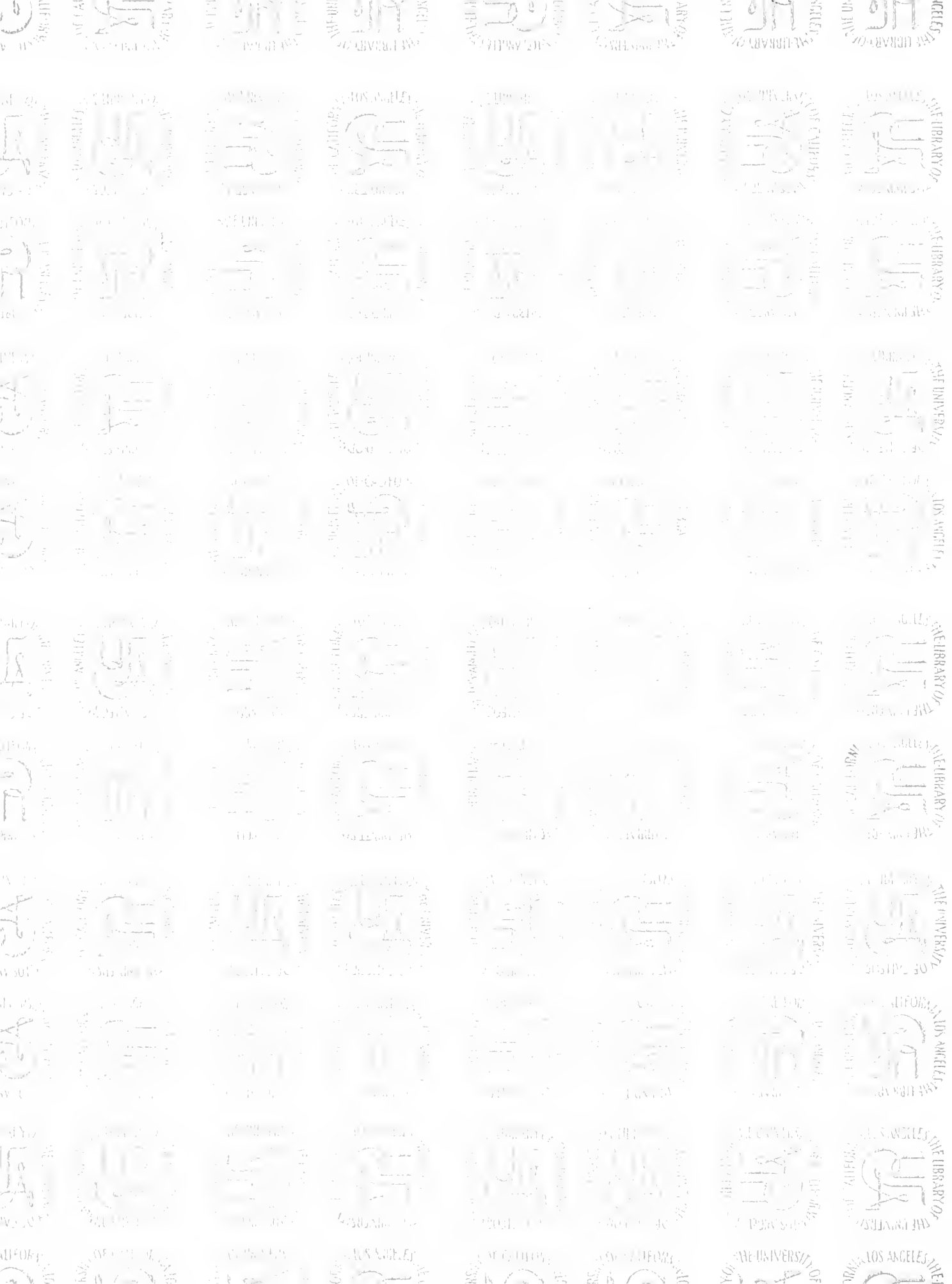


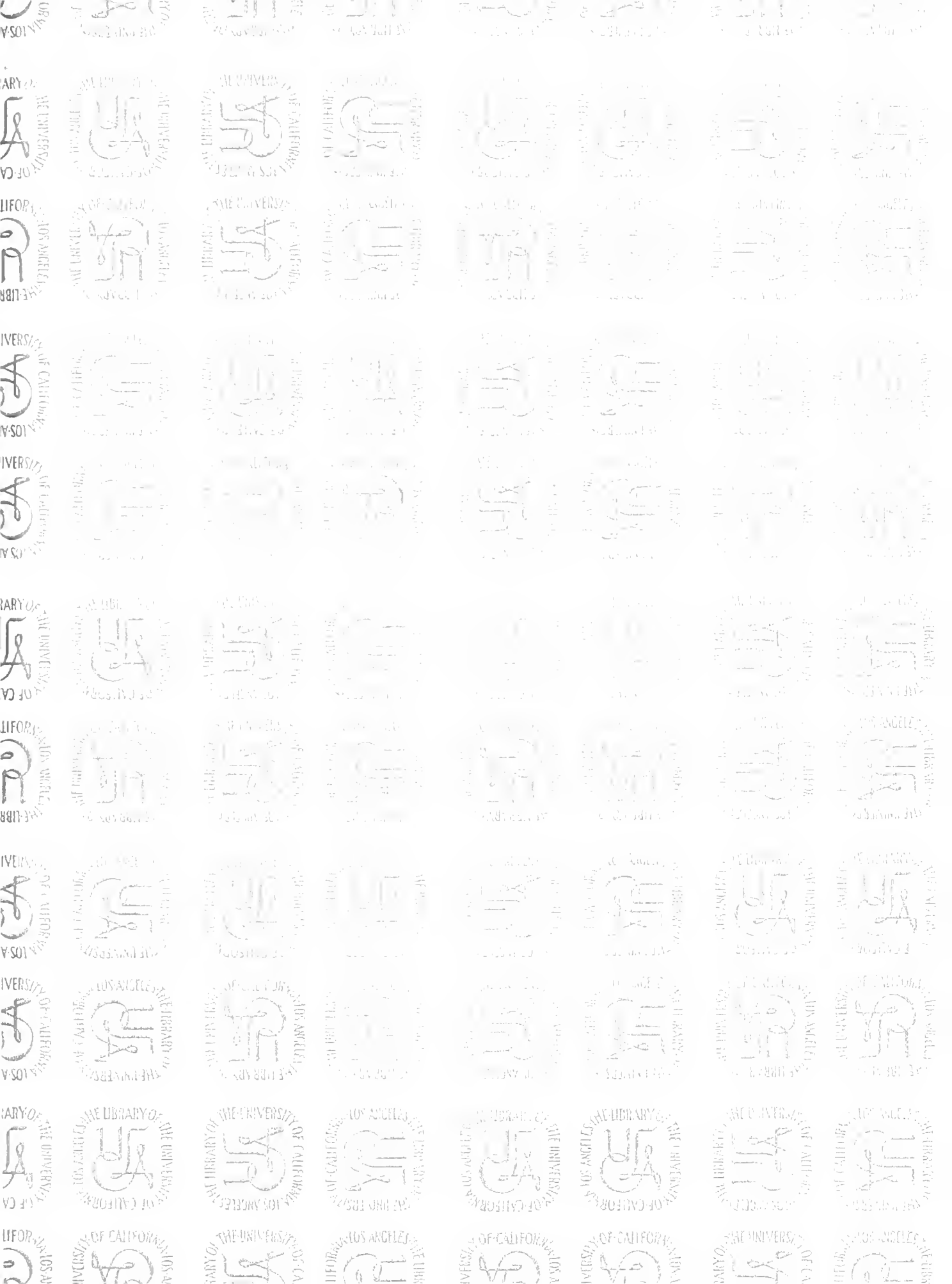
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REPORTS  
OF THE  
CAMBRIDGE ANTHROPOLOGICAL EXPEDITION  
TO  
TORRES STRAITS

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REPORTS  
OF THE  
CAMBRIDGE ANTHROPOLOGICAL EXPEDITION  
TO  
TORRES STRAITS

VOLUME I  
GENERAL ETHNOGRAPHY

CAMBRIDGE  
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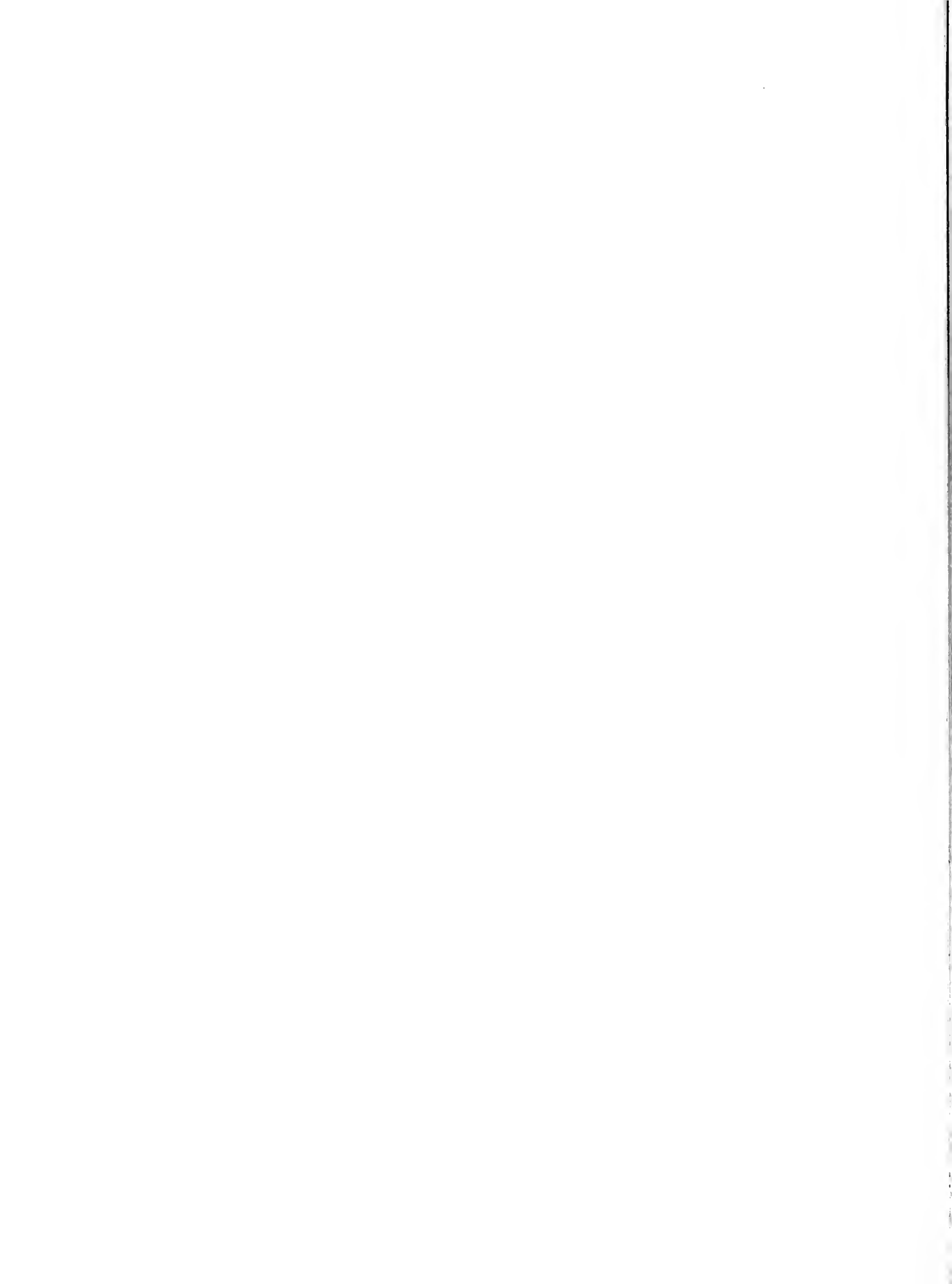
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## INTRODUCTION

In 1888 I went to Torres Straits to study marine zoology and had no intention of paying attention to ethnography; indeed, before I left England, I consulted Sir William Flower about taking measurements of natives and he dissuaded me from doing so, and others seemed to think that there was little worth doing as regards the natives. All this fitted in very well with my inclinations, for I had not paid any serious attention to ethnology and was relieved to find that I might neglect it.

After a preliminary cruise in the Straits, I stayed at Mabuiag during the month of October in 1888 and spent five months at Mer in 1888-9. I also paid short visits to various islands. Throughout this time I was in close contact with the islanders, especially when dredging and collecting plankton. I found them a cheerful, friendly and intelligent folk, and soon became friends with many of them. Naturally, when opportunity offered, I spoke to them about their past and soon found that the young men knew extremely little about it and they always referred me to the old men. I had previously found that practically none of the Europeans in the islands knew or cared anything about the customs of the natives or their former beliefs, and I also discovered that all that was known about them was contained in the accounts given by Jukes, by Macgillivray, and in the sketches and often inaccurate notes by Wyatt Gill and a few others. I therefore considered it my duty to record as much as was possible in the circumstances, so I induced the old men to come in the evenings and talk about old times and tell me their folk-tales. In this way, without any previous experience or knowledge, I worked single-handed among the Western islanders and amassed a fair amount of information.

On arriving at Mer I was hospitably entertained by the Rev. A. E. Hunt and Mrs Hunt and by the Rev. E. B. Savage, who did all they could to make my stay with them pleasant and profitable. I made a rough survey of this volcanic island and located all the villages and groups of houses. I also made enquiries into their folk-tales, former ceremonies, and the like, but as I understood that Mr Hunt proposed to make a study of the people I purposely did not investigate the natives as thoroughly as I should have liked to have done in the intervals of my zoological work.

I left the Straits in the summer of 1889 with very considerable collections of marine animals. Two large metal drums of specimens were consigned to my friend Prof. G. B. Howes of the Royal College of Science, South Kensington. The excise officer demanded a duty on the alcohol although all of it had been shipped from London to Torres Straits. Howes refused to pay anything and poured all the alcohol down the sink; the excise officer did not mind, and Howes filled up the drums with fresh spirit which was provided by the Department of Science and Art. Thus the Government lost both the duty and the value of the fresh alcohol and the specimens gained therefrom.

I had arranged to have a couple of months or so in London before returning to my duties in Dublin and I spent that time in sorting my ethnographical collections in the British Museum, to which institution I gave the bulk of the specimens, and I also wrote up my ethnographical material on the Western islanders, which was published by the Anthropological Institute, and prepared my folk-tales for the Folk-Lore Society. It was during this time that I first became acquainted with ethnologists and folk-lorists, and other

anthropologists. Towards the end of my stay in London, Sir William Flower suggested that I should seriously take up the study of anthropology. This I was not very ready to do as I was devoted to zoology. However, on my return to Dublin I gradually turned my attention to various aspects of anthropology, and finding not much scope there for my new interests I went to live in Cambridge in 1893. A few years later I resigned the chair of zoology in the Royal College of Science, Dublin, and thenceforth devoted myself to anthropology.

Feeling that our knowledge of the Torres Straits islanders was extremely incomplete, I decided to make another expedition thither, and I was fortunate in being able to persuade six others to accompany me; we arrived at Thursday Island on April 22, 1898.

My first concern was to secure the services of Sidney H. Ray, who had made a study of the two languages of Torres Straits based upon missionary publications and other material which I supplied, all of which was too imperfect to be trustworthy. The personal investigations by Ray are published in vol. iii of these Reports. He is now the recognised authority on the languages of Western Oceania.

I had long felt that psychological investigations must be undertaken before any real advance could be made in ethnology, so I invited Drs W. H. R. Rivers, C. S. Myers and W. McDougall to undertake this branch of our work. They concerned themselves with the study of mental characteristics by the methods of experimental psychology and their results are given in vol. ii of these Reports. This was the first occasion on which trained psychologists provided with what apparatus they needed had worked among a primitive people in their natural surroundings.

In endeavouring to discover whether certain aptitudes or disabilities were common to members of the same family, Rivers began to collect genealogies. He soon saw that this method of enquiry afforded precise information concerning vital statistics and it also helped to explain a number of social conditions. He collected kinship terms and incidentally the duties and privileges of kinsmen, and in this way he originated the genealogical method which in his hands and in those whom he inspired has led to a new and invaluable ethnological technique. Previously Rivers had not taken any interest in ethnology, and the after-results of our expedition were his investigation of the Todas (*The Todas*, London, 1906), his subsequent researches in Melanesia (*The History of Melanesian Society*, Cambridge, 1910) and his numerous later ethnological publications. Apart from his purely psychological researches he was particularly interested in the inter-relation of psychology and ethnology. The sudden death of Dr W. H. R. Rivers, F.R.S., in Cambridge on June 4, 1922, was an irreplaceable loss to his friends and to science; obituary notices and a bibliography are given in *Man*, 1922, No. 61.

Dr C. S. Myers, F.R.S., was an accomplished musician and, in addition to his psychological investigations, he interested himself in native music in the Straits and has since done so elsewhere. As in the case of Rivers, from being at first a pure psychologist he became interested in other branches of anthropology. He is now the Director of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology.

Dr W. McDougall, F.R.S., continued in the straight path of psychology, at first at Oxford and thenceforth in the United States of America.

Mr Anthony Wilkin already had some archaeological and anthropological experience in Egypt and Algeria, and as he was a good photographer I asked him to act as such for the expedition and to undertake certain branches of material culture. To our profound grief

the promising career of this brilliant young man was cut short by death at Cairo on May 17, 1901. His name is perpetuated among us by the Anthony Wilkin Studentship for ethnological and archaeological field-work.

Dr C. S. Seligman, F.R.S., with his wide interests filled in many gaps, such as native medicine and the diseases of the natives, and he helped the psychologists in their work. He has recently retired from the Professorship of Ethnology at the London School of Economics, University of London.

Rivers, Myers and McDougall remained on Mer, one of the Murray Islands, during four months (May to September, 1898), but from May 23 to July 20, Ray, Wilkin, Seligman and myself paid a flying visit to the Central Division of British New Guinea (or Papua, as it is now officially termed). Various minor studies were published as the result of this trip, and it was owing to the knowledge Seligman then acquired that Major Cooke Daniels invited Seligman to accompany him on an expedition in 1904 to the south-east end of New Guinea, which resulted in the publication by him of *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, Cambridge, 1910.

The expedition as such broke up in October, 1898, but Myers, McDougall, Seligman, Ray and myself accepted the cordial invitation of Charles Hose to make a supplementary expedition to Sarawak, which led to many interesting experiences and to various ethnographical studies. It was owing to this visit that Hose asked McDougall to cooperate with him in writing *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, London, 1912. We were in Sarawak during the first four months of 1899.

Further general information will be found in the Introduction to my paper of 1890, in the Prefaces and Introductions to vols. II, V and VI of these Reports, and in the Preface to *Head-hunters, black, white, and brown*, London, 1901.

It will be seen from the historical sketch in this volume that practically nothing was known about the Torres Straits islanders till the memorable voyages of the "Fly", "Bramble", and "Rattlesnake" in the years 1843 to 1849. Nothing further of any importance was written until after the advent of the missionaries of the London Missionary Society in July, 1871: the records of their labours will be found in the books by A. W. Murray (1876), W. Wyatt Gill (1876) and S. McFarlane (1888). The first account of the Western islanders, published by me in 1890, was based on observations made in 1888. Hunt's brief paper (1899) deals from 1887-90. These Reports cover the years 1898, 1899, with references to my own and other earlier publications.

Thus there is a gap in our knowledge of what was taking place in Torres Straits during the twenty-two years between 1849 and 1871, and there is only desultory information about what has occurred since. During the first blank period many vessels passed through the Straits, some of which doubtless touched at various islands, but what the foreigners did there is unrecorded.

It also comprises the period of the beginning of the pearl-shelling and bêche-de-mer industries, about which more or less lurid rumours were current when I first visited the locality. If anything can be retrieved about the contact of the white men and their South Sea crews with the natives it would make most interesting and doubtless unsavoury reading. There can be little doubt that the events of this troublous period affected the natives very adversely in every way and that the ill-effects persisted for a long time. Somewhere about 1880 the welfare of the natives became the concern of the Queensland Government, abuses were stopped and in time benevolent administration made the lives

and property of the islanders secure and they were helped to bear the strain consequent upon the rapid introduction of an alien and complex civilisation.

Since 1888 I have consistently tried to recover the past life of the islanders, not merely in order to give a picture of their former conditions of existence and their social and religious activities, but also to serve as a basis for an appreciation of the changes that have since taken place. It has generally been acknowledged by me that ethnologists should study the existing conditions of backward societies, but to interpret these it is first necessary to know from what they have originated and then to trace the successions of new contacts and their influences on the people. I must leave it to another to describe this metamorphosis.

I have fulfilled to the best of my ability and opportunity my self-imposed task and I can only hope that others will build upon this imperfect foundation.

I should like here to acknowledge the help I have received from various friends, amongst whom must be especially mentioned Mr W. N. Beaver, Mr A. O. C. Davies, Professor Gunnar Landtman, the Rev. W. H. MacFarlane, the late Rev. E. Baxter Riley, Dr D. F. Thomson and Dr W. E. Williams, the observations of all of whom I have so often quoted, and also my indebtedness to Miss E. S. Fegan and Miss A. Nicol Smith who have for long periods of time rendered me invaluable honorary secretarial assistance.

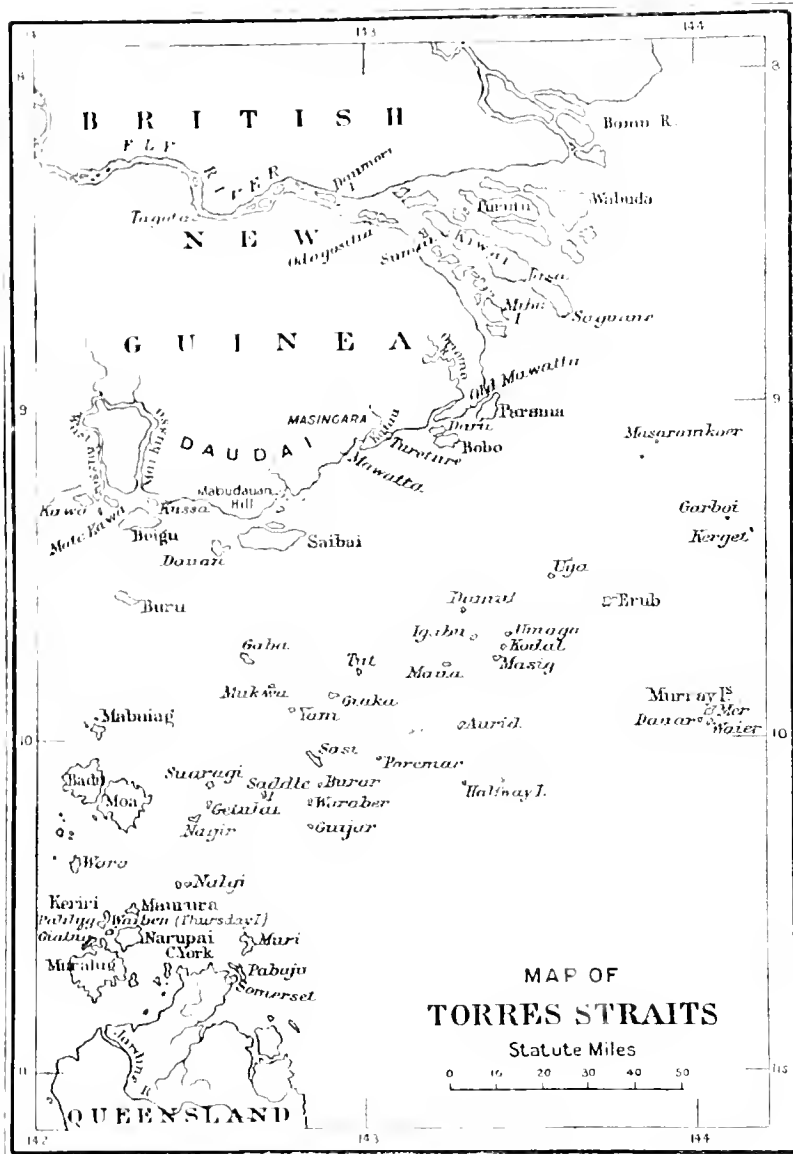
The following is the system of spelling which has been adopted:

<i>a</i> as in "father"	<i>ò</i> as <i>aw</i> in "saw"
<i>â</i> as in "at"	<i>u</i> as <i>oo</i> in "soon"
<i>e</i> as <i>a</i> in "date"	<i>ũ</i> as in "up"
<i>é</i> as in "let"	<i>ai</i> as in "aisle"
<i>ê</i> as <i>ai</i> in "air"	<i>au</i> as <i>ow</i> in "cow"
<i>î</i> as <i>ee</i> in "feet"	<i>ei</i> as <i>ay</i> in "may"
<i>ĩ</i> as in "it"	<i>oi</i> as <i>oy</i> in "boy"
<i>o</i> as in "own"	

The consonants are sounded as in English.

A. C. HADDON





# PART I





# I. HISTORICAL SKETCH

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## THE EARLY VOYAGERS

Luis Vaez de Torres was second in command to Pedro Fernandez de Quirós in his voyage from Callao to Melanesia. Having discovered Espiritu Santo in April 1606, Quirós returned to Acapulco, but Torres went west, and about the middle of July 1606 he fell in with a coast, which he called "the beginning of New Guinea", apparently the Louisiade archipelago, as de Bougainville subsequently [1768] named it. He bore to the south side of New Guinea, along the Gulf of Papua, and eventually passed through "an archipelago of Islands without number. . . . Here (at the end of the 11th degree) were very large Islands. . . they were inhabited by black people, very corpulent, and naked: their arms were lances, arrows, and clubs of stone ill fashioned. We could not get any of their arms" (James Burney, *History of voyages in the South Sea*, pt. II, 1806, Appendix No. 1, p. 475).

"Torres passed through this strait in 1606, but despite the great importance of the discovery, its existence remained unknown until 1762, from the jealousy of the Spanish monarchy, which kept the reports of its navigators a secret from the world. At the time in question, however, Manilla fell into our hands, and in the archives of that colony, a duplicate copy of Torres's letter to the King of Spain was found by the hydrographer, Mr Dalrymple. The passage was now made known, and in tardy justice to the discoverer it received the appellation of Torres' Strait" (J. Lort Stokes, 1846, I, p. 368). The date 1762 is taken from Flinders, but Dalrymple himself admits that as late as 1790 he had not yet seen the document. H. N. Stevens maintains that Don Diego de Prado was really in command on this voyage and not Torres (*New Light on the Discovery of Australia*, London, 1930).

There had, however, long been a suspicion that New Guinea was an island. Lord Anherst and Basil Thomson (*Discovery of the Solomon Islands by A. de Mendaña*, Hakluyt Society, 1901) give (p. lxxii) a map "From a chart dated 1592 in the 'Orbis Terrarum' of Abraham Ortelius" in which Nova Guinea is separated from Terra Australis by a wide strait, but with the remark "quae ansit insula, aut pars continentis Australis, incertum". Another map by Abraham Ortelius in *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, 1589 (and London, 1606) does not add this qualification. It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume that some navigator had discovered Torres Straits at least seventeen years before Torres passed through them. I have a note that the strait is shown in a map of 1571.

Willem Janszoon of Amsterdam sailed in the *Duifken* or *Duyphen* from Bantam, Java, on November 28, 1605, hoping to discover more about New Guinea. He reached the coast of New Guinea in lat. 5° S. and followed the coast round Prince Frederick Henry Island to the entrance of Torres Straits. Thence he steered south and traced the eastern shores of

the Gulf of Carpentaria to lat. 13° 15' S.; he thought it was part of New Guinea. This is the first record of the discovery of Australia (March 1606).

Jan Carstesz in 1623 anchored well within Endeavour Strait, but easterly winds hindered his progress and he became entangled in the shallows round Muralug and with fervent thanksgiving he escaped westwards.

Abel Tasman reached Torres Straits in 1644, but he mistook it for a gulf and went on to explore the Gulf of Carpentaria.

These Dutch voyagers held the commonly believed opinion that New Guinea and Australia formed one continent.

James Cook, coming from the east, rounded Cape York in 1770 and finally demonstrated the validity of the discovery by Torres that New Guinea was separated from Australia.

On August 22, 1770, Cook landed on Possession Island in Endeavour Strait with a party of men, accompanied by Mr Banks and Dr Solander. He says: "The Eastern Coast [of Australia] from the Lat. of 38° S. down to this place, I am confident, was never seen or Visited by any European before us; and notwithstanding I had in the Name of his Majesty taken possession of several places upon this Coast, I now once More hoisted English Colours, and in the Name of His Majesty King George the Third took possession of the whole Eastern coast from the above Lat. down to this place by the Name of New Wales,<sup>1</sup> together with all the Bays, Harbours, Rivers, and Islands, situated upon the said Coast; after which we fired 3 Volleys of small Arms, which were answer'd by the like number from the Ship. . .". "Before and after we Anchor'd we saw a Number of People upon this Island, Arm'd in the same manner as all the others we have seen, Except one man, who had a bow and a bundle of Arrows, the first we have seen upon this Coast. . . . We saw upon all the Adjacent Lands and Islands a great number of smokes—a certain sign that they are inhabited—and we have daily seen smokes on every part of the Coast we have lately been upon. Between 7 and 8 o'Clock a.m. we saw several naked people, all or most of them Women, down upon the beach picking up Shells, etc.; they had not a single rag of any kind of Cloathing upon them, and both these and those we saw yesterday were in every respect the same sort of People we have seen everywhere upon the Coast. 2 or 3 of the Men we saw Yesterday had on pretty large breast plates, which we supposed were made of pearl Oyster Shells; this was a thing, as well as the Bow and Arrows, we had not seen before" (*Captain Cook's Journal*, ed. Capt. Wharton, 1893, pp. 311-12). Thus the first Torres Straits islanders reported on by a European were Kauralaig, armed with bows and arrows and apparently with javelins, and wearing pearl-shell breast-plates. The nudity of the women can be attributed to their close relations with Australians of Cape York peninsula.

Capt. Cook expresses his "no small satisfaction, not only because the danger and fatigues of the Voyage was drawing near to an end, but by being able to prove that New Holland and New Guinea are 2 separate Lands or Islands, which until this day hath been a doubtful point with Geographers" (*l.c.* p. 314). In a footnote, Capt. Wharton adds, in reference to Luis Vaez de Torres: "He afterwards passed through the Strait separating New Guinea from Australia, which now bears his name. This fact, however, was little known, as the Spaniards suppressed all account of the voyage; and though it leaked out later, the report was so vague that it was very much doubted whether he had really passed this way. On most charts and maps of the period, New Guinea was shown joined to Australia, and to Cook the establishment of the Strait may fairly be given".

<sup>1</sup> "The Admiralty copy, as well as that belonging to Her Majesty, calls it New South Wales" (fn. p. 312).

After the mutineers of the *Bounty* in 1789 had forced their commander, Lieut. William Bligh, to embark in the launch, he steered for Timor and came up inside the Great Barrier Reef, sailed between several islands [Albany Islands] and "a high mountainous island with a flat top [Mount Adolphus], and four [three] rocks to the S E of it, that I call the Brothers, being on my starboard hand. Soon after, an extensive opening appeared in the main land, with a number of high islands in it. I called this the Bay of Islands" (Bligh, 1790, p. 64). The following is taken from Ida Lee, 1920, p. 61: "He afterwards wrote in his Journal: 'I have little doubt that the opening which I have named Bay of Islands is Endeavour Strait, and that our track was to the northward of Prince of Wales Islands'. He continued to steer through Torres Strait where he saw several islands: the northernmost was a mountainous island [having on it a very high round hill] (Banks Island on which is Mount Augustus) and a smaller one 'was remarkable for a single peaked hill' (Mount Ernest Island). Bligh passed round Wednesday Island which he named, fell in with a reef to the north-west of it (North-West Reef), and passing between it and Wednesday Island went through Prince of Wales Channel out of Torres Strait [in June 1789]. By passing north of Prince of Wales Island, while Cook had passed south of it, Bligh opened up a new channel" (p. 62). "A small island was now seen bearing W, at which I arrived before dark, and found that it was only a rock, where boobies resort, for which reason I called it Booby Island. . . I find that Booby Island was seen by Captain Cook, and, by a remarkable coincidence of ideas, received from him the same name" (Bligh, p. 66).

Capt. E. Edwards in H.M.S. *Pandora* on August 25, 1791, when returning from Tahiti with the mutineers of the *Bounty*, made for Torres Straits and discovered a "reef composed of very large stones and called it Stony-reef Island" [? Bramble cay or the Black rocks to the southwest], later he saw an island to the west [probably Erub]. Next day he "discovered four islands, to which the name of Murray's Islands was given. On the top of the largest, there was something resembling a fortification. We saw at the same time three two-masted boats" (Hamilton, 1793, p. 101). The mistake of "four islands" was due to his not visiting them; the "fortification" was probably the fissured rocks of the crater at the top of the hill Gelam, in Mer, cf. Haddon, etc., 1894, pl. xxiii, fig. 2. One of his boats found a passage through the Great Barrier Reef, but, before he could utilise it, the *Pandora* was wrecked on August 28, and the frigate's boats passed through Torres Straits and arrived at Timor. He gave the name of Wolf's Bay to a bay apparently on the north coast of Muralüg and named Hawkesbury's Island (*l.c.* p. 125). For the account of his landing on Muralüg, see p. 65.

Capt. W. Bligh came a second time to Torres Straits in 1792 with H.M.S. *Providence* and the brig *Assistant* commanded by Lieut. N. Portlock. The objects of his mission were to transport the bread-fruit tree from Tahiti to the West Indies and on his way to explore a new passage through the Straits; in both of these he was successful. As no account of this voyage had been published, Mathew Flinders, who was a midshipman on the *Providence*, gave extracts from his own journal in his *Voyage* (t, 1814, pp. xix-xxx). Miss Ida Lee (Mrs C. B. Marriott), who had access to Bligh's log-books, has given (1920) a full account (pp. 173-200) of this memorable voyage, which laid the foundation of our present charts of Torres Straits and gave the first account of its inhabitants. Miss Lee also gives extracts (pp. 248-78) from Portlock's journal, written on board the *Assistant*, which supplement Bligh's journal.

Bligh sighted "Island A", Erub, on September 4, 1792, and subsequently named it

Darnley Island. The next day he saw and described from a distance "Islands B and C", which unbeknown to him had been named the Murray Islands by Edwards in the previous year. He discovered and named the following islands: Darnley, Nepean, Stephen, Campbell, Dalrymple, Rennel, Marsden, Keats, Yorke islands, Warrior, Dungeness, Arden, Turtle-backed, Long, Cap, The Brothers, Mount Cornwallis, Banks and Mount Augustus (the "mountainous island"; 1st voyage), Cornwallis, Burke, Turnagain, Jervis, Mulgrave, Mount Ernest (the peaked hill of the 1st voyage), Possession (now North Possession), Tobin, Portlock, Bond, Passage and Black Rock. Apparently the only islands on which landing took place were Dalrymple and (North) Possession. The following keys (cays) were named: Canoe, Clifton's, Tobin's, Pearce's, Nichol's, Watson's, a large number of sand-banks, shoals and coral reefs were charted. September 17: "The small Isles next to us were without inhabitants. I therefore sent Lieutenant Guthrie with two boats to land on the northermost to hoist our colours and to take possession of it. We named it Possession Island" (Lee, p. 194). Flinders says Possession was taken "of all the islands seen in the Strait, for His Britannic Majesty George III, with the ceremonies used on such occasions: the name bestowed on the whole, was Clarence's Archipelago" (Flinders, p. xxvii). The observations of Bligh and Portlock on the natives are given on pp. 72, 73, and a brief account of the unprovoked attack by the natives of Island P [Tutu] which probably for this reason was called Warrior Island.

W. Bampton and M. B. Alt, commanders of the English merchant ships *Hormuzeer* and *Chesterfield*, passed through Torres Straits in 1793. An abstract of Capt. Bampton's MS. journal is given by Flinders (*Voyage*, I, pp. xxx-xlv). They sailed from Norfolk Island, saw Mer (June 20), went to the coast of New Guinea, "The land here forms a large, unsheltered bay... the country round the bay is described as level and open, and of an agreeable aspect" (p. xxxii); the mouth of a considerable river was seen. On arriving at Darnley Island (the native name of which is erroneously given as Wamvax), the natives exchanged bows and arrows for knives, etc. His account of the natives is given on p. 185. On July 3 a boat, carrying Messrs Shaw and Carter, Capt. Hill and five seamen landed presumably at Bikar Bay on the north-west side of the island, and Capt. Hill and four men were murdered. Shaw and Carter were severely wounded, but with Ascott, the remaining seaman, they got into the boat and escaped. They were without provisions and compass, and it being impossible to reach the ships, which lay five leagues to windward, they bore away to the west through the Straits and on the tenth day they reached Timor. Their companions on the ships had no knowledge of what had taken place, and on July 7 two boats were sent to look for them, they went round the island and saw a great concourse of natives armed with bows and arrows, clubs and lances. On July 10 an armed party of forty-four men under Mr Dell landed on the island. "After hoisting the union jack, and taking possession of this, and the neighbouring islands and coasts of New Guinea, in the name of His Majesty" (p. xxxv), they found several things which had belonged to Capt. Hill, Mr Carter and Mr Shaw, etc., "so that no doubt was entertained of their having been murdered. In the evening the party arrived from having made the tour of the island, having burnt and destroyed 135 huts, 16 canoes, measuring from 50 to 70 feet in length; and various plantations of sugar cane". The natives had retired to the hills in the centre. The bay was named "Treachorous Bay".

[S. McFarlane says (1888, p. 29) he heard from the natives the following account of what may refer to this episode or possibly to a later similar one: "The captain sent in two

boats to get water at the only place on the island where there is water throughout the year. I have known the people there to be eight months without rain, and all the wells on the island dry, except this pool in Treachery Bay. The natives did not object to their filling the casks, because there was plenty of water for all; but having filled them and towed them off to the ship, a number of the sailors returned with a bundle of dirty clothes and a bar of soap, and began washing and bathing in the only drinking water the natives had. The natives very naturally objected; but the sailors, thinking themselves masters of the situation on account of their revolvers, persisted, and the consequence was, as stated in the sailing instructions, every one of that boat's crew was murdered. Of course many of the natives were killed, some during the affray and others by the revenge party sent on shore by the captain immediately afterwards, who did all the mischief they could, both to the people and their houses and plantations, besides taking away a number of girls as prisoners". Dumont d'Urville (ix, p. 217) says: "I knew that a short time previously [this was written in 1840] the savages who inhabit this little islet had attacked the boat of a trading vessel and killed the captain and some sailors". It is not clear whether this refers to Bampton and Alt or to some later occurrence, if the latter it may be that alluded to by McFarlane.]

An armed party was sent ashore on Stephen's Island to obtain intelligence about the lost whale boat. The natives were in hostile array on the hills and sounded conches, "but after lancing a few arrows they fled". Several were wounded by the shots fired in return and the huts were burned. The island was traversed all over, the people having fled in a canoe (Flinders, I, p. xxxviii).

Campbell's Island was visited, on which there were no "plantations, cocoa-nut trees or fixed inhabitants". Bristow Island close to New Guinea was discovered and named.

Although Mr Dell, acting under Capt. Bampton, took possession on July 10, 1793, of Ērub and the neighbouring islands and coast of New Guinea, it was not till April 4, 1883, that the region of New Guinea east of the 141st Meridian was officially annexed to the Empire by Henry Marjoribanks Chester (a police magistrate in the service of the Queensland Government) at the order of Sir T. Mellwraith. But the British Government disavowed the annexation.

Mathew Flinders, who served under Bligh and Portlock in 1792, revisited the Murray Islands on October 29, 1802, as Captain of H.M.S. *Investigator*. He says that forty or fifty Indians came off in three canoes holding up coconuts, joints of bamboo filled with water, plantains, bows and arrows and vociferating *tooree! tooree!* and *mammoosee!* There was a lively barter and quite friendly relations. He describes them as of a dark chocolate colour, active muscular men of about the middle size, and their "countenances expressive of a quick apprehension". They were quite naked, but some wore "ornaments of shell work and of plaited hair or fibres of bark, about their waists, necks, and ankles" (vol. II, p. 110). His account of the canoes is reproduced in iv, p. 212; apparently he did not land on the islands.

He visited Half-way Island, which he describes "as scarcely more than a mile in circumference but it appears to be increasing both in elevation and extent. The island is little better than a bank of sand, upon a basis of coral rock; Yet it was covered with shrubs and trees so thickly, that in many places they were impenetrable. The north-western part is entirely sand, but there grew upon it numbers of *pandanus* trees and around many of them was placed a circle of shells of the *chama gigas*, long slips of bark are tied round the

smooth stems of the pandanus, and the loose ends are led into the shells of the cockle placed underneath. By these slips the rain which runs down the branches and stem of the tree is conducted into the shells, and fills them at every considerable shower; and as each shell will contain two or three pints forty or fifty of them placed under different trees will supply a good number of men" (Flinders, II, pp. 112-15).

Capt. P. P. King in July 1819 came from the south through Torres Straits crossing north of Wednesday Island, but he did not land and does not say anything about the natives. In July 1821 he passed the same way, which he recommends as the best route (King, 1827, vol. 1).

Dr F. B. Wilson, Surgeon R.N., says: "On the 25th of June, 1822 I sailed from Sydney in the ship *Richmond*, in company with the *Mary Anne* and *Almorah*. On the 11th of July, the three ships passed through the Great Barrier reef in safety, and anchored off Murray's Island" (Wilson, 1835, Appendix, p. 306). His account of the natives is copied on pp. 95, 96. He continues: "We got under weigh, and proceeded on our voyage, passing safely through Torres Straits, when the ships parted company. In a few days afterwards, the ship *Richmond*, in which I was a passenger, was totally lost on a coral reef, in the Java sea, and all the curiosities I had collected at Murray's Island were left to the Malays, whose proas were approaching the wreck in great numbers" (p. 314).

Dr Wilson sailed under Capt. Young of the *Governor Ready* in 1829; he writes: "Imagining we could reach Half-way Island long before sun-set, we did not stop at Murray's Island; greatly to the disappointment of the natives, many of whom were seen running along the beach, and inviting us, by every means in their power to stay. I regret, individually, that I had not an opportunity of renewing an acquaintance formed with several of these interesting islanders some years ago" (p. 11). The vessel was wrecked near Half-way Island and the crew in three boats proceeded westwards to Timor. The next night was spent on one of an unknown group of islands south of Badu, which they named Duncan's Isles (p. 33).

Various voyages through the Straits from 1791 to 1825 are mentioned by James Horsburgh, *India Directory, etc.* II, 3rd ed. 1827, pp. 578-86, but nothing new is recorded.

"A naval officer" [Rutherford] visited Mer in June 1833. An abstract of his account of the natives is given on pp. 96, 97.

The *Charles Eaton* sailed from Sydney for Canton on July 29, 1834. The passengers were Capt. D'Oyly of the Bengal Artillery, his wife and their two children, George (seven years of age) and William (two years old), their Bengali nurse, and Mr Armstrong. The ship's company consisted of Capt. Moore, Mr Clare, chief mate, Mr Grant, the surgeon, and twenty-three others including two cabin boys, John Sexton and John Ireland. On August 15, owing to bad weather, the ship struck on a reef near the entrance to Torres Straits. The captain declared the vessel was totally lost and ordered the long boat, the two cutters and a dandy to be got ready and provisioned, with a view of getting to Timor. One cutter was swamped, the other was provisioned and provided with arms, etc.—this was seized by five seamen who made off, abandoning the others. They reached Timor Laut in about fifteen days, where they had to remain for more than thirteen months. On October 7, 1835, they got to Amboina and reached England in June, 1836. The account they gave of themselves proved to be quite unreliable. The subsequent fate of those left on the *Charles Eaton* is given on pp. 84-86; only William D'Oyly and John Ireland ultimately survived.

Capt. Owen Stanley gives (in Stokes, 1846, 1, pp. 440-2) an account of his cruise in March 1839 to Timor Laut and other islands; at the first he obtained information about the five seamen who went thither. He also gives a graphic account of the story obtained from Ireland by Capt. P. P. King which was published in Sydney in 1837. This was also partly reproduced in *The Nautical Magazine*, vi, 1837, pp. 654 ff. Stanley says (p. 448) that Bōydān island "is probably that on the chart called No. 1 to the eastward of Hannibal Island" [about lat. 11° 30' S.], but Stokes (p. 361) concludes "that No. 4 of the group [S. of Cairneross] is Bōydān island, a name given by the Murray islanders to the spot" of the massacre. See also Brockett, 1836.

The loss of the *Charles Eaton* and the uncertainty as to the fate of the crew and passengers caused great excitement in Australia and England. Mr Bayley, brother of Mrs D'Oyly, besought the Admiralty to send out a frigate to rescue the survivors, if any. Capt. Wiseman of the *Augustus Caesar* (which had sailed in company with the *Charles Eaton*, but was obliged to separate on account of the gale in Torres Straits) had on August 31, 1834, picked up wreckage from the *Charles Eaton* on the south side of Double Island [Nālgī]; he gave evidence before the Lord Mayor of London and stated that, "as Torres Straits is now frequented by a number of valuable British Ships on their way from Australia to India and the Isle of France, a correct survey of the several channels, and in particular of places of safe anchorage, is much wanted, and a few beacons might be placed on the reefs at no great expense". In a communication addressed by Sir George Grey to Mr Bayley [in January 1835] it was stated "that one of his majesty's ships is about to be despatched to that quarter for this object".<sup>1</sup> Despatches were sent to Sir Richard Bourke, Governor of New South Wales, by Lord Glenelg to adopt measures to ascertain the fate of the shipwrecked persons and for rescuing them. Similar instructions were despatched to Rear-Admiral Capel, Commander-in-Chief on the East India station, who ordered one of his squadron to proceed to Torres Straits. Meanwhile, in an article in the *Canton Register* of February 16, 1836, Capt. W. Carr of the *Mangles* stated that he arrived at Murray's Island on September 18, 1835. On one of the canoes was a white person, quite naked like the savages; from inquiry, it was "found that he was an Englishman wrecked some ten months since in the *Charles Eaton* and wished very much to come on board, but the natives would not allow him". Later they tried to induce him to come on board but he refused. Capt. Carr made another attempt but failed, "they brought a little European boy down close to the beach but would not allow me to touch him".<sup>2</sup> The Bombay Government sent the East India Company's brig of war, the *Tigris*, in March 1836 to Torres Straits, but on arriving at Sydney it was found that his Excellency, Sir Richard Bourke, had sent the Colonial schooner *Isabella* by orders of the Home Department eight days previously. The *Tigris* was delayed at Sydney for repairs, and arrived at Murray's Island on July 29, 1836, where the commander was given a letter left there by Capt. Charles M. Lewis, of H.M. Schooner *Isabella*, and dated June 26, 1836, in which he says he found only two survivors of the *Charles Eaton*, John Ireland and William D'Oyly. "The father and mother, and the whole of the passengers with the whole of the crew, were all murdered by the savages on the island, which the natives call Boydang; consequently those are the only two living,

<sup>1</sup> Wemyss, 1837, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> In *The Nautical Magazine*, 1837, p. 660, it is stated: "Ireland's account [which is given] of the visit of the *Mangles* is so different from what Captain Carr describes that the discrepancy must be received with much caution". See also Stokes, 1, 1846, footnote, p. 444.

whom I purchased from the natives for axes. These survivors have been well treated on this island [Mer]; indeed these people saved and resaved [rescued] them from the savages of Boylang, an island to the westward, which it is also my object to visit, although I am rather at a loss which it is, owing to the circumstance that there is no native name on the charts to any of the isles within the straits. The natives of this place I consider very harmless, but great thieves, and also very much afraid of a gun, or small arms" (*The Nautical Magazine*, 1837, p. 110). He buried a memorandum in Half-way Island on July 28 in which he gave further particulars; he adds: "After searching all over the straits for this mysterious island ['Aureed'], I at last found it, and saw no inhabitants there, having left the previous night, when the ship hove in sight of their isle. I, however, found the skulls of the unfortunate people on the middle of the island, covered with a kind of shed, and arranged near a place where they generally feasted on the dead. These heads of different people were placed round like the figure of a man [the head-like figure of a man], and painted with ochre. I observed long sandy hair on one of the skulls, also great marks of violence on them all. Having satisfied myself of the truth of this detail, I set the whole of the house [houses] on fire, and also destroyed every cocoa-nut tree in the place, which those savages generally exist on. I at the same time conveyed the skulls on board, and destroyed the skull-house" (*The Nautical Magazine*, p. 111). Wemyss (pp. 27-9) gives a copy of the letter and memorandum which differs in a few verbal points from the preceding, the more important ones I have inserted within [ ]. The *Tigris* met the *Isabella* at Double Island and the surgeon of the *Tigris* pronounced fourteen of the forty skulls to be European. Further information about Aurid and the mask will be found in the section on Aurid, pp. 88-90.

The following is taken from *The Nautical Magazine*, 1837, pp. 654 ff., which, as previously stated, is taken from King, 1837.

On June 3, 1836, the *Isabella*, under the command of Mr C. M. Lewis, left Sydney and arrived at Mer on June 19. The natives showed "signals of peace by extending their arms". On approaching in canoes "they began to make signs of friendship by rubbing the hand over the abdomen, and calling out in loud voices 'poud, poud'... Their object was to trade; and for that purpose they had brought tortoise-shell, cocoa-nuts, and other trifles; which as they approached the ship, they held up, calling out 'tooree' and 'toolick', meaning iron tools, such as knives and axes". After careful negotiation Ireland was handed over and Duppar suitably rewarded. With difficulty, but quite amicably, William was rescued on the 20th. Duppar and Oby spent the night on board and made Mr Lewis promise to land next day. On landing he "was immediately surrounded by upwards of one hundred Indians, who expressed great delight at the meeting, by hugging and caressing him, and shaking hands". At first the women were frightened but soon they gained confidence and were given presents. Mr Lewis visited Dauer and Waier. The observations on Waier are given on p. 99. On the 22nd they tried to get water from a well on the S.S.W. end of the island [Mer], but there was very little and that unfit for use. Whilst filling the cask of water, one of the Indians, "an ugly fellow, without a nose or mouth (these necessary appendages having been eaten away by a cancerous complaint which appears to be very prevalent amongst them), took the opportunity of stealing a cask"—which was recovered. He refers to the collection of water in the valves of the "chama gigas" under trees. Lewis left Mer on June 26 (or 27) having previously given to the natives some letters addressed to "The Master of the Vessel off the Island".



On their way to Erub they were detained between the reefs by a gale which lasted seven days. On July 5 they anchored in Treacherous Bay, Ērub; the account of the islanders by Mr Lewis is given on p. 185. The *Isabella* passed by Nepean (Attagore) and Stephen (Hoogar) Islands. No natives were observed on Campbell Island (Jarmuth) [Lewis calls it Japcar = Damut], but a few fenced-in huts were seen: other islands were seen, and they visited Marsden Island (Sirreb according to Ireland, but Lewis calls it Ouean); finding no inhabitants or dwellings there, "they pulled over to Keat's Island, which is formed by two islets, the northernmost called Massied or Massieb and the southernmost, Cuderal, surrounded and connected by a reef. . . Massied. . . had many cocoa-nuts on it; and, according to Ireland, is always inhabited; they cultivate cocoa-nuts and the banana, and there is a spring of water in the centre of the island. . . These Indians are of the same character as those of Murray and Darnley Islands, and speak the same language. . . They denied having them [the skulls] in their possession. . . that all the white men had been murdered, and that some of the skulls had been sent to New Guinea. . . These islanders told them that their principal food was cocoa-nuts and yams, and that they were frequently robbed of them by the Indians of other islands" (*N.M.* p. 801). Mr Lewis named Keats, Marsden, Arden and other islands, Sir Richard Bourke's Group. On July 25 they reached Aurid; I have copied the account of the visit on p. 89. They visited other islands, and on their way westwards they met the *Tigris* commanded by Capt. Igglesdon, who informed Mr Lewis that "he had received the letter, which had been left with Duppar at Murray Island, and had also found the one that had been buried at Half-way Island. . . The surgeon of the *Tigris* visited the *Isabella*. . . and examined the skulls; seventeen of which he was satisfied were the heads of Europeans" [they visited Wednesday Island (p. 66) and left the Straits] (*N.M.* pp. 800-4). "The fate of George D'Oyly and Sexton is still in some remote degree uncertain" (*N.M.* p. 806). One account says that George lived for about three months and was then killed.

I have dealt at considerable length with the fate of the survivors of the wreck of the *Charles Eaton*, as the original sources give us the most detailed account we have of those occurrences which justified the bad repute in which the Torres Straits islanders were then held by navigators, and also as it illustrates the kind of life led by the Central islanders. For the custom of killing shipwrecked persons, see p. 196 and v, p. 279. On the other hand we have very little information about the treatment of the natives by white men and South Sea islanders who traversed the Straits about this time. The discrepancies in the various accounts show how difficult it is to obtain a reliable account from witnesses of the same happenings. There can be little doubt that this tragedy led to a more accurate survey of Torres Straits and ultimately to the establishment of a Government Station to control affairs. A settlement at Cape York was advocated in 1848 by Adam Bogue, as even at that time thirty-two vessels from Sydney passed through Torres Straits in one year (Simmonds, *Colonial Magazine*, xiv, 1848, p. 314), but this was not done till 1862, by which time fifty to eighty vessels passed through from the south.

In 1835 Capt. Hobson of H.M.S. *Rattlesnake* erected a flagstaff on Booby Island and placed in a box, labelled "Post Office", printed forms on which ships were to give information. Ships which touched here were in the habit of leaving letters for transmission by any vessel proceeding in the required directions (Stokes, i, p. 371).

In July 1839 J. Lort Stokes in H.M.S. *Beagle* did some surveying in Endeavour Strait, but he does not say anything about the natives.

Dumont d'Urville arrived at Erub on May 31, 1840, and sent a boat with the naturalists on board to see what they could. I have given their few observations on p. 186. They went westwards and got entangled on June 1 in a narrow passage in the Warrior reef, and very violent rain squalls rendered their condition still more precarious. After great difficulties and danger the two ships were floated off on June 4 and then spent some days in surveying the passage, which in our charts is named "Canal mauvais", and on the 9th they sailed away and finally quitted the straits by Bligh's Channel without having intercourse with the natives or landing anywhere except on Erub and Tutu.

The *Narrative of the Surveying Voyage of H.M.S. Fly* commanded by Captain F. P. Blackwood, R.N. 1842-46 (1847) was written by J. Beete Jukes, the naturalist to the expedition.<sup>1</sup> This accomplished geologist made many interesting observations on the natives, more particularly on those of the Eastern islands. The following are the islands concerning which he gives any information in vol. 1: Muralug (pp. 148-50), Nagir (p. 155), Yam (pp. 155-7), Umaga (pp. 158-60), Damnt (pp. 160-6), Kodai (p. 166), Masig (pp. 167-9), Erub (pp. 169-94, 209-12, 244-61, 292-4), Mer (pp. 195-206). Prof. Jukes was the first to give a general account of the physical geography, geology, flora and fauna of the region. His descriptions are characterised by his accustomed clearness and accuracy. The geniality of his character was such that he was remembered in Erub and Mer in 1888, and it was not forgotten in Erub that he had changed names with a young native named Dudgeab, for when I mentioned Jukes' name, that incident was immediately related to me and the old anchorage of the *Fly* was pointed out. All the information he gives concerning the islands and the islanders has been copied in the appropriate places in these Reports. The beautiful plates which illustrate these volumes were drawn and engraved by H. S. Melville and are noteworthy for their accuracy.

The *Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake* commanded by the late Captain Owen Stanley, R.N., F.R.S., 1846-50, &c. (1852) was written by the distinguished naturalist John Macgillivray, whose observations supplemented those made by Jukes. The voyage was also memorable from the fact that Huxley was the assistant surgeon on board, and several of the plates and illustrations in the book were drawn by him.

Macgillivray, who also sailed in the *Fly*, gave the first general account of the Western islanders, largely based on the information given to him by Mrs Barbara Thomson, who was residing in a cutter with her husband when they were wrecked on a reef on the "Eastern Prince of Wales Island", about four and a half years previous to the arrival of the *Rattlesnake*. She was rescued by a party of natives of Muralug, the "Western Prince of Wales Island", who were on a turtle expedition, one of whom, Boroto, took possession of her. She was well treated by all the men, though at first the women were jealous of her. One of the principal men, Piaquai, "acting upon the belief (universal throughout Australia and the Islands of Torres Strait so far as hitherto known) that white people are the ghosts of the aborigines", recognised in her a long-lost daughter of the name of Gi(a)om, and she was immediately acknowledged by the whole tribe as one of themselves. Although twenty

<sup>1</sup> In Appendix No. 1 Jukes prints the Orders under which Capt. Blackwood sailed; among these we read: "Some books with which you have been supplied record the treacherous conduct of the natives of the small islands in Torres Strait. . . . You will endeavour to preserve an amicable intercourse with them at all times. You should appear to forget their former crimes, and to caution your people against giving them any offence. When purchases are made, an officer should be present to prevent any misunderstanding; and you are to impress on the minds of all under your command, the mischievous consequences of exciting the jealousy of the men, by taking any liberties with the females" (II, p. 260).

to thirty or more ships passed by every year, she had no opportunity of escaping. She managed to reach the *Rattlesnake* on October 16, 1849. "Gi'om was evidently a great favourite with the blacks" (i, pp. 301-6).

Macgillivray (ii, pp. 2 ff.) was the first traveller to record the major groupings of the islanders [which independently I confirmed and extended in 1888; v. p. 2]. He gives an account of the Kauralaig (pp. 2-32), of Nagir (pp. 34-40), Waraber (pp. 40-2), Arden Island (p. 42) and Erub (pp. 44-9). All the information he gives concerning the islanders has been copied in the appropriate places in these Reports.

The London Missionary Society, as will be described later, began its operations in 1871.

Capt. John Moresby in H.M.S. *Basilisk* early in 1873 made surveys in the western part of the straits. His notes on Tutu in February 1871 (pp. 28-33); and on Mabuiag (p. 131), Dauan (p. 132), Saibai (pp. 133, 134) and Erub (pp. 136, 137) early in 1873 are copied in their appropriate places. On p. 129, he says: "By a late act of Government all islands lying within 60 miles of the shores of Queensland had been declared British Possessions".

H.M.S. *Challenger* passed through Endeavour Strait early in September 1874. The few observations by H. N. Moseley on Wednesday Island are copied on p. 66.

D'Albertis traversed the Straits in 1875, 1876 and 1877 on his journey to and from New Guinea. He gives an account of the animals he collected on various islands; his ethnographical remarks are quoted in their appropriate places in these Reports.

Baron X. de Miklouho-Maclay during a short visit in 1880 was the first to record the manual compressing of the heads of infants in Mabuiag (iv, pp. 7-9).

Dr O. Finsch, who explored so much of the northern coast of New Guinea, paid a visit to Torres Straits in 1882, but did not find much there to interest him as a collector.

The ethnographical results of my expedition in 1888-89 and of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition in 1898 are fully recorded in these Reports.

In 1913 the expedition of the Department of Marine Biology of the Carnegie Institution of Washington under the leadership of Dr A. G. Mayer paid a visit to Torres Straits and practically confined their attention to the Murray Islands (Mayer, 1914, p. 209).

The Great Barrier Reef Expedition under the leadership of Dr C. M. Yonge also visited Torres Straits, where many interesting observations were made (Yonge, 1930, pp. 159-99).

#### THE PEARL-SHELLING INDUSTRY

Mr John Jardine, Police Magistrate of Rockhampton, Queensland, was appointed the Government Resident in Torres Straits, and he established a small settlement on Albany Island in 1862, but transferred it to Somerset on the opposite mainland on August 1, 1864; this was never a port of any importance but merely a harbour of refuge, though an insecure one owing to the extraordinary strong tides. The rapidly growing pearling industry also made use of Somerset as a headquarters, but it was too far from the pearling grounds, so it was decided in 1875 to transfer the settlement to Thursday Island, where the Government buildings of the present town of Port Kennedy were begun in 1876, and in 1877 Mr Chester moved from Somerset to the new Residency. Three years later the Queensland Coast Islands Act was passed, by which the whole of the Torres Straits islands—hitherto nominally independent and greatly abused in consequence by the early pearl-ers—were annexed to the State of Queensland.

In my *Head-hunters* (1901, pp. 1-4) I referred briefly to the conditions in Thursday

Island as I saw them in 1888 and 1898; the account given by Yonge (1930, p. 163) shows what great improvements have since taken place. He also gives a good account of the history of the pearl-shelling industry and the method of fishing.

Voyagers had often referred to the use made by the islanders of pearl-shell for their ornaments, but it was not till 1868 that Capt. Bauer began fishing for pearl-shell on the Warrior reefs. He employed natives to wade for the shells in shallow water and later to dive for them a little farther out. The news of the rich pearl fisheries spread rapidly and numerous vessels arrived from Australia to exploit this new source of wealth. At first only comparatively shallow waters were fished and diving in depths of from 40 to 50 ft. was done by naked divers, who usually were South Sea islanders. Not till 1874 did the need for work in deeper waters lead to the introduction of diving dresses. As Yonge says: "Pearling was a wild business in those days, and the shellers were usually quite unscrupulous about their methods, so long as sufficient shell was obtained. The islands were not yet annexed to Queensland, and there was thus no means of controlling the industry, and the islanders in consequence frequently suffered rough handling. The master of one of the pearling vessels habitually compelled natives to dive for shell at the point of the revolver. Fights with the islanders, some of whom managed to procure arms and ammunition, became frequent. The demand for labour led finally to such ruthless exploitation of the islanders that in 1872 the Imperial Pacific Islanders Protection Act, more popularly known as the Kidnappers Act, was passed. This Act forbade any British ship, unless licensed for the purpose, to carry native labourers from any of the Pacific islands not in Her Majesty's Dominions or in the possession of any other civilised Power. . . . After several vessels had been condemned and sold, conditions greatly improved, though no provision was made about the pay and conditions of work of the labourers employed". How necessary this Act was is pointed out by Capt. Moresby (1876, p. 24), who visited the Straits in 1871 and 1873. In 1881 a Pearl-Shell and Bêche-de-Mer Fishery Act was passed regulating the engagement and employment of natives. "The passing of these Acts and the presence of a Government Resident at Thursday Island who had authority to enforce them checked the lawlessness which had become synonymous with pearling, and the industry gradually settled down into what it has now become—an orderly collection from the bed of the sea of an important raw material of commerce" (pp. 165-7).

As an indication of the lucrative nature of this industry it may be noted that the export of pearl-shell was valued at £25,000 in 1871, at £30,000 in 1874, more than £110,000 in 1878, £130,000 in 1899. During the War the pearling was completely at a standstill, but in 1928 the value of pearl-shell exported from Thursday Island was £167,916.

Capt. J. Moresby, in H.M.S. *Basilisk*, in February 1871 fixed the position of dangerous sunken rocks and reefs on account of increasing traffic in Torres Straits. He says (1876, p. 14): "I had been informed that illegal acts were being perpetrated at the pearl-shelling and bêche-de-mer stations, on islands which had never as yet been visited by a man-of-war; that the imported native divers were detained there beyond their stipulated period of service, and so ill fed as to be driven to make raids on the supplies of the native inhabitants—a situation calculated to provoke all sorts of evils". It would seem that the bêche-de-mer fishers were the chief offenders, as, on p. 25, Moresby says the natives of Torres Straits have been taught to know the value of friendly intercourse by the politic behaviour of the pearl shellers.

## THE BÊCHE-DE-MER AND TROCHUS FISHERIES

The bêche-de-mer fishery was started long before the beginning of the pearl-shelling industry and it developed steadily for many years but has now dwindled into insignificance in the Straits. The bêches-de-mer (bich-la-mar or "fish" in popular jargon) or trepang are various species of large Holothuria or sea-cucumbers, commonly termed sea-slugs; some kinds measure a foot in length and two inches in diameter. For two hundred years and more there has been a flourishing trepang fishery in Indonesia, the smoke-dried creatures were sold to the Chinese. Flinders in 1803 met a large fleet of Malay vessels engaged in this fishery off Arnhem land, North Australia, and perhaps some fishing was done in Torres Straits. On p. 62 I give what appears to be the first record of a vessel in search of bêche-de-mer and "tortoise-shell" arriving at the Torres Straits islands from Sydney; this was in 1846 (see Yonge, p. 211, who gives an account of this industry; Saville Kent's *The Great Barrier Reef of Australia*, 1893, may also be consulted).

The Rev. W. H. MacFarlane informs me that the Torres Straits islanders agree in stating that the Chinese who came in their junks seeking trepang and working for lengthy periods among the Western islands were "proper good men" and gave them no trouble. This is in marked contrast with the behaviour of men of other nationalities, as for example that recorded in VI, pp. 190, 191. I have not come across any other reference to Chinese coming to Torres Straits, perhaps these fishermen were "Malays".

Yonge (p. 212) says: "The Trochus [*Trochus niloticus*] industry grew up largely as a result of the War, and is now second only in importance and value to that of pearl shell. . . . During the War diving for pearl shell was stopped. This fact enabled the collection of Trochus—the value of which had been discovered some years previously—to develop into the present important industry". The shell is exported to Japan. The Trochus and bêche-de-mer fisheries are mainly carried on southwards for a considerable distance along the Great Barrier Reef, but the islanders still earn considerable sums of money by collecting Trochus in the Torres Straits.

## MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE

In 1870 the Rev. S. McFarlane, LL.D., paid a short visit to Torres Straits, he being the first missionary to do so. He and the Rev. A. W. Murray of the London Missionary Society began their memorable pioneer work in Torres Straits in 1871. The Rev. W. Wyatt Gill, LL.D., brought a number of South Sea teachers there in 1872 and spent about three months in the region. Mr Murray stayed there about two years; McFarlane returned to the Straits in 1874 and remained for sixteen years. The ethnographical data recorded by these and subsequent missionaries are duly mentioned in their appropriate places.

Towards the end of this period of service (about 1880) the energetic McFarlane founded The Papuan Institute "to meet the peculiar wants of this mission; viz. to assemble promising young men and boys from different points of the mission, speaking different languages, at a central station; and there, removed from their evil surroundings and family influences teach them, making the *English language* and an *industrial school* prominent features in the course of their instruction" (1888, p. 81). It consisted of an industrial school and a teachers' seminary. For the industrial school department he secured the services of Mr Robert Bruce, a yacht-builder from Glasgow. Among other buildings a

well-equipped workshop was erected. An old sailing boat was re-conditioned and a yacht, *The Mary*, of about 20 tons burden, was built, all the wood being cut and worked on the island by native labour. This was a most creditable performance and the idea of technical instruction was a sound one, but on the retirement of McFarlane in 1887 it languished, and was non-existent in 1888. By 1885 fourteen students had passed through the seminary and had been appointed to stations in New Guinea and in the islands.

After the retirement of Dr McFarlane the Western and Central islands were left in charge of South Sea teachers who were occasionally supervised by white missionaries. The Rev. Harry Scott arrived in Mer in 1883 and collaborated with Dr McFarlane; three years later he left Mer and went to Erub, but retired in 1886 on account of ill-health shortly after the death of his wife. In 1887 the Rev. A. E. Hunt and his wife went to live on Mer and with them resided the Rev. E. B. Savage, who had charge of the Fly river district. The Hunts went to Port Moresby in 1896 and for many years there were no white missionaries resident in the Eastern islands.

The year following the murder of James Chalmers at Goaribari in 1901, the Rev. E. Baxter Riley was put in charge of the Fly River Mission, and made his headquarters at Daru. Every boy under his care received instruction in building, mechanical engineering, farming, etc. I can testify to the broad and solid foundation on which he based the education of the boys and girls and to the affection which he and Mrs Riley received from them. His book, *Among Papuan Headhunters* (1925), is a valuable contribution to ethnography of the Kiwai-speaking Papuans and incidentally of the Torres Straits, despite the fact that the publishers drastically abbreviated his original manuscript. He died in Sydney on August 30, 1929; cf. *Man*, 1929, No. 159.

The following self-illuminating extracts are taken from *Round about the Torres Straits* by the Rt. Rev. Gilbert White, Bishop of Carpentaria (1900-15), 1917.

"The London Missionary Society began work among these people nearly forty years ago. . . . They did not perhaps teach all that we, as Churchmen, should have liked them to teach, but they taught a great deal and taught it well and thoroughly. The people gradually changed. . . . the great mass of the people not only became Christian in name, but also to a very large extent in practice. Their morality will compare not unfavourably with that of their white neighbours, their liberality and care for their Church is at least as great, and their observance of Sunday much more strict. So far as I am able to judge, the London Missionary Society succeeded in teaching the people that Christianity meant a certain *way of life*. . . . When I came to Thursday Island as Bishop in 1900, I confess to casting very covetous eyes on the Torres Straits Islands. . . . I felt, however, that as the London Missionary Society was first in the field and doing good work, I ought not to interfere with them in any way. . . . In 1908, in response to a request from the Government Resident, and after full explanations to the London Missionary Society, we commenced work on Moa Island. The settlers there were not Torres Straits Islanders, but South Sea men, who had for various reasons been exempted when the rest were deported a few years before. They were mostly members of our own Church and the London Missionary Society had not done any work among them. . . . Deaconess Buchanan who had for more than 10 years worked at Thursday Island went to Moa in Jan'y, 1908 and for three years lived quite alone at Moa without another white man or woman on the island." She was succeeded by a layman, Mr Cole and his wife. "It was not until 1914 and just before the outbreak of war, that the Church reaped the reward of its patience and self-restraint with regard to the

Torres Straits Islands. Without any action or suggestion on our part, the London Missionary Society wrote entirely on their own accord, to say that they were no longer able, for financial reasons, to carry on the work properly in the Torres Straits in addition to their work in New Guinea, and asking whether the Church of England would take the work over, offering at the same time to hand over all the land and buildings without asking for any kind of compensation. . . . In April 1915 I went round the Islands in the *Goodwill*, kindly lent to us by her captain, Rev. F. Walker, late of the London Missionary Society, whose desire to assist us and knowledge of the natives were of incalculable value to us. . . . Old heathen customs and traditions still persist on Murray, which is the most isolated of all the islands. I was shown the place where the north-west monsoon is manufactured, and when the Government school-teacher first introduced a rain gauge, there was nearly a riot, as the people were convinced that it was intended to prevent the rain from falling. . . . All of us [were] deeply impressed by the frankness and kindness with which we had been received and by the magnificent opportunity offered to the Church among these islanders, a strong and intelligent race, over 2000 in number, and rapidly increasing in population." Two missionary priests were appointed, the Rev. J. Done and the Rev. G. A. Luscombe, and later the Rev. W. H. MacFarlane. The last, who resides on Erub, is greatly interested in the natives and has most kindly sent me information of vastly more bulk and value than that which all the other missionaries put together have recorded; this important material is recorded in this volume.

It must never be forgotten that the very real hardships and dangers incidental to the pioneer work of the early missionaries and the Christianising and careful training of the natives were accomplished well before the London Missionary Society handed over the Mission to the Australian Board of Missions. The result was that instead of being congregationalists whose public and domestic piety greatly impressed me, the natives suddenly became Anglicans and speedily were interested in the new ritual and vestments; doubtless they will benefit materially by the increased superintendance by white missionaries. John Bruce, writing to me on November 10, 1915, says that in the previous April two of the Anglican clergy visited Mer "and took over the church and the people to their fold and the latter went over without a murmur and at once began to follow the form of the English Church Service, so different from the simple services that they had been used to".

The Papuan Industries, Limited, was inaugurated in 1904 by the enthusiasm of the late Rev. F. W. Walker, who had resigned from the London Missionary Society the previous year in order to devote himself to this enterprise. The avowed two main objects of the Company were: "(1) To create a social environment for the natives of New Guinea favourable to the development of a robust Christian character. (2) To enable the native Christians to become independent and the Mission self-supporting."

The first steps taken were to assist the natives of some of the Western islands of Torres Straits and of the adjacent regions of New Guinea to better their conditions by the planting of coconut palms for the production of copra and the growing of other useful crops on their own land.

The Company erected a large store, dwelling-houses and workshops on Badu to serve as its headquarters. Another large store was furnished on Daru. Plantations of coconuts and other produce were made on Badu and extensive ones at Dirimu about 15 miles up the Binaturi and at Madiri about 40 miles up on the right bank of the estuary of the Fly,

where rubber was also grown later. Members of the staff, most of whom were married men, resided in these spots and by their example instructed the natives in approved methods of cultivation and gave them medical help and religious instruction.

The excellent store at Badu was largely frequented by the Western islanders, who, ultimately, were required by the Protector of Aborigines to deal there in order that they should not succumb to the temptations of Thursday Island. The natives sold to the Company pearl-shell, trochus, and turtle-shell, the profits on which were regulated by the Government, and a percentage was retained by the Government for the future benefit of the natives. Thus the natives obtained good fixed payment for all their sales to the Company and could purchase reliable goods at the store without being imposed upon.

The Company has also assisted many natives to procure boats, and in most cases these boats were duly paid for by the profits of shell-fishing.

The Company was essentially a philanthropic one, it limited all interest on capital to 5 per cent., but owing to various causes, and especially to the War and to the slump in rubber and the low price paid for copra, this modest dividend has never been paid, and the Company, instead of being able to extend its usefulness, was obliged to reduce its activities.

Visitors, of whom Dr Yonge is one, have often expressed their admiration of the scheme and of the way it has been carried out, and there can be little doubt that the devoted labours of the staff of the Company have done a great deal for many of the islanders to enable them to adjust themselves to recent conditions and to save them from exploitation.

It is only just to point out that ever since a Government has been established on Thursday Island, the successive Residents have had the welfare of the natives at heart, and have removed abuses and effected reforms. The placing of Government teachers in various islands has been of material benefit to the natives. It should also be noted that at all events during the past forty or fifty years traders and employers of native labour have as a rule treated the natives fairly and with consideration.

The islanders have however suffered so much in the past from the malpractices of white men and of the South Sea natives who have come in their train, that anything which can be done for their benefit is their just due, though alas it can never remedy the past.

It is stated in the Report of the Papuan Industries for 1930-31: "For some time it has been apparent, that so far as Badu is concerned, the work for which the company was principally formed to undertake has been largely achieved. Thirty years ago the condition of the native islanders in the Torres Straits was deplorable. To-day their whole status has been raised. They own excellent fishing boats and have large sums deposited with the Government. Also, equally important, the whole moral and social environment has been greatly improved. Under the beneficent control of the Queensland Aboriginal department safeguards have been taken to remove the islanders from the disastrous influences which the late Mr F. W. Walker set himself to remedy by founding the Papuan Industries, Limited". The Queensland Government bought the bulk of the assets at Badu in 1930. The plantations and houses at Madiri and Daru have been disposed of to the Unevangelized Fields Mission.



## II. GEOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY

The islands of Torres Straits fall naturally into three groups, Western, Central and Eastern, the lines of longitude,  $142^{\circ} 48'$  E. and  $143^{\circ} 29'$  E., conveniently demarcating these subdivisions.

In the Western group we have high rocky islands, the hills of which are covered with a sparse vegetation. All the Central islands are low coral islands scarcely raised above the sea. The Eastern are volcanic islands that support a rich vegetation. It should be borne in mind, however, that while the volcanic islands are confined to the eastern district, and the old igneous rocks are equally limited to the western area, low coral islets occur in all three regions, although they alone are to be found in the central zone.

Great stretches as well as isolated patches of coral reefs are also plentifully distributed from the western entrance of the Straits to the oceanic edge of the Great Barrier Reef. It is the presence of these reefs, as well as of the outliers beyond the Barrier Reef, which has given Torres Straits such a bad name in the annals of navigation. Even at the present day the reefs of this district are very imperfectly charted; many are not laid down at all, and others are somewhat erroneously contoured.

The islands will be described in the following order:

THE WESTERN ISLANDS: Boigu, Dauan, Saibai, Daru, Mabuiag, Badu, Moa, North Possession Island, Muralūg, Horn Island, Possession Islands, Nāgir, Saddle Island, Yam, Mukwa (Cap Island), Gāba (Two Brothers Island).

THE CENTRAL CORAL ISLANDS: Tutu, Garboi, Umaga, Damut.

THE EASTERN ISLANDS: The Murray Islands: Mer, Dauar, Waier; Erub, Ēdugor, Zāpker, Ugar, Bramble Cay.

### THE WESTERN ISLANDS

#### BOIGU

Boigu (Talbot Island) is a low swampy island,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles long by 2 in width. It lies near the mouth of the Mai Kussa and is about 12 miles north-west from Dauan. The water in the swamp is bad but there is a famous water-hole of good water, the legendary origin of which is given by Landtman (1917, p. 537). C. E. Strode Hall (*Queensland Ann. Rep., Further Correspondence, N.G.* 1885-89, C. 58831. 1890, p. 213) refers to its ironstone beach and mud flats and describes it as a low island closely resembling Saibai with a large swamp in the centre. Doubtless wild fowl were abundant.

#### DAUAN

Dauan or Tauan is a small very hilly island, 75 miles due north of Cape York, about 5 miles from the coast of Daudai, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  from Saibai. It is triangular in outline, each side being about a mile and a half in length; the highest hill, Mount Cornwallis, is 795 ft. in

height. Owing to the weathering of the granite rocks, the hills have a very rugged appearance, the rocks being much fissured, and looking as if boulders had been fantastically heaped one upon another. Moresby (1876, p. 132) noted that "on its north-eastern side lie some fine patches of grassy land, well supplied with fresh water, and a richly cultivated valley, producing taro and melons; and here the village and native mission station are placed, but the native houses are only occasionally occupied, as the natives live on Saibai".

