies equally to actions and states of being devoid of ethical significance and to customs and institutions which the experience of mankind has proved to possess such significance. On the one hand, menstruous and parturient women, the dead and mourners for the dead, and sacred persons are subject to a multitude of prohibitions having no apparent utility; on the other hand, the marriage bond is safeguarded, communal and private property is protected, and respect for constituted authority is fostered by taboos. A progressive society will slough off prohibitions of the former class as meaningless or at least will subject them to a process of "sublimation," while preserving the unconditional, imperative character of prohibitions whose utility is manifest. This movement must have gone on in many parts of the world as man advanced from savagery to civilization. It may be observed at the present time in primitive communities where the influence of Christianity is becoming dominant.

A missionary among the Thonga of South Africa points out that while their taboos are motivated by strange, unscientific ideas regarding defilement and contagion, these will disappear when scientific knowledge has spread among them. "Let these ideas be somewhat amended, let the natives understand that what is taboo

is not physical uncleanness but moral evil, and their strong aversion to the act tabooed may become a powerful moral impulse for good."[12] A missionary among the Bulu, a West African tribe, looks forward to the moralization of their taboo system. This must be a gradual process, however, since the natives tend at first to confuse the moral rules introduced by Christian teachers with their old taboos, or "tyings." "The ten commandments, as apprehended by the white man in their ethical splendor, are not so apprehended by the black man when God 'ties him with ten tyings' in the 'early morning' of his Christian day. They are not then to him the expressions of ideals; they are facts, definite laws of abstainings, of omission and commission. They are the Eldorado of taboo." Nevertheless they are emancipating, for they offer a way of escape from a man-made yoke of superstitions. "The practice of the law promises at first to be an exact science—the perfect taboo for which our Bulu has blindly searched and which is here given him with the marks of divine authority."[13]

Those customs of a primitive community whose infraction is punished by its members constitute its civil laws. The long arm of the group reaches out to the offender, who may be ostracized, or expelled from the group, or subjected to corporal punishment, bodily mutilation, or even execution. While by no means all civil laws have originated as taboos, we may confidently assume that some have done so; in other words, that old taboos, with the progress of knowledge and growing refinement of life, became prohibitions to which a purely social sanction was attached.[14]

The consequences of taboo-breaking, in so far as they bring misfortune to the individual concerned or to the community, may be identical with those which result from the violation of any other customary regulation accepted by the group or by its dominant members as right and proper. In both cases a transgressor is thought to incur some punishment, often at the hands of the spirit guardians of the group.[15] Of the Australian aborigines Mr. Curr observes that they are taught from infancy to believe that any departure from the customs of the tribe will be followed inevitably by such evils as becoming prematurely gray, being afflicted with ophthalmia, and death from some form of evil magic.[16] A stern role as upholders of the social order is played by the ancestral spirits (*kipua*) in Ontong Java. Among the actions which the community views in an unfavorable light and which the *kipua* punish with sickness or death are failure to carry out obligations to relatives, neglect of poorer relatives, acts of

violence within the joint family, incest, non-observance of ceremonies, and violation of taboos.[17] The Toradja of Middle Celebes, an agricultural people, believe that every transgression of their customs is visited by the gods on their crops.[18]

Among the Kayan and other heathen tribes of Borneo the minor spirits, or *toh*, have a considerable part in the regulation of conduct. They are the powers that bring misfortunes upon an entire house or village when any member of it ignores taboos or otherwise violates tribal customs, without performing the propitiatory rites required by the occasion. "Thus on them, rather than on the gods, are founded the effective sanctions of prohibitive rules of conduct."[19] A Ga native was once asked, "What is the difference between a law and a custom?" The native answered, "Anyone will break a law if he can do so without being found out. But nobody wants to break a custom. If you break it wilfully you die."[20]

Many things believed to bring bad fortune were forbidden to a Cheyenne Indian. "The list of the proscribed acts is a long one. They had to do with the most ordinary operations of life: with his eating, drinking, and sleeping; with the members of his family; his life in the lodge; his hunting and his war journey. In all that he did at home and abroad he was closely bound by custom which had become law."[21] By the Tlingit of Alaska every abrogation of the customary procedure, every departure from the time-worn ways of the people, is called *chlakass* and is considered the cause of whatever misfortune may happen to them—bad weather, sickness, or lack of success in hunting and fighting.[22]

Students of primitive society have long recognized the fact that a taboo system must be included among the most important of socializing forces. Even if a man's taboos relate only to himself, their observance imposes a restraint on human passions and requires the mastery of self-regarding impulses which otherwise would be irresistible. If taboos are communally observed, their disciplinary function is still more manifest. The violation of them by anyone is believed to entail misfortune for everyone; as the Congo natives say, "One man becomes the curse of a hundred." Hence a duty devolves on each member of the group to see that his neighbor obeys the law. The general effect of rules of taboo is, therefore, to provide a powerful sanction for all those altruistic sentiments which bring about the co-operation of a man with his fellows. That such rules tend to establish and maintain social solidarity is attested by many of our authorities.