Wirz says (1933, p. 121): "True Daru [a misprint for Dauan] is of volcanic origin, but there are no reports of eruptions within living memory". This is not surprising when, as will be seen later, the eruption took place in pre-Carboniferous times.

#### SAIBAI

Saibai is one of the largest islands in the Straits, it is said to have a length of  $14\frac{1}{2}$  miles and a maximum breadth of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles, and is roughly ellipsoidal in shape. The island is low and consists mainly of a large swamp, surrounded by a narrow sand beach. I understand the ground to the east is somewhat higher. Moresby (1876, p. 133) writes: "a large brackish lagoon within, which abounds with curlew, wild duck, and other wild fowl. The northern shores are cultivated, and produce abundance of yams and other roots, cocoa-nuts and fruits—the rest of the island is swampy, and covered with mangroves". D'Alberici (1881, II, p. 8) refers to the "Fresh-water marshes, abounding in numerous species of aquatic birds, and among them ducks and pelicans".

Like most of the islands close to the coast of New Guinea, it owes its origin largely to alluvial soil brought down by the New Guinea rivers. The channel between Saibai and Daudai is about 2 miles wide at its narrowest part and is scarcely navigable owing to numerous shoals.

#### DARU

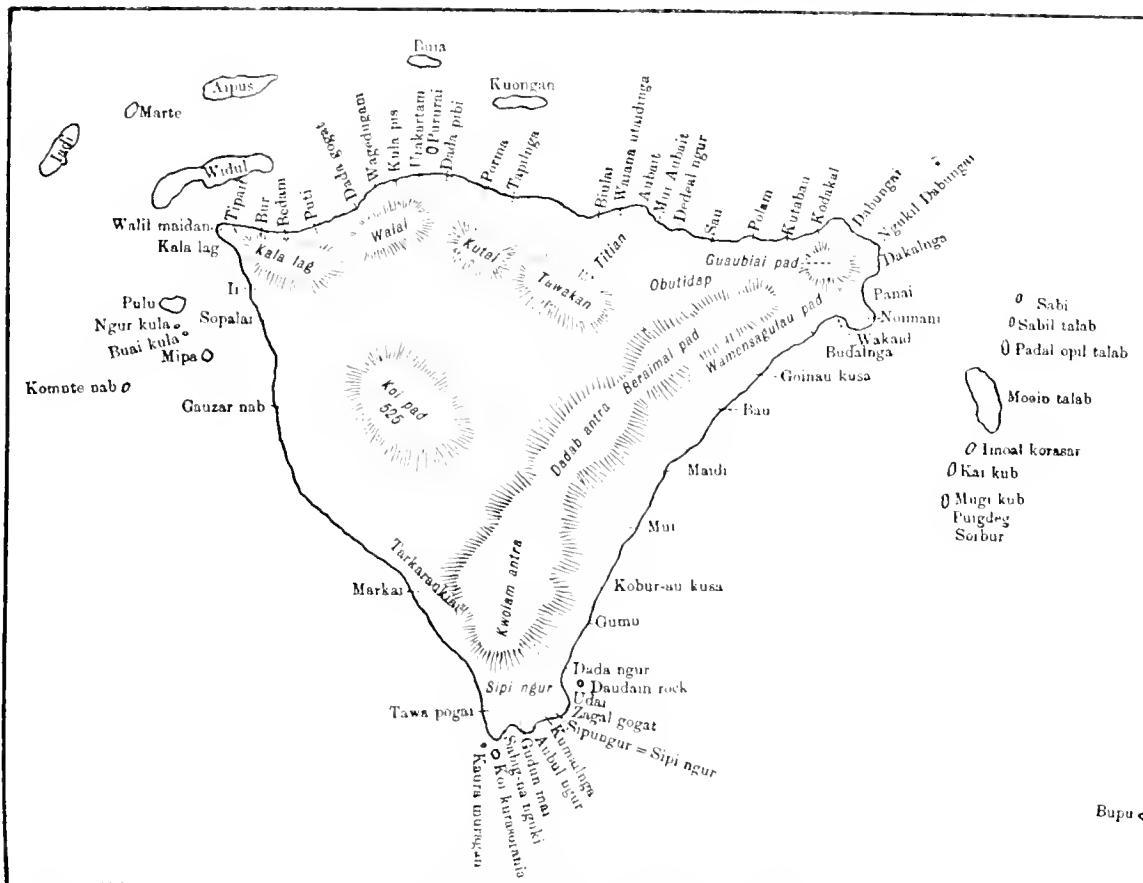
Daru (Yaru), although politically within the administration of the Papuan Government, may for our purpose be considered as one of the islands of Torres Straits. It lies between Bobo (Bristow Island) and the mainland.

The following account of the island is taken from Beaver (1920, pp. 48, 49, 52). It lies opposite the mouth of the Oriomo and is separated from the mainland by a channel only a mile or so in width. The island embraces an area of about two or three thousand acres fringed all round by a deep belt of mangrove.

There is quite a large extent of good dry land and a smaller area of agricultural country. Along the eastern sides the ground rises up into several high banks and a broad ridge some forty feet high runs from one of these banks across the island for some distance. I believe the general formation is sandstone, but the surface is mixed with large quantities of pebbly ironstone. A form of lignite has been discovered, of no value however. Most of the island is covered with a light forest of ti trees, which is excellent for some forms of building and seems to resist the white ant. . . . Much timber has been cut and this has probably affected the rainfall, for at any rate in my experience it is not nearly so heavy as the old records showed. The whole place is ablaze with crotons and hibiscus, the flower of the Kiwai, and to my mind Daru would almost be a beauty spot were it not for the wide foreshore which lies foul and black in a mass of mud at low water for a full quarter of a mile. Part of it is mud pure and simple; in other parts the mud is mixed with sand and small shells and possesses some quality that binds it into a kind of friable sandstone.

MABUIAG

Mabuiag (Jervis Island) is a small island situated midway in the narrowest part of Torres Straits. It is triangular in outline with one apex pointing south and each side measuring about a couple of miles. The island is very hilly and only moderately fertile.



Sketch map of Mabuiag. By A. C. H.

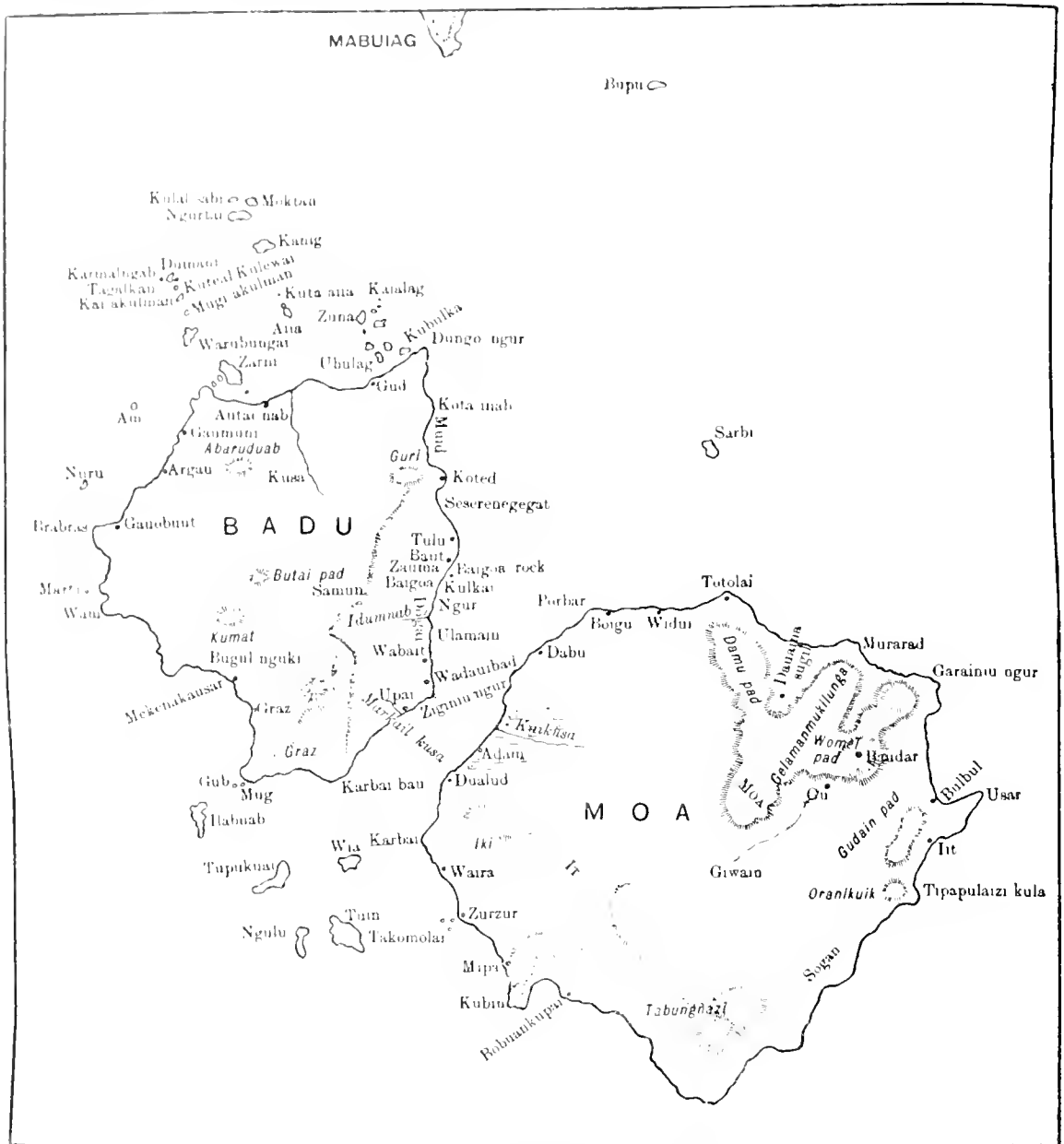
BADU

Badu (Mulgrave Island) lies 5 miles south of Mabuiag. It is an irregularly shaped island about 6 miles in diameter, and hilly in the centre. There is a good deal of low-lying wooded land and a good harbour on the east side at Dogai (Map, p. 22).

MOA

Moa or It (Banks Island) is situated 20 miles north of Thursday Island, and though separated by a narrow channel from Badu its inhabitants belong to a different group (p. 64) from those of the latter island. It is nearly as large as Muralug; the eastern side is very hilly, the highest eminence (Mount Augustus) being 1310 ft. high. This hill and the district immediately around it is known by the natives as Moa, the western low-lying portion of the

island, including the village on the north shore, is called It; the former name is in more general use. Parts of the island are fairly fertile, and bamboos of large size grow in places.



Sketch map of Badu and Moa. By A. Wilkin.

#### NORTH POSSESSION ISLAND

North Possession Island [now called North Possession Island, it lies to the north of Moa] is an inconsiderable lump of rock and stones bearing a few shrubs and small trees. Here, to these islands, the Indians come for turtle. Our party saw a number of shells lying on the

beach (a sandy point where they landed), near this were twenty or thirty small cocoanut trees bearing fruit. . . . Trees which bore the fruit that had been brought us by the natives at Island H. [Damut] and called Sour by them were also here, but had no fruit on them" (Capt. Bligh, cf. Lee, 1920, p. 195). On p. 183 he says: "This fruit is what I have described under the Malay name Sou or Sour". It is probably the *ubar* (W.), *enau*, *enoa* (E.), the fruit of *Mimusops Browniana*: IV, p. 133. For a further account of the plants and animals seen on the island see Lee, pp. 195-7, 273. Portlock says "they found one or two small low huts like those of Adventure Bay, Van Diemen's Land".

#### MURALŮG

MuralŮg or MorilŮg (Prince of Wales Island), the largest in Torres Straits, is situated 15 miles due west from Cape York. It is irregularly quadrangular in outline; the longest diagonal, i.e. from Heath Point to Cape Cornwall, runs approximately from north to south and is nearly 11 nautical miles in length. The island is extremely hilly, the hills rising up more or less directly from the shore except in the north-east corner, where there is a flat mangrove swamp over 2 miles long and half-a-mile or so broad. The interior of the island is entirely hilly; the highest hill is only 761 ft. high, and all of them are covered with trees. There is one north and south valley, extending from the mangrove swamp to Port Lihou, which forms a natural highway across the island.

The physical features of the other islands of this group are similar to those of MuralŮg. Most of the islands are more or less surrounded by a fringing reef, as are those of the Mount Adolphus Islands to the north-east of Cape York.

The fact that gold occurs on some of the southern western islands has been known for many years and consequently there has been local excitement at times. In 1894 gold was discovered in Horn Island, Narupai, and the whole island was proclaimed a goldfield, but was almost abandoned in 1897. The gold reefs in Prince of Wales, Hammond and Possession Islands were soon abandoned.

#### HORN ISLAND

In the northern portion of Horn Island the country for some distance inland is somewhat flat and sandy, with boulders or high isolated hills of a porphyritic granite projecting here and there, the crystals of quartz and felspar projecting from the weathered rock, which at first sight looks like a conglomerate. On the eastern side of the island hills rise to a considerable height almost directly from the sea-shore. The highest (376 ft.) is Horned hill (Diughubai) which consists of quartzite (Report by W. H. Rands, No. 112, Geol. Survey Publications, Brisbane, 1896).

#### POSSESSION ISLANDS

Jukes says (I, p. 145): "The Possession Islands, in the mouth of Endeavour Strait, and the larger islands to the northward, are all rocky and barren, with here and there small fertile and cultivatable spots. They are by no means deficient in beauty, being of varied and undulating surface, with lofty peaks and ridges, and sheltered valleys, but they seem to be mostly destitute of water, except in the rainy season".

#### NĂGIR

Năgir or Năgi (Mount Ernest) is situated about 26 miles north of Cape York in lat.  $10^{\circ} 15' S.$  and long.  $142^{\circ} 29' E.$ , and has, roughly speaking, the form of an equilateral triangle, of which one angle points in a southerly direction and the north-easterly angle is produced

into a small rocky promontory. The eastern and larger portion of the island is hilly, rising gradually, and culminates in a peak, 751 ft. in height (Jukes, I, p. 155, gives it as 807 ft. high). On the northern aspect some of the spurs of the hill are cultivated, and there is a moderate amount of level ground at its base, which is well wooded and covered with jungle and only partially cultivated. Except the really precipitous portion, the whole peak is well wooded.

The rock weathers into remarkable blocks and pinnaeles, the forms assumed in the north-east angle being peculiarly fantastic. The low-lying land on the northern aspect of the island is derived partly from the detritus of the hill and partly from shore deposits. The northerly shore is a typical coral beach; but at its easterly end, at its junction with the neck of the promontory, there is a peculiar variety of shore-rock (p. 36, and Haddon, 1894, p. 158).

Macgillivray (1852, II, p. 39) says: "Among the natural productions of the island I may first allude to the large thickets of bamboo scattered along the base of the hill. . . and to the small *Eucalypti* growing between the hill and the brushes, as this is the most northerly limit of that Australian genus known to me. Among the trees of the brushes I may mention the *Anacardium*, or cashew nut, with large red acrid fruit, *Mimusops Kaukii*, often attaining a great size, and a species of *Bombax*, or silk-cotton tree, from the trunk of one of which the canoe we saw upon the beach was being constructed. Of birds, the Australian quail, Torres Strait pigeon, and brown dove were plentiful". The gaudy, thrush-like *Pitta strepitans* was heard calling in every thicket, and several large lizards were seen; one of these (*Monitor Gouldii*) was about four feet in length.

Other rocky islands which are the isolated peaks of an ancient ridge of igneous rocks are: Gětulai (Pole Island), 409 ft.; Suārāgi (Burke Island), 490 ft.; Gāba (Two Brothers Island).

Like all the other hilly islands in the western division of the Straits, they are somewhat infertile owing to the scarcity of water; but at the same time the hills are covered for the most part with grass, bushes and trees. In some of these islands cocoon palm are more or less plentiful; in others, such as the Prince of Wales group, they were entirely absent until a few were planted by the white men. Bananas, too, are of very local occurrence, and even so are few in number.

Most of these islands are surrounded by a fringing reef, but the eastern band of the western district is almost entirely devoid of detached coral reefs. The chief exception is Mourilyan Reef, which lies just south of Gāba. This clear sea has, as Jukes noticed, "a remarkable uniformity of bottom" (I, p. 331) of from 8 to 11 fathoms.

#### SADDLE ISLAND

Saddle Island, 12 miles N.E. by E. from Nāgir, is a small island with two hills of rounded contour, which therefore afford a contrast to the peaked hills so characteristic of most of the neighbouring islands. The northern hill is precipitous on its northern face, and with a steep grass-covered slope to the south. The southern hill is 180 ft. in height; between the two hills is a low, flat isthmus, which possesses all the characteristics of a typical coral island: in other words, it is merely a beach, with the usual pumice pebbles, and supports a small amount of scrub. There was here what appeared to be a large deserted nest of the mound-bird (*Megapodius*).

## YAM (TURTLE-BACKED ISLAND)

Yam is an irregularly shaped island about a mile in length and averaging half-a-mile or more in width. There is a low dome-shaped hill at one end, and at the eastern side is a swampy lagoon that fills at high tides.

Jukes says (i. pp. 155-7): "On Turtle-backed Island we found a few small groves of cocoa-nut trees near a group of huts, with a little thicket of bamboo; and near the centre of the island, following a little path through a matted wood, rendered impervious by creepers, we came [on]. . . a little circular plot of ground, not more than four or five yards in diameter; but it had evidently been dug, though in a rude manner, and in it were set several young plantain-trees, one or two other plants, and two trailing plants. . . which we afterwards found were a kind of yam" [for the huts see iv, p. 96]. The huts "stood in a picturesque little spot, backed by some huge blocks of sienite, on which some large shells were arranged. About fifty yards from them, under some widely spreading, thick-leaved trees, with gnarled trunks and twisted boughs, were some great blocks of sienite, resting fantastically one upon the other. . . In all the wood that spread over the island, there did not appear to be a single gum-tree: the trees were widely branched, low and umbrageous, and matted with underwood and creepers".

## MUKWA (CAP ISLAND)

Bligh merely says "A small lump called the Cap" (September 11, 1792, p. 188). Portlock refers to Cap or Round Island (p. 267). Flinders says: "Upon the Cap, Mr Bampton 'saw a volcano burning with great violence' which induced him to give it the name of *Fire Island*; not knowing that it had before been named" (i, p. xli). This perhaps is the authority for the active volcano marked in Torres Straits in Dr Grange's charts of Oceania in Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage, etc., Géologie*, 1847. As a matter of fact this was only a grass fire caused by natives; the island is not volcanic.

## GĀBA (TWO BROTHERS ISLAND)

Bligh says (Lee, p. 190): "The Brothers is a miserable mass of rocks and stones with a few trees on the lee side of it. We saw a few inhabitants". Two Brothers is a curiously-formed island with three cones on either side and a deep cleft in the middle and lies about  $10\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the north-west of Yam. It is at present uninhabited, but once there was a European fishing station there. The Yam people use the island now for their fruit and vegetable plantations and go across to it periodically.

*The Geology of the Western Islands*

It has now been demonstrated that the Queensland axis extends northwards across Torres Straits into New Guinea through the Prince of Wales group, Moa, Badu, Mabuiag and Dauan to Mabudauan hill, and possibly to slightly farther west in Daudai. Somewhat to the east are Nāgir, Gētulai, Suaragi, Saddle Island, Yam Mukwa and Gāba.

In these islands granitic rocks occur, more particularly biotite and hornblende granites. Some of the rocks are derived from the destruction of eurites and granites. A fine-grained red rock from Mabuiag, with porphyritic quartz and felspar, proves to be a much altered eurite with micropegmatitic structure. The granite of Nāgir shows the tendency towards a simultaneous development of quartz and felspar that is common in the Western islands. Biotite is present, but in small proportion, so that sections of the rock resemble aplite.

Certain islands bear records of ancient eruptions. Deadman's islet, a tiny patch of rock on the northern point of the fringing reef of Thursday Island, is composed of quartz-andesite, approaching rhyolite. On Nāgir is a light grey diabase which originally was an augite biotite aphanite. A more finely grained and darker rock of the same character occurs, looking almost like a basalt: it must be classed as a mica-aphanite or "mica-trap".

Several tuffs have been collected: Kwoiam's hill on Mabuiag, for example, offers a fine series of rhyolitic tuffs, full of quartz fragments, belonging apparently to the most ancient eruptive series of the axis. In Saddle Island are grey, fine-grained tuffs, resembling sandstones, such as would be formed by the shattering of a porphyritic curite or rhyolite. It is thus a highly silicious volcanic ash, finer than those of Mabuiag, but probably of the same geological age. While Dauan may be considered as a part of the edge of the continental plateau, and a northern representative of the ancient Queensland axis, it owes its materials to igneous action. The granitic rocks are a biotite granite and a hornblende granite. Another rock is of a more volcanic type, being a much altered biotite-aphanite or "diabase". There is also a very fine grained, steel-grey rock, containing hornblende. It is probable that Dauan contains records of various ancient eruptions which may have taken place after the consolidation of the granites, or during the movements that brought them towards the surface.

Mabudauan hill, on the alluvial mainland of New Guinea, consists entirely of a true granite, like those of the islands of the Queensland axis; a microscopic examination shows the presence of biotite and oligoclase. Mr F. E. Williams, the Government Anthropologist in Papua, in a recent letter to me says he was told that at Jerai, on the coast between the Wassi Kussa [Baudu] and the Morehead [Baiamkad] rivers, now uninhabited, but the site of an old settlement, are some big stones partly under the sea. "These were compared, on a small scale, to those at Mabudauan by natives who had seen both places, so there is probably another granite outcrop there."

Ordinary coral beach-rock occurs on many islands, but on Nāgir there is a variety of shore rock which does not appear to occur elsewhere in the Straits. *In situ* it has the general appearance of an ordinary blown coral-sand rock; but, instead of rolled calcareous fragments, it is composed of grains of quartz and felspar cemented by a compact paste of carbonate of lime. It is, in fact, a calcareous arkose derived from the disintegration of the neighbouring rocks.

It is probable that the granitic rocks are pre-Devonian, and the ancient tuffs and lava-flows in various islands, which can be associated with analogous rocks in Queensland, may indicate that the uplifting of the continent of Australia, prior to Carboniferous times, was accomplished by volcanic manifestations such as occur on its edge at the present day.

H. C. Richards and C. Hedley (*Trans. Roy. Geog. Soc. Aust. (Queensland)*, 1, 1925, p. 23) say: "We may take it, then, that the general form and disposition of the islands about and to the west of Cape York, in Torres Strait, suggest that they have resulted from a fracturing of a mass of porphyry along lines at right angles to one another and following directions bisecting the angles between the cardinal points (that is N.E. and S.W., and N.W. and S.E.). Also the porphyry in places appears to have been covered with grits and sandstones laid down under freshwater conditions. In places this sandstone has been denuded away completely". The sandstone is regarded "tentatively as Mesozoic, probably Jurassic, in age" (p. 5).



## THE CENTRAL CORAL ISLANDS

Prominent features of the central group are the very extensive Warrior Reefs which stretch from Tutu nearly up to Bobo (Bristow Island), the large Dungeness reef south of Tutu, and numerous small detached reefs, many of which are capped by sandy islets.

The low-lying islands, which practically are confined to the central group, vary in size from small bare, nameless sand-banks, which are being heaped up on reefs by the combined action of wind and wave, to Giaka (Dungeness Island) and Sāsi (Long Island).

If a line be drawn from Masaramkoer (Bramble Cay) past Damut on its north-east side, to beyond the west point of Sasi, and another from the north-west point of Ērub and past the south end of Aurid to south of the Three Sisters, a band 15 miles broad and running N.E.-S.W. will be formed, which includes nearly all the small islands of the central group, but Giaka and Tutu lie to the west outside this zone. South of this band are numerous undefined reefs.

## TUTU

The first description we have of the island is that by Dumont d'Urville as he saw it in 1840. He says: "The island of Toud is scarcely a mile in its greatest length. The reef which surrounds it, and which dries at low water, extends still further from north to south. It is a bank of sand almost at sea level, on the north point is a clump of trees, the rest of this miserable land is saline, marshy, covered with grasses and shrubs that afford scarcely any shade. At this south point, constantly beaten by the waves, stands a little sand dune where one sees a dozen huts. It is at this point, the most exposed to the wind and the sun, that the natives have established their camp. One does not find on this sandy isle either a streamlet of drinkable water, or coconuts, or any vegetable product capable of serving as food" (p. 234). For an account of the natives see pp. 71-84.

Tutu or Tud (Warrior Island) is a small island less than a mile long, and about a quarter of a mile wide, and is surrounded on most sides by a fairly wide reef, which is separated by a narrow channel from the south-west extremity of the long and extensive Warrior Reefs. It is about  $12\frac{1}{2}$  miles north-east of Yam.

Tutu is merely a sand-bank, probably nowhere more than 12 or 15 ft. in height. The whole surface of the interior of the island is covered with rolled pebbles of pumice. (The largest piece of pumice known from this island measures  $343 \times 228 \times 305$  mm. ( $13\frac{1}{2} \times 9 \times 12$  in.), and weighs 8.42 kilograms. It is carved into a rude resemblance to a human face and was used in sorcery. I collected it in 1888 and gave it to the British Museum.)

At the northern end of the island a sand-spit projects, which appears to be increasing in size. At the south-east corner is a large bay or lagoon which is filled with water only at the highest tides during the south-east monsoon, but it is said to be constantly full during the north-west monsoon. The shore on the eastern side is gently shelving; that on the south and western sides is so cut by the sea as to present low cliffs, 3 or 4 ft. in height, flanked towards the sea by a narrow sand beach. We may conclude that the island was formed by the combined action of the waves and the south-east trade wind, and that it is still extending in a northerly, easterly and south-easterly direction; but that it is slowly being washed away along its western and southern shores.

The interior of the island is flat, and supports a vegetation of bushes and coarse grass. In one spot only, about one-third from the northern end, are there a few fairly large

trees, it is here that the *krud* was situated. There are only a few young coconut palms (1888).

There are one or two water holes in the centre of the island, but these yield brackish water fit only for cooking and washing purposes. Drinking water has to be brought from Yam, a distance of over 12 miles, it is conveyed in long pieces of bamboo as well as in the usual coconut water-vessels.

#### GARBOI

Garboi (Arden Island), about half-way between Tutu and Aurid, was visited by Macgillivray in 1849, who thus describes it (ii, p. 42): "The place is scarcely more than a quarter of a mile in length, low and sandy, covered with tall bushes and a few clumps of trees (*Pisonia grandis*) [*P. inermis*]. We saw traces—but none very recent—of visits paid by the natives, indicated by remains of fires, turtle bones, a large pit dug as a well, and two old graves. As usual a coral reef extends from the shore. . . . Species of *Cissus* [*Vitis*] and two or three *Capparidæ* constituted the bulk of the vegetation, and rendered the low scrub almost impervious in many places. A number of Torres Strait pigeons, chiefly young birds, and some stone-plovers and other waders, were shot, and one rare bird, a male of *Pachycephala melanura*".

#### UMAGA (KEATS ISLAND)

Three and a half miles north of Masig is the island of Umaga, which is thus described by Jukes (i, p. 158): "This was a flat island, about a third of a mile long, with an extensive coral reef on its eastern side. Piercing through the little belt of dense scrub which intervened between the beach and the wood, we got among a grove of lofty forest trees, with spreading boughs and leafy branches, affording a most agreeable shade. This wood formed a striking contrast to the hot, dry, shadeless gum-tree forests of Australia. A great number of white pigeons [*Carpophaga luctuosa*] had bred in these trees".

#### DAMUT (DALRYMPLE ISLAND)

The following description of Damut is taken from Jukes (i, p. 164):

We now struck off for a walk across the island. . . . Many narrow paths crossed in all directions, among shrubs and bushes, some of which resembled laurels and myrtles, in their leaves and modes of growth. Groves of lofty forest trees occurred here and there, with matted creepers and thick jungle. Several trailing briars, with thorns like the European bramble, were observed; and the whole vegetation had a totally different aspect from that of Australia, and a much greater resemblance to that of Europe or Asia. Our native conducted us to some water-holes, which he seemed to think were the object of our search. . . . At the bottom of each excavation was a little hole containing a few inches of fresh water, carefully covered from the sun by sticks and lumps of wood. We passed several spots which seemed to have been partially cleared and undergone some cultivation, in which were long, kidney-bean-like plants, climbing up sticks. We afterwards discovered these were 'ketai' plants, a kind of yam.

One or two low islands appear to be little more than mangrove swamps; others consist of a small sand-bank on which vegetation is beginning to grow. Owing to the prevailing south-easterly winds these islands tend to grow in a south-easterly direction, but the north-west storms also help to shape them in the opposite direction: consequently the centre of the island is the oldest portion, and it is here that the forest trees first make their appearance. Damut is evidently an older island than Tutu. Coconut palms have been planted by the natives on some of these islands.

## THE EASTERN ISLANDS

The meridian of long.  $143^{\circ} 29'$  E., and the edge of the Great Barrier Reef, respectively, delimit the eastern division of Torres Straits. This division includes the following islands: Zăpker (Campbell I.), Ugar (Stephen's I.), Ędugor (Nepean I.), Ęrub (Darnley I.), Masaramker or Keda (Bramble Cay), and the Murray Islands, Mer (always spoken of as Murray Island), Danar and Waier, besides several sand-banks or "cays", some of which are partially covered with vegetation.

The Great Barrier Reef terminates from 15 to 20 miles north-east of the Murray Islands, at what is known as Flinders' Entrance.

If a line be drawn between Bramble Cay and the Murray Islands it will be found to be about 50 miles (nautical) in length. A line drawn from Bramble Cay to Zăpker passes just outside Ugar and measures about 35 miles. A third line from Zăpker to the Murray Islands is about 40 miles in length. All the recent volcanic islands in Torres Straits are contained within this hypothetical triangle, which has a superficial area of about 700 square nautical miles, or about 900 square miles. Ęrub is in the centre of this triangle.

Bramble Cay, Zăpker, Ugar, and probably Ędugor and Ęrub, are composed entirely of lava, with the exception of two small patches of stratified ash in the last. Mer is about equally composed of lava and volcanic ash, while Danar and Waier consist entirely of the latter rock.

## MURRAY ISLANDS

## MER

Mer is roughly oval in contour, the long axis lying about N.E.—S.W. (Sketch map, p. 160). It is surrounded by a fringing reef which is narrow at the southern end but very broad on the northern, eastern and south-eastern sides. According to my survey (for which I do not claim great accuracy) the island is 2.79 km. (1 mile 1291 yds.) in length and 1.65 km. (1 mile 44 yds.) in greatest breadth, with an area of 386 hectares (953 acres, or about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  sq. mile). Dr A. G. Mayer says (1918, p. 4): "Maer Island, which is oval in outline, 9400 feet long and 5600 feet wide". Thus he makes the length 1 mile 1374 yds. and the breadth 1 mile 107 yds.; which is 83 yds. longer and 63 yds. broader than my estimate.

The most prominent feature of Mer is the long steep hill, Gelam, which extends along the north-west border of the island and culminates in a peak 750 ft. in height. At its northern end it terminates in a low hill, Zomar, which splays out into an outer spur, Upimager, and an inner spur, Měkernurnur. The hill Gelam rises up from a narrow belt of cultivated soil behind the sand beach, at an angle of 30 degrees, forming a regular even slope, covered with high coarse grass, save for occasional patches of bare rock. At the western end the ground is much broken, the termination of the smooth portion is marked by a conspicuous, curved escarpment; beyond this is a prominent block of rock about half-way up the hill, which is known as the "eye". The hill is the legendary dugong of Gelam (vi, p. 23). A rocky headland is called *Gelam pit*, "Gelam's nose"; behind the "eye", *Gelam pone*, the escarpment corresponds with the front edge of the dugong's paddle, the splaying hill of Zomar represents the bilobed tail of the dugong.

At the south-eastern corner of the island is a deep valley, Werbadu-pat, down which a stream rushes after rain and drains the southern portion of the large valley; beyond it rise the symmetrical hill Dębemad, 250 ft. in height, which is continuous with the ridge Mergar; the latter ends in the steep hill Pitkir.

It will be seen that Gelam and Mergar form a somewhat horseshoe-shaped range, the continuity of which is interrupted by broken ground at its greatest bend. The rock is a beautifully stratified volcanic greyish ash with a quaquaversal outward dip of 30 degrees. There can be no doubt that this is the margin of a crater, the whole eastern lip of which has been breached. The crescentic valley, crater, or "big valley", Aupat, being formed in a porous volcanic ash, is somewhat arid; the vegetation consists of coarse grass, low scrub, and scattered coconut palms and presents a marked contrast to the remainder of the island; the slopes of the hills are usually bare.

A low ridge, Mamsĕp, connects Gelam with the smaller horseshoe-shaped hill which is the remains of the central cone of the old volcano. The western limb of the cone is named Zaumo (about 450 ft. in height) and the eastern Gur; Zaumo is prolonged into a spur, Ai.

In the valley between these hills and Gelam and the north of Mamsĕp arises a stream, Deaidu pat, which flows in a northerly direction, and, after receiving two affluents, empties itself into the sea a short distance beyond Zomar. It should be remembered that the beds of these streams are dry for the greater portion of the year and it is only during the rainy season, i.e. from November to March, and then only immediately after the rain, that the term stream can be said to be applicable to them. There are, however, some water-holes in the bed of the stream, which hold water for many months. The stream passes into a small delta, which extends from the base of Zomar northwards to the point Momoterkek; there were several sacred spots in this fertile area.

The great lava-stream extends with an undulating surface from the central cone to the north eastern end of the island, and forms a fertile table-land which is bounded by a steep slope. The disintegrated lava forms a reddish-brown soil in which coconut palms grow in profusion, and the natives have their gardens of bananas, yams and sweet potatoes, etc. There are also wild mangoes and other wild fruit and other trees. On its western side the slope is practically a continuation of the side of the central cone and bounds the eastern side of the delta as far as Momoterkek. At the northern and eastern sides of the island the lava-stream forms an abrupt or steep declivity, extending either right down to the water's edge, or occasionally leaving a narrow shore, as at the pretty little sandy bay at Mek, or the long sandy fore-shore on which the village of Ulag is built. The eastern side of the island may be said to begin at the rocky point of Lewer. Five hundred yards to the south is another lava cliff, Gazir; here, where the beach is fairly wide owing to a break in the lava-stream, there is situated the large village of Las. Between the villages of Las and Er are at least four spots where the lava-stream forms precipitous, rocky points, Gazir, Wabkek, Turpit and Wemerpit, and between these are the sand-beaches, which are respectively called Murbu, Arĕb and Ęger. A deep valley, Er-pat, which terminates in a gorge separates the southern end of the lava-flow from Pitkir and from a spur of Gur.

From Er to Werbadu, a small village at the mouth of the valley, *pat*, of that name there is a very narrow shore littered with rocks; a family resides at Mergar and Terker respectively. From Nemea pit, just west of Werbadu, to Deru the precipitous rocks are washed by the sea, then follows the small shallow bay of Keauk, and at Nem the rocks again reach the sea. At Gigo the sandy shore begins with a variable amount of cultivated land between it and Gelam, which continues along the whole length of the hill, and there is a fairly continuous series of houses and small villages.

The fringing reef extends all round Mer, but it is very narrow at its south-western end; the broadest portions are to the north-east and down the east side.

The late A. G. Mayer (1914, 1918) made a map of "Maër" showing its main features and the fringing reef, which he shows as completely encircling the island, it being narrow at the south end. The contour and extent of the reef as he shows it is doubtless much more accurate than the sketch map I gave in 1894. He has named the stream that flows from Deaudu-pat as Bruce Brook, that of Werbadu-pat as Hedley Brook, and that of Er-pat as Haddon Brook. Mayer (1918) gives some excellent photographs of the Murray Islands. He says (pp. 16, 17): "The entire visible reef belongs to the recent period subsequent to the cessation of volcanic activity. . . . Thus the reef extends seawards at a rate dependent upon the average growth-rate of densely clustered coral heads and if this be taken at one-half inch per annum the wide south-east reef-flat of Maër Island might have been formed in 28,800 years, although one must not take such an estimate at all seriously".

Dr C. M. Yonge (1930, pp. 184 ff.) gives an interesting account of his visit to Mer in 1929. He says: "The beauty and luxuriant vegetation of Mer cannot be portrayed in words. . . . The northern half of Mer is dotted with dense tropical vegetation, coconuts, yams, sweet-potatoes, bananas, paw-paws, water-melons, sugar-cane, maize and bamboos, growing in riotous abundance. . . . The influence of the south-easterly Trade Winds is no less manifest here than in the coral islands. The coral grows vigorously outward against the wind into clear, wave-churned waters. The sand and fragments scoured off the surface of this region are carried round the island and piled up in its lee, especially at the western corner, where the sand-dunes, covered with coconut palms, now cover what was once the inner region of the reef flat". This is the district from Pas to Zomared.

The volcanic rocks of Mer are distinctly basaltic, and are marked by a development of porphyritic crystals of olivine and monoclinic pyroxene. This is, indeed, the character of all the volcanic materials collected in the Eastern islands.

The great stratified ash-beds, of which the crater-wall of the western end of Mer is so largely composed, prove clearly the violent nature of the explosions that built up the island. The lava-fragments are comminuted, often to a mere brown pumiceous dust; and the particles of the foraminiferal and coral limestones are abundant, torn from the earlier deposits through which the volcano broke.

#### DAUAR

The two islands of Dauar and Waier are almost contiguous, and are enclosed by a single fringing reef. They lie south of Mer, from which they are separated by a channel, 1982 metres (2167 yds.) wide, which averages 20 fathoms in depth.

Dauar is a small island shaped something like a figure of eight. It is about 1580 metres (1727 yds.) long and 762 metres (833 yds.) broad, at its widest or western end. It is composed of two hills, Au Dauar (605 ft. in height) and Kēbi Dauar (about 250 ft. in height), with a sand-spit at each end; that at the west end is called Kameri, the point is known as Giar pit and the spit pointing to Waier is named Teg. The hills, especially on their upper portions, are covered with grass and bushes; but the neck of low land between them supports a luxuriant vegetation. There is a small sandy bay, Eg, on the north side of the neck and a larger one, Ormei, on the south side; the rest of the shore, except at the base of each sand-spit, is precipitous. Geologically the island is composed solely of volcanic ash, which precisely resembles that of Mer. The island is divided into two districts, a large western one, Giar, the men of which are *Bomai le*, and a small one, Teg, of which the men are

*Nofu*, or outsiders (vi, pp. 172, 173). The boundary between them runs from Bazir to Sewereat, which latter is in the Gar district (cf. p. 161).

#### WAIER

Waier is a crescentic islet, 610 metres (667 yds.) in diameter. On its convex side, which faces north west, also called Waier, the base of which, like the larger one on the corresponding side of Dauar, is covered with vegetation. The island is entirely formed of stratified volcanic ash, which, as a whole, is much coarser than that of Mer and Dauar, and in many places forms a characteristic agglomerate.

It is evident that Waier is the remains of an old crater, which is breached towards the south east. The walls of the crater facing the interior are practically vertical; in the centre a great mass of rock (called Ne) appears to have fallen down from the wall of the crater. Externally the walls rise steeply, and are greatly furrowed and fissured. The gullies are vegetated. There is a small sand beach, Tikor, on the north side. The reef extends for a considerable distance towards the south-east over the region which was once occupied by the crater; this portion, which dries at low spring tides, is called Auter. There is a sand beach along the north-western end of the concavity of Waier, the inner border of which supports a small patch of luxuriant vegetation.

#### ËRUB

Ërub is the largest of the volcanic islands; according to the chart it is about 2 miles long by about 1 mile broad, but Jukes describes it as being "about eight miles in circumference, or three miles long by two in width, and does not contain much above a hundred full-grown men" (i, p. 259). It is somewhat ovoid in form, rounded at the west end and tapering to a point at the east end, Gazir (see sketch-map, p. 33). Jukes describes Ërub as "lolly and broken, rising more than 500 feet above the sea, but covered with vegetation" (i, p. 169).

"The south side of the island is by far the finest. It has beautiful grassy slopes, from the woody summit of the hill down to the belt of wood along the shore. The coast is indented by sandy coves, separated by little rocky headlands, and in each cove is a small group of huts under the shade of a grove of cocoa-nut trees. [As a matter of fact the whole island is characterised by its numerous little bays separated by rocky projections of lava]. . . . Sandy flats, dry at low water, stretch out two or three hundred yards from the beach, covered with native weirs for catching fish. These are walls of loose stone, about three feet high, formed in curves and semicircles along the sand-flats, each having a radius of one or two hundred yards. They are completely covered at high water, but when the tide falls (its range being about ten feet), many fish are left within these enclosed spaces, or, together with crabs and other sea creatures, caught in the interstices of the stones [p. 197; iv, p. 158]. Outside this belt of sand-flats is another of coral reef of irregular width. Towards the south-east both coral reefs and sand-flats stretch out for miles, with many narrow deep channels and holes between them. Here and there along the shore, both on the beach and out on the sand-flats, were erected tall bamboo poles with long streamers of leaves attached to them" [these poles, *sikar*, are signs of *gilar*, taboo, and are put up to preserve fishing rights, as was also done on Mer] (*l.c.* i, pp. 181, 182).

The following remarks are mainly taken from Jukes. Near to the west end is a small hill, Wagor, which is separated from the main hill, Au-paser, by a very pretty valley opening to the south, covered with long waving grass, and patches and skirts of woods and thickets. The south side of the hill also is covered with grassy slopes (i, p. 175). On

the lower ground are numerous and extensive *ketai* yam gardens and coconut trees. The grassy slopes of the south side of the island are furrowed by little narrow valleys full of wood, stretching from the hill to the sea-beach, with its belt of coconut trees. The grass is generally excellent: long, fine green and juicy with "patches here and there of a broad-bladed and ranker grass, more like the alang alang of Java" (I, p. 184). Beyond Mogor (Moggòr of Jukes) creek a great belt of woods sweeps down from the hill to the beach. Beyond this is a cove full of dense mangroves, but the grassy slopes behind it give access to the top of the big hill, which on the south side is bare, but surrounded by lofty trees all round the northern half. The hill is a broken ridge higher in the centre than elsewhere (I, p. 186), on the summit is a slight crateriform hollow, and it is probable that this owes its form simply to local denudation. The height of the hill is 615 ft. (II, p. 322; 564 or 556 ft., I, p. 190).



Sketch-map of Erub.

This map is copied from a sketch by W. H. MacFarlane who admits that it is not to scale nor is the configuration of the coastline quite exact. He says that the villages at one time extended much farther round the island towards the N.W. side. The native name for the high hill is Au paser (big hill), but the South Sea men call it Lalalwā [Jardine calls it Lalor]. Treachery bay, or as the natives call it Massare bay, may be taken to extend from the high cliffs at Miki paikai to Watutu point; into the small indentation at Bikar bay there runs a creek that forms the watering-place which led to the tragedy after which the place was named. Kēmūs, a large bay to the east, is where the missionaries first landed. The dotted lines indicate stone fish-traps.

Jukes says (I, p. 206) "the whole island is a mass of igneous rock... with the exception of a small portion of its N.W. side. Here, in the cliffs of Treacherous Bay, the stratified sandstone and conglomerates make their appearance from under the igneous rocks... On

the N.E. side of Treacherous Bay, the cliffs shewed the igneous rock, resting on the sandstones, and it appeared to have flowed over them as lava". The lava of Ērub is a brilliantly fresh olivine-basalt.

Macgillivray (II, p. 45) gives the following description of Ērub: "In passing along the south-west side of the island, we were struck with the superior richness of vegetation and apparent fertility, compared with what we had seen in New Guinea and the Louisiade Archipelago during the previous part of the cruise. Some portions reminded one of English park scenery—gently sloping, undulating, grassy hills, with scattered clumps and lines of trees. On landing at the village [Mogor], which consists of two or three houses only, we were taken a quarter of a mile—by a path leading along a small valley through a grove of cocoa-nut trees, bananas, and various cultivated plants (among which I observed the Mango in full bearing) to a pool of water in the dried-up bed of a small rivulet. . . . Some magnificent Sago palms overhung the water with their large spreading fronds; these we were told had been brought from Dowde or New Guinea, many years ago".

The topography and geology of Ērub were studied by F. Jardine in 1924 (*Reports of the Great Barrier Reef Committee*, II, Govt. Press, Brisbane, 1928, pp. 101–9, pp. 1–3, pls. viii, ix). He says:

From the north, the striking feature of Darnley Island is a dome-shaped hill which slopes regularly to east and west. The north-east headland of the island has a juvenile profile. The cliff overlooks a broad rock flat at sea-level. On closer approach, the soft contour of the island is scarred by a series of cliff sections 100 feet–200 feet high, centrally situated, which taper to sea-level on either side. The dome-shaped peak, Lalor, rises to 610 feet in the western half of the island. From this peak, the slope to the southern shore line is unbroken and gentle, save for a steep declivity towards the summit and a dry stream course which bisects the southern slopes and enters a shallow mangrove-fringed bay towards the south-east of the island. The long slope is continuous also towards the west, culminating in a narrow peninsula bound by low bluffs, which is isolated by a small col. The northern slopes are more rugged. A stream course rising in Lalor and draining into Treacherous Bay has trenched the island. Arising from this stream erosion, Lalor has the appearance of being fringed by the fragment of a cusp on the north and north-west. On the northern side of the island the long slopes are absent—these have been truncated. The marine-cut cliffs are 100 feet or more in height.

Save for an outcrop of volcanic ash beds in the cliffs of Treacherous Bay, the island is composed entirely of lava, the disintegration of which has produced a soil of great fertility.

On the eastern and western flanks of the outcrop [of ash beds], the beds gradually subside and occur in the cliff sections overlain by basalt. . . . It is clear that the ash beds of the island constitute portion of an ash cone. . . . The location of the crater is roughly indicated by prolonging the directions of dip of the beds to their point of intersection. [This spot is in the sea to the north. All the lava flows are of olivine basalt.]

The villages on the southern side of the island are situated on wave-built terraces which attain a maximum width of 100–200 yards. At the heads of the infilled coves, springs generally occur, encircled by gardens. . . . The village of Moggor, on the south, is situated on a terrace 12 feet above high-water level. All the terraces appear to be of uniform elevation.

A change of level is also indicated elsewhere: "On the northern side, to the west of Treacherous Bay, cliffs which have a juvenile profile retreat from the shore line and are overgrown by vegetation. These are beyond the zone of marine erosion. At the cliff foot, beach material, now being fixed by vegetation, occurs. On the southern side of the island, too, basalt bluffs occur, removed 20 yards from the shore line, fringed in a similar manner



by vegetated detrital material". Further evidence is given indicating "an emergence of the land relative to the sea" as various "cliffs are beyond the range of marine erosion, even during the occurrence of the largest storms". In many places there are relics of beaches about 10 ft. above the level of the modern wave-cut beaches. Finally reference is made to the numerous stone fish-traps which he says "are out of repair, and, as far as can be ascertained, have never been used by the present population [!]. . . their positions relative to the sea-level are probably the same as when constructed. The lowering of the sea-level had therefore occurred previous to the construction of the traps" (Jardine, *l.c.* p. 109).

#### ĒDUGOR, ZÄPKER, UGAR

Five and a half miles due west of Ērub is the islet Ēdugor or Ātagor (Nepean Island). Nothing is known as to its geology, but it is probably a mass of basalt.

Zäpker or Tāpoga (Campbell Island) lies 14½ miles west of Ērub. It is a small island about half-a-mile long, there is presumptive evidence, as it must be at least 50 ft. in height, that it is also basaltic.

Ugar (Stephen Island) lies 4 miles north-east of Zäpker and is slightly larger. It is an ellipsoidal mass of basalt rising very steeply, and in most places precipitously, from the shore. The top is an undulating plateau 50 to 100 ft. above sea-level and is covered with a rich volcanic soil which supports an extremely luxuriant vegetation. It is, in fact, one large garden. The lava is a scoriaceous basalt, but is distinct from those previously described, by containing conspicuous porphyritic feldspars. It must be described as an olivine-basalt; but it has little resemblance to the more glassy types at Mer. The shore conglomerate contains pebbles of the lava, rolled fragments of earlier limestones, and the usual remains of nullipores, foraminifera, spines of Echinoderms, etc.; it is clearly a water-worn sediment, and not a calcareous volcanic tuff.

These three islands are surrounded by very wide fringing reefs. That surrounding Ugar is especially broad, except to the north.

"Thirty miles north of Erroob, another patch of igneous rock shews itself in the centre of a small reef, called by us Bramble Key, but the native name of which is Caedha" [Keda; Massaramcoer (Māsaramker) of the Admiralty chart; MacFarlane calls it Brāmoki; we were told at Mer that the name of Bramble Cay is Mazebkaur or Maizapkaur]. "This is a mass of rock twenty or thirty feet high, and about twenty yards across, in the centre of a coral reef, which has a sand key on one end of it. Another small patch of the same rock is seen three-quarters of a mile distant, to the S.E. dry only at low water. This rock has a singular appearance, being a dark red cellular lava, the cells of which are filled by a white earthy mineral in a pulverulent state" (Jukes, *l. p.* 207). [The specimen collected by Jukes is a grey, vesicular, basaltic andesite.] "The reef itself is almost entirely composed, as to its surface, of one coral, pocillopora [Heliopora] coerulaea" (*l.c.* p. 218).

#### BRAMBLE CAY

The geology of Bramble Cay has been fully studied by F. Jardine (Reports, II, 1928, pp. 93-100) who says: "While it is clear that the rocks of Bramble Cay mark a focus of eruption, and this, from the evidence offered in the Murray Islands and Darnley Island, was of recent geological age, the rock outcrops here are so small and fragmentary that it is impossible to interpret a cone form. Lithologically, the rocks constituting the outcrop exhibit varying characters. The flows vary from a dark-grey, aphanitic, compact rock, to

one of a dark chocolate-brown colour towards the top, where alternate compact and cellular bands occur. . . . They are basic lavas—olivine basalts or the equivalents—in which the proportion of phenocrysts to groundmass is somewhat inconstant”.

The Eastern islands by the recent nature of their volcanic rocks, all of a basic type, belong to a line of later movements than those implicated in the Australian Cordillera, and may be regarded as pertaining to that great system of still progressing folds which are included in the Pacific “zone of fire”. It does not appear to be possible to fix the date of this volcanic outburst. All that can be said is that there are no traditions respecting it, and that a good deal of subsequent weathering has taken place. It is manifestly erroneous, as is sometimes done, to mark these on maps as recent volcanoes, as this implies that they have been active within the human period, and of this we have no proof.

In the Annual Report, 1919–20, of Papua (p. 89), McEwan R. Stanley, the Government Geologist, refers to the Pleistocene some of the extinct volcanic formations of the D’Entrecasteaux and the Louisiades, and the olivine basalts of the Mount Lamington area.

### *Changes of level*

Macgillivray (1852, II, p. 38) refers to a coral conglomerate on the north side of Nāgir which he regards as proving a local upheaval, and adds, “A similar appearance on a small scale exists on most of the coral islands which I have visited”, but not “beyond the reach of the spray, still less supporting luxuriant vegetation”, as in Nāgir. I have commented on this (1894, p. 459). Dr C. M. Yonge (1930, p. 184) says: “This island [Anrid], like many others in the Torres Strait, shows unmistakable signs of comparatively recent elevation, the line of the old beach being easily distinguishable about 6 feet above the present one”.

The undercut cliff on the south-east of Mer, Mergarem district (Mayer, 1918, pl. iv, B; Yonge, 1930, pl. iv, A) and those on the north shore of Dauar (VI, pls. I, 3; II, 3, 4) were due to wave action apparently before the shore-reef was formed. These are similar to the previously mentioned eroded cliffs of Ērub.

The natives are quite definite in stating that elevation is now slowly taking place. Davies informs me that reefs previously too deep for swimming-diving can now be dived over and places that were 12 fathoms deep are now only 8 or 9 fathoms. When Pasi was a boy, high tides often came over the eastern sandspit of Danar, but this has not occurred of late years and the passage between Dauar and Waier is much shallower than it used to be.

Wrecks that were in deep water, as at Bramble Cay, are now visible and the Ugar islanders declared to MacFarlane in about 1927 that the surrounding bed of the ocean had been rising during the previous few years, and they pointed to wrecked vessels, etc. which are now beginning to show above the water at low tide.

The erosion of the cliffs of Ērub and the Murray Islands took place a long time ago; the recent changes of level are merely other examples of what is a commonplace in volcanic areas.

### III. THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE VARIOUS ISLANDS

As stated in vol. v, pp. 1, 2, the Western islanders recognised that the inhabitants of certain islands were closely allied, and as a matter of fact marriages frequently take place between these allied islands and but rarely between other islands. There were definite names for the inhabitants of particular islands and also for those of the associated islands, but these were subject to some variation. I have adopted the following terminology for the groups of islands as being the most generally recognised, and I shall deal with the groups and their constituent islands in the following order:

#### I. WESTERN ISLANDS

- (i) Saibailaig (Northern islanders): Boigu, Dauan, Saibai, Daru.
- (ii) Malulaig (Middle islanders): Mabuiag, Badu.
- (iii) Kauralaig (Southern islanders): Moa, Prince of Wales group, Muralūg, etc.

#### II. CENTRAL ISLANDS

Kulkalaig: Nāgir, Yam, Tutu, Gāba, Waraber, Paremar, Aurid, Māsig, Umaga, Damut, Mauar, etc.

#### III. EASTERN ISLANDS

The Murray Islands (Mer, Dauar, Waier) = the Miriam le; Ĕrub, Ugar, Zāpker.

An account of the cultural anthropology of the Western islanders is given in vol. v and that of the Eastern islanders in vol. vi, which however is practically confined to the Murray Islands. Vol. iii deals with the languages of these two main groupings, and in vol. iv the material culture of the islanders is dealt with as a whole.

While there is a great similarity in culture throughout the Straits, some distinctions can be drawn between the Western and Eastern islanders, which are more marked in their social and ritual practices. The natives of the Central coral islands have little individuality as they have been affected by their neighbours, especially those to the east.

Many islands have a definite character of their own, and in order to indicate this I have brought together all the more important records for each island, not only those which have already been published but also an appreciable amount of fresh information, for a great deal of which I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. W. H. MacFarlane, who has generously placed it at my disposal. Thus there is here presented a synopsis of the ethnography of the several islands so far as it is known to me. In subsequent sections I deal with special features of culture.

## I. WESTERN ISLANDS

- (i) Saibailaig (Northern islanders): Boigu, *p.* 38; Dauan, *p.* 41; Saibai, *p.* 43; Daru, *p.* 49.
- (ii) Malulaig (Middle islanders): Mabuiag, *p.* 55; Badu, *p.* 62.
- (iii) Kauralaig (Southern islanders): Moa, *p.* 64; Prince of Wales group, *p.* 65; Maururu, *p.* 66; Keriri, *p.* 67; Waiben, *p.* 67; Muralug, *p.* 67.

## (i) SAIBAILAIG (NORTHERN ISLANDERS)

## BOIGU

Very little has been recorded about Boigu though, in spite of its apparent unattractiveness and relative lack of fertility, the island plays an important part in the mythology and beliefs about the spirits of the dead. It is improbable that it ever supported a large population, at all events few people have lived there since it became known to Europeans. When I visited Saibai in 1888 I found that the natives of Boigu had fled thither owing to their fear of the Tugeri raiders.

The Rev. J. Done describes a girl's puberty custom in Boigu (*Man*, 1923, No. 94, *p.* 150). At the first sign of menstruation the mother, *apu*, told the father, *tali*. The girl's maternal aunt, *nagran*, took the girl to the bush, where she was instructed what to do, and was kept in seclusion for the duration of the period, while the chief maternal uncle, *waduap*, called together the adult relatives for a feast, which always took place away from the village and without the knowledge of the younger people.

Women's puberty customs have been recorded for Saibai, Yam and Tutu, Mabuiag, and Muralug (v, pp. 201-5). Boigu can now be added. This custom differentiates the Western from the Eastern islanders, since it seems to be unknown among the latter. Dr Seligman also records similar customs from North Queensland (v, pp. 205, 206).

The frequency of scarifications on Boigu women is noted in v, *p.* 158, and illustrations of the marks are given there and in iv, pp. 15 ff.

War ceremonial. Told to W. A. MacFarlane by Ausa, Dau and Dada.

At the site of the old *kwod* on Boigu is a large *makair* tree, about 80 ft. high, on which were hung numerous human bones, and bones of dugong were strewn around; hence it was called *sibui pai*, "the place of bones" [*siboi* is a row of dugongs' ribs and *pai* is a tree, vol. III]. A church has now been built on the *zogo* ground beside the tree.

Before going on a head-hunting expedition the *Maisiri zogo* was "made" in the *kwod* at Boigu. A circle of grass (that which is used for thatching) was laid down, other twisted and broken grass was placed in the centre to make a nest, *de-a-de*, for *Maisiri*, which was a dark stone about the size of a human skull with eye-marks. *Maisiri* was brought out and put in the centre. A human skull was also brought and the frontal bone scraped, the scrapings being placed on the stone. Then they took the leaf and flower of the *tetur* grass, which were rubbed to fragments and mixed with the skull-scrapings, to this were added *kerikeri* (ginger), *matua* and *manu* (vines from New Guinea) and *paiwa* bark. The whole mixture was poured over *Maisiri* by means of a half coconut-shell. Some of the mixture was chewed by a man who spat it over *Maisiri*.

A man, named Waituku, was the *Maisiri mabaey* (man of *Maisiri*, or the *zogo* man), he turned the *zogo* in the direction he proposed to go and said, "Stretch your hand to where you want us to go, so we can kill the people—you be with us". After this was said, they watched carefully for the sign of the blue fly. If blue flies came all round, they were happy, as it was an indication that they would get plenty of heads.

When the warriors took to their canoes, they burned *tetur* to make charcoal with which they rubbed their brows. Waituku placed the *Maisiri* stone in the bow of his canoe, which led the way. On reaching their destination they waited for the enemy to shoot first. Waituku took an arrow that had been shot by the enemy, split it and threw it between his legs in the direction of Boigu. Then they started fighting. The heads of the slain were cut off, their blood drunk, and the liver and other portions removed.

When the canoes came ashore at Boigu, the mothers, sisters and wives of the men rushed down to the beach and took heads from their relatives to carry to the *kwod*, and circled round the warriors who advanced in lines carrying heads in their left hands and rolling like drunken men. Waituku, carrying *Maisiri*, headed the procession. They sang:

*O kuramit kuramit!*  
*O maiwa! O karamit!*

(*Maiwa* is said to mean "head", but MacFarlane could not discover the meaning of *kuramit*.)

On reaching the *kwod* Waituku again made *zogo* with *Maisiri*. The heads were carried in the left hand and put on mats all round the stone. The people then stood round *Maisiri* with the heads in their hands singing:

*pepā urmagruria*  
*arma pepā urmagruria*

(This is the old language of Boigu: MacFarlane could not get an actual translation, but the meaning was said to be "only men fight, not women".)

The people danced round, singing a song of praise and rejoicing:

*a a a e e e*  
*podā podā*

(The dance in which both sexes join is called *pipi* [*pibi kap*, a war dance, v, p. 302].)

At the conclusion of the dancing the heads were hung on the tree and next morning were placed on a high wooden platform, *seer* [*sara*, v, p. 249], and a fire was lighted beneath; the heads remained there until they were dry. Then the skin was removed by cutting down the forehead and down the back of the head and then pulled off (removing the skin from the head is called *ngarengar*). The jaw-bones were taken out and the flesh removed; this flesh was mixed with the hearts, livers, etc. for the young men to eat later beside *Maisiri*, "to make strong". The four special women, who alone were allowed to do this, took out all the bones.

The men painted themselves red and dressed up with cassowary feather head-dresses, etc. The women led the next dance, the *rida kabi* or "bone dance", followed by the men who carried bows and arrows, stone-headed clubs, bamboo beheading-knives, etc. They sang:

*zeāta a wabebu*  
*a zeāta a zeāta*

("Make smooth, make peace", in the old language.)

All the bows [and probably all the weapons] were placed round the tree, only the skulls were placed at the base of the tree, the jaw-bones were hung on sticks that formed a fence.

When all was finished the women had to leave and might not return; there was a death penalty if they did, as the *kwod* was sacred to men.

The older men gave the livers, etc. to the young men to eat when no women were present. The young men sat in a corner of the *kwod*, and if they objected to eat, the meat was forced down their throats [cf. the *kawaladi* or *pibi kap* of Mabuiag, v, p. 302].

This is the only account we have of any ceremonial at Boigu. The natives were essentially similar to those of other islands, but doubtless they had close connection with New Guinea. In this war ceremonial there was nothing that might not have been done on any Western island, and the stone *zogo* is quite characteristic. Vestiges of an old language in the songs

are also common. The cult-tree has its parallel in Mabuiag, Nāgir and Waraber, and there is thus reason to believe that a sacred tree was usually associated with a *kwod*.

Boigu is an important island for the people of Mawata. All the spirits of the dead touch at Boigu, as the mythical Sido did, on their journey to Adiri, the land of spirits. They drink from the water-hole on that island and swim in it in order to get rid of the flies which have swarmed after them all the way. In Boigu the spirits seem to appear in their real shape as men and can be seen and identified by the people. All the spirits tie a piece of string, a bundle of grass, or something else to a branch of one of the trees growing at the water-hole. Landtman says that it is common at Mawata for people after a death to send word to Boigu, asking what mark has recently been hung up in the tree, for this is the place where death mysteries can be unveiled; and on seeing, for example, a dugong bone tied on to the tree, they will soon find out the culprit who had secretly killed their relative and take revenge (1927, pp. 286-8). An account of Sida's visit to Boigu is given by Landtman, 1917, pp. 112, 113, and of the origin of the water-hole and the rites to be observed when drinking the water (1917, p. 537). When Sida (Sido) was dancing in Boigu his twin mothers (v, p. 32), who had followed him there, gave him water to drink out of his own skull: this shamed him so much that he killed them, one became a dugong and the other a turtle. Sida then went to Adiri saying everyone must follow him.

Landtman gives the following tales about Boigu:

A boy, who grew up by himself after the death of his parents, married a number of girls, *buhere-buhere* (these are unmarried mythical girls who live together in the bush, they do no harm and are always willing to marry any man). This was the beginning of the Boigu people (1917, p. 245).

Another version of the origin of the people is:

Baidam (shark) and his brother Avati lived on one side of the island and a number of girls on the other. Baidam hearing the beating of drums on another island, Damnikava, ornamented himself with leaves and danced, and then went to the island where the people danced to find out who could win the beautiful girl, Maheruo or Poniponi (the former is the western Torres Straits and the latter the Mawata name for "lightning"). Among the suitors were Amarova (raven), Kursi (hammer-headed shark), Maitarinai (cranky-shark), Iodo (stone-fish), and Auna (sting-ray). The girl liked Baidam best and gave him a branch of eroton. The people fought, some jumped into the water and became fishes, others became birds. Poniponi went up into the sky by means of her navel cord, the end of which she threw up first; the flickerings of the lightning are her smiles (p. 501). Meanwhile the girls picked up the leaves left by Baidam and stuck them in their petticoats, and from Baidam's "smell" they all became pregnant. When Baidam returned he kept seven girls and gave two to Avati (p. 268).

Debo and his brothers lived on Boigu, but no women. Some Bugi girls on the opposite mainland climbed on a large bamboo which bent over to Boigu and landed them in a tree. The brothers married the girls (p. 269).

Landtman (1917, p. 316) gives the story of the discovery of the bullroarer by a Boigu woman.

A *hiwai-abere* (a malignant female being) took a fancy for a fine Bugi man named Kiba; she transformed his baby boy into the first dugong. Children saw it swimming in the water, called Kiba to come, and he erected a harpooning platform. When he speared the dugong he became entangled in the line and the dugong towed him to Boigu, but not liking the place it went to Dauan and thence to Buru, but that also was too near home. The dugong was stranded on Mabuiag and Kiba sat on the dead animal's back and wailed, "Oh, where is Bugi my place".

Some Mabuag women who were fishing saw him and went to tell the men, who spared his life. They cut up the dugong and distributed the meat, not knowing that it was really a boy. Kiba was very well received and the two sisters who first saw him were given to him as wives. "He remained in Mabuag and taught the people there to spear dugong. He had learnt the art at Bugi by himself without having been taught it by anybody. But the Bugi people do not any longer know how to harpoon dugong" (1917, p. 236).

In another version Kiba was a Boigu man, and when sailing from Boigu to Bugi he saw a dugong which had been made in the same way as in the previous version. The dugong towed Kiba in his canoe to Dauan, Mabuag, "Muralago" and "Muri" [Mer] and back to Boigu, there the dugong ran on shore and died, and the people cut it up and ate it. Later Kiba and all his people abandoned their human forms and became turtle (p. 237).

It is unlikely that the art of dugong fishing originated at Boigu and impossible that it could have done so among the Bugi, who seem to have been essentially a bush-people. Mabuag has always been a centre for this fishery. The small Bugi country lies opposite Boigu a little to the east of the Mai Kussa. Beaver (1920, p. 108) says: "It is within recent years only that the Buji and other tribes have learned to use canoes. . . previously, I believe, they used rafts to cross streams", and he says that at the present time the people called Bugi is made up of several broken tribes.

I collected the following tales about Boigu: "Dògai Metakorab and Bu" (v, p. 12); "Aukum and Tiai" (v, p. 56).

Aukum and Tiai lived at a small spot called Boigu on the north coast of Moa. The small boy Tiai was killed and his spirit, *mari*, which had the appearance of a man, went to the island of Boigu and alighted in the *kwod* where men were playing a game with small spears. He married a Boigu woman. His mother Aukum went from island to island till at last reaching Boigu she found Tiai, and, though she was a living woman, both of them disappeared in the ground after Tiai had danced on a specially prepared *sara* in the middle of the *suga*, the dancing ground in the *kwod*. There is no suggestion in this tale that the Boigu people were spirits. It is strange that the spirit of a Western islander should go to Boigu instead of to the mythical Kibu. In the Miriam tale (vi, p. 33) Aukem and Terer went straight from Mer to Mabuag and thence to Boigu. The spirits of all the Miriam go to Boigu (vi, p. 252), and it is doubtful whether in former days a living Murray islander ever went to the island of Boigu.

Mutuk of Badu was swallowed by a shark, but on reaching Boigu he cut his way out. His sister, who had married a Boigu man, befriended him. In company with some Boigu men he returned to Badu, where all of them were killed (v, p. 89).

The dog-, pigeon-, *gerogero*- and shark-men and two other clans came from Tuger (the land of the Tugeri), each clan in its own canoe, and went to Boigu to ask where Bomai had gone. They followed his wanderings from island to island till they came to the Murray Islands (vi, p. 40).

## DAUAN

Our information about the ethnography of this island is very meagre. For Mr Murray's note on the houses of Saibai and "Tauan" in 1871, see iv, p. 99.

D'Albertis visited the island in 1875 and gives an account of "the devil's house" [cf. v, p. 333]; he continues: "To complete the description of this devil's house, I must add, that all the shells of the turtles killed in the place are placed in one long row, extending from the little temple to the beach" (ii, p. 8). "Last year, at the end of November, I counted the shells of sixty-five turtles: to-day [November 5, 1876] I saw but five. . . This year I observed that there were no human skulls: last year there were two" (ii, p. 210). His remarks on the natives are not worth transcribing (i, p. 234; ii, 207-10); he says the

village consists of only two or three houses, which are near the sea-shore, a little above high-water mark.

It is related (v, p. 316) that a Mabuiag canoe was lost when turtling because one of their own *maidlaig* put a spell on the crew by making *wauri*. The Mabuiag men went to look for the lost crew at Baru, Boigu and Dauan, but they could not get any news; they then fought the people of Dauan and killed the women—an entirely unprovoked attack on a small and unwarlike island.

The following folk tales relate to Dauan:

Kabi, who went to the home of the sun and moon, lived at Kadau in Dauan (v, p. 11). A version of this tale is given by Landtman (1917, p. 489), but in this story two Kiwai men quarrelled about the identity of the sun and moon.

A mythical bird was hatched from an egg laid by Bukari of Dauan, who had become pregnant by eating seeds from her ear-pendants when stranded on an islet near Boigu. She named the bird "Kusa Kap" (fruit of the seeds). Previously her husband Maiwasa had been deceived by a *dogai*, named Gidzu; eventually Bukari killed Gidzu (v, p. 23). In Landtman's version (1917, p. 225), the man, Koudabo, and his wife, Bokari, lived at Buli on one of the hills of Dauan. A *hiwai-abere* [these are malignant spirits who have the appearance of very ill-favoured women, and can take on the form of real women in order to deceive men; they are the *dogai* of Torres Straits] spirited Bokari away to Kusaro, an island beyond Boigu; Bokari cut off both her ear-lobes and swallowed them; after a few days she gave birth to a *wario* (hawk). The hawk rescued his mother, and Bokari killed the *hiwai-abere*. Koudabo and Bokari told the hawk that its name was *bokari*; hence the bird has two names, a general term, *bokari*, and a special one, *wario*.

Bamurab, a Dauan woman, married Sidauram, a New Guinea man, she was abducted by Nori, a snake; various birds of Dauan who were her "fathers" or "uncles" attempted to kill the snake, but only the sea-eagles succeeded (v, p. 62).

Five *hiwai-abere* wanted to eat Koidabo, a Dauan man; they changed themselves into dugong and when Koidabo with his friends were on dugong-platforms on the reef, the false dugong swam up and were speared by the men, all of whom were towed away by the *hiwai-abere* and were transformed into dugong (1917, p. 235).

Landtman gives (1917, p. 155 and 1927, fig. 93) a photograph of a rock on the shore of Dauan showing the cleft which is supposed to have been made by the bow of Kwoiam's canoe when he landed there (v, p. 72).

At the end of 1930 Dr P. Wirz spent a few days on the island: he says "the construction of Dauan proves without doubt that the island is of volcanic origin, though no eruption has taken place on the island within living memory", and he might have added that the activity was in pre-Carboniferous times. He gives the following tales:

(1) A version of the story of the journey of Kabai to the home of the sun, which differs somewhat from that given to me by Robert Bruce; he had a wife called Kadau. He set out in his canoe to Saibai and visited Mawata, "Katedai", "Djaguin island", the mouths of the Bamu and Turama, passed down the coast to Samarai and out into the open sea [it is perfectly certain that in former days no Torres Straits islander went so far east as the Delta district or had even heard of Samarai]. He first met a man who told him he was the Night, then they met three men, the Sun, Moon, and Day; they told him that all things white, bananas, sugar cane, yams and the like belong to the Day, all red things to the Sun, all yellow things to the Moon and black things to the Night.

(2) Gobai was seized by ten *dogai* and each had a child by him, later he killed the children and escaped: the *dogai* were attacked and wounded by the villagers, they swam to Gebar, but eventually returned to Dauan where they still live in a cave on the south side of the island. A talking louse incident occurs in this tale.



(3) A version of Kusa Kap, the mythical bird. Bikara, the wife of Kaudau, was seized by Gize, a ghost woman who had great ears, and she swam to Kusara where she bore an eagle child, whom she called Kusakav. Kaudau married Gize. Finally Kusakav killed Gize.

(4) The story of Kogia who came from the west with a gun and made friends with a Kiwai man, Meséda, is of little interest or value.

(5) Taikobo, who lived at Kuku on Danan, was lame in one leg and lost all the fish he caught as his basket was full of holes. A girl, Butu, loved him, for his hair was ruddy from the sea water. She climbed into a tree and sang, but Taikobo always went with his eyes on the ground and did not see Butu, but suddenly saw her reflection in the water, and they married.

(6) A crab, *qitalai*, lived among the roots of a big mangrove; a seedling fell and pierced the carapace of the crab; a *akul* shell cut the seedling in two; fire, *wata*, came and burnt the shell; water came and began to extinguish the fire; a quail came and drank the water; the water called out to an arrow; the arrow pierced the quail; the water flowed out. Some Mabuig people were on a turtle hunt and accidentally cut the bladder of a turtle, the gall became mixed with the water and the sea became salt. Until then all water had been tasteless. Wirz thinks that this tale "is probably of foreign influence"; Ray (III, p. 224) published a version of it in the Muralug dialect, which I repeated with notes in vol. v, p. 106, there is no evidence that it has been adapted from European tales of the same type, though there is a close analogy. (*Folk-Lore*, 1932, pp. 285-294).

## SAIBAI

The following account by Capt. Moresby is the first description of the island.

"Saibai is well populated, and the principal village contains about 600 inhabitants [in 1898 there were less than 200]. The houses are well sized, and two stories high—the latter a peculiarity not elsewhere seen by us [IV, p. 100, fig. 136]. These houses are built on poles in the ordinary way; the upper room is used as the better chamber and sleeping place, and the lower, which is formed by thatching in the poles, as a store-room for weapons and fishing-gear. The sleeping place contains some rude mats on which to lie at night, and is reached by the simplest of ladders—a piece of notched wood. Human skulls are suspended round the houses, but the people are not cannibals; they have plenty of vegetables and fish, of pigs, in which the island abounds, and a supply of turtle and the flesh of the dugong, which is very good eating, and tastes rather like veal [the canoes were of the usual type, IV, p. 205]. The weapons used here are iron tomahawks, bows, and arrows barbed with wallaby bones, and poisoned, which are said to cause convulsions and rapid death [it is a common belief that certain arrows were poisoned, but there is no reliable evidence that this was done, IV, p. 182]. . . . The women wear their hair cut close, except a narrow ridge from ear to ear, which is left under an inch long (IV, pl. II, figs. 3, 4). Many of the men cut theirs quite close, and wear wigs made of matting, with narrow ringlets fastened in so closely, that for some time we thought them the natural hair [IV, p. 30]. They go nearly quite unclothed. Polygamy is general amongst the natives of the Torres Straits Islands, and the crime of infanticide prevails." Feby. 1873. (Moresby, 1876, pp. 133, 134.)

Various sociological items have been recorded in vol. v: kinship terms, p. 139; totems, p. 155; clans and dual division, pp. 171, 174, 177; pregnancy customs, p. 194; treatment of the afterbirth, p. 197; seclusion of girls, p. 201; catamenia, p. 207; initiation, p. 215; head-hunting raids, p. 298; *mawa* ceremony, p. 349; and in vol. iv: houses, p. 99; masks, p. 297.

The following was told by an old woman of Saibai, which I found among the MSS. of Mr Bruce that were sent to me, but apparently it was not written by him.

Girls in their first courses, *maubu*, go into the bush for three or four months (but now they stop in the house), one washes the other and some old women accompany them. It

is an insult to say to a girl that she has blood, *kulka*, but not to say that she has *maubu*. When the girls are in the bush their fathers take food and leave it at a certain spot, but they do not look at the girls. They are very careful to isolate the girls on Saibai and give as a reason the following tale.

A Boigu man had two daughters, Kida manigud and Dumako. Once when the young men were going to fetch water they were followed by these two girls with many others. The elder daughter lagged behind and sent a girl to tell her mother of her condition and later sent several others, but they did not tell her mother. The last one did so and sat on the mat beside her mother and said that her sister could not go along with the others and had better stop on the sand-beach. The excuse the other girls made to Dumako, for not telling her mother, was that every time the elder sister went to get firewood in the bush, or to catch fish, or to go in the gardens, she never gave them anything. The next day a sister told the mother she should look after the girl, so the father and mother went. The girl was on the beach walking on her knees and elbows, she had taken some small snails from the bush and, after breaking the shell put a little water in it which she mixed with the flesh and dropped the shells as she walked along. Her parents saw the strange tracks and followed them and noticed the shells and wondered what it all meant. The mother told the father to stop while she went on, she found the girl had put her skirt and a coconut water vessel on a tree. The girl had gone close to the sea and put some of the shell fish in a shell and said to it: "What is the good of it all, I have no father, no mother, no sister or brother and no friend. I am very poor, I am all bones, no one gives me any food, I am like a spirit". Just then a great wave in which was a "blow fish" [? porpoise] came over her and she was drowned.—The mother came crying along the beach; when she came to the creek into which the girl had been washed, she heard flies buzzing and thought it was a bad omen and that her daughter was dead. She returned to her husband and said she saw flies and smelt a stink, but did not see the girl, whom she thought was dead. The parents took the skirt and water vessel and went home. The father was very angry and asked all the men why they had not taken care of his girl, he was always spearing dugong and turtle which he shared with them and they did not look after his girl. The people listened and then some said it was quite correct, they did not look after the girl, but would give food to the father.

The younger sister, named Dam [? Dumako], stopped at another place close to where "another mother" [aunt] looked well after her, as many boys desired her. One young man went fishing, he had tied a bunch of leaves on to the top of his fish-spear and these kept singing out that he should go and look for a girl. He went on and on and saw this girl and thought that she had no man and it would be a good thing if he got her. He found the aunt was asleep in the shade, so he whispered to the girl to come to a big tree, which she did. The girl sat down beside the man and told him that she liked him very much, and he said the same. He made advances to her, to which she replied "yes, what good you and me sit here for nothing". She lay down with her head against the tree and all the time the girl's head rubbed against the tree and he broke her maidenhood. The boy went away and the girl sat down beside her aunt. On waking up the aunt saw the dirt on the girl's back and hair and asked her where she had been, but the girl said she had stopped beside her while she slept. The aunt went to sleep again and the girl saw the dirt on her shoulders and was afraid that her aunt would tell her father, so she made a bird out of sticks and grass and put it on her shoulders and tried to fly; after a few attempts she managed to do so, and then she hid it in the bush. The aunt awoke and began to make a mat, when she saw the bird close by she called out, "Dam come and look at the bird near here". It was the girl herself, she took off the bird and said, "Why do you call out my name, I am a bird all the time flying about the creek; you found out about me when you saw the dirt on my back and hair. It's not good for me to stop here, I go to Saibai". So she flew away. The aunt called out to the people to run and catch the bird as Dam was inside it. They ran, and Dam stopped, and took off the bird and said to them "Why do you run? You had better stop, you did not look after my sister, why do you look after

me. I am not good as my sister was. You go back". She flew away to Saibai and her aunt and the people wept. When she arrived at Saibai she took off the bird and left it on the beach and walked along calling on the name of her lover, Nurpebed. She walked about all night calling his name. In the morning she met a number of Saibai women who asked her where she came from. She told them she came from Boigu, as her "other mother" had found out about her encouraging her lover and also because she was sorry about her sister. She remained with the Saibai women. [The original MS. is not well written, but I think I have interpreted it correctly. The exact relationship of the various "sisters" is obscure.]

It is considered as evil magic, *purapura*, if a man has intercourse with a woman when she is "unwell", and as a result he cannot float if he goes into the sea but will sink like a stone; or he would be the first man killed if he went to fight. If a man forced a woman in that condition she would make *purapura* to kill him, as she dared not acknowledge the rape. A man is not continent during pregnancy, but shortly before the birth he goes to sleep in the men's house; after a few days, when the woman has washed herself well he returns and helps to carry the child.

When a man wants a woman to like him he kills a centipede and places it under her sleeping mat, she then has a nice dream and when she awakes she wonders why she should dream about that man, he isn't much of a man and she does not like him, but she tries to sleep again in order to have the pleasant dream repeated. This time she again dreams of him and that she would like him and awakes calling his name. She wonders who awoke her by speaking, but there is no one there. She sleeps again, this time she dreams a centipede has bitten her and she wakes up calling for him to help her. In her second dream she thinks she is with him in the bush; in the morning she is thinking of him very much, so she goes to his sister and tells her, after a bit of quizzing, that she likes her brother and requests her to ask her brother to come after her in the bush, but he must first watch if her father and mother go to the garden with her, if they do he must wait for another chance. If they don't go, he is to follow her till they get to a place where there are no people, then he may talk to her. They go to the bush together and she tells him that she likes him and they have connection.

Another method is: a young man husks a green coconut, collects medicine from the bush and rubs it round the eye from which the milk is drunk. He gives this to the brother of the girl he desires, saying, "You give this to your sister, but do not mention my name". The brother does so and as the girl drinks she feels a catching in her throat and asks her brother where he got the nut. He names his friend and she says, "Tell him that when he goes for nuts again, I would like some". The brother tells the man, who gives more nuts to the girl, they meet in the bush with the usual result. The father does not want him for a son-in-law, so the girl says, "Very good, you kill my father first and then you me stop together all the time". They make a wooden image of the father and drown it in water when he goes out in his canoe, or, if he is going out to fight, they shoot arrows at it or hit it with a stone-headed club; this has the desired effect, or the father may be killed by evil magic, *purapura*.

A woman may say to her husband, "No good you make him every night with me and in the garden every day, suppose you want another child, you kill this one first; you no kill him—then better you get another woman, no make him along me, unless I speak you with my mouth. I got too much work to look out firewood, water and garden". If a pregnant woman wishes to do away with a child, she puts a coconut or a round stone under

the mat on which she sleeps and lies on her face with the nut or stone under her belly so as to break up what is inside.

"A woman about to be delivered tells her husband's mother and relatives to follow her to the bush. She selects a good fruit-bearing tree (which must have *short* leaves, lest the child should be a girl), and is attended by the husband's family only. The men are assembled at the *kwod*; if they hear rejoicing, they know that a male is born; if there is no noise, they conclude it is a female. They object to girls because they will ultimately get married and work for other men" (S. McFarlane MS.; Haddon, 1890, p. 390).

B. A. Hely (*J.R.* 1897-98, p. 136) in a note on totemism in Saibai says there are five septs: Kadala (alligator), Sama (cassowary), Deban (a small tuber like the sweet potato), Umaï (dog), Tubu (snake), in order of precedence. "Men and women of the same sept may not marry. The people kill and eat their totems. In past times the wrongful assumption of a totem was punishable by death. In working or in tribal discussions the various septs are separated." [I have retained his spelling, but *deban* is evidently a misprint for *debau*.]

Some Saibai men stole from Sumai, on Kiwai, a stone that was born from a virgin, the moon being the father (v, p. 23).

An account of "a supposed aerolite from Saibai" is given by Dr R. Hamlyn-Harris, *Mém. Queensland Mus.* II, 1913, p. 5. Sir William MacGregor sent to the Queensland Museum a stone weighing nearly 4 cwt. According to local tradition the stone was supposed to have "fallen on the hard ground (formed of pisolite, iron, etc.) near the sea on the island of Saibai. Subsequently it was rolled away to assist in the reclamation of the swamp area, and when taken it was nearly covered with soil. . . there is no stone of any kind in Saibai. It is a common belief in the island amongst the oldest men that, in the days of their fathers, it fell from Heaven near a man sitting on the hard ground on which the village now stands. . . It is said that a second one fell in Dauan and killed a number of people there". Mr C. Niebel, the Government Teacher on Saibai, writes:

Moigi, a man of about sixty years of age, says that when he was a boy his father Kubid told him the story, which he had heard from his father Ausi, and the latter told the story as it had been handed down by his forefathers. The stone was allowed to lie where it fell, and, during the childhood of those who are now old men, parents used to forbid their children from touching it, for fear that if they touched it more stones would fall. When the first missionaries came they said their God was the only god and that the stone could not hurt them, and suggested burning it. Then five men—Gari, Dagi, Aina, Janaur and Kinaur—put fire round the stone, and managed to chip off the outer shell for stone clubs, but could make no impression on the inner portion. By this means they reduced the diameter of the stone by about six or eight inches. After that the stone lost its sanctity and children used to play freely round it and climb on to it.

A full analysis of the rock by Mr J. B. Henderson, the Queensland Government Analyst, is given and Dr Anderson reports that "structurally and chemically the supposed aerolite has all the characteristics of an ordinary terrestrial rock, and none which are recognised as distinctive of meteoritic bodies. . . It would be unsafe to say that a body with characteristics of andesite might not reach the earth from space, but possibilities are not probabilities".

Two versions of the story of "the stone that fell" are given in vol. v, p. 22; this catastrophe happened on Pulu, an islet off Mabuia.

A new cult which began in Saibai in 1913, but did not become organised till the spring of 1914, was investigated by me in November 1914. Wageba, Anu and Sagaukus regard themselves as the headmen of the new religion. They are known as "German Wislin"

(the latter term may be a mispronunciation of "Wesleyan") and are spoken of as "generals" or "captains", but were distinctly stated not to be "King George's men". On the inauguration night, which I think was on Good Friday, 1914, the leaders instructed all the men of the island to go to the graveyard about eight or nine o'clock at night: wild ginger was chewed, spat on the hands, and rubbed on the face, arms, and body of each member of the congregation, the members of which stood in a circle around the graves of two men. The "German Wislin" asserted that the people would see the *markai* (spirits) that night: the service consisted of prayer, exhortation, and singing. The people were told to cease from working, or to do as little as possible in their gardens and elsewhere, as all good things would be provided for them by the *markai*, who possessed everything. Those who did not believe would not get any money, and those of them who had any would lose even that which they had. They were enjoined to possess their souls in patience and not to be sceptical or frivolous, as all would come right in the future. But the three leaders made the mistake of trying to strengthen the faith of their followers by fixing a date for the consummation of all things. Sometimes it was two weeks, or the following new moon. Yet the spirits delayed their coming. On the great day, a steamer, named Silūbloan, crowded with the *markai*, the spirits of dead relatives and friends, would come alongside a large jetty that would mysteriously appear at the western point of Saibai. Once I was informed that the steamer came from Canaan. At all events, the *markai* embarked at an island in the far west known as "German Town"—evidently a modern version of Kibu. On its way the steamer would call at Thurslay Island, there the *markai* would fight or kill the white men, and thence the steamer would proceed to Saibai. The *markai* were to bring with them everything which the heart of man could desire—money, flour, calico, tomahawks, knives, and so forth. White and coloured men were all alike and equal. In the beginning God gave all things to everyone on earth, but the good things of life had been filched by the white man, and as he would not restore to the natives the share that was due to them, the latter would be forced to help themselves. At the conclusion of the service the people saluted and prayed to God to give them good sense and more light. He was entreated to show them the right way to get money and other material benefits. The services took place twice a week, on Friday and Sunday nights. The people did not let the South Sea teacher see them, nor did they allow him to stop them: I gathered that some women also attended the meetings. One feature of the cult is a reversion to the ancient belief in the efficacy of certain inanimate objects to bring good fortune. A man on finding a rounded stone, or a stone of unusual shape, or one with curious markings, or it may be some other arresting object, concludes that it has been given to him by the *markai*. But in order to satisfy himself he takes it at night to one of the leaders and asks him to find out if it is properly authenticated. The next morning he goes to a "German Wislin", who informs him that he has received a message from "German Town" stating the measure of virtue the object in question possesses. He also mentions the name of the person for whom the *markai* designed the object, who, however, need not necessarily be the finder. On returning the stone the leader says, "God bless you. By-and-by something good will happen to you and you will have more power". When the leaders instruct the people, or tell them about the stone, or whatever it may be, they do not fall into a trance or anything of that sort, but are wide awake and speak in the ordinary way. Fees are charged for information and advice, and by these means the "German Wislins" are making the most of the occasion.

I obtained the foregoing information mainly from Niki, a police-man, which was confirmed by Asa, a deacon, both of Saibai. Both my informants went to the opening meeting, and probably to others, although apparently at the time they disbelieved the new doctrine, and certainly disbelieve it now [1914]. They found it hard to make a stand against a popular movement, for after all there might be something in it. The fear of running counter to unknown forces is as strong in these people as it is amongst the credulous elsewhere. So real was their fear, that I could only get information by taking my informants apart from eavesdroppers, and even then they spoke in a low voice. One said, "altogether man growl very hard all the time" at them. They were suspects, and public opinion was being expressed in the usual manner by abuse and threatened violence, which they feared would become operative. They were informed that the leaders were sorry for them personally and that their punishment would be executed by God or by the *markai*. One of them, who works on a "Company" boat at swimming-diving for pearl-shell, had been warned that if he persisted in his infidelity he would be killed by a shark. The prayers and exhortations were described to me as being "all the same as missionary talk", and the Christian God is acknowledged as supreme, working His will mainly through the instrumentality of the spirits of dead islanders. One expression that was used, "Jesus on top, Jesus here", was meant to convey the idea that, though Jesus is in heaven, He is at the same time on earth, in communion with the believers in the new doctrine. There is no doubt that the leaders have so interwoven ideas derived from the Christian religion with racial animosity and a recrudescence of the vague ancestor cult of heathen times as to deceive, if not themselves, at all events their fellow-islanders.

The foregoing information was published in *The Hibbert Journal* (xv, 1917, pp. 448-63) in a joint paper by E. W. P. Chinnery and myself, entitled "Five new religious cults in British New Guinea", in which Chinnery described the *Kava-Kava* rites and the Kekesi rites, and I the Baigona cult, the prophet of Milne Bay, and the German Wislin of Saibai (pp. 460-3). Those who are interested in movements of this kind should also read the valuable essay by F. E. Williams, "The Vailala madness and the destruction of native ceremonies in the Gulf Division", *Anthropology—Report*, No. 4, Territory of Papua, Port Moresby, 1923; and his essay "The taro cult" (pp. 1-100) in his important book *Orokaiwa Magic*, Oxford University Press, 1928. The taro cult is fully described and its psychological and social effects discussed. It is needless to add that the machinery of Government and the disillusionment, and in some cases the impoverishment, of the people has been too strong for certain of these cults to persist, but the Vailala madness and the Taro cult had an enormous range, the effects of which may never die out completely.

The following tales given by Landtman relate to Saibai:

Miloāl, who was said to be "the first man of Saibai", lived in a hole in the ground and in a shell. He told Paipai and Nima, two men from the bush on the other side of the island, how to sail to Mawata in the half of a coconut shell (v, p. 27). In Landtman's version (1917, p. 148) Mereva lived on the coast of Saibai under the roots of a *nére* tree and slept in a trumpet shell, *tuturu*. He was discovered by two brothers from the bush, Nimo and Puipui, who lived with their sister Sagaru; another sister Ereu had married Ahina, a Mawata man. The brothers went in a coconut shell to Daudai, they arrived at the Oriomu river where Ahina was fishing and Ereu gave each brother a canoe [the rest of the story is given in the section on Canoes, p. 307]. Landtman gives several variants.

A misformed silly man, named Gurume, lived at Wauma on Saibai, he tried to fool people in

various ways, the men tried to kill him, but he turned himself into a *kekasio* bird and alighted on the head of one of his pursuers: when a blow was directed at him he dodged it and the man was hit instead and killed. In this way all the men were killed except the two leaders (1917, p. 280) [a similar incident occurs in the tale of Sesere of Badu, v, p. 43].

A Saibai boy courted several girls and slept with them, but they killed him (1917, p. 285).

Ubia, an important man of Saibai, quarrelled with his wife when cutting up a dugong: she swore at him, and he killed her (1917, p. 299).

Baira, a Saibai man, and Wimari, a bushman of Dabu on the mainland, were friends. Once Wimari brought all sorts of presents to the Saibai people and would not receive anything in exchange. On the way back the canoe capsized and some Dabu men were drowned. Owing to the good sense of the bushmen, who were given presents in compensation for their dead, they have all remained friends since then (1917, p. 367).

Gabima of Saibai was swallowed by an enormous *kurupi* (rock fish); when the dead fish was found stranded on the reef, the man was buried and the fish burnt (1917, p. 385).

Karongo, a Saibai man, spent his time catching turtle. Another man, Javagi, who rolled himself along the ground as he had no legs, was angry with Karongo who did not give him any turtle meat, so he threw him up into the sky, where with his three-pronged spear he became the constellation Antares. Javagi said, "You stop there, month name belong Karongo too. Close up you go down; sundown you look (are visible), middle night no more stop; that time people start spear fast (copulating) turtle" (1917, p. 484). Then he went to play among the waves near Dauan and went home and told his mother Kabusi. One day he was swallowed by a shark and his spirit came rolling on the ground to his mother: she thought it was her son, but the apparition did not say anything and disappeared in a great gust of wind. Kabusi wanted to go and live with her brother Mereva who lived up the Dibiri-Oromo and had a famous drum (1917, p. 140), but he did not like her to come. She went to live in the bush and became a termite-hill.

At a point called Butu in Saibai there lived a man named Otapepogorogoru who used to cut off his head and let it play about in the surf while his body remained on the shore; after swimming as far as Dauan the head returned and fastened itself on to the body; once it swam nearly to Mabuiag. Finally two fish carried the man away (1917, p. 436).

An old couple lived by themselves at one end of Saibai, while the rest of the people lived at the other end. Once when the people went to the bush they left some food for their children to give to the old people; when they did so the old man and woman killed them, cooked them in an earth-oven and ate them. The same occurred the next day, but a small boy saw what was happening and ran away to his parents. The next day the people went and killed the old couple, their bodies were cut in pieces and burnt (1917, p. 449).

#### DARU

The original inhabitants of Daru (Yaru), the Hiamu, unquestionably were related to the Western Torres Straits islanders, and living so close to New Guinea, they became involved in movements that did not affect the other islanders; some of these have been described on pp. 50, 51, 241, 269.

Beaver (1920, pp. 49, 50) says:

"I do not think Daru ever had a large native population. A part of the Mawatta and Turituri emigration from Old Mawatta occupied the place for a few years during their journey westward, but they were harassed by raiding parties of the Kiwai tribes just as they had been in their old home. The aboriginal owners of Daru, the Hiamu, were almost exterminated by raids of the same kind and the survivors journeyed to the islands of Torres Straits. A few people of composite origin, but mostly belonging to Turituri, were in occupation when the island first became known to Europeans and they claimed the country as theirs, for the Hiamu had faded away into almost a myth. . . . From the native point of view Daru always had a very bad reputation. Even now the

native settlement is only occupied for a few days at a time by the Turituri people, who come up to make gardens or use it as a fishing centre. The Mawatta people seldom spend more than a day or so in the place."

For many years Daru was resorted to by pearling and *bêche-de-mer* boats and cedar getters, and others made it their headquarters. Also for a long time it has been the seat of Government for the Western Division of Papua and the port of entry, and also the headquarters of the London Missionary Society for that Division. There are also several stores on the island; but before all these arrivals the island had become almost desolate.

The following stories given by Landtman are of historical events:

At a time before the Mawata people had moved to their present village, the Hiamu, or ancient Daru people, went to visit the Masingara, but the men were away as they had forgotten to count one day by removing a leaflet from the split coconut palm leaf that each party had as a tally. A Daru man outraged the wife of a friend of his who had just given birth to a baby. The Daru men gave the woman dugong meat and fish and received coconuts in exchange and went away before the men returned. The Masingara women asked them to come back for more food and again a coconut leaf was split between the two peoples to enable them to keep an account of the days till their next meeting. The Masingara hunters brought home a lot of game, except the man whose wife had been outraged; she told him what had happened. He said nothing but went away from the other men who were drinking *gamodu* and made a number of bow-strings. On his return he put a bow-string and an arrow in each of the men's houses, and without mentioning the Daru people said, "Who man he strong, he take this one". The great fighting leaders picked up the bow-strings and arrows [the custom in the western islands was for the man who wanted revenge to put red paint in the *kwod*, which was taken by his champions, v, pp. 15, 21, 43]. The Daru people speared dugong and turtle to take the meat to the Masingara. The culprit told a friend of his what he had done, so they pretended to be ill and stayed behind when the others went to Masingara. Meanwhile the Masingara men arranged among themselves to spare certain good men and women, for after the fight the bushmen wanted to make friends again with the Daru people. The visitors were asked to sit down in the different houses. There was a great fight but a few were saved by their friends. Two or three Daru canoes escaped and the Masingara people shouted after them, "Next time no more fight. Next time by-and-by friend". The Daru people got a sorcerer to "poison" the two men who stayed behind (1917, p. 408).

Landtman (1917, p. 410) gives another variant of this fragment of history, and ends by saying: "The Hiamu people were so disheartened after their great losses that nearly all of them abandoned Daru and sailed to Muralag. Originally their language was different from that of Mawata, but those who remained in Daru adopted the Mawata language".

A graphic account of the emigration from Daru is told by Landtman (1917, p. 366). "The Gemeidai and Agidai people [either from Kiwai or Purutu, or both] time after time used to come and attack the Hiamu of Daru. Once when some Daru people were away in Bobo [Bristow] island fishing, the enemy again put in an appearance and killed those who had remained at home. After cutting off the heads of their victims they sounded their trumpet-shells, which awoke alarm among the Daru people in Bobo. On their return home they were told by the few survivors, 'Oh, you no can see people—all Kiwai man been kill him'."

Shortly afterwards some Daru men went to Waboda to buy a canoe and a Waboda man killed Gereca, one of the visitors, falsely accusing him of having stolen the arm-shell which had been paid for the canoe (1917, p. 365),

It was not long before other evil tidings came, for another Daru party was killed by the Masingara people (1917, p. 408). Then the Hiamu people determined to leave Daru and go and live



elsewhere. They brought all their belongings out from the houses, but when the canoes were launched, it was found that they could not carry all the people and their things. Some of the men said, "You fellow go, I no good man, got *uma* (ulcerated sores). I stop, somebody kill me—all right. You good man, more better you run away." The strong and healthy children were put in the canoes, but those who were sickly and weak were left behind. Some people remained on Daru and others went over to Bobo and stayed there, but the rest set sail and went away. They wailed on their way:

1. "East wind he come straight from Wuigi (Parama). Two point belong Bobo, Tabi and Pasi."
2. "Canoe he go along deep water, sleep along canoe. You me (we) go along (to) outside island people, keep off alongside deep water." [I omit the native words which are given by Landtman.] The departing Hiamu people did not call at Yam, for they wanted to go far away from the place where so many of them had been killed.
3. "You me (we) go now road belong Adi (a mythical being?), road belong Sido [p. 377], you me go to Murilago."

They settled down at Murilago and introduced the *taera* ceremony there. The songs above are nowadays sung in connection with that ceremony (1917, p. 367). For Murilago see p. 269.

Landtman (1917, p. 352) gives the story of the invention of the *horiomu* or *taera* ceremony by Daru children, which enabled them to catch a lot of fish and crabs. The opening part of this tale is concerned with a mythical crab-man, Waimee, who entered into an old woman who became cranky and began to dance. The people cleared the ground at Iho and after painting and decorating themselves made a great dance and Waimee remained there as a stone. The boys and girls left alone during the absence of their elders invented the *horiomu*. Later the men discovered the children dancing and sent away all the girls and little boys, but kept the older boys, saying to them, "This thing belong to us", and that it was to be kept secret from the women. After they had held the first *horiomu* the men caught plenty of dugong and the women found numerous crabs.

Tradition is quite clear that Daru was at one time a source of certain cultural elements that later were borrowed by other islanders: this is illustrated by the following folk tale given by Landtman (1917, p. 361):

"In olden times no trees grew in Daru only brushwood, and the two screens (*horiomu*) of the *taera* shrine which the people had created there could be seen at a great distance. The Hiamu or ancient Daru people prepared to celebrate the *taera* ceremony, and as an introduction they held a race with small toy canoes. . . . Two of the leading men took part in the game, Kenora, the son of Wuitamo, and Ebogubu, the son of Daguri." Ebogubu's canoe drifted away. "The people began to play the *kokadi* or *pari* (a kind of hockey) by way of preparation for the *taera* ceremony."

"The little canoe kept on sailing till it reached Yam island. At that time there was no Tudu island, only a sand-bank surrounded by breakers, and the people lived in Yam. A man of that island called Ebogubu went one day to swim and saw the canoe." He summoned the other people who tried to catch it, but it evaded them and made straight for Ebogubu who picked it up. Holding the canoe in his hand he pointed its bow in different directions, but it always turned towards Daru and gave a jerk in that direction. "Oh, more better me go look! he want me go."

"The people made a log-canoe ready, which consisted of a solid trunk of a tree and was provided with two outriggers, a little platform, and mat-sails." On arriving at Daru, the Yam islanders landed and were well received and Ebogubu of Yam was entertained by Ebogubu of Daru.

"The new-comers were brought to the *taera* shrine, the screens of which were decorated with small model canoes", and they expressed great astonishment. "The Yam islanders were asked to sit down outside the screens, as the ceremony was new to them. They were given food, and after a while the dancing of the masked spirits began." The Yam islanders were so interested in the *taera* that they "stayed on and watched the whole *taera* ceremony very carefully in order to be

able to reproduce it at home. The Daru people provided them with two dug-out canoes and said, 'That's no proper canoe you got, I give you good canoe'. In the mornings they worked at the canoes, and in the afternoons the *taera* ceremony was resumed, and thus the time passed. At length the two canoes were ready, the ceremony concluded, and the Yam islanders sailed away.' When they arrived at Yam 'the delighted women threw themselves over their husbands and kissed their faces and noses. Looking at the canoes they said, 'Oh, what name (how) they make him that hole (excavation) along canoe!' 'That proper canoe', answered the men.

'All the things were brought on shore, and then the new-comers said to those men who had remained at home, 'Another good thing me find him. What people he die, you me (we) go make him dance'. Whereupon they prepared a *horiomu* shrine with two screens and held the *taera* ceremony, keeping it secret from the women. From Daru the practice came to Yam, and thence it spread to Nagiri, Moa, Badu, and Mabuñag. This story is told to the young men at their initiation into the *taera* ceremony.'

I obtained a short Tutu version of this tale (v, p. 48). In the section on Canoes (p. 308) I give a few details omitted here and also two other versions.

According to Riley (1925, p. 178), "In the old fishing days, when a turtle or dugong was brought ashore at Daru, it was customary, and still is to-day, to cut it up in a small enclosed space of ground, the walls of which are made of coco-nut leaves and which stand about five feet above ground. The meat was for a feast, and soon the term *horiomu* or feast was used to signify the little shanty or screened-off place."

Daru has long had the reputation of being full of spirits of various kinds. Hely (*A.R.* 1894-5, p. 45) states that the "*buhere buhere* (a species of female devil) is much feared. They inhabit large trees as a rule, and are very dangerous." Trees inhabited by them are treated with much respect and are never cut down. . . . "another species of female devil (*wauwa*) inhabits certain places in the district. . . . There is also a *wauwa* at Daru. She had two stones with which she worked mischief until I broke them up two years ago. Since then the *wauwa*, according to the natives, has gone to another part of the island." Beaver (1920, pp. 50, 51) adds that the Daru people used to bring offerings of food and shell ornaments to these intensely feared stones.

"It was believed that anyone interfering with the homes of these spirits would swell up and die, and Mr Hely noted in his journal that the Mawatta chief made a special visit to find out if all was well after the destruction of the stones. . . . fortunately no sickness followed. . . . There are female "devils" who live in trees (they, I think, correspond to the 'Dogai' of Torres Straits), and a number of them once inhabited a species of fig tree near the Residency. Such a tree should never be cut down. Only one man was found courageous enough to brave the devils in the matter of sawing off the branches, Constable Uria. . . . as nothing happened to Uria, the idea naturally got about that New Guinea devils had no power over the Government and Government people. . . . A policeman will only have a moderate belief in devils when in uniform, but when he returns to civilian life he is just as subject to ghostly interference. There is also a certain spot on Daru which is the abode of a man-devil named Waimē. He it was who first showed them, so the Mawatta people say, how to make and to use the Garara mask—half man, half fish—which is worn by the highest rank of initiates."

Landtman (1917) gives the following tales about mythical beings:

A Daru woman was seduced by an *oboro* (spirit) who afterwards killed her and her two daughters; the *oboro* summoned some spirit friends of his and they ate the three dead bodies (p. 247).

The adventure of a Daru girl with a *hiwai-abere*, who pretended to be a friend of hers, but nothing disastrous ensued (p. 251).

A Daru man, Nadere, went to his garden and passed by a small hill underneath which lived a being, also called Nadere. The latter jumped on to Nadere's back and kept there all day. When Nadere came to the hill on returning home with his food, the being jumped off, stole the food, etc. and disappeared into the ground. Another man watched this from a distance. Next day the same thing happened, and just as the evil being jumped off Nadere's back the man shot him. The two men cut off the head of the dead being and carried it to Nadere's place, where they held a dance called *pipi*, which is performed when people bring home captured heads (p. 253).

Two other tales are told of beings who live underground and steal from men (p. 254).

The little son of Bibi of Daru found a beautiful *amuhe* fruit in the sea, which he brought to his mother and asked her to cook it for him. She ate it and gave Bibi a bad *amuhe* instead. He remonstrated and cried till late in the night. A woman named Wasido was making a baby-basket and saw a white *hiwai-abere* come and seize the boy, dash his head against a tree, tear him to pieces and swallow him. Next morning Wasido told what had happened and the people saw the *hiwai-abere* in a crevice, harpooned it, ripped the body open, the remains were buried, but the *hiwai-abere* was cut in pieces and burnt. In another version Wasido thought it was the boy's mother who took him away, the *hiwai-abere* or *orogoroho* was killed and burnt and the remains of the boy buried except his skull which the parents kept hanging round their necks in turn. Since that time it is a rule among the people that parents may not take from their children anything which the latter possess (pp. 305, 306).

The following three stories are quite typical of the Torres Straits islanders and their neighbours. The first is abbreviated from several versions given by Landtman (1917, pp. 373-5, 394-5).

A married woman of Mawata misbehaved with a boy: her father induced a man versed in evil magic to apply medicine to a canoe to cause it to sink. When the canoes were on the fishing ground, a Turituri man, named Kakaba, raised a rain-storm in order to make his garden grow. During the storm the other canoes would not assist the ill-fated canoe, the panic-stricken men in the latter killed a Daru man who was with them. The exhausted crew of the capsized canoe reached Daru, and the Daru people thought it would be safe for them to kill the cast-a-ways, which they did. A Mawata man on Daru took the news home. The Mawata people knew that Kakaba had caused the storm, and without telling anyone, Oma, a great man of Mawata whose son had been killed on Daru, went to Turituri and killed Kakaba, but the Turituri people did not dare to do anything. Oma sought the aid of Kiwai warriors to attack Daru. There was great bloodshed, dogs and pigs were also killed, houses burnt down and canoes destroyed. The Kiwais returned home with a rich booty, but Oma did not take any heads. A month later Oma went to Kiwai to receive his reward for the captured heads, and was presented with a canoe and a great quantity of sago. Oma, and two other important men, Mipi and Audi, whose sons had also been killed, were angry with the Mawata crews who had not helped their unfortunate comrades, so they instigated various bush and other villages to kill any Mawata man or woman who came to their village; they all agreed except the Sumai and Iasa people of Kiwai who alone remained friends with the Mawata people, as the latter used to provide them with stone axes. The three men also ruined the Mawata gardens by means of sorcery. At length the three men stopped the fighting, removed the bane from the gardens, and used good "medicine" to make them grow. At the same time the village of Mawata was shifted from the bush to a place near Ganarai creek. When Oma was a feeble old man, a Mawata man instructed some bush people to kill him.

Some Yam and Tutu people went to visit Daru and speared some dugong and turtle on their way which they presented to the Daru people and received garden produce in return. In the night a Kiwai party arrived in Daru, and finding the visitors there determined to kill them as well as the Daru people. Many people were killed. After the fight the Kiwai men went away with their booty of heads. The surviving Yam-Tutu men made their way home, with them was a Daru friend of

theirs: the islanders began to talk together. "Fault belong them fellow (the Daru people), sing out (invite) me fellow. What think?" They killed the Daru man... A mourning feast was celebrated in Yam (1917, p. 415).

A pregnant Daru woman, who was married to a Mawata man, was killed in a raid on Mawata by Iasa men of Kiwai and they took her head. The dead woman gave birth to a boy after the raiders had left, and the boy grew up. After a time a Daru party arrived and among them was the father of the dead woman, who brought back his grandson, Sugudipo. When Sugudipo was full-grown, he invited the Kiwais to Daru, where his fellow-villagers and the Mawata people were ready to attack them. The visitors were lulled into security, and in the night the onslaught was made. There was great bloodshed, but afterwards peace was made and payment given for those killed (1917, p. 519).

The following stories given by Landtman (1917) are simple folk tales:

In Daru lived six brothers, one of whom was blind, six girls used to come to the house and danced in a nude condition and sang; they were found out and each married one of the boys. The eldest girl restored the eyesight of the blind brother by untying the string of her petticoat and rubbing his eyes with the string (p. 271).

A man who lived alone in the bush pretended by noises and speaking that he had a wife. A man overheard him and gave him his daughter, but the man did not know what a woman was like; he ill-treated the girl, who died, and he was killed and his body thrown away (p. 286).

A Hiamu man of Daru unwittingly cut off the hand of his young brother who was behaving indecently with his wife when she was sitting on the floor in the women's house. The boy died and his brother was very sorry; he told the people what had happened and they said there was no cause for a quarrel (p. 284).

Two brothers had dogs that could light a fire and cook food. The brothers quarrelled, one went to New Guinea, but returned with two wives, the brothers became friends again and each had one of the two women (1917, p. 310).

Long ago a certain Daru man used to catch birds by standing motionless on the beach and the birds alighted on him in great numbers taking him for a tree. Then he walked very cautiously into his house, the door was closed, and the birds were killed. One day after a long wait two "bush-fowl" dropped excreta on his head, a tree grew up and the man was tightly entangled in the roots, and then he perished. His wife, children and brothers went into their house, closed the door, set fire to the house and burnt themselves to death (1917, p. 432).

A Daru man went alone to catch fish and squatted down, the fish and young turtles thinking that his anus was an opening in a stone passed into it, so he caught a number of fish which he distributed to the people. Next day he tried to do the same but a large king-fish, *gaiyai*, passed right through him so that he died (1917, p. 435).

A Daru man and his wife, tired of eating vegetable food all the time, wanted some fish or meat. They made the earth-oven ready and the man asked his wife to wash him carefully and wrap him in the leaves which are used for baking. She did so, and placed him in a large [shell] basin and covered him up. When the baking was done, the woman opened the oven, took out the basin which was now full of fat, and carried her husband to the water where he was washed and shortly recovered. Then the two ate the fat. Next day they did the same, but the woman worked at a belt and forgot all about the cooking. When she remembered she opened the oven and found hardly anything more than bones. She carried them to the water, but it was too late. She wailed and threw the body away without burying it (1917, p. 439).

A Daru man and his wife grew tired of always working in their garden, so they made two bows and some toy arrows, and although that is man's work the woman took part in it also. They were both nude and began to shoot at each other; although this was only play, blood began to flow. They did the same the next day and both suffered much pain. In the end the woman shot her husband dead. She threw him away in the bush and burnt herself to death in the house (1917, p. 440).

The Rev. E. Baxter Riley (1931, p. 329) gives a short story of the origin of flying-foxes (*Pteropus*). Long ago in the village of Daru were some famous fishermen who continually went out to spear turtle; when they brought them to the village they ate the fat and would not give any of it to their wives and children. The women became angry and had a talk, then they cut the leaf-sheaths of coconut palms and made wings of them. When the men returned from fishing and again ate the turtle fat, the women became enraged, they picked up their children in their arms and flew away with them. The men wept in vain, for the women kept on flying in the form of flying-foxes.

(ii) MALULAIG (MIDDLE ISLANDERS)

MABUIAG

It has always been recognised that the Mabuiag men were stalwart and valiant; that this was the opinion of other islanders is shown by the fact that these termed the Mabuiag folk. *kurupu pataliada*; *kurup* is the rock cod (*Serranus crapaio*), *pat* is a sharply pointed stick and *patal* is prickly, *iuala* the gill-rakers of a fish. Thus the expression means "the spiny gill-rakers of a rock cod". It was explained to me that "a man can't put his hand inside the mouth of a *kurup* because of the needles, or you sore like hell", and it was added that it was like meddling with a *gapad*, the nest of a tree-wasp.

Moresby says: "The natives of Jarvis Island are black Papuans, quite uncivilised and unclothed" (1876, p. 131).

There is a cave on Pulu, called Arpalsarkai, where the women and girls were secreted from the raids of white and coloured men in the early days of the fishing for bêche-de-mer and pearl-shell.

Opposite to Mumugubut Bay on Pulu an unknown ship struck on the reef in days prior to the coming of the missionaries [before 1871]; all the crew were killed by Mabuiag men, except one man. Later the ship drifted off with the one man aboard and floated to near Nāgir, where it again was stranded. The Nāgir men killed the survivor and the ship broke up. The rudder is still at Mumugubut.

Wilkin gives graphic accounts of the feuds between Mabuiag and Badu with Moa (v, pp. 308, 316), Mabuiag with Dauan (p. 316), Mabuiag with Badu (p. 317) and Mabuiag with Tutu (p. 319).

Vol. v is mainly concerned with Mabuiag, the references are: genealogies, p. 123; kinship, p. 129; totemism, pp. 153, 154, 159, 162, 172, 175, 180-6; pregnancy, childbirth, and treatment of children, pp. 196-9; women's puberty customs, pp. 203, 207; initiation, p. 213; courtship, pp. 223, 226; marriage, pp. 229, 247; funeral ceremonies, pp. 248-56, 262; chieftainship, p. 266; taboos, pp. 196, 269, 271; morals, pp. 273-7; treatment of strangers, p. 278; personal names, p. 280; land tenure, pp. 284-91; trade, pp. 294, 297; warfare, pp. 298-319; magician, p. 321; magical objects, pp. 324-9; turtle ceremonies, pp. 330-6; dugong ceremonies, pp. 337-42; *malub*, p. 345; *maua*, p. 349; rain- and wind-making, pp. 350-2; supernatural beings, p. 353; transformation, p. 354; spirits and the future state, pp. 355-60; pictographs, p. 360; omens, p. 361; divination, p. 361; sacred stones, etc., p. 363; *kwod*, p. 365.

I have very little supplementary information on the ethnography of Mabuiag.

The Rev. W. H. MacFarlane has sent me the following former birth customs which were told to him by Daniel.

At the time of delivery, the husband swam in the sea, "to help woman born child". On the next day the husband went out to "look (for) some small fish so woman can make *susu* (milk)".

When a baby was born all the people were happy and went dancing to the house when they heard the news. Old women put greenery on their heads and played about inside the house "for make men laugh", and the men beat drums outside the house. The old women brought presents, such as mats and *dani* petticoats [v, p. 61] for the baby to sleep on. "In old time, no calico for baby, make bed of soft banana-leaves, middle part, make soft in fire first."

If, however, the father thought that his family was large enough he asked the mid-wife to take the navel cord. She put it in a *Fusus* shell and buried it in hard ground with the mouth uppermost and placed a stone on top; there must be a stone on top or the rite would not be effective. After this the woman could not have any more children. If, however, the couple changed their minds and wanted "more family", the mid-wife was asked to remove the stone, "so wind can go inside shell".

When the baby was small, the mother must not do any hard work, "no go along kitchen or alongside fire for cook, or baby will get sick, only husband must do that work". The mother waited till the navel cord of the baby was cut before doing any hard work.

The nose was pierced by the maternal uncle, but the name was given by the father.

The Rev. W. H. MacFarlane was told that when a shipwrecked castaway, *sarup*, landed on Mabuiag he could be saved from almost inevitable death if a person on the shore put a streak of red paint (*parama*, red ochre) across either arm just below the shoulder and at the same time placed a small branch of the *urakar* tree (*Hibiscus*) on the neck or body. The rescuer could then take him to his own house. It appears that this protective paint must be retained. For the murder of castaways see pp. 9, 84, 196, 349; v, p. 278.

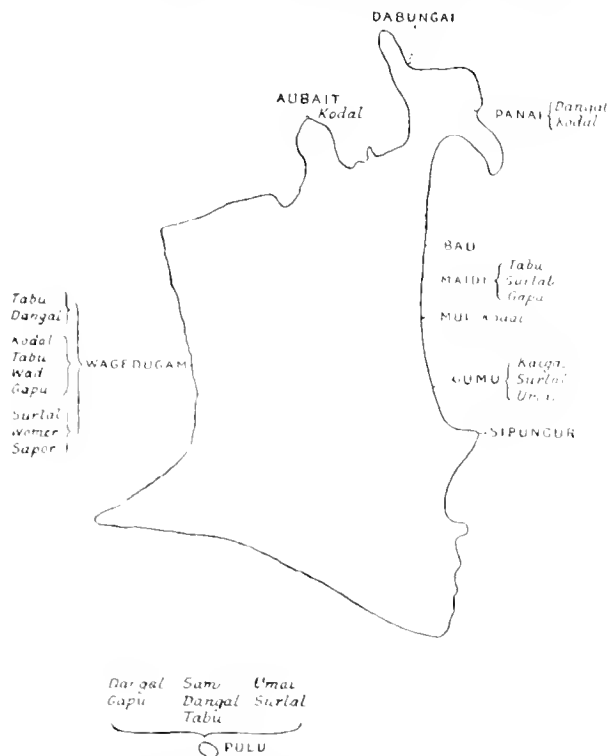
Rivers (v, p. 266) pointed out that Mabuiag is divided into four districts: (1) Panai in the north-east includes Panai and Dabungai and that corner of the island. (2) Maidi on the east coast includes Bau, Maidi and Mui. (3) Gunu in the south-east includes Gumu, Sipungur, Kwoiam antra, and the southern end of the island. (4) Wagedugam, on the north coast towards the west, includes Wagedugam and probably one or two small villages. It probably also includes Aubait. See maps, pp. 21, 57.

The clans of Mabuiag are grouped into two moieties, land animals and marine animals, which after the arrival of Kwoiam were termed respectively the *Kai augudau kazi* and the *Mugi augudau kazi*, the children of the Great and of the Little Totem. The chief totems of the former are *kodal* (crocodile), *tabu* (snake), *umai* (dog) and *sam* (cassowary), and those of the latter are *dangal* (dugong), *surlal* (turtle) and *kaigas* (shovel-nosed skate). These moieties will be referred to as K and M.

In each district there were two chief men. The chief men of (1) the Panaiboai were members of the *dangal-kodal* clan, M. One chief man of (2) the Maidiboai belonged to the *tabu-surlal-gapu* clan, K?, of Maidi and the other to the *kodal* clan of Mui, but by 1898 his place had been taken by two members of the *sam-dangal-tabu* clan, K. Both chiefs of (3) the Gumuboai were of the *kaigas-surlal-umai* clan, M. One chief man of (4) the Wagedugamboai belonged to the *kodal-tabu-wad-gapu* clan and the other to the *surlal-womer-sapor* clan; here also members of the *sam-dangal-tabu* clan have gained some prominence, but have not supplanted the chief men; this clan was said to belong to Pulu (v, p. 166). Of the chief men of these four districts those of Panai appear to have been always predominant. These include all the clans for which we have clear evidence with the exception of the

*tabu-dangal* clan, K. of Wagedugam and the *kodal*, K. clan of Aubait, both on the north coast.

It may be taken for granted that the M moiety inhabited districts 1 and 3, and the K moiety districts 2 and 4, with certain reservations, cf. sketch-map.



It appears as if Aubait was settled by *kodal* folk from Mui, which would account for the fact that no marriages are recorded between these two places; also no marriages are recorded between the *kodal* people of Wagedugam and those of Mui, though they freely intermarried with Aubait, which indicates a breaking down of barriers.

The once important *surlal* clan, M, lived at Wagedugam, though the other two clans which live there belong to the K moiety; doubtless the *surlal* clan lived in its own village in that area.

It does not appear that the island was bisected for the domains of the two moieties, and though the western part predominantly belonged to the K moiety and the eastern to the M moiety, there was a strong settlement of the other moiety in each domain. There can be no doubt that each clan resided in its own district before the segregation induced by the missionary and other influences.

On Pulu (v, p. 4) the K clans had their fireplaces close together at the western end of the *kwod* while the M clans had theirs at the north-easterly; and the more westerly of the two ceremonial heaps of *Fusus* shells evidently belonged to the K moiety.

The *dangal* clan (which was extinct in the male line in 1898) is said to have belonged to Pulu (v, p. 162) and the sacred cave belonged to this clan (v, p. 368), but the *kwod* belonged to the *dangal* and to the *surlal-womer-sapor* and *tabu-dangal* clans of Wagedugam

(v, p. 370). Further, the *sam-dangal-tabu* was said to belong to Pulu (v, p. 166), and also the *dangal-gupu* (v, p. 162) and *umai-surlal* (v, p. 118) clans. Thus clans of both moieties were appropriately represented in this sacred islet, though the influence of the M moiety preponderated.

The hero Kwoiam lived at Gumu, the land round Kwoiam's hill belongs to the M moiety and his cairn to the *kaigas-sural-umai* clan (v, p. 368). The sacred cave of Augudalkula in Pulu belonged to a family of the M moiety. Within this cave were kept the two famous skull-baskets (v, p. 369), which besides the skulls contained the emblems of Kwoiam. I was told that Kwoiam had *kaigas*, or *kaigas* and *surlal*, for his totem, *augul* (v, p. 80). He therefore belonged to the M moiety.

It was pointed out (v, p. 371) that it appears strange that the M moiety should have the less important *giribu*, one of Kwoiam's two magical crescents (v, p. 70), for its collective *augul*. The cult of Kwoiam is essentially a cult of war, and as the land animals are totems of fighting clans of K moiety this aggressive moiety may have secured the *kutibu*. We know that the main functions of the M moiety were to secure success in catching dugong and turtle, and we may conclude that before the coming of Kwoiam the main function of the K moiety was warfare and that the rites connected with this took place in the *kwod* at Wagedugam and perhaps in the *kwod* at Bau. There can be no doubt that the cult of Kwoiam co-ordinated the clans of Mabuiag. There also appears to have been a definite war cult in several islands which would easily assimilate with the newer hero cults.

Wilkin says (v, pp. 318, 372) that in one particular fray a *dangal-kodal* warrior carried the *kutibu* and a *sam-dangal-tabu* warrior the *giribu*, which seems to show that the K moiety did not have the exclusive right to bear the more important sacred emblem.

Each moiety had its skull-basket in the cave of Augudalkula in Pulu, and Wilkin (v, p. 306) obtained definite information about a *kuiku-iut*, head-house at Gumu and Bau (iv, p. 98); these houses corresponded with the men's houses (*darimo*, *ravi*, etc.) in New Guinea. That at Gumu belonged to the *kaigas-sural-umai* clan, M moiety, while that at Bau was said to belong to the *dangal-kodal* clan, M moiety, but it was emphatically stated that the Bau *kwod* and *kuiku-iut* contained fireplaces of the *kodal*, *sam*, *tabu* and *umai* clans, K moiety. Probably each moiety originally had its skull-house in addition to its corner in the Augudalkula cave and its separate fireplaces in Pulu, in which case the original head-house of the K moiety might have been at Wagedugam and that at Bau may have been a secondary one; at all events, it was desirable from a native point of view that the K moiety should have a rival trophy- and club-house not far from that of the M moiety. It is not clear why (accepting it to be true) that Bau house belonged to the *dangal-kodal* clan; perhaps the ground originally belonged to that clan.

#### Kai augudau kazi, *the children of the Great Totem (or land animals)*

We have no direct information about the functions of this moiety or of what took place at Wagedugam, all we know is that it was once an important place (v, p. 267) with its own *kwod* (v, p. 15) and that two famous warriors, Manalbau and Sasalkazi, belonged there; but these two warriors are referred to by Malakula of Badu as belonging to Badu (v, pp. 41, 93), and he also claimed Sesere, who was almost certainly a Mabuiag hero.

The obscure Waitat was the culture hero of the K moiety, for there can be little doubt that Widul and the neighbouring islets belong to the domain of this moiety (v, p. 49 and cf. "The Hero Cults").



Mugi augudau kazi, *the children of the Little Totem (or water animals)*

The headquarters of the *dangal-kodal* clan were at Panai, and nearby at Dabungai in their *kwod*, close to the sea-shore, the ceremony took place which had for its object the constraining of the dugong to come towards the island (v, p. 182). Dabungai is at the north-east corner of Mabuiag and faces the extensive reefs which are the feeding grounds of the dugong. Here also took place the *mudu kap* at which three kinds of turtle-shell human-face masks (*mudu*, *dibubuag*, and *wamedēbu*) were worn; apparently it was a dance of joy and thankfulness for a good season, and took place when the *kek* star first appeared and when all kinds of food were ripe (v, p. 339). The "dugong play" as drawn by Gizu (v, p. 341) looks like a form of the rite of the *baura* spirits in the *horionu* (p. 227), for Gizu represented the men in spirit attire and not with masks. W. Wyatt Gill (1876, p. 203) gives a drawing of a "Devil-tree on Jervis' Island"; this I ascertained grew beside the *kwod* at Dabungai. Dr Gill describes it as "an ancient banyan, with large shells and dugong bones—propitiatory offerings—growing into its trunk or suspended by rope-like tendrils from lofty branches. This was supposed to be the home of a mighty spirit." [Moresby, 1876, p. 131, evidently refers to the same tree.] Gill's illustration shows close by the tree four forked *sara* posts from which skulls are suspended. The *mawa* ceremony (p. 142) was performed at Panai by two masked dancers *kai mawa* and *mugi mawa* (v, p. 349); it may have been performed at other places in Mabuiag.

The important *kaigas-surlal-umai* clan of Gumu was largely concerned with turtle-fishing. From the drawing (v, fig. 51, p. 331) it appears that the ceremony to procure success in turtling (v, p. 330) was performed at Gumu, and that at it large bullroarers, *bigu*, and small ones, *wanes*, were used. There was a *wiwai* boulder and dance at Gumu (v, p. 334) for success in turtling, and a porpoise dance (v, p. 335), about which we have no particulars. The ceremony connected with the first turtle caught during the breeding season, *surlal*, took place in the *kwod* of the clan (v, p. 183), and at it bullroarers were swung; doubtless this was at Gumu. Frequently during the *surlal* season a ceremony took place in the islet of Pulu to ensure good luck in catching turtle (v, p. 333), at which the waterspout, *baiu*, post was erected. There was a *kuiku-iut* or head- or skull-house at Gumu and here was the home of Kwoiam (v, pp. 67-83, 367-73; cf. III, p. 194). The real hero of this moiety is Sesere, the great fisherman and dugong hunter (cf. later and v, p. 40).

Judging from the names of those who were mentioned as rain- and wind-makers (v, p. 350) it would appear that this hereditary office was mainly exercised by members of the M moiety, but we have no definite statement to this effect, though it was probably the case, as wind was essential for sea-fishing. The only exception was Kewia, of the *umai-surlal* totem, a nearly extinct clan of the K moiety, which is said to have belonged to Pulu and may have been originally a Badu clan.

I collected the following tales relating to Mabuiag:

A long time ago, when Wagedugam on the north-west side was inhabited, a crying girl was taken by a *dōgai* who ill-treated and killed her. Later the men attacked the *dōgai*, who sank into the ground, but they pulled off her arm, which the boys played with. In the night the *dōgai* came to the tree on which her arm was suspended, sang to it and it was joined to the body. The constellation of Dōgai is the star Vega with the adjoining group of small stars which represent one arm held out (v, p. 13).

When the Mabuïag people were camping on Pulu a stone fell from the sky and killed everybody except two sweethearts, because the children were playing a prohibited game (v, p. 22).

A fisherman named Siwi spoiled his son, who became fractious, and his mother, Garke, took his part. To spite her husband she made all kinds of mosquitos, sand flies, and other flies and let them loose on her husband. He died from their bites and Garke cried and stood close to the hill up which Siwi had run and was turned into a stone (v, p. 26).

In vol. v, pp. 83 and 85, are two complementary stories of Uga, a Mabuïag girl who married Tabepa, a spirit man, and of Tabepa, a Mabuïag man who married Uga, a spirit girl. In the former tale the spirits, *markai*, came from Kibu to Pulu, where they danced in *markai* attire (v, p. 253; cf. III, p. 222). Uga went to Kibu, and when she was expecting to have a baby she returned to Mabuïag with a number of *markai*; the latter were "killed", but swam back to Kibu as porpoises and gar-fish. A month later all the *markai* armed with waterspouts came to avenge themselves and devastated the island. Uga was now a *markai* and lived with Tabepa in Kibu. In the latter tale Uga visited Tabepa and returned to Kibu. A month later, Uga came and took Tabepa to Kibu; her brother took him to the *kwod* there and as he was thirsty the *markai* took him to a fine water-hole, but Bazi, who was jealous of Uga, persuaded him to go to another bad water-hole and killed him there.

The wife of Drak of Pulu died, but as the corpse was laid out at Moi or Mui on Mabuïag she must have been a native of that village; her *marì* appeared to Drak, he was frightened and ran away, and she killed him (v, p. 88).

The boy taken by the spirits (v, p. 358).

The story of Aipozar and a *dògai* (v, p. 94) has no special significance nor has that of Amipuru (v, p. 99; cf. III, p. 220); that of Amdua (v, p. 104; cf. III, p. 221) is a purely comic tale.

The tales given by Landtman of Waiat and Kwoiam of Mabuïag and my versions of them are alluded to in the section on "The Hero Cults," p. 380 ff.

Landtman obtained the following version of the story of Sesere from a Mawata man (1917, p. 159).

The boy Sesere lived alone at Dabangani [Dabungai], while his two married sisters and all the other people lived at the other end of Mabuïag at Gomu [Gumu]. Sesere's parents were dead and had left him a sweet-potato garden in which he worked in the mornings and then speared fish. . . . Sesere's two brothers-in-law caught only a few small fish, but Sesere caught a number of large ones. One day the men went to Sesere's place and beat him so badly that he could not walk, they then stole the fish, and their wives did not believe them when they said they had caught them. Sesere exhumed his parents' skulls, washed them and rubbed them with sweet-scented coconut oil. During the night the spirits of his parents told him how to catch dugong. He was then successful in spearing dugong. His two sisters thought he had been killed by their husbands and went with their babies to his place to find out what had become of him. Sesere refused to give them any dugong meat because they had each brought a baby which he said belonged to the two men who had fought him; if they had come alone he would have given to them.

The two men went to the *horiomu* shrine [*kwod*], where they dressed themselves like dogs and played about like dogs. They went to Sesere's place and he gave them some meat but he "saw through them because their eyes did not look like those of a dog". The next day they came again and stole meat. Sesere again consulted the skulls of his parents and they advised him what to do. The two men brought another man, a *kukura* (a man who was full of sores [the Mabuïag term is *kikiri*]), but he was afraid and kept at a distance. Sesere killed the two men, but the third ran

away and told the people what had happened. Next day the people armed with spears, stone-headed clubs and *baidam-ibunuro* (sticks with shark's teeth fixed on) came to kill Sesere, who in the meantime had killed a white heron and made a head-dress of the feathers (*dëri*) and otherwise accoutred himself. When the Gumu men came, he hid himself by the refuse heap. By turning his head round he caused a strong wind with his *dëri*, thereby breaking the masts of the canoes and in the confusion the crews threw their spears and killed one another. Thus the men of all the canoes perished. Another party came by the shore and a third by the bush to attack Sesere, but Sesere moved his head and struck out with his hands and feet, and all the men fell down dead of themselves; this happened to both the columns. Sesere cut off the heads, arranging them in circles like coconuts.

The *kukura* man who had kept in the rear ran away and went to Badu. The Badu men came across and proceeded to Sesere's place, some in canoes, the others forming three columns on shore. The same thing happened and Sesere cut off all their heads. Then the *kukura* man summoned the Moa men, who advanced in six columns; when Sesere threw a single spear each column of the enemy fell. Finally the *kukura* men brought the Ita men over [Landtman, *l.c.* p. 545, calls Ita "Green island", but It (p. 22) is the western low-lying portion of Moa; the eastern high land is termed Moa by the natives, we call the whole island Moa]. The Ita men advanced in seven lines. After Sesere had killed the men in the canoes the others closed with him. When he had finished all his spears he ran away into the bush, and in the shape of a small bird, *sesere* (the Mawata people call it *kekessio*), took refuge in a trumpet-shell. All the men were looking for him, and the *kukura* man saw that the bird had gone into the shell. They started to break the shell, but the bird escaped and alighted on the head of a man. Another man calling out to him, "You no move, you stand up good", directed a blow at the bird with his stone-headed club, but it flew away and he killed the man. This was repeated many times. When a large number of men had been killed, Sesere flew up into a *dani* tree [*Ficus*], took off his bird's skin and harangued the men, said it was not his fault, and told them to return home. Which they did.

In Mabuiag, Badu and Moa only old men, young boys and women remained alive. Men came over from Ita and settled down in the two islands and at Moa to take the place of those who had been killed, some marrying five women, others ten. Sesere was asked by his sisters to marry all the Mabuiag women who had no husbands; he took the girls and young married women, but not the old women. "Since then the Mabuiag people have lived at Sesere's place, Dabangai, not at Gumu as before" (1917, p. 163).

This version differs in many respects from that given by me (v, p. 40), which was obtained from a Badu man, who makes all the occurrences take place on the east side of Badu, no other islanders being implicated; but I have no doubt that Sesere was really a Mabuiag man. There is nothing strange in Landtman's version that Mabuiag people sought the aid of the Badu people, for these islanders were in close and friendly communication; but there was long-standing enmity between Mabuiag (and also to a certain extent Badu) and Moa (v, p. 308). Landtman definitely states that the Ita men went to Mabuiag, Badu and Moa to marry the widows. This would have been quite correct for Moa (in the restricted sense), and doubtless for Badu also, for though Badu intermarried normally with Mabuiag, there evidently were occasional marriages with Moa, or more probably with Ita (v, p. 314), and Rivers records ten marriages between Mabuiag and Moa (probably Ita) (v, p. 234); Landtman goes on to say that Sesere married the Mabuiag women, which would be natural. Landtman gives (p. 163) other short variants of this tale: Sesere was a Mabuiag man, his two brothers-in-law lived in Badu. A boy named Sesere lived with his parents in Boigu, and killed them in a fit of pique.

Landtman gives a story of how Iku of Mabuiag procured fire for his people (1917,

p. 334). A folk tale (1917, p. 416) has no special interest. For his versions of the Tagai myth see 1917, pp. 482-4.

A Mabuiag man, Gatori, was asked by his pregnant wife to get her some dugong meat, for she was tired of always eating vegetable food. He went with seven companions, but it was contrary to custom for a man to do so with his wife in that condition. Gatori was killed by fouling the harpoon line and sent to the bottom of the sea; the wind drove the canoe to Dauan, where they met Kogea, who killed them all except two, who escaped in the canoe and drifted to Boigu, where they were received by Kiba. "He gave them only dugong meat to eat, for Boigu at that time, as in the present day, boasted of very few gardens. Kiba raised a favourable wind, and in one day the two men reached Mabuiag. They met Gatori's father Wuiwa and told him about his son's death, and the old man was so enraged that he seized his stone club and killed them both, for without them Gatori could not have gone to the reef and would not have perished. Wuiwa also clubbed Gatori's wife, who was the real cause of his death. Then he rushed up on a hill, decked himself with leaves and branches and danced there alone. When he came down he asked his wife to light a big fire, and when it was burning he placed a spear in the middle of the flames, point upwards, and threw himself on to it. The weapon passed right through his body, and he was consumed in the fire. On the same day Gatori's body floated ashore in Mabuiag and was buried there" (1917, p. 369).

#### BADU

The Banks (Moa) and Mulgrave (Badu) islanders were regarded by J. Jardine (1886, p. 84) as being "of a more savage nature although intelligent, and giving considerable attention to the cultivation of yams, bananas, etc.", as compared with the natives of the Muralug group. He believed that in a great measure the good and the bad features in their character may be attributed to the strong influence exercised among them by a white man called Wini, who had been living for many years on Badu and no doubt considered it politic to keep Europeans away from his island.

Macgillivray (I, p. 307) refers (October, 1849) to a white man of the name of Wini, who had lived with the Badús for many years. . . . He had reached Mulgrave Island [Badu] in a boat after having, by his own account, killed his companions. . . . In course of time he became the most important person in the tribe, having gained an ascendancy by procuring the death of his principal enemies, and intimidating others, which led to the establishment of his fame as a warrior, and he became in consequence the possessor of several wives, a canoe, and some property in land. . . . Wini's character appears. . . to be a compound of villainy and cunning, in addition to the ferocity and headstrong passions of a thorough savage—it strikes me that he must have been a runaway convict, probably from Norfolk Island. . . . As matters stand at present, it is probable that not only during his life, but for years afterwards, every European who falls into the hands of the Badú people will meet with certain death.

Wilkin (v, p. 278) gives further information about this blackguard.

In a footnote (p. 308) Macgillivray gives an account of a boat's crew of a small vessel from Sydney procuring trepang and tortoise-shell in Torres Straits, who in June 1846 landed upon Mulgrave Island in order to barter for tortoise-shell. The natives appeared at first to be friendly enough, but being suspicious the crew went to a small sand-bank about a mile off to pass the night, four men landed, leaving two men in the boat (the schooner was about seven miles off). About midnight the natives attacked those on shore, three were killed and one died soon after being rescued by the two men in the boat. The bodies of those killed could not be recovered, nor could the small force on board the schooner attempt to punish the perpetrators of this unprovoked murder.

"In the beginning of 1849 a party of Badúlegas who had spent two months on a friendly visit to the natives of Múralug treacherously killed an old Italega woman, married to one of their hosts. Two of her brothers from Banks Island [Moa or It] were staying with her at the time, and one was killed, but the other managed to escape. The heads were carried off to Badu as trophies. This treacherous violation of the laws of hospitality was in revenge for some petty injury which one of the Badu men received from an Ita black several years before" (Macgillivray, II, p. 7).

I saw three types of houses in Badu in 1888: (1) huts consisting of little more than two sloping walls meeting like a roof, evidently the indigenous type; (2) a small house on piles of the Daudai coastal pattern; (3) a large well-built oblong house with neatly thatched sides and a long verandah raised from the ground, erected and inhabited by South Sea men; this type is now universal.

The Badu islanders are very closely allied in speech, customs, and by marriage with those of Mabuiaig, but have less communication with the natives of Moa proper, though there seem to have been friendly relations on the whole with the inhabitants of the eastern portion of that island known as It.

In vol. V will be found several references to the sociology of the Badulaig: totems, p. 155; clans, p. 170; marriage, pp. 229, 233; chiefs, p. 267; treatment of strangers, p. 278; feuds with Moa, p. 308, and with Mabuiaig, p. 317. It may be taken for granted that what has been recorded of the sociology of the Mabuiaig people applies equally to those of Badu.

I collected the following folk tales relating to Badu, cf. vol. V:

Yawar taught the Madub men of Badu how to make good gardens, but they forgot and ill-treated him and by means of rainbows rolled him across to Mer (Moie), where he planted a variety of garden produce he had carried with him. This accounts for the greater fertility of Mer as compared with Badu (p. 36).

Sesere was the inventor of the method of hunting dugong and he and his enemies became birds (p. 40); he almost certainly was a Mabuiaig man, cf. p. 60. Bia was the inventor of the method of catching turtle by means of the sucker-fish; he walked on the sea to Muralug, stones that then fell from his basket are certain rocky islets. He and a girl, Waru, were transformed into *Surlal*, copulating turtle, and went to the Adai, Jardine river, on the opposite coast of Cape York (p. 44).

The story of Upi (p. 46) does not appear to have much significance, nor the two tales about *dògai* (pp. 20, 92).

Mutuk was swallowed by a shark which became stranded on Boigu. Mutuk cut his way out and he was discovered by his sister, who had married the chief of Boigu. After a month he was sent home, but he and the Boigu men were killed on reaching Badu and were transformed into flying-foxes who flew to Daudai. A man named Budzi [probably he was a Bugi man] caught the flying-foxes, bit off their heads, and they resumed their human form. He then gave them his daughters to be their wives and the couples left Budzi (p. 89).

The story of Gwoba (p. 98) is practically a moral tale against pertidy and greediness.

Landtman gives the following:

At one end of Badu a man named Hawia lived with his mother and they had no fire, but at the other end lived a crocodile who had fire. One day Hawia and the crocodile were spearing fish at the same time and Hawia asked him for some fire, but he was refused and this occurred many times. One day Hawia donned a *d̄ri*, painted his face black, and put on many ornaments; he jumped into the sea and swam to Bugi on the mainland, where he found a woman who was burning the bush in order to make a garden. A fire was constantly burning between the thumb and index of her right hand. He asked for fire and she promised him some the next day. The next

day he asked the woman to shake hands as he was going away. She gave him her left hand but he asked for the right and suddenly tore away the fire from her hand. He jumped into the sea and lighted a fire on Boigu, then on Mabuiaġ and finally landed on Badu. The crocodile saw that Hawia had fire, so pretending to do him a kindness offered him some. Hawia refused and said, "You no stop shore, you crocodile, you go stop water. You no man all same me". The humiliated crocodile went into the water, saying, "My name alligator [crocodile], all over country I go catch him man" (Landtman, 1917, p. 333).

He adds a version which is essentially identical, except that the man was Iku of Mabuiaġ; he went to get fire from a woman of Skabadara, near Dauan, and when successful he lighted a signal fire on Dauan and gave fire to all the Mabuiaġ people (p. 334).

### (iii) KAURALAIG (SOUTHERN ISLANDERS)

#### MOA

As previously stated the island known as Moa consists of a western hilly portion of which the native name is Moa and a low-lying eastern portion which is known as It. The Italaig appear to have been considerably influenced by their contact and intermarriage with the Badulega, from whom they were separated by a shallow channel which averages about a mile and a half wide. I am inclined to believe that as a general rule the fights of the Mabuiaġ and Badu people with those of the island of Moa were mainly with the western folk and rarely with the Italaig.

There was a good deal of communication between Moa and Muralūġ. The people had the same dialect and they traded and intermarried with each other. Moa is thus the most northerly of that group of islands which the Kauralaig inhabit. The skulls, of a low type, collected by Dr S. MacFarlane in Mabuiaġ and now in the British Museum (O. Thomas, *J.L.I.* xiv, 1885, p. 328), were trophies obtained by the Mabuiaġlaig from their Moalaig enemies. References to such feuds are given in the sections on Mabuiaġ and Badu (cf. v, pp. 308, 316).

Very little information is available about the natives of Moa. Naiama, the oldest living man in Moa, told W. H. MacFarlane that there was an *angul* of *kodal* (crocodile) at Poid on the west side of Moa and one for *baidam* (shark) on the east side. This looks like a dual division of the island, such as probably occurred formerly on Mabuiaġ, and we may also assume that the *kodal* men were the warriors who similarly lived on the western side of the island. The totems are given in vol. v, p. 155. I was informed that the marriage customs were the same as those in Muralūġ. Dead bodies were placed on a light framework supported on four posts, *sara* [cf. v, p. 260; pl. XV, fig. 3]; the head was removed and also the scapulae, *kolab*, and fibulae, *nyarauipila*. These are said to have been put in a basket, *gina*; the rest of the body was buried. For mourning, *bud*, I was told, the men painted themselves red for five days; for a friend, they painted themselves black and had a dance and feast (Haddon, 1890, p. 427). A "big man" could raise a wind by painting himself black all over and whirling a small bullroarer, *wanes*. He could also "kill" the wind, *usimaiġa gub* (v, p. 352). A fine old dugong charm provided with the riddled fibulae of the *maidelaig* who had made it was collected by me in 1888 (v, p. 338, pl. XVI, fig. 1). Treatment of strangers (v, p. 278). Omens (v, p. 361).

I am indebted to W. H. MacFarlane for the following information on the local trade.

Payment for canoes consisted of *alup* and *bu* shells, *wap* (dugong harpoon) and *bag* (human lower jaw-bones); these were sent to Mabuiag and thence to Saibai and Mawata. *Alup* [bailer shells, *Melo*] were sent to New Guinea, where they were used as saucepans, etc., in exchange for daggers of cassowary bone, *doad* and *sukūri* arrows, and *upi*. The trade with Muralūg consisted, amongst other things, of small *upi* (bamboo knives) which were used for cutting up dugong, threaded *kusa* seeds [*C'oir lachrymac*] and large bamboos, *merop* [*morap*]. The Muralūg people traded these to Cape York. Badu and Moa sent human skulls to Tutu to exchange for canoes, one head would purchase an ordinary canoe and a lower jaw a small canoe.

The most important folk tale we have from Moa is that of Aukum or Aukwum, who lived at Boigu on the northern coast of Moa in the district of It (v, p. 56). Her baby boy, Tiai, was killed by a brother of hers and his spirit went to Boigu, where he rapidly grew up and married. Aukum followed him, first to Badu, then to Mabuiag and Dauan, and stocked reefs with fish as she went. On arriving at Boigu she met Tiai and spoke to him, he saw his bones his mother was wearing. He told his *mariget*, his wives' relatives, how to make a funeral platform, *sara* (if he had not spoken he could have become a man again). Tiai instituted the funeral dance and finally jumped into a hole in the ground, whither he bade his mother to follow him, which she did and also became a *mari*. It seems strange that a death ceremony should arise from Moa, but it did not do so from the wilder part of the island. The carrying of bones of a deceased relative was a Kauralaig and Miriam custom, and occurs in some parts of New Guinea as well as in Australia, cf. pp. 337-40.

There is an interesting tale about Gelam (III, p. 248; v, p. 38; VI, p. 23), the versions of which are very consistent, and the story explains why Moa is so infertile as compared with Mer, though previously Mer was not fruitful (v, p. 115). The only other tale is about six blind brothers who were fishermen. They eventually recovered their sight and killed the *dōgai* who stole their fish. All were turned into rocks (v, p. 18). It is stated in the Bomai-Malu legend of the Miriam (VI, p. 41) that Barat of Moa taught the Western islanders how to catch turtle with the sucker-fish.

#### PRINCE OF WALES GROUP

This group consists of the large island of Muralūg and numerous smaller islands, Narupai (Horn I.), Maurura (Wednesday I.), Waiben (Thursday I.), Gialug (Friday I.), Keriri (Hammond I.) and others.

The earlier voyagers, Cook, Bligh, and Edwards, do not give much information about the natives. Edwards landed on Muralūg in 1791: "On traversing the shore [apparently the north coast of Muralūg], we discovered a morai, or rather a heap of bones. There were amongst them two human skulls, the bones of some large animals [dugong], and some turtle-bones. They were heaped together in the form of a grave, and a very long paddle, supported at each end by a bifurcated branch of a tree, was laid horizontally amongst it. Near to this, there were marks of a fire having been recently made. The ground about was much footed and wore. . . there were several footpaths which led to this spot" (Hamilton, 1793, p. 121) [cf. v, pp. 259, 260]. Edwards gave the name of Wolf's bay to this spot as the "morning ushered in with the howling of wolves" [dingoes].

Macgillivray (II, p. 3) regarded the "Kowraregas. . . to be a Papuanized colony of

Australians...one might hesitate whether to consider the Kowraregas as Papuans or Australians, so complete is the fusion of the two races. Still the natives of the Prince of Wales' Islands rank themselves with the islanders and exhibit a degree of conscious superiority over their neighbours on the main land and with some show of reason; although themselves inferior to all the other islanders, they have at least made with them the great advance in civilization of having learned to cultivate the ground...which is practised by none of the Australian aborigines". In a footnote he adds: "Dr Latham informs me that the Kowrarega language is undeniably Australian". "They have friendly relations with the other islanders of Torres Strait, but are at enmity with all the mainland tribes except the Gúdang" (p. 4).

"The food of these blacks varies with the season of the year, and the supply is irregular and often precarious. Shell fish and fish are alone obtainable all the year round—collecting the former is exclusively a female occupation, but fishing is chiefly practised by the men" (II, p. 20). He describes the fish-hooks and line, turtle and dugong fishing, their vegetable food and method of cooking, for which see vol. IV.

With regard to the Possession Islands in the mouth of Endeavour Strait, Jukes says (I, p. 146), "their inhabitants are few and scattered. We had one or two interviews with them while surveying Endeavour Strait in the Bramble, and they were always peaceable and well disposed, and appeared to have communicated with Europeans before".

#### MAURURA (WEDNESDAY ISLAND)

I have found only a few notes about Wednesday Island, Maurura. Brockett (1836, p. 37) says the natives "had tortoise and other shells for traffic. Their houses were not so neatly made as the huts in other parts of the Straits, and they were built in a different shape, somewhat resembling that of a tent".

"The *Tigris* and *Isabella* anchored on the north side of Wednesday Island [August 2, 1837]. . . a group of about twenty Indians appeared on the beach hallooing and waving boughs, and inviting him [Mr Lewis] to land; which he did, and found them principally to be females. One of them, an elderly woman, told him that she had then with her ten daughters besides more children in the bush" [there must have been some misunderstanding in this]. . . [They landed at] the head of the bay where the Indians lived, and found six canoes on the beach and a large number of Indians standing around their huts, whose appearance was not of the most friendly complexion. However, after a short interview, they separated without a quarrel. . . . At a short distance from the beach, Mr Lewis found a heap of sea-elephant [dugong] bones, collected in the form of a grave (*Naut. Mag.* 1837, pp. 804, 805).

Moseley visited Wednesday Island in September 1874. He says (1879, p. 363):

Close to the shore were two native graves, and the remains of shelters made of branches and of fires. The island is often visited by the natives of the Straits when on their voyages, but not permanently inhabited. There were two graves placed side by side, consisting of oblong mounds of sand, each with six wooden posts placed regularly at the corners and middles of the longer sides. The posts had many of them large shells placed on their tops as decorations; the mounds were decorated with ribs of Dugongs, placed regularly along their sides and arching over them, whilst Dugong skulls, all without the tusks, and large shells adorned their summits.



The Rev. W. H. MacFarlane says that formerly Wednesday Island had three hundred inhabitants, who like their neighbours were a backward people, but they were good workers in turtle-shell.

## KERIRI (HAMMOND ISLAND)

The few notes on this island refer to initiation (v, p. 217); funeral customs (p. 261); spirit canoes and other pictographs (p. 359). Formerly there was a large population, but soon it is to be entirely vacated by order of the Protector of Aborigines (MacFarlane, 1922).

## WAIBEN (THURSDAY ISLAND)

The saw-fish dance that I saw in this island in 1888 (*Internat. Arch. für Ethnographie*, VI, 1893, p. 146, pl. xiii; and v, p. 342) was performed by natives of Nāgīr and Muralūg, and possibly of other islands; therefore it was not necessarily a local ceremony.

## MURALŪG

A few notes were given by Dr Creed to W. Ridley (*J.A.I.* VII, 1878, p. 267); he says: "The Korarīga, the people who inhabit the Prince of Wales Island, use bows and arrows which they obtain by barter from islands farther north. The Korarīga had a European living with them for twenty years. He is supposed to be a Frenchman. He made fish-hooks for them with iron obtained from wrecks. There is no cultivation [of the soil]."

According to Bicknell (1895, p. 30)

the only thing the natives of Prince of Wales Island are "proficient at is spear-throwing; they will select a tree 150 to 200 yards off and will hit it nearly every time. . . the only ornaments I saw on these people were necklaces made of short pieces of bamboo, each about an inch in length; these are strung together and are worn both by the men and women. . . [they] have a curious fashion of mourning for the dead; it is by cutting off a joint of the mother's finger to mark the loss of each child that dies; therefore the mother of a large family, if she is unfortunate enough to lose many of her children, is soon reduced to the stumps of her fingers only. [He does not say whether he saw this latter mutilation or merely heard of it; it seems very improbable.] They are allowed to kill the weakly children instead of rearing them, and this they invariably do."

I have compiled all the information then known to me about Muralūg (1890, pp. 427-37). Further data about this and neighbouring islands will be found in vol. v: totems, p. 155; dual grouping, pp. 174, 177; food taboos for women, p. 196 and p. xii Errata; infanticide, p. 198; seclusion of girls, p. 204; eatamania, p. 207; courtship, pp. 225, 226; marriage, p. 229; polygyny, p. 230; compensation to parents-in-law, p. 231; funeral customs at Muralūg, p. 259; taboos, p. 270; treatment of wives, p. 274; names, p. 283; warfare, p. 300; war dance, p. 304; love magic, p. 328; wind-making, p. 352; a white woman regarded as a ghost, p. 355; shooting stars as ghosts, p. 360; omens, p. 361.

The initiation of the lads at Muralūg took place in the *kwod* of the *kula augud* (v, p. 216). The *kwod* with its screen, *waus*, was very similar to that at Nāgīr (v, p. 366); it does not seem possible to determine the exact nature of the *kula augud* "totem stones" (at Nāgīr analogous stones represented long deceased persons or were in memory of the more recent dead and even possibly of young persons). The peculiar feature of the initiation was that a bullroarer (v, pl. XX, fig. 3) was swung. A *terai* or death dance was held at the *kwod* at Waiiiza (near Port Lihou on the south side of the island), during which two men dressed

as *markai*, a *boi urai* and a *kutau urai* (perhaps these signify the senior animal-mask and the junior animal-mask), danced on each side of a man dressed as a female spirit, *ipika-markai*, and behind them danced a *basinat*, who was the equivalent of the *danilkau* of Mabuiag (cf. v, p. 256). The men wore masks, *buk*. According to a fragmentary tale (v, p. 55), this death dance was brought by Tabu (who doubtless was Naga, in the guise of a snake) to Muralug from Nāgīr. I am not sure whether the *mūri* there referred to were merely the spirits of the dead, *mari*, or spirits, *mūri*, connected with waterspouts, if there be any real distinction between them (v, pp. 355, 359). If the latter, as we shall see later, this suggests that the dance was also a turtle ceremony. The spread of such ceremonies from Daru has already been noted. The *kuod duar* on Muralug was associated with Kwoiam (v, p. 373).

The only Muralug tales are: a typical *dōgai* one which accounts for two constellations (v, p. 16); the stranding of the first coconut on Muralug (III, p. 224; v, p. 103); and the mangrove and the crab (III, p. 224; v, p. 206), which is the only eumulative tale we collected. Hammond Rock off Hammond Island is a drowned man, his wives drowned themselves and were changed into rocks (*Ipile* or wives) on the adjacent reef (v, p. 17). Bia of Badu introduced into Muralug the catching of turtle by means of the sucker-fish (v, p. 44). A native of Nalgi, Double Island, had fire between the thumb and index of his left hand, trouble arose and the people were transformed into all kinds of animals; of these Egun, a large bat, took fire to Mawata and apparently fire was also distributed to the islands by the other animals (v, p. 17).

Dr Rivers obtained positive information from Tarbueket and Wallaby that Muralug men married women from Nagir, Three Sisters, Moa and Badu (but not Mabuiag), though the women only married men belonging to the group. Tarbucket said that they frequently used to marry mainland women, which is most probably correct, though Wallaby denied it. The relationship system and functions of *walwam*, etc. agree exactly with those of Mabuiag. Wallaby seemed certain that any *augul* could be eaten and that a man could marry a girl with the same totem, "suppose girl he like him". The *kula* totem, like that of Moa, is a "stone with face belong man" [cf. v, p. 366].

## II. CENTRAL ISLANDS

### KULKALAIG

Nāgīr, p. 68; Yam-Tutu, p. 71; Conditions in the Central islands one hundred years ago, p. 84; Waraber, p. 86; Paremar, p. 87; Aurid, p. 88; Māsig, p. 90; Umaga, p. 93; Damut, p. 93; Manar, p. 94.

### NĀGIR

According to Jukes (I, p. 155) "Captain Blackwood landed upon Mount Ernest [in 1845], and found a group of huts much superior to any we ever saw in Australia, a small grove of cocoa-nuts, and another of large bamboos. . . . In the huts were found parcels of human bones, ornamented with red ochre, a mask or hideous face made of wood and ornamented with the feathers of some struthious bird [cassowary], and one or two bundles of small wooden tubes, eight inches long and half an inch in diameter, the use of which we never

could discover" [perhaps they were the tubular bowls of tobacco pipes]. Referring to the same visit, Melville (1867, p. 196) records "painted skulls, household gods of grotesque shape, made of tortoiseshell and emu feathers, bundles of bones, etc."