With reference to the Marquesans, an early missionary in the South Seas points out that the observance of their "arbitrary superstitions," or taboos, constitutes "the principal rule of right and wrong" among them, regulating their consciences and providing them with their laws.[23] Another early missionary, who labored among the Maori, declares that "the *tapu* in many instances was beneficial; considering the state of society, absence of law, and fierce character of the people, it formed no bad substitute for a dictatorial form of government, and made the nearest approach to an organized state of society."[24] Similarly, we are told that the Maori "could not have been governed without some code of laws analogous to the *tapu*. Warriors submitted to the supposed decrees of the gods who would have spurned with contempt the orders of men, and it was better the people should be ruled by superstition than by brute force."[25] The *tapu* system is described by Lieutenant Colonel Gudgeon as a valuable restraining principle in the native life. "I do not contend that every imposition of the *tapu* conferred a benefit on the tribes, but I do hold that this ceremony had the effect of a mental discipline, teaching the Maoris the greatest of all lessons—that of self-denial and subordination."[26]

The *genna* customs of the Naga tribes of Manipur are "the foundation of all communal life, for the primary lesson they teach, whether directly or indirectly, is that harm to one is harm to all, and that the strength of all is greater than the strength of one."[27] The Ashanti peoples have many fettering taboos. One generally finds out, however, that "all these rules are beneficial in the long run to the family or community."[28]

A taboo system, however firmly established among a primitive people, will share in the disintegration of the native culture which results when traders, travelers, officials, and missionaries introduce the customs and beliefs of a superior civilization. Thus, concerning the Bibbulmun of southwestern Australia, a people once the largest homogeneous group in the entire continent but now practically extinct, we are told by one who knew them intimately and sympathetically that until the white man appeared they kept their customs unimpaired. Then the "apparent promiscuity" of the white man, who lived in the same hut with his mother, mother-in-law, and grown-up sisters, without suffering any evil consequences, was a spectacle which deeply impressed the natives and led them to question the validity of their old taboos. Then, too, their medicine men, those pillars of orthodoxy and upholders

of tribal custom, took to the white man's drink and, as a result, lost their magic power and influence in the community. The old restraints of the social system disappeared, and nothing replaced them. The result was disaster.[29]

Among the Babemba of Northern Rhodesia Christian converts, having been taught that no "supernatural" punishment will follow infraction of some of the old taboos, feel themselves freed from the usual moral restraints and indulge in many things previously forbidden. An irate father was once heard haranguing a son-in-law who had left his pregnant wife to consort with another woman: "I suppose you think that because you are a Christian it doesn't matter how badly you behave!" Even natives fairly well educated have difficulty in distinguishing between those features of their codes which we approve and those by which we are repelled. Not unnaturally they "drop the lot" when told that their taboos may be disregarded with impunity.[30]

The Akikuyu of Kenya attribute the lessening rainfall in their country to the decay of the religious rites and moral ordinances once observed by them. The natives are no more what they used to be, it is said. In place of unified tribal customs, "there is now a welter of disturbing influences, rules, and sanctions, whose net result is only that a Kikuyu does not know what he may or may not, ought or ought not, to do or believe, but which leave him in no doubt at all about having broken the morality of his people."[31]

A missionary who labored long among the Tinne Indians declares that their "superstitions," meaning particularly their taboos, fairly control the unruly passions of the people and maintain a standard of morality, which, if not high, is certainly better than none at all. When the people are brought into relations with the white man and begin to rid themselves of superstitious notions, grave danger exists that, lacking all moral restraint, the worst tendencies of human nature will have full sway among them. If the white man's religion and moral code cannot be substituted in good time for the discarded heathenism, contact with our civilization proves fatal to the Indians.[32]