Macgillivray says: "Nearly the whole tribe are now upon Sue Island [Waraber] (on one of their periodical migrations, p. 35), although their headquarters are at Mount Ernest. The men in the canoe [off Waraber] differed in no material respect from the natives of the Prince of Wales Islands on the one hand, and those of Darnley Island on the other. Many had the characteristic faint oval sear on one shoulder, some wore the hair in moderately long pipe-like ringlets, while others had it cut close. All were perfectly naked, and the only ornaments worn were the large round pearl-shell on the breast. . . . We saw several bamboo bows and bundles of arrows stowed away under the platform" [of the canoe] (II, p. 40). One "quiet, sedate, good-natured old man" had spears and a throwing stick "both of which were precisely similar to those of Cape York, from which place they had probably been procured" (II, p. 34).

Macgillivray's account of the houses and cultivated plants is given in vol. IV, pp. 97, 150. The carefully tended "herb used as tobacco" was undoubtedly the true tobacco. He saw a man at work on a canoe, which was about half finished.

"Not far from the village [which consisted of a single line of huts, with accommodation probably for 150 people], under the shade of an aged mimusops tree on the outskirts of the wood, we observed a cleared oval space where ten human skulls—of former members of the tribe, as we were informed—were arranged upon a plank raised on stones a foot or so from the ground. The skulls were mostly old and weather-worn, and some of them had pandanus seeds stuck in the orbits by way of eyes. In front was a large smooth stone painted red and black, and partially imbedded in the earth, and beside it were some painted human leg and arm bones, shells and other ornaments. Behind, some thirty or forty skulls of turtle were arranged on the ground in several rows, forming a triangle" [see *Nigori* and other turtle ceremonies, p. 230, and my remarks on pp. 351-3; it is clear that success in catching turtle depended on the help of the spirits of deceased men, especially those of former successful hunters]. Macgillivray's account of the *wows* [*waus*] is copied in IV, p. 366, he adds: "The natives must have left the island either on account of its being now the turtling season, or else from want of water. A small deep well behind the village, apparently the only one in the place, was almost entirely dried up" (II, pp. 36-8).

The following information was given to me in 1888 by Kuduma, a native of Nāgir, and by Mrs Jardine, who had previously lived for some time on the island (cf. *J.A.I.* XIX, 1890, p. 420).

Parents used to kill their infants when they considered the family was large enough, more especially girls, as it was "too hard work" to provide for them. The custom was to bury the newly-born baby in the sand. Sometimes parents would exchange children. If a married couple had no children they might be accommodated by another more fortunate pair, and presents would be given in exchange; in such cases the original parents had no claim whatever on the child afterwards. These transactions usually took place when the child was about eight months old (Mrs Jardine).

If a married woman likes another man, they go into the bush, and she gives him a present. If they are found out, the woman is not punished, but they "row" (probably a mild kind of fight) the man, "when finish shake hands"—"Woman he steal man" (Kuduma).

In order to infuse courage into boys, a warrior, *k'erketegerkai* (*kerket*, anger, rage; *garka*, man, vol. III), would take the eye and tongue of a dead man (probably of a slain enemy), and after mincing them and mixing with his urine, would administer the compound in the following manner. He would tell the boy to shut his eyes and not look, adding, "I give you proper *kaikai*". The warrior then stood up behind the sitting youth, and putting the latter's head between his (the man's) legs, would feed him. After this dose, "heart belong boy no fright" (Kuduma; see v, p. 301).

The dead were either placed on a framework supported by posts or they were buried. Food, a coconut shell full of water, and possibly a bamboo tobacco pipe, would be hung on to the posts in the former case, or placed upon the grave if buried. There was always a fire (Mrs Jardine). The corpse when placed on a framework was either surrounded with a mat, or a mat might be placed beneath the body and coconut leaves above it. When decomposition had set in, the skull was removed and put into "hard ground, so that smell he go". All the relatives looked for food. The skull was eventually exhumed, made "flash", and put in a basket. The body might be buried immediately after death if the skull was not required, as for instance in the case of some old people; but if young people died, the skull would be preserved as a memento. In addition to preserving the skull, the Muralûg men take some or all of the bones; but this is not the Nāgir fashion (Kuduma). This does not tally with what Maegillivray saw, as mentioned above. A description of the funeral arrangements for Magau (Billy) of Nāgir is given in vol. v, p. 258.

Two decorated divinatory skulls are described and figured by Oldfield Thomas (Copping, 1884, pp. 5-7, pls. i, ii).

A short account of the initiation ceremony is given in v, p. 212; it should have been added that during the period of seclusion the *kernge* were not allowed to see any woman, nor their fathers. They were not permitted to play or talk, but must sit quiet all the time with bended head; a *maidelaig* watches the lads to see that they obey these rules. They sleep in the *kwod* during this period. For a list of the Nāgir totems see v, p. 155.

There was a *mawa* ceremony to ensure a good crop of *ubar* fruit (v, p. 348).

A culture hero, Naga, according to a Tutu tale (v, p. 48) came from New Guinea; he was an expert in making *urui krar*, or masks in the form of animals, and in singing, dancing, and in everything relating to the *kwod*; he also taught the men how to conduct the *taiai*, or death dance. Waiat of Mabniag came to Naga to learn how to beat the drum. Naga gave dance masks to the men of Tutu, Waraber and Moa (v, p. 49). Tabu, a Nāgir man with a snake's head (probably he was an important man of the snake, *tabu*, clan), instructed the Muralûg men in the *taiai* (pp. 236, 344 and v, p. 55).

As in other islands there was a manes cult of some sort, as is shown by the retention of the skulls of relatives, or of their bones as well, and by the stones in the *kwod* on which faces were painted (v, pp. 258, 364).

A note in J. Bruce's MS. says that the Nāgir men fished for the *maiu* turtle (iv, p. 160) in the same manner as for the green turtle; they went for them to Ninepin rock, about 11 miles east of Nāgir. A man dived on to the turtle and fastened the rope on it and when they came to the surface and the turtle opened its mouth they put hot stones into its mouth and so they killed it; the stones were heated previously on the canoe.

The Rev. W. H. MacFarlane says that formerly Nāgir supported a population of several hundred people; there is now but a tiny population, partly descendants of a Samoan. One

old native, Sarogo, usually called "Old Cockroach", son of Mori the last chief of Nāgir, told him in 1925 that about 1870 canoes from Nāgir and the Three Sisters assembled at Wednesday Island because they had heard that the people of Muralūg had killed a ship's company and were celebrating the occasion.

A reconnoitring party of white men landed at the spot where Mori and his people were holding revel and made them a present of some tobacco. A day or two later another ship came and landed a party of armed men. The officer in charge brought an interpreter and made inquiries about the recent tragedy. Mori and his people knew nothing about it and had not then been near the place. The children fled away at the approach of the punitive expedition and some of the men rushed to their canoes. Mori and a man from Three Sisters were taken to the bush and shot. Sarogo was about ten years of age at the time when his father was shot after the "Sperwer" tragedy of 1870.

Just outside Sarogo's house, in the shade of a big tree, is a roughly hewn piece of stone about 6 ft. high. From one particular spot it bears some resemblance to a man and to give it more suggestiveness the top is surmounted by a "hat" of round coral. It is called Nagi. At one time when the population was large and the *zogo* man practised his rites, Nagi dwelt in the bush and was held in repute. "Before", said Sarogo, "every man he must bring some present to this one; when he carry it, he must not walk proper, he bend down and walk on his knees."

Many years ago, a trading firm placed Nagi in his present position to serve as a stimulus to the islanders, who might want to adopt the "go slow" policy. "Plenty men he frightened for that one. He think some devil stop inside." MacFarlane saw a bunch of dry coconuts hanging from a convenient branch above the head of Nagi. So it appears that his powers are not entirely forgotten.

About 1925 a couple of well-carved heavy wooden representations of sucker-fish (*gapu*), about 2 ft. long, were found in the bush and brought to MacFarlane. Sarogo told him they were "old time".

In vol. VI, p. 34, it is stated that Bomai visited Nāgir in the form of a crayfish, *kaier*, but went away and changed into a canoe. Maino told MacFarlane that Pinecar accompanied the Brethren and went to Nāgir where he became the *augal* of the island, but nothing further has been recorded about him, and there is no indication of the cult of the Brethren on Nāgir. A small island rock, 103 ft. in height, about half-a-mile north of Nāgir is marked on the chart as Peenācar.

Landtman (1917, p. 135) was told by a Mawata man that Naga lived in a stone on Nāgir, when he spoke to it the stone opened or shut as he wished; he lived on fish. I give a tale (v, p. 48) of the coming of Naga and Waiat from New Guinea, and the introduction of death dances, *taiai*, into the islands, and on p. 49 of Naga's skill in making masks; indeed he had the reputation of being the instructor of ceremonies to the Western islanders, and perhaps as Tabu (v, p. 55) visited Muralūg. He was intimately connected with Waiat; a further discussion of these two heroes will be found in the section on "The Hero Cults".

#### YAM-TUTU

These two islands, Turtled-backed Island and Warrior Island, must be taken together, as the inhabitants are the same people.

The first contact with foreigners was in 1792, when owing to an unprovoked attack on

English ships the island of Tutu was named Warrior Island. The following account of this occurrence is taken from *Captain Bligh's Second Voyage*, by Ida Lee, 1920.

When between Dungeness Island (Giaka) and Tutu on Sept. 11, 1792, nine canoes containing 8 to 20 men in each paddled towards the ships. "The strongest party came to us [the *Providence*] and made signs that water and food were to be had at Island P [Tutu]. A word they generally use for water is 'Wabbah-Wabbah', at the same time holding up a bamboo and pointing to their throats [I do not know this word]. . . although we offered them ropes they would not come alongside but showed signs of distrust and design. I was considering what these symptoms were, when I saw the 'Assistant' suddenly fire at some canoes, as did our cutter. . . It was now seen that the canoes had made an attack, and that those around us were intending to do the same. . . I settled it [who were to be masters of the situation] by discharging two of the quarter-deck guns with round and grape. The contents of one carried destruction and brought horrible consternation to them, and they fled from their canoes into the sea and swam to windward like porpoises. . . Great fires were now made on the Island P, where we saw about 100 persons" (pp. 187-8). Portlock says: "I was at the masthead for the purpose of hauling out, and at that instant saw some of the Indians in one of the canoes (that had separated from the rest) seize their bows, and without the smallest provocation on our part, discharge several arrows at the people in our cutter. . . I called out the men to arm and fire on them. . . but their first arrows had wounded two men in the boat and one on deck" (one man died on Sept. 24). Portlock made the signal for assistance to the Commodore, "Just at that instant the savages in a large canoe under his starboard bow were observed firing a number of arrows at his ship. . . When we had got some distance from the disabled canoes the remainder of the fleet came to their assistance, and through our glasses we could perceive that they were struck with horror on looking into them. By this, I conclude, some must have been killed or wounded so much as not to be able to get up. They took the disabled canoes in tow, and went over to N, or the Traitor's Isle we may call it. [Portlock called Tutu "N", but Bligh called it "P", and his "N" is Arden's Island (Garboy).] I am extremely sorry to have occasion to alter my opinion of these people, for I had conceived a very favourable one, and from the friendly intercourse we had had with the natives of Island A [Erub] and their fairness in dealing, I had great hopes that our visit to these parts might have established a friendship and made it safe and pleasant for any navigator that might come after us. In the late instance we have proof that they are not to be trusted. Their weapons are extremely dangerous and they are good marksmen. . . the point of one [arrow] about an inch long remains in the loem of an Ash oar and has gone in with such force as to split the oar 2 inches on each side" (pp. 264-7).

Bligh writes (p. 185): "The sails of their canoes are made of matting in an oblong form rudely stitched together. The mast to which it is hoisted consists of 2 bamboo poles, the lower ends fixed close together in the bottom of the canoe and the upper ends extended the width of the sail, from whence it is hoisted travelling upon two guys. Some canoes have two sails. They are always fixed close together in the fore-part of the canoe. We observe them always row well to the windward before they set their sail, and I think they have a piece of plank which they sometimes use as a lee-board". [A drawing by Tobin is given of such a canoe.]

"Lieutenant Tobin, who had great opportunities of observing the natives of Torres Strait while he was in charge of the boat, says of them: 'The natives of the islands are rather under the middle size and by no means well formed, some of them were marked on different parts of the body and all were daubed with grease. In colour they were generally black, and woolly headed, but the hair is not so slothed as in an African. Their beards were not shaved and their legs not more than ordinarily thick. Eyes small and deep-sunk in the head, nose not flat but the septum was perforated, on which part they wear a ring either of shell or fish bone big enough to go on a man's finger. This ring is quite hid nor could we account for the distension of the nose till one of the natives took the ring out. All their ears were slit and the lobe hung down sometimes as low as the chin, the other part perforated and stuck round with small bits of stick. Both men and women

had their shoulders scarified, particularly the left, and none were tattooed. The whole save one or two wore a piece of shell over the lower part of the body. The men were perfectly naked, the women wore an apron of rushes that fastened above the hips and fell down below the knees. Their ornaments were not very numerous. From a woman on Island H [Damut], I got a large ear ornament as big as a child's foot, made of wood, and they wore necklaces of the panama and other shells; and bracelets of coconut plaiting were worn by both sexes as well as round the ankles and below and above the knee. Most of the men wore a strong case of matting [*kadik*] that extended the whole length of each joint of the arm. From a canoe some masks were procured which we thought were used as a protection for the face in battle [*dari*]. Their weapons were mostly bows and arrows, but a sling, some clubs and spears were observed amongst them. The bows are the most powerful I have yet seen in any Indians, none of our people, nor the two Otahaitans, were able to string them. They are of split bamboo, some are 7 feet; the arrows are equally destructive and pointed with bone and barbed several inches from the point" (pp. 185, 186). [This account applies to the Eastern as well as to the Central islanders.]

The first description we have of the Tutu islanders is that given by Dumont d'Urville in 1840 (1846, IX, pp. 235 ff.). The natives, who knew a few English words (p. 227), were fairly tall and appeared vigorous, though they seemed to lead a most poverty-stricken life. Every day they went fishing to a considerable distance, as fish appeared to be their principal diet. "In order to procure fresh water, the natives carefully collect rain-water, which appears to be abundant in these latitudes. For this, they place under the pandanus, the leaf of which is broad and inclines downwards, large fonts to receive the water. Some of these shells [*Tridacna gigas*] attain considerable dimensions."

"When our officers came to their village, they found all the houses deserted, they had intentionally removed their women and children to put them under cover from the pursuit of the Europeans." They are entirely naked, their skin black and their hair frizzly (*crépus*) and their form slim. "They make a tattooing in relief, which causes fleshy swellings on their shoulders, disposed like the fringe of an epaulet. They appeared to us mild, fearful, and fawning, but perhaps we should have found them hard and fierce if a smaller number of us had fallen into their hands."

The canoes were decorated with rough carvings; the prow of one of them represented an old man with a long beard of seaweed; one canoe was over 10 m. long. At the north point of the island is a great quantity of the bones of dugong destined to decorate the graves. Walls 1 m. to 1½ m. in height and nearly 2 m. thick are built of the ribs of these animals. The skulls were sometimes raised into a pyramid, sometimes they were hung on to neighbouring trees, with large shells. M. Jacquinot describes a grave on the S.S.E. point of the island in the middle of a clump of trees. "A long pole stuck in the ground is inclined at an angle of 45 degrees; above and below it is supported by dugong ribs, which are interlaced to form a raised and compact roof which doubtless covers the body. . . . In front, and upon a fairly broad quadrangular space, the ground is strewn with heads of the same animal; a long and thick wall, almost four feet high, formed of the same materials as the pyramid, surrounds the mausoleum. . . . On going to the village we saw several other graves but these were not remarkable and evidently belonged to the common people. The earth was a little raised on each side, indicating the direction of the body, several shells placed on top were the only visible ornaments" (*l.c.* pp. 329, 330).

M. Montravel (*l.c.* pp. 349, 350) says: "They have a great veneration for graves which they decorate proportionately to the merits of the dead. Amongst these graves two were remarkable for the considerable mass of bones looking like a wall. Around one tumulus of

bones several feet high, one sees the [skulls of dugong]. . . The human skulls, although less numerous upon the graves, are yet in much greater number than this small population would seem to indicate. Whence have they come? to whom have they belonged? It is this we were not able to understand". [As these people raided other islands for heads, the answer is obvious. The heaps of dugong skulls and bones on certain graves were doubtless to commemorate noted hunters of these animals.]

M. Demas (*l.c.* p. 343) describes one woman who had around her neck a kind of gorget of naere; her wrists were crowded with turtleshell bracelets; the lobes of her ears and the cartilage of her nose were pierced with large holes in which she had thrust bundles of little shells; her hair, woolly and covered with a red powder, was cut quite short except for a band of two inches in height which stretched across the head from ear to ear. M. Duroch (*l.c.* p. 351) refers to "File Warrior", though all the other writers term it "File Toud".

Captain Moresby gives (p. 31) a description of a dance on Tutu that was organised for his benefit by Mr Bedford in February 1871:—

"The sight was a striking one, for a huge wood fire threw a broad light on the tall naked figures of the savages, and painted them sharp against the darkness. The old men and women crouched in a ring, and enclosed the dancers, droning out a slow chant, to which they clapped in time, and beat rude drums, always quickening as the dancers quickened. These gave us a battle dance, and chased their enemies with guttural cries, tossing their braceleted arms, and heads decked with long cassowary plumes, as they rushed: their eyes flashing, and the whole body alive with fierce excitement, till they looked more like evil spirits than men. The dance was a perfect study from reality; they made signs of all their actions of war, drew the bow and threw missiles, and bounded on their enemies at last and slew them, with a semblance that was frightfully like reality. Better things were the picture dances representing scenes in daily life, such as spearing the dugong, fishing, love making; and the last and most graceful of all was one which illustrated the coming of the north-west monsoon, and the consequent planting of yams, taro, and sweet potatoes—a poem in a dance. Nothing more perfectly graceful could be seen than their movements, as, rapidly gliding round the fire with swaying bodies and inflected limbs, they showed how the wind blew, how the ground was turned up and the seed sown, and ended with a joyous dance."

Seventeen years later I saw similar dances in Tutu, Muralög, Mabuiag and Mer, but at that time, and still more so ten years later, the natives were less "primitive", though, doubtless, some of them had actually taken part in fighting and the subsequent rejoicings when successful; it is probable that in 1871 the movements of all the dances had long been traditional.

A note in *Petermanns Geogr. Mitt.* Bd. 18, 1872, p. 254 on "Die Insel Tud, etc." with reference to an article by Chester in *The Queensland Express*, Jan. 14 and Feb. 18, 1871, says that on account of the bad reputation of the islanders, the island had been avoided since 1792, when Captain Bligh's ships, *Assistant* and *Providence*, were attacked. Captain Banner established a fishing station for bêche-de-mer on Tutu in 1869. The graves seen by Chester were decorated with bones of dugong, turtle and human skulls. The population consisted of some forty-three men with their families. Many of the numerous children were adopted from other islands. The islanders have trading relations with the New Guinea coast between Talbot and Bristow Islands [Boigu and Bobo]. Natives of other islands who have the misfortune to be cast ashore on Tutu are murdered if caught below highwater mark, but if they escape into the bush their lives are spared.

The inhabitants of Yam and Tutu are the same people and I was told that when the



chief left Yam to go to Tutu he appointed a deputy to act during his absence. Probably very few families resided permanently in Tutu, as very little garden produce could be grown there, for Yam was really the garden of Tutu and freshwater was carried thence to Tutu in long lengths of bamboo, as well as in the ordinary coconut water vessels (1890, p. 408).

Tutu lies in the centre of very large reefs which afford prolific fishing grounds for dugong, turtle, numerous kinds of fish, and especially shell-fish—the pearl-shell, *Conus*, *Melo* (for bailers and saucepans) formed important articles for trade. Thus the island was a valuable possession, and it is not surprising that the natives were skilful sailors and noted warriors. It is significant that all the accounts of fighting refer to Tutu and not to Yam, and it is probable that war-parties usually started from Tutu.

These circumstances naturally were reflected in the socio-religious life of the people. Thus the rain-making rite with the stone image *maidam* (v, p. 352), the *mawu* ceremony at which a masked man performed, and the *ubarau zogo*, a shrine with a small stone figure, *met*, and other objects, were to ensure a plentiful supply of *ubar* (Mimusops) fruit (v, pp. 347, 348); the *garig kap* was held when fruit was ripe and the yams and sweet-potatoes were ready for use; the dancers wore masks (v, p. 346); the wooden tablet, *madub* or *bigu*, decorated with human bones, “belonged” to sweet-potatoes and yams as well as to turtle; and the stone image of Mudu Kurusa, with whom Sida had connection (pl. II, fig. 2). All these were concerned with making gardens fruitful and appropriately were on Yam. The *wiwai* was a large heavy stone at which a rite was performed to enable men to secure *gapu* (sucker-fish) for catching turtle (v, p. 335).

On Tutu I obtained a large piece of pumice on which a human face was carved which was used in evil magic (v, p. 363), and there is a banyan tree covered with dugong bones which was said to be the shrine of a spirit that gave or withheld success in dugong hunting (iv, p. 171). Probably many of the rites connected with warfare were performed on Tutu.

It is interesting to note the restriction of the two great ceremonial occasions to Tutu and Yam respectively.

On Tutu was the *kwod* in which totemic initiation took place (v, pp. 208–12); we may regard this ceremony as belonging to the older culture, but the newer cult was represented merely by a small rite at a *kupai* of Sigai near the *kwod* (v, p. 377).

On Yam was the *kwod* which contained the shrines of Sigai and Maiau. I have already given the myth of origin (v, pp. 64–6, 375) and a description and restoration of the shrines (v, pp. 373–8, pl. XXII). In a subsequent section on Hero Cults I give an account by MacFarlane of the annual ceremony, *Augūdau-ai* (this may mean “the ancestor of the *Augūd*”), and also a discussion of the Cult of the Brethren. This newer cult evidently dwarfed the earlier observances in Yam.

MacFarlane says (MS.) that the *Augūdau gerkei* [Mabuiag, *garka*, man] were for *kursi*: (1) Gana and his sons Mabua and Zabi; (2) Morkan and his son Kagn; Gana and Morkan were sons of Dudigab. For *kodal*: (3) Guza, (4) Azabu and (5) Ausa, sons of Irwaw, but of different mothers who were sisters; (6) Yabu (son of Sida whose brother was Deri); Ausa was about seventy-eight when MacFarlane wrote about 1926; he was a great sorcerer and had “plenty things for spoil man”. Irwaw was a “proper bad man” who stayed by himself in “place belong other people, he no savvy” [but if he did not know about the *Augūd*, I do not see how his sons belonged to it]. Irwaw’s father was Kausu, whose brother was Amia.

The following are given in vol. v: list of totems, p. 155; list of clans, p. 171; dual grouping of clans, p. 173; food tabooed to women, p. 196; treatment of the umbilical cord, p. 197; seclusion of girls, p. 202; catamenia, p. 206; the *kwod* on Tutu and initiation of lads, pp. 208-12; instruction and discipline of lads, pp. 210, 274; courtship, pp. 212, 225; compensation to parents-in-law, pp. 231, 232; funeral rites and mourning, p. 257; mummy, p. 258; mourning, p. 262; chieftainship, p. 268; sexual taboos, p. 271; trade, p. 294; canoe trade, p. 296; story of Tutu visitors killed in Mabuiag, p. 319; a death followed for every man who fell asleep during the war-dance, p. 327; boars' tusks worn as a fighting charm, p. 329; carved image of a turtle to ensure success in turtle-fishing, p. 333; Uzu, *dògai* of Gāba, or Gebar, wanted to marry a Yam man, p. 354.

In September 1914 I went with my daughter to Yam for a few hours in order to visit my old friend Maino. I found him greatly excited over something he had "saved up" for me, which he thought might belong to Sigai and Maiau, but of which all memory had perished. He took us into a secluded spot in the bush, called Konakan, which had devolved to him from his ancestors. There he showed us a few large slabs and blocks of stone resting on the ground and a number of smaller ones which were covered with grooves and oval depressions.

Those slabs shown in pl. II, fig. 1, are recumbent and evidently *in situ*; the nearer one in the photograph measures 60 × 38 in. and the other 51 × 60 in. The best marked depressions on the upper surface of these stones have the following measurements in inches: 14 × 13, 16 × 12, 17 × 10, 18 × 13, 21 × 14. The grooves measure:  $9 \times \frac{1}{2}$ ,  $10 \times \frac{1}{4}$ ,  $10 \times \frac{1}{2}$ ,  $11 \times \frac{1}{4}$ ,  $11 \times \frac{7}{8}$ ,  $11\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{7}{8}$ ,  $13 \times \frac{3}{4}$ ,  $14 \times \frac{1}{2}$ .

Nearby is a large squared block, shown in pl. I; measures 67 in. long, 23 wide, and 17 high; on its upper surface are five deep depressions, all about 20 in. long, which vary from 7-12 in. in width; there are also two grooves.

I much regret that the very short time at my disposal did not permit me to make further investigation, but it is evident that this was a factory for making—or at least for grinding—stone implements. Naturally one would assume that stone axe-heads were made here, but I do not know of any authentic stone axe-blades of local manufacture having been collected in Torres Straits; *Tridacna* shell was employed for blades (IV, p. 125). Adzes are unknown. It is however possible that the large axe blades that were so numerous on Kiwai Island, and were often of very large size, were made here. Landtman (1927, pp. 33, 214) was informed that they and stone-headed clubs came from the Torres Straits Islands, and that the stone was obtained from the bottom of the sea.

An alternative suggestion is that stone heads for clubs were made here: if so, this may have contributed to the superiority of the Yam-Tutu warriors over those of the other islands. We shall never know whether—as so many civilised peoples have done—these islanders traded arms to other places, which eventually were to be used against the makers of the weapons, or whether the outsiders obtained them by the chances of war. In my account of the stone-headed clubs (IV, pp. 190-3) I stated that "Owing to the absence of suitable rock the mainlanders [of the Fly River and Daudai districts] must have obtained their weapons by trade or loot". At Mabuiag, Wilkin was told that all stone-headed clubs came from Dauan, Saibai and Mer. They certainly were not made on Saibai nor by the Miriam; there may have been a factory on Dauan, but I consider this very doubtful, though possibly a few implements of granite may have been made there. It looks as if one factory has at last been discovered. [Cf. p. 248 for Wawa's grinding stone.]

On the same occasion Maino showed us a shrine in the bush which consisted of a carved stone image of a sitting person (pl. II, fig. 2) surrounded by three stones, and close by was a giant clam (*Tridacna*) shell. I understood that the figure represented Mudu Kurusa, the old woman whom the Yam people gave to Sida as a temporary wife (v, p. 28). The stones are those on which Sida, his wife and his "mate" (or friend) sat down. In another version Sida went to Tutu (v, p. 32). Later on I discuss the tales about Sida, or Soida as he probably should be called.

The following information was collected by the Rev. W. H. MacFarlane, mainly from our mutual friend Maino.

Formerly the women trimmed their hair, using for this purpose a bamboo knife, and the same implement was used by the men in cutting their long beards. Sometimes their whiskers were worn in long streamers with crocodile teeth hanging from the ends in order to indicate that they were in a ferocious mood; or the face might be shaved, leaving a moustache and chin-tuft. Water in a hollow stone or in a shell, the inside of which had been blacked with charcoal, served them for a mirror.

The Tutu men had close association with the inhabitants of the Daudai coast of New Guinea and joined in the ceremonies at Mawata. Occasionally marriages took place, and Maino had married Pauna, a Mawata woman. The Tutu men did not visit Australia. Badu and Moa sent human skulls to Tutu to exchange for canoes (p. 65).

The red paint used on ceremonial and other occasions was obtained from Coconut Island, Masig and Aurid, and also from down the Queensland coast. "Very dear this thing", and even canoes were exchanged for it.

A "spear" of red gum, *nubur*, was also purchased from the Australians. It was used in cases of sickness, being heated and put on the part of the body which was affected.

*Nubur* was also mixed with human blood and a lamp placed on the forehead to "send away bad dream". A man hunting in a canoe would also use it "so he look out good".

A *markai* (the Eastern *lamar*) is the spirit of one who is dead, and a *mari* (the Eastern *mar*) that of a living person, or perhaps his shadow. When a person is sleeping soundly his *mari* is absent from his body and so one must not awaken him rudely lest the *mari* fail to return.

On the death of a man at Yam, a cane rope was stretched between coconut trees outside his house and rattles of *goa* nuts were strung on the rope. When the *markai* returned to re-enter the body, it became entangled in the line and so gave warning of its approach to the people within the house. "Plenty men he frightened that one. But some time another man he no savee where that rope stop, he go walk about, he foul that line, all them rattle sing out."

At the time of death, the body was placed on a low platform. Some distance from each end a flexible mangrove pole was erected in the ground. A strong coconut-fibre rope was attached to the top of each pole, and to its free end was tied a heavy ball, *kukan* or *kokan*, of *tulu* wood—the same wood as that used for making the dugong harpoon, *wap*.

A number of men stood at either side, one being the leader. At a signal, each leader took hold of the ball and pulled it till the rope was taut, then he let it go suddenly, the balls met with a loud impact and all the men fell on the ground and looked up to the sky. This was repeated several times. The men kept looking up for "black" in the sky; when they saw a small black cloud they knew "that man's spirit he go up now". The poles were removed after the ceremony and the body buried. The ceremony was called *kukan*.

[I do not know of any similar custom in Torres Straits or elsewhere, and it seems improbable that it was usually done. It is possible that it was a pole of this sort that M. Jacquinot saw in 1840, which was inclined over a grave of an evidently important man.]

A method called *mari maidelaig* was employed to discover the cause of a death. The body was taken outside the house after sunset, placed on a mat, and on either side a man lay down as though asleep, but in reality very alert. By and by, the *markai* of the deceased came out of the body and went to one of the houses. Presently it returned with a *mari* which it escorted to the body. As it looked down at the body, the two watchers knew that the man had come to his death by foul means and that the *mari* of the perpetrator was acknowledging his guilt. When the *mari* had left and re-entered his own house, the two men rose and hastened to the house of the dead man where the relatives were awaiting the revelation. The watchers told what they had seen, the body was brought inside and the friends proceeded to the house of the unfortunate man whose *mari* had betrayed him and they avenged the death of their relative.

Sometimes the procedure took place after the burial. The watchers went to the grave by night and presently the *mari* [? *markai*] would come hovering round the spot and indicate by gestures how the deceased man had met his death—whether by poisoning or other form of “*puri-puri*”. On its shoulder it might carry a turtle; then the watchers knew that there had been jealousy in the hunt.

A third method of death-divination was as follows: On the fourth or fifth day after burial (“no bury man deep, only about one foot”) when all were asleep, the brother-in-law, *imi* (v, pp. 136, 148), of the dead man went quietly with friends to the burial place where the body lay with the head looking to the west (“he buried that way ‘cause he look that way and say ‘I belong there’, he no want come back; ‘spose he look sun he come up [that is towards the east], then he want come back”). The friends crawled on all-fours, then suddenly the *imi* hit the ground violently with a heavy stick quite close to the head of the corpse causing it to “jump up outside sand”; he then took the head and carried it to the sea. All the men followed, lay down on the sand and feigned to sleep. “They want to find out who kill that man.” The head was put into the water, it gurgled as it sank down and then it rose again. All those lying down then watched very carefully. If the head, with its nose just above the water, floated shorewards, it meant that someone on the island was responsible, but if it floated in the direction of Sási, Paremar, Moa, or some other island, then someone in that particular island was guilty. At the first opportunity, a party proceeded to that island to kill the sorcerer who had caused the death.

The skull of a deceased relative was employed in divination in various ways and for diverse purposes (v, p. 362). MacFarlane gives the following instance. When a man intended to go out in his canoe in search of dugong or turtle, he prepared his bamboo tobacco pipe, *zab*, inhaled a big mouthful and puffed it into the mouth of the grinning skull of his father, which was hanging up in the house, and said: “This my last tobacco now, I give you smoke, you show me where dugong or turtle he stop”. The smoke coming out from the skull whispered “Whf, whf!” When at sea, the hunter and his friends, with open ears and every sense alert, would presently hear, a little to one side, a dugong faintly blowing “Whf, whf!” Thus the father by means of the creature’s breath was leading it by sound to the place where the hunters waited.

As the first turtle caught at the beginning of the season was being hauled on to the

beach at Tutu, a green coconut was split and the water poured over its back and into its mouth, while the women sang:

*Muwar malu i a*  
*Kagin pudema*  
*Muwar malu i a*  
*Zabaiim pudema.*

When the first turtle of the season was captured, its head had to be removed without cutting the windpipe or breaking the neck vertebrae; it had to be pulled off [presumably a cut was made round the skin of the neck]. The turtle was hung up on a pole on the beach, but it must not be eaten. If the "string" of the neck was severed by cutting, then all the turtle in the sea would know of it and would submerge when the hunter approached, because they do not like having their heads cut off.

*Warfare.* I have given (v, p. 377) an account of divination by means of breaking a coconut before going on a foray. MacFarlane confirms this but was told that if the fracture was irregular one of the attackers would be killed, and he adds that Billy supplemented his information by picking up an empty coconut shell and saying: "This one we split across, for when we go out fishing or looking for something in our canoe, if he straight across then all right, but if part break out, then some man must sink down [be drowned], so we take care and do not go then".

There were various observances to make men courageous, strong, and fearless (v, p. 301). MacFarlane gives confirmatory evidence: When going to a fight, the young Tutu men were given to eat parts of a dried human tongue, eyebrow and penis mixed with sago, and this mixture must be eaten before they could eat *biuu* [iv, p. 135]. "If no *kaikai* this one, he can't *kaikai* that *biuu*." The boys were not told till afterwards that they had actually eaten the parts referred to. He also states that the young untried men drank of the dripping blood of a slain enemy, also "to make them strong". Young men were not allowed to eat the fat of turtle or dugong until they had killed their first man; they must eat the meat only and for the same purpose.

MacFarlane says that when going on a foray a small feathered head-dress, *dari* [*dëri*], was carried wrapped in a mat, to be worn in the fight, while the large *dari* was worn in dances [iv, pp. 37-9]; the men also adorned themselves with the cream-coloured young leaf of the coconut palm [*tu*, iv, p. 201] so that they might know one another and distinguish friend from foe.

The usual weapons were: the bow and bone-tipped arrow; the sword made of strong wood with teeth of the tiger-shark fastened into it on either side was used for slashing or else simply held out firmly so that the enemy might thrust upon it and gash himself; the stone-headed club with which a man was struck on the temple—"No good you hit him on top head, only along side": and the spear.

Maino informed me that the Tutu warriors usually so arranged their forays that they could fall upon the enemy or the unsuspecting victims immediately at or before sunrise and attack them while still heavy with sleep and before they had time to relieve themselves. Being taken at a disadvantage, the attacked would be more easily vanquished. The tactics generally employed were for a few men to enter the doomed house or enclosure, whilst the majority remained outside to cut off the fugitives.

All the following information was told to MacFarlane by Maino: When in a fight the first arrow from the enemy fell, a man secured it and put on the arrow part of a dried vulva

and shot the arrow back again—or a portion of a dried female breast might be thus used—“that mean, you all same woman!”

During warfare, Maino said: “Can’t humbug [have intercourse with] woman or girl, but kill him for take thing [sexual organ, etc.] belong him”. If a girl wished to be spared she could make her desire known and the man would give her his stone-headed club to carry or any heads he might have taken. “Others can’t fight her then, she belong that man for wife. He can’t humbug her there, only by’mby.”

If it happened to be a warrior’s first kill, his body was painted with charcoal round the middle and with red paint on the breast; the bamboo beheading-knife was suspended from the back of his neck.

Returning with the trophies, as the canoes came towards the shore, that of the chief took precedence and the song of triumph was chanted. Holding up the ghastly relics—heads and certain parts of the body—over their heads, “all same eagle”, the men exhibited them to those on shore. As they beached the great canoes the women came down and took charge of the spoils of victory, seaming the crowd for their own menfolk. A wail betokened that some warrior had failed to return: the widow, plunging into the group of heads, withdrew one and with a sharp stick gashed out the eyes, thus avenging in her own way her husband’s death. Then the heads were counted, placed on long poles outside the “dance place”, so that all might judge of the prowess of the men of Tutu, and after that the grisly specimens were put into “kop-maori” [earth-oven], the eyes given to boys to eat to endue them with the virtues of bravery and courage, the skin removed and the skulls cleaned and kept ready for big ceremonial occasions. But the lower jaws found ready purchasers in New Guinea—“Good money for buy canoe or any kind of thing, that one!”—“New Guinea man, when he get them jaw-bone, he say he been kill all them men; he make big talk”.

Sometimes a fighting man was unsuccessful in securing a skull, in which case he brought back the head of a dog; but later on when the people heard him at night making a peculiar moaning noise, they all took care to see that the children and old people were safely in their own houses. “That man he must get head somewhere, he shamed for that dog’s head and he look round now for kill some old man or piccaniny.”

Landtman has published (1917) the following tales which he collected at Mawata from local informants:

One day when some men were returning from Yam to Tutu with water, a man named Gamiga jumped into the water to catch a turtle, but the turtle dived down carrying the man with him: at the bottom was a hole in which “all people belong turtle” lived. The crew gave him up for lost and on reaching Tutu held a “*taera* ceremony” [*taiai* of Torres Straits] and wept when his spirit [i.e. the man who represented him] came and danced. After seven days the *oboubi*, or turtle people, allowed Gamiga to return and the same turtle that brought him swam with him to Tutu. Gamiga hauled the turtle on shore and went to the “*horiomu* shrine” [the *kwod* of Torres Straits] where he saw traces of the recent ceremony and recognised that he would be killed. (“For if he returned safe and sound after his spirit had taken part in the ‘*horiomu*’ dance [an alternative name for *taera*], would not the women conclude that the dancers were no genuine spirits?”) A certain man found the turtle on the beach and followed Gamiga’s tracks to the *kwod*: “Oh Gamiga!” he cried out, “we have made the death-dance for you”. Gamiga said he had better stop where he was, and he taught the man the ceremony connected with the spearing of turtle which he had learnt when under the sea. The other man told the men that he had seen Gamiga in the *kwod*, and it was decided that Gamiga should die, but no one wanted to do the deed. The next

morning, without any attempt at escape on his part, Gamiga was killed by a blow from an axe on the back of his head. The men buried him, but did not tell his wife or any other woman what had been done. "In the night, the men went and made payment to Gamiga's relatives: four arm-shells for his head, one for his nose, two for his arms and two for his legs, one harpoon handle for his penis and another for his backbone, and a string of dogs' teeth for his intestines. They gave many other things too as his blood-price. All the presents were placed on the ground outside Gamiga's house, and nearby they put the axe with which he had been killed and the stone with which it had been sharpened." When Gamiga's relatives got up in the morning they wondered at the things, but were not told why the presents were given and they never knew that he had been killed. The man to whom Gamiga had told the turtle ceremony taught it to the others and informed them that the people inside the hole were real people who feed turtle just as men feed pigs (1917, p. 354).

When Savi of Yam was vainly trying to bail out his canoe, because there was a hole in it, an *oboro* [as a Mawata man told the tale he used this term for the spirit of a dead man, an islander would have said *markai*] came to him and killed him and removed all the bones of his body and inserted those of an *oboro*. Then he restored Savi to life, who now was akin to a spirit. The *oboro* had given him a bone, by means of which he could summon the spirits at will. Savi and his wife went to Tutu in the canoe and he called upon an *oboro* to empty it. A "taera" ceremony was being held in Tutu, at which one of the men was dancing very badly and Savi's son laughed at him, and the boy was killed by sorcery. Savi suspected what had been done and summoned the spirits, and they killed the man. One day Savi saw the spirit of a living man who was ill and he told the man he had seen his spirit and that he would die the next day, and he did. Finally Savi saw his own spirit and summoned the spirits to inquire about it; they answered: "Oh, you dead tomorrow". Early the next day he died without even having been ill (p. 187).

A canoe capsized near Mawata and all save one woman were drowned. She hid in a hole in the ground and when a search party in some canoes from Yam came, she ran to them as they landed, but was pursued by two Mawata men who wanted to kill her, according to the custom of killing shipwrecked people. She just managed to jump into one of the canoes. Her friends pleaded for her and she was saved. A great dance was held and the Mawata people gave food to their visitors (p. 375).

A Tutu man had a boy by a female turtle (p. 293).

A snake, who was also a man, had connection with a Yam woman without her knowledge. When she was pregnant, the husband asked her how it was as he was not responsible; this she admitted, but could give no reason for her condition. Eventually she bore two snakes; in the night the snake-father came and told her to nurse them, otherwise she would die. The husband killed the baby snakes and the woman died without anyone touching her. The husband mourned, and the women told him to take another wife; at length he consented. When they were married the woman said: "You no keep me all same you been keep that woman before. You make him something quick along me". The man granted her wish and started to "make him piccanniny". Landtman adds: "This is different from merely having connection with a woman; if a child is contemplated, the husband must cohabit with her regularly, till the making of the child is completed" (p. 459).

I collected a few Yam-Tutu tales; those about Naga and Waiat (v, pp. 48, 49) and that of the Brethren (v, p. 64) are discussed in the section on "The Hero Cults".

The following story was told to W. H. MacFarlane by Maino as he heard it from his father, Kebisu, and was given in order to account for the close association in trading, etc. between the people of Tutu and those of New Guinea.

Plenty of wild pig used to roam at Diramo up the Kadau [Binaturi] river in Daudai, one in particular was noted for its great size, it had "all same cane growing all over body" (so long and stout were its bristles) and it used to "kaikai people all time".

A man named Amubali lived there and when his wife was pregnant he said to her: "When you born boy, by'mby, put name for him Uibali". Amubali made a bamboo canoe [probably a raft, as is still done in Daudai] and paddled with the tide to Mawata. He wondered what he was going to do: "Better I take canoe belong crocodile". He caught a crocodile and told it to open its mouth so that he could go inside, but, after entering, he decided to come out again as he might be mistaken for the animal and be killed, so he took to his bamboo canoe again. He paddled to Kamus reef, made a fire on his canoe and cooked food.

There was a very low tide and when on the reef, he saw Wāpa reef and, when the tide fell lower, went there; thence he went to Moon Passage where he slept that night. At daybreak he saw another reef close to Tutu and paddled to the sand-bank, which he named Tabaian, after his own village in New Guinea. Seeing Tutu close by he paddled again all night and fetched Tutu at daybreak, but found no one there, as all the people were on the other side of the island.

On the south-east side were two brothers, Waiu and Kebera. They wondered where Amubali came from and questioned him. He told them that he had run away from New Guinea because of the big pig, but had left his wife who had "family" [was pregnant]. He showed them his canoe and gave them bananas.

Waiu and Kebera invited Amubali to join them and as they had children, Amubali took a girl as his wife, and when she had children, Waiu and Kebera married the girls and the families kept on exchanging wives "to make plenty people".

Meanwhile the wife of Amubali gave birth to a boy and named him Uibali. They lived in a high tree-house because of the wild pig. When the boy was about eight years old, he asked where his father was and his mother told him why they lived in the tree, though formerly they lived below, and that his father was frightened and ran away taking the bamboo canoe; and also informed him that he gave him the name of Uibali. The boy asked why they could not get away from there as someone might come and kill them. He wanted to go down and would not listen to his mother. Seeing his determination, his mother made him a bow and arrows and showed him how his father used a bow and told him to try it. He shot five cuckoos which his mother cooked. Then he went out and shot a wallaby and said: "He got tail, what name that thing?" His mother said it was a *becusar* (wallaby). He went out again and shot a big kangaroo. His mother kissed and praised him. They cooked the kangaroo in an earth-oven about sundown, and took the cooked meat up the tree.

When it was dark the pig came out making a big noise; they saw him moving about in the bush. "By'mby I shoot him" said the boy, but his mother said: "You can't, your father ran away from him". The mother gave the boy a big bow belonging to his father and the two of them fitted a string and made it taut, and the mother got some arrows. The boy bent the big bow "all same moon", the mother was excited and said: "He strong all same his father".

The boy took the bow and arrows down to the ground and slept there, but previously he asked his mother to awaken him at sundown. His mother did so and he told her to go to sleep, she said: "Spouse pig kaikai you, by'mby I kill myself".

The boy hid himself and when the moon rose the pig was a long way off. The boy heard it coming and made ready, he took a big arrow, *girowa*, and hit the pig in the ribs with it, he shot again and killed the pig. He left the bow and arrows and went up the tree to sleep, but did not tell his mother what he had done. She went down in the morning to cook food, saw the pig, and started back with fright, then she saw the arrows in its side and found that the pig was dead. The boy was still asleep, the mother kissed him and said: "Father ran away, but you got proper strong heart".

The mother took out the "cane" bristles from the pig and threw them towards the villages round about that had lost their people through the pig: Pewadai, Kukuriam, Jibiam, Magerubi, Gururu, Masingara, and Burau. She did this in order that the people in the villages might "come up again". She continued throwing towards Badurubi, Urupiam, Jibar, Togo. Finally she threw one close to Kumi, their own village and another to Iramisi.



After this they cut up the pig. The boy said: "You cook body and head in the '*kopmaroi*' [*kopa maori*, earth-oven] for kaikai. I want arms and legs". They went to their garden and cut four bunches of bananas and dug up four lots of taro. The boy left this food and the legs of the pig close to the river, and his mother wondered why he did so.

They took the cooked meat out of the earth-oven and cut it up with a stone axe and ate it. The boy asked in which direction his father went, and was told his father's name; then he decided to seek his father.

Uibali made a canoe of grass like a crocodile, went inside, and as it floated he was satisfied and prepared the food to take with him. He told his mother that if he died pigeons would make a noise at the tree where she lived. He bade her farewell and went off.

Uibali reached the sand-bank and came out of the canoe and looked round, then he went to Kamus reef, thence to Wāpa, and at daylight got to the place at Moon Passage where his father had slept. He went to the top of the sand-bank and thought it was like his own home. He looked round, started off again and landed on Tutu. He put the canoe ashore and walked about. He heard people dancing and recognised his father's voice singing. He heard his father speaking to his wife and the woman calling to her son Newia.

Amubali went to his house to sleep and Newia and his wife went to the same house. Uibali also went in and slept between his father and brother. He had previously rubbed himself with coconut oil, his father smelt it and said: "Ah, he all same belong New Guinea! Who belong here?" Uibali told him what he had done and showed him the four bunches of bananas and the legs of the pig. He cut up the legs and threw the pieces all over Tutu and then people "come up all over. That why Tutu got plenty people".

Uibali decided to return home and cut five sticks, *kupi* [a tally], which he gave to his father and told him to come in five days' time. He went back in the same grass canoe, travelled all night and got on the sand-bank at sundown, entered the river and arrived home. He told his mother he had found his father at a place called Tudi ("they can't call name Tutu proper"). His mother kissed him and said: "No boy like you, you make people everywhere".

The boy waited four days and then climbed a tall tree and saw several canoes coming. The canoes came to Sauri (outside the river). The local men took *bu* shells and stuck them in a circle in the mud and put a *baib* (a crescent of turtle-shell worn on the head) beside the *bu*, and said to these objects: "When some people come from Tutu, you got open your eye, and New Guinea people will say all Tutu people come".

They all went to the tree, Amubali saw his wife and son and was very happy. Some of the men went to different villages, remained for two days and made friends, then all returned to Tutu.

Newia married and they had a son Maida who married and had a daughter, Asigi, who married Yasabab of Yam, and they had two sons Kutusaga and Kututai.

Maida went to Yam and had a family there; he was a great fighter and used to fight against Sāsi, Waraber, Mukwa, Gāba, and other places.

A Masingara version of this tale is given by Landtman (1917, p. 501). At Dobei, near Masingara, lived a woman, Uame, and her daughter One, and not far away at Ulivale lived Tiburi, who transformed himself into a snake and had connection with One. A son Nivia was born whom Tiburi took to Yam, leaving One behind. Shortly afterwards One gave birth to another son, Omebali, who grew up very quickly and killed a ferocious boar. Omebali went to Yam to seek his father, there he married a little girl for whom one of Nivia's daughters was given in exchange. Omebali returned with his wife to New Guinea and they lived with One.

Yasabab, who belonged to Yam, was a very big man (some large bones found some time ago were said to belong to him; these were sent to Sydney by Dr Vernon of Thursday Island). When Maida died Yasabab got a strong bow and some arrows from Mesede [the

mythical bowman of Dibiri referred to by Landtman in the *Madia* ceremony (p. 217; Landtman, 1927, pp. 318, 413, 431) (MacFarlane, MS.).

Maino informed me that his father Kebisu, Yadzebüb and Maida fought with a four-rayed star stone-headed club, *titoi tut*; I gathered that the club descended to Kebisu, but I do not know how he was related to Yadzebüb.

The story of Yadzebüb (v, p. 100) narrated to me by Maino in 1898 is to some extent a continuation of the above tale; the spelling of the personal names is slightly different.

Yadzebüb treated his father-in-law, Maida, very liberally, though Maida was jealous of him and wanted to kill him. When Maida died through over-eating, Yadzebüb went to Mukar (Cap Island) and killed everyone there, leaving only one dog alive; next day he did the same at Sasi (Long Island), and the following day he killed all the Waraber people. He heaped over the body of Maida the heads of all those he had killed. I was told that he killed the people to make them cry for the death of Maida. This killing of innocent people for a similar purpose, or as payment for the death of a person, is also attributed to Kwoiam (v, p. 71) and it may be regarded as having been an occasional practice of the Western islanders, though there is no need to accept the statements of wholesale slaughters.

#### CONDITIONS IN THE CENTRAL ISLANDS ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

The following account obtained from Ireland by Capt. P. P. King is condensed or copied from *The Nautical Magazine*, 1837, pp. 656-60; but it is not signed by King, though it was extracted from his very rare book *Voyage to Torres Straits*, Sydney, 1837. The original account was also copied by Capt. Stanley in Stokes, I, pp. 444-54.

The wreck of the *Charles Eaton* is recorded on pp. 8-11 and what follows here narrates the fate of the survivors; it is given at length as it presents a vivid picture of the Central islanders of nearly one hundred years ago.

The master and those who remained took a week to make a raft which could not support the whole company, so the Captain, passengers, and others embarked; during the night the rope by which the raft had been made fast to the stern of the wreck was cut and in the morning the raft had disappeared. A week later a second raft was finished on which the rest of the crew, including Ireland, left the wreck. She drifted rather than sailed and in two days' time they came to some islands and a canoe containing ten or twelve Indians, who, as they approached, stood up and extended their arms to show they had no weapons, and were inclined to be friendly.

The natives induced the crew to enter the canoe and very soon they "landed on an island which they subsequently found was called Böydän, and is probably that in the admiralty chart called No. 1, to the eastward of Hannibal Island". They crawled round the island in search of food and water being exhausted by fatigue and hunger, and then threw themselves on the ground in despair, the natives stood around grinning and laughing in the most hideous manner. Mr Claer, the first officer, addressed his companions and recommended them to be resigned to their fate and impressively read several prayers, they laid down and were soon asleep. Ireland was roused by a shout and saw the natives dashing out the brains of his companions with clubs. [Brockett (1836, p. 21) says: "John Ireland states that the savages on Boydan Island ate the eyes and cheeks of the shipwrecked people belonging to the *Charles Eaton*. This they were induced to do from a peculiar notion which they entertain, that such conduct will increase their desire after the blood of white men".] Ireland and Sexton alone remained alive. Ireland said: "An Indian came to me with a carving knife to cut my throat", after a desperate struggle and having a finger cut to the bone, he "succeeded in getting uppermost, when I let him go and ran into the sea, and swam out; but being much exhausted, and the only chance for my life was to return to the shore, I

landed again fully expecting to be knocked on the head. The same Indian then came up with an infuriated gesture, and shot me in the right breast with an arrow; and then, in a most unaccountable manner, suddenly became quite calm, and led, or dragged, me to a little distance, and offered me some fish and water which I was unable to partake of. Whilst struggling with the Indian I observed Sexton, who was held by another, bite a piece of his arm out; but after that knew nothing of him, until I found his life had been spared in a manner similar to my own (footnote, Upon interrogating Ireland, he says, he has frequently seen the Indians recover themselves in a moment from a violent paroxysm of fury; and he attributes their safety to a circumstance of this nature). At a short distance off, making the most hideous yells, the other savages were dancing round a large fire, before which were placed in a row the heads of their victims; whilst their decapitated bodies were washing in the surf on the beach, from which they soon disappeared, having been probably washed away by the tide. Sexton and I were then placed in charge of two natives. . . . The next day the Indians collected all the heads; and, embarking, removed to another island where the women lived, which they called Pullan". On this island the other raft had landed and all the passengers, except Capt. D'Oyly's two little boys, were instantly killed and decapitated. "The heads were suspended by a rope to a pole that was stuck up near the huts of the women; round which they danced every night and morning, accompanying their infuriated gestures with the most horrid yells. The number of Indians collected amounted to about sixty. . . they were merely residing on the island during the fishing season. . . . Their principal subsistence was turtle and small fish, which they caught with hook and line; and shell fish, which abound on the reefs. The island also produces a small fruit 'like a plum with a stone in it', probably a species of eugenia. The fish is broiled over the ashes of the fire, or boiled in the basin of a large volute (*Volula Ethiopica*), which being rather a scarce shell, is of great value to them. The island of Pullan is covered with low trees and underwood, and the soil is sandy. In the centre of it is a spring, which supplied the whole party with sufficient water. . . . they used a great deal. . . .

"After remaining here two months, the Indians separated. One party taking Ireland and the infant D'Oyly with them, . . . after half a day's sail reached another islet to the northward, where they remained a day and a night on a sandy beach; and the next morning, . . . reached another island similar to Pullan, low and bushy, where they remained a fortnight. They then proceeded to the northward, calling on their way at different islands, and remaining as long as they supplied food, until they reached one (footnote, Probably one of the group to the northward of Halfway Island, near Aureed, named by Mr Lewis, "Sir Richard Bourke's Groupe") where they remained a month; and then they went on a visit to Darnley's Island, which they called Aroob, where, for the first time, Ireland says he met with kind treatment.

"After a fortnight they again embarked and returned by the way they came to an island called Sir-reb (footnote, Sir-reb, according to Ireland's information, is Marsden Island), situated near Aureed, where their voyage ended, and they remained until purchased by Duppar, the Murray Islander, who it appears upon hearing that there were two white boys in captivity at Aureed, embarked in a canoe with his wife, Pamoy; and went for the express purpose of obtaining them. . . . the price of their ransom was a branch of bananas for each. They returned by way of Darnley's Island, where they stopped for a few days, and then reached Murray's Island, where they remained ever since most kindly treated. Duppar gave little D'Oyly to a native named Oby to take care of; a charge of which he faithfully acquitted himself, and both Oby and his adopted child soon became very fond of each other. . . . When at Aureed the Indians had named Ireland, Wak, and little D'Oyly they called Uass; names which they retained at Murray's Island. Ireland lived in the same hut with Duppar and his family; his employment was to cultivate a plantation of yams, and during the season to assist in taking turtle and shell-fish. On one occasion he accompanied them on an excursion towards New Guinea, where they went for the purpose of barter and trade; which they frequently did to obtain bows and arrows, canoes and leathers, for which they gave in return shells; and which, from their scarcity, the New Guinea people prize very much (footnote, Ireland describes the shell to be a cone and recognised it among the plates in the *Encyclopédie*

*Méthodique* as the *conus-mille-punctatus*); but as Duppar was fearful that the New Guinea people would steal or murder him he was left at Darnley's Island, in charge of Agge. . . .

"Duppar and his friends. . . stopped at an island called Jarmuth (Campbell's Island) [Dalrymple Island] to pass the night, one of the islanders attempted to take away by force from one of the visitors his moco moco (a sort of bandage worn round the calves of the legs, made of the bark of bamboo) [*makamak*, IV, p. 59], upon which a quarrel ensued in which the Murray Islanders used their bows and arrows, and wounded several, one being shot through the body. The Jarmuth people then retreated to their huts, and the others embarked; but instead of going to New Guinea returned to Darnley Island, where, in a few days, they received a message from Jarmuth offering peace: which, however, they would not accept, nor did they afterwards make friends."

#### WARABER

Macgillivray landed on Waraber (Sue Island) on December 7, 1849; he says (II, p. 41):

"Sue, although the largest of the Three Sisters, is not more than the third of a mile in length. . . [it] is of the coral sand formation, low and thickly wooded. Some cocoa-nut trees grow at the west end of the island, where there is a native village. . . . It consisted of several long huts, thatched with grass, which apparently are not much used during the day time, as we saw no one entering or coming out of them. Many of the people, both men and women, ran down to the beach, waving green branches to induce us to land; others were sitting down under temporary sheds made by stretching large mats—the sails of their canoes—over a framework of stieks. The inside of one large enclosure was concealed by a fence six feet high, and an adjacent shed, under which some cooking was going on, was completely covered with some recent shells of turtle, apparently about thirty in number. Three very large canoes were hauled up on the beach, protected from the sun by matting, and two smaller ones were kept afloat. There appeared to be about 60 people upon the island, from which, and other circumstances, I do not suppose the Kulkalega tribe to consist of more than 100 souls. The women whom we saw wore loose petticoats of leaves reaching to below the knees."

Macgillivray was informed by Gi'om that the people on Waraber were, properly speaking, natives of Nāgir.

I am indebted to the Rev. W. H. MacFarlane for the following information.

Thick groves of *wangai* abound on Waraber and every year the people gather the fruit and dry it to take to Paremar. At the present time few people live on the island permanently, they mostly live on Paremar for the sake of the school for their children, but they go periodically to Waraber.

Formerly the island had a large population for its size, and the men had a bad reputation for fighting and had many feuds with the people of Dugong Island and Muri (Mount Adolphus Island). They fought with bows and arrows, stone-headed clubs, and spears.

Near the village, under the shade of *wangai* trees, is the site of the old *kwod*, where there is a great heap of trumpet shells, remains of skulls, etc.; the shells represented men who had been killed, one for each. When heads were brought here a feast was held and no women were allowed to come near. Some time ago a small dugong, about 8 in. long, carved out of *wangai* wood was found near the *kwod*. Aikru told MacFarlane that it was carried by a man in the bow of his canoe, when he went dugong hunting, in order to bring good luck. It is now in the Diocesan Museum at Thursday Island.

In the vicinity of the island many waterspouts are seen, and a lugger was once nearly sunk by one. On the north-west side of the island, where it is narrow and *wangai* trees abound, is the site of the waterspout [*bain*] shrine on which is a block of stone, like coke

or ash [? pumice], known as *bau*. Formerly at the shrine a long *wangai* pole was erected to represent a waterspout; human faces were carved on two sides—the ghosts of men in the waterspout—and it was decorated with cassowary feathers. During the north-west season a “play” [ceremonial procession] was made from the site of *bau* to the village, half or three-quarters of a mile distant. The pole was carried in the procession by three men.

## PAREMAR

The following information about Paremar (Panipan, or Coconut Island) was given to me by the Rev. W. H. MacFarlane.

*Birth customs.* The flesh of the *alup* (bailer shell, *Melo diadema*) is eaten by pregnant women to ensure the birth of a son and that of a *mī* (giant clam, *Tridacna gigas*) to procure a girl.

A certain fish is eaten in order that the child may have a long sharp nose, “good-looking”.

When a male baby is born, a “smart man for spearing fish or dugong” comes and shakes hands with it, so as to make the baby become a good fisherman.

A few days after birth the baby is put on the back of a relative, generally a grandfather, and the septum of the nose is pierced with a sharp turtle-shell bodkin by the mother's brother [IV, p. 10].

*Fishing.* A globular black stone, *babat*, was used as a turtle *zogo*; it was placed inside a clam shell at a site in the bush. Some time in November it was anointed with turtle oil by the *zogo* man, here termed *maui garka*. [In Tutu the *mowai garka* was the term applied to the maternal uncle whilst he was attending to a novice, v, p. 208.] Ceremonial songs were chanted all night until the *zugubar* star came up. [The stars Utimal and Usal form the constellation of which Utimal is the *koi nēl*, or comprehensive name and Zugubar the *mūgi nēl*, or special name. These stars are connected with the incident of Togai in the Kwoiam story (v, p. 69, footnote 1).] The object of the rite was to ensure the abundance of turtle.

The ceremony connected with the catching of the first turtle of the season was the same as that practised at Aurid. It is still performed at Paremar, an old woman named Largod splits and holds the coconut.

There was a special method of removing the head of a turtle and the heads were placed on poles on the sand beach, as at Tutu. Turtle bones were kept at one place and counted to see who had secured the most.

I referred in vol. v, p. 349, to a *manra* ceremony at Paremar to ensure a good crop of *ubar* fruit; it was performed by one man who wore a turtle-shell mask (v, fig. 72), the masked man was called *Kanga*.

Landtman (1917, p. 244) was told at Mawata that the people of Puruma (Coconut Island) once sailed over to Jarub (Darnley), where a dance was to be held. A young man, Gabiri, steered the canoe; he stood erect, decked with all his fine ornaments, and was seen by an *oboubi* girl (a water-being) who took a fancy to him. On their return home, the *oboubi* climbed on the platform of the canoe where Gabiri was sleeping alone. He married her and she lived with his other two wives. She had a baby. Another man wanted the *oboubi*; she overheard the talk and took her child and went into the water. This is said to be a recent and true story.

## AURID

The following information was collected by the Rev. W. H. MacFarlane.

Aurid, or Yaywad, is a flat, uninteresting vegetated sand-bank, with coconuts, she-oak (*Casuarina*) and *wangai*.

Formerly there was a large population, now the few Aurid people are scattered among the neighbouring islands. Johnny Francis, a Manila man, and his wife, an Aurid woman, live on the island. Johnny has been in Torres Straits since about 1878; he was an associate of Yankee Ned, the runaway American seaman who found his way to Māsīg and married a native woman. It is said that the Chinese used to come in their big junks to Aurid, as well as to some of the other islands near by, for bêche-de-mer, not for pearls and such-like. [Dr C. M. Yonge (1930, p. 184) says "the island is now [1929] uninhabited, but coconut palms were planted in regular rows by a former resident. . . Francis Garcia".]

The old folks say that in earlier days Aurid was a bartering centre for the Miriam-le and thus occupied an important position. The Miriam-le came in their canoes at certain seasons of the year bringing arm-shells which they exchanged for stones for clubs, ochre for painting themselves and their *zogo* stones, turtle grease, and other products. These articles were obtained by the Aurid men as well as by those of Māsīg, Damut, and Paremar, when they visited the islands off the east coast of North Queensland, particularly the Sir Charles Hardy group, and the Forbes islands, whither they resorted every south-east season to live for a while and to barter. The stone for making stone-headed clubs was obtained from the Forbes islands. Aurid and the other islands also traded with New Guinea. Aurid used to suffer a good deal from the raids of the Tutu men.

When the first turtle of the season was caught it was brought ashore and while being hauled up the sand and turned on its back, the people danced round it singing:

*E! E! barbar i a*  
*I ni goba ngawai*  
*Ngaba wi ari wal.*

This is said to be an expression of joy mingled with thanks and earnest entreaty that plenty more turtle might be sent [the language is evidently Western, but is not translatable so as to make sense].

An old woman took a fresh young coconut and split it so that the water was sprinkled over the body and poured into the mouth of the turtle. Occasionally this rite is still performed in some of the islands.

Johnny Francis, when digging one day, found a piece of dark greyish stone roughly carved in the form of a head; he sleeps on it and hopes to dream where the buried treasure is hid.

Many years ago, Gaibiri, a *zogo* man of the sting-ray clan, lived on the north-west side of Aurid; he had a large circular flat black stone, called *maidam*, which was used for making wind, lightning, and fine weather. For making wind the *maidam* was placed in the valve of a giant clam, which was put beneath a platform on which was a corpse, *sava kablar*, so that the grease might drip upon it. The stone was removed in the clam shell to the *zogo* ground [it was customary in the islands to anoint similar objects of power in this way]. To cause the *jay* wind to blow (this is a strong wind from the south-east), Gaibiri smashed coconut-shell chareoal inside the clam shell and rubbed it on the *jay* or

south-east side of the *maidam*, and when the incantation was chanted a big wind would blow up; the black charcoal signified heavy clouds. To cause lightning a small fire (signifying the flash) was lighted on the top of the stone. When fine weather was desired the *maidam* was rubbed with turtle oil and red ochre and placed within the shell. Sometimes Gaibiri would get into a temper when the rain or wind did not come after his efforts, "Heart belong him he come wild, and Gaibiri fight that stone when he wild. Proper big strong wind come then". This information was given by Stephen, now on Paremar, who is the patrilineal grandson of Gaibiri.

The *maidam* seems to have been somewhat neglected after Gaibiri's death, but on one occasion when a canoe went across to Aurid there was distress because the wind had dropped and the visitors could not get away. Two old women volunteered to flog *maidam* in the hope of stirring up the lethargic powers of the *zogo* stone. "Proper big squall he come up after that canoe start, close up he sink down, he got to go back for shelter."

[There was a rain-making stone carved like a man in Yam which was called *maidam* (v, p. 352), probably it was similar to a *doiom* of Mer. A human figure in lead was a potent wind charm (v, p. 353), it may very well have come from Aurid. *Maidem* is a general name in Mer for stones of power; magic or sorcery is termed *maid* in all the islands. *Sara* is the platform on which a corpse was laid, and *kabtar* may be related to *kabutai*, *v.* put on, lay, put down on; both are western words, so *sara kabtar* may mean "put on a *sara*".]

The following is the description by Captain Lewis on the occasion of his search in 1836 for the survivors of the *Charles Eaton* (cf. pp. 8-11):

Several dogs were noticed howling on the beach, but no Indians showed themselves. Mr Lewis...having landed, walked towards the cocoa-nut trees near the centre, where he fully expected to find the inhabitants or their dwellings; but after a diligent search neither were found. However, perceiving another group of trees at a distance, he proceeded thither, and discovered a low thatched shed, containing the long-searched-for heads. They were attached by a piece of European rope to a grotesque representation of a man's face, formed by turtle-shell, and ornamented with cowries and other shells. Several of the skulls had evidently belonged to Indians, but many were of European origin, and bore marks of violence; some few having the hair driven into indentations made by blows with a tomahawk. In order not to mutilate or destroy this figure, Mr Lewis caused the shed to be unroofed, and then carefully removed it to the boat. Whilst one party was doing this, another proceeded to make a diligent search through the island: at a short distance, they came to a circular spot, planted with tobacco, which they destroyed... Searching farther, they discovered what under other circumstances might have been considered a very romantic spot, shaded by large trees, which the Indians probably used to celebrate their infernal orgies; for an avenue led to it from the skull-house, both sides of which [the avenue] were ornamented with shells stained with ochre: in the centre of this spot was a pile of drinking cups, made of cocoa-nut shell cut in half... Mr Lewis...destroyed every thing that could be useful to the Indians: the skull-house was burned down, and the fire raged over the whole island, and burned down some huts at the north-east end, which had been examined previously, but only a club, a sort of bird-cage, and a few pieces of deck-plank were found in them. The following day was spent in destroying all the cocoa-nuts and cutting down the other trees, and doing all the mischief they could... After another search... and near the ruins of the shed two more European skulls were found (King, reprinted in *The Nautical Magazine*, 1837, pp. 802, 803). The account given by Brockett (1836, p. 33) is essentially similar.

In vol. v, p. 378, I have given all that I then knew about the island. I have since found that the mask was referred to in the *Missionary Magazine and Chronicle*, No. XII, May,

1837, p. 181 where "shells" are stated to have surrounded the mask. I copied the illustration there given in vol. iv, pl. XXXVI, fig. 1, which certainly is not an accurate representation of the original mask; it shows an even row of shells between the face and the skulls, which is absent in the drawing given by Brockett (vols. iv, pl. XXXVI, fig. 2; v, pl. XX, fig. 1). The mask is referred to in vol. iv, p. 299.

There can be no doubt that this mask represented Kulka, one of the Brethren, who according to every account went to Aurid. Maimo once told me that Kulka was the brother of Sigai and Maiiau, he was like a shark underneath and a crocodile on top (but the effigy in his animal shape, if it ever existed, has not been recorded).

The images and shrines of Kulka, and of Sigai and Maiiau could be seen by the men of Aurid and those of Yam and Tutu, as well as by those of Damut, Paremar, and some other islands, though no shrines of the cult of the Brethren have been recorded in these other islands. It appears that they were permitted to attend the rites at Aurid and at Yam, but none of these men, not even those of Aurid or Yam, were allowed to see Malu or Sāū; it is doubtful whether this prohibition extended to the actual masks or effigies or merely to the ceremonies. As we shall see later, MacFarlane says that members of the cult in one island might visit the "lodge" of another island, but as the big annual festival was held at the various islands on the same day it seems obvious that participation in the great ceremonies was restricted.

#### MĀSIG

The only account we have of Māsig or Māsid Maseed (Yorke Island), is that by Jukes, who says:

March 17, 1845. We landed on a little island about four miles north of Maseed... Only one canoe came to us [from Māsig], in which were three men and three boys. They approached us, unarmed, with the utmost confidence, one man holding a cocoa-nut in one hand and a green bough in the other. They all shouted "Poud, poud, poud, Maseed!" meaning "Peace! peace with Maseed!" They were a well-made, fine-looking people, of a different type from the Australians, with muscular limbs and frizzled hair. They had the oval epaulet-like mark on the shoulders, but no other scars. Their hair was dressed into long, narrow, pipe-like curls, smeared with red ochre and grease, and they wore a band round the forehead. One old man, who informed us his name was Garia, had a black wig dressed like their hair, but his beard and whiskers were nearly all grey. They understood the words we had picked up at Cape York, and they knew three English words, "water", "knife" (pronounced "nipa"), and "ship", which they called "shippo"; these they had probably learnt from whalers. They seemed fond of smoking. Their canoes resembled those we had seen in Endeavour Strait, but larger and more ornamented. They asked for "tooree" (iron) (t, pp. 158-60).

Māsig, which is about a mile and a third long, was visited on March 22. Jukes says:

We found in the centre of the island two water-holes like those of Damood, to which Maseed had indeed a precise resemblance, except that it was rather larger... We found several women and children waiting for us at a group of huts, exactly resembling those of Damood... The women were no great beauties, being middle aged, with closely cropped hair, and breasts flat, skinny, and pendulous. They were, however, decently clothed, with a sort of petticoat of leaves, reaching from the waist to the knee. They carried their younger children, like the Malays, astride across the hip, and seemed still to be suckling several, who appeared three or four years old... Two women [at least]... had their frizzled hair closely cropped all over, except a ridge about half an inch high, running from one ear to the other, over the crown of the head (t, pp. 166-168).



About half a mile from the village on the south side of the island they came to a single round hut the description of which is copied in IV, p. 96. "On going off Mr Sullivan bought from one of the houses, for some tobacco, a curious ornament", the description of which is copied in IV, p. 305: "It was altogether two and a half feet high" [not 2 ft. as I stated] (I, pp. 168-9).

I am indebted to the Rev. W. H. MacFarlane for the following information, which he obtained from Charlie, an old native of the island.

When a boy and girl "like one another", the girl's brother took a bow and shot the boy in the legs with a *bok* arrow, then everything was all right and the relatives could not raise any objection. If a girl were "forced" in the bush, she had to tell her father, then her relatives took vengeance and her brother shot the boy in the leg; the boy was obliged to take the girl as wife under the penalty of death. If a couple committed immorality secretly and the girl became pregnant, the procedure was as above; the boy's friends brought presents (the best present was an arm-shell) which were taken by the girl and given to her parents and everything was settled. When a girl "ran about" for boys and permitted indiscriminate liberties, poison was put in her food by her uncle, or other appointed person, to put her out of the way.

Two, three, or four wives were formerly permissible, but there were few children, as having many was discouraged. His informant said: "We were big people (physically) before, now you look, everybody coming small".

When the *Woodlark* visited the island in search for girls and women, they were concealed in trees.

When making a garden for tobacco, *sukuba*, in the old days, a spot was selected preferably where a *wangai* [*ubar*, *Mimusops browniana*] tree had been burnt down leaving plenty of good white ashes; the spot should be on level ground, for if it were sloping the rain would wash the ashes away. The seed was scattered in the north-west time and it came up like grass. It might then be looked at but not approached too closely or "smell of your body will make it die". Later the young plants were transplanted. In the south-east season, when the plants were about 18 in. high, they took the inside bark of the cabbage tree [*Livistona australis* (*Corypha australis*), J. H. Maiden, *The useful native plants of Australia*, 1889], scraped it and squeezed it through the meshes of *iwai* [the cloth-like leaf-sheath of the coconut palm], and sprinkled the "milk" over the tobacco leaves "to make it taste good by and by". When they considered that the leaf was ready, a leaf was taken, dried over a fire, and tested in a bamboo pipe *morap*. "If it bite you, all same like chilli, then he all right, he good". The leaves were then picked and laid on the roof of a house or elsewhere to dry. When dried they were made into a rope, coiled up and put away. The tobacco gardens had their *madub* [IV, p. 150; VI, pp. 207-9].

The following arrows were used: *bok* [IV, fig. 181]; *doad*, two pronged, very powerful and deadly and greatly feared [IV, fig. 187 A?]; *skūri*, *sukūri*, about 3 ft. long with a bamboo point, which was sharpened by tearing off the edge with the teeth, it was fired into the side of the abdomen so as to rip it open [IV, fig. 188]; *kimus*, with a detachable cassowary bone barb [IV, p. 183]; *putil* [IV, p. 183], a barbed arrow tipped with bone of cassowary. An arrow to which something flaming was attached was also used to set fire to the thatched houses. When Yankee Ned first settled on Mäsig, one of his houses was destroyed in this way.

The flying-fox (grey fruit-eating bat, *Pteropus*), *sapur*, which is common on Thursday Island and the adjacent islands, as well as on the mainland, finds its way to Mäsig and is

generally abundant at the time when the *ubar* is ripe, i.e. in June and July. Flocks are seen at Laõe, a small island to the south-west of Mäsìg, and the *sapur* are so numerous on the Three Sisters that the natives describe these islands as "station belong *sapur*"; they do not occur, or but rarely, on the Eastern islands.

The *sapur* is employed in malevolent and beneficent magic. If desirous of getting rid of an enemy, his own or someone else's by whom he was employed, the *maidlag* [or *maidlaig*, as we term him] takes the head of a dead *sapur* and made "talk" while rubbing the head on various kinds of food which was given to the victim. This was done secretly and no hint was given, directly or indirectly, to the victim, who went about his work. Soon it was noticed that although he ate as usual, the food failed to benefit him, the man fell into a decline and died. "He come poor, all skin and bone; that tucker don't do him any good."

The operation was thus explained, the *sapur* is constantly eating: "he kaikai all time, can't fill his belly", but nevertheless it is always "skin and bone", and this characteristic is transferred to the victim.

The *maidlag* could also use the head of the *sapur* to restore to health a man whose sickness had caused him to become "poor" and who could not eat. The following case was given to MacFarlane by Charlie and corroborated by Barney Mosby, who himself witnessed it, as a boy, about 1894. An old man Susui was very sick; Kìlai, a *maidlag*, was summoned and he examined and questioned Susui. He procured some leaves from the bush, chewed them and spat out the stuff all round where the sick man lay, but not upon his body, at the same time he uttered a spell. Then he took some of the chewed-up leaves from his mouth, rubbed them in his hands and on the head of the *sapur*, and finally under his armpits so that it might be mixed with his perspiration: "that sweat belong him proper good medicine". After this the body of Susui was rubbed with the mixture while Kìlai made "more talk". In a couple of days, Susui was eating heartily and recovered his health.

In this case the *maidlag* was able to cause the sick man to recover his desire to eat, so that his appetite might be like that of the hungry *sapur*. "He want that sick man to eat good, so he can come strong again."

MacFarlane could not ascertain whether there was anything in the nature of a *sapur zogo*, or any effigy connected with these practices.

Desiccation of corpses was sometimes practised, p. 322. MacFarlane says that portions of corpses were eaten as at Èrub, p. 195, but coconut palm leaves were laid on the ground, and the eyeballs were eaten mixed with yams.

The Mäsìg men tell a story about Kwoiam which begins with Mabuiag; the *kubai*, spear-thrower, is here called *kuila* [I have no record of any visit of Kwoiam to the Central islands].

Charlie told MacFarlane that on Mäsìg there was formerly a shrine for Sigai who came from Marilag with Kulka, Maiau, Malu and Sāū in canoes. At Mäsìg there is no *augūd* for Maiau, but only for Sigai. [I think that Charlie must have mistaken Sigai for Sāū, as all other accounts restrict Sigai to Yam. MacFarlane admits that though willing to give information Old Charlie was difficult to understand.]

The shrine, *sarokag*, was an area about 6 ft. from east to west and 5 ft. from north to south. The *augūd* extended across its south-west corner and consisted of a large turtle-shell for the body and three or four small ones for the tail. The body faced south-east and

the tail pointed westerly [apparently these were carapaces of turtle and not a turtle-shell mask]. In the other part of the area was a big heap of heads. The *augūd* was protected from the rain by a structure covered by an awning [probably a thatch or mat of leaves]. The whole was destroyed by fire by the first missionary in the 'seventies.

The ceremony held there was called *Augūdan ai* [Augūd's ancestor], the chief officiators, *Augūdan gerka* [Augūd's man], were Aura [Charlie's father] and his brother Wairou.

H. S. Melville (1867, p. 188) says that all these islanders recognise a big spirit, Camoor, a white monster who causes all kinds of disasters. It is difficult to imagine how he could have obtained this information; it may safely be disregarded.

Maino told me that the speech of the Mäsīg people was half Miriam and half Western, but the foregoing words are Western. He also said that Sāū was the younger brother and Malu the elder brother. Sāū was "big *baidam*" (shark) and belonged to Mäsīg. Bomai was their maternal uncle.