Sometimes new taboos are introduced into a primitive community as the result of European influence. The Swazi, a South African tribe, learn from the missionaries that to eat the flesh of an animal dying a natural death is a sin, and that anyone who does so will be denied access to the kingdom of heaven.[33] The Konde have developed some taboos relating to Europeans, for example, a prohibition against entrance into a white man's house. The

pictures on his walls are the spirits of his ancestors. These are especially to be feared at night, when they may cast an unseen spear at anyone who ventures into so dangerous a place. The fear of the white man is passing, but there are still old men and women who will not approach him. They insist that he is God, and it is *mwiko* (taboo) to see God. One of the native teachers at a mission declared that his own mother would not go near him when he wore a white garment, for that was a sign that he was about to speak to God. "Even a native is dangerous at such a time, for the power of God will break through to destruction."[34]

With reference, particularly, to the Eskimo of northern Alaska, Mr. Stefansson remarks that their religion "consists mainly in a series of prohibitions or taboos," and the prohibitions of Christianity are, therefore, of all the new teachings, the things they most readily understand. "Under the old religion it used to be believed that sickness, famine, and death were caused by such trivial things as the breaking of a marrow bone with the wrong kind of hammer, or the sewing of deerskin clothing before enough days had elapsed from the killing of the last whale or walrus. To avoid breaking these taboos meant prosperity and good health, and the gaining of all the rewards (or rather the escape from all the penalties) provided for by that system of religion. Similarly, now that they know about salvation and damnation, it seems but logical to them that one may be gained and the other avoided by the mere observance of such simple prohibitions as that against working on Sunday."[35]

Instances are known of deliberate taboo-breaking, even in communities which have had little intercourse with Europeans and where the native culture has been but slightly affected by contact with the white man's civilization. Among some tribes in the Kimberly division of Western Australia it may happen that a woman wishes to avenge herself on a man who has tired of her or on another man who has rejected her advances. During her courses she will walk across the camp, enter that part of it reserved to the men, and touch the belongings of the person against whom she holds a grudge. He gets sick, as a result, but nothing is done to punish the woman.[36] At Ulawa, one of the Solomon Islands, it is customary for the owner of an areca nut grove to taboo it by putting it under the protection of a ghost or a sea spirit. An evil-minded person can cause a man to die by stealthily giving him one of the nuts from the tabooed trees. There is no need to inform his victim of what he has done, for the ghosts or spirits can be

trusted to do their appointed work. If the man is actually informed, as may well happen, he is certain to die of fear. The tabooed nuts are so dangerous that a single one placed in the bow of an ocean-going canoe would kill the person who ate it. The Ulawa people tell a story of a woman whose husband gave her no help in the work of the house and garden but was always fishing. So she plucked "the areca nut which causes death," ate it, and died.[37] In the Marquesas Islands a woman could commit suicide by means of a special rite involving the violation of a stringent taboo.[38] The Andamanese have several legends referring to deliberate violations of taboos by their ancestors and to the disasters which followed.[39]

The Azande (Niam-Niam) of the Belgian Congo, when consulting a poison oracle or when using very potent medicines, such as those for vengeance and theft, normally observe stringent taboos, particularly taboos proscribing sexual intercourse and the eating of certain articles of food. Nevertheless, there are many "stupid and greedy people" who dare to disregard these prohibitions.[40] We are told that among the Wabena of Tanganyika Territory there is a fair degree of conformity in the observance of taboos which do not greatly inconvenience the people. When powerful desires and instincts are affected, the disregard of taboos is not uncommon. An old medicine man admitted that much of his time was taken up in assisting people who had broken some taboo or who wished by appropriate ceremonies to placate their offended ancestors and thus escape the consequences of their actions.[41] The Jukun peoples of Nigeria, who seem to have been once organized along totemic lines, continue to respect a large number of plants and animals, but only in a half-hearted fashion. Many young people are quite ignorant of the family taboos, and others do not hesitate to break them when they feel so inclined. Thus a man who belonged to the group to whose members the python and a number of other animals were sacred, declared that he had no longer any respect for them. For he had once met a python, had killed it, and, being hungry, had eaten it. No evil results followed, so that henceforth he had not hesitated to break other taboos as opportunity offered. Men will even violate the prohibition against eating the flesh of crocodiles, the most sacred of Jukun animals. Before eating it, however, they think to safeguard themselves by making some fictitious statement, such as "This is cow's (or goat's) flesh."[42] Such instances of the deliberate violation of taboos seem to be exceptional. The primitive

attitude is rather that of the Konde (an East African tribe), among whom "to break a *tabu* in order to see what would happen is an act of folly so extreme that only a few men can afford to risk it."[43]

The role of inhibition in primitive societies has always been extensive, and of the thou-shalt-nots the most imperative have been taboos. Primitive societies differ, of course, as to the degree to which these are relied on as a means of control. While the conception of taboo has been widely held, only among comparatively small groups has it developed into an all-pervading system of negative regulations. Some peoples find in the assumed consequences of taboo-breaking a sufficient or nearly sufficient explanation of the accidents and other misfortunes to which human flesh is heir; other peoples assign much greater importance to witchcraft or to demonic agency as an explanation. All these "superstitions" reflect man's ignorance of his surroundings, whether natural or what we call supernatural. They are rooted in the fear of the unknown and the unknowable.[44]

## NOTES TO CHAPTER XI

[1] William Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (2d ed., London, 1831), II, 93 f., 110 f. See also John Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands* (London, 1838), pp. 60 f.

[2] Ellis, *op. cit.*, IV, 30 f., 126 f. See also Sheldon Dibble, *History of the Sandwich Islands* (Lahainaluna, 1843), pp. 143–57; Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands* (Hartford, Conn., 1849), pp. 73–79.

[3] E. E. V. Collocott, "The Supernatural in Tonga," *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1921), XXIII, 431. Taufaahau had earlier been the principal chief of the Hapai Islands, which form a part of the Tongan group. He heard of the progress of Christianity at Tongatabu, visited the island to form his own judgment of the new religion, and, being favorably impressed, took back with him a native convert. Most of the Hapai people soon became Christian, following the example of their ruler, but in several islands the minor chiefs and the priests clung to their old ways. They determined to celebrate a great feast in honor of the gods whom they had been bidden to desert, and accordingly sent out fishermen to catch turtles and fish for an imposing sacrifice. But Taufaahau, becoming cognizant of their plans, caused a large herd of pigs to be driven into the sacred precincts and also turned a little temple which stood there into a sleeping place for his female servants. Not content with these acts of sacrilege, he proceeded to hang the images of the gods to the rafters of their temple. When the people drew near for the solemn sacrifice they found polluting pigs ready to devour the offerings and saw their gods, undecked and disrobed, hanging like so many condemned criminals from the roof of the sanctuary. It was a crushing blow, the death-blow of heathenism in the Hapai Islands. See Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 273 f.

[4] Richard Taylor, *Te Ika A Maui* (2d ed., London, 1870), p. 166.

[5] E. M. Loeb, "History and Traditions of Niue." *Bernice P. Bishop Museum*

*Bulletin,* No. 32, p. 173. In Samoa Sunday is called *Aso Sa* ("forbidden day"), but Monday is known as *Gafua* ("made free"), the latter term being equivalent to Maori *noa,* or "common" (Margaret Mead, *ibid.,* No. 76, p. 120). In the Tonga Islands Sunday, called in Tongan by the Jewish name Sabbath (*Sabate*), is the taboo day. "The prohibitions against labor in the Fourth Commandment are naturally and properly rendered in the Tongan version of the Bible (which by the way is called the Tabu Book) as labor being tabu on the seventh day, and this idea of the tabu day is more easily assimiliated and more strictly enforced than many of the more positive precepts of Christian teaching. A Tongan will not so much as pluck a flower or break a branch from a shrub on that day" (E. E. V. Collocott, in *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1921), XXIII, 417). Similarly, "it is in Fiji that one can enjoy the Sabbath, for on that day scarce a sail is seen on the blue green water, nor does a spade touch soil; the sound of the axe is not heard in the deep woods. If the native Christian is pharisaical to the point of refusing to pull a fruit from the tree, or eat a fish caught on Sunday, he does not, on the other hand, make the sacred season hideous with carousal, or secularize it until it loses altogether its religious significance. It is taboo" (W. Deane, *Fijian Society* [London, 1921], p. 129). An early missionary tells of a native crew, converts to Christianity in Raiatèa, who were storm-tossed at sea for six weeks and suffered greatly from hunger and thirst. They passed the time reading the Scriptures, singing hymns, and praying. "So great was the regard paid to the Sabbath, that the individual who had charge of the boat informed me, that on one occasion a large fish continued near them for a considerable time, which they could easily have caught; but although nearly famished, they held a consultation whether it was right for them to take it, and determined that they would not catch fish on a Sabbath day" (Williams, *op. cit.,* 80 f.).