#### UMAGA

H. S. Melville, the artist on the *Fly*, says (1867, p. 188) that from a canoe-load of natives, two very good specimens of Torres Straits islanders, Gedorir and Mammoose, came on board with coconuts and turtle-shell for barter. He sketched them and gave them "toolica" (knives) and "sogob" (tobacco). Bottles were much esteemed, as when broken up the fragments were used for shaving, hair-cutting and as cutting and finishing tools. He gives short accounts of "Damood" and "Maseed" which are not worth transcribing.

#### DAMUT

Damut, Damud or Jarmuth (Dairymple Island) is a flat sandy, wooded island about a mile in length and over a quarter of a mile in breadth. It is situated about 22 miles north-east of Tud.

Damut (Dairymple Island, Island H of Blyth and L of Portlock) was the first central island to be visited by Europeans, but they did not land. Blyth writes (Sept. 8, 1792):

Abreast of us was a small village consisting of a dozen or 15 huts with flat roofs. Each had a doorway but no door, and several of the huts were joined together and formed one front. They were slightly built and covered with mattings or palm thatch. . . . This isle is not above a mile or a mile and a half round and its surface not 20 feet above the level of the sea, yet this little spot is covered with wood and trees of a very large size branching like forest oaks. . . (Sept. 9). When all arrived at the village the number was 42, 7 of whom were children. One was carried on the shoulders of a woman, and not on the back as is common. It was noticed that the women had a covering round the hips, while the men were naked. There proved to be 15 men who had bows and arrows which they laid at the back of one of their sheds. Then they made signs for us to come to them. . . . Like the rest they call it [iron] *toorick*. They were frantic when they heard it jingle, and in return they gave us some fruit like a red plum and some shell ornaments. . . . They had only one dog with them. . . . A little water was got. . . . They offered us no kind of provisions. Not a single cocconut tree was seen, but the boats when sounding observed a few plantains. They made use of word *Hobbo* signifying to eat. Their general signs were waving a green branch and patting the top of their heads. . . . their women were very ugly. . . . The dog was like the Otaheitans. On the S.E. part of the island they have fences behind which, I believe, they retire to fight: these fences are formed of straight poles breast high, and are secured to one another by cross-pieces. Fish, turtle, shell-fish are their chief support (Lee, pp. 181-3).

Portlock says that the natives of Damut held out green branches and beckoned the sailors to come on shore. On Sept. 9,

the Commodore sent two boats on shore with directions to the officers not to land, but if possible to bring about a friendly intercourse by giving presents to the natives which he sent in the boat for that purpose. The boats rowed close to the beach. . . . Men, women, boys, and girls, came down to the boats and were very friendly. They were delighted beyond measure with the nails and towels that were presented to them, and called them *Tureeke* as the people of Island A do. They gave several of their ornaments in return and a quantity of fruit about the size of our plums, which is pleasant enough to the taste, but is not highly flavoured (Lee, p. 261).

Flinders writes much in the same strain, he says: "the natives came out and ran along the beach waving green branches and clapping upon their heads in token of friendship. . . they eagerly asked for *toore-tooree*. A moderately-sized dog, of a brown chestnut colour" (p. xxiv).

Lukes (1, pp. 160-5) says:

March 21 [1845]. We anchored near Dahrymple Island, which the natives call Damood. . . . On exchanging shouts of "poud! poud!" and waving green boughs, we immediately became good friends. . . . Ten men waited to receive us here [close to a large group of huts], two or three elderly women crawling off into the bush, where the younger women and children had previously hidden themselves. The men received us most cordially, though with much clamour and gesticulation; and the others having landed from the canoe [with fourteen men in it], led us between the huts to a clear open space at the back of them, shaded by cocoa-nuts and other trees, and which seemed the place of public meeting of the village. [His description of the huts is given in iv, p. 96.] When they had conducted us into this open space, several of them seated themselves on small well-made mats. . . and two or three went and brought a large roll of matting, at least 12 feet by 6, which they spread for us to sit down on. These really well-made fabrics greatly surprised us, after being accustomed to the non-manufacturing Australians. They then brought us young cocoa-nuts, tortoise-shell, and ornaments, and a great barter commenced. They gave us cocoa-nut water, without waiting to receive anything for it, but for the other things they would only accept tobacco and iron implements, paying no regard to our beads and gaudy handkerchiefs. They brought us two small bananas or plantains, but we could not see the trees on which they grew. They suffered Captain Blackwood and myself to stroll about the huts unattended, while they bartered with the boat's crew. [His description of the island is quoted on p. 28.]

#### MAUAR

The earliest account of Mauar (Mowar or Rennel Island) is that given by Portlock, p. 260. He says: "A small woody isle which I distinguish as *M bore S. by W.*, distant 8 miles [from Damut], and opposite the ship we could see several low houses. . . they appeared large enough to contain each eight or ten people and were very low, closed on all sides excepting that facing the sea and appeared to have no roofs. I think they are composed chiefly of the branches of the palm or cocoanut trees, neither of which tree I could perceive on the island" (Lee, p. 260).

Mr MacFarlane informs me that it is merely a vegetated sand-bank and is now occupied only by a South Sea family. He obtained the following from Susui, an old native of Mauar.

Skulls have been dug up from time to time, and a wooden figure was found which was said to have been set up in the middle of the ceremonial ground when the young lads were being initiated; they then had to eat portions of human eyes, cheeks, etc., mixed with yams, to "make strong". The novices were termed *keringa* and were looked after by men termed *mauai gerka* [the *kernge* and *mowai-garka* of Tutu, v, p. 208].

On the south side of Mauar is a high place where the *markai* spirits live in the ground at the bottom of small holes—like the holes made by crabs on the beach. One day some children were playing there and one put his stick, *saker*, into a *markai* hole and broke the head of a *markai*'s baby. The *markai* "got wild" and started to move the island—like earthquake shocks. Then Zogau, the father of Susui, went to the high place and called out: "Open ground, open ground!" The ground opened and Zogau went underneath and the ground closed up again. Zogau said to the *markai*: "What is wrong? Do you people want to put the island down?" The *markai* showed the dead body of his baby and related what had happened, and said they would do something desperate. Zogau pleaded for the island, but the *markai* were firm in their determination to destroy the island. Zogau then threatened them with fighting, whereupon they made friends, and, to cement the peace, Zogau gave some leaf tobacco to the *markai*.

Some years ago a *madub* figure was found on the island, about which old people from Mäsig gave MacFarlane the following information. The figure was placed in the centre of a group of people and the young men and boys were given a concoction of grease from a putrifying human body mixed with yams, etc. Eyeballs, portions of the cheeks, and also portions of female breasts were sometimes added. The old men said that after eating, "Man he come half-cranky, he want to run this way, that way, climb up tree" and they mentioned that foam ran from the corners of the mouth, "all same dog".

### III. EASTERN ISLANDS

#### THE MURRAY ISLANDS (MER, DAUAR AND WAIER)

Visits of early voyagers, *p.* 95; Jack Bruce, *p.* 100; Folk tales, *p.* 101; Domestic life, *p.* 106; Food-getting activities, their ritual and social aspects, *p.* 131; Groupings, territorial and social, and local ritual observances, *p.* 159; Various socialising customs, *p.* 176.

Volume VI of these Reports deals fairly completely with the social and ritual life of the Murray islanders. Since this was published I have received a considerable amount of information from J. Bruce, W. H. MacFarlane and A. O. C. Davies which is either new or throws light upon that previously given; therefore it is necessary that the two accounts should be compared, and as copious references are given there should be no difficulty in obtaining a synthesis.

The population of Mer was estimated by Capt. Flinders in 1802 at 700. Rutherford in 1833 counted on the beach about 230 men, besides many women and some younger persons. The Rev. S. McFarlane in 1871 thought there were "between 300 and 400 natives on the island". In 1898 the estimate was about 460.

#### VISITS OF EARLY VOYAGERS

The following account is taken from T. B. Wilson, M.D., Surgeon R.N. (1835, Appendix, pp. 305-14):

On July 11, 1822, the *Richmond*, in company with the *Mary Anne* and *Almorah*, anchored off Murray's Island. "An active barter soon commenced. The natives would not permit their commodities out of their hands, until they had possession of what they considered an equivalent:

but, as we gave them our articles to inspect, without hesitation, they soon laid aside their mistrust. This caution, on their part, shows that they must have been cheated, in former dealings with Europeans. . . . The barter being concluded, three of us went on shore. . . . In proceeding along, the natives who were nearest us endeavoured to place leaves between the flints and pans of our pistols and fowling-pieces, still repeating, '*pata, pata*'. . . . During our ramble, we observed several men labouring under *elephantiasis*, who were apparently confined in a space, enclosed with strong wicker-work, upwards of ten feet high. We also noticed several others, afflicted with a still more loathsome disease. One of the natives, named Madiċa, whom we had dressed in a shirt and trousers, now came, and pointing to the setting sun, and to the ships, gave us to understand, that it was time for us to go on board; while others were using their best endeavours to persuade us to stay—it was imagined, for no very friendly purpose. . . . After having touched noses with him, we entered the boat. . . . Next morning. . . we landed [on Dauer], and walked to a village, formed exactly like that at Murray's Island. We did not meet with any inhabitants, but everything appeared neat and clean. . . . On looking into the largest hut, we observed it filled with human skulls. . . we beheld a number of natives wading through the channel which separates this from the other small Island [Waier]." In the afternoon they landed on Mer, and Madiċa introduced Wilson to another native who "touched my nose with his. . . . These two natives were well made men, considerably above the middle size, in whose fine open, but resolute countenances, I could not perceive the least indications of treachery". He then obtained a vocabulary (Ray, III, pp. 1, 2); later "we commenced a variety of gymnastic amusements, which were carried on with uninterrupted good humour. We had rather the advantage of the natives in wrestling, but they far surpassed us in archery; in short, it was absurd to make a comparison. . . indeed, the most experienced and skilful modern European archers would have cut but a very sorry figure among these athletic savages, whose amazing feats could not have been surpassed by the English archers of olden times". He quotes the account given by Flinders (*l.c.* p. xxii) of the Erub islanders. "At sunset, we left the shore, and gave the natives to understand that they would not see us again. Madiċa wept bitterly, which we thought rather extraordinary. . . . We then stood up in the boats, and gave three farewell cheers, which were cordially and loudly returned by the natives, from whom we thus parted on the most friendly terms. During our intercourse, we behaved towards them with the greatest prudence and good humour [although the tomahawks and axes which had been concealed in the bottom of the boat were all stolen by the natives], and endeavoured, as far as we could, to cultivate their friendship, for the advantage of those who might, through shipwreck, be at their mercy; and I have every reason to believe, that our conduct has been attended with good results, as I have heard of several shipwrecked people, who, since our visit, have been treated by them with great kindness and hospitality."

The following is an abstract and quotations from Rutherford, who visited Mer, June 19-23, 1833:

"The natives kept constantly waving a sort of flag composed of long grass tied to bamboo poles, signaling their wish to communicate with us" (p. 195).

The canoes, formed of trunks of trees, are very long and narrow; the outriggers "consist of two long bamboo spars laid and fastened with grass ropes across the centre of the canoe, distant from each other about six feet; and on the outer ends of these two spars, on either side, another spar is tied parallel with the canoe itself, about seven feet from it, that is beyond its gunwale or edge, and resting on the surface of the water. The space between the cross spars on the canoe, and to the distance of about two feet beyond its gunwale or edge on each side, is fitted or filled up with a bamboo hurdle, covered with a grass mat, on which the principal personage of the party and those who are not employed in paddling repose. The paddlers stand up in the canoe, and each paddles on one side or the other, according to his convenience, so that sometimes most or all are seen paddling on the same side."

"Besides tortoise-shell, they offer for barter the shells of various testacei, bows and arrows,

long wooden spears, rude ornaments, cocoa-nuts, yams, plantains, bananas, and sweet potatoes; but the tortoise-shell is the only valuable article they have. Iron in every shape they esteem very much, and, next to that, their fondness is for tobacco" (p. 195).

"They seem mild, inoffensive people." They made friends with a man "whose own name is Securo, but who is called by his comrades Madeau, which means chief or head man, although he does not appear to be more than the chief person of a canoe...pointing towards Darnley Island and New Guinea, he made signs that the natives in that direction eat human flesh; but again pointing to Murray, he again repeated the words 'Powta, powta, Mera powta'" [*paud*, peace, Mer] (p. 196). June 21. "Madeau brought off with him a young woman, whom he intimated, by indubitable signs, that he intended for the use of the chief mate...she certainly was not an ill-looking person" and gave them "to understand that her name was Garri (which, however, we afterwards learned, is their common term for woman)" [the native words he collected are quite unreliable] (p. 197). He counted on the beach about 230 men, besides many women and some younger persons. The houses are vaguely described.

The natives are briefly described, but he is mistaken when he says: "Some have woolly and some have straight hair, which many of them besmear with a reddish mineral substance, resembling the Sibilo of the southern Africans, and mixed, in like manner, with oil or grease". He evidently mistook the ringlets for straight hair. "Some few of the more elderly people, however, are affected with a species of leprosy, manifested by a whitish scurf in spots on the surface of the body [ringworm]: I observed one man affected with elephantiasis, having the right leg and thigh greatly enlarged by a tubercular swelling; and one individual had lost both lips and the *alae nasi*, by ulceration, which had healed" (p. 201). He refers to the cutting of the lobes of the ears in both sexes to form pendants an inch and a half or two inches long on each side and to the piercing of the nasal septum. He refers to the crescentic mother-of-pearl chest ornaments and to other ornaments, to their food, etc.—the fishing hooks are made of tortoise-shell and without barbs. Madeau "was easily made to understand the meaning of a chart of the straits, and was highly gratified when Murray's island, laid down in it, was pointed out to him" (p. 202).

As Lewis stayed longer at Mer than any previous voyager and had received information from the cabin boy Ireland, I think it worth while to give his description of the Miriam as they were in 1836, in abstract and in quotations.

They speak the same language [as the Darnley islanders], and keep up a constant communication with each other. "They are, however, very different in disposition, the former being inoffensive and friendly, whilst the latter, and those of the islands to the northward, are ferocious and treacherous. They doubtless derive their origin from New Guinea, with the natives of which they frequently communicate. In figure, they are tall and well formed; many wear their hair loose on the forehead and shoulders, twisted into long ringlets, from the crown of the head; the *septum narium* is perforated, in which, at times, they wear a circular hook of tortoise shell; the lower lobe of the ear is slit, and hangs very low, some being three inches long. They do not scarify the body so much as the New Hollanders do, but the men generally have a scarred figure representing a shell on each shoulder [I copied Brockett's illustrations of these in *J.A.I.* XIX, pl. vii, figs. 1-5; see also IV, pp. 13 ff.], and the women are marked with the same figure on the breasts; and both sexes have a figure resembling a banana tree, or a cocoa-nut tree, on each side of the head. During the cold season, the men and women partially lose their senses, and are unable to articulate; they eat scarcely anything, and roll about in the dust, as if they were deprived of reason.

"The island contains about 250 inhabitants, who subsist during the winter months on turtle and fish; and when these fail, on cocoa-nuts, bananas, and yams, which they cultivate largely; the name of these fruits, respectively, are *koo*, *gobbow*, and *lev-car* [*u*, *kaba*, and *lever*]. They also cultivate the tobacco plant, which they prepare for smoking by drying, and twisting it up into 'figs'. The pipe is made of the stems of the young bamboo, six or eight inches long, inserted into a bowl made also of bamboo.

“They believe that white people live always in ships, and possess no terrestrial home, and that they subsist upon sharks, porpoises, and dogs (footnote, They obtained [dogs] from the north coast of New Holland).

“The N.E. extremity of the island is held sacred by them [this is the headquarters of the Bomai-Malu cult], and only visited for the purpose of feasting or preserving the dead, which they suspend in the sun, and never bury.

“Their weapons are spears, which they procure from the New Holland natives; clubs headed with stone, and bows and arrows [these latter are described].

“The canoes which are obtained from the Indians of New Guinea contain from fourteen to sixteen individuals; they are about forty feet long (a tree-trunk for a canoe, seen on the N.E. side of Darnley Island, measured ninety feet in length and four feet in diameter). [Various details have been copied in vol. IV, p. 206.]

“Their dwellings are of circular form, built of bamboo, with a thatched roof, and are surrounded with a bamboo fence, as a protection from the inclemency of the N.W. monsoon.

“Each hut has a dead house close at hand, in which are suspended the skulls of their departed friends, and the skins of their hands; the latter on festive or funeral occasions are worn by women. The bodies of the dead are suspended in the sun for some time, and then are taken down, and the skin scarified in water; after which they are again suspended, until the flesh is decomposed; the skin is then smeared over with ochreous earth, and the head ornamented with two immense eyes made of mother of pearl, and hung about with cowries, which gives it a hideous appearance. After death they suppose that the spirit of the deceased haunts the island, and frequently visits them at night, coming to their hut and trying to enter, which they prevent by barricading the doors. This spirit they call “*lammoor*” [*lamar*], which means a white man. They describe the *lammoor* as being very powerful, and having immense hands, and being able to kill them at a single blow. Ireland. . . feels satisfied that he has both seen and heard by day and night. He describes this spirit to be very large, and painted over with red ochre.

“The most remarkable feature in their character is their inexplicable fondness for the preservation of the skulls [in a footnote he refers to Flinders, 1, p. xxxvi], whether of their deceased friends or enemies. Those of their friends. . . are strung up about the huts; and so desirous are they to possess the skull of a white man, that they travel from one end of the Strait to the other in search of one. Ireland and young D'Oyly had a narrow escape for their lives whilst at Murray's Island, being sought for by the Indians of *Aurced*, who came to *Dowar* and *Wyer*; but they were concealed by their friends. . . .

“Marriages are thus concluded: the friends of the man carries off the female, and conceals her in the bridegroom's hut, who withdraws himself into the “bush”, and conceals himself from the girl's friends, for a few days, and then returns to his habitation, upon which a conflict with bows and arrows takes place between him and the brothers and parents of his wife. These fights frequently end with death. The husband considers it an honour to fight for his wives. Polygamy is practised; some having two and some three wives, who work to support the husband by gardening and fishing. The women go naked, with the exception of a bundle of grass hung round the loins which they never remove. The men have no covering. As with all savages, parturition is easily got over: the woman moves about until the pains of labour commence; and when the child is born, it is carried to the sea-side and exposed to the surf for some time, after which the mother goes about her usual occupation. Infanticide is of very common occurrence; not from any superstitious feeling or sacrifice, but merely to prevent the family being increased beyond the means of providing for its subsistence; and this inhuman deed is done secretly, by the women, soon after parturition. The women also sell their children to any who will purchase them.

“In Captain Flinders' account of the Island he notices the poles which are erected round the shores, and considered them to be used for some fishing purpose, but upon inquiry Mr Lewis found that they were merely as ornaments; each pole is surrounded by a string of shells (footnote,



Ireland says they are placed there for birds to build upon. The birds he describes to be with long necks and legs and wings, like cranes: perhaps it is the blue heron).

"They acknowledge no chief, each family being distinct and independent of each other. Quarrels frequently take place, which after a fight are generally followed by a speedy reconciliation" (*Naut. Mag.* 1837, pp. 753-6).

Ireland informed Mr Lewis that he thought the bad weather experienced in their journey to Ērub (p. 10) "was caused by the Murray Islanders; who, when they wish the wind to blow hard, are in the habit of suspending a stone to the branch of a tree, by a string, and of vociferating loudly, and talking to it, and spitting on it, whilst they turn it about; which they suppose causes a gale. The stone is called by them *Dow-yumbe*" [*doiom*, VI, p. 194] (*l.c.* p. 756).

Lewis, according to King, stated: "On Wyer was observed, suspended between two bamboo trees, but supported by a rock in an inclined position, the skeleton of a man which had apparently been placed there some time, as all the flesh was dried up or decomposed. The figure had been painted over with a dark red ochreous pigment, with which they daub their bodies. In the forehead was a piece of mother-of-pearl, to represent an eye (footnote, As a piece is placed in each eye it is probable that one must have fallen out). The natives explained that he had died from swollen bowels, which was caused by some incantation of one of the Darnley Islanders, and that, after he was dead, a substance like a turtle was taken out of him which they attributed to the curse. They evidently entertained a religious veneration for the skeleton". The death took place in about 1835 (*l.c.* p. 663).

"Near the huts [on Dauar] were observed several skulls strung up among the bushes, which Ireland described to be memorials of departed friends" (King, *l.c.* p. 662).

The following notes are taken from Brockett (1836, p. 23), who was there in 1836. "Before and after smoking, they pronounce the words: *Sips, sips, sips, buggeree mess, buggeree mess*. . . the native name for tobacco is *soogoob*, and they call the pipe-stem *soogoob-mar*." He refers to "swords made of a hard wood. . . . In some of the huts, we saw the skins of hands which were hanging up: these the natives wear as ornaments on days of rejoicing. . . . the women shave their heads, leaving only a small tuft of hair on the top. . . . The men are certainly a fine looking race of people". He refers to "swinging a stone in order to influence the wind, and produce, according to their pleasure, a calm or a tempest and [to the custom] of pointing with a sharp bone to any part of the body, either to cure or create ulcers. . . . When two young persons wish to be united [in marriage], they shut themselves up in a hut, whilst their parents engage in such severe contests as (John Ireland affirms) sometimes cause them to murder each other. . . . To shave they sharpen a piece of bamboo, bend it nearly double, and then draw it down their face". His other remarks are not especially noteworthy, but he gives a number of sketches which have some interest.

Jukes spent only a few days (April 11-15, 1845) at the Murray Islands.

"The manners of these people were very frank and gentle, full of fun and cheerfulness. They were great beggars for tobacco, as long as our stock lasted, but were soon satisfied when told it was all gone. . . . Mr Millery had left a note-book ashore, having let a man examine it, and forgotten to ask for it again. On inquiring for it this morning it was immediately brought to him, with a rude caricature of himself in one page, with a hat on, and a pipe in his mouth, sketched by one of themselves." A tame *barit* [cascus] was seen in a cage, "which they seemed to prize very highly" (I, p. 202).

"Near the hut on [the sand spit of] Waier was a small enclosure, surrounded by a bamboo railing, in which were some old cocoa-nut trees, and a great many young ones just sprouting. Shells were hung up all round the railing, and on an old stump in the centre was a skull, old and weather beaten, smeared with red streaks of paint, and with several red flowers arranged on some twigs before it. Festoons of ropes, ornamented with feathers, hung round it from the trees." Eventually they sold the skull for a stick of tobacco (I, p. 201).

In the historical sketch, p. 15, will be found references to the subsequent history of Mer, but this would not be complete without an appreciation of the work done by John Bruce.

#### JACK BRUCE

In August, 1881, there came to Mer John Stewart Bruce, Robert Bruce, his wife and two children, Charles Bruce, and their old father. Robert Bruce says: "Crowds of natives met us on the beach when we landed. The absence of clothes was first noticed; part of a large white shell hung from the waist, covering the front part of the men, others were dressed in the altogether nude. Their wig-like hair formed into a mass of tiny ringlets hung from their heads partly covering their eyes, and they were smeared with coloured clays; hung from their shoulders were disk and star-shaped stone clubs. In their hands they each carried a very long bow—some six feet long—and some arrows. Some wore a shell or bone ornament thrust through the septum of the nose, earrings of turtleshell, necklets of teeth and shells, while some had flowers in their hair, and had armbands from which coloured grasses fluttered in the wind". (I would like to add here that I am indebted to Bob Bruce for much kindness as well as for information and for ethnographical specimens.)

In 1890 John Bruce somewhat unwillingly was persuaded by the Government Resident, the Hon. John Douglas, to become the Government teacher and representative of the Government for three years; at the end of the period he wanted to resign but was induced to continue and for thirty years longer he was the beloved and respected "*Baba*" (Father) of the Murray Islands. He was allowed to retire at the end of 1923. He settled in Sydney and died on December 24, 1928, aged 80 years.

It is difficult to overrate the beneficent influence that "Jack" exercised over the Miriam. He was consulted by the natives in all their difficulties, and no other person has had so intimate an acquaintance with the joys and sorrows of their daily life or so true an appreciation of their needs. He had a sympathetic and very extensive knowledge of their past and present customs and beliefs, as is exemplified in vol. VI and the present volume of these Reports. It is largely due to him that the Miriam are a contented and happy people.

At his own request Jack was cremated and his ashes taken to Mer. Robert Bruce writes: "My son Roderick Sinclair Bruce and I landed [in Mer] on August 15, 1930, with friends to deposit the funeral-urn containing the cremated ashes of my late brother on the grave of his father John Bruce. What a change we saw in, say, fifty years! The natives again met us on the beach at the same place where we had landed fifty years before. They are well dressed, clean skinned, bright and alert. They all seemed to understand the British language".

On the following day over 400 natives formed a procession to the cemetery at Korog, each one carrying a green sprig of *Poinciana regia*. A funeral oration written by his Excellency Sir John Goodwin, Governor of Queensland, was read and other speeches were

made and sacred songs sung. Mr Corran, Mayor of Thursday Island, delivered the masonic funeral oration, and thus the final rites for this good and faithful Brother were performed by Brethren of the Craft.

On August 23 there was a gigantic death feast, at which were exhibited an imitation boat made of bamboo and loaded with goods to represent the first landing of the Bruces, and a second to represent the arrival of the urn and the mourners. After the copious and varied feast there remained 984 baskets full of food for distribution. There were the inevitable speeches. Our old friend Pasi surpassed himself in recounting the history of events since 1881. He spoke of the bamboo boat that was the emblem among the festal decorations of all the good things brought to them, of "Wisdom", how to make roads, how to procure good drinking water, the knowledge of the A B C so that they could read books and learn about the big world. Who was the man that did this? He was John Stewart Bruce, our first white teacher. Exhausted, Pasi then lay down on the grass.

Jaek left his books for the use of the Murray Island people only, and returned to the island all the old-time things they gave him long ago as a nucleus for a museum; these are never to be sold, loaned, or allowed to leave Mer. (He left to me his MSS., of which I have made good use; these will be preserved in the library of the Faculty of Archaeology and Ethnology in the University of Cambridge.)

#### FOLK TALES

I adhere to what was said in vol. VI, p. 1, and have little to add to the remarks I made on pp. 9 and 10 of vol. V. Further experience has confirmed me in the opinion that with ordinary care these tales may be accepted as trustworthy ethnographical documents so far as objects, certain customs, and beliefs are concerned. The miraculous elements may be discounted, nor can the tales be regarded as historical evidence. Events and technical innovations are associated with one or more culture heroes and it is convenient to retain these ascriptions, not that they may be accepted as literally true, but because they clearly indicate that there is a traditional belief in the spread of cultures from one area to another. In some cases there are indications of relative chronology, but no data are available for datable happenings. "As a general rule, when there is close similarity, it looks as if the Eastern islanders had borrowed from the Western. Stories current among both groups of people may however in some cases be due to a common origin; at present we cannot settle this point, as we have no collections of folk tales from the Cape York peninsula or from the neighbouring coast of New Guinea" (V, p. 10). This was written in 1908. Dr Landtman published in 1917 his great Memoir, *The Folk-tales of the Kivai Papuans*. The manner in which he has accomplished his task is worthy of the highest praise and the great mass of data that he gives is invaluable not only to students of Papuan ethnography but to those interested in comparative folk-lore. In the section on the ethnography of North Queensland will be found an account of the noteworthy investigations of D. F. Thomson.

In considering folk tales it must not be forgotten that a tale may travel independently of an actual migration or that an immigrant people are sure to bring their own folk tales with them. Therefore in any one spot there may be tales due demonstrably or inferentially to either or both of these sources in addition to the indigenous tales, which themselves may earlier have been similarly derived. The attribution of incidents in tales or of the tales themselves to local spots or objects is of common occurrence everywhere and in itself proves nothing.

Those tales from different places which deal with the same personage are treated from

a local point of view, as for example tales about Kwoiam, Sida, Gelam and others. As is to be expected each account deals more particularly with the events that refer to that particular island or locality and the other adventures are barely alluded to, also there is considerable variation in detail. These factors make it difficult to obtain a connected and intelligible account of the series of events happening to a particular personage.

In a letter Bruce wrote to me he says:

You will have noticed that in all their legends and folk-lore the principal personages, both male and female, are never mated. If a man recounts the deeds and doings of any of them and you ask the question whether they were mated or who their parents were, he looks at you and replies to your question as if you had committed an act of desecration in asking such a question: "*No le! E' nole kosker kak e' nole baba kak e' tabara tonar*" ["Just a person! She not wife, he not father, he (or she) own fashion"—*nole*, not; *kak*, suffix, not, nothing]. It is very amusing to hear Harry Mannus scorning the idea of their being married or having parents; they are as real to him as his own wife and children are.

#### *Origin of the Mer le*

A number of men and women went out from New Guinea to fish and were carried away from the coast by heavy winds and the canoe was broken up on Maira reef between Erub and Mer. All on board were drowned except three women; the dead can now be seen as large stones on the reef. One woman swam to Erub and the others to Mer.

Shortly afterwards a canoe left New Guinea with three men on board to search for the lost people. They landed on Erub and saw the track of one woman, but could not find her and one man remained to search for her. The other two men went to Mer and found the tracks of two women; whilst they were searching for them, the women came out of the bush. The men were very pleased to find them and said to the women: "Now this is a good island although there is no food growing on it, very good if we remain here and live on fish until something grows for our food". They married the women and children were born to them. Other people came to the island. (The account then states that by and by a man named Sida came on a visit to the island, whose story is given on p. 376.) It is stated that Said, who married Pekar of Ulag and made the first coconuts there, came after Sida (Bruce MS.).

Another version of the peopling of Mer is given in the story of Pop and Kod (vi, p. 19).

#### *Pepker*

Mr A. O. C. Davies obtained the following tale from Pasi, which is more complete than the one told to me by Debe Wali (vi, p. 5):

Two birds lived on the top of a big tree, one, Naur-naur [*Graculus melanops*], had a white neck and the other, Paim, had a black neck; they beat a drum and sang. Two women, Seriamur and her daughter Pepker, made the two hills of Danar and lived on the big one. Seriamur told Pepker to make a basket, who, before she had finished it, said she wanted a drink of water. Handing the basket to her mother, she took a coconut-shell and went to get some water at a small creek at Sokop-pat [Tobacco creek]. As she filled her *ni sor*, the two birds spat into the water. Looking into the water she saw the reflection of the birds and turned round to look at them. They said to her, "We two men will take and marry you". Pepker was willing and went with the two birds and the birds sang. Meanwhile Seriamur continued making the basket and awaited the return of Pepker. Pepker did not come back and Seriamur and her basket turned into two stones which can still be seen. Sometimes sweet potatoes and yams are placed in the stone basket by thoughtful people in case Seriamur gets hungry.

Davies gives a short version of the making of the two hills of Danar, but states that Zai [or Ziaino] was the daughter of Pepker.

*Notes on the killing of Iruam* (VI, p. 5)

At Sager and Mepau, where the women prepared their food, and at intervals of a few yards apart, there are heaps of stones used in heating the native ovens, *amai sapri*: these are known as the *ru baker* or *amei baker* of Deiau, Ter-sabersaber, Ter-pipi (p. 6). What Ter-pipi said was, "Baba dasi peogi" (look! father is coming up). The *ubar tut* is a club or stick made of *ubar* wood (footnote, p. 6). Iruam's stone was his testicle (p. 7)—Bruce MS.

*The Ti birds* (VI, p. 8)

After leaving Keweid the *ti* went to Zaub, Baur, Mas, and Kole Zomared, in all of which places they cut out a passage from the beach to the hill. Finally they decided that Lakop was the best place to live at. It is only for a few months in the year that there is any water in Lakop (p. 10). This is the site of the *lag zogo* (VI, p. 218)—Bruce MS.

*Kiar* (VI, p. 13)

Kiar was a young man of Dauar, but his mother belonged to Ulag. Kiar was with a company of men on the reef making a circle round a shoal of fish (*lar imu*) with fish-spears in their hands: Kiar was cut on the sole of his foot by a small clam shell, *mi*, it bled very much. The other men took him to the beach and laid him at the foot of the cliff Bazir at Teg: they erected a shed of boughs over him and tried unsuccessfully to stop the bleeding. The men took the blood and threw it at the cliff, for days and days the foot bled. When the north-east wind *naiger* set in, he requested the men to take him in a canoe to Ulag as he said he greatly loved his mother's place at Ulag [and there he would get the full benefit of the wind]. They took him there, but the foot still bled and never healed. Eventually he died there.

This is a simple tale: there is no ritual connected with the red patches on Bazir. This red mark is the dividing boundary between Teg and Giar in connection with fishing or catching turtle in the passage between Dauar and Mer. Fish or turtle caught to the north-west of Kiar's stone are claimed by the Giar men; if to the south-east Teg men claim them (cf. map, p. 161)—Bruce MS.

Landtman (1917, p. 419) gives a Masingara story of "Dagi of the long arm" which may be compared with "Kultut of the long arm" (VI, p. 11).

*Meidu*

The version Mr Davies heard from Pasi is very similar to that recorded in vol. VI, p. 13. Meidu is credited with three daughters, Baisò, Autper and Egerarget. The song she sang on the reef is thus translated: "O Mer and Dauar I leave you! I have not had anything to eat from sunrise to sunset. O my dearest and pleasant home in Mer! O my dearest and pleasant home in Dauar! The sun will rise and the sun will set on those who are ceaselessly fed as a dove in its nest".

In one version Bruce refers to three girls: Baisò, Israged and Eupe, and to three young men: Ab, Monan and Zifar.

*Pop and Kòd* (VI, p. 19)

In the beginning (*giz*) there were only two people in Mer. Pop appeared first and had the island to himself. After a time he noticed that the birds were of two sorts and he caught copulating turtle in the mating season. So he decided that he must have a mate and took some white mud and fashioned it into the form of a female dugong, but added two legs. He then lived at Er and when the sun set he lay down to sleep beside the mud figure. In the morning he awoke at sunrise, took the figure and held it up to his face and coughed into its mouth, the image then began to get warm

and became alive. He held it close to himself and after a while he said: "I think your name is Kòd". They went outside the hut and climbed to the top of a large *pinar* [coral tree] and, as they saw the sun rise, they began to sing. When the song was finished they descended the tree, went into the hut and cohabitated. They walked about the island and lived for a while on a small hill in the bush. They moved to Arp where they fell ill, thence they walked into the bush and stayed at Tomog. After a time the two people lay down and died (Davies).

Bruce says in his MS.: "When making love to each other, they blew feathers from their mouths whilst singing, *etperet*".

*Sida* (VI, p. 19)

The myth of Sida is discussed later, p. 374. With regard to the adventures of Sida, I find in Bruce's MS. (I retain his spelling) that on his journey round the east coast of Mer he had connection with Karus at Mergar and with Kol at Er [possibly Kol is represented by the "headless stone perched on a heap of stones on the sand-beach" noted in vol. VI, p. 11], and next with Meidu at Eger [who could not have been the Meidu of another tale (p. 103; VI, p. 13)]. All these were young women, but Zabarkare of Warwe was a young girl. Later he had connection with a young woman named Pego at Areb and finally with a young girl, Pekara, at Ulag.

At Mergar, Er, Eger and Warwe, Sida erected a shrine, and a *u* (coconut) *zogo*, in addition to the *u zogo* at Ormei (Dauar) and the main one at Ulag. At Warwe and Areb he planted a *kapelere* tree (tree fern) [? *Pandanus*] in the *zogo* ground; at the other places he did not plant anything [but cf. VI, p. 20] with the exception of the coconuts at Ulag.

This supplements what is given in vol. VI, p. 20. The evident care which the natives show in giving details indicates that in their estimation these are important elements in the myth.

*Gelam* (VI, p. 23)

In Mr Davies' version, Gelam's mother is named Atwer, he had no father. Gelam shot Torres Straits pigeons and gave them to his mother. Atwer kept the best parts for herself and gave Gelam only bones and entrails, sometimes not even these, but cooked for him the coarse grass, *sòge*, used for thatching, or other grass. Getting tired of this he complained to his mother. The remainder of the story is practically the same as that already given. I previously said (footnote, p. 23) that I thought my informants had made a mistake in putting the blame on Atwer, but we must accept this as being the Miriam version. I confess to having been prejudiced in favour of the Mabuiag version (v, p. 38) in which Gelam was the offender.

The Rev. W. H. MacFarlane has sent me the surprising information that the people of Small River (or Cowal Creek), near Red Island, on the Cape York peninsula, about 20 miles from Thursday Island, say that Gelam came from Small River. There is a stone on the beach which represents a coil of rope that belonged to Gelam. Gelam's mother asked him to get crayfish (which are very abundant there) while she dug *atia*, a species of wild yam. Instead of digging she went to play with wallabies. When Gelam returned there were no *atia*, so he left the place and went to Moa.

*Gawer* (VI, p. 26)

Gawer was an old woman who met Abob and Kos when they came to Dauar; she had a number of little boys who used to go in canoes on a reef to fish, meanwhile she cooked sweet potatoes and yams. When they came back from the reef they called out "Mother you come and get some

fish": she cooked the fish for their evening meal and all was shared between them. A woman named Saidaipauer lived on the big hill of Dauar and watched the boys continually going out to the reef and returning with fish and saw Gawer cooking for them, and was jealous of her. So she looked about for a pandanus tree that had ripe fruit and cut a bamboo into splinters, which she stuck in the ground and covered with leaves; next she cut the tree on one side where it would not be noticed and so that if it fell it would fall where she had placed the splinters in the ground. She wanted to kill Gawer in order to steal her boys. She went down to Gawer's village and said to her, "You come and climb this tree and take the fruit". They went together and stood close to the pandanus tree. Gawer climbed up the tree as far as the branches and called out, "I can't go along the branch". Saidaipauer told her to go along the branch, and when she did her weight snapped the tree where it had been cut and when the tree fell her body and face were impaled on some of the splinters. Gawer lay on the ground fastened down by the splinters and Saidaipauer covered her with bushes and grass, and went to Gawer's village and took her place. She roasted the sweet potatoes and yams and when the boys returned and called out "Mother you come and take your fish", she went to the canoes, got the fish, and returned to cook them. When she went to get the fish she turned her face away so that the boys could not see it, but they said to one another "Mother never walked like that". When the boys came in to eat she gave them the bad food which their proper mother never did. None of the boys ate the food properly and by and by they went outside and heaved it up outside the fence. They yarned and the eldest boy said "Our mother does not turn her face when she walks about. I think we will look around to see where our proper mother is. To-morrow we will have a look". So in the morning the boys went to the bush to look for their mother. They called out "Mother, Mother!" Gawer heard them calling but she could not speak, so she whistled. They kept on calling and she whistling till they came up to where she was lying under the tree. All the boys cried "What's the matter, mother, why do you lie on the ground?" Gawer said, "One woman she make a fool of me. I climb up pandanus tree and Saidaipauer had cut-em that tree and leave-em one side, and put sharp sticks in ground, and they stick into me, and she made me a fool". They took Gawer and pulled out the bamboo splinters from her face and body, and two boys, one on each side, carried Gawer down to the village. Saidaipauer saw them coming and the boys took sticks and stones and wanted to kill her, but she ran away to her camp on the high hill and there she still lives. (Davies.)

What little has been previously recorded about Gawer will be found in vol. VI, pp. 26-8, where it is stated that Gawer was the only inhabitant of Dauar, though in the present story there were others, but discrepancies of this kind are not uncommon in the folk tales. In the version of the tale of Abob and Kos given by Mr Davies these culture heroes met on Dauar "an old woman named Gawer, who was of the Warip tribe, and because she was old they fed her only on fish guts and bones". The rest of the story is practically identical with that I recorded: the new version makes Gawer a Waier woman who compassed the destruction of her kin because they half-starved her.

Evidently the motif of this tale is common to the Eastern islanders, as it occurs, though differing in details, in the Ugar story of Daumer and Seprumrum (p. 204).

In vol. VI, p. 28, I stated that Gawer was represented by a fish's head (VI, pl. VI, fig. 4), but I find from Bruce's MS. that Gawer was an upright stone with a rude head which stood close to the tree shown in the background in vol. VI, pl. III, fig. 1. The head of the *weare* fish is in the Cambridge Museum. The upright stones in vol. VI, pl. III, fig. 1 are not Gawer's friends giving her food, but are her *ido la*, treasures.

#### *The five birds and the rat of Dauar*

Formerly the island of Dauar was only a sand-bank on which lived five birds: Gob (that feeds on *tup*), Pilawa, Siler, Bonger ("man-of-war bird"?) and Kiau (kingfisher). They each took a

canoe and landed on the other side at Ormei. One day they each got a crew, loaded up their canoes and were about to set out for a sand-bank when Mokeis, the rat, wanted to go too. He went to Gob and said, "I want to go to the sand-bank in your canoe". Gob said, "I know you, Mokeis, you have too big an appetite, you would eat up all my food". Then the rat went to Pilawa and asked him. Pilawa said, "I know you, by and by you finish up all my kaikai. I no want you". So the rat asked the three others, but none of them would take him as he ate too much. Mokeis stood on the beach and watched the five canoes go off to the sand-bank. When they were out of sight he thought of a plan and went to Galbol, the whale, and told him about the five birds. Galbol agreed to take him, so the rat jumped into his mouth. With two other whales, Mat and Goul, they started off and before long came up to the five canoes. When close by the rat jumped out of Galbol's mouth on to the outrigger float (*sirib*) of Gob's canoe and gnawed at the fastenings, so the outrigger was broken; then he jumped on to the other *sirib* and did the same, so the canoe upset. Mokeis jumped on to the other canoes in turn and did likewise, so that all the canoes were upset. Galbol waited for Mokeis to jump back into his mouth and then the three "whales" smashed the canoes to pieces, after doing this they returned to the south-east point of Waier, where they went up the shore at the sand-beach called Zusgeri. (Told by Pasi to Davies.)

This is a variant of the tale of Mokeis, the greedy man, given in vol. III, p. 242 and vol. VI, p. 54; as this tale was written down by Pasi and transcribed by Ray, it must be regarded as more authoritative than the version given by Davies.

#### *Two fish who married a girl*

Koit and Pakor are two red fish, Koit has small black spots and Pakor has a hard skin. At low water, Wa and some other girls went on the dry reef to pick up shell fish. The two "roek cod" swam in from deep water and Wa liked the look of them and they began to yarn. After a time the fish said to Wa, "You come along to the edge of the reef next low water, we two want you to be our wife and you come to our camp at Suber reef". Wa said, "All right, I come again tomorrow". When the girls had finished picking up shell fish they went ashore at high tide, made a fire, roasted the shell fish and ate them. Next morning the girls yarned, but Wa did not say anything about Koit and Pakor. The girls said, "It's high water, we go and pick up coconuts and sticks, at low water we go pick'em up shells". So they all went into the bush and returned at low water. Wa took her mat, pillow, coconut water vessels and two baskets. Meanwhile the girls were ready with their baskets and called out to Wa, "You no going? its low water now!" Wa called out, "No, you go first, I go after you". They went to the reef first. Wa took her two baskets, one in each hand, and carried her mat and pillow over her shoulder. Later she followed the girls. One girl looked round and saw Wa, she told the other girls and they all looked at Wa coming behind. They all talked and said, "Why does she take mat and pillow? Where is she going?" They picked up shell fish but kept a watch on Wa all the time. By and bye Wa went to the edge of the reef near deep water and stood there. Koit and Pakor came and called to her to come down and Wa dived into the deep water. All the girls cried out, "Wa, she has gone!" They did not see Koit and Pakor, but ran to the place whence Wa had dived. When Wa had dived down Koit and Pakor each caught hold of an arm and led her to their home in the rocks. When the girls got to the spot they saw bubbles coming up and they said to one another, "I think Koit and Pakor they take Wa for wife and go to Suber reef".

This tale was collected by Mr Davies and has not hitherto been recorded.

#### DOMESTIC LIFE

A sketch of the everyday activities of the Miriam and those of other islanders is given in the Introduction to vol. IV. More precise information concerning the Miriam will be found in vol. VI: Birth and childhood customs and limitation of children, pp. 105-11. Courtship



and marriage, pp. 112-19. The regulation of marriage, pp. 120-5. Funeral ceremonies, pp. 126-62. Property and inheritance, pp. 163-8.

The following account presents details of various aspects of the daily life and other matters concerning individuals rather than groups.

Birth, *p.* 107. Childhood, *p.* 108. Initiation of lads, *p.* 108. Female puberty, *p.* 109. Love charms, *p.* 109. Practice to obtain children, *p.* 110. Limitation of children, *p.* 110. Adoption, *p.* 110. Illegitimate children, *p.* 111. Births, marriages and deaths from 1892 to 1899, *p.* 112. The children born of these marriages, *p.* 113. Ailments and diseases and their cure, *p.* 114. Death and mortuary practices and ceremonies, *p.* 117. Widows, *p.* 128. Omens and divination, *p.* 129. Restraints and sanctions, *p.* 130.

### *Birth*

I obtained the following information from Gimai, Pasi's wife.

"When small little thing come out from nose, women savvy and say, 'I think that woman got piecanniny'." Sickness and the darkening of the areolae are recognised signs of pregnancy.

During parturition the woman squats on her heels on *gulab*, dried banana leaves, like a Malay and holds with both hands on to a stick firmly fixed in the ground and a woman (her mother-in-law or her own mother) rubs her from back to front. There are plenty of women all around (but no men) who "help and not laugh". Some women have a rapid delivery, others have a prolonged labour of one to three days. The first-born sometimes takes a day and a night or two days and two nights. Some have ten hours labour, say from 7 A.M. to 5 P.M. All children give about the same amount of pain: some women cry at delivery, others do not.

Usually there is a head presentation, sometimes a foot but not a shoulder presentation. If the child is not born quickly the husband is told to go and swim in the sea, and if the afterbirth does not come out soon the mother is constantly rubbed and the father frequently goes into the sea. The navel string, *kopor*, is cut with a reed, *pater*, about 4 inches from the abdomen. If the placenta, *kopar*, does not come out the woman dies in three days, as was the case of Siau (Zaub 2) the daughter of Arei and wife of Kadub and of Baina wife of Jimmy Dedi. There is no caul.

After the birth the woman goes into the sea and is again rubbed. The attendant women take the new-born infant and wash it in the sea, put it on a mat and give it to the father. The mother gets up and walks about at once. (Bruce says when a mother goes into the sea to wash after childbirth she is very careful not to wet her breasts as it is supposed to stop the flow of milk.)

In June 1899 a young married woman, Werkes, could not be delivered of her first child. Mur, an elderly childless widow, was acting as midwife, *auski kosker*; when she found there was going to be a difficulty she took a razor, cut the mother and took the child away from her. Both mother and child did well, but the latter died five months later. Opera the Teacher's wife was present but could not do anything to relieve the mother. Werkes, who is a relative of Mime (Sebeg), is weak in body and mind, she is married to a South Sea man, who also is weak in intellect but is a strong healthy-looking man [I cannot trace these people in the genealogies]. Mur is a big powerful woman, the largest on the island, and from her portrait [pls. V, fig. 3, X, fig. 3; and IV, pl. II, fig. 5] it is evident she would have no hesitancy in taking a hand in any kind of operation. She lived at Deiau (Peibre) [and is recorded in the genealogies under 1 B, Baur] (Bruce MS.).

During seven years two women died in child-birth.

*Childhood*

In the case of the first child, the mother does not go to the bush (work in the gardens) until the boy (? or girl) begins to stand up and talk, but for later children, "when skin comes off", that is in about six days, she starts work in the bush.

While the woman is incapacitated the husband looks after the house, lights the fire, etc. There is no trace of *couvade*. He gives presents to those who have assisted at the birth and looked after his wife. There is no payment to the wife's parents for the newly-born child.

Milk usually comes next morning or in a day's time. Lactation lasts till the child can crawl or can walk; some mothers nurse the child till the front incisors are cut, but not when it can talk properly. If a child wants milk it may occasionally be given much later—up to three years. (Bruce says that a mother weans her child when it begins to bite with its teeth and she anoints her nipples with a decoction of chillies and water [to discourage the child]. He thinks that from 18 months to two years is the normal period for lactation, but he has seen children close on three years old at the mother's breast, but he could not say whether she had milk for it.

(Bruce says, as a rule, it is two days or so after birth before the mother can suckle the child as there is no flow of milk; generally some other woman who has milk suckles the child for a day or two. If no woman is available they use scraped coconut kernel squeezed in water, *sabid*, or ripe bananas used in the same way, and give it to the child and the babies thrive well on it, but now they ask for a tin of condensed milk. The same applies to a child when the mother dies in childbirth.)

When the child is about a month old the father gives a child-naming feast, *dilik lewer* (*dilik*, announce): one is also given when a child is adopted. Still-born children are not named. On the father's side the eldest son takes the grandfather's and father's name, after he has taken the family name (other names may be given to him); the surplus names after the death of the father are shared among his brothers. There is no family name on the mother's side; she leaves no names behind her in the family. The girls' names are taken from the fathers' sister and these are handed down in the family (Bruce MS.). Bruce also says that *Nam* is a family name for girls of the *Meaurem le* and *Kòmet le* (p. 161), presumably from their fathers' side.

The teething troubles of the children appear to be less than those of white children and the mothers do not worry in the least about them, they merely say, "By and by he finish". There is only one half-caste on Mer, aged 32 (in 1916); his mother said he was more troublesome when teething (he was her first child) than all the others (her other children) who are full-blooded natives. When a child is more fractious than usual the mother hands the child over to the father, who takes it carefully in his arms and goes to the bush behind his house and urinates, and whilst doing so he presses the child close to his body. This is accepted as a sure method for easing the pain of the little sufferer. This is all that is done. (Bruce MS.)

*Initiation of lads*

The most important event for those lads who were entitled to it was the initiation into the Bomai-Malu cult. The first stage is noted in vol. VI, p. 288. Pasi told MaeFarlane that if a boy lost through carelessness his *kus wak* (VI, fig. 65) or his *daumer lub* (VI, fig. 58) he was punished by death, usually by being throttled with the bare fingers if he was small, or by clubbing if he was a man. If the *kus wak* was stolen, the *kèsi* had to report the loss to the *Zogo le*, who punished the thief, but the *kèsi* was not punished. The name of the chest



A *kog lu* was wrapped round with *bisi wam* because Sio's petticoat was made of it; it is a *nog lu* (foreign thing). The *kog lu* is anointed with *kusi bayer* and *arzer* which make a very pleasant scent [for Sio see vi, p. 221, footnote 3].

When a young man went to a dance he prepared his *kog lu* and fixed it in his belt, *wak*, or in his upper-arm band, *put*, or in his bracer, *kadik*.

[*Omabar* is a general term *au nei* of which *birobiro* is a special name, *kebi nei*, and one informant told me that *neur madub* was also a *kebi nei*.]

In the Miriam vocabulary (vol. III) it is stated that *kapkap lu* (*Indogifera viscosa*) and *kiakikiaki* (a scented root) are used as love charms.

A note of Bruce's says that "the *kog mer* (sexual intercourse words), like all their other formulae, are not in the Murray dialect, but a *korkairam lera mer* (words of the Kulka people)".

Mr Davies sent me the following notes: When a man desired a girl he put her name on the *madub* [probably he named the *kog lu* with the girl's name]. Someone told the girl what he had done and that the man would call her name under a certain tree. The girl usually got there before the time and hid in the bushes. On arrival at the spot the man anointed the *madub* with oil and turning to each point of the compass called the name of the girl. After the fourth time he raised the *madub* above his head and called: "Come, come, come, come now". The girl then emerged from her hiding place and submitted without opposition (cf. vi, p. 222).

#### *Practice to obtain children*

Mr Davies sent me the following note of a practice which has not been otherwise recorded: The *eb* (penis) stone originally projected from a large rock; when it was used it was anointed with turtle oil and barren women who wanted to have children lay upon it. This stone had the end destroyed by a fire, consequently it has not been used for many years, hence its present rough and neglected condition.

#### *Limitation of children*

As pointed out in vol. vi, pp. 106-10, there are various practices to limit the number of births. It was supposed that a young woman could render herself sterile by chewing certain leaves, or that foeticide could be procured by similar means. Bruce (MS.) also says that *wakor* (*Ipomoea biloba?*) was used for abortion and as a preventative.

#### *Adoption*

The following examples of adoption in Mer are taken from Bruce's MS.: Sakal of Er, 18 B, when he was a grown man was adopted by Deupeï [? Danpe of Giar pit, 27], who renamed him Alo. (Charlie) Boro is a son of Abari of Mad (Kòmet, 5 A). Abari was adopted by Koiop of Zomared [Umar, 1 C, in the genealogies] and so Abari belonged to Peibre and Kòmet. Boro belongs to Zomared, but his maternal uncle or *nunei*, Mezmez or Tapi, who was a Sebeg man, adopted him and made him his heir. Maina, Abari's grandfather, was an Areb man, but he was adopted by a Kòmet man of Mad. So Boro has claims on Areb, Zomared, Sebeg, and Mad, but the last is his principal place.

The frequent adoption of children is an obscure problem. Adoption is referred to by Rivers in vol. vi, p. 177, and on p. 124 he says there can be little doubt that in all respects an adopted child is completely a member of the family of his foster-parents. In a letter to me Mrs Seligman regrets that we have no information why parents give up their children;

what recompense they had: who suckles the child till it is weaned; or why so much stress is laid on the secrecy of adoption, which was just as prominent in the Western islands (v, p. 240), though the custom of adoption was not so prevalent as in Mer (v, pp. 151, 170). So far as she can see from the genealogies, though some of the parents in the Western islands who adopted children had no other sons living, others allowed their only son to be taken by another family.

In the case of Waria of Mabuag (v, p. 280), the proposed adoption did not take place, though the *koi nel* of "Waria" was given to him by the man who wished to adopt him. No reason is given why the adoption did not take place, though one sees in the genealogy (Table 1) that his own brothers died young. However, as adoption was frequently decided upon at birth or even before birth, the fate of his brothers could not have already been determined. In some cases daughters were adopted (B.Z.S.).

MacFarlane informs me that in Mer when a man adopted an adult as a relative he smeared red paint, *maier*, on the body of the adopted man, and this might be done in the case of a man adopting a boy as his son but not in the case of young children or infants; for these Bruce says a *dilik lewer* (naming or announcing feast) was given. Certainly in Mer, and doubtless elsewhere in the Straits, there was no blood ceremony at adoption or exchange of names. In Mer as in the other islands people occasionally exchanged names.

As so many rites for the benefit of the community were performed only by the heads of a family or of a limited group of people and as the rite could not be performed if the responsible men of the family or group died out, it is reasonable to suppose that some artifice had to be employed in order to remedy this disaster. I have however no evidence that this affords even a partial explanation for the prevalence of adoption in Torres Straits. This idea came to me on reading an unpublished discussion on adoption in Malekula which John Layard has kindly allowed me to see in which he assumes that adoption might sometimes have been necessary for the continuance of the *maki* rite. I am also indebted to Mrs Seligman for pointing out the unsatisfactory state of our knowledge of adoption and for useful suggestions concerning other social customs.

#### *Illegitimate children*

Bruce has recorded the names given to these children, their sexes and the day and month when they were born, and also the names of the parents and their ages. In most cases the women had only one child, but one had two by different men, another had three by different men and another three by the same man. As a rule the names of the men appear only once (one man had two children by different women in 1914 and another had a girl and a boy in successive months in 1901). One man, as just noted, had three children by one woman; these three boys were born on Feb. 17, 1896; March 3, 1899; Oct. 31, 1901. (M. mother, M.W. widow, F. father, with their ages.)

1893, M. 19, F. —.

1895, M. 21, F. —.

1896, M. 31, F. 28; M. 41, F. 25.

1897, M. 32, F. 25; M. 17, F. 18; M. 16, F. 30.

1898, M. 18, F. —.

1899, M. 33, F. 31.

1901, M. 19, F. 27; M. 21, F. 22; M. 23, F. 22;

M. 35, F. 33.

1904, M. 20, F. 18.

1905, M. 29, F. 20; M. 24, F. 34; M. 18, F. 24.

1906, M. 22, F. 30.

1908, M. 18, F. 25; M.W. 35, F. 33.

1910, M.W. 33, F. 36.

1914, M. 21, F. 27; M. 24, F. 27; M. 17, F. 21.

1915, M. 18, F. 24.

1917, M. 21, F. 19; M. 23, F. 19.

1920, M. 19, F. 22.

1921, M. 21, F. 31; M. 21, F. 33; M. 20, F. —;

M. 18, F. 18.

The following information is from Bruce's MS.:

*Births, deaths, and marriages registered by me from the year 1892 to October 1899*

Year	Births			Deaths			Marriages
	Male	Female	Totals	Male	Female	Totals	
1892	10	13	23	6	3	9	8
1893	10	7	17	12	1	13	3
1894	3	7	10	5	9	14	4
1895	10	12	22	7	7	14	5
1896	5	4	9	8	4	12	5
1897	7	15	22	7	4	11	3
1898	11	5	16	6	2	8	2
1899	6*	5*	14	12*	5*	22	2
	62*	68*	133	63*	35*	103	32

\* These figures are not correct but the totals are up to the end of the year. The sexes of the births were not given. 1900 was a fairly healthy year; two adults and three children died.

In 1893 dysentery and fever were very prevalent and the death rate was high from August to October. There was an epidemic of measles in December, but no deaths resulted.

During a hurricane at Princess Charlotte bay, North-East Queensland, in March 1899, five Murray islanders were drowned—three men: Hkwam, 36 (1 Baur), Poi, 29 (16 Warwe), Douglas, 20 (Sebeg) and two children: Felce, girl, 2 years and Paioro, 7 months. May, June and July were very sickly months due to extreme cold; the change was so sudden and severe that nearly every person was suffering from bad colds and coughs. The people were having a *bud lever* for those drowned and the sitting up during the cold nights no doubt accelerated the death of men like Alo, Dauai, Sisa, Lepeta, Komaberi Kilarup and Kailu, so that the death rate was very high for this year. The sickness lasted only seven to fourteen days: it began with a numbness in the legs which gradually crept upwards, this was accompanied by fever; when the paralysis got up to the heart they died. Also in 1899 a young man named Tapi or Idage died at Mabuag; he was one of the crew of a "swimming-boat" [i.e. a pearl-shelling boat from which the crew swim-dive for shell]. He was caught by a shark on the thigh, which was stripped to the bone: he bled to death.

The death rate, it will be observed, is much higher for males than for females. I [Bruce] think it is through so much sitting and lying down on the men's part, and generally on the sand, very seldom on a mat, whilst the women lead a more active life in working in the gardens, carrying, and cooking. The woman ages more rapidly than the man; in facial appearance he is better preserved, but he is not so tough as the woman. In the early days of the pearl-shelling industry the women had to help and they were considered better divers than the men. A few years ago [before 1899] men who were fishing for shell to pay for boats or canoes generally tried to get women friends to help them; they were the best members of the crew.

When sickness lays hold of a man he seems to me to break up quicker than a woman does: he does not seem to have the same amount of vitality; it may be that he believes more thoroughly than the woman in the powers of the *maid le*, but whatever is the cause

there is no doubt that the men go to Boigu in greater numbers and at an earlier age than the Miriam women.

Deaths of 26 children (15 males and 11 females) from after birth to 12 months old, 1892-99 (d. days, m. months, w. weeks):

- 1892: 2—1 m. (2 m.); 1 f. (6 m.).  
 1893: 2—2 m. (2 w., 2½ m.).  
 1894: 4—2 m. (13 d., 10 m.); 2 f. (6 w., 9 m.).  
 1895: 1—1 m. (1 m.).  
 1896: 6—3 m. (3 m., 9 m., 12 m.); 3 f. (6 m., 8 m., 9 m.).  
 1897: 6—3 m. (2 d., 8 d., 8 m.); 3 f. (2 still-born, 9 m.).  
 1898: 2—2 m. (2 w., 7 w.).  
 1899: 3—1 m. (7 m.); 2 f. (1 still-born, 3 m.).

Months of the year in which the above died: January, 2; February, 5; March, 6; April, 2; May, 0; June, 1; July, 0; August, 2; September, 3; October, 1; November, 4; December, 0.

The supposed cause of death: Exposure to sun, 6; diarrhoea, 4; still-born, 3; milk poisoning, 3; not known, 3; croup, 2; bronchitis, 1; convulsions, 1; overlain, 1; fall on the head, 1; drowned, 1.

In 1896 three children died (ages not given) through supposed milk poisoning, as they were attacked with severe vomiting and retching after the mother had eaten a portion of hawks-bill turtle. They died within a few hours of each other.

Three children who died aged 1 to 2 years during 1892-99 and supposed cause of death: 1 m. bronchitis, 1 m. ulcers; 1 f. drowned.

One boy 5½ years old died of consumption.

A Kiwai boy was brought to Mer as a baby and at the age of 9-10 died of consumption.

No deaths recorded from the age of 10 to 19 (approximate).

One male aged 19 was an incurable cripple, he had his spine injured when he was a child and about a year before he died broke out into sores and was badly neglected by his friends.

One male about 20 years of age had his thorax and roof of the mouth eaten away by disease; he gradually wasted away, his food seemingly giving no sustenance to his body.

One male aged 20 was injured internally by a fall whilst at work on a diving-boat and died on Mer.

No deaths between the ages of 20 and 27.

From the foregoing it is evident that after children have attained their first year they are pretty fit and up to the age of 27 have every expectation of survival, but after that age there is an increase in mortality.

Bruce recorded the names (which are not given here) of twenty-one couples married during the years 1892 to 1898 inclusive. Those who were not bachelors or spinsters are marked W. (widow), their approximate ages are given and the date of marriage in brackets; then follow the dates and sexes of the children (D. = dead) and finally any illegitimate (ill.) children born before this marriage (M. husband or boy, F. wife or girl).

M. 24; F. 20 (29. viii. 1892); 28. iv. 1899 F.; 1 ill.

M. 21; F. 18 (29. viii. 1892); 9. vi. 1893 M.; 30. vi. 1895 F.; 29. xii. 1897 M.

M. 20; F. 18 (— ix. 1892); 5. vii. 1893 F.; 21. x. 1895 M.D.; 26. ii. 1897 F.

M. 20; F. 18 (29. viii. 1892); 29. xii. 1893 M.; 25. xi. 1895 M.D.; 11. i. 1897 M.; 29. ix. 1899 M.

M. 22; F. 20 (29. viii. 1892); 9. i. 1895 M. (died in child-birth).

- M. 19; F. 18 (— ix, 1892); 29. x, 1893 M.D.; 22. xi, 1894 M.D.; 1. viii, 1898 F.  
 M. 19; F. 18 (29. viii, 1892); 8. ii, 1895 M.; 24. iv, 1897 F.  
 M. 24; F. 20 (— ii, 1893); no children.  
 M. 22; F. 19 (12. iii, 1894); 27. i, 1895 F.; 29. iii, 1897 F.D.; 23. xii, 1898 M.  
 M. 20; F. 17 (1. vi, 1894); 11. i, 1895 F.; 4. i, 1897 F.  
 M. 26; F. 16 (28. v, 1894); 22. viii, 1895 M.; 7. xi, 1898 F. (F. was a native of Queensland).  
 M. 19; F. 18 (28. ii, 1895); 21. x, 1896 F.; 4. iii, 1899 still-born.  
 M. 19; F. 18 (28. ii, 1895); 8. vi, 1895 M.D.; 22. vii, 1898 twins (one twin died).  
 M. 20; F. 19 (28. ii, 1895); 2. vii, 1895 F.D.; 1. x, 1897 M. (M. married F. knowing she was with child to another man whose name she refused to divulge, she had previously 1 ill).  
 M.W. 26; F.W. 32 (31. i, 1896); 2. vi, 1897 F.; 30. iii, 1899 M. (M. previously had 1 child and F. had 4 children). (This marriage may have been 1892.)  
 M. 18; F. 17 (6. iv, 1896); — vi, 1899 M.  
 M. 26; F.W. 23 (12. vi, 1896); 15. vii, 1897 M.D.; 9. ii, 1899 (1 M. by first husband and 1 ill between the marriages).  
 M. 18; F. 17 (12. ii, 1897); 4. viii, 1899 F.  
 M. 21; F. 18 (25. ii, 1897); no children.  
 M. 22; F. 18 (21. i, 1898); no children.  
 M. 21; F.W. 33 (11. v, 1898) (3 children by first husband and 1 ill).  
 M. 25; F. 24 (12. vii, 1898); 9. vii, 1899 M.D. (husband a South Sea man).

In making the list of marriages there have been excluded all aged persons who have had no issue from the later marriage though each had families by their former marriages. [This total of 22 differs from the table on p. 112, where the marriages for the years 1892–99 total 32; presumably the difference is made up by the childless marriages of the older people just referred to and by the marriages in 1899.]

#### *Ailments and diseases and their cure*

The following quotations are taken from a paper by Dr C. S. Myers in the *St Bartholomew's Hospital Reports*, xxxv, 1899, pp. 91–9.

The old men frequently died enfeebled after long confinement to their huts and with large ulcerating sores on their legs. (Bruce.)

“The islanders attributed everything evil to sorcery, and as death followed sorcery, so sorcery was invoked to ward off death. But this mode of treatment of disease has been almost entirely displaced by the giving of herbs and by massage. . . . scarification of the skin over the affected part in long lines by means of pieces of broken glass” [was doubtless an old custom, and not introduced, as Myers thought, by South Sea islanders.

Moresby (1876, p. 134) says: “The principal diseases are fever and ague, for which they bleed the sufferer freely from the forehead, back, and limbs, with flints”, Capt. Moresby visited Tutu, Mabuag, Dauar, Saibai and Erub. I have often seen therapeutic incisions in the Western islands, iv, pp. 14, 20, 21].

“I saw and heard of no case of gout, osteo-arthritis [I saw one case on Dauar in 1889], rheumatic fever, elephantiasis [I know this occasionally occurs on some islands (Moresby says the same and Dr Wilson saw several cases in Mer, p. 96)], beri-beri, jaundice, malignant disease accompanied by haemorrhage, disease of the urinary organs, intestinal worms, anaemia, diphtheria, the exanthemata, goitre, cretinism, chorea, epilepsy, neuritis, or chronic cerebral or spinal disease among the Murray islanders.

“Dental caries was not uncommon. The older men had frequently lost several teeth. I examined twenty-five children to discover the time and order of eruption of their temporary and permanent teeth. The results show no marked deviation from the European standard.



“One of us saw a man with a complete inguinal hernia. I saw a child of eight with a right funicular hydrocele. The only solid tumour I saw among the islanders was a soft swelling at the outer canthus of the eye of a man aged thirty, which I believe was a fibro-cellular tumour.

“Of congenital deformities I saw the only examples in twins, which I visited a few hours after birth. The elder was without the two terminal phalanges on its right hand; the younger and smaller had well-marked talipes varus. No child had hare-lip or cleft palate.

“I was struck with the quick healing of wounds when kept aseptic. . . . A native told me, ‘Suppose man break him leg, I go out, cut leaf [leaf sheath] belong coco-nut. I bind him round leg. I leave him six weeks. Man no walk about. I make him leg fast with lager (the stem of a certain bush). That old-time fashion’.

“Certain abrasions (among ourselves, especially those produced by mosquito bites) were very prone to ulcerate. Small intractable circular ulcers were very common in children. They occurred most frequently on the elbows, the chest, the feet, and occasionally in the finger clefts. The patients all gave me the same history, that ‘he first swell up and burst’. Both parents of a child so affected had died with similar sores. Some of us were of opinion that these sores were the result of the disease called yaws or framboesia [Myers gives more particulars].

“There were undoubted cases of syphilitic ulceration, but syphilis was not a common disease on the island; it was introduced, like gonorrhoea, probably from the pearl-fishing centre, Thursday Island. One hoarse-voiced man had almost complete destruction of the bones of the nose and tissues of the palate. When I left I was curing his daughter, aged sixteen, of commencing ulceration of the uvula and posterior pillars of the fauces. Another of his children was too stupid to attend school. There was a man living on the opposite [eastern] side of the island with the cheek so eaten away that one could look through it into his mouth. The confession of past syphilis was elicited from a man in whom the fingers of one hand showed partial necrosis. This was the only case which approached in any way to leprosy.

“I had to treat in two men a slow lupus-like ulceration of the skin over and involving the nasal cartilages. One of them had a patch of apple-jelly appearance below the bridge of the nose. [Probably this was gangosa. Dr Anton Breinl saw in Mer in 1910 a number of patients suffering from gangosa (Rhinopharyngitis ulcerosa) which in its clinical manifestations resembles somewhat syphilis and yaws, this disease ‘is peculiar to the South Sea Islands and to certain parts of the east’—*Ann. Rep. Papua*, 1912–13, p. 157. This disease is supposed to be caused by *Kamer tonar* (VI, p. 226). Capt. Lewis saw in 1836 many cases of a ‘cancerous complaint’ which destroyed the nose and mouth.]

“Skin-diseases formed the greater part of my practice. There was not a pock-marked individual on the island. By far the commonest and one of the most repulsive forms of skin-disease had all the characters of tinea imbricata. . . . There were other forms of scaly skin-disease. One of these, in which the regularity of the resulting desquamation produced a tattoo-like pattern, was reckoned a precious possession by the islander so marked. It was a general belief that he could similarly improve the beauty of his friends if he gave them his coco-nut drinking-cup so that they might rub their faces with it. . . . The skin of many islanders showed lighter patches of pale *café-au-lait* colour, resembling our tinea versicolor. In others there were small black irregularly oval areas, which had a worm-eaten appearance.

“Pains in the muscles of the limbs, accompanied by slight weakness, were common, but were never, so far as I saw, accompanied by articular swelling (solid or fluid).

“Tuberculous disease is rare on the island. . . . I attended one boy who died with the signs of meningitis. . . .

“Slight fever was frequent, but I do not believe that true malaria existed on the island.

“Coughs and colds are said to be much commoner since the missionaries insisted on the adoption of European clothing. An islander who on the Sunday goes to church wearing several garments one over the other, is to be seen on the following day working perhaps merely in a loin-cloth in his gardens. Children, after bathing hurriedly in the sea, rush away to sit dressed and half-dry

in the school. . . Epidemics of coughs and colds seem to arise in the island; they are attributed by the natives to the arrival of visitors from other islands.

"I saw no case of adenoids. . . In several cases frequent deep-sea diving had caused perforation, in others merely a thickening of the tympanic membrane.

"Epidemics of ophthalmia were said to arise formerly, but there was not a child who showed signs of it. A few older men had long-standing corneal leucomata and nebulae."

That misfortunes, accidents, sickness and death were due to malevolent action by professional sorcerers, *maid le*, or by ordinary individuals was a matter of universal belief. The practice of *maid* has been vividly described by C. S. Myers in vol. VI, pp. 222-5, and a number of methods for producing all kinds of ills are given in vol. VI, pp. 226-34. Frequently the same object, often termed a *zogo*, that did harm could by appropriate ritual treatment also effect a cure.

On the other hand, ordinary medicinal treatment was not unknown. Bruce (MS.) says that *pas* (lavender) and *sarik pas* (long broad grass) [*Andropogon nardus*] are put into boiling water and the decoction is drunk alike by the strong and the sick. It is also poured over the head for headache; the leaves and the decoction are rubbed on the affected parts for *pertar* and *kegar* (muscular rheumatism). *Wakor* is a vine which grows on sandy patches on the beach with a violet-coloured flower [*Ipomoea biloba* ?], its leaves are heated and applied to relieve pain, it is also used as an abortive and as a contraceptive. The leaves of *in*, "a tree with no fruit" [*Pisonia inermis*], and those of *ubar* ["wangai plum", *Mimusops browniana*] were heated in the fire and applied to bad sores, *badbad*. The fruit of the *ubar* was eaten and a pungent gingeraceous root, *kerakera*, was chewed and swallowed for a cough.

*Kekuruk* was a remarkable treatment by suggestion that was practised only by Zagareb *le*, the medicines ritually employed were not given internally to the patient but apparently he may have been rubbed with them (VI, pp. 237-40).

Massage is employed for fever all over the Straits. The movement is always up the legs and towards the head. It is more of a kneading than of a mere rubbing procedure.

Mr A. O. C. Davies obtained in Mer a human effigy, apparently carved out of lava, "which had been in Mudi's [? Modi of Zaub 2 A] family for generations". This "*zole*" or "*wiwar*" was kept in a huge clam shell surmounting a heap of basalt rocks. In front were placed two clam shells for the offerings and a small clam shell in which sandal wood was burnt [this very unusual feature requires corroboration]. A sick person would go to the owner or *zogo le* with a present and inquire whether it was a suitable time to approach the *zole*. If he said "no", the man would have to come another time and of course bring another present. When the request was granted, the *zogo le* would go and prepare the *zogo* while the sick person went to fetch the presents. The *zogo le* took off the upper valve of the clam shell, erected the *zole*, and ornamented the whole with coconut- and banana-leaf decorations. Special croton leaves were placed around the *zole*, and when the sick person arrived the *zogo le* started the proceedings. Standing about 7 yards away, he bowed down three times with arms upraised, repeating a certain formula each time, then he rushed forward and fell before the *zole*. A prayer of intercession was uttered, the sandal wood lighted, and the *zole* anointed with turtle grease from a shell. The sick person then advanced in a similar manner, and after arriving in front of the *zole* and depositing his gift of yams, bananas, etc., made his request for healing. At the *zogo le's* command he arose and touched the head of the *zole* with the part of his body which was affected and then after returning thanks for

his cure he crawled backwards for about 7 yards before rising to walk away. The *zogo le* completed the ceremony and after laying the *zole* safely in its clam shell, placed the other clam shell over it and retired with his payment. In the event of other people coming within a certain distance of the *zole* and not making a present to it, the disease of the previous person would be communicated to that person.

*Death and mortuary practices and ceremonies*

The following account of the usual method of disposal of the dead in Mer is largely based on information supplied by J. Bruce, it is supplementary to that given in vol. VI, pp. 126-62.

The body lay in state and was mourned over, *eb ezoli* or *e bazoli*, for one day or perhaps two days. The singing of the dirge or lament, *asasem wed*, "ai! ai! wail ai! ai!", is kept on by relays during the whole night immediately around the corpse; outside this inner circle the mourners gossip, eat, and laugh, others sleep, until it is their time to take a turn in the wailing. On the following day men can scarcely speak as their voices are quite gone with the continuous strain. They are passionately fond of their songs, whether joyous or sorrowful. When the relatives were mourning over the body, they addressed it as follows: "Ma bakeam, ma bakeam, Beigem, Kiboem, niaiem niaiem niai karem"—"You go, you go to Beig to Kibo for ever and ever" (VI, p. 252).

For a dead man, his fishing-line, *mekek gem*, and turtle-shell fish-hook, *mekek*, were rolled up into a small pillow, *kuri* or *mas*, and placed under his head. His bow and arrows were broken and laid on his body and also his *sam*, *degem*, *sauad*, *eb neub*, *mai*, *kadik*, *tag put*, *teter makamak* and *dibidibi*; all these, which were mainly his dance ornaments, were buried with him. In the case of a father or a son, large quantities of food were brought from his garden and piled on the ground beside him as an expression of sorrow. Should the deceased have a son, only the half of his ornaments were put in the grave, otherwise they generally were all buried with him. A croton bush, *weswes*, was stuck in the ground at the head and at the feet, and the man's *kopei* (IV, p. 234) was hung up beside him.

At the present day they may put a shilling or a halferrown on each eye, sometimes they fill his mouth with silver coins and throw all his clothes, etc. into the grave.

The following notes by Bruce supplement the information given, in vol. VI, p. 145, about the lying-in-state of a *Malu zogo le*.

A dead *Malu zogo le*, surrounded by mourners, was laid out either at Kiam or Las, as these were the two places where the *zogo le* lived. No *kupe* was hung up or croton's *wes* planted at his head and feet (VI, p. 130). Only the three *zogo le* and the *tami le* were so treated. He was decorated in the same manner as was done at the ceremony at Las (VI, p. 293). Four small black-tipped feathers of the *daumer* were stuck in his hair; others had only one feather. He had a coronet of cassowary feathers. A *siwaimer* was placed in his right hand [in this and other respects he was accoutred as was Dòg in the myth, VI, p. 39]. The *siwaimer* is a bamboo split into four or five sections, all bound together with coconut-fibre string at the unsplit handle. In ceremonies it is held nearly erect against the shoulder [I mistook the nature of this object and spoke of it as "five wands" (VI, p. 293); probably the bamboo was partially split into five pieces]. The dead *nog le* only had a hardwood spear in the hand; this came from the Western islands or from Queensland. He wore the *zogo kadik* (VI, p. 295), had bands of croton leaves on his arm and a branch of croton leaves over the genitals. The mourners' faces and bodies, like that of the corpse, were smeared with turtle oil and then entirely covered over with white *daumer* feathers; they marched round

the corpse with their left arm next to the body, on which a *kadik* was worn, the right hand holding a *sivaimor*. Then they sat down and, with clasped hands rising and falling in rhythm, sang the *Malu wed*: "Uaime! Uaime! U! A! U! ma a ēmarērē E E E E E. U! A! U! ma", etc., which was continuously repeated. The *U!* is trilled in a tremulous tone, the *E E E* runs in the bass voices down the scale to a very low note.

The *kuri* or *mas* used for a woman was a rolled-up small mat made of *u kupe*, the young leaves of the coconut palm, or of *abal*, Pandanus leaves, within which were placed her ornaments: *sobogorar* [*sabogorar*], *ter*, *kirkub*, *o*, *tag makamak*, *wogob* [*wagogob*], and *nagar* made of *bisi wan*, fringe of sago leaf.

Immediately after sunrise of the next day the *keber* of Terer and Aukem (vi, p. 131) was performed before the removal of the body to the framework, *paier*, as Terer is said to have been the first person from whose corpse the epidermis was scraped off. The pantomime illustrated the myth of Terer (vi, pp. 31–3) who led the way which the spirits of the dead must take to Boigu (fig. 1), and in the *keber* he was supposed to be carrying off the spirit of the person who was being mourned (fig. 2). Bruce thus describes what he witnessed: "Terer whilst posturing leans his head from side to side in an arch coquetting manner, the effect is enhanced by his *dari* head-dress. Sometimes bending backwards with his head



Fig. 1. Native drawing of Terer and Aukem; the latter is holding a human bone in each hand as mentioned in the myth. From Bruce. "Makai we we Tererca we we we we we we we we."

first to one shoulder and then to the other, all the while keeping time to the rhythm of the music, which is quick and sharp, the singers putting an emphasis on the last sound of *bué* [vi, p. 131], giving the music a kind of quick trotting time".

Terer and Aukem of Mer are the same personages as Tiai and Aukum of the west (v, p. 56). Aukum lived at Boigu, a small sand-beach on the northern coast of Moa, though, from what is stated on pp. 61, 64, it is probable that she was a member of the Malulaig and not of the Kauralaig. Tiai is stated (v, p. 61) to have been the introducer of platform disposal of the dead. If mummification was associated with platform disposal we must assume that it practically died out in the west but was actively retained in the east, and both practices seem to have passed across the central islands without seriously affecting them.

Then followed the *keber* of the *zera markai*, or *zeramarkai* (fig. 3; vi, p. 133), which was always performed at the death of a Kòmet or Meaurem person. One note says: "The *zogo*



Fig. 2. A man who represents Terer in the *keber* of Terer and Aukem; he is holding a rattle of *gòà* nut-shells. From a sketch by J. Bruce.



Fig. 3. Native drawing of one of eight "zaramarkai". From Bruce.

was at Karga's place in Sebeg (Kòmet) and formerly only the *zogo le* performed this pantomime, for which they decorated themselves". The *zogo* appears to be the *Meket siriam zogo*, but this had nothing to do with death (vi, p. 273). The people of Er also performed this *keber* on the death of one of their own people.

The first performer to appear was named *pager*, who belonged to the Kòmet *le*, and his *keber* belongs only to them. His appearance and actions are given in vol. vi, p. 133 and footnotes 4, 5.

The *zera markai* closely followed *pager* and have already been described (vi, p. 134);

as they performed on the sand-beach they sang: *U boresa, gano tairo dimē dimē, bidoa bidou, sagapa, sesī targaba, markai a la gi ah, uziba*. I do not know what these words mean; they may be misunderstood corrupted western words, at all events they were not sacred words, *zojo mcr.* but merely *zera markai wed* (songs).

The *zera markai* never came nearer than twenty yards to the drummers, *warup le*; they advanced and retreated for an hour or so. None of these men, but only the mourners, went near the *paier*.

Bruce gives the following version of the *wed* sung by the *warup le* (VI, p. 134):

*Wa! wa! wa! wa! wa! wa!*  
*Goki eza gau goki*  
*Wa! a! a! a! a! a!*  
*Gaige gaige karapuna serao ragade*  
*Wa! a! a! a! a! a!*  
*Wa banila gaimulela jai aria pagana koki*  
*aria, pagana*  
*Wa! a! a! a! a! a!*

According to Bruce (VI, p. 277 and MS.) *Pager*, who has nothing to do with Terer and Aukem, was introduced by Waiet from Mabuiag, who also gave the "*zera<sup>1</sup> markai keber* or *mari*" to the Waiet and Dauar people, fig. 4, the Waiet *le* gave it to the Kōmet *le* of Mer, who shared it with the Meaurem *le*: apparently it was performed at Sebeg. The Geaurem *le* also had the same *keber*, but claim that their forefathers brought it themselves from Mabuiag; the headquarters is at Er. The Geaurem *le* officiated with *zera markai* in the event of a Dauar man: they received a signal by fire from Dauar that they were wanted, so they went across in their canoes as the Dauar and Waiet men had discontinued the *keber*. In one note Bruce terms it a *siriam*.

We have seen (VI, p. 279) that the *zarar markai* was associated with the cult of Waiet in Mabuiag and that, in the west, Waiet was known to have gone to the Murray Islands. The Miriam say that this culture-spread was later than that of the Bomai cult. Although Waiet is said to have introduced other *keber*, the foregoing definitely were associated with him. One at a later date came from Nāgir and another from Paremar, but I assume that most were local productions, apparently suggested by the original *keber*, though due in their great variety to the inventiveness of the Miriam, and it is highly probable that they did not follow any fixed pattern but varied in detail on different occasions.

It is probable that the interesting *keber* of the

<sup>1</sup> The word *zera* or *zara* may be the western *sara*, the platform on which a corpse was laid.



Fig. 4. "*Zera markai Waiet*." In the original drawing there are four figures above and three below. Bruce does not give further information.

*pop le op*, which was confined to Er (Geaurem) and Zaub (Kòmet), took place at this time (VI, p. 135; fig. 5).

At the end of the lying-in-state, the widow takes all the ornaments from the body and puts them in her basket and begins to plait necklaces for their suspension. The widow's *neitawet* or *netewet* (husband's brother's wife) assists the widow in preparing her mourning; if she has no material, her *nequvam* (husband's cousins on the mother's side) assist.

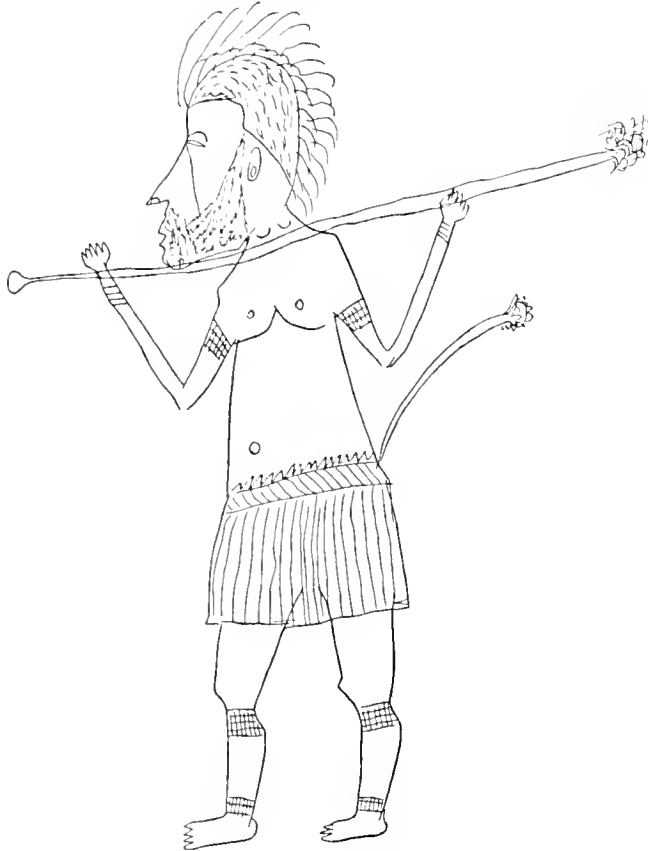


Fig. 5. Native drawing of one of two similar representations of the "keber of Pop". From Bruce. The man is wearing a mask (VI, pl. XVIII, figs. 3, 4).

The body was then placed on the *paier* for two or three days. Youths who had lately been initiated into the Malu cult and girls who had recently arrived at puberty had the lobes of their ears cut on the occasion of the death of a near relative; this was done at the lying-in-state or at the *paier*, the blood being allowed to drip on the feet of the corpse as an expression of mourning, *bud*.

The *koima* were cut on women's faces, *user bag*, and the blood was also allowed to drip on the corpse. The *kip lid koima* was cut on the small of the back of women just above the girdle. These two *koima* were cut only at the death of a relative, but like all other *bud koima* were regarded as a decoration and on festive occasions the *koima* to render them more conspicuous were painted red or white.

*Koima* were usually cut on the breasts as *bud* and some say the blood was allowed to drip on the corpse, but sometimes a young woman had them cut solely for decoration. The *koima* was not cut on the breasts to support them in any way, the women rather gloried in their extension as it made the design more effective. The Miriam women did not have bars cut across the breasts, like the Queensland women.

The *merod koima* and *kip koima* of the men were *bud*. The *tugar* (shoulder) *koima* was not considered as strictly *bud* as it was frequently cut merely for decoration (IV, p. 23). Only men had the *edma koima* which was strictly *bud*; it was a crescent of short vertical lines cut across the back from shoulder to shoulder, but it was also regarded as a decoration.

The *bud koima* are described in vol. VI, pp. 154-6 and other scarifications in vol. IV, pp. 15-29.

Relatives cut their hair and left it beneath the *paier*.

Food was placed on the *paier* for the nourishment of the *lamar*. Personal effects of the deceased were distributed and often property was destroyed (VI, p. 159).

The women were frightened at night by the pranks of men disguised as Magur (VI, p. 136).

The practice of partaking of the juices of corpses is mentioned in connection with the *madub le*, p. 173.

After a few days on the *paier*, the body was either prepared for desiccation or otherwise disposed of. The former process is fully described in a later section.

A puzzling note by Bruce says that an incision was made in the skin from the top of the forehead to the point of the chin in old men and women whose skulls were not to be preserved.

Bodies which were foul from disease or the bodies of children and of old persons usually were not mummified, but were placed on a bamboo framework, *paier*, in one of the deceased's gardens and there left to decay. The platforms were always of sufficient height to prevent dogs from devouring the body. Such gardens were left uncultivated for a few years. The skull was sometimes taken and decorated and kept in the house.

After lying-in-state, the bodies of the *Malu zogo le* were taken to a cleared space, *deber atb*, in the "bush" and there allowed to decay, but the skulls were preserved (VI, p. 145).

Other bodies were buried in the extended position with the two great toes fastened together. The feet were placed pointing to the north-west so that the spirit, *lamar*, on leaving the body could go direct to Beig. This is the "big name" for the island to which the spirits went, but Kibo is the small name.

After the grave was filled up, quantities of food were brought, cut up into pieces and piled on the top of the grave (Bruce MS.).

About ten days after death an important feast, *bud lewer*, was made, and on this occasion the nearest male relative made two marks with grey mud, *bud*, on the mourners, who attired themselves in mourning costume. The widow was attired by her sisters-in-law, who smeared her body and her hair with *bud* and then hung all the *bud lu* from her neck, during which time she was weeping. The *maik kosker-ra bud lu*, widow's mourning things, are described in vol. VI, p. 157. The dried palms of the husband's hands, *tag paur*, the soles of his feet, *teter paur* (in both cases with the nails intact), were removed and the tongue, *weret*, cut away at the root; as this did not harden so quickly as the hands and feet it was put between two bamboo clamps to keep it flat. Pieces of stick were prepared to represent various bones, which suggests that the actual bones were once worn. A tuft of *bisi wam*, fringe of sago palm leaf fibre, was wrapped round the *tag paur*, *teter paur* and *weret* together



with herbs to mask the scent of the badly cured skins. The plants, *ido lu*, were the string-like roots of the *arzer* and *kusi bayer*, the bulb of the latter (a small creeping zingiberaceous plant) was masticated first. This scent is used for all purposes—preparing the toilet for dances, on love charms, and young men and women use it when courting. It has a rather heavy sickly scent when used lavishly, as is usually the case, but it is pleasant when used in moderation. The food is brought in and piled up in columns.

Some six months or so later, but at no fixed period, the ceremony of the *keber* of *eud lera roairoai* (dead man's representation) was held, which was also the occasion for a feast (vi, pp. 139, 141). Spirit heralds, *mer aseret le*, announced which of the spirits of the recent dead would appear. The next day various *keber le* impersonated these spirits, which they did so realistically as to cause the greatest excitement in the women. The spirits were then supposed to be finally leaving for their permanent home in Beig.

Bruce states that "on the day following the *eud lera roairoai* the ordinary *keber le* emerged from the bush to the east of the *paier* and went towards the west, as they appeared other *keber le* emerged from the bush to the west and then faced to the east; these always represented some animal, bird or fish, not more than four in a group; they like the other *keber le* kept at some distance from the *paier*. There is a comic element in this part of the ceremony". [This suggests a totemic element, which might have been brought from the western islands along with the *keber*.] In vol. vi, p. 144, it is stated that these animal dances took place between various *keber* performances.

Immediately following the pantomime of the *keber le* an indeterminate series of other *keber* were held. Doubtless one or more of these was normally performed locally at the death of a member of one of these communities, but it is also probable that many of them would take place when a number of deaths were commemorated at the same time and place.

It is uncertain which or how many of the *keber* were performed after the death of an unimportant person.

In addition to the *keber* just referred to, the following have been described (vi, pp. 141-4). In all cases they were pantomimes that belonged to definite areas and were performed solely for, and probably solely by, the inhabitants of those areas; the right to perform them was strictly safeguarded. I have very little to add to the information already given.

The *keber* of the *baur siriam* (Kòmet and Meaurem; in a note Bruce says: "Larte to Boged inclusive, no *siriam* at Meaurem"). The 12-20 men who performed are supposed to have come from the spirit world. The *baur* were not always harpoons, usually they were flat pieces of hard wood on which faces were carved (cf. the *gub* described on p. 157 and iv, fig. 250). In a note Bruce says this was the most elaborate of the *siriam*. It is possible that this *keber* was introduced from Dauar (cf. fig. 49, p. 401) and that it was connected with turtle hunting.

The *weszwez* (croton) *keber* (Kòmet, for men only).

We have no information about the *galbol* (porpoise) *keber* (but the *galbol zogo* belonged to Peibre), the *mail* (sorcery), or the *Nagir siriam keber*, which presumably came from Nāgir.

The *keber* of the Tur *siriam* (Samsep); this was the *keber* of the *Meket siriam le* of the eastern side of Mer, figs. 6, 7, 8 (p. 166; vi, pp. 142, 273-7; pl. XXVII, figs. 3, 4).

The *siriam keber* of Areb and Warwe (Samsep).

The *keber* of *Dògai*, fig. 9, appears to be the *keber* of those who were connected with the *Dògai* cult (p. 166; vi, pp. 143, 209, 271) whose areas were Zagareb to Magareb, but Zer in Samsep was the headquarters of the *Dògai wetpur*. Bruce considers that the version of

the *keber wed* given in vol. VI, p. 272 is preferable to that on p. 143. He gives the following translation: "Dògai; high tide; sea come (high tides at night or in early morning at *naiger* season or *koki* season); taboo or perhaps *sabisabi*, food cooked with scraped coconut, *sabid*; spread out; break up (running back and joining the sea)", but he also gives "*waie-mana*, to walk away from you with a rocking gait, like a sailor and *ataiemana*, similarly

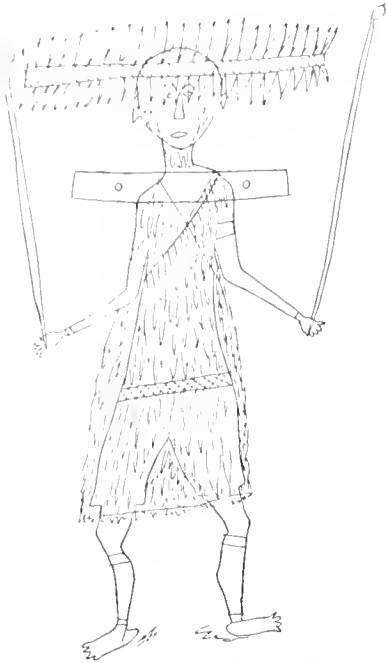


Fig. 6. *Keber* of the *Tur siriam* (cf. VI, pl. XXVII, figs. 3, 4). From Bruce.

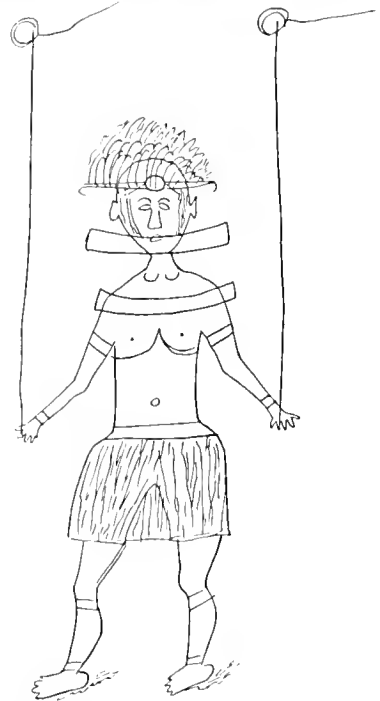


Fig. 7. This drawing of one of two similar figures is called "Korsi" and below them is written by a native: "A *Korsi au gada*, A *Korsi maluba Sibai ai ga dime dime a Saiba uzia a Saiba maluba Sibai ai ga dime dime a gebar uzia ai ga dime dime a*". *Korsi* may be *Kèsi* (*kersi*), VI, p. 273. If so it may be the *keber* performed by the novices. The costume suggests that it belongs to the *Tur siriam*. The words are as unintelligible as those sung at the *Meket siriam zogo*.

walking towards you; dog's penis, *ses* is a western name for dog; separate again" [*kwik* or *kuik* is probably correct]; *bage bage* is probably correct though Bruce gives *buge buge*, a long wand or walking-stick that the impersonator of Dògai holds in his hand.

The *seber keber* of Er (confined to the *Geaurem le*).

We have no information about the *Paremar siriam* (*Mergareum*), which presumably came from *Paremar*.

The *keber* of the *Sivi le* (*Eger*).

The *keber* of the *Dumi ebe le* (*Kameri*, in *Dauar*).

Among the Bruce MSS. are the drawings by natives copied in figs. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, about which there is no definite information, presumably they are *keber*.

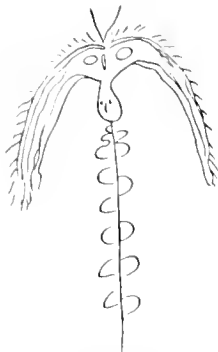


Fig. 8. "Meket siriam", one of two similar drawings which evidently is intended for a *meket siriam le*, perhaps as accoutred for the *meket surik* (vi. pp. 273-7). One man is called Aga and the other Buna. Drawn by Wano.



Fig. 9. *Keber* of *Dôgai*. The original drawing shows two similar masks and two men. The man is supposed to be wearing the mask as shown above. Cf. vi. pl. XXII, fig. 7.



Fig. 10. *Mucare siriam keber le* of Er.



Fig. 11. *Naiuei maiui keber*. On the drawing is written: "a bedoua bedoua amayaka done".

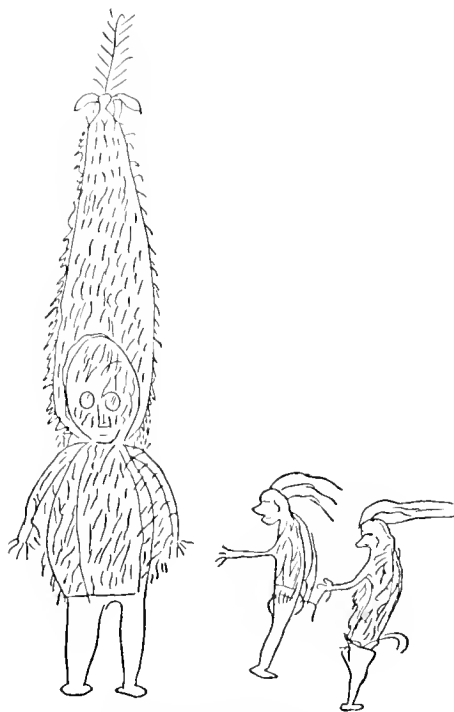


Fig. 12. *Cemsem le*, *Margo le*. [sem. *Hibiscus*.]

Bruce says: "Payer came on after all the other *kebers* were finished. Last August at the finish of a *bud lewer* at Sebeg for two men who had died, *payer* came on the scene and walked along the beach until he came to Jenb [Zaub], then he popped into the bushes there, and those who did not know about him were very frightened". This definite statement cannot be ignored. We have seen that *payer* makes his appearance along with the *zera markai*



Fig. 13. "Koge" with a similar figure "Mesedai". This was one of the *keber* drawn for Bruce by Wano. Underneath was written: "sauwo bubu, sauwo bubu saue a bubu Naniu".

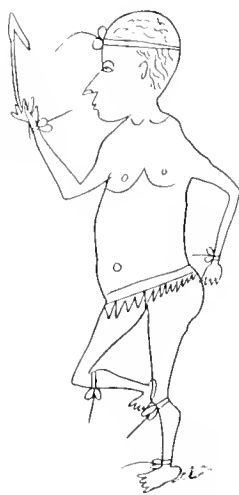


Fig. 14. One of five similar men dancing and holding a *kobai* or hooked stick (p. 353): "Aiuer kub tugia mauemo a bodo kub tugia mauemo a kar kub tugia mauemo erar kub tugia mauemo natinati netat tetero a Ianoka uepili kaurge Pasege".



Fig. 15. One of four similar drawings called *lamar kosker*, spirit woman. "Ua dumcho ua dumcho gazolagia urita kapuriao."

while the corpse is still lying-in-state. We have no information concerning *payer* and it is tempting to equate him with Waiat, but *payer* seems rather to have been a comic element which served to ease the tension and fear of the spectators in much the same way as the *danilkau* did at the *tai* of Mabuiag (v, p. 255). I suspect it was only in the Kòmet district that *payer* also appeared at the end of the other *keber*.

The spirit pantomimes of Mer fall into at least three distinct groups:

(1) On the day after a death there was the dramatisation of a legend that accounted for various mortuary practices, and it illustrated the conducting of the new spirit to the

island of Beig in the west by the mythical Terer. We do not know whether it was performed for all the important dead of the island, it certainly was performed for the Kòmet *le*.

(2) Immediately after this the Kòmet *le* performed the *zera markai keber*, and the Geurem *le* also had this pantomime. The association of this ceremony with the mythical Waiat of Mabuiag is beyond doubt.

(3) Several months later a feast took place, on which occasion spirit heralds announced the arrival on the morrow of the spirits of the recent dead, and the next day various *keber le* realistically impersonated these visitors from the spirit world. After this the spirits were expected to remain permanently in Beig. On this occasion numerous other *keber* were performed, each of which belonged to a definite district and was the guarded privilege of its inhabitants. These, like the former, were said to have come from the west. *Keber wed*, which in this case were sung by the drummers, are reported only for the *keber* of *Dògai* and these, like those of the *zera markai*, were in the western language.

These spirit pantomimes were very impressive; naturally, the actual performers knew that they were merely impersonating spirits, but at the same time we have evidence that there was at the back of their minds a feeling that the spirits were present and that they were in some way actually the spirits themselves. Bruce says: "The delusion that the *keber le* is the spirit of a dead person is aided by the costume, accoutrements, and gait; the make-up is splendid, the mimicry is excellent, the delusion is almost perfect, more especially as it is assisted by the implicit belief of the women and children that it is really the spirit of their deceased relative".

On the day after the performance of the last *keber* a ceremony was held by non-relatives, *keg warup le* (*keg*, charcoal made from coconut shell; *warup*, drum; *le*, people), who marked themselves with *keg*. A prominent feature which took place before the final feast was a race in which arrows took a part (VI, pp. 146, 147). This was the last ceremony of a long series.

The following day, or a few days later, the body was fastened on a new *paier* and suspended in the deceased's house.

After the *paier* had been taken inside the house, attempts were made by ill-disposed persons to steal the mummy, but if the body had not been mummified and only the skull had been retained then they endeavoured to steal it—these were the proper *keber* to steal. But anything might serve as a *keber*, a pebble or piece of wood from the grave, or even a neighbouring twig or leaf (VI, p. 149). The significance of this custom is explained elsewhere, p. 370.

When the relatives decided that the time had arrived to discard their mourning attire, they appointed a day for a feast, the *mer aker lewer*; perhaps this means "word send food" (VI, p. 160).

The final disposal of the mummy is noted in vol. VI, p. 149.

Modern mortuary customs are described in vol. VI, pp. 160-1. The following has been sent to me by MacFarlane:

Now-a-days, amongst the surviving customs, is the death-crying. Friends gather round awaiting the indication of death, and immediately there is a succession of mournful cadences thrilling the listeners with their weirdness, the higher tones of the women yielding to the bass of the men as they take their turn. With each party of mourners that arrives the crying breaks out afresh, and even weeks after death, should a boat arrive from another island or with workers returning home, the first duty of those on board will be to proceed to the house of the deceased and cry, so

that perhaps in the middle of the night the air will be suddenly rent by the death-wail. At the house the father or near relative stands over the body, alternately wailing and chanting, until the time arrives for the body to be removed for burial. A funeral feast follows, with another at a later period, and still another at the erection of the gravestone, if there be one. Some of the old people still preserve the former style of mourning, but naturally the advent of civilisation has changed things considerably.

#### *Widows*

The widow was not supposed to go to her garden for a period of some months, probably not until the *keber lewer* was prepared. She remained at her house to wail, her sisters-in-law brought food to her and tended her garden until she had finished her wailing. But even after she went to work, she had to sit down and wail, night and morning. The first time the widow went to her garden after the death of her husband, her sisters-in-law accompanied her; when she got there she cut with her knife something her husband had touched with his hand, took a piece of it in her hands and moaned that once her husband had touched it and now he is dead! "*ai ai wai wai*". The same was done with the bunch of bananas that he had wrapped up with his hands, this she bugged and wailed over. When she went to work in the garden she took off the *bud lu* and laid them down, to resume them when she went home. When going to sleep she took them off and hung them up on the centre post of the house so that she could see them by the light of the fire.

A widow was normally taken by her brother-in-law; if she was a young woman and had a jealous wife to contend with or if she was an old woman, she would be made to do a large share of the daily work. If the brother-in-law was single and living with his parents, the widow would reside with and assist them until the time arrived for the relatives to discard mourning (the widow retained hers until she married again), when she might marry, or be forced to go and live with her own friends by the treatment she received from her husband's relatives if she was not wanted as a wife, but if a brother, or cousin on the male or female side, of her husband wanted her she would probably receive better treatment [cf. VI, p. 124]. Unless she was a very old woman, she was invariably taken by one of her husband's relatives, as she belonged to his family whilst they chose to claim her. In which case the new husband makes presents to her parents and relatives and gives a feast, in which he is helped by his relatives. Otherwise the widow is at liberty to marry into another family, and the affair is arranged by her own family. She always had her own portion of garden land from her father for supporting herself with food.

The deceased husband's eldest brother claimed the property and the children, but if the widow married one of his brothers or cousins, sometimes he got the property, and if there were children he acted as guardian to them until such time as they were of an age to take possession.

If there were no children, the brother would retain the property, giving only what he chose to the widow. Should she marry out of the husband's family and having no children, she forfeited all the property.

If a mother died before her child was born, it was killed in the womb by the women who attended her; they pressed her belly with a bamboo and by this means extracted the dead child.

When the *neywam* (cousin of the deceased on the mother's side) took the widow, without having consulted the other relatives, it was called *bud dipu* (defiled or slighted mourning), as if he had blown it away as being of no more value than breaking wind, *muk dipu* (*te*

*dipu* is to make the same sound with the mouth at anyone in a disrespectful manner). (Bruce.)

Bruce (MS.) says: "If one of two men who are friends, but in no way related, dies the other takes complete charge of the children. The children of these two families are considered as true brothers and sisters though not related at all, and a girl of either family could be given in exchange for a wife for a boy of either family". This fictitious relationship, *kaimcg*, occurs throughout the Straits; in the west it is called *kai-me*.

MacFarlane says that old men and women were killed and frequently provided the heads necessary in "paying back".

### *Omens and Divination*

There were various signs which indicated that a particular proposed action was unpropitious or that something was amiss, only a very few of these have been recorded (VI, p. 259).

Several omen birds gave information on diverse matters (VI, p. 260). Among J. Bruce's notes is an account of omens given by sea snakes.

If a sea snake, *paycy* [*pagi*], is seen in very fine weather when there is no wind, someone will ask it, "What is your talk?" *nako mara mer!* The snake will raise its head out of the water as if listening. Then it turns its head to the quarter whence the wind, *wag*, will come and turns a somersault and lashes the water with its tail as it dives.

When this was being told to me (Bruce) we were lying in a calm, fifteen minutes later a wind sprang up from the west, the direction to which the snake had pointed.

If a snake is seen lying on the top of the sea at full length with its head drooping down, they ask it, "What is your talk?" If it does not move, but keeps its head drooped, it is a sign, *argorger* or *atumelam*, that someone has died on Mer and that it is sorry and therefore won't talk.

If the snake is seen lying in a coil on the top of the water, that is a sign that copulating turtle are to be found nearby. They ask the snake, "What is your talk?" but if it makes no movement, they are certain turtle are to be found close at hand.

If two snakes are seen twirled together coupling, that is a sign that someone is going to be married either in Mer or Ērub.

If men sailing in a canoe see *paycy* coupling, each one remembers some wrong thing he has done, such as having had illicit connection with a woman or girl, or it may indicate that his wife, daughter or female relative has misbehaved in this way. *Paycy* brings the news and spreads it to other islands when any lapse takes place.

If a snake is seen during bad weather lying at length on the water, but with his head not drooped down, the snake will show, if asked, when good weather is to come.

If a man goes spearing fish, alone or with others, and throws his fish-spear but fails to get his quarry, or if while fishing gets no catch, he takes that as a sign, *argorger*, that something is wrong with a member of his family or with some relative.

### *Divination*

The only record we have of actions performed in order to gain information about past, present or future events are *Tomog zogo* (VI, pp. 261-6), skull divination (pp. 266-9) and divination by lice (p. 269).

*Restraints and Sanctions*

No community can function satisfactorily without certain restraints on conduct or sanctions which authorise or enforce obedience to traditional behaviour. The whole life of the Miriam was permeated with such controls, as is evident from the information recorded in vol. VI and this volume.

The maintenance of stable conditions is the constant care and earnest endeavour of the older and more responsible men and we know that kindly advice and remonstrance were employed by them. In this effort the elders were supported by public opinion, though where central authority is weak recourse had to be made to other methods.

Retribution on an offender was often made by the friends of the injured party, or the aid of a sorcerer was invoked to punish the offending person with sickness or death. To this extent, and from the fear that sorcery inspires in evil-wishers or evil-doers, the sorcerer may be regarded as an aid towards social stability.

No appeal against wrongdoing was made to totem, ancestor, or hero, and no punishment from these quarters was given for infringement of social morality, though in times of difficulty and danger help might be sought from spirits or heroes. The skulls of relatives were frequently kept and decorated in various ways, so that when in trouble the living could appeal to the spirits of these deceased relatives, who advised the living in dreams. Throughout the islands the spirits gave palpable proofs of their resentment if they felt that they had been slighted by inadequacy in the funeral ceremonies. The foregoing remarks apply equally to the Western and the Eastern islanders.

Until very recently, and perhaps it is so still, it was believed by the Murray islanders that a spirit might feel resentment when children of the deceased were neglected or wronged, or when land or chattels of the deceased were taken by those who had no claim to them. Their displeasure was expressed by causing strong winds to blow down the houses and plantations of the culprits (VI, p. 127). This is the sole instance recorded of spiritual powers acting on their own initiative in the cause of social morality. No doubt in the past such fear of the ghost's wrath had a deterrent effect on wrongdoers, and helped to keep the people straight, although now they look rather to the civil laws than to the ghosts as a means of getting their rights and punishing offenders.

Apparently there was a greater development of organised taboo among the Eastern islanders than among the other islanders, but this was mainly connected with gardens. The pride the Miriam took in their gardens is a sufficient explanation of the need for some recognised control to restrain people from thieving garden produce; this was provided by the *sab tonar*, p. 144.

A very potent restraint against breaking a recognised custom or a public promise (as in the case of *sab tonar*) was the shame felt when such misconduct became public and was the subject of general ridicule.

The good opinion of others was a very strong restraining influence, and any reflection upon a man's skill in gardening was especially resented. The same applies equally to local or kinship groups. Various examples have been instanced of competitive presentations of food and valuables which often reached to absurd and impoverishing results and caused bad feeling and quarrels which defeated the socialising effect of what should have been the friendly exchanges of food and valuables.

In Mer a further sanction was vested in the officials of the Bomai-Malu cult. According



to Bruce, thanks to the awe inspired by Bomai, the *zogo le Beizam boai* had a considerable influence which they appear to have occasionally exerted in their own interests, but at the same time a belief in the supernatural power of Bomai was a deterrent against antisocial practices and as we have seen it strengthened the authority of certain of the *sab*, probably not so much from dread of his spiritual powers, for which there is little or no evidence, but from the activities of the men who personated Magur (vi, p. 311). The spiritual personality known as Magur or Ib was in the persons of his representatives the disciplinary executive of the Bomai-Mahu cult. All breaches of discipline, or acts of sacrilege, or deeds that brought an individual into disfavour with the cult authorities were punished by Magur.

#### FOOD-GETTING ACTIVITIES, THEIR RITUAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS

Horticulture. Technical. The stellar calendar, p. 131. Ritual practices: rain making, the *irmer zogo*, the *irmer gali*, p. 134; drought, p. 136. Rites, stones of power, and *zogo* connected with horticulture: stones of power and *zogo* for *leuer* (yams) and *ktai*, p. 137. *Biroburo zogo*, p. 138. *Sokop* (tobacco) *madub*, p. 139. *Ur bazi zogo* for coconuts, p. 139, *u zogo* of Dauar, p. 140. *Kaba* (banana) *zogo*, *kaba bubarap*, p. 141. *Enau zogo* and *alug* or *waiura lag*, *ziai neur*, p. 141. *Tabu* (snake) *zogo* for snakes to prey on rats, p. 143. *Zole* to make a garden productive, p. 143. *Mokeis* (rat) *zogo* for rats to destroy gardens, p. 143. *Sab tonar* (taboo fashion): *Meidu sab*, *gar sab*, *mainu sab*, *bodo sab*, *iwar sab*, *kapil sab*, *paji sab*, etc., p. 144. *Kebe le tonar* (fashion of lending gardens), p. 150, *sab gelar*, p. 150.

Birding, p. 150.

Fishing. Technical, p. 150. Ritual practices: *Leuer moy* (for cone shells, etc.), *pulcb* (stones for clams and other shells), *kaier* (crayfish) *zogo*, p. 154. Turtle ceremonies: *Baz nam zogo*, *nam zogo*, p. 154, *zogo baur*, p. 157. *Tagai zogo* of Dauar, p. 158. *Gelar* (taboo) for fishing by means of *seker*, poles, p. 158.

#### Horticulture

The Murray islanders have always been keen gardeners, and the finer the crops a man could raise the more would his reputation be enhanced and his self-esteem be exalted.

The technical practices of gardening are described in vol. vi, pp. 144-50, to which I have only a few notes to add.

A garden decoration called *wek* is a bamboo formed at the top into a diamond-shaped frame, from the sides of which semit is laced to make a sort of network (Bruce).

It was stated (p. 146) that the parent tuber of the yam is never disturbed, but in a note Bruce says: "If a man wanted to make a particularly fine show on ceremonial occasions, he would dig up the parent tuber; they are sometimes so large that one makes a good load for two men to carry suspended from a pole".

When a banana plantation shows evident signs of exhaustion, they allow it to lie fallow for some years and replant when they consider it to be sufficiently rested. Every year they keep planting out small banana patches to keep up a supply for immediate needs. They quite understand that some plants exhaust the soil more than others.

Many food-getting activities are regulated by the stellar calendar; the natives plant their gardens and gather in the new season's products by observing particular stars or constellations, and information is also obtained when the turtle season is approaching. Stars are also utilised as sailing directions.

The authoritative character of these stars or constellations is enhanced by the mythology connected with them, as they are reputed once to have been persons, usually male, or objects associated with those persons, who for various reasons were projected into the sky.

The warning that the time is at hand to cut down the timbered land, *seau giz*, is given

by the rising of the constellation *Scy* or *Sek*, but nothing is done until *Usiam*, the Pleiades, is about 9° above the horizon, and then the people begin to clear the ground (IV, p. 145).

The following information is mainly from J. Bruce's MS.; the data recorded only by A. O. C. Davies are indicated thus (D.). Both obtained their information from Pasi.

When early in August *Usiam* rises in the east, which it does before *Sek* and *Sia*, the natives begin to cut down the bush for their new gardens—*gedub egeb* (garden clear).

*Usiam* is first seen at the time when the *ketai* begins to throw up the shoots of the vine—*Kelaira kerkar wai* (*ketai's* young shoot). This is the first indication of spring and the people say, "Ah *Tagai maïke*".

When *Usiam* and *Sek* are near to their declension, March or April, it is an indication that the new food is about ready. The *birobiro* (p. 138) gives the same indication. But they jeer at *Usiam* when it is sinking and say, "*Usiam ma bakeam emetu ki kerkar lewer ero*" (*Usiam* you go we have already eaten our new food).

*Maima* is a constellation, very like the Southern Cross, but the stars are not so bright, which appears before the nebula *Sia*. When it is first seen about 4 A.M. the men say, "*Sia maïke*" (*Sia* close by), but when they first see *Sia*, they say, "*Tagai maïke*"; it is seen before the left hand of *Tagai* rises.

The left hand of *Tagai* (IV, p. 219; VI, p. 3) is the first to appear; it is the Southern Cross, and the two pointers are two of the crew, *Or* and *Kok*. The right hand rises in the east after the left hand although it is at a much higher altitude. (When it is first seen the north-west monsoon, *koki*, begins to blow a little and when the right hand is well up *koki* blows strongly. D.) *Tagai's* face is seen after the right hand has risen, his body is next seen, then the legs, followed by *Kareg* and the canoe. *Wal* is a star that rises next; it represents two of *Tagai's* crew in a small canoe. (After a while, perhaps two weeks after *koki*, the south-east wind, *sager uag*, blows a little bit. When both hands are up, then it is *bar* [the season of growth] and turtle migrate past the islands. After a time a strong *sager* blows, and then follows *koki* with plenty of rain; April is about equally divided between *sager* and *koki*. At the end of May, when *Tagai's* right hand is up, turtle begin to come on the sand-beaches to lay their eggs and do not pass by in deep water as earlier in the season. D.)

When *Kareg* rises, a little red bug, *mormor*, attacks the leaves of the yams [*moramor*, a red plant bug with white stripes on body and black marks on the wings (III, p. 153)]. It is said that *Kareg* sends these bugs, but after he is risen well up he drives them all away to allow the yams to grow. Also at the time *Kareg* rises, the turtle are infested with maggots, *kuper*, under the fore flippers where there is no shell. *Kareg* sends these maggots, but also at his rising he sends swarms of turtle to the sand-beaches on the big night tides which are made by *Dôgai*. After *Kareg* has risen he takes away the *mormor* from the yams and the *kuper* from the turtle.

When the body of *Tagai* is seen as far as his navel, *kopor*, the turtle arrive in swarms; Pasi says he has seen at this time so many turtle on the sand-beach that he and a party of men could not turn them over fast enough.

(When *Tagai's* hands go down and his feet are uppermost, it is time to plant bananas and all kinds of yams. When *Tagai* has gone down a little way the rain makes his baek wet. D.)

*Tagai* and *Beizam* ascend about the same time.

For the *Tagai zogo* see p. 158. The Torres Straits versions of the *Tagai* myth are given in vols. III, p. 250; V, pp. 67-9; VI, pp. 3, 4. Variants were collected by Landtman at Mawata (*Folk-tales*, 1917, pp. 482-4) which illustrate the modification a story may undergo when out of its proper setting and told by a people who do not entirely belong to the culture of which that myth is a part, but I do not wish to imply that the *Tagai* myth necessarily arose in Torres Straits.

(After *Tagai* comes *Naurwer* [*Ncur wer*], a constellation of two stars, which makes big

wind and rain. After that there is fine weather, *Nauwer mutki*, or dead calm. When *Nauwer* comes up the people wrap up bunches of bananas to make them big and red [*sopsop kaba*, IV, p. 147]. *Nauwer* is supposed to make fireflies, *sapoka*, and when it is high there is no more *koki*, but only *sager*. D.)

Rivers says (IV, p. 220) that a constellation of two stars is called *Mabersor* [trumpet-shell] by the Ulag [Zagareb] people, who own it when it comes up; but that when it goes down it is called *Nauwer* by the people of Sebeg [Kömet], who then own it. He speaks of the constellation as the "Brothers", but Bruce, whom I follow, says the Ulag people call it *Neur wer* (sister star) and the Kömet people call it *Maber wer* (trumpet-shell star). The individual stars are called *Narbet neur* (elder sister) and *Köimer neur* (younger sister). The owners of these stars are mentioned on p. 172. The constellation is the foundation of the *gar sab* (p. 147) which is connected with gardens. It is helped by *Kek* to make big surfs, *gaire zauber*, roll over the reefs at the beginning of the south-east season, about July or August.

*Kek* or *Kik* rises opposite to Er and sets opposite to Terker about the same time as *Usiam*, and then the people eat the new food; no other star rises or sets in the south (Bruce). This star belongs to Er (Geaurem) and to Terker (Mergarem), and is the foundation of the *iwar sab* (p. 148).

(Following *Nauwer* are two other stars, one called *Adud wer* (evil star) because it has a bad reputation, and the other *Waisu* or vulva [the usual name is *mune*]. *Waisu* makes fine big yams, the ground becomes cracked and the yams begin to swell, "just like a woman", and all kinds of bushes begin to ripen their leaves and turn them yellow. During this time the wind is in the south, *giai* [*ziai*, south-west]. At this period of fine weather friends come from all the islands to procure food and spear turtle. When *Waisu* is high up, there is only a little fine weather, but the wind is still in *giai*. D.)

The constellation *Beizam* has been described by Rivers (IV, p. 219) and referred to by me in vol. VI, p. 271. When the star *Dògai* is situated above the tail of the shark constellation (*Beizam*) in January he swings the shark's tail and thus causes the very high night tides, *erosia*, which do much damage.

When *Dògai* is in the west the people say, "*Dògai emri mam ged*" (*Dògai* sets red place); this is in *Naiger* time, November, when *Dògai* gives them plenty of *arti* [octopus] on the reef at night, but fish die on the reef through *Dògai's* excreta floating about, jelly-fish (Bruce). The *Dògai* cult is referred to on p. 166.

### *Ritual practices*

The natives were obviously of the opinion that the mere technical processes of horticulture were insufficient to ensure good crops, and therefore the various ritual practices they employed were considered as equally necessary and as constituting an essential part of the whole routine of horticulture, but there is no evidence that these were regarded as supernormal aids. I do not know whether Christianity has entirely obliterated the ritual aspects of horticulture, but there is no doubt that the practices lingered for a long time, as in the estimation of the natives they had proved their efficacy.

Indispensable for horticulture is a sufficient supply of rain, and this was provided for by a ritual of rain-making, which however was practiced at the onset of the rainy season. Even in Mer there were sometimes bad or "hungry" seasons which were accounted for otherwise than by the ineffectiveness of rain-making rites.

*Rain making.* The account given in vol. VI, pp. 194-201, is correct in most details, but further information has been afforded by Bruce's MS., and the following may be taken as authoritative. In this account I have preserved Bruce's spelling of words; thus he uses *doiam* where we had *doiom*.

The original place, *giz*, of the cult was at Lewag on the high ground south of Ulag, and it was here that the *zogo le* instructed the novices in the ritual of the *irmer zogo*. Primarily the cult belonged to and was conducted by the Zagareb *le*.

The *irmer zogo* ceremony is carried on at Maidem awak at Lewag in the bush near a clump of bamboos; *maidem* is a stone and *awak* is the annular mound of earth that surrounds it. The objects required in the ceremony are: (1) *Doiam*. (2) *Sibalug*; made from turtle oil, *u id*, and lemon grass, *sarik pas*; the oil is put into a large clam shell, dried shoots of the grass are burnt and the charcoal put into the oil, to which the grass imparts a pleasant scent. (3) *Doiam-ra lukup*, *doiam's* medicine, is made from the *wargau* shrub and the fruit of the *meaur* tree. The shrub is pulled out of the ground and the bark and sap-wood scraped off with a *kaip* shell, the fruit is scraped in the same manner, and the whole is put into a clam shell. (4) *Muaini*, a screen, about 8 ft. by 2 ft., made from the plaited young leaves of the coconut palm; four screens are used and each is kept erect by being fastened to a bamboo stuck in the ground. (5) *Kaper kaper* [*Abrus precatorius*], "crabs' eyes"; these seeds are put in the hole in the ground. (6) *Kerir keber*, a long reed, *pater* [VI, fig. 24, where it is erroneously termed bamboo]. (7) Stones of lava placed in a circle round the *doiam*. (8) Clam shells, *miskor*, for holding the *sibalug* and *doiam lukup*. (9) *Woz*, branches of croton put in a circle round the *doiam*. (10) *Kabu lam*, banana leaves. (11) *Ni*, fresh water. (12) *U lam*, dry coconut leaves.

When the *zogo le* see that the *kaper* and *ewer* [*iwar*] trees are beginning to form new buds, i.e. about the end of December, they decide it is time to have a *zogo*. The ground at Maidem awak is cleared of all undergrowth and all the paraphernalia are prepared. During this time the *zogo le* and the novices live at Ulag and smoking of tobacco is tabooed.

Generally four *doiam* are prepared at this time (although single individuals can prepare their own *doiam* themselves at any other time). The decoration, *taier*, of a *doiam* consists of a *bego* [*bigo*] and two or four *gou* nuts suspended with *ked u luger* round the neck and two *nesur* (skirts). One *doiam* is placed with its head to the S.E., the others to the E., to the N.W. and to the W., but not to the S., as rain squalls seldom come from that quarter during the N.W. monsoon. The *doiam* is laid on the ground and its outline is marked on the ground, a hole of the same size is dug about 18 in. deep; all rootlets are cut away so as to make a clean grave. Banana leaves are put in the bottom of the hole with the ends up to fold over, much in the same way as if they were preparing a parcel. The *doiam* is anointed with *sibalug* by smearing it all over with their fingers, repeating the *zogo mer* while doing so. The back of the *doiam* is well rubbed with the *lukup*; it is then placed face upwards in the hole on the banana leaves. *Lukup* is next sprinkled over it like flour until it is covered over; then the *kaper kaper* seeds are put over the *lukup*, but none on the face of the *doiam*. Croton leaves are laid over the seeds to prevent them and the *lukup* from floating when water is poured into the hole, which is next done; finally the ends of the banana leaves are folded over so as to make all secure.

The dried coconut leaves are set alight and brandished backwards and forwards over the hole in order to produce lightning, *perper*; then the *kerkir keber* is rattled over the hole to make thunder [*girgir*, probably *kerkir* is the same word]; it is done last as thunder follows lightning.

The hole is next filled up with earth to the level of the ground and lava stones placed in a circle around it; inverted clam shells are put on the stones and branches of croton stuck in the ground to form an outer circle [VI, pl. IX, fig. 7]. The four *muaini* [*moaini* or *mueni*] are then erected at the head, foot and sides of the *doiam* [VI, pl. VIII].

During the preparation of the *zogo* sacred words, *zogo mer*, are chanted by the *zogo le* in a high falsetto voice. There is no singing. Only the *zogo le* and the novices are present.

*Irmer zogo mer*

*Bas kesem* clouds close together.

*Kub kesem* black clouds close together.

*Irmer kesem* rain to fall heavily.

*Kub and* black clouds gathered together.

*Sesa baud* ends of clouds gathered together.

*Neder baud* streaks of clouds gathered together.

*Bege baud* water-spouts rising from the sea.

*Ki disamerem* to darken like night.

*Pean deraparem* coconut leaves hang down.

*Utut dikmerkare* heavy rain with mist.

*Kub amasamas* ends of black clouds meeting.

*Bas amasamas* ends of clouds meeting.

*Neder amasamas* ends of black clouds meeting and covering each other.

*Bege amasamas* ends of water-spouts meeting.

In a few days the concoction begins to smell; the monsoon sets in when the odour is very bad and there is a heavy rain. Some of the people begin to be afraid, as the creeks open up all round the island owing to the rush of water from the gullies on the hills, the sand is cut up and houses are liable to be swept out to sea or to fall down if a creek opens close to the house. These people approach a *zogo le* and beseech him to stop the rain, as there is too much of it. The *zogo le* tells them that he cannot do so because he is too tired and his body is very sore on account of the hard work he had in preparing the *zogo*, but a few days later he takes down all the trappings, opens the hole and draws out the *doiam* by the cord that is attached to it, cleans it thoroughly and anoints it with oil and puts it away carefully until it is again required. By this time the rain has ceased.

(In another note which apparently refers to a minor rain-making rite, Bruce says: "To stop the rain, *mut apit*, the *zogo* man goes to the *doiam's* place, *zogo ged*, and with a stone strikes one of the clam shells two or three times. The *doiam* hears the knocking and the rain stops. Sometimes the *doiam* is left for some time in the hole and when again wanted they pour more water in the hole and repeat the *zogo mer*".)

(Another note says: "The *maidem* is smaller than the *doiam* and is used for making wind accompanied with a little rain. When a storm of wind is wanted the *maidem* is prepared in the same manner as the *doiam* but is placed in the sea. This procedure is not confined to certain groups, as in the case of the *doiam*, but can be performed by numerous persons". Bruce.)

Later the *zabareb le* send word to the *Oparem le* (inhabitants of *Zaub*, *Peibre le*) to prepare the ground for the *irmer gali* at *Baur* and to provide the food (one note says the *Kömet le* and *Danar le* also supplied food). A *gali* may be regarded as a festival after a rite and was more or less public rejoicing at the success of the rite in producing rain or whatever may have been its object.

The *doiam gali* or *irmer* (rain) *gali* has already been described (vi, pp. 195-7). It is however erroneously stated or implied (pp. 196, 197, footnote, 201) that the *gali* preceded the rite in which the *irmer zogo le* prepared the *zogo* and instructed the *kesi* ritual of rain-making. This *zogo* and the practices connected with it belonged to the *Zagareb le* and it is only consistent with the custom of other Miriam cults that people from another part of the island should provide the food for the *gali*, for the whole island had benefited from the exertions of the *zogo le*. The *gali wel* refer to the *iwar* (an undetermined plant) and the *kaper* (*Abrus precatorius*) "trees": their leaves are dried up when the words are spoken—this is at the end of *naiqu* time, in December—and they sprout out when the rain comes. These two plants are mentioned in the *iwar sab mer*, p. 149.

In a letter dated December 27, 1899, Bruce says:

"We have still some very powerful *doiams* left on the island. The church was injured last year by a thunder-storm raised it is said by Wali. Enoka was first suspected but denied his ability to make such a storm, he says he does not make thunder and lightning to spoil things, he only makes good rain to make men's gardens grow and he added '*Ka nole zogo meta dedkoi* (I not sacred house spoil) I am a *ekalesia* (church person)'. So that they had to fall back on Wali as he was not *ekalesia* and he had been angry with Fenau (the Samoan missionary) about something. They have now made Wali an *ekalesia* to protect the building from further damage."

In 1900 the north-west monsoon was so very slight that all the garden stuffs died off; the sweet-potatoe vines were the first to shrivel and no tubers were formed, then the yams died off after the people had dug up a few small tubers, and they had to depend upon coconuts and bananas, which were fairly plentiful. The people, however, were perfectly happy and danced night after night, the boats lay idle instead of being used for getting black-lip shell, which reached a high price that year and would have enabled them to buy flour and rice for their families. Douglas Pitt's son cleared £350 in six months with a crew of mainland (Australian) boys; the Murray men did not clear as many shillings with their seven boats.

My taking away several good *doiom* the previous year was held to be partly to blame for the dearth of food owing to the drought, as the rain-makers were handicapped in giving a plentiful supply of rain. The failure of the "north-west" was mainly attributed to Debe Wali, who was charged with defiling and throwing down the *zegnai'pur zogo* (VI, p. 211). Komaberi had died the previous year and Debe Wali of course believed that someone was the cause of his death, and the people said that he was angry at the death of his brother and knocked down the *zogo*, and hence the drought. The next one to be accused was Joe Brown (Baur, 1 B), who had had a quarrel with Jimmy Dei (Sebig, 4 B) and was said to have burnt the coconut *zogo* at Zaub (Zeub) by wilfully setting fire to the grass; by doing so he had stopped the rain from coming and had ruined the crops.

On the other hand, *Mamus Arci* whispered in Bruce's ear that the real cause of the drought was because the rain-makers were afraid to make rain and prepare the ceremony, in case they might make too much wind along with it and thereby cause a big hurricane, similar to that of the previous March. They were afraid that the Government would punish them if a number of lives were lost; furthermore, Gasu (Ulag, 12 B; VI, p. 195) being then blind could not see to prepare the *zogo* properly and they feared to do so. Bruce never heard of any man getting the credit of making the hurricane of the previous year, no doubt they were afraid to hint at it, but he had no doubt that it was credited to some of the *zogo le*.

#### *Rites, stones of power, and zogo connected with horticulture*

Probably most families had at least one stone of power or a shrine to make gardens fruitful or to render certain fruit trees productive. I do not know whether there was invariably any rite in connection with these or whether they sometimes functioned automatically. Probably there was a periodic anointing of them with coconut water, or with coconut oil, or with turtle oil, and at the same time the utterance of a wish. Some stones of power were described as *zole*, others as *zogo*, while to some no designation was given to us. Many were in human form. A number appear to have been impersonal, such as the *lower kep* for yams and *ketai kep* for a variety of yam (VI, p. 212).

The *nauareb zogo* at Kiam (VI, p. 210) was a garden *zogo* which probably belonged to the Kòmet *le*.

MacFarlane says that at Naru on the west of the island is a punice figure which was used in making *zogo* for new yams.

It seems probable that the *zequai pur zogo*, the principal yam *zogo* on Dauar, was given to that island by the Kòmet *le* as the *zogo le* were Arei of Zaub and Komaberi of Kameri, Dauar. The latter married a Zaub woman, the daughter of Arei's brother (VI, p. 211).

Mr A. O. C. Davies has informed me that a *lewer zogo* situated on Pasi's land on Dauar consisted of helmet [Cassis] and large *Fusus* shells placed in the form of a five-pointed star. The *zogo le* anointed each shell with coconut and turtle oil and decorated the *zogo* with croton, *wez*, leaves. Men and women who owned gardens collected together, each carrying a cane decorated with croton leaves and white sprouting coconut leaves. The *zogo le* headed a procession which marched round the *zogo* while singing songs about yams. After the third round the *zogo le* halted at the upper point of the star and the others formed a circle around it and planted their canes upright in the ground. The ceremony ensured a good crop of yams, but not in the case of any person whose cane happened to fall down.

Davies also says that a *ketai zogo* is situated on the land belonging to Tom Sergeant at Ulag. It consists of a number of *maber* [giant *Fusus* shells] placed in a semicircle  $\bigcap$ ; in the centre are two large *maber* which have perforations all round the last whorl. Tom does not know the rite connected with this *zogo*, but it is never disturbed, nor are the surrounding bushes ever cut. The *zogo* is supposed to cause the testes to swell of any man who disturbs it.

Bruce states (MS.) that

Ulag, Las, Areb and Warwe are called *giz lewer ged* [original yam places] and the people are known as *giz lewer le*, because Sida or Said [or Soida] when he visited Mer was the first to plant yams, bananas and coconuts at these places. The people are also called *Miriam le*, a term confined to the inhabitants of the Zagareb Piaderem, and Samsep districts. [In these Reports we have employed the term *Miriam* to designate all the Murray islanders, as it seemed to be a convenient word to use; the term *Miriam le* should be restricted to these groups.]

After the *Miriam le* had a crop they distributed plants to all the other people, including Dauar *le*, these people were termed the *mop le*, last men.

Ulag is the *au giz*, the very beginning, because Sida slept at Ulag with Pekari, the belle of the island; Las, Areb and Warwe are called *kebe giz*, small beginning.

The *mop le* are the first to dig and eat the new foods. The earliest of the new season's food are *ager* and *badi* [aroids], *weskep* [the root of the *weskep* vine], and *ketai* [a variety of yam]; these are large roots about the size of a large turnip, they are in season about the month of March.

A *mop le*, on finding that the roots are ready for digging up, takes one and shows it to his people; then it is exhibited to the others, and it is arranged that on a certain day they will dig the new food and a place is fixed where the villagers are to meet. Everyone brings some roots, which are piled up in a heap; coconuts, bananas, sweet potatoes and sugar cane are also added to make a good show; like most of their meetings this is held about 4 P.M. After all have arrived the food is cut up in pieces and distributed among all of them (women are present as well as men); the baskets are arranged in lines and the food is put into each. This division and the eating of these foods is called *bes lewer*, false food, by which is implied that they are cheating the yams, which are not ready for digging until the end of May. The real yam crop is *lewer kar*, true or proper food.

*Mag lewer* is the name for *badi*, *ager* and *ketai*. It is called *mag lewer* when they are fit for eating, but *mag* is the plant that is put in the ground, it sends down its roots, called *aib*, and the *mag* or plant dies.

The term *lewer* is the *au nei*, general name for yams (of which there are many named varieties), but it is used to designate vegetable food in general. Three of the roots mentioned are not yams, and the *ketai* is a special kind of yam that most probably was indigenous.

This account by Bruce indicates that originally there were these four kinds of edible roots and that cultivated yams of superior quality were introduced to the north-eastern end of Mer and were distributed by the Miriam *le* to the other people of the island—the *map le*. The precise significance of attributing the introduction of superior yams, bananas and coconuts to Sida is at present obscure.

*Birobiro zogo*. The *birobiro* or *berobero* (the western *birubiru*) is the bee-eater, *Zosterops caeruleescens*, which "calls out its own name". The bird comes from New Guinea about the end of March, at the time when the earliest yams are ready for eating, and returns from the south in October. In all the islands the bird is associated with the new-yam season, of which it is the harbinger, and when the birds arrive in large numbers they are thought to indicate a good harvest, and for this in Mer the *zogo le* of the cult were held responsible. The *birobiro zogo* was sometimes termed *lewer zogo*.

In a MS. note Bruce says:

The *zogo* of the *berobero* [as he spells it] belonged to the Kòmet *le*. Harry [Arei, Zaub 2] was the head *zogo le*, or *tarim le*. The *zogo* shrine was at Naror, near Tomog divining ground. When the *zogo le* first hears the call "bero bero bero bero" of the little bird he knows that the new foods are in a fit state to be eaten [these are the early yams, etc., the best yams are not ripe till May], so he calls together the members of his *zogo* cult to prepare the *zogo*. When this was done he proclaimed to the people that the food in the gardens is ready for eating. The Mergarem *le* are the first to eat the new foods, after which all the other people may eat. This used to be quite an event, but now [1915] you only hear that some particular day has been appointed, though it is not now generally followed. Formerly anyone was severely punished who ate the new food before the ceremony had taken place and the participation of the food by the Mergarem *le*.

Elsewhere Bruce says "Enoka was the first to eat the new food", but he belonged to Er, 18 A, Geaurem.

MacFarlane informs me that on Mer the Kòmet *le* controlled the *birobiro zogo*. The *zogo* was made at the shrine where the stone figure lay, the shrine was cleared, the stone *birobiro* cleaned and painted red with *maïr*. Then word was sent for the people to come. A feast was made, the *birobiro* men stood in a line with folded arms supporting a banana leaf. The people then made their offerings one by one of new yams or *ketai*, placing them on the banana leaf which each man held in his arms [this method of presentation is called *bubarap* and was also made in connection with the *kaba zogo*]. The *zogo le* carried the food to the front of the *zogo* and heaped it up. The food was then distributed among the Kòmet men, who passed it on to their wives. The *birobiro* figure was left in its place until wanted for the next new-yam ceremony. There was a *birobiro zogo* on Êrub (p. 196); the "*buberup* dance" doubtless was the same method of presentation as the *bubarap* of Mer (p. 141).

There is some obscurity about the *zogo lu*, sacred things, of the *birobiro* cult. Bruce (MS.) says "they were generally made of lava but sometimes of the soft volcanic ash or of the wood of the *enau* tree [*Mimusops*]. Those of lava were not formed or shaped by man but were found in the soil, so all the old men tell me; they say the stone was too hard and they had no tools with which to fashion them—peculiar-shaped pieces of lava are very common". From this statement it is possible that the Naror *birobiro zogo* (vi, footnote 2,



p. 211; pl. XIII, fig. 4) may be the actual main *zogo lu* of the cult; it is a western rock, but I do not understand about the other stones. The *birobiro zogo*, known to me as such, are certainly artifacts, and the stone of which most of them are made does not appear to me to be an eastern rock.

I know of some seven or eight objects which are so similar that they must belong to the same category. I have described two which were called *birobiro zogo* or *lower zogo* (VI, p. 211; pl. XIII, figs. 2, 3) and one which was called *omabar* (VI, p. 221; pl. XXI, fig. 6). *Omabar* is a *au nei* of which *birobiro zogo* was said to be one of the *kebi nei* (cf. p. 110; VI, p. 221). There is a fine specimen in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, acquired in 1903, but with no history, though it was said to be a "shark charm". Of two specimens from Ērub belonging to the Rev. Harry Scott (pl. III, fig. 1), one is made of *Tridacna* shell and the other of a dark grey stone: the lower protuberances of both have a cup-like hollow, as occurs in the above-mentioned *omabar*. The vertical protuberance is as often lacking as present. One specimen (like pl. III, fig. 2) was said to be a love charm, *omabar*, carried by a young woman under her skirt to attract men.

*Sokop madub*. I have nothing to add to the account given in vol. VI, p. 207, of the *sokop madub* to assist the growth of tobacco plants.

*Ur buzi zogo* for coconuts (Bruce MS.). The most important *u* (coconut) *zogo* was at Lewag (Zagareb), hence it was commonly known as Lewag *zogo*, but Bruce speaks of it as the *ur buzi zogo*; its secret name was *kus*. The rite was held before the *imer gali*.

Two headmen, *zogo kale le*, alone might touch the *ur buzi zogo*; the last were Idagi [presumably not Idagi of Werbadu, 21] and Naii [12 C, Ulag]. There was one *tam le*, who decorated the *zogo le* and prepared and gave them their food; two men, *kopei le* or *wedar le*, shared out the food to the former and were the only men allowed to break coconuts. When the *zogo* was prepared, they all went to gardens where there were bananas and coconut trees marked with *zom* (*Hibiscus*) and *paiar* flowers; the fruit thus marked was taken to Lewag. The *kopei le* collected the food and gave it to the *tam le*, who presented whole bunches of bananas to the *zogo le*, but the others had smaller portions. The two *kopei le* husked the green coconuts and gave them to the others; no knife or metal tool could be employed and a pointed stick, *kus*, was used to pierce the hole at the end of the nut. After they had drunk, they sat in a circle; the *kopei le* were in the centre, and they took the nuts in the palm of the hand and broke them with a lava stone, *idid baker*, and distributed the pieces to the others.

*Ur buzi* is a branch of the *zome* tree [*Thespesia populnea*] that grows in the bush; it must be either a windfall or a branch that has rotted off the tree, and it must not have been cut off with a knife, in which case it would be equivalent to cutting a man's entrails and all the people would be hungry and have diarrhoea, *le sur*. If a *zogo* man should cut a coconut with a metal tool, or if he put it on the ground and struck it with a stone, it also produces diarrhoea among all the people and they would have pains in the head, coughs, colds, and be hungry. The *ur buzi* must be broken with the hands only inside the *zogo* ground. *Kus* is the name of a tree, the wood of which was used for various purposes, such as sticks for husking coconuts, skewers, and the stick-connectives, *kag*, of the outriggers of a canoe. The ritual *kus* may be cut and prepared with a knife by the two *zogo le*; they are made flat, so that they can be built up on one another, but this must be done in their own houses and not on the *zogo* ground.

The *zogo* was about 2 ft. long, 10 in. broad, and 8 in. high. A *ur buzi* was laid on the

ground, in lengths of 2 ft., with smaller pieces for filling in. As Bruce says the *ur buzi* formed the house of the *zogo*, it would appear that they were built up in the form of an oblong, with one open end, to a height of 8 in. The *kus* were placed within the "house" on the top of one another in two rows, the lowermost being short, the next longer, till the middle was reached, and then they correspondingly decreased in length. They were placed lengthwise, and at one end the ends of the *kus* were laid flush with each other. The *kus* were the *zogo*.

The *zogo le* were dressed in the same manner as in the *irmer zogo*, as they were connected with each other.

There is no information as to the actual rite at the *zogo*. The *u zogo mer* spoken by the *zogo le* were:

*U! A! gede a mamai, werem bausmer, batimed U! A!*

(Coconuts fall to the ground scattered all about, children come out, the coconuts hang down.)

Should an outsider hear these words he would quickly put his fingers in his ears to shut out the sound or he would certainly have boils on his body and swellings like boils, *karem lu*, on his hands and feet on hearing these words; but the *zogo* man could cure him. Hence the *zogo* was sometimes called *begur* [ulcer] *zogo*.

The ceremony was carried on for about a week. The men had to remain at Girgir ak and sleep there, but some slept on the ground at Lewag. They all assembled in the morning at sunrise and remained there till sunset; they might not smoke during the period and no women were allowed to come near it [although Bruce does not say so, it seems probable that other men belonging to the *zogo* were present during the rite]. At the close of the rite, all went into the sea and washed themselves. The *kopei le* caught *tup*, which they handed over to the *tam le*, who presented the fish to the *zogo le*.

There seems to have been a *u gali* after the rite at which the following was sung:

*U epi, nei norge Tirdi, nei norge Tirdi.*

This was constantly repeated and signifies: coconut float, name (*nei*) at sunken reef (*norge*) Tirdi (the name of a reef to the N.E. by E.).

Bruce says: "There was a *u zogo* at Sour-e-ed at Kesgar on Dauar which was destroyed by the Tanna men of the 'Woodlark'." I describe the *u zogo* at Sewereat, which probably is the same place (vi, p. 206). It has been stated that before the annual ceremony at Lewag the *u zogo le* prepared this *zogo* and then prepared the *u zogo* at Eger [? Warwe] and finally went to Lewag.

It is stated that Abob and Kos are credited with founding the Dauar *zogo* (vi, pp. 28, 207), but Bruce informed me that Sida was the original founder (vi, pp. 22, 207). Sida or Said (Soido) is reputed to have been the first to bring coconuts to Mer, as a *u zogo* is more appropriately associated with him. Abob and Kos are supposed to have been the first to build stone fish traps, *sai* (iv, p. 158), and there is no reference to coconuts in the legend about those heroes. None of the Dauar *le* are *u zogo le*, but the rite is confined to the Zagareb *le* of Mer.

Sida erected a shrine and a *u zogo* at the spot where he had intercourse with Zabaker at Warwe. Samsep. Gaul (Warwe, 16 C) and Mamai (Warwe, 16) are the *zogo le* (vi, p. 20 and footnote 2). Bruce says that Sida founded a *u zogo* in many places; in a MS. note he refers to Airem and to Waeboch [Werbok] (Peilre), at both of which places are stones and clam shells.

*Kaba zogo* for bananas. The beginning of the *Kaba zogo* is stated to have been through two women, Sarged and Pas, who had no husbands. A Dauar man, Kaimer, and Sarged were fond of one another; he visited her at Sarged and one day gave her a bunch of bananas. He left her and went to see Pas, at Pas near Gigo, and secretly presented her with a hand, *oma*, of bananas cut from another bunch.<sup>1</sup> Pas put her bananas in her basket and walked round to Gelam pit (Weide) and met Sarged, who was washing her boy Maidem in the sea [one version says that Sarged also had a boy, Idaur, and that both women washed their boys. Bruce says Sarged had a child by Kaimer]. Whilst Sarged and Pas were talking a gust of wind upset Pas' basket and the hand of bananas fell out and immediately Sarged asked Pas who gave her the bananas. Pas said Kaimer gave them to her. Sarged thought she was Kaimer's woman and was very angry. The two women quarrelled and reviled each other: Sarged said to Pas "*Ma tais bad pako zazer*"—"You take sores, after the sores heal there will be white scars" (*zazer* = white, scar is understood). Pas retorted: "*Ma baur ais a deraimer lar*"—"You take fish-spear and look for fish". They then went to their own places and that was how the *kaba zogo* was instituted.

It is stated (VI, p. 207) on the authority of Bruce that there are two head-men (*tarim le*, also called *miaii le*) of the *kaba zogo*: Jimmy Dei (Sebeg, 4 B) officiates for the *zogo ged* at Gigo (this *zogo* place is called Pas) and Enoka (Er, 18 A) for the *zogo ged* at Sarged near Werbadu. Each side of the island is thus represented. Bruce in his MS. says the two *kaba zogo le* meet first at Gelam pit, where the two women met, and there decide on what day they will have the *bubarap*. [It may be taken for granted that both men perform the ceremony at each of the *zogo ged*.]

The *bubarap* is a similar ceremony to the *birobiro bubarap*, the only difference being that the *kaba zogo le* use *kokuam* [Hibiscus] flowers fastened to the midrib of a coconut palm leaflet, *be lid*, which is bound to each arm and inserted into the banana leaf which both men hold in each hand.

A variety of foods is given at the *kaba bubarap* to the *zogo le*: green bananas are cut into hands; yams, *ketai* and sweet potatoes are roasted; old germinated coconuts are husked, but the young shoot is left on; a shell-fish, *Keret* [*Strombus*], is boiled, the flesh is removed and presented with the other foods, which are piled on the hands of the *zogo le* or the top of the banana leaves and as high as the hibiscus flowers which decorate each arm and reach as high as the shoulder.

As *bub* = the chest or the front of the body and *arap* = buy or sell, the term *bubarap* seems to mean the payment (for the future banana crop) that is heaped up on the hands and chests of the two men who are facing each other. The word *miaii* is explained in vol. VI, p. 207.

*Enau zogo*. This *zogo* is described in vol. VI, p. 203. The *enau* or *enou* is a "wild plum" and often called *wangai*, *Mimusops Browniana* (IV, p. 133). The only remarks I have to make are that in a note Bruce says concerning the *zogo mer* that *digrik* is another name for ripe, and that *darpomer* refers to the fruit turning about with the wind on the stalk; *eumida* = die. Tako is a misprint for Katu. Bruce says: "There is a figure of a girl at the *Enau zogo ged*, she was one of the Ti girls (VI, p. 54). The *zogo le* did not anoint the stone image or put *maier* [red paint] on it, they only cleaned the weeds away from around it. They say she was there only to look after the *zogo*. Of course she was changed from a

<sup>1</sup> *te dim lever*, "mouth shut food", is the phrase used when food is given to a man or to a woman who is secretly fancied.

mortal into a stone". We may therefore conclude that the stone effigy is much more ancient than the *zogo*, with which it has nothing to do, and that it happened to be there when the *zogo* was instituted (vi, pp. 204, 205).

When the *zogo* ceremony succeeded in producing a large crop of *enau* fruit, the *alag* or *waiwa lag* was held, the performers started in their procession from Peibre and finished at Meaurem. This ceremony is said to have been given by the Dauar *le* to the Meaurem *le* at their request. Bruce records that masks used on a particular occasion which he witnessed were given by certain Dauar men to certain Meaurem men. If the *enau zogo* was a recent invention, the *alag* must also have been a recently devised ceremony.

In Bruce's MS. there is the following information, which it is difficult to fit in with that given in vol. vi, pp. 204-6.

There are three *tarim le*, head-men, each of whom wears a mask *alagra op*, *alag's* face, which are alike. A mask is shaped like a large *Fusus* shell, *maber*, with eassowary feathers round the top. Each man wears a band round the brow, *mat lager*, decorated with red *enau* fruit, and similarly decorated crossed shoulder belts, *wagogob* [doubtless these were in addition to the bark and leaf costume that enveloped the performer].

One man wore the *pap lager mig* mask and wore hanging down his back a *pap lager*, that is, a rope which is used for strangling people. Jamie Wailu's father, Waro of Dauar, gave a mask of this kind to Kopam's father, Gedero [Kop, 8 A]. The *pap lager mig* represents an angry man who goes prowling into villages and chases people: he has a club in his hand which he strikes or throws at the person he attacks. People are very frightened of him.

The *waiwa lag* mask was given by Mere, Debe Wali's father [Kameri, 26], to Mogar [Kop, 8].

The man with the *nem kod* mask wears two conical shells, *nasir* [*Trochus niloticus*], to represent *nano kod*, the standing-up breasts of a young woman [*nano*=*nem*].

The last two performers are more playful, sometimes they run with the *alag le* on the road, or make some sort of fun.

The *enau zogo* is peculiar, as it is stated to be of recent origin; it is the only *zogo* that lacks something supernormal in its inception and it is unique in having the *zogo mer* in the Miriam language. The actual rite was performed at the *zogo* on Dauar and was followed by a protracted and somewhat elaborate ceremony, *alag* or *waiwa lag*, which Bruce distinctly says was not *zogo* and was performed on the western coast of Mer. Bruce regards it as a kind of thanksgiving for a good crop of fruit. This fruit and the tree is known as *enau* or *enoa* and *wangai* or *wagai* in the east and as *ubar* and *wangai* in the west; it is *Mimusops Browniana*, which has a valuable durable wood. It seems improbable that this most important of the wild fruits of the Murray Islands should only recently have had a ritual connected with it. There was a *wangai zogo* on Ērub (p. 197).

In certain western islands there was a *mawa* ceremony performed by a masked man (or by two men) which took place when the *ubar* fruit was ripe. In Yam, at all events, there is a shrine called *ubarau zogo*, which consists of a small effigy probably carved out of pumice, *met*, and of numerous stones, shells, etc., the function of which was to ensure a plentiful crop of the *ubar* fruit (v, pp. 347-9).

Thus there is a fairly close parallel between these western and eastern customs. The Dauar *zogo* may be of relatively recent local origin, but it and the *alag* are more likely to have been a renewal of an ancient cult.

With regard to the *ziai neur* (vi, p. 56; pl. V, fig. 3) at Waperered, Bruce (MS.) says she has nothing to do with the setting of the sun as she does not exactly face to the west, but she is supposed to influence the westerly winds. No definite information could be

obtained about her. Though near the *enau zogo ged* she was not connected with the *zogo*. The explanation of her being close by is that she was one of the *ti neur* taken by Markep and Sarkep to their home at Waperered. There were two *loko* and two *ti* girls. The *zogo le* (VI, p. 203) did not anoint the image, or put red paint on it, they merely cleared the weeds away from around it; she was there only to look after the *zogo*. He does not add anything to what he said about the two *ziai neur* in Eid's garden at Damud, or Damid (VI, p. 235; fig. 47). The stone effigies of Markep and Sarkep are also close to the *enau zogo ged*.

*Tabu* (snake) *zogo*. Rats feed on bananas, more particularly those bunches which are wrapped up while still hanging on the tree, *sopsop kaba* (IV, p. 147), and as the *tabu* snake preys on rats and mice a stone resembling the head of a *tabu* was employed to induce snakes to destroy rats. I obtained such a snake's head made of lava from Jimmy Dei, Sebeg, 4 B (VI, p. 220).

According to Davies the *tabu zogo* consisted of a heap of stones fashioned as snakes, snakes' heads and fish. The usual clam shells surrounded the heap. He obtained some of these from Kaikai, son of Modi (Las, 14 A). Fig. 16 illustrates some of these carved stones, for the photographs of which I am indebted to the Director of the Queensland Museum, Brisbane.

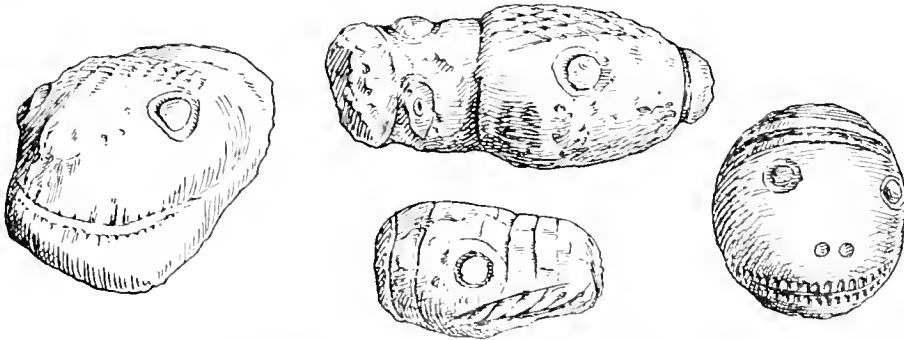


Fig. 16. Carved stones from the *tabu zogo*. Mer., collected by Mr Davies. Queensland Museum. Drawn from photographs.

As there were rites to increase garden produce, so there were others of an anti-social character.

Davies collected a *zole* which was used to make the user's garden productive. A handful of soil would be stolen from a neighbour's garden and with due ceremony placed before the *zole*. This would ensure the productivity of that garden being transferred to the garden of the man making the offering.

The *mokeis zogo*, according to Bruce, is a stone under a clam shell at Wedwed pit, Eger. If any person is angry with anyone, he goes and strikes it with stones and then all the houses and gardens on the island will be overrun with rats. To remove the plague, the *zogo le*, who were *Zagareb le*, were sent for; only they had the power to exorcise the plague, though anyone, even a child, might start it (cf. VI, p. 220).

Mr Davies informs me that the *mokeis zogo* consisted of heads of rats carved out of lava, over which was placed a great heap of stones surmounted by a number of clam shells, and situated on a projecting point of rock just above high-water mark (he does not say where). The *zogo* had not been officially worked since the coming of the missionaries (1871), when some Lifu teachers had overthrown the clam shells. When Davies heard of

the *zogo*, he asked whether the *mokeis* were still there and was told that no one had dared to remove the stones and that he might do so if he cared to risk it. Davies went to the place, took off the stones and came upon a number of painted stones and then to four *mokeis*; he lifted them out and asked the sergeant to put them on the ground, but no one dared touch them, so a basket was fetched. The former procedure was, if a person had a grudge against another and did not want to do great harm to him, he went to the *zogo* and made an offering of yams, bananas, etc., turtle grease was poured over the heap of stones and the *zogo* was requested to send a number of rats, *mokeis*, to the gardens of the person whom it was desired to injure.