[6] E. W. Gifford, "Tongan Society," *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin,* No. 61, p. 343. The Tonga people believe that one who swears falsely on the Bible will die. Some years ago a house was burned down by an incendiary. Before the local court could interfere in the case, all the villagers met for a trial by ordeal. A Bible was brought, and each person took a solemn oath affirming innocence. A judicial inquiry followed, but the natives took no interest in it; they felt sure that the culprit would die within a week. Not long afterward an elderly woman fell ill. Her condition soon became serious and at last she confessed that in a fit of jealousy she had set fire to the house of her rival. Her relatives warned her that since she had committed perjury there was no hope for her. Die she did, being "fairly frightened to death." See Sir Basil H. Thomson, *The Diversions of a Prime Minister* (Edinburgh and London, 1894), p. 309 and note.

[7] Margaret Mead, "Social Organization of Manua," *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin,* No. 76, p. 122.

[8] J. Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans* (London, 1912), pp. 69 f., 101 f.

[9] W. C. Willoughby, *Nature-Worship and Taboo* (Hartford, Conn., 1932), pp. 183 f.

[10] C. W. Hobley, *Bantu Beliefs and Magic* (London, 1922), p. 117.

[11] See Mrs. Elsie C. Parsons, "Links between Religion and Morality in Early Culture," *American Anthropologist* (n.s., 1915), XVII, 41–57; C. H. Toy, "Taboo and Morality," *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* XX (1899), 151–56; L. Marillier, "Notes sur la coutume, le tabou, et l'obligation morale," *Entre Camarades* (Paris, 1901), pp. 391–424.

[12] H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (2d ed., London, 1927), I, 9.

[13] Jean K. Mackenzie, "The Black Commandments," *Atlantic Monthly,* CXVIII (1916), 794.

[14] The passage of taboos into civil laws is clearly seen among the Tswana and related tribes of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Many Tswana taboos are trifling in character and are not taken very seriously by the people themselves. The consequences of breaking them affect only the persons concerned; the interests of the tribe at large remain unaffected by their transgression. Other taboos are of general concern, for the well-being of the society is jeopardized. An offender must often undergo, therefore, a special purificatory ceremony to nullify the evil effects believed to result from his action. The violation of still other taboos is made a penal offense. Among the Tswana and their neighbors it is taboo to cut certain trees, castrate young bulls, and do various other things during the first part of the agricultural year. The imposition of such prohibitions must be proclaimed anew every year by the chief, who must also announce when they are lifted. Their violation, it is thought, will cause the rain to turn into hail and destroy the growing crops. The prohibitions have also a social sanction. A violator, if discovered, will be tried and punished by the chief. See I. Schapera, *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* (Oxford, 1938), p. 39.

[15] Speaking of the Melanesians, an experienced missionary declares that it is "somewhat difficult to ascertain whether the breach of certain customs can properly be described as a violation of a *tabu* imposed in days gone by or whether it was simply a breach of a custom which had virtually become law. There is no difficulty whatever in deciding this where outward symbols, such as a circlet of cocoanut leaves round the trees or any other symbols, are used, whether they are affixed by a secret society, by a chief, or by any ordinary person, but in other cases it is difficult to say whether the natives believe that the same powers of magic as would be exercised in any breach of the *tabu* would also be exercised where any recognized custom is violated or not" (George Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians* [London, 1910], p. 273).

[16] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race* (Melbourne, 1886–1887), I, 54 f.

[17] H. I. Hogbin, *Law and Order in Polynesia* (London, 1934), pp. 160 f. On the similar role of the Manus spirits as upholders of the social order see Margaret Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea* (New York, 1930), p. 101.

[18] N. Adriani and A. C. Kruijt, *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradja's van Midden-Celebes* (Batavia, 1912), II, 229.

[19] Charles Hose and William McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo* (London, 1912), II, 26; cf. p. 125, note 1.

[20] M. J. Field, *Religion and Magic of the Ga People* (Oxford, 1937), p. 197.

[21] G. B. Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians* (New Haven, 1923), II, 193.

[22] Aurel Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer* (Jena, 1885), p. 300.

[23] C. S. Stewart, *A Visit to the South Seas* (New York, 1831), I, 243.

[24] Taylor, *Te Ika A Maui* (2d ed.), pp. 172 f.

[25] A. S. Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand* (London, 1859), I, 105.