*Sab tonar* (taboo fashion)

Owing to the absence of any general executive authority there evidently was a need for some recognised control to restrain people from thieving and from breaking a taboo on gardens. This influence was supplied by the various organised kinds of *sab*, or taboo.

In most cases the restraining influence was the shame felt for breaking a promise made publicly, as the people are desirous above all for the good opinion of their neighbours and any insult to their status or a reflection upon their supply of garden food was felt very keenly.

A further restraint in some cases was the fear of offending Bomai. This dread of Bomai is alluded to in dealing with "Restraints and Sanctions", p. 130.

*Sab tonar* (taboo fashion) must almost certainly have been older than the coming of the Bomai cult, and its sanctions were based in an obscure way on particular fruits or on certain stars. The simple ritual was in the hands of a few men, whose hereditary right it was to perform them; as such they were not *zogo le*, merely *sab le*, and they exercised their functions in definite areas and then only when called upon to do so. Certain groups have the right to use one or more objects to indicate *sab*.

	Kòmct	Meaurem	Zagareb	Piaderem	Samsep	Geaurem	Mergarem	Peibre	Dauar
<i>Meidu sab</i>									(Waier)
<i>Gar sab</i>									
<i>Main sab</i>									
<i>Bodo sab</i>									
<i>Iwar sab</i>									
<i>Kapil sab</i>									
<i>Paqi sab</i>									
<i>Tabo sab</i>									
<i>Maber sab</i>									
<i>Nam sab</i>									
<i>Wakai sab</i>									

I have found in Bruce's MS. additional and corroborative information about *sab tonar* (vi, pp. 248, 249); as his notes deal mainly with *meidu sab*, this will be described first, though it is not necessarily more important than the other forms of *sab*. They all seem to have followed the same general procedure. Sometimes chewed coconut kernel is spat on the breast of the abstainer instead of the special plant of a particular *sab*. Bruce writes in the present tense as he was acquainted with *sab* as it was actually being practised.

*Meidu sab*. The sanction for this *sab* appears to rest on the story of Meidu (p. 103; vi,

pp. 13-15, 248, 249). Bruce says she was the founder, as the *meidu* (nipa palm) fruit sprung from her. The nipa palm does not grow in the islands, but is abundant in the estuaries of New Guinea; the palms and fruit are often washed ashore on Mer, and Dauar in the north-west monsoon. A long stone at Tairi (Teri) on the east side of Dauar represents Meidu; it is on the beach near high-water mark, and at high spring tides it is surrounded by water but the sea does not cover it; it is now split into two portions (vi, pl. II, fig. 3). It is called *Meidura lera nog*; in vol. III, p. 156, *nog* is translated "outside of a place; a mask". But in a note Bruce terms it "spirit". *Lera* appears to signify "of the *le*"; the *le* seems to refer to the chewed *meidu* fruit.

This *sab* belongs to Samsep and Peibre on Mer, and to Waier. In one note Bruce says there are three *sab le*, one for each district: Manai (16, Warwe), Tibi (1, Baur) and Kureva (Kriba, 29, Waier). Another note gives in addition to these: Gapi (16, Warwe) and Tom (17, Eger). He adds that Ete of Bomeue [? Bumeau] on Erub also practised this kind of *sab*.

There are various reasons for the enforcing of *sab*. It serves as an assistance to abstinence; thus *meidu sab* is resorted to if a man wishes to abstain from yams or tobacco. This is called *sab lera tonar*; the man visits the *meidu le* to ask him to *sab* or *meidu* him. The *meidu le* goes to the man's place on the appointed day; there, in the presence of all the man's friends, he takes a *meidu* fruit, breaks it and chews the kernel and spits it out on to the breast of the man, saying at the same time: "You are not to be false to your promise to abstain from yams (or tobacco), nor are you to eat (or smoke) them in secret, if you do you are false". After the ceremony is completed the *meidu le* tells his own people on whom he has performed the rite. The abstainer when abjuring does not mention the duration of the taboo to anyone; sometimes it will be for as long as a year.

When the man under *sab* wants the *meidu le* to release him from the yam taboo, the *meidu le* appoints a day, and he and his people with their wives go to the place taking yams with them, the female friends of the *meidu le* roast the yams and when they are cooked they are heaped up in front of the abstainer; the *meidu le* says to him: "You now eat". The abstainer takes a yam, breaks it and eats a piece, then he divides the heap into two parts and presents the *meidu le* and his friends with one share and gives the other share to his own friends. Then the *sab* is raised. The rite of lifting the taboo is called *sab adem*.

If it should have been tobacco smoking that the man was abstaining from, the *meidu le* fills and prepares a pipe, *zab*, for him and invites him to take a smoke, saying at the same time: "You smoke now, your *sab* is finished".

The *meidu le* is given a present of food called *lewer meidu*, or of tobacco, *sokop meidu*, as the case may be.

It seems that individual abstinence is in force during the time that the *sab* is on the garden and also that it is confined to that occasion. If a taboo is put only on yams, the abstainer can eat every other kind of food. It may be put on tobacco smoking; the reason is because his friends so constantly smoke the tobacco he is growing on his patch that he fears that if he does not put a stop to this his tobacco will be finished. He arranges matters with the *meidu le*, gives up the use of tobacco, and the *meidu le* informs the people that the tobacco patch is under *meidu sab*. In this way the owner saves his crop for his own future use. When the *sab* is raised, he gathers the leaves and hangs them up in his house, and makes a present of tobacco to the *meidu le*.

Usually the *sab* is used in connection with gardens. A man will want some of his plantations or gardens put under taboo, because his friends have been helping themselves too freely of his food-stuffs, or have been too importunate in asking him for food, or have been trespassing over his land too freely, making paths all across it. He therefore consults the *meidu le*, who arranges to impose a *sab*; he erects a small shrine, *paier*, in the garden and places on it a *meidu* fruit. All the friends of both parties are present. Before the rite takes place the owner of the land gathers all the food he can, bananas, coconuts, etc., and places it outside the boundary of his land. The *meidu le* warns the owner and all the people present that no one may take any food from the garden.

Should anyone be found trespassing after this warning, there would be a great disturbance, but, unlike the operation of *maid* (magic), there is no sickness or death as a penalty.

Should the owner of the land be found to have himself taken food or to have been on the land secretly, the *meidu le* would immediately take the taboo off the land, since he was dealing with a false man, *bes le*.

When the owner of the land wishes the taboo to be raised, he tells the *meidu le*, and on the appointed day all the people meet again. The owner of the land prepares food, cooked and uncooked, which he puts into heaps. Then the *meidu le* goes to the shrine and with his right hand, index finger pointing downwards, makes a quick circular motion as if stirring something, *sab dakrome*, at the same time saying: "*Ma mara lewer ero, sab emetu, escamuda*"—"You your food eat, taboo finish, finish". He takes away the *meidu* fruit and dismantles the shrine.

The owner shares out the food between the *meidu le* and his friends on the one hand and his own friends on the other.

If the *meidu le* puts a *sab* on himself or on his garden he performs the rite in the presence of only his own people, but he wears suspended round his neck and hanging on his breast a small *meidu* fruit to let all men know that he is abstaining or putting a taboo on his garden. His friends tell others that he has put *sab* on his garden. Fig. 17 A is a sketch of one of four small cylindrical pieces of wood in the Australian Museum, Sydney; this is a *meidu sab* for coconuts.

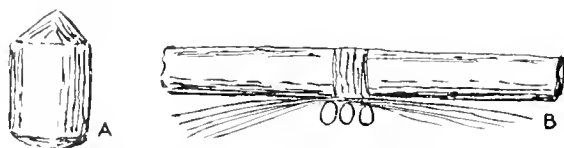


Fig. 17. Abstinence tokens from Mer in the Australian Museum, Sydney. A. One of four shaped pieces of wood, *meidu sab*, worn on the breast to indicate a vow of abstinence from coconuts. B. *Iwar sab*, a branch of the *iwar* tree, with *bisiwam* (sago fibre) and three *wada* seeds.

A *meidu sab* is frequently the outcome of a quarrel. The greatest insult is for one man to call another a poor man, *abi desauersile*, and to say to him: "*Ma nole lu kak le, ma nole lewer kak le*"—"You have nothing, you have no food". The insulted man goes to his friends and they talk it over together, and decide that they will put a *meidu sab* on one or more gardens so as to ensure a large crop of yams. The insulted man abstains from eating yams during the period of the taboo. When it is time to take off the *meidu sab*, they enlist the services of the *meidu le* and then gather all the food.

The man who was insulted then goes to the insulter and reminds him of the insult and says: "You look out and get your food ready". In a few days the friends of the insulted man prepare all the food, which is called *nei lewer*, "name food", and tell the other party to come and take it away. The challenged man comes with his friends, they take all the food away to their place and share it out.



That party then prepare their *nei lewer* and later send for the other people to come and take it away in exchange, or as payment, for the food they had received. So it goes on and on until the people and their food are exhausted, and invariably it ends up with another quarrel, worse than the first.

The *meidu le* gets a present before the exchange of food begins.

*Gar sab.* The *gar* (mangrove) *sab* belongs to Zagareb, Meaurem and Kòmet, and has for its foundation the *Neur wer*; this is a constellation of two stars, *Narbet* (elder sister) and *Keimer* (younger sister), p. 133. The constellation rises opposite to Ulag, the people there own it and call it *Neur wer* (girl star); it sets opposite to Kòmet, the people there own it and call it *Maber neur* (trumpet-shell girl). The rite takes place either at Ulag or at Sebeg.

The *sab le* for Zagareb are: Wag (Ulag, 12), Gi (Ulag, 12) and Boa (Ulag, 12 B); for Meaurem: Du (Mek, 10) and Sambo (Babud, 9 A); for Kòmet: Biro (Sebeg, 4 B) and Komaberi (Keweid, 3). The ownership by individuals of each of the two stars is given on p. 172.

The trumpet-shell, *maber*, is used in connection with the *gar sab* in the same manner as in the *ivar sab* rite, but the words uttered are the same as those for the *maiu* and *bodo sab*. The *sab le* is painted in the Bomai manner, and he does not wear a *sab* token; he chews some *gar* (mangrove) and spits it out on to the breast of the abstainer, as if spraying him, and repeats the following *gar sab mer*. This is done in the presence of the people when closing a garden.

<i>Tag agar kak mucar</i>	Hands move not to steal.
<i>Teter agar kak mucar</i>	Feet go not to steal.
<i>Komer Kemer kak mucar</i>	Everybody not steal.
<i>Ur ebur wa-esmaua</i>	Firewood rots is finishing.
<i>Lewer ebur wa-esmaua</i>	Food rots is finishing.
<i>Tag topami topami</i>	Hands off!
<i>Teter topami topami</i>	Feet off!
<i>Kurup bezar bezar</i>	Food do not covet.
<i>Gar maber sor</i>	Mangrove trumpet-shell.

(*Agar*, to walk or go towards; *mucar*, to steal; *topami*, a rebuking word, such as keep your hands clean from stealing this food; *kurup* signifies all kinds of garden food-stuffs, a man speaking of his garden as bearing a good crop would say *e au kurup kurup*; *bezar* is a small fish that does not rush at a bait, but calmly looks out of its hole in the rock at the other fishes rushing to the bait; it does not envy them or covet the food it sees, *e nole lu lag*. *Kurup bezar* implies, be like the *bezar* and do not covet this food.)

The *sab le* thus tells the people that whilst the *sab* is in force no one must steal or take any food from the tabooed land until he removes the *sab*, *sab alem*, and grants permission, even though all the firewood and food should become rotten (Bruce suggests that it may be intended as a threat that everything will rot off if the *sab* is broken). The *neur wer nog* (girl star spirit) is supposed to be in the *maber sor*.

The *gar sab* token was worn by the abstainer; it might be an embryo of a mangrove coiled up (VI, p. 249, pl. X, figs. 4, 5) or a small bundle of these embryos (VI, fig. 49). These objects are found on the beach of the three districts, having floated from New Guinea; for the mangrove, like the nipa palm, does not grow in the Murray Islands.

*Maiu* (*Meiu* or *Maiwei*) *sab*. The *maiu* is a very large turtle something like the green turtle, but has a large head and flippers. The Nāgir and other westerners hunt it, but as a rule it is not eaten on Mer (IV, p. 160; VI, p. 249).

This *sab* belongs to Piaderem, Samsep and Mergarem on Mer and to Giar pit on Dauar. The *giz god* is at Las. The *sab le* are Baton (15), Wanu (15 A) and Wali (15 C), all of Areb, and Pasi (27, Giar pit).

The *sab* shrine, or *maiura lu*, is a small framework made like a house, about 9 in. each way: the walls and roof are covered with semmit, *ked*. The front of the box is left open and the head of *mainu* is placed inside. Lengths of semmit about 9 in. long, on which *iga* shells are strung, are suspended all around it which make a rattling noise when moved, and a *kopor sor* [a shell with a depressed spiral somewhat resembling a navel] is fixed under the head of *mainu*. Small sticks, *kep*, 9 in. long are inserted on the top and back edges of the box. The box is called *mainra pelak* [Bruce says a *pelak* is a cave in the sea where a shark or turtle makes its abode; it is also the term used for the house in which the masks of the Bomai cult were kept].

This is an important *sab*, and as it is connected with Bomai the *sab le* are painted in the manner (*Bomai lera taier*) in which a Bomai *le* formerly was always decorated on ceremonial occasions, fig. 18. He does not wear a token suspended from his neck. The *sab mer* are uttered when the *sab lu* is being prepared, and they are the same as those that are spoken for the *gar sab* and *bodo sab*.

*Bodo sab*. *Bodo* is a non-edible white fruit, the size of an egg. The *sab* belongs to Piaderem and Samsep and to Danar, except at Ormei, where they have instead the *user* (paddle) *sab*.

The *sab le* are Modi (14 A, Las) and Gadodo (14, Las). At the time of the rite the *sab le* chews some *bodo* and spits it over the breast of the abstainer; he uses the *gar sab* formula. He is painted in the Bomai manner and does not wear a *sab* token suspended from his neck.

*Iwar sab*. The *iwar* tree *sab* is practised at Er (Geaurem) and Terker (Mergarem) and is under the auspices of the *kik wer* (*kik* or *kek* star, p. 133), which is said to rise opposite to Er and to set opposite to Terker and is supposed to be the founder of the *sab*.

The *sab le* for Geaurem are Enoka (18 A, Er) and Joe Brown (18 C, Er), and for Mergarem, Barsa (20, Terker).

The rite for imposing the taboo takes place at a shrine which consists of a large framework, *paier*, of bamboo, about 8 ft. in length and breadth and 5 ft. high: it is hung all round with bunches of dried banana leaves, *golab*.

A trumpet-shell, *maber*, represents *kik* on earth and is called *kik* when used in the rite. The *sab le* anoints the shell with turtle oil as it lies on the ground, covers it with the white feathers of the Torres Straits pigeon, *daumer*, fixes a piece of a branch of *iwar* on the top, and binds the shell round with *ked*, semmit made of coconut fibre. It is then lifted and put on the *paier*. The *sab le* then pronounces the following *iwar sab mer* in the presence of the *sab lu kem le* (the abstainer) and the other people: "*Iwar a kaper epegemederei ei*

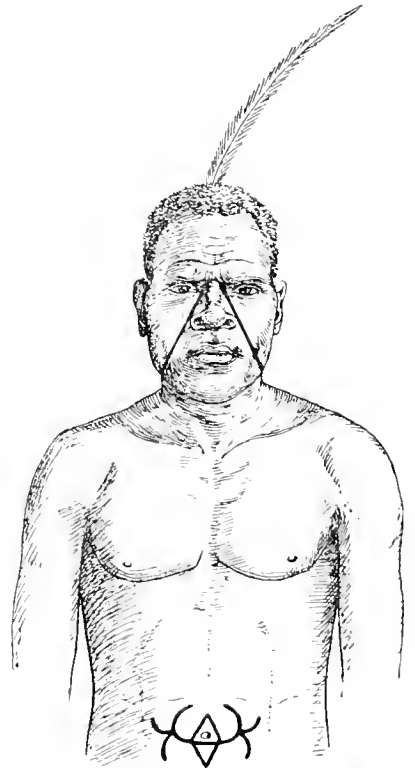


Fig. 18. *Mainu sab lera taier* (*Mainu* taboo man's decoration). The two lines on the face and the design round the navel, *kòpor*, are painted red; the *kòpor* design is also seen on a *gub*, pl. III, fig. 3. These paintings are confined to *Bomai le*. Red paint, *maier*, was also rubbed over the body and arms. After a sketch by J. Bruce.

*watwet lu baidereaii*—"Iwar and *kaper* trees you change into dry trees without leaves now".

The *sab le* is speaking to the *iwar* and *kaper* trees, which shed their leaves in winter [these plants are also mentioned in the *irmer gali weid*, p. 135]. The *sab le* takes *iwar* leaves and rubs them between the palms of his hands and smears the breast of the abstainer with them (one note says that he chews *iwar* and spits on the breast of the abstainer). He does not inform the people from what the *sab lu kem le* is abstaining, as they know all about it. The *mer* he speaks are not grammatically correct, but they all understand. An *iwar sab* token is illustrated in fig. 17 B.

*Iwar sab* is in some way associated with Bomai, who is considered to be superior to *kik*, and anyone breaking the taboo is afraid of being killed by Bomai. The *iwar sab le* are not painted with the Bomai marks, they merely wear the *sab* token, a little bundle of *iwar* twigs, hanging from the neck.

The *kapil* (? *Pandanus*) *sab* belongs to Meaurem and Mergarem, the ritual object is a clam shell placed on a small platform, *paier*. There is a star called *kapil* by which the natives steer when sailing by night from Mer to Ērub (Bruce MS.).

The *pagi* (sea snake) *sab* is employed at Meaurem (Babud), Peibre, Ornei (on Dauar) and at Waier (cf. vi, p. 249, pl. XXI, fig. 13).

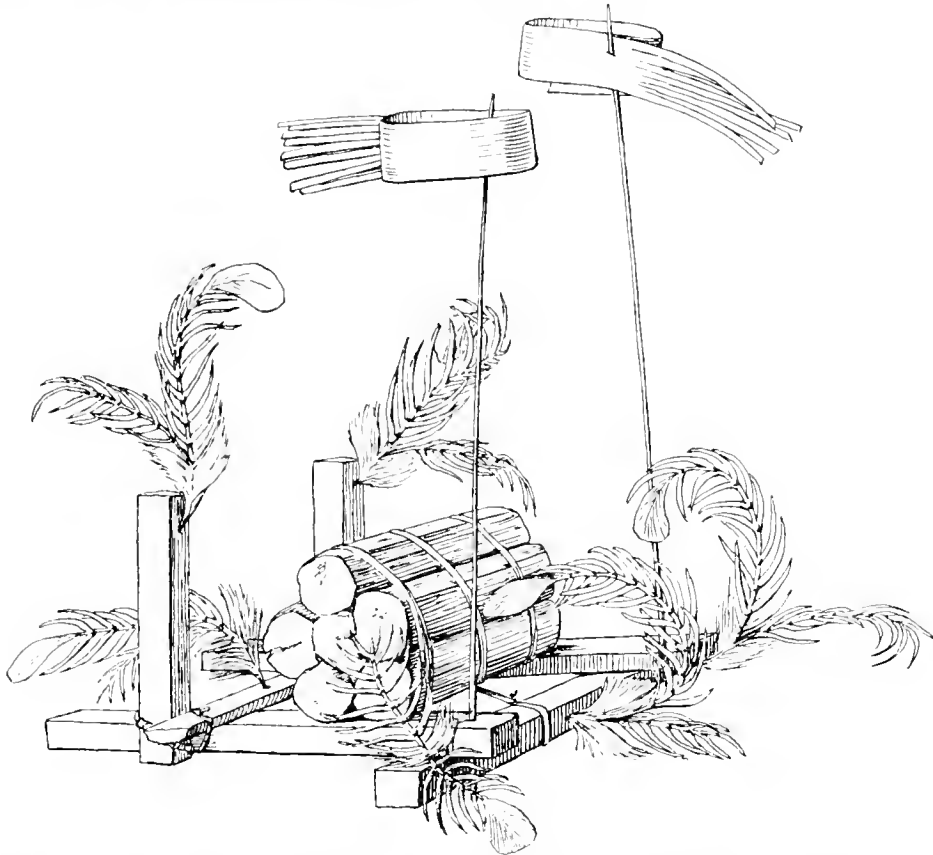


Fig. 19. Model of a *sab lu* made for the Cambridge Museum and given by J. Bruce. The framework is about  $5\frac{3}{4}$  in. (14.6 cm.) square and is painted red, it is ornamented with split white feathers and two rings on stems. Mer.

The following *sab* are mentioned by A. E. Hult (*J.A.I.*, XXVIII, 1899, p. 9): *Tabo*, snake, Sebeg to Kiam [Kõmet] and Er to Werbadu [Mergarem]; thieves would be killed by a snake. *Maber*, conch shell, Ulag. *Nam*, turtle, Las. *Wakai*, cuscus, Kop to Mek [Meaurem] [the cuscus is called *barit*, and a hornbill, *waki*, neither of which live in the islands]. Offenders against the last three would be killed by the local people.

None of the *sab* are *zogo*. The adherents of the *u zogo* also occasionally practised abstinence, both from women and from tobacco, in order that they might present a fine physical appearance at their annual ceremony. Bruce does not say whether there was a *sab* rite for this.

*Kebe-le tonar*. The custom of lending gardens to others is called *kebe-le tonar* (VI, p. 166). The *kebe-le* may take over a large area of land, reserving only a small outside piece to supply necessities. Usually this is a friendly arrangement; sometimes, however, the *kebe-le tonar* originates from a quarrel and then the *nei lewer* is offered; this evidently signifies that the food is to establish the good name of the giver.

If the *kebe-le* undertakes the cultivation of the gardens as the result of a small quarrel, the *nei lewer* is not given, but when the taboo is lifted and the food heaped up on the garden site, the insulter is quietly told that all is settled.

Although no mention is made of it, there can be little doubt that the gardens cultivated by the *kebe-le* are put under the *sab* appropriate to the locality.

We may confidently regard *sab tonar* as one of the most important factors in the economic and social life of the people. On plotting the various *sab* on the map it will be seen that the whole area of the Murray Islands was covered by one or more forms of *sab*, and that the more important *sab* extended over more than one social area. See Table, p. 144.

*Sab gelar*. MacFarlane says he has seen on the outskirts of a clump of coconut palms a curiously formed triangular structure of bamboos decorated with coconut leaves, portions of the inflorescence and some dry coconuts. No one is allowed to touch the coconuts within the area indicated by the *sab* or *gelar*, those nuts that fall down must be placed on one side and carefully stored. This was done for the purpose of accumulating nuts for a future feast.

#### *Birding*

McLennan (*Emu*, XIII, 1911, p. 148) says that the natives of Ērub and Mer pay weekly visits to Bramble Cay in the breeding season and carry away very large numbers of eggs as well as birds [gannets, terns, etc.]. The Miriam also go to Raine Island for the same purpose, a distance of about 100 miles to the south (IV, p. 154).

#### *Fishing*

The following information is supplementary to that given in vol. IV, pp. 154-71.

In Mer, and doubtless elsewhere, the turtle-shell fish-hooks (*tuli*, W.: *mekek* or *kek*, E.) were bent over a narrow elongated piece of black lava, which was sometimes called *omaber lu*, but the correct name is *amgesi lu* (*egmesi*, to bend); sometimes a piece of hardwood was used, but a good smooth stone, *idil baker*, was preferred. The snoods were made of twisted *wali* string. The Australian hooks which most closely resemble them are those described by W. Roth from North Queensland (*Bulls*, 3, p. 21; 7, pp. 33, 34, pl. xxxvi, figs. 257, 258).

Landtman states that the Kiwaians use a gorge for fishing and that they angle with a rod and line (1927, p. 142); neither of these methods is known to me from Torres Straits.

When spearing fish from canoes at night (IV, p. 158) the torch-bearers are at the bow and stern and the men with spears range themselves along each side of the canoe.

As the art of netting was formerly unknown they had no fish-nets, but these have been introduced and the circular cast-net with weights round the periphery is now used in Mer. (Pl. VIII, fig. 4.)

W. H. MacFarlane informed me in 1925 that there were three varieties of *weres* employed in Mer for catching *tup*\*, of which only the last two are now in use.

(1) The *auteter weres* [big foot *weres*], now obsolete, was used on stony places and was about 6–8 ft. [1.830–2.44 m.] in diameter at the mouth (fig. 20 A). It was made of a split bamboo and midribs of coconut-palm leaves, the mouth was a ring of *ewir* root made of the outer skin of the roots of the *ewir* tree, the other encircling bands were made of *pua lid* (*pua* is a vine, with small leaflets on each side of the stem, the cane is split, rubbed with a piece of wood and the inner portion removed, from which is made the rope, *pua lid* [*pua* bone]). Fastened inside about halfway up there hung down towards the mouth an *ome nesur*, a woman's skirt made of the beaten out bark of the root of the *ome*, fig tree. At the apex of the cone, but below where the ribs of the framework formed the cylindrical handle, were fastened "uroot", an Ovulum shell, *goa* nuts and the feather of a man-of-war bird. The *weres* was held with a rope made from bamboo and the *tup* were driven in; it took several men to lift it when full.

(2) *Bozor mitmit weres* [*weres* with lip of *boz*, *Flagellaria Indica*] (fig. 20 B). This varies in size up to 6 ft. in length and is made of split bamboo, *marep*, and split ribs of the coconut-palm leaf, *balid*, with hoops of *kubci* vine or of *pua lid* fastened with *ewir*. An Ovulum shell and *goa* nuts are sometimes attached to the apex. This is the type described in vol. IV, p. 156. There are several methods of fishing with this *weres*: (a) On a sandy beach, *gerar peir*, the usual procedure is for numerous operators to take part: several *weres le* hold the *weres*; two *werir le* each manipulates a *werir* (a long bamboo pole, the head of which has a ball of coconut leaves secured with *pua*), by means of which they drive the shoal of *tup* towards the shore; *gir le*, who hold bamboos and act as drivers-in of the fish from the outer centre; *epci le*, men or women on the beach with baskets to hold the catch; and the *er le* [? *erar le*, weary men], lookers on. Frequently competitions were held between groups from different villages at which songs were sung. [The method of fishing has been described in vol. IV, p. 155.] (b) *Peibre werir*, Peibre is the south-west district of Mer: here there is only one operator of the *weres*, *atomar le*, and two *werir le* (Pl. VIII, fig. 3). (c) *Purpur*: one man watches for the *tup*; when he sees high waves lifting them, he runs down into the sea and dives beneath the shoal with his *weres*, and puts the catch into the

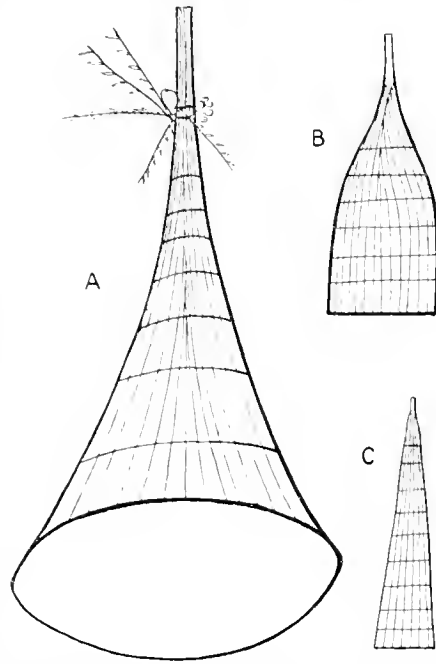


Fig. 20. Three types of *weres* from sketches by W. H. MacFarlane. A. *auteter weres*; B. *bozor mitmit weres*; C. *askes weres*. Mer.

\* A. R. McCulloch identified *tup* as *Harengula kunzei*, Bleeker, *Records, Austr. Mus.*, Sydney, IX, 1913, p. 355.

basket he carries. (*d*) *Kesi deir*, a place in a channel or cleft in the rock which is cleared out for the *tup* to come in [these clefts were made by Abob and Kos, VI, p. 26]. One *werir le*, carrying two *werir*, drives the fish into the passage for the *atomar le* to scoop up; this method is employed on the rocky shore of Mergarem, the south-east district of Mer.

(3) *Askes weres* (MacFarlane says that *askes* is used to denote a running object, such as water, or drips from a roof; here the connection is with the *tup* running into the *weres*). This variety is about 4 ft. [1.220 m.] (fig. 20 C) in length and is made in the usual way from a small kind of bamboo, *pater*; the fastenings are of *pus*. It is used inside the stone fish-traps, *sai*, and is placed in a convenient spot in the stone wall of the weir, so that the fish run into it and are trapped inside.

There are special songs sung during the *weres* competitions which are held between groups from different villages.

Thorn-lined traps as used over a great extent of New Guinea, including the whole coast of the Papuan Gulf and as far westward as Mawata, were never employed in Torres Straits; this is confirmed by MacFarlane (Balfour, *Man*, 1925, No. 21; Chimery, *Man*, 1926, No. 35; Landtman, 1927, p. 145).

*Stone fish-traps, sai*. There is little to add to what was previously recorded (IV, p. 158) or is noted for Ērub on p. 197. W. H. MacFarlane (MS.) says that these are practically limited to Ērub, Uga and Mer, they are not found on the same scale on other islands and, excepting some modern ones, are small in size. The Ērub legend of the origin of the *sai* obtained by him is the same as that given in vol. VI, p. 27. The Uga people claim that Abob and Kos remained there, and became the central object of their religious observances. As proof that Abob and Kos did not go farther on, they say, "Look at the *sai*, none of the islands farther down on the westward have them—only Ērub, Mer and this place".

Mrs Langloh Parker (*The Euahlayi Tribe*, London, 1905, p. 8) says: "There is a large stone fish-trap at Brewarrina, on the Barwan River [north-western New South Wales]. It is said to have been made by Byamee and his gigantic sons", and others have been reported in the area of the upper Darling River. A. J. North (*Records, Aust. Mus.*, Sydney, XI, 1916, pp. 123 ff., pls. xxiv-xxvii) says they "were used throughout the greater part of the eastern portions of the continent, being found in New South Wales, Queensland, and the Northern Territory". He refers to the magnitude of the native fish-traps at Point Parker (near the Wellesley Islands, Gulf of Carpentaria): "these are precisely of the same description as those of the natives of the islands of Torres Straits. They formed, in reality, a succession of walled-in paddocks of many acres in extent". Another weir occurs at Missionary bay, Hinchinbrook Island, east coast of Queensland. W. E. Roth (Bull. 3, 1901, p. 23) gives several localities where these occur in Queensland. He says: "On Sweers, Bentinck, Mornington, etc. Islands [Wellesley Islands] stone dams are erected along the coast-line in the shape of more or less of a half-circle, the extreme of the convexity reaching sometimes to as much as 300 yards from the shore. The majority of these dams are contiguous, and built of pieces of stone to a height of from 18 inches to upwards of 3 feet".

Stone fish-traps appear to be confined to Northern and Eastern Oceania, so far as Polynesia is concerned, according to the information given in the Commissioner's Report, 1901, of the U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries, Part XXVII, 1902. J. N. Cobb describes the fish-ponds of the Hawaiian Islands; the most ancient ones are said to have been built by a clever race of dwarfs; they were formerly more numerous. The sea-ponds have

walls about 5 ft. high, loosely built so that the water can percolate freely, and generally entrances that can be closed by doors. Fish are kept alive in these ponds (*l.c.* p. 427, pl. 25, and *cf. Nat. Geographic Mag.* February 1924). A. B. Alexander describes a number of stone enclosures in the Paumotu group (*l.c.* pp. 747, 752, 755, 756); they may be rectangular or curved and with one or both ends always open. Similar stone walls occur in the Society Islands (p. 777) and the Cook Islands (p. 778). The stone traps of the Gilbert and Marshall groups (pp. 800, 818) are in plan more like the fence traps of Indonesia.

F. Speiser informs me that he saw stone fish-traps in nearly all the islands of the New Hebrides, and he especially remembered them on the coast of Maevo, but he cannot say with certainty that they occur in the Banks Islands, though he saw them in the Santa Cruz Islands (*cf. Südsee Urwald Kannibalen*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 298, where he refers to fish-traps in the form of low stone walls on flat shores and in the rivers, which retain the fish as the water ebbs; and *Ethnologica*, II, 1916, fig. 33, p. 189). Dr Sarasin informed Speiser that they also are found in New Caledonia.

The distribution in Oceania of these structures is so wide that at present no special inference can be drawn for their occurrence in the Eastern islands of Torres Straits.

Reference is made in vol. IV, p. 159, to the stupefying of fish by means of plants. Later information is given by R. Hamlyn-Harris and F. Smith ("On fish poisoning and poisons employed among the Aborigines of Queensland", *Mem. Queensland Mus.* vol. V, 1916): *Derris uliginosa*. "sagee" [*sazi*], from W. C. Minniss, Mabuiag. "It has there the reputation of an effective and rapid poison, the stem only being used." *Sad* [*sad*] from J. S. Bruce, Mer. "The material was taken to lagoons on the reef in small bundles (at low water) and, after beating up with stones, immersed till the water became milky. The fish, forced from their holes, came to the surface stupefied. . . since the advent of hook and line the practice has fallen into disuse" (p. 11). *Tephrosia purpurea*, Pers. "etu-maru" [*itamar*] from W. C. Minniss, Mabuiag. "The whole plant is employed" (p. 12). Riley speaks of "*sadi* (a root used for stupefying fish on the reef) [at Mawata]" (1925, p. 131), and Landtman refers to the use of *sadi* in fresh water (1927, p. 144). This method of catching fish is employed in many places in Australia and New Guinea.

The additional information from MacFarlane about the employment of *gapu* in Yam and Tutu for securing turtle differs in certain respects from my account (IV, p. 162).

Each man had a number of *gapu* which were tethered by native made rope and a turtle-shell ring in the tail to posts set along the beach, so that the fish might live in some small lagoon. On a turtling expedition some *gapu* were taken in the canoe; as soon as a turtle was sighted a couple of fish were thrown over, with the line attached. Immediately they made for the turtle and attached themselves firmly to it. The men in the canoe kept grip of the line, then, when it tautened, one descended (with ears plugged) and secured the turtle. As he did so, the *gapu* removed themselves to the belly of the turtle, and when it was brought to the surface they let go and attached themselves to the sides of the canoe. If it were a shark that the fish attached itself to when it was thrown over, the hunters knew from the feel of the line—"Shark he go this way and that way, but turtle he go straight. We can't catch dugong that way, his skin is too greasy".

With regard to the various kinds of turtle (IV, p. 160) Bruce says the *uris* is very fat; the *oan* is a turtle with a very small head, the shell is thin, like that of a *nam*, and the eggs are much larger; they are very fat and are not eaten by the Murray people. The Miriam are under the impression that the *uris* and *maiu* do not lay their eggs on land, as

other turtle do, since they have never found them or seen the tracks of these turtle on the beach; they know the tracks of the other kinds perfectly.

#### *Ritual practices*

Doubtless there were many practices to ensure good fortune in fishing, but of these only a very few have been recorded.

The *lewer moy* (VI, p. 218) brought success in fishing, more especially for the large white cone shells, *wauri*, *Conus millepunctatus*.

Two stones on the reef at Kiam who once were women, Mi-puleb and Asor-puleb, were responsible for the abundance of *mi* (clams, *Tridacna*) and *asor* (spider shells, *Pteroceras*). They probably belonged to the Kòmet *le* (VI, p. 210).

Bruce refers (MS.) to a *kaier* and *ketai zogo* at Warwe (Samsep) and at Babud (Meaurem). At these places are large blocks of coral in the sea where crayfish, *kaier*, are to be found; they are plentiful at the time when the *ketai* (a kind of yam) is ready for eating. Guneai (Mamai) [Warwe, 16] and Gesu are the *zogo le*, and they operate at either place. I assume that this is really a *zogo* for catching *kaier* and that it has nothing to do with the *ketai* crop.

The constellation *Tagai* in its various positions in ascension and declination afforded signs, *mek*, not only for horticulture but also for turtle, p. 132; VI, p. 4, and according to Landtman for fish as well.

#### *Turtle Ceremonies*

The great importance of turtle in the life of the islanders finds its natural expression in ceremonies to ensure a good supply.

There were two *nam zogo* in the Murray Islands: (1) one belonging to the Meaurem *le* and Kòmet *le*, and (2) one belonging to the natives of Giar pit on Dauar.

One of Bruce's notes says the Meaurem *le* were also called Siruar (a synonym for *nam*, "the green turtle"), as they are the owners of the *nam zogo*. There is no doubt that the *zogo* originally belonged to the Meaurem *le*, and its extension to the Kòmet *le* is secondary as the latter are termed *nam boui* (turtle friends). Both groups could eat the fat and drink the oil of the turtle to any extent and not get sick because they were *umeli* (knowing) and *zogo le*. Another note says that Nam is a family name for girls of the Meaurem *le* and Kòmet *le* (cf. VI, p. 102), therefore their *naubet*, and relatives by marriage, *awim*, have to call green turtle *siruar*, instead of *nam* (cf. VI, p. 100), and address the person named Nam as Siruar.

The *Baz nam zogo* (VI, p. 213), which was termed *agud*, was kept in a sacred house, *pelak*, in the bush on the hill between Babud and Mek: Mek was the *giz* or basis of the group. There is no doubt that this was a very important *zogo*, but unfortunately we have no particulars concerning the rites which took place there, probably that with bullroarers, *bigu*, was one of them. The *zogo* was said to consist of turtle-shell images of a male and a female turtle which were in charge of three *zogo le*, who were Meaurem *le*. There seems to have been an initiation ceremony connected with the cult. The *Baz nam zogo* was not only effective in helping men to catch turtle or preventing them from doing so, but it could kill men and also avert sickness (VI, pp. 51, 236).

The myth of the origin of the *nam zogo* by Wakai and Kuskus is given in vol. VI, pp. 46-51. Two similar drawings among the Bruce MS. (fig. 21) are called Wakai and Kuskus, presumably they are meant for the masks that represented these men (cf. VI, fig. 13).



The *keber*, or spirit pantomime, of the *baur siriam* belonged exclusively to Kōmet and Meaurem (VI, pp. 141, 272), and we may regard it as performed by members of the *Baz nam zogo* cult. The *baur* were described as large harpoons, *wap*, used in killing turtle and dugong (IV, p. 170). Some confusion appears to have occurred in the original description; they evidently correspond with the *zogo baur* of Giar pit referred to later. The *baur* used in this ceremony were kept in a *pelak* at Korog (Kōmet). They were said to be carved at each end with men's faces representing people who had died, ropes were fastened to their ends, one end-rope was tied high up to a tall *ome* tree. A *baur* was held horizontally by several men who danced beside it, each of whom helped in supporting it with one of his hands. In this dance they advanced and retired together and moved as if they were walking up the rope to the tree. The novices were placed in front of the ropes, the assistants, *tami le*, behind. These *baur* were brought originally from Mabuiaq to Mer, and were taken to England by the Rev. S. McFarlane, since when they have been lost sight of.

According to the myth (VI, p. 46) the Meaurem men gave to two Ērub men two very old and very long coconuts decorated with red croton leaves, and said: "This *agul, nam zogo*, belongs to you two fellows. When you return to Erub they will help you to catch turtle".

The following information about the Giar pit *zogo* of Dauar was obtained by Mr Davies from Pasi:

In or Gumala [27, Giar pit] was the chief *zogo le*, Pasi was too young when his father died to succeed, so for the time being the position was allotted to Daupe [a cousin of Iu's]. The other two *zogo le* were Arazi, father of Jimmy Rice [26, Kameri], and Waroe, father of Jimmy Wailu [the only Jimmy Wailu in the genealogies (12) is a son of Dawi or Mari of Ulag; it seems most improbable that a Zagareb man should be a *zogo le* of a Dauar cult]. The *pelak* of the *nam zogo* at Giar pit was kept in repair by the chief *zogo le*.

At the appointed time, three brothers from Werbadu [on the south of Mer] went across to Giar pit bringing a supply of food—yams, sweet potatoes, bananas, and coconuts—which were heaped up outside the *pelak* as an offering to the *zogo*. The *kissi* [! *ketai*] yams and bunches of bananas were decorated with red croton leaves. [Red croton leaves evidently were part of the ritual decoration of a *nam zogo*. It would seem that the Werbadu people on the opposite side of the channel made presents to the *zogo* so as to participate in the accruing benefit of the ceremony; the "three brothers" are probably immaterial.]

When all was ready the three *zogo le* with great ceremony opened the door of the *pelak* and solemnly stood outside to allow to settle down any dust that might have been stirred. Then Daupe, Arazi and Waroe, in this order, entered the house, from the centre of which was sus-

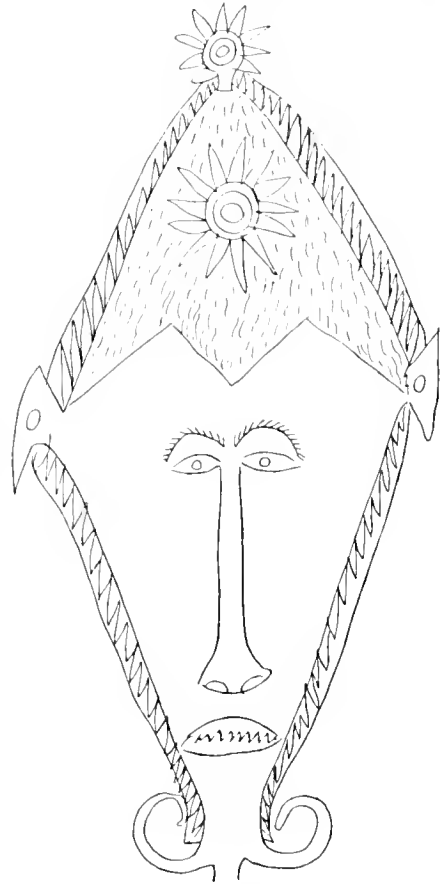


Fig. 21. One of two similar drawings labelled Wakai and Kuskus.

pended a wooden hook on which hung a basket which was prevented from swinging about by two ropes or guys. Daupe took the basket and each of the other men held a rope. On going outside they were followed by other men, Daupe placed the basket on the ground and laid the ropes beside it; all the men had to stand, nobody being allowed to sit down. The three *zogo le* took out the wooden skewers, *lep*, that fastened the mouth of the basket. When the lid was raised [I have never seen a Torres Straits basket with a lid] a cloud of dust arose; the men were careful to stand to windward, for if any dust fell on anyone he would get a bad sickness and his belly would swell up. Each *zogo le* took a young coconut, cracked it with a stone and let the water fall on the *nam zogo* in the basket, then they poured turtle oil over the *zogo*; this consisted of three effigies of the heads of turtle, one male, two female. Waroc took out a female turtle, Arazi the male and Daupe the other female; these were placed on a piece of wood, the male being in the centre. The turtle were then left and the men sat down. Next morning a board was brought and placed on the sand-spit at Giar pit and the following morning the *zogo le* brought two forked sticks and erected them on the sand and put the board over the forks. The three turtle were placed on the board in the same order as before, with their faces towards the sea and croton leaves were placed on each head; they might remain there for about a week. Everyday the *zogo le* sat down behind the erection with bent heads and remained silent and thoughtful.

Then, one day, three turtle would be seen swimming in the passage, two "fast" [copulating] and the other alongside. (Three turtle would always be seen.) The look-out men stationed at the end of the sand-spit made signs that they saw the turtle, but did not make any sound. The three *zogo le* sitting together did not raise their heads, and a canoe went out to catch the three turtle. Three men, each with a rope tied to his right arm, jumped out of the canoe, seized the turtle and the men in the canoe hauled them in. The men then clapped their hands and the *zogo le* lifted up their heads, and the people knew that the turtle were caught. The *zogo le* remained seated after the canoe arrived, till some of the crew came to them and whispered: "We finish catch them". The *zogo le* then stood up and walked about; they inspected the turtle and ordered them to be carefully cut up, during which process Waroc stood behind a female turtle, Arazi behind the male, and Daupe behind the other female. Each *zogo le* was given from the turtle in front of him a large piece of fat, one end of which he held with his teeth, the remainder hanging down, and around his neck was placed a long piece of good guts, which hung down in front. The *zogo le* announced that they would return the *zogo* heads to the *pelak* on the following morning.

Next morning after breakfast, the *zogo le* put the basket in the open and Daupe took a female turtle's head and placed it in the basket, Arazi did the same with the male head and Waroc with the remaining head. The basket was then fastened up with skewers. Daupe lifted the basket and the other two held the ropes as before and they marched to the *pelak*. Daupe went in first and hung the basket on the hook and the other two fastened the ropes to steady the basket. The door was closed and the three *zogo le*, followed by the other men, went to swim in the sea. Later they crawled out of the sea on to the sand-beach and scratched holes in the sand, as turtle do when they lay their eggs, and covered themselves with sand.

A heap of food was piled up and there was a feast. During the whole of this period the people might not go to their gardens, but they caught the *tup* fish and rubbed themselves over with what were left after eating.

The foregoing was a rite to ensure successful turtle hunting; another rite to avert sickness was held at the same *nam zogo* (III, p. 247; VI, p. 236). The information was given to Ray by Arei and Pasi. There appears to have been a somewhat similar procedure for the two rites, the new account explains some of the obscurities of the former one: the swallowing of spittle may have been to prevent the dust from being swallowed; the "top of a tree" is erroneous, in the text, the word *lu* does not in this instance signify "tree" but "thing", i.e. the wooden erection. According to Davies the *nam zogo* were heads of turtle, presumably of stone; no indication of their nature is given in the former account.

Mr Davies gave a carved stone (fig. 22) to the Brisbane Museum which was said to be a "turtle's head used in the Waiet ceremony". No mention is made of turtles in connection with Waiet, but as this was a cult of the Dauar men the stone may be connected with a turtle rite in Dauar.

I think it is highly probable that the *uris kerem* ("green-turtle head") (VI, p. 234) which was called a *zole*, and according to one informant a *zogo lu*, was actually an object connected with one of the *nam zogo* and perhaps with that of Giar pit, and that its reputed use for malevolent purposes was secondary, since sacred stones are frequently ambivalent. I have nothing further to say about the *siriam nam zole* (VI, p. 216) except that it was probably connected with the cult at Komet.

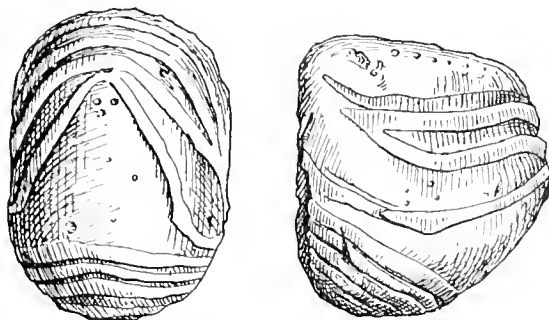


Fig. 22. A carved stone said to be "Turtle's head used in Waiet ceremony", presented to the Queensland Museum by Mr Davies. Drawn from a photograph.

A brief account of a turtle ceremony on Dauar, which was held at Giar pit, is given in vol. VI, p. 214. Two long narrow, highly decorated boards, *zogo baur*, were stuck up one on each side of the neck of a captured turtle, probably the first one of the season. The boards were carved with three human faces on one side, below which on the male board is a carved turtle and on the female board a coral-rock oyster, *terpa*.

The words sung at the ceremony were mostly in the western language. We may regard these *baur* as analogous to the tall post *baiu* at Pulu (v, p. 333) on which a human face was carved and on each side of which a narrow carved board was hung (v, fig. 54); and to the carved pole of the *bau*-shrine on Waraber (p. 87).

*Baur* is the Miriam general name for a fish-spear with several prongs (IV, p. 156), the western name is *taku* or *takul*. I suspect that the word *baur* in *zogo baur* is a misapprehension of the western *baiu*. In the ritual song (VI, p. 214) the western words *dagulal* (a bamboo fish-spear), *wap* (dugong harpoon), and the eastern word *baur* occur, and it is interesting that two of these are represented among the *gub* now in the Cambridge Museum.

There is considerable variety in form and decoration of the staves that are held in the hand during certain dances in Mer. I obtained several of these, which are described in vol. IV, p. 294; they are called *gub*, which is the Miriam term for a waterspout; one, fig. 250 B, is a conventionalised fish-spear, another (C) is probably reminiscent of the upper end of a *wap*, the others are boards with one or more carved faces. Below one face there is a curved design with a broad upper portion which diminishes below (pl. III, fig. 3 B); this can only be the representation of a waterspout. Usually the board-like staves with faces were ornamented with cassowary, and other feathers; all were gaily painted. As I previously stated (IV, p. 295): "It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that these *gub* are secularised representatives of symbolic paraphernalia connected with spirits and waterspouts", and I now add that they have special reference to the catching of turtle.

The faces on the poles or boards, *baiu*, *zogo baur* and *gub*, may represent spirits associated with waterspouts (v, p. 359), or possibly they may represent the spirits of renowned

deceased turtle-hunters or even of some ancestors of the clan to which the cult belongs in a particular island, for the dead were frequently called upon to assist in fishing or other operations. The poles, boards, or staves may safely be taken to represent the waterspouts with which the spirits spear turtle, and thus I do not regard the carved pole of the Waraber *bau*-shrine (p. 87) as preventative against waterspouts, but, as in the other islands, as a symbolic ritual object ensuring the capture of turtle.

We may conclude that the Meaurem *nam zogo* and the Giar pit *nam zogo* were indigenous, the respective cult objects of which were turtle-shell images and stone heads of turtle. The *baur siriem kaber* of Kōmet and Meaurem, of which the cult objects were the *baur*, was certainly introduced and evidently was adopted by the adherents of the *nam zogo* cult, who doubtless gave it a local character. The *zogo baur* rite at Giar pit (VI, p. 214) must also have been introduced, as the words sung were mostly in the western language.

There is a *zogo* connected with the constellation *Tagai* (p. 132) which belongs to Danar; those connected with it are: Pasi and Bemop (Giar pit, 27), Dampier (Ormei, 25 B), Pai (Danar, 28) and Debe Wali (Kameri, 26). The ritual of the *zogo* ensures an abundance of turtle. Some time before the right hand of *Tagai* (p. 132; VI, p. 4) rises a nebula called *Siu* is seen and this is the signal for the *zogo le* to meet and go through the ceremony of anointing *Tagai*, who is represented by a long upright stone under a cairn of stones and shells. After the *zogo le* have finished they sit down in a line and the people come and lay offerings of food on the ground in front of them (Bruce MS.).

A small independent rite took place on Waier at which the *zogo le* made an offering to Waipēm, a black stone representing a man; "man think inside himself: 'If we give you plenty fruit, I think you give us plenty turtle'" (VI, p. 216).

It may be noted that the *Daido-siriem* of Ērub (p. 198), which was concerned with catching turtle, was the cult of a group which did not belong to the Malu *agud zogo* of Ērub.

MacFarlane says (MS.) it is everywhere believed by the islanders that if a turtle sees a pregnant woman, or her husband at that time, it will escape the hunters. This was the reason why the husband and his pregnant wife took no part in the *nigori* (p. 234) until the first turtle had been caught, then "all is clear" and their presence would not affect the catching of turtle.

MacFarlane has seen a woman ordered off the beach into her house when a turtle was seen a little distance off, "she got family, suppose turtle look her, he go down, man can't catch him." Similarly when the husband of a pregnant woman is on a boat he must go down below when a turtle is sighted.

*Dugong*. As stated in vol. IV, pp. 168, 169, dugong were rarely caught by the Murray islanders and I do not know of any ritual connected therewith.

*Gelar (taboo) for fishing*. Mathew Flinders saw in 1802 a number of poles erected on the reefs which he thought were probably set up for some purpose connected with fishing. I have referred to similar poles seen by Jukes on Ērub (VI, p. 246). These poles, *seker*, adorned with streamers are a sign of *gelar*. MacFarlane says this practice is still kept up in the Murray Islands. He saw a long bamboo pole, some 30 ft. high, topped by dry coconut and banana leaves, fastened to the tall wind-screen at Ulag. Pasi said: "That one is mark for fishing. This man's ground he got over reef that way and along to where that other mark stop. Suppose anybody catch turtle or dugong inside that mark he belong that man [the owner of the foreshore], or if you catch fish, some share must belong that man". The old regulations about fishing rights are more or less in abeyance now.

## GROUPINGS, TERRITORIAL AND SOCIAL, AND LOCAL RITUAL OBSERVANCES

The districts of Mer and Dauar, p. 159. *Ad giz* or Ancients, their districts and their antagonisms, p. 161. The dual grouping of the Bomai-Mahu cult, p. 164. Other cults: *Beizam*, *Dògù* and the *dògùira wetpur*, *Nam zogo*, *Meket siriam zogo*, the *meket sarik* and *meket siriam keber* (and *payer*), *Irmer* (rain) *zogo* and *irmer gali*, *Ur buzi zogo*, p. 165. The relation of the Bomai-Mahu cult to the older cults, p. 167.

Localisation of the *zogo* according to districts. Peibre: *kaba, lay, werer a gem kerar, galbol, neur*. Kòmet: *u, meket siriam, tòmög, birobiro, nauareb, tabu*. Meaurem: *baz nam, kaier*. Zagarch: *irmer, ur buzi, puleb, ketai, birobiro*. Piaderem: *tabu*. Samsep: *meket siriam, kaier*. Geaurem: *wag, mokeis, kaba*. Mergarem: *karus, kaba*. Dauar: *nam, tagai, zegnäipur, lewer, u, enau*, constipation. Waier: *zab, meidu sab, ? Waipem*, pp. 168-171.

Various local ritual practices: *sab tonar*, skull divination, *kekuruk, kamer*, p. 171.

Group ownership of stars, p. 172. Other local groupings, p. 172. *Mulub le*, the corpse-eaters, p. 173.

The investigation and description of the structure of the social polity and the functions of its members are mainly due to Dr Rivers. It should be remembered that the expedition afforded him his first introduction to Ethnology and his first experience in field-work and also that he was largely engaged in studying the psychology of the people. It was during his stay in Mer that he devised and put into execution the genealogical method of investigation which rendered possible precise information concerning the social structure, kinship relations, and the functions of individuals and groups.

Rivers arrived in Mer on May 6 and left on Sept. 8, 1898, a period of exactly four months, and he had only one month in Mabuiag: Sept. 17 to Oct. 19. When one reads his account of the kinship, regulation of marriage, etc. of the natives of Mabuiag, it is evident what an efficient implement for research his genealogical method had proved to be. He says (v, p. 142): "There was no doubt that the genealogies formed the ultimate resort in any case of doubtful relationship, and the great importance of the kinship system in the social organisation of the people is a sufficient reason for the thoroughness with which the genealogical record is preserved". Thus he permanently recorded those data which were of practical value to the natives themselves.

It is true that Rivers was in constant collaboration with his colleagues, but it can rarely have happened that work of such precision and of descriptive and comparative value has been accomplished by a field ethnologist well within a period of five months and who at the same time was occupied with other laborious lines of research.

Rivers in his discussion (vi, pp. 169 ff.) recognised four groupings of the people of Mer: (1) villages, (2) districts, (3) the dual grouping of *Beizam le* and *Zagareb le*, and (4) groups named after certain animals (vi, pp. 42, 43, 173, 287).

I have nothing to add to the information given with regard to (1) and (4).

*Districts of Mer and Dauar*

Nine districts are recognised, Map, p. 160. The people inhabiting or belonging to each of these districts are known by the name of the district, e.g. Peibre *le*, and they always recognise this local association, it is quite as important to them as belonging to a particular village.

1. Dauereb: from Gelam pit to Nem. This is a coast of low cliffs and is uninhabitable, save for a cove, Keauk, which formed an occasional camping place for the people of Dauar and Waier.



2. Peibre: from Gigo to Baur. The people of Gigo were *nog le*, being immigrants from Waraber. By some Dauar eb or Dauer eb and Peibre are considered as one major district.

3. Kòmet: from Zaub (Jenb) to Aketir according to some, or to Larte according to others.

4. Meaurem: from Aketir or Larte to Mek, or perhaps to Pit kek. Kòmet and Meaurem are regarded by some as one district, but there is no doubt that originally they were distinct.

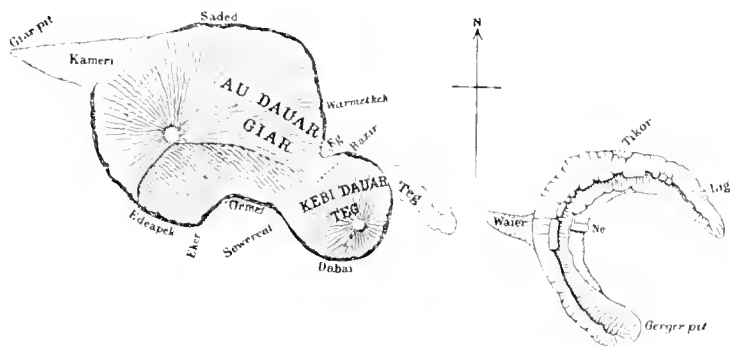
5. Zagareb: from Akup to Mei.

6. Piaderem: from Dam to Las, or according to some to Wabkek. MacFarlane says "the paler-skinned *Miriam le* dwell" at Las.

7. Samsep: from Murbu or from Wabkek to Warwe and Tur. Piaderem and Samsep are sometimes spoken of collectively as Samsep, but it is doubtless correct to regard them as distinct.

8. Geaurem: Eger to Er.

9. Mergarem (or Magarem): Mergar to Neme a pit.



The island of Dauar is divided into (1) Giar (Au Dauar), the inhabitants of which were *Bomai le*, and (2) the much smaller Teg (Kebi Dauar) inhabited by *nog le*.

The legendary enmities between some of these districts are suggestive: Dauar and Peibre were opposed to Kòmet: Kòmet and Meaurem-Zagareb united in an act of revenge and killed one of the Ancients of Peibre; all the districts except the recalcitrant Peibre accepted the introduced Bomai-Malu cult and they attacked Peibre, but were defeated. These districts were undoubtedly ancient and antedated the simple grouping of the Bomai-Malu cult.

These districts to some extent coincide with the territories of the *Ad giz* or Ancients.

### *Ad giz*

Among Mr J. Bruce's notes I have found additional information about the *Ad giz* (VI, p. 258), who were regarded as *urker le*, angry men. They were supposed to protect their several peoples from the attacks of enemies. They seem to have been regarded only with fear, but they were venerated as being concerned with the earliest traditions of the people; they were, as their name implies, from the first or foundation of things. Bruce refers to them as "gods", but I consider it is better to term them "Ancients". No cult was connected with them.

Palai and Ganomi were the Ancients of Peibre, their boundaries were from Gigo to Nani Beaur [Baur] and their headquarters were at Begegiz. They were the two principal fighting Ancients and their emblem was the *seuriseuri*, a four-rayed stone-headed club [VI, p. 296; pl. XVII, fig. 1; IV, p. 192], as this was the weapon they used. Peibre is regarded as the place of origin, *giz ged*, of the *seuriseuri* (I, Tibi).

Ginamai was the Ancient of Kòmet, his boundaries were from Beaur to Crog [Korog] and his headquarters were at Seau giz [Saugiz] (6, Kaige).

Wagnan was the Ancient of Meaurem and Zagareb, his boundaries were from Crog to Mei and his headquarters were at Ulag or Uu, Zagareb (12 c, Gabi).

Kokuam was the Ancient of Piaderem, Samsep, Geaurem and Mergarem and his headquarters were at Eger, Geaurem (17, Tom, son of Sager).

Bom was the Ancient of Dauar and Waier, and his headquarters were at Kameri on Danar (26, Debe Wali).

The names in brackets are those of living men who are supposed to be the direct descendants of the Ancients whose names they bear, though these are not in current use.

*Kòmet le kill Erub people and are themselves killed*

All his men told Ginamai that they wanted to go to Erub to kill the people there, but he told them not to go as they would be themselves killed. The young and old men wanted very much to go, so they got their canoes ready and took their fish-spears and *bager* (these are fighting spears made by cutting down a *wap*, dugong harpoon) [IV, pp. 198, 169]. They pretended that they were going on a fishing cruise and sailed to the sand-bank Scu, off the south-east of Erub, where they knew the Erub men would see them, so they pretended to spear the *wcare* fish. The people of the villages Mogor and Dadamud saw them and went and told Rebesa, the Ancient of Erub, who said it was all right. It was then near sun-down and the Kòmet *le* were getting very impatient to land as they were cold and hungry, but they did not want to land till it was dark, so they kept on pretending to fish and slowly paddled their canoes nearer to Erub.

They landed at Mogor after dark when all the people were in their beehive houses. The Kòmet *le* surrounded the houses, and to induce the people to come out they made a noise by rubbing and tapping the grass with which the houses were covered. The Mogor people hearing the strange noise were afraid and began to crawl out of the small doorways one at a time, and as they did so the Kòmet *le* speared them with their *bager*. After all the people were killed, they did the same with the people of all the villages on the south-east side of the island. Then they cut off the heads from the bodies, which they threw into the sea, but they piled the heads on the rocks at the point between Mogor and Dadamud which was afterwards called Kerem paur or Head-skin [cf. Map, p. 160].

Rebesa, who lived on the north-west side of Erub, was told next morning what the Kòmet *le* had done and he said to his people now that the Kòmet *le* had killed all his children on the other side, they must all go with him and he would pay back by killing all the Kòmet *le*. He did so, and served their bodies in the same manner by throwing them into the sea after cutting off their heads; these he piled up beside the heads of his own people at Kerem paur.

When the Kòmet women found that their men-folk had not returned to them they told Ginamai they wanted to go to Erub to look for them. He would not allow this and told them they would all be killed if they went and then there would be no more Kòmet *le*. Ginamai then acted as husband to the community, the women bore families and the people increased so that he again founded a new Kòmet *le*.

Ginamai was a peaceful man, *e paud le*, and was against fighting, as he thought all his people would be exterminated. He was like the fig-tree, *ome* (*omare* to love), he loved his people. The *ome* with its great spreading branches is so called as it gathers in its children.



*Ganomi, Palai, and Bom attack the Kòmet le*

Ganomi and Palai had a talk at Gigred and arranged that they, with their children (as they called their people), would attack Ginamai and his people and kill them, as they had quarrelled with Ginamai. They determined to go to Dauar and try to persuade Bom, the Ancient of that island, to assist them; so they went in their canoe, Palai taking his little daughter with him. As they came near to Dauar they saw Bom standing on the reef fishing; Bom saw them coming and, feeling angry, went to fetch his *bager* and came down to meet them. Seeing that Bom was angry, they cried out to him, "Why are you angry, we are here, Palai and Ganomi, don't be angry, we want to talk with you". Bom said he would talk with them. They told him that they wanted him and his children to assist them in attacking Ginamai and his Kòmet *le*. Bom agreed, and he with his people went back with Ganomi and Palai; they sat down at Begegiz and arranged that they would go when it was dark to attack the Kòmet *le*. That night they started and beginning at Baur went right on through the villages to Crog, killing all the men. Ginamai lived in the village of Sean gíz [or Saugiz], and when he saw Ganomi and the others, he asked them, "Why do you come and kill my children, I am here". Then they left and returned to Gigred [Begegiz and Gigred are practically the same place]. Bom left for Dauar.

Palai went to his house on the top of the high hill of Gelam, and, as a sign of rejoicing, *serer tonar*, decorated his head and arms with grass ornaments (armlets, etc.).

*The death of Palai*

Ginamai went to see Waguan, the Ancient of Ulag, and asked him to help him to kill Palai, who was a great warrior; he said to Waguan, "Palai is your friend, you go and see him and take him to your place and then we will kill him". Waguan agreed to do so, and they arranged with another man Ida to be in hiding at a place in the bush called Kabur, whither Waguan would bring Palai. Waguan called on the decorated Palai at his house and invited him to come to his place. Palai went with him and they walked through the bush until they came to Kabur, where Ida was secreted with his *bager* behind a fence. Waguan asked Palai to sit down on a mat which was spread for the purpose and he handed him a coconut to drink; whilst Palai was drinking with his head raised, Ida stood up from behind the fence and drove his spear through Palai's breast so that it came out at his back; Waguan and his children then set on him with their clubs and finished him.

Ganomi was told what had happened to Palai, so he went to Bom and asked him to help him to get possession of Palai's body. Bom went with him; when Waguan's people saw them coming they were afraid and went and hid in the bush. Bom and Ganomi found Palai's body and they took it to his place on Gelam hill, where there is a cave called Palaira kur, Palai's cave. Bom returned to Dauar and Ganomi settled down at his headquarters at Begegiz.

*The adherents of the Bomai cult attack Peibre but are themselves slain*

Bomai came to Mer from Muralug [Marilag] and first landed at Begegiz, where Ganomi and Palai lived.

After Bomai had been taken to Dam and that place made the headquarters of the new cult or *zogo*, the *Miriam le* (Waguan's and Kokuam's people and the branches Kòmet and Meaurem) [elsewhere Bruce defines the *Miriam le* (or *giz lewer le*, p. 137) as being the inhabitants of Zagareb, Piaderem and Samsep] heard that Ganomi and Palai were angry with Bomai and decided to kill them. The *Miriam*, Piaderem and Samsep men met at Nani-pat; the peoples under Ginamai, Waguan and Kokuam all united against Peibre; it seems that the Ancients and the women remained at home. The *kadik-kadik le* (bracer men) met at Nani-pat, their usual *zogo ged* (*zogo* place) when Bomai was stationed at Gazir pit [VI, p. 284, where it is stated that Bruce's house is situated in Nani-pat at Baur in Peibre]. They then went along the sand-beach towards Begegiz. All the *we serer le* (sand happy men) walk with a running kind of gait looking from side to side as if looking for some one, p. 390, fig. 45.

The Peibre men saw them coming and told Ganomi and Palai that all the *Miriam* men (*Bomai* men) were coming. The two Ancients hid their *seuriseuri* in the sea at Gired; when the *Miriam le* arrived, mats of leaves of green coconut palms were laid for them to sit upon. When they were seated Ganomi and Palai went to the sea for their clubs and attacked and killed all the *Miriam le*, they cut off their heads and piled them up at Begegiz and threw the bodies into the sea.

Ginamai, Waguan, and Kokuam took all the women and again a new population was raised.

Bruce adds:

There is a discrepancy here, for Palai was killed at Kabur by Ida when he was betrayed by Waguan. I can get no explanation as regards this, only that the Ads [Ancients] lived and do live. If I were to give my informants a hint as to whether they [the Ancients] created anything, they, in their present stage, would be inclined to agree, but I have kept clear of that throughout. Although some of them would ask me what kind of *Ad Jehovah* was I had to put them off as I knew what it would tend to.

#### *Summary of these tales*

1. The *Kòmet le*, contrary to the advice of the peaceful Ginamai, go to kill the Mogor people of Ērub, they do so but are destroyed by Rebesa of Ērub. Ginamai repopled *Kòmet*.

2. Ganomi and Palai (both of Peibre) assisted by Bom (Dauar) attack Ginamai (*Kòmet*).

3. Ginamai asks Waguan (of Ulag, Zagareb) to help him to kill Palai. Ganomi asks Bom to help him to recover the body of Palai.

4. The adherents of the Bomai cult, that is the followers of Waguan (Meaurem, Zagareb), of Kokuam (Samsep to Mergarem) and of Ginamai (*Kòmet*), unite to attack Ganomi and Palai (Peibre), but before they can do anything they are themselves killed.

Thus it appears that the district of Peibre was in constant antagonism to the other districts, and Bruce was of the opinion that this was due to the jealousy of the Peibre *le*, because Bomai had been taken to Dam (VI, pp. 40, 284, 303) and that place had been made one of the headquarters of the cult, although Bomai, followed by Dòg, visited several places in Peibre (VI, p. 39) in his early walks round the island. Perhaps the warlike Peibre *le* resented the introduction of the new cult, at all events they were never admitted into full membership (VI, p. 287).

Whatever may be the significance of the *Ad giz* it is clear that the natives regarded them as the founders of the several great regional groups of Mer. The groups do not appear to have been enlarged totemic clans, since each included several small purely local cults or rites which we may regard as vestiges of an earlier totemic system.

#### *The dual grouping of the Bomai-Malu cult*

The members of the Bomai-Malu fraternity were divided into two main groups (VI, pp. 286, 287).

1. The *Beizam boai* or *Beizam le* (shark brethren or shark men) were the most important, they belonged to *Kòmet* (Zaub to Larte), Piaderem, Samsep, and Mergarem (excluding Werbadu). The office of *zogo le* appears to have been hereditary in three families belonging respectively to Bòged (*Kòmet*), Las (Piaderem) and Warwe (Samsep). The *tami le* or *ki parcm le* assisted the three *zogo le*. The three sacred grounds, *au kòp*, where the initiation ceremonies were held, were at Dam and Gazir in Piaderem and at Kiam at the northern end of *Kòmet*.

2. The *Zagareb le* were the singers (*wed le*) and the drum men (*warup le*) of the cult; they belonged to Meaurem, Zagareb, Geaurem and Werbadu.

The *Peibre le* were described as *tebud* (friends) and acted as "serving brethren" for the Malu cult, but as they took no part in the Malu ceremonies they were termed *nog le*.

The two main groups do not represent a dual organization, for there is no trace of exogamy in connection with them (vi, p. 175).

The social and emotional effects of the new cult are referred to on p. 397.

	N.W.	N.		N.E.		E. and S.			W.	Dauar
	Kòmet	Meaurem	Zagareb	Piaderem	Samsép	Geaurem	Mergareu	Werbadu	Peibre	
<i>Ad giz</i> Palai and Ganomi										
„ Ginamai										
„ Waguan										
„ Kokuam										
„ Bom										
<i>Beizam boai</i>										
<i>Zagareb le</i>										
<i>Nogle le</i> or <i>tebud</i>										
<i>Mket siriam zogo</i>										
<i>Beizam</i>										
<i>Dògai</i>										
<i>Nam zogo</i>										
<i>Ur buzi zogo</i>										(-)
<i>Irmer zogo</i>										
<i>Irmer gali</i>	<i>nog le</i>								<i>nog le</i> (Baur)	

#### Other cults

It is significant that two ancient cults, *beizam* and *dògai*, covered the whole island with the exception of Peibre and Dauar eb (Table); they were not described as *agud* or *zogo*, though so far as one can see they might very well have been so. In neither case are *zogo le* mentioned nor any initiation into the cults, though probably both formerly existed. These and analogous cults appear to have dwindled away on account of the predominance of the Bomai-Malu cult, and hence the poverty of our information.

The *beizam* (shark) cult caused garden produce to be abundant and prevented theft from the gardens and the ravages of rats and birds. It was connected with a shrine at Babud (Meaurem), but the cult belonged to the Meaurem *le* and Kòmet *le*, and thus was on the western side of Mer (vi, pp. 269-71). The shrine consisted of a layer of stones in the form of a shark and two large *Fusus* shells; two heaps of five stones represented attendant girls. It was prepared at planting-time, and four or five months later, when presumably the shrine had performed its function, it was dismantled and food was distributed. The shrine was described as resembling or being equivalent to a *lamar* (spirit); this seems to imply that there was a spiritual personality connected not only with the shrine but with its counterpart the constellation *beizam* (iv, p. 219).

The general resemblance between this shrine (but not of its functions) and the rain shrines of the Keraki (p. 250) is sufficiently close for their being regarded as having had a common cultural origin. The attendant stone-girls remind one of the *dema nakari* of the Mariind (p. 255).

The *dògai* cult belonged to the eastern side of Mer, that is from Zagareb to Mergarem inclusive. The only recorded ceremony is the *dògaira wetpur* (VI, p. 209). [A *wetpur* is a competitive present of food combined with a dance of masked men (p. 179), but this particular *wetpur* was quite a different affair.] It was held in rotation each year at Bak by the Mergarem *le* and Geaurem *le*; when they had finished, there was a *wetpur* at Kabur (Zagareb), then another at Mear (Piaderem), and lastly at Zer (Samsep); this latter place was really the headquarters of the cult, as the masks were in the charge of two important men of Areb and Warwe. This series of four dances was held in September and October, as food was then plentiful. There were two turtleshell masks which were said to have been kept at Zer in a house built of small stones (the only erection of the kind known to me); the masks were not *zogo*, but were housed and taken care of as if they were *zogo*. Bruce regarded it as a kind of harvest-thanksgiving or feast and doubtless he is correct.

It seems probable that the cult is connected with the *dògai* star that rises in the north-east (VI, p. 271), but the relation is obscure as *dògai* destroys fish and blights coconuts.

There was a *keber* of *dògai* (p. 123; VI, pp. 143, 271) which presumably belonged to the Samsep *le* of Areb and Warwe, as after the Samsep *siriam keber* a masked man represented *dògai* with rolling gait. The *dògaira wed* or *omana* which were sung on this occasion were in the western language, and contrary to what took place in other *keber* the dancers advanced from west to east.

It is recorded that the three following cults which were termed *zogo* had a preparatory initiation ceremony (VI, p. 272).

The cult of the *nam zogo* (p. 123) had precisely the same distribution as the *beizam* cult.

The *meket siriam zogo* was described as "a small *zogo* like Malu" into which lads, *kesi*, were initiated. It belonged to Ulag (Zagareb), Las (Piaderem), Areb (Samsep), Eger and Er (Geaurem), Werbachu (Mergarem) and also to Sebeg (Kòmet), which is the same distribution as the *dògai* cult. The ceremonies took place only at Areb and Sebeg; but the cult appears to have belonged essentially to the eastern side of the island and more particularly to Areb.

The *meket* was a small turtle-shell mask consisting of two eyes with downwardly extended angles and a nose-bar and adorned with cassowary feathers (VI, p. 274). The western word *mekat* or *meket* means "shining" or "glorious". If, as is possible, this cult was derived from the west, there may be some relation between the *meket* and the *kutibu* and *giribu* of Kwoiam of Mabuag (p. 383; V, pp. 70, 367 ff.) and especially to the *buiya* which belonged to the *augulan kupar* (navel shrine of an *augud*) associated with Kwoiam in Muralug (V, p. 373). The two mysterious *buiya* connected with the cult of Sigai and Maiiau in Yam are mentioned on pp. 387, 389, where reference is made to the bright shining of various emblems, but in Mer the glory appears to have entirely waned. I think this was essentially a war cult.

The *meket sarik* (bow and arrow *meket*) was performed by the *meket siriam le* after a successful fight (VI, p. 274). There appear to have been two *zogo le*, each of whom wore a mask to which was attached a rope adorned with human lower jaw bones (cf. the two *augud* shrines on Yam, V, p. 374); the end of the rope was supported by a *tami le*. The

words of the song were western. Only men were allowed to be present. Apparently it was confined to Piaderem and Samsep.

The *siriam keber* were the spirit pantomimes of the *siriam le* (VI, pp. 142, 143). One was performed at Tur, the other belonged to Areb and Warwe (Samsep).

The representation of *pager* (VI, p. 133) was apparently confined to the *meket siriam keber* that was performed at Sebeg. It is stated (probably erroneously) that *pager* was closely followed by the *zera markai*, but Bruce says (VI, p. 277) that " *Pager* is a *keber*; this particular *keber* belongs to the *Kòmet le* and comes on the scene after all the other *keber* ceremonies are finished, he is the final episode in death ceremonies, he is strictly connected with the *meket siriam zera markai keber*". He too was introduced by Waïet.

The *Beizam boai* (Table, p. 165) had very much the same distribution as the *meket siriam zogo* cult. I am inclined to believe that whether directly introduced from the west or not this war cult was older than the Bomai-Malu cult; but the *keber* were certainly more recent.

The *irmer* (rain) *zogo* belonged to the various groups of the *Zagareb le*; the *zogo ged* was in the bush immediately behind Lewag pit, close to Ulag in the *Zagareb* district, it was here that the young men were initiated and the *doiom* were prepared, p. 134. The *zogo le* belonged to the *Meaurem le*, *Zagareb le*, *Geaurem le* and to *Werbadu le*, that is, to the eastern side of the island. At, or immediately before, the beginning of the rainy season the *zogo le* arranged to have the *irmer gali* (VI, p. 195). After the young men had been duly initiated and instructed in the dressing of the *doiom* with a small bullroarer, *bigo*, etc., and in the swinging of *bigo*, at Lewag, the ceremony took place at Baur in the *Peibre* district on the west side of the island; the *Peibre le* had to prepare the ground and they and the *Kòmet le* supplied the food. Apparently the *Zagareb le* were the *zogo le* of the *irmer gali* at which they did not perform their usual function of *warup le* (drum men), but it is not evident why *Peibre* men should be allowed to beat the two sacred drums. It is true that Baur was said to be associated with the Malu cult (VI, p. 284), but the *Peibre le* were *nog le* as regards both the Malu cult and the *irmer gali*. I suspect that the *irmer gali* was mainly a festival of rejoicing, that there were then more persons qualified to make rain, for a *zogo le* could make rain whenever he felt inclined to do so or when he considered that his efforts would succeed.

Connected with the *irmer zogo* cult was an important cult relating to coconuts, the *ur buzi zogo*, which was performed at Lewag (p. 139).

#### *The relation of the Bomai-Malu cult to the older cults*

It seems as if the introduction of the Bomai-Malu cult was due to propaganda and not to conquest or to a definite migration of a group of people. The new cult appears to have been readily accepted, except by the *Peibre le*. We are ignorant about its social construction, if it had any, when it arrived. It may be suggested that during the adoption and organising of the cult, the adherents of the *dògai* cult and those of the *meket siriam zogo* (all of whom, with the exception of the *Zagareb le*, were inhabitants of the territory of the *Ad giz Kokuam*) constituted themselves into the *Beizam boai* and admitted the *Kòmet le* into the same fraternity.