[26] W. E. Gudgeon, "The 'Tipua-Kura' and Other Manifestations of the Spirit-World," *Journal of the Polynesian Society,* XV (1906), 51. See also J. L. Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand, Performed in the Years 1814 and 1815* (London, 1817), II, 309 f.; Ernest Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand* (London, 1843), II, 100.

[27] T. C. Hodson, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXXVI (1906), 103.

[28] A. W. Cardinall, *In Ashanti and Beyond* (London, 1927), p. 229.

[29] Mrs. Daisy Bates, *The Passing of the Aborigines* (London, 1938), pp. 75 f.

[30] Audrey I. Richards, "Anthropological Problems in North-eastern Rhodesia," *Africa,* V (1932), 131.

[31] J. Kenyatta, "Kikuyu Religion, Ancestor-Worship, and Sacrificial Practices," *ibid.*, X (1937), 318.

[32] J. Jetté, "On the Superstitions of the Ten'a Indians," *Anthropos,* VI (1911), 704.

[33] B. A. Marwick, *The Swazi* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 284.

[34] D. R. MacKenzie, *The Spirit-ridden Konde* (London, 1925), pp. 101 f.

[35] Vilhjalmur Stefansson, *My Life with the Eskimo* (New York, 1913), p. 89. "An Eskimo, who is a great admirer of the white people (and some Eskimo are not), said to me once that some Eskimo foolishly maintained that white men were less intelligent than Eskimo are. But he said that he had a crushing reply to those who made this statement. He would say to them: 'Our wise men have taboos on food and drink, they have taboos on clothing and methods of travel, on words and thoughts; but until the white men came, did we ever hear of Sunday? Did the wisest of us ever think of the fact that a *day* might be taboo?'" (p. 412).

[36] Phyllis M. Kaberry, *Aboriginal Woman, Sacred and Profane* (London, 1939), p. 240.

[37] W. G. Ivens, *Melanesians of the South-East Solomon Islands* (London, 1927), pp. 121, 178, 258, 289.

[38] The woman took a coconut to a sacred place, broke it into two parts, and said, "This part is for —— (naming a god), that part is for my pudendum." Her death would result from having brought into intimate contact what was most sacred and what was most polluting. See E. S. C. Handy, "The Native Culture in the Marquesas," *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin,* No. 9, p. 279, on the manuscript authority of Father Pierre Chaulet. It should be observed that by the Marquesans mats, girdles, men's loin-cloths, and the private parts of women were regarded as insulting or distasteful to the gods (p. 271).

[39] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders* (Cambridge, 1933), p. 51.

[40] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande* (Oxford, 1937), pp. 286, 459.

[41] A. T. Culwick and G. M. Culwick, *Ubena of the Rivers* (London, 1935), pp. 215, 219.

[42] C. F. Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom* (London, 1931), pp. 74 f.

[43] MacKenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 96. With reference to the Hehe, Bena, and Sangu peoples of Tanganyika, we are told that "no one in his right mind would break a taboo" (W. B. Mumford, in *American Anthropologist* [n.s., 1934], XXXVI, 222).

[44] On taboo in Polynesia see Albert Réville, *Les religions des peuples non-civilisés* (Paris, 1883), II, 55–67; Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker* (Leipzig, 1872), VI, 343–63; F. R. Lehmann, *Die polynesischen Tabusitten* (Leipzig, 1930), an exhaustive monograph. Sir J. G. Frazer (*The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead* (London, 1922), II, 37–50, 345–47, 387–90) provides a convenient summary of the *tabu* system among the Maori of New Zealand, the Marquesans, and the Hawaiian Islanders. See, further, R. W. Williamson, *The Social and Political Systems of Central Polynesia* (Cambridge, 1924), 3 vols. (index); *idem, Religion and Social Organization in Central Polynesia* (Cambridge, 1937), pp. 130–47. On taboo in other parts of the world see Léon Marillier, "Sur le caractère religieux du tabou mélanésien," in *Études de critique et d'histoire* (2d series, Paris, 1896), pp. 35–74; C. Mensch, *Taboe, een primitieve vreesreactie. Studie over de taboebepalingen bij de Indonesische Volken,* Amsterdam, 1937; Arnold van Gennep, *Tabou et totémisme à Madagascar,* Paris, 1904; W. C. Willoughby, *Nature-Worship and Taboo. Further Studies in the "Soul of the Bantu,"* Hartford, Conn., 1932.

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