The remaining peoples of the island (always excepting the *Peibre le*) appear to have formed themselves into a supplementary group of the cult, the *Zagareb le*. Perhaps they previously were the musicians of the island—at all events they became the musicians of

the new cult. Meaurem was the headquarters of two important cults, *beizam* and the *nam* (turtle) *zogo*, and Zagareb of the important *irmer* (rain) *zogo* and of the *ur buzi* (coconut) *zogo*. These two areas were the territory of the *Ad giz* Wagnan. The other areas of the *Zagareb le* seem to have been relatively unimportant.

It will be seen from the Table, p. 165, that Piaderem, which was the most important area of the Bomai-Malu cult, had no part in the *beizam*, *nam zogo* and *irmer zogo* cults, and only a minor one in the *meket siriam zogo* and *dògai* cults.

Kòmet is not the headquarters of any of these cults, but the Kòmet *le* share the *meket siriam zogo*, *nam zogo* and *beizam* cult; they are also *Beizam boati*. Although it possessed various *zogo*, none of them appears to have been as outstanding as those mentioned.

It is now too late to hope to be able to discover why the old districts took their respective parts in the constitution of the new cult. The foregoing suggestions are all that I can do with regard to this problem.

#### *The localities of the Zogo*

I give on p. 357 a general account of the meaning of *zogo* and I here give a list of all the *zogo* known to me according to the districts in which they occur. It will be seen that they have diverse functions, and some have more than one function; sometimes they are ambivalent in their action.

The *zogo*, and also certain shrines and stones of power which were not spoken of as *zogo*, are in most cases the property of a definite family which provides the performer of the rite, who is termed a *zogo le* in the case of the more important *zogo* and shrines, though not for the stones of power. A *zogo* sometimes belongs to one or more districts. The stones of power have very little or no ritual connected with them.

The effects of the ritual connected with a *zogo* or a shrine were not necessarily confined to the districts specified, but affected the whole island.

In a few cases these institutions were culture-groups or cult-societies in which there were other functionaries than the *zogo le*, and into which an initiation into the cult took place.

Probably in all cases, though doubtless to a varying extent, there was an emotional reaction which can only be regarded as distinctly religious.

#### *Peibre*

*Kaba* (banana) *zogo*, Gigo; the *zogo ged* is called Pas; also at Sarged near Werbadu, p. 141; vi, p. 207.

*Lag* (mosquito) *zogo*; the *lag zogo ged* was by a water-hole at Lakop behind Zomared, vi, pp. 8, 10, 218. The ambivalent control of mosquitoes was the function of three *lag zogo le*. It was firmly believed that mosquitoes were produced by them, but there is no record of their procedure. They certainly performed rites to remove the pests when requested to do so; the method employed was by the *zogo le* chewing the kernel of an old coconut and blowing the masticated nut over the stones surrounding the water-hole. [On one occasion at Mer I wanted my crew to dive for a particular kind of coral, and as the waves were breaking slightly they chewed the kernels of old coconuts and spat into the sea, with the result that a film of oil spread out widely which appreciably mitigated the waves. The natives were then able to look down to the top of the reef and see the corals I desired, which they dived for and obtained. There is no reason to believe that this "pouring of oil on troubled waters" was a practice learned from the white man; as they

constantly eat coconuts, the effect of chewed coconut kernel on the sea must have been observed very frequently.] It is now well known that pouring a little oily fluid in a pool or receptacle containing the larvae of mosquitoes causes their death, and indeed this is a recognised method of ridding places of mosquitoes. It is impossible to say whether the *lag zogo le* found by experience that the rite did actually diminish the mosquitoes, and naturally they would be quite ignorant of the real reason for the disappearance of mosquitoes after the rite. I did not obtain any information about the *zogo* itself, but in vol. IV, p. 305, I described a turtle-shell object in the Truro Museum which I suggested was connected with the *lag zogo*; it was brought from Mer about 1840, or earlier, by Lieut. G. B. Kempthorne. The shrine was situated behind the beach on which visitors would be likely to land on account of the safe anchorage nearby.

*Werer a gem kerar tonar zogo* (to make one hungry and lean), Umar, VI, p. 232.

*Galbol* (whale or porpoise) *zogo*; according to Hunt (*J.A.I.* XXVIII, 1899, p. 8) its function was to prevent whales from destroying their canoes or to ensure the canoes of their enemies being destroyed by whales. There was a *galbol keber* about which we have no information, VI, p. 142.

*Neuer [neur]* (girl) *zogo*; according to Hunt (*l.c.* p. 8) this was originally the same as the *kaba zogo*, but some of the *zogo le* seceded and formed a separate *zogo*, which had the same function.

#### *Kòmet*

*U* (coconut) *zogo*, Zaub (or Zeub).

*Meket siriām zogo*, a war cult, Sebeg; see Samsep.

*Tömög zogo*, an oracle, Tömög, near the centre of the island; it also belonged to Geurem, VI, p. 261. Bruce made two diagrams of the arrangement of the stones, but like us, he found much ambiguity and a difficulty in allocating them to the various villages of Mer; some of them are in a kind of geographical order. He says: "If any person steals or otherwise does wrong, the diviners meet at the divining place and there fix on the guilty person. Should an ant, or small lizard, or other live creature come from under a stone and take shelter under another stone, the village the stone represents holds the guilty party, and it is of no use for him to plead innocence."

*Birobiro* (the bee-eater, a small bird) *zogo*, sometimes called *lewer zogo*, for yams, Naror, behind Sebeg on the east side of the hill Gelam, not far from Tömög; and at Opeb, Lewag pit, Zagareb, p. 138; VI, p. 211.

*Nauareb zogo*, for gardens and perhaps for clams and other molluscs, Kiam. It belonged to Sebeg, Mad, Bòged and Korog, p. 137, VI, p. 210.

*Tabu* (snake) *zogo*, to cause snakes to eat rats which destroy the gardens, probably at Sebeg, p. 143; VI, p. 220.

#### *Meaurem*

*Baz nam* (turtle) *zogo*. Mek; also participated by Kòmet, p. 154; VI, p. 213.

*Kaier* (crayfish) *zogo*, Babud; also at Warwe (Samsep), p. 154.

#### *Zagareb*

*Irmer* (rain) *zogo*, Lewag; also participated by Meaurem, Geurem and Mergareme; the inhabitants of all these districts are *Zagareb le*, p. 134.

*Ur buzì zogo*, for coconuts, Lewag, p. 139.

*Puleb zogo*, probably for success in fishing, but it certainly was used for malevolent purposes. Lewag (fig. 23): MacFarlane took a photograph (pl. III, fig. 4) of Dawita of Mer with *puleb* stones for producing dysentery, etc. The following information was sent to me by Mr Davies.

*Puleb zogo* was situated under a *wangai* plum tree in the bush behind Lewag pit [Zagareb]; it consisted of a number of fairly well or very crudely carved stones: some were human figures, but most were human heads or heads of turtle, fish, etc. Each faced to a different star or constellation and was owned by a particular man and was inherited from father to son.

Mr Davies was told the following story:

About 1870 a dance was being held and "Gabey's father" [evidently this was Naii, the father of Gabi, Ulag, 12 C] was performing a certain dance, but as he was old and stiff he did not dance well and a number of the younger people laughed at and imitated him. Filled with anger he walked away muttering threats and went to *puleb zogo*; after removing the bushes that covered it, he set his figure on the top of the others and poured turtle grease over all the stones; then as he rubbed coconut oil over his figure he cursed the people's gardens. Next he went to the reef and collected some *bêche-de-mer*, brought them to the *zogo*, cut them open and rubbed his figure with the slime, at the same time cursing the fish in the sea. Then he made a small fire of *wangai* and sandal wood before the *zogo* and cursed by name the persons who had offended him.

That night there was a very high tide and a whale came over the reef into a fish weir and was left stranded by the receding tide and it died. The carcase quickly decayed and the stench of the putrefying flesh soon produced a severe sickness. The prevailing wind carried the odour away from Naii's village to other villages along the coast and consequently none of his family were affected. The disease spread so quickly that funeral ceremonies had to be dispensed with and it was not long before the dead were so numerous that they were simply taken down to the shore and thrown into the sea beyond the edge of the reef. Naii's brother [Basu] got sick, but did not die, and someone asked why this man had not died. Questions were asked and it was found out that none of Naii's family had died and only his brother was sick, so they wondered whether anyone had been making evil magic, *puri-puri*. Some men went to Naii and asked him if he had done so and he told them why he had made *puri-puri* at the *puleb zogo*. They yarned, and it was decided to lift the curse and have a feast. All the appropriate men repaired to the *puleb zogo* and each took his own stone and, singing all the while, washed it in the sea and carried it to the nearest fresh water and washed it again, and returned it to its place and sang a song of sleep; finally the *zogo* was covered over with leaves and bushes. The epidemic straightway began to wane and no more deaths occurred.

*Ketai* (a kind of yam) *zogo*, Ulag, p. 137.

*Birobiro zogo*, said to be at Opeb, behind Lewag pit, belonged to Zagareb, Piaderem and Samsep; it does not appear to have been so important as the *zogo* at Naror (Kòmet).



Fig. 23. A, B. Carved stones from the *Puleb zogo*. B is said to be the figure used by Gabi's father. From a photograph. Davies collection, Queensland Museum, Q.E. 2809, 2810.



*Piaderem*

There may have been a *tabu* (snake) *zogo* at Las, p. 143.

*Samsep*

*Meket siriam zogo*, a war cult, Areb; also participated by Ulag (Zagareb), Las (Piaderem), Eger (Geaurem), Werbadu (Mergarem) and Sebeg (Kòmet), p. 166; VI, p. 273.

*Kaier* (crayfish) *zogo*, Warwe, and at Babud (Meaurem), p. 154.

*Geaurem*

*Way* (wind) *zogo*, for a south-east wind, Tur pit; probably belonged to Warwe and Eger, VI, p. 201.

*Mokeis* (rat) *zogo*, to cause rats to overrun the houses and gardens; the *zogo le* could exorcise the plague, Eger, p. 143.

*Kaba* (banana) *zogo*; according to Hunt, *l.c.* p. 8.

*Mergarem*

*Karus zogo*, Mergar; a child who cries too much is rubbed on the stone, the stone does not move.

*Kaba* (banana) *zogo*, Sarged, near Werbadu (cf. Peibre), p. 141; VI, p. 207.

*Dauar*

*Nam* (turtle) *zogo*, Giar pit, p. 155.

*Tagai zogo* for turtle, p. 158.

*Zegnaipur zogo*, for yams, p. 137; VI, p. 211.

*Lewer* (yam) *zogo*, p. 137.

*U* (coconut) *zogo*, Sewereat, p. 140; VI, p. 206.

*Enau* ("wild plum") *zogo*, Teg and Ormei, p. 141; VI, p. 202.

Constipation *zogo*, VI, p. 233.

*Waier*

*Zab* (a fish) *zogo*, VI, p. 217.

*Meidu sab* (Nipa fruit taboo) *zogo*, VI, p. 248. I am doubtful whether this was really a *zogo*, cf. pp. 144-147.

Waipem for turtle; it is not stated to be a *zogo*, but *zogo le* performed the rite, VI, p. 216.

There are a few *zogo* for which no locality is recorded, such as: the *sirar-sirar zogo* for terns' eggs, VI, p. 219; and the *paim zogo* to make a person insane, VI, p. 232.

*Various local ritual practices*

*Sab tonar* (taboo fashion). There are numerous local expedients for putting a taboo on garden produce which are described and enumerated on pp. 144-150. The list is probably fairly complete. Apparently Geaurem has only the *iwat sab*, all the other districts have two to four kinds of *sab*.

Skull divination by the *Beizam boai* of Kòmet, Piaderem and Samsep, VI, p. 266.

*Kekuruk*, a curative practice, Zagareb, VI, p. 237.

*Kamer*, a malevolent rite. Zagareb, VI, p. 226. *Kamer* is a red or a black powder, the scent of which attracts sandflies, *serpake*; it is found in the holes made by the ship-worm, *esese*, in driftwood. The Zagareb *le* claim that they are not disfigured externally but are

affected internally by the poison. Azo or Pugari (Ulag, 12) has great renown through the reputation of having killed many people in this way.

*Group ownership of stars*

Allusion has been made by Rivers (IV, p. 220) to the ownership of certain stars and constellations by groups, villages, and even by individuals probably as representatives of families.

To the Meaurem *le* and by extension also to the Kòmet *le* belong the constellation *Beizam* and the cult connected with it. The *Dògai* cult, and presumably the *Dògai* star, belong to the eastern side of Mer, but it is also stated definitely that it also belongs to Sebeg (Kòmet); the explanation of its being owned by a village on the western side may be due to its juxtaposition with *Beizam* in January (p. 133).

The constellation of two stars is called *Neur wer* by the Ulag (Zagareb) men who own it, but it is called *Maber wer* by the Kòmet men who own it when it is going down on their side of the island (p. 133). One of the stars, *Narbet neur* (elder sister), is owned by Gabi (Ulag, 12) and by Kaige (Saugiz, 6 Kòmet). [Rivers gives Arei or Mamoose (Zaub, 2 Kòmet) as the Kòmet owner, but Bruce does not confirm this.] The other star, *Kèimer neur* (younger sister), is owned by Gi (Ulag, 12) and by Aze (who may be Azer or Komaberi Keweid, 3 Kòmet). This constellation is intimately connected with the *gar sab* (p. 147): Gi and Komaberi are *gar sab le*, but I cannot trace Gabi and Kaige as *gar sab le*. At all events it is clear that each of the two stars is owned by a Ulag and by a Kòmet man.

The *Tagai* constellation belongs to the people of Dauar (Bruce).

The full moon belongs to the Zagareb *le* and the new moon to the Peibre *le* (Bruce).

*Other local groupings*

Ulag and all the places on the eastern side of the island are called *Gerger am le ged* [I think this means the place of the people towards the sun]; that is, the direction *gerger osakeda*, where the sun rises (Bruce).

From Umar, Deiau and Gigo to Werbadu at the western end of the island, where the sun sets, is called *Beigar am le ged* or *Beiged*, and the people are called *Beiged le*. [Beig or Beig-ged is the place where the spirits of the dead stay when going to or returning from the mythical island of Boigu, the home of the dead, VI, p. 252.] The departure of the spirits begins at the beach at its most westerly point at Umar, and following the route of Terer and Aukem they go to Giar pit on Dauar and ultimately reach Boigu.

As Rivers points out (VI, p. 175), "there is a certain amount of rivalry between the western and eastern sides of the island, but not more than might arise from purely geographical causes". On the other hand there are social and ritual ties that connect western and eastern districts and villages, such as: the legend and *keber* of Pop and Kod (Zaub and Er), *meket siriam zogo* (Sebeg and Ulag, Las, Areb, Eger, Werbadu), *Tòmög zogo* (Kòmet and Geaurem), *kaba zogo* (Pas and Sarged), *kaier zogo* (Babud and Warwe), *meidu sab* (Peibre and Samsep). There is sometimes a similar connection on the same side of the island, for example, Meaurem though originally connected with Zagareb shares its *beizam zogo* and the *buz nam zogo* with Kòmet, and there are several linkages on the eastern side.

Besides the distinction between east and west, there is another which cuts across them, according to Bruce.

The inhabitants round the northern end from Sebeg pat to Tur pit were called *lewer boai* (food friends) or *Miriam le giz*.

The inhabitants to the south: Geaurem, Mergarem, Dauereb, Peibre, and Oparem as well as of Dauar and Waier, were called *lar boai* (fish friends). Oparem is a small district between Peibre and Kòmet, the surviving two families of Zaub now claim to be Kòmet *le*.

The area from Kòp to Babud (inclusive) is called Saisereb; the people, *kop saisereb le*, are called *kariskaris lar ereg* because they eat raw fish. Mek is the *giz* or headquarters of the people called Baz, the *baz nam zogo* was on the hill near Mek. Meaurem *le* is the common term for the two peoples; they with the Zagareb *le* were *warup le* (drum men) in the Bomai ceremony, but they were under the Zagareb *le* and were recognised as *boai* (friends). Meaurem is a definite district.

#### *Madub le*

I gave in vol. VI, p. 159, all the information known to me about the practice of drinking the juices and eating parts of the bodies of dead persons, but thanks to more recent inquiries by J. Bruce a detailed account of the *madub le* is now available and W. H. MacFarlane has sent me additional information which he obtained from Pasi and others. The following account is based on Bruce; MacFarlane's information is duly acknowledged.

According to Bruce there were four *madub le*: Sambo (Babud, 9 A), Wanu (Areb, 15 A), Pasi and Kadub of Dauar (Giar pit. 27). MacFarlane mentions Sambo, Barsa (Terker, 20) and Pasi; but Ulai (Sebeg, 4 C) also appears to have been one.

Bruce mentions three *zogo ged* (sacred places): (1) Eror *ged* for Kòmet, Meaurem and Zagareb [Sambo, and ? Ulai]. (2) Pit kir (a small hill) for the people between Mei and Werbadu, i.e. Piaderem, Samsep, Geaurem, and Mergarem [Wanu, and Barsa]. (3) Ser *ged* behind Gelam for the Dauereb *le* of Mer and the Dauar people [Pasi, and Kadub]. MacFarlane says that the *Madub le* belonged to Umar on the south-west side, Bak in the middle of the island, Eror, on the north-east side, Zer on the east side, and Giar pit on Dauar.

Sometimes the four *madub le* met at one of their *zogo ged*, at other times each prepared his own *madub* at his own particular place. He did this when new foods were ready, for human flesh was not eaten in the north-west monsoon. A body was ripe about four months after death, it was then *buzibuzi* (rotten) and *au semelay* (big stink).

When a *madub le* is performing the rite he holds his arms outspread and hanging, his fingers dangling, and his knees bent, and his body, arms, fingers and legs are all trembling. He grimaces with his face and eyes, the whites of the eyes are turned up, and his jaw drooping; he looks like a man in a fit and as if he were dying. He is a gruesome looking object, and as he repeats the *zogo madub mer* he makes appropriate actions.

<i>na beri, na beri</i>	quivering muscles of the body.
<i>gab beri, gab beri</i>	stand trembling on one foot.
<i>aded demora, mas mas</i>	sway slowly on one foot.
<i>kerar demora, mas mas</i>	slowly draw up sinews of toes and fingers.
<i>gem perpei</i>	body light.
<i>lid perpei</i>	bones light.
<i>paur perpei</i>	skin light.
<i>kerar perpei</i>	sinews light.
<i>gem idgerare</i>	body cure.
<i>gem ekaiemdare</i>	body recover.
<i>kerar ekaiemdare</i>	sinews recover.
<i>paur ekaiemdare</i>	skin recover.
<i>lid ekaiemdare</i>	bones recover.
<i>gem ekaiemdare</i>	body recover.

*Teter gab*, sole of foot; *beri*, to tremble or squirm; *demora*, foot [in the vocabulary, III, p. 178; *beberkak* is light not heavy].

The *madub le* stands on his feet and raises the toes up and down from the ground so that the sinews can be seen, and turns the back of one hand forwards and holding it with the other slowly rubs the fingers up and down.

The body, face, arms and legs of the *madub le* were painted with red and white stripes and he wore a *daumer bub* (black-tipped white feather of the Torres Straits pigeon) in his hair.

In order to prepare the *zogo*, the *zogo le* [the *madub le* when performing the rite can correctly be termed a *zogo le*] goes secretly to the *zogo ged* in the bush and takes with him a shell containing the juice from a corpse and another with parts cut from the body. The *zogo lu* is a model of a canoe containing standing and sitting images of men which have the same names as those of actual men in a canoe: *tarim le* or *geau le* [man in the bow, the captain or "that big man"]; *tam le* [platform men]; *uzer le* [paddle men]; *korizer le* [steering-oar man]. The canoe is a representation of the canoe and crew who came from Queensland to Mer with the *madub zogo*. The *zogo lu* is suspended about 4 ft. from the ground or supported on forks of wood of that height.

The *zogo le* begins to dance in front of the *zogo* (the bow of the canoe facing him); he holds the shell in his left hand and anoints the canoe and the figures in it with the juices, then he takes the other shell and a piece of the flesh and feeds the figures, beginning with the man at the bow; when he has finished feeding them, *bes ikwar* (false giving), he takes a piece of flesh and fixes it to the feet of the standing figures.

The following hymn, *zogo wed*, is sung before the *zogo lu*:

*Agi na keub* mainlander an enemy,  
*keuba barokli* enemy go forth,  
*cua Gelam* Gelam is coming,  
*Masig Gelam* (via) Masig (to) Gelam,  
*Ego doiam* he is coming quickly.

When he has prepared the *zogo lu*, the *zogo le* anoints his body from head to foot with the juices, eats some of the meat and, having previously roasted some bananas, he breaks them up into the shell containing the juices and eats some of the pieces. Then he gives some of the flesh and juices to his wife, who is in attendance and cooks his food for him close by, but she is not permitted to see the rite.

The *madub zogo le* are called *apu*, mother: all others are called their *werem*, children (fig. 24). The *werem le* seem to be the assistants and near relatives of the *zogo le* and, after the rite, they are painted, *taicrem*, similarly to the *zogo le* and are allowed to go to the *zogo ged*. The *zogo le* anoints each of them, and then they all dance round the *zogo lu* in the same manner as the *zogo le*; there are intervals for refreshments. When the *werem le* help themselves to the juices or flesh from the shells they must not use their hands; if the shells are on the ground they kneel down like animals and use their mouths only for tearing a mouthful of flesh or when taking a drink of the juices and pieces of banana. They dance, go to sleep for a short interval, then dance again, night and day. They remain dancing and eating for from two to four days.

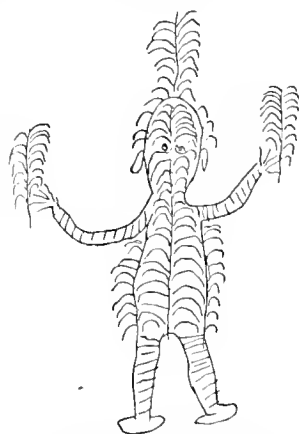


Fig. 24. *Werem madub le*.

Women may also be *werem le*, the *apu madub zogo le* anoints their bodies with the juices, but they retain their skirts. The women do not dance round the *zogo lu*, they too are not permitted to use their hands when they eat or drink. They are allowed only once to see the male *werem le* dance and then they return home.

When a corpse is on the *paier* and the shells beneath the *paier* are full of the juices which have dripped into them, the *madub le* have the right to take the shells and to cut portions from the body [it seems improbable that this would be allowed if the body were to be finally preserved]. They also have the right to eat the bananas that were hung up on each side of the corpse when it was suspended on a gallows (fig. 41). They cry and howl for flesh and are driven away from the *paier* to return again and again until they are given a portion of the corpse.

If a woman died, the *madub le* cut portions from her. The men were fond of eating a woman's breasts, and a woman preferred to eat the flesh of the upper arm of a man.

The wife of the *madub le* was approached by women who wanted to eat flesh or drink juices, and her husband gave them to her to distribute. The wife was painted like her husband and also had to abstain from washing. If the *madub le* were single or a widower, he got a woman friend to assist him.

The *madub le* was given presents of food-stuffs by his patrons, but fish and turtle were excepted.

The body-painting was retained by the *madub le* until the north-west monsoon set in; then he went into the sea and washed himself for the first time during six or seven months. A man who ate human flesh had to abstain from eating turtle or any kind of fish and also from going into the sea to wash himself.

In another MS. Bruce writes: "The *madub le* [that is the *werem le*] (men and women) collected the excreta of dogs, *omaira le*, for smearing over the human flesh. . . they were ghouls, not cannibals"; they also ate roasted snakes. The men ate locusts, but only male ones, *gebo pem*; they were eaten raw and wrapped up in the leaves of the *paier* shrub.

The *madub le* preferred to collect the juices of the corpse of a strong man or of one who was endowed with a particular virtue or talent, such as being an expert dancer, etc.; he smeared his own body all over and under the armpits, he also drank the juices and cut off parts of the body and ate them. For the same reasons young men desired to drink and eat. Some seemed to have a craving for the flesh and oil. The smearing and eating the flesh seems to have been done under the impression that they were assimilating whatever good quality was possessed by the person when alive (Bruce MS.).

I am not aware whether the *madub* image for a man described in vol. VI, p. 232, had any connection with the *madub le*. In the Vocabulary (III, p. 151) *madub* is termed the "*au nei* [or general name] for charms, wooden images used in magic", as for example the *sokop* (tobacco) *madub*. The word *madub* as used in *madub le* would seem to have a somewhat different meaning.

MacFarlane writes:

There were five groups or societies of people on Mer who were known as the *madub le*. These people were considered to be "not quite right in the head", or as they expressed it "half-cranky people". [No one could apply this term to our very intelligent and responsible friend Pasi, so the term may be considered to apply to their temporary psychological condition.]

Their gruesome rite was generally practised at full moon or on moonlight nights. When a body was kept inside the house after being mummified, the *madub le* made a practice of cutting off a

small piece, about the size of the little finger, from either a male or a female body. This was shredded on to a piece of banana leaf and mixed with the leaf of the *boz* creeper [*Flagellaria indica*] and the leaf of the *kaperkaper* [*Abrus precatorius*]. This mixture was eaten by the men ("he only take very small piece"), who chewed it well and spat out some of it on to each thigh, "to make strong for dance". After they had eaten the concoction, the men became "half-cranky" and foamed at the mouth when dancing, etc., for the eating was followed by a dance.

If no mummy happened to be in the house, a small piece might be cut from a body on a *paier*. Human flesh was described as, "he taste salt, not much good".

All disclaimed that the bodies were eaten for food, or at "hungry time" [when food was very scarce]. Mer is one of the best-off islands for food, so the need could not arise of consuming bodies of the dead from an economic standpoint.

In the description of Ērub it is seen that something of the same sort occurred there, but MacFarlane does not say whether there were special groups who participated, like the *madub le* of Mer.

It was a common practice of the Western and Central islanders of Torres Straits to drink the blood and eat portions of slain foes (v, p. 301) in order to infuse courage into warriors and boys. Several cases have been recorded that the same was done to shipwrecked persons who had been murdered.

Drinking the juices and eating portions of corpses was part of the training of a *maidelaig*, or magician, in Mabuiag (v, p. 322), and this was also occasionally practised by ordinary people on other islands.

Endocannibalism of fresh or putrefying corpses may therefore be regarded as of common occurrence in Torres Straits; the object of which was to acquire certain desirable qualities of the dead person. So far as the evidence goes, it was only in Mer that it was organised into a cult, whence according to tradition it came from Queensland, which does not seem probable, though it may be noted that the quivering of the body and legs is very characteristic of Australian dancing.

The desire to infuse courage and ferocity by these practices was not mentioned in Mer, as there was very little fighting there, but the partaking of the un-natural food produced an exalted excitement which took the participants "out of themselves", and induced a thrill which was comparable with that produced by religious ceremonies, and therefore the Miriam practice can be described as a cult.

The Miriam *madub le* are very different from the Madub men of Badu, who brought Yawar to Mer on a rainbow (v, p. 37), and also from the wooden *madub* figures of Mabuiag, who became animated at night-time (v, p. 346).

#### VARIOUS SOCIALISING CUSTOMS

Salutations, p. 176; Secular dances, p. 176; Songs, p. 177; Games, p. 177; *Rob wed*, p. 178; *Totuan*, p. 179; *Wetpur*, p. 179; *Kaketut*, p. 181; *Tama*, p. 181; *Aiswer*, p. 181; *Tom* (a messenger's credential), p. 182; Trade, p. 182.

The *greetings and salutations* (iv, pp. 306, 307) are expressions of friendliness.

The *secular dances, kab eri*, of Mer, as elsewhere, apart from the competitive exhibition of individual dancers, had a very definite socialising function, though there was often rivalry between different local groups of dancers. I have little to add to what is given in vol. iv, pp. 291-93.

*Songs**Wano pëim kab.* Wano's dream dance

Bruce saw at the Christmas festivities of 1910 a dance which embodied a dream by Wano. The words were sung over and over again:

*Zora tuncle zora tuncle,*  
*Zora deteramurkare zora deteramurkare,*  
*Somai lu! somai lu! somai lu!*

The first line tells two persons to clear away the pumice stones, *zor*, that nearly always accumulate at high-water mark on the beach. The second line tells many persons to stretch out their hands and clear them away. The last line means "flash" or beautiful thing, and is spoken out to the dancers in quick time; each dancer had a wreath or a wand decorated with brightly coloured flowers. The actions of the dancers are very graceful as they perform the dance.

*Ebazole wed.* Gabe's *wed*

*Sageri auli oa! barki* Southeast—Oh!—  
*Oa! sikem Oa!* Oh! broken waves, Oh!  
*Oa! ebazole Oa!* Oh! weep, Oh!

A man feels sorry when he hears the air sung; the words have no significance.

The following songs, *wed*, are examples of individual effusions which were sung at dances or on other social occasions, but they were in no sense traditional or confined to any particular dance.

*Wed* of Boa of Zagareb

*Naiger i a toami a oia!* light breeze sideways.  
*Bu bum toami* a nice light wind blowing from the east.

*Oia*, loving words, are contained in this exclamation. One living on the north-west side of the island would say of an easterly or westerly wind "*wag toami*". If he was opposite either of these places and the wind blew direct on his place, he would say "*wag wami*" (wind blows).

*Erub baba neb*  
*Kara e a Aguda Oa! nade degemle.*  
 My tears for *Agud* Oh Ah! where does he walk?

*Agud* applies solely to Bomai-Mahn.

*Korkiram wed*  
*Sydney laga u bi lag; Sydney ged an lagelag ged.*

[This seems to mean that Sydney is a much desired place.]

Ghi made this *wed* whilst working at Mabuiag:

*Schoona nade emargge deres.*  
 Schooner where let go (anchor) in lagoon on the reef.

*Games*

Many of the games recorded in vol. iv, pp. 312–20, although played for amusement, bring people together in a friendly spirit and so have a distinct social value; but the string figures and tricks (iv, pp. 320–41) are at the present time merely exhibitions of individual skill.

Ball game, *kai segur*

According to Bruce's MS. there are three phases of the ball game, each with its *kai wed* (iv, p. 313).

When the game is going to begin, the players form a ring; the one who has the ball starts the following song, in which the others join:

*A ma* Ah you,  
*kara kaio* my ball,  
*waiwa! ai! ai!*  
*waiwa! ai! ai!*

The first player keeps on tossing the ball from one hand to the other, swaying the body and keeping time to the song. When they come to *ai! ai!* the ball is tossed up higher, and some fancy movements are introduced; the *waiwa* [*waiwai* of the vocabulary] is an exclamation of wonder at the clever execution. The player then asks the right-hand neighbour if he is ready to catch the ball and passes it to him, and so on round the circle.

The second phase is that recorded in vol. iv, p. 313; there are no sides and everyone takes his turn at the game.

In the third phase the player who has the ball tosses it from one hand to the other, letting the ball strike against his, or her, breast and keeping time to the following song:

*Apu-ge* on mother,  
*apu-ge* on mother,  
*nano eri* breast drink,  
*nano eri* breast drink.

There is another game, but without a song. The ball is tossed into a crowd and each one passes it to another by striking the ball upwards. Two friends who are good players try to pass it to each other as long as they can without letting the others get a chance.

*Dipirsi gar segur*, throwing mangrove game.

Quantities of the seedlings of the mangrove, *gar* (v, fig. 27), are found on the beach in the north-west season; they are about six or seven inches long. A rib, *waisker*, of the leaf of the coconut palm is stuck into one end of a seedling to act as a counterpoise. The seedling is thrown along a sandbeach; the game is to see who can make it go farthest (cf. iv, p. 317).

The following socialising customs are not primarily connected with particular groups or localities.

#### *Rob wed*

Bruce was told the following incident by Wasalgi (Babud, 9 B), who was present on the occasion, which shows that *rob wed* or serenading parties (iv, p. 308) were not always free from trouble.

One night the Sebeg *le* were serenading the villages between their place and Kop, and arrived at Kop about midnight. When they began their song, Aio (Babud, 9 A) objected and wanted them to go away; there was at the time an unsettled quarrel between the Sebeg and some of the Kop folk. As his mother was a Sebeg woman, Kamai, son of Salgar (Babud, 9), wanted them to go on with their singing. Aio, who was a very quarrelsome fellow, persisted in his objection and the people began to take sides. As a fight was imminent between Kamai and Aio, Kebei, his father, went to Aio's assistance, then Kamai took a large piece of hardwood out of the fire and struck Kebei on the right side of the head behind the ear with it and Kebei dropped dead without a tremor; he was then about forty-five years of age and his hair was slightly grey.



The *totuam*, or fanning game (VI, p. 309), is a pleasing custom; when it is finished the *lag* (mosquito) *zogo le* are requested to send mosquitoes away.

### *Wetpur*

A *wetpur* is a ceremonial presentation of food by one group to another. It is not given out of affection for others, but as a display of the wealth of the group in food-stuffs and as a challenge to the other group to beat it if they can, and therefore trouble generally ensues.

In all *wetpur*, the presentation of food is hung on the branches of large trees; when food is presented on other occasions it is always piled up in rows or hung from bamboos.

When a man has made many gardens, and if the season be good and he has abundant crops, he feels elated, *sererge*, and decides to hold a *wetpur*. He talks with his friends and, if they agree, they decide on the time when it shall be held, which is always at *eip nur*, the middle of the harvest, when foods are ripe and plentiful.

After the decision has been made, the originator of the *wetpur* is told that a *peim le*, or dreaming man, has dreamt a splendid dance and song that is suitable for the occasion. He goes to him and arranges that the dreamer shall come and teach the song and dance to his group. The *peim le* must be of another group than the one giving or receiving the *wetpur*, and once engaged he cannot give his services elsewhere.

The originator of the *wetpur* usually (but not necessarily) selects his brother-in-law, *awima* (his wife's brother or *berbet*), as the recipient of his *wetpur*. He tells his group to whom he has decided to give it, and several of his friends (there may be four to six of them) arrange that they will give their *wetpur* to as many members of the same group as that to which the originator's recipient belongs, so that it is an exchange from group to group.

Each group has two or three *wetpur gel*, and each place has its name; there must be several large trees on the spot, but not necessarily close together. When it is decided at which of their places the *wetpur* is to be held, the women are instructed to clear the ground, and the men erect a fence of coconut leaves which encloses an oval cleared space; this is termed *waous* [this is different from the western *waus*]. All those who take part in the songs and dances practise them within the enclosure and are instructed by the *peim le* until they are perfect. He also designs the masks, *le op*, which are made under his direction by the *tonar le*, skilled men, who bring their materials into the *waous* and construct them there. Food is cooked and given to the *peim le* during the whole period of instruction; he is most diligent over the rehearsals, as his fame as a good dreamer of songs and dances depends upon the success of the performance.

No strangers (men, women, or children) are allowed in or near the enclosure, all is conducted with the greatest secrecy so that on the great day the beholders may be surprised and dazzled.

When all the performers are expert and the masks made, the food in the gardens is also ready for digging and cutting.

The originator chooses the tree on which he proposes to hang his *wetpur* and names it after the recipient; the others do the same and give the names of the recipients to their trees. After the trees have been selected the work of carrying the food from the gardens begins; all the women and children are busy for days carrying the food and depositing it at the foot of the trees, whilst the men are busy hanging it on to the branches, so as to

make as great a display as possible. Relatives who belong to other groups [but presumably not to the recipient group] may assist their friends by giving food to increase the display; this is termed *omare lam*, from sympathy, and is a work of love.

When all the trees are decorated and everything else is ready, the originator sends an invitation to the recipient to get *wetpur* and to bring his friends with him, as do all the other helpers. Meanwhile the men are busy putting finishing touches to the trees, and the women roast food for the guests.

About midday the guests begin to arrive; they do not come near the *wetpur ged*, but sit down at some distance apart, but in sight of it. After a time they send a deputation to the host to tell him that they have arrived and are waiting to be invited to see the ground; then they retire. After making sure that all is ready, the host sends a messenger to invite the guests to come in.

The old men with their drums are sitting on the *wetpur ged* with the women and children, and the dancers stand wearing their masks. The old men beat their drums and the singers—men, women and children—begin their song for the dancers. The visitors crowd forward to look at the dance; they have small branches in their hands from which they break off twigs and throw them at the dancers, calling out all the time “*Ai! Ai!*”, to show their appreciation and wonder at the skill of the dancers.

The dancing lasts for about two hours; when it is finished the dancers take off their masks and go forward to where the guests are sitting on the ground, and they lay the masks in front of them as an offering; some of the guests take one as a memento of the occasion, but it is understood that the majority of the masks are to be left.

Each of the donors of a tree takes the man for whom it is intended to his tree, saying that all the food is for him.

When the presents have been handed over, the guests sit down to eat the food prepared for them, which consists of roasted yams, portions of the kernels of old coconuts and green coconuts to drink. They finish before sundown, when all the guests depart for their respective homes. The chief guest alone remains with the giver of the *wetpur* to guard the food.

The guests return on the following day, and each one who had a loaded tree presented to him with the aid of his friends strips the food off the tree and takes it home; there it is distributed, everyone getting a portion, as each will be required to assist in supplying food for the return present.

In about a month's time, those who received the *wetpur* prepare one in return on their own *wetpur ged*. Each man who had a tree apportioned to him now prepares a tree to give to the man who gave him one. The same ceremony is gone through on their part in returning the present.

There may be grumbling about the quantity or quality of the return present, which sometimes leads to angry words and disturbances. The recipients may smash up the food to show their disdain at the paltry return, and jeers may be made at the givers, that they are poor men and have no food in their gardens (one of the worst forms of insult a man can receive is to be called “*nole lu, nole le*”, a man who has nothing).

This causes fresh efforts, and the first donor will give another feast called *nei lewer*, name food, as a challenge to which the others must respond. And so it may go on, each party racing the other week after week until their gardens are nearly exhausted and each retires maintaining that it has won the contest. These contests have even been continued

until they were making exchanges of their personal belongings, clothes, calico, camphor-wood boxes, tobacco, in fact anything that they considered valuable. Each party strives to its utmost not to be outdone, and the whole island is attracted and watches every exchange, but there is always some mercenary or astute individual among them who makes something out of these exchanges; he assists but little, yet he manages to get a good return for it.

When the exchanges are so prolonged, they always end in trouble, as the natural excitability of the people is roused up, and men and women join in the fray, yelling, gesticulating, and passing unsavoury comments on each other. At one time these exchanges had to be curtailed owing to these disturbances; the people themselves saw that they only led to trouble, so the authority of the mamoooses was appealed to.

### *Kaketut*

The *kaketut* is a heap of food piled up separately on the *wetpur ged* and is independent of the *wetpur* foods. It is a special present of the originator to his brother-in-law or whoever is his principal guest; no other guest receives one. The recipient with three or four of his friends come forward and surround the heap; each one bends down his head into the circle and lays his arms across on to the opposite man's shoulders, all the heads, shoulders, and arms forming a sort of platform on which the host, his wife, and one or two friends, pile the food; and, as soon as they consider the load to be sufficiently heavy, they clap their hands and friends of the bending men remove the food as quickly as they can so as to relieve them of the heavy load. As soon as it is removed another lot is piled on and again removed in the same manner, and so on until the heap of food is exhausted. This causes great amusement, and some hard bumps are inflicted on the bent heads and shoulders by throwing upon them big yams, bunches of bananas, and baskets of sweet potatoes. It is all done very rapidly, as if there was not a minute to lose, amidst yells of laughter. After the food has been passed over the heads, the guests collect it in a heap ready for removal to their own villages.

After the *kaketut* is finished, the wife of the giver of the *wetpur* takes her brother to the tree prepared by her husband and says that the food is a present from her husband to him, for which he returns thanks.

This new information from Bruce's MS. clears up what previously was obscure to me (IV, p. 311). *Wetpur* is now sufficiently explained. *Tama* (IV, p. 310; VI, p. 188) is a different custom. *Kaketut* is obviously different from either; according to the account just given it may form an incident in the *wetpur*, but there seems to be no doubt that normally it takes place as an independent custom which is confined to two families connected by marriage; the *kaketut* lacks the rivalry motive of the *wetpur* and serves to cement friendship between the two families, as a return *kaketut* is always given (VI, pp. 118, 119). The term *Aiswer* perhaps should be restricted to the custom of an individual man giving food to another; I am doubtful about the alternative word of *mam*.

An account has been given (VI, pp. 209, 210) of the *dògaira wetpur*, "*wetpur* of the *dògai*", which is confined to the people of the eastern half of the island. It was not a *wetpur* in the above sense of the term but formed part of the *dògai* cult (p. 166). Probably the word *wetpur* was a general term applied to a feast at which there was a dance of masked men.

*Tom (a messenger's credential)*

The following information was found among Bruce's MS.

"The Eastern islanders had a kind of message-stick, *tom*, which they used among themselves; it was a pointed arrow-head, but without a barb. A messenger going from one eastern island to another with a verbal message was given a *tom* by the sender to present as his credential. There was no distinguishing mark on the *tom* to show who was the sender, but it was accepted in good faith as genuine. No one would dream of attempting to foist a spurious message or *tom* upon anyone. The messenger on presenting it would say to the receiver, 'Your friend —sends his *tom* to you'. It was not returned to the sender, nor was a *tom* sent with a return message.

"Messages accompanied by a *tom* were principally an intimation of the sender's intention to pay a friendly visit, and about what time he might be expected, or an invitation to the recipient to visit the sender.

"The *tom* was also used in sending a challenge to fight and a warning as to the time when the attack would be made in retaliation for some injury. In the case of the Miriam, this would be near the end of the south-east trades, so that they could return when the north-west monsoon set in and thus ensure a fair wind in both directions. No undue advantage was taken by making an attack before previous warning. The last occasion of a challenge to fight was about 1876, when a messenger with a *tom* was sent to Ugar, warning those islanders that they were going to be attacked for having forced a Miriam girl to marry one of their own men. She was visiting Ugar with her father and he sent a message to Mer telling them what had occurred. His friends arranged to raid Ugar and punish the offenders. This they did, according to their own account, by wounding one man with an arrow, after which peace was arranged and a feast prepared for the raiders.

"[I have a note that when a man or his friends desired aid from a neighbouring island for some reason as, for example, in raiding another island, or for 'paying back' an un-neighbourly act, a messenger was sent who carried a small bow and arrow as a *tom*.]

"The people of the estuary of the Fly used a *tom* in a similar manner; it accompanied a verbal message stating when — intended coming on a visit, or when they probably would set out with new canoes for delivery to the islands in exchange for *uaori* [wauri] shells.

"No messages or *tom* were exchanged between the Western and the Eastern Islanders; the former were regarded by the latter as spirits who lived in a *lamar ged*, spirit land. The island of Boigu was especially reserved for the spirits of the Eastern islanders. It is only in recent times that they had any communication with each other. I (Bruce) was informed that the Western Islanders also had a form of *tom*, but I am not sure of this.

"When a *uaori* shell is sent on to New Guinea, it is called *tom*, because a verbal message goes with it. The arrow *tom* is not sent in connection with any kind of trade-object, because in trading the barter was regarded as an exchange of presents."

*Trade (VI, p. 185)*

The Eastern islanders traded with the people of the estuary of the Fly by sending arm shells [and other shell objects] in payment for canoes, sago, bows and arrows, drums, stone-headed clubs, etc., in fact nearly all their movable requirements for work, fight, or play came from the Fly river (p. 85). Occasionally the Fly river men would bring the canoes for delivery and spend some months among their island friends.

The trade route from Mer was by Ērub, Ugar, Damut and Tutu, Daru, thence to Mawata, Turituri, Parama and Kiwai. After leaving Ugar there was a change of language, but they were able to communicate by means of an island and Kiwai jargon trading-language, which was mutually understood. On all these islands and at the villages on the mainland that they visited every Eastern man had a friend, *tebud le*, who regarded him as a brother. These friendships once formed were never broken; they were hereditary, having come down from past ages from father to son. A man may never have seen his *tebud le*, but his name and family history were as well known to him as his own, and he passed on the pedigree to each of his own sons. On visiting the islands the *tebud le* would be welcomed and entertained.

The *waraz* [Oliva] shells for making necklaces, etc. were brought from Nāgir, Waraber and Aurid. Turtle shell for masks and the white feathers of the *daumer* [Torres Straits pigeon] and the *sir* [reef-heron] were also obtained from the Central islanders or *Korkiram le* (Bruce MS.).

Mr MacFarlane informs me that formerly much barter took place between the islands and New Guinea, but this is now largely restricted owing to Government regulations [the islands are directly under the Queensland Government and New Guinea under the Government of Papua]. One of the chief means of exchange was the arm shell, which was traded for canoes, weapons, sago, etc. and is much prized in New Guinea. In obtaining these shells preparations were first made ashore by the *zogo* man and his friends. Then a canoe was decorated and pushed out with a man standing in the bows, who looked down intently through the clear water for indications of the cone shells. It was necessary for him to remain perfectly quiet and still, and he could not move even to assuage his hunger or thirst. Upon sighting a shell, he drove his spear down alongside it, then he dived and collected the prize.

Vol. VI and the last part of this Report must be consulted for other aspects of the life of the Miriam, their rites and their great cults.

This very small island supports a relatively large population, and it also affords the spectacle of a people (who had an undeserved reputation as treacherous savages) enjoying an active economic life filled with a great variety of small individual and large collective rites. The various groupings gave social and local solidarity. The spirit pantomimes emphasised the continuation of life after death. The spirits of their forbears and other spirits with whom no relationship could be claimed cooperated with the living in promoting present well-being. Finally, all the islanders were embraced within a powerful, awe-inspiring cult which gave them a new feeling of nationality and induced an increased zest to life.

What other peasant population occupying an area of one square mile and a half can exhibit such rich variety.

## ERUB: DARNLEY ISLAND

The geographical and geological structure of Ērub is noted on pp. 32-35, and the visits by early voyagers are alluded to on pp. 5-7, 11-13; the accounts which follow give further details concerning some of these visits and the ethnographical information recorded by the voyagers and travellers.

I am indebted to the Rev. W. H. MacFarlane for the sketch-map on p. 33.

Visits by Europeans, p. 184; Folk-tales, pp. 191-193; Ethnography, p. 193; Language, p. 193; Practices to affect human beings, p. 193; a *zogo* man can cure sickness or cause sickness or death, p. 193; blood-letting, p. 194; Snake *zogo*, p. 194; Social customs: a modern wedding, p. 194; former funeral ceremony, p. 195; corpse-eating, p. 195; Massacre of shipwrecked persons, p. 196; Gardening rites: *Maiuu-c zogo* for bananas, control of garden produce by *zogo le*, *Birobiro zogo* for yams, p. 196; Rain-making, p. 196; *Wangai zogo*, *zogo* women, p. 197; Fishing: customs and rites connected with the *sai*, p. 197; *Nam* (turtle) *zogo*, p. 198; *Daido-siriam*, p. 198; a wooden image, p. 199; the Malu "lodge", p. 200; the moon *Huel*, the evening star, p. 200.

## VISITS BY EUROPEANS

Bligh sighted "Island A", Ērub, on Sept. 4, 1792, and subsequently named it Darnley Island. On Sept. 5, when Lieut. G. Tobin was surveying near Canoe Key, four large canoes came close to, one 50 ft. long containing fifteen men, quite black and stark naked, who at first apparently made peaceable signs and held out a green coconut, which was not accepted; the natives got out their bows and arrows and were ready to let fly, when Mr Tobin fired on them and they set their sails and made for Ērub. "No boat could have been manœuvred better in working to windward than were these long canoes by the naked savages" (Lee, p. 177). The following day Lieut. N. Portlock made friends with the natives and persuaded several to come on board the ship. "They did not seem remarkably struck with what they saw there. Their whole attention was taken up with Turceke, iron, which they incessantly asked for. Beads, trinkets and looking-glasses they set little value on." They traded fairly and the article bargained for was sure to be handed into the ship (p. 256). Flinders describes the incident of Sept. 5 and the natives seen on Sept. 6 in very similar terms; he says: "On approaching the Indians clapped upon their heads, and exclaimed *Whou! Whou! Whou!* repeatedly, with much vehemence. . . and asked for *toore-tooree!* by which they mean iron". [This indicates that ships must have passed through the Straits and traded with the natives between 1770 and 1792.]

Portlock (in Lee, pp. 253-7) gives a general description of the people and their belongings, but only a few details need be mentioned. In referring to the large hole in the cartilage of the nose, he refers to "a ring made of bone or ivory as large as they find convenient to prop up the point of the nose, which gives them the appearance of having what we call bottle noses. Captain Bligh procured one of their nose-rings and wore it on his third finger as a ring". [Nose rings appear to have been discarded long ago; no specimen is known to me. In the *Nautical Magazine*, VI, 1837, p. 753, it is recorded that in Mer "the *septum narium* is perforated, in which at times they wear a circular hook of tortoise shell".] He refers to arm bands, the war *dari* (IV, p. 39), shell necklaces and necklaces of "plaited grass and a kind of oval-formed red mat. hanging to the ends of this plaited grass"; there is no other record of a pendant of this kind. "Besides the ornaments already noticed, they also some of them wear a boar's tusk stuck in the hole of the ear. They go naked, except

for these ornaments and a shell to cover the lower part of the body. . . burnt scars, some of them on one shoulder and some of them on the other. But I think the left is most prevalent". The bows and arrows and the canoes are described.

From the nature of their visit to Ērub, in 1793 (see p. 6), Bampton and Alt were not in a position to say much about the people. They state that most had their ears perforated, the hair was generally cut short, but some few had it flowing loose; it is naturally black, but from being rubbed with something it had a reddish or burnt appearance. The villages of ten or twelve huts, within a bamboo fence at least 12 ft. high, were situated at the head of small coves. The hut much resembles a haycock with a pole driven through it, and it may contain a family of six or eight people; the central pole was painted with red ochre.

In each of the huts, and usually on the right-hand side going in, were suspended two or three human skulls; and several strings of hands, five or six on a string. These were hung round a wooden image, rudely carved into the representation of a man, or of some bird; and painted and decorated in a curious manner: the feathers of the Emu or Cassuary generally formed one of the ornaments. In one hut, containing much the greater number of skulls, a kind of gun was found burning before one of these images. This hut was adjoining to another, of a different form, and much more capacious than any of the others. The length was thirty feet, by fifteen feet in breadth; and the floor was raised six feet from the ground. The hut was very neatly built of bamboo, supported by long stakes, and thatched with cocoa leaves and dried grass. . . . It was the sole hut in which there were no skulls or hands; but the adjoining one had more than a double proportion (Flinders, *Voyage*, I, p. xxxvi).

This is the only case known to me where the Kiwai type of house had been copied in the old days by an Eastern islander; it is quite possible that it was actually built by visitors from New Guinea. For modern pile dwellings in Mer see vol. IV, p. 109.

A funeral platform was seen which consisted of six sticks driven into the ground about 3 ft. apart and 6 ft. in height. A platform of twigs was worked upon them at the height of 5 ft., and upon this the body was laid without any covering (p. xxxvii). The accounts of the canoes, weapons, etc. are copied in vol. IV.

Mr Lewis paid a short visit to Ērub in July 1836; he says:

The difference between these islanders and those of Murray is very striking; for, although speaking the same language, and otherwise the same, they are much inferior to the latter in figure and general appearance; their countenance also bespeaks them to be much more ferocious and treacherous. Their principal residence is at the south-west end of the island. The inhabitants are also more numerous than at Murray Island, particularly at this season, when they receive visitors from the neighbouring islands. Mr Lewis supposes the number of persons on Darnley Island to be about two hundred and sixty (footnote, Ireland, however, thinks there may be about four hundred; and that they are not so numerous as those of Murray). . . . The natives, certainly, were apparently very peaceably disposed; and a few of the women ventured to approach and shake them by the hand. . . . The Indians assured him [Mr Lewis] that they had no white people on the island. . . . As yet, no weapons had been seen among these Indians; not even a bow and arrow were offered to barter. . . . Although they have no deity to worship, they possessed a figure roughly carved on hard wood, to represent a man, to which they attributed the power of causing as well as healing sores. Mr Lewis. . . succeeded in obtaining it. The number of leprous cases here, as well as at Murray Island, was remarkable; for there were few who had not boils or sores upon them, which may be attributed to the nature of their food and the intense heat of the sun. They have no form of worship, nor any idea of a good or evil spirit, excepting the wooden *doctor* mentioned above, and the *lam-moor*, described in the account of the Murray Islanders. . . . During the fish season, the Indians live principally on fish. For the purpose of taking them,

extensive stone weirs are made on the south-east side of the island. They were seen making one of very large dimensions. This is also practised by the Murray Islanders. Before we sailed, two letters, containing an account of what we had done, were written and delivered to two of the Indians, named *Mammoose* and *Ag-ghe*, who had formerly been very kind to Ireland [they also received many presents]. Mammoose's property was close to the watering-place [Traacherous Bay]. . . They remembered very well the visit of Bampton and Alt and the loss of the boat; but they did not seem desirous of offering much explanation on that subject. They acknowledged that several of the Indians had been killed on that occasion, and their canoes, huts, and cultivated fields had all been destroyed; and that one of them had been taken by the white people who had cut his head off. . . In the evening [of July 17] they were treated with an *Aroob* dance. The Indians dressed themselves out with leaves tastefully arranged on different parts of the body. The musicians, who were at least fifty in number, had squatted themselves at a little distance, singing and beating time by striking a piece of bamboo with a stick, and others by striking their hinder parts with their hands (*N.M.* 1837, pp. 758-60).

The next day, Mr Lewis had another conversation respecting the massacre. . . They gave him to understand that the heads of the "white people", who had been murdered at *Boylan*, were in a state of preservation at the huts at *Aurced*; and that the Indians every night and morning danced round them, and expressed their delight by yelling and hooting, and displaying the most horrid gestures. . . that the Murray Islanders had seen the heads of Sexton and George D'Oyly at one of the islands, and that the hair of one of them [D'Oyly] had been so much admired that the Indians had cut it off and made it into an ornament. They told him that the name of the Indian who murdered Mrs D'Oyly was *Cut-Cut*, a very large powerful man; Little George D'Oyly's murderer was named *Māām*, and Sexton's *Ab-ōō-yōu* [of Damut] (footnote, Ireland informed me, that the name of the Indian who endeavoured to murder him was called *Bis-kea*, and that *Maroose*, who spared Sexton's life, *Ooni-ooni*, and *Mal-goor*, were also of the party). . . and that the murderers had eaten the eyes and cheeks of their victims, to excite them to the deed; but this was generally done, whenever any fell in battle or are murdered. The children are also made to partake of this disgusting food, in order to make them "brave" (*N.M.* 1837, p. 799).

On the 20th Mr Lewis took leave of the Darnley islanders in an affectionate manner; "the crew had daily communication with the Indians, without any rupture or even the least misunderstanding".

A boat from the *L' Astrolabe*, commanded by Dumont d'Urville, landed on Ērub on May 31, 1840; the natives received the visitors with friendship, waving palm leaves. M. Coupvent writes: "The little bay where we landed is surrounded by a plantation of coconut trees protected by a fence; at the end of the bay was a dried-up bed of a torrent; and low cliffs of calcareous rock bordered the shore on each side. At the western point a rock stood out, to the two sides of which arrived the natives coming from opposite sides of the island" (p. 218), but he goes on to say that neither group went beyond the rock. It is evident from the "calcareous rocks", really volcanic ash, that the landing was made at Bikar Bay, and also that the friction between the natives of the east and west of the island was then manifest, as it was five years later. The observations on the people and their ornaments are not of much interest; he speaks of one man wearing on his head a well-plaited band of "straw" decorated with nacre. The natives constantly asked for iron and axes, employing several English words, and at parting they repeatedly said "tomorrow". The illustration (*Atlas*, pl. 186) of a native of Ērub has no real value.

Jukes visited Ērub in March 1845, and gives the following account of the people:

A crowd of 50 or 60 people awaited us, waving green boughs, shouting "poud, poud" [*poud*, peace], and inviting us ashore. As soon as we stepped on to the rocks, we were surrounded by the



natives, all shouting, shaking hands, offering "boonāri" (cocoa-nuts),<sup>1</sup> "kaisu" (tortoise-shell), and asking for "sapāra" (axes) (Jukes, I, p. 170).

The men were fine, active, well-made fellows, rather above the middle height, of a dark brown or chocolate colour. They had frequently almost handsome faces, aquiline noses rather broad about the nostril, well-shaped heads, and many had a singularly Jewish-cast of features. The hair was frizzled, and dressed into long, pipe-like ringlets, smeared sometimes with red ochre, sometimes left of its natural black colour: others had wigs, not to be distinguished from the natural hair, till closely examined. The septum narium was bored, but there was seldom anything worn in it. Most of their ears were pierced all round with small holes, in which pieces of grass were stuck, and in many the lobe was torn and hanging down to the shoulder. Their only scars were the faint oval marks on the shoulder. The hair on their bodies and limbs grew in small tufts, giving the skin a slightly woolly appearance. They were entirely naked, but frequently wore ornaments made of mother-of-pearl shells, either circular [*dibidibi*; made of the spiral base of a *Conus*] or crescent-shaped [*mai*, made of pearl-shell] hanging round their necks. Occasionally, also, we saw a part of a large shell. . . . cut into a projecting shield shape, worn in front of the groin. The women wore a petticoat round the waist, reaching nearly to the knees, formed of strips of leaves sown on to a girdle. These formed a very efficient covering, as one or two were worn over each other. The grown-up woman's petticoat, or "nessoor" was formed of the inside part of the large leaves of a bulbous-rooted plant, "teggær", of which each strip was an inch broad. The girl's "nessoor" was made of much narrower strips from the inside of the leaf of the plantain "cabbow". (One of each of these kinds of petticoat have been deposited in the British Museum.) The younger women were often gracefully formed, with pleasing expressions of countenance, though not what we should consider handsome features. The girls had their hair rather long, but the women had almost all their hair cut short, with a bushy ridge over the top, to which they, singularly enough, give the same name as to pieces of tortoise-shell, namely, "kaisu". Many of the elder women had their heads shaved quite smoothly, and we never saw a woman wearing a wig, or with the long ringlets of the men; ["the women of Erroob are not at all marked either by scars or tattooing"; but he saw several women in Erub decorated with keloids and scars who had come from "Poorem" and "Dowdee" (p. 191)]. . . . There were four huts at this spot [Keriam], all bee-hive shaped, sixteen feet in diameter, and as much in height. They stood in small court-yards, partially surrounded by fences formed of poles of bamboo, stuck upright in the ground, close together, and connected by horizontal rails, to which they were tied by withes. Inside the huts were small platforms covered with mats, apparently bed places; and overhead were hung up bows and arrows, clubs, calabashes [coconuts, *nisor*], rolls of matting, and bundles apparently containing bones, which they did not like our examining. Outside the huts were one or two small open sheds, consisting merely of a raised flat roof, to sit under in the shade, and a grove of very fine cocoa-nut trees surrounded the houses. Near the path leading to the plantain-ground was an old stump of a tree, three feet high, that had been rudely fashioned at the top into the figure of a human face. I thought at first it might be an idol, but they seemed to pay it no reverence, laughing when I pointed to it, pulling its nose (Jukes, I, p. 170-3). No instance of a breach of chastity by any of the women of these people came to our knowledge during the whole of our intercourse with them (p. 177).

"A fine straight-limbed and graceful young fellow, called Doodégab, had attached himself to me, and I proposed an exchange of names to him, a custom of which we had yet seen no traces, but which he instantly seemed to comprehend, and for some time called me Doodégab, while he assumed my name, which he pronounced as if spelt Dookees" (p. 177). Subsequently Doodégab's

<sup>1</sup> Jukes says: "Boonari! boonari! was the cry with which they always saluted us on our first visit to an island which produced them" (II, p. 289). The Érub word for coconut is *u*, Ray (III, p. 168) says *boonari* "is the native pronunciation of 'bow and arrow'. When ships first visited the islands these were common articles of trade. The natives may have known that '*boonari*' meant the weapons, or they may have thought it was the English for coconut".

sisters Derree and Atai were pointed out to Jukes, "and they told me, since I had changed names with Doodëgab, they were now my sisters" (p. 210).

Jukes describes and figures (p. 178) a turtle-shell mask representing a man's face which he gave to the British Museum, and their bows and arrows, "some [of the former] being more than seven feet long, and in the centre more than three inches wide, and an inch thick". He saw them busy making new bows, but "did not see any new arrows, nor did we find on the island the reeds of which they are made" (p. 179) [as a matter of fact arrows are imported from New Guinea; *iv*, p. 173]. "They have a few dogs among them, not greatly differing from those of Australia, but apparently more thoroughly domesticated. Several of them were white" (p. 180). He saw natives "sneaking pieces of a dark brown, rather coarse, sugar-cane, and we saw some of their tobacco, of a light brown colour, twisted into a plait. I nowhere saw either of these plants growing" (p. 187). [For the method of smoking; *iv*, p. 141.] "They seemed very fond of pets, and had one or two tamed pigeons and boobies among them" (p. 189). He heard of a cuscus (*barit*) kept in a cage, sometime afterwards he saw it but was unable to buy it (p. 294).

On p. 193 Jukes figures a remarkable turtle-shell image of a man, 3 ft. in height, which is stated to be "now in the Museum of the United Service Institution", but it has since disappeared. This was discussed by L. Hargrave (*J. and P. R.S., N.S.W.* XLIII, 1909, p. 50), who believed that it was connected with Lope de Vega and contained a manuscript of the Spanish voyager, who he alleges was wrecked in 1595 in the neighbourhood of the Murray Islands. I made some criticisms of this paper (*l.c.* XLIV, 1910, p. 79) to which Mr Hargrave replied, p. 82. In a subsequent paper published in 1911, "For Private Circulation Only", entitled "Lope de Vega", he wrote: "Lope de Vega got a few pounds weight of gold on the Shoalhaven River [N.S.W.]. The gold of course was saved from the wreck of the 'Santa Isabel'... The gold passed with Kos and Abob to Murray Island and thence to Darnley Island. The gold was in the bamboo that was afterwards made the body of the tortoise shell figure. The figure went to the United Service Institution. 'Someone' examined the figure, *closely*, and found the gold inside with perhaps some picture writing, the figure being hopelessly damaged. The 'Someone' knew the figure came from Darnley Island and therefore went there to dig for more" (p. 12).

There is not a shred of evidence for any of these statements.

On the return of the *Fly* to Ērub on May 24, Jukes says: "We observed a number of green boughs stuck upon the point to the west of us [the anchorage off Bikar], and several poles newly erected at Beeka, the plantation there being all freshly fenced in with stout bamboo palings". Much new fencing had been raised round Keriam and also poles of bamboo slung from the trees between the huts, and strings passing from one to the other, dividing all the interior into small square spaces. On pointing to these they all cried, "galla! galla!" [*gčlar* or taboo]. Just before noon, on May 25, Capt. Blackwood and Mr Evans landed at Beeka to take a meridian altitude, and some armed men ran down from the heights and seemed inclined to be insolent; as the boat was returning, and about 150 yards from the shore, five arrows were discharged at it, but did no damage. Two muskets were fired at them but they escaped injury. Just beyond Badoga (about half a mile west of Mōgor) a fence of boughs was set up across the beach, which seemed to be the borders of the hostile territories (pp. 244-52). [See Map, p. 33.]

On May 26 there was a fight between Mammoos' party from Keriam and Seewai's party from Mōgor.

They approached each other at full speed to within about thirty or forty yards, when they both halted, sheltering themselves behind rocks and large stones; and there was a pretty brisk interchange of arrows. The sharp twanging or smacking of the bows, the rattling of bundles of arrows, and the hurtling of arrows through the air, and their glancing from the rocks, was heard above the shouts and cries of the combatants. The fierce gestures, quick and active movements, and the animated attitudes of the black and naked warriors, ornamented as many of them were with glittering pearl shells, or red flowers and yellow leaves hanging from their hair, and the crouching women, known by their petticoats, on the rear or skirts of the battle, with fresh stores of ammunition, formed for a short time an interesting and exciting spectacle. After a minute or two's skirmishing, they all rushed together, hand to hand, and formed a confused mob. The shouting and noise was then redoubled, and there was a short clatter of long poles, sticks or canoe paddles, which we could see waving above their heads; and we thought some of them were using their arrows as spears or daggers. Still no execution seemed to be done, as we saw none of them down; and in a very brief time the poles and paddles were all held erect, the women closed up, and the war of deeds seemed to end in one of words. At last we heard shouts of "poud, poud" beginning to predominate, and they began to separate, and some of them to sit down on the rocks. . . . About an hour after I got on board, a large canoe came from Keriam, containing both Mammoos and Seewai, and many of their followers. As they came up, they shouted "poud! poud! poud Mammoos poud Seewai!" and both parties seemed very glad it was over (I, pp. 255-6).

Jukes was evidently correct in thinking "that Beeka was now tabooed, and that our landing there was an offence against their customs, for which the arrows were shot yesterday" (p. 258). This shows how easily a warning off from a tabooed place may be mistaken for an act of hostility and through misapprehension unwittingly lead to hostilities, from which the officers of the *Fly* were saved by their uniformly sympathetic treatment of the natives. "On relating at Kaiderry [at the east point of the island, which was also *gelar*] this afternoon the skirmish I had seen in the morning, one of the men said very quietly, 'baes, baes!'" (p. 259) [*bes* means "false", probably in this connection it signified a "sham" fight]. On June 4, Jukes again visited Keriam. "The houses here were now all closed, and the largest, in addition to boards across the doorway, had a trellis work of bamboo over it, and outside there stood a tall board, cut into the profile of a man, like a sentry, standing before the door. They called this figure maddoop. . . . They said Keriam was now 'galla'; and to my farther questions about this 'galla', Sapgob answered, 'coskeer backiam, keimear menna', 'wives go, men remain'; as if the place were now tabooed and not to be approached by the women" (p. 294). [We would write this: *kosker*, woman, *bakeam*, go, *kimiar*, man, *mena*!, the imperative wait! stop! Evidently some secret ceremony was in progress.]

On Dec. 11, 1849, Macgillivray again visited Ērub. He says (II, p. 44): "My old friend Siwai, with whom I had gone through the ceremony of exchanging names nearly five years ago, showed much joy at seeing me again, and made many inquiries regarding Jukes and others then in the *Fly*. But these five years have sadly altered him—he now presents the appearance of a feeble emaciated man, prematurely old, with a short cough and low voice—his back is bowed down, and even with the aid of a stick he can scarcely totter along. He is now the man in most authority in the island, his rival Mamús having been killed in New Guinea in company with several other Darnley Islanders. . . . they had been on a visit to a friendly tribe, one of whose quarrels they espoused, and only a few re-

<sup>1</sup> This is evidently the figure of a man in front of a hut drawn by Melville (reproduced in IV, pl. III, fig. 3), but with an artist's licence he has drawn women as being present, though actually the village was then *gelar* to them.

turned. . . . As Siwai told us there was none [water] at Bikar, but plenty at Mogor—his own village—we pulled along to the latter place. . . . But the quantity of water [in a pool of water in the dried-up bed of a small rivulet] was not enough for our purpose” (p. 45). As Jukes had so fully described the huts and people, Macgillivray states that “it is unnecessary for me to enter upon the subject. The natives always objected to shew to us the inside of their huts, many of which we knew were used as dead houses—but Mr Huxley to-day [Dec. 13] was fortunate enough to induce one of them to enter his house, and make a sketch of the interior, but not until he had given him an axe as an admission fee”. [The sketch is described by me in vol. IV, p. 103.] . . . Several human skulls were brought down for sale, also a little shrivelled mummy of a child. Some of the former had the skin quite perfect, the nose artificially restored in clay mixed with a resinous substance [beeswax], and the orbits occupied by a diamond-shaped piece of mother-of-pearl, with a black central mark. Towards the end of the bartering the natives had become very noisy and even insolent, and everything seemed to indicate that some at least of them were dissatisfied, and inclined to resent some injury or cause of offence, for which purpose apparently they had their bows and arrows ready, and their gauntlets upon the left forearm. Some of them desired me to get into the boat and be off, intended as I understood for a friendly caution” (p. 48). No further trouble ensued. That evening Dzúm brought a *barit* to the ship, “a very fine specimen of *Cuscus maculatus*, quite tame, and kept in a large eage of split bamboo”. They left on Dec. 14. In a footnote to p. 49 he says: “Not less than nine different kinds of yams and yam-like tubers—including the sweet potato—are cultivated in Torres Strait, and are specially distinguished by name”.

Jardine (1866, p. 84) says that “the natives of the islands more to the northward and eastward [of Moa and Badu] are said to be of milder dispositions, especially the Darnley Islanders, of whom Capt. Edwards of Sydney, who had a *Bêche-de-mer* fishing establishment there during last year, speaks in high terms as being of friendly dispositions and displaying very considerable intelligence, living in comfortable huts and cultivating yams, bananas, coconuts, etc. in considerable quantities”.

The Rev. A. W. Murray visited Ērub in 1871; he states that Mr Thorngren had resided some years there and that parties engaged in pearl-shell and *bêche-de-mer* fishing had been in the habit of resorting there, and some of these parties had an establishment on the island and from them the natives had picked up a little broken English. He was told that only a few years before there was a population of 400 or 500 but had dwindled down to 120 or 130, which he attributed to infanticide and intercourse with foreigners of abandoned character—including natives of Eastern and Western Polynesia. The rule was not to rear more than three children (1876, pp. 447, 449–52, 469).

It is rather strange to find that the Rev. S. McFarlane, who went there at the same time as Murray, says nothing about white men having lived on Ērub; all he says is: “They have probably had intercourse with some foreign vessel, or have heard of natives who have”. He evidently was suspicious of foul play, but on the fourth day he “succeeded in obtaining, by barter, a grass hut” for the accommodation of Gucheng, a native teacher of Lifu, who with his wife and others was left to evangelise the natives (1888, pp. 33, 36). Murray says that at the end of 1872, Mataika left Ērub for Mer, and that the first school in Torres Straits was started in Ērub on Aug. 24, 1873.

Capt. Moresby visited Ērub on Feb. 8, 1873, which was then the headquarters of the *bêche-de-mer* fisheries. “The natives here are tall, well-built men, able to drive a bargain

with Europeans, and good cultivators of the soil. This is the only island in Torres Straits on which sago palms grow. They are to be found here in a well-watered glen" [see p. 34]. He refers to the desiccation of the dead, but gives no details; he saw "two shrivelled corpses" in a house standing in a thick grove of palm and fruit trees, but with rank vegetation round the door. "This is the only island where I have seen this custom practised in all these seas" (1876, p. 137).

Chalmers and Gill (1885, p. 26) say: "It was here the natives cut off a boat's crew about thirty years ago [i.e. from Oct. 2, 1877]. . . . They never again attempted anything of the kind. As a native of the island expressed himself on the subject: 'White fellow, he too much make fright, man he all run away, no want to see white fellow gun no more'". [I have already quoted McFarlane's account of an episode of this nature, p. 6.] Their few remarks on Ērub and Mer do not give any facts worth transcribing, and the same may be said of Murray and McFarlane.

#### FOLK-TALES

##### *The origin of Eib's water-hole* (Rev. W. H. MacFarlane)

Once there was an old man named Eib who lived on the eastern side of Ērub. One day all the Mauram people went out looking for turtle, and before they left, the *zogo* man prepared a big helmet-shell (*Cassis cornuta*), filling it with water and adorning it with leaves, etc., and hung it on a particular tree to ensure good luck in turtle fishing. Presently Eib, rising up from sleep, spied the shell through the trees, glistening and shining as the sun's rays struck it. "Ah! that one all same lightning! What name that one?" he exclaimed, and set out to make closer investigation. Coming close to the shell, he examined it and decided to annex it. Carefully taking it down, he made off towards his home, but presently spilt some of the water; at this spot there is now a supply of fresh water. Farther along, where there is now another spring, he did the same, but finally arrived home safely and, sitting down, began to drink until "he close up burst". Then he lay down and slept. Meanwhile the Mauram had not had any luck with the turtle, and with a foreboding of evil turned the canoe homewards. Approaching the shore they missed their charm. Hastily jumping out, they examined the spot and picked up Eib's footprints; with wild rage in their hearts they took spears and other weapons and on arriving at Eib's house saw the desecrated shell-charm. Filled with fury, they poised their spears, pointed with sting-ray spines, and drove them into the stomach of the sleeping man, whence immediately a great volume of water gushed out, which formed the fine fresh-water spring which is there now, and in the proximity of which breadfruit and mango trees grow luxuriantly.

##### *The origin of the earth-oven*

Versions of the story relating how fire was first obtained are given in vol. v, p. 17 and vol. vi, pp. 29, 30. The Ērub story as collected by the Rev. MacFarlane is as follows: A man out hunting with his dog sat down on the hillside, as it was a cold day the dog scratched a hole into which to thrust his body. Putting his foot beside the dog's body, the man was surprised to find something hot, and examining the hole he found some glowing stones. Cutting off a piece of pig's flesh which he had by him, he found that the stones dried it better than the sun. The dog ate it without ill effects, so also did some ants, and likewise his wife, upon all of whom he tried it. He then took the fire stones home and, after showing them to his wife, concealed them in the sand. The neighbours saw that the wife did not now make so much use of the sun for "cooking" her fish and meat, and the woman also mysteriously hinted at "some good thing" she possessed. So they watched her and by-and-by discovered the secret. From that time the islanders had fire. Such is the story which, however, seems to relate the origin of the earth-oven rather than of fire itself.

*The giant dog*

Mr Guilletmot informed Dr Hamlyn-Harris (1913, pp. 4, 5) that there is in Ērub a belief in the existence of a so-called "dog" as large as a cow, which appears either on or before the death of important men only. It is said to live on Ugar, it lands on the north-west side of Ērub, leaving its tracks on the shore, then it proceeds along the public road calling at the front door of the houses and finally returns to Ugar. It has been seen by natives and South Sea men, and was repeatedly seen during the epidemics of dysentery in 1912. Dr Tosh, on the authority of Speah, reports that Baexis is a beast like a dog, as big as a cow, spotted black and white, white on one side of the face and black on the other. It is thought to be a devil or spirit that comes for the souls of the departed. The men who owned this dog were two brothers, Imai and Dowai, sons of Kanôrr, who used to live at the village of Apro (Gibbo or Zighis) on Stephen Island. Baexis is invisible when not on duty and no one knows where he lives. Speah has seen him twice in Ērub. (*Mem. Queensland Mus.* II, 1913, pp. 4, 5.)

*The origin of Bramble Cay* (told to the Rev. W. H. MacFarlane by Idagi)

In the "old time", the Darnley people wanted to make a sand-bank some little distance out, where they might get turtle in season. So the Kobri-patri began to excavate from the place where now are the hills of Au-paser, Au-tuma and Bikar. The earth was loaded upon a big bamboo raft. The Kobri-patri remained on the hill Barriaidu to direct operations. With the raft went Paiwer (the leader), his son Korsor and his friends Madser and Madaur; also Rebes (a "big man" of olden time) and his people, Barrenkoot, Kamarkoot and Auwairkoot. They pushed out swimming alongside the raft and got as far as where Merat, the first sand-bank between Erub and Bramble Cay, now is, and Paiwer called out, "What you think, we leave him here?" From the top of the hill Kobri-patri replied, "No, take him more far, you go". They pushed off again, but as they did so some of the earth fell off, thus forming the sand-bank of Merat. Going on further to the north-east, they came to where is now Daoor reef, and waited. "What you think, we leave him here? This place he good?" "No, take him more far", cried the Kobri-patri. Here some more earth dislodged, and formed Daoor reef. The same thing happened at Tauat and Keb reefs; then they reached the site of Bramble Cay, Brammokee as the natives call it. "All right, you leave him there", ordered the Kobri-patri. After the cargo had been deposited, Paiwer said to Rebes, "You and your people go first, we come behind". So Rebes started off to return to Erub; but, on wading out, he put his foot into deep water, and wind veered round and began to blow in their teeth. He and his companions went on a little further, but the elements were too strong and they became fixed and turned into stones. The stones, some distance from the sand-bank, looking like crouching figures in a row, are Rebes and his three friends. Paiwer remained on the sand-bank; he too could not return, and so he and his people became transformed into the stones which may be seen there to-day. [Rebes is probably the same man as Rebesa, p. 162.]

Bramble Cay, a sand-bank about 40 miles north-east of Erub, is a "good place for turtle", which come up in great numbers during the season and Darnley and other islanders go there, in the north-west season, for turtle and turtle eggs, as well as for eggs of sea-birds. Formerly, Darnley men made much turtle "grease" at Bramble Cay, which was used in the island ceremonies and taken to Mer for use there. Turtle oil is used for anointing rain-making stones, and other stones of magical import.

There were originally ten or twelve figures of Kobri-patri at Erub; some are now in the Brisbane Museum, two in the Diocesan Museum at Thursday Island, and four remain in a grove in Barriaidu hill, these are about 2 ft. in height (Pl. VI, fig. 1).

Dr R. Hamlyn-Harris (1913, pp. 2, 3, pl. ii) gives an account by Mr Guilletmot of a Darnley Island god—Patraçter—in the Brisbane Museum, which is said to have been made in Erub by Soïdo (or Sida). The image was deposited in a certain place for consultation with regard to the removal of evil spirits through the instrumentality of the heads of the clans or tribes. This "god"

demanded the removal of the evil spirits, each of whom was represented by a stone figure. They were removed to neighbouring sand-banks, and eventually to Bramble Cay, "when the god professed himself satisfied". This account and another version are obviously very carelessly reported; the latter is not worth repeating.

On p. 162 an account is given of a massacre by the Kòmet *le* of Mer of the Mogor people, whose heads were piled on the rocks at the point between Mogor and Dadamud which thenceforth was called Kerem pair (Head skin).

#### ETHNOGRAPHY

The material culture and the social and religious institutions of the natives of Ērub were doubtless very similar to those obtaining on Mer, but about these we know very little. I have here collected what has been recorded, together with some fresh information. The island does not afford so good a field for research as Mer owing to the diminution in numbers of the native population and the large proportion of South Sea men living there, and also to the upsetting and deleterious influence in the past of the white and coloured men engaged in the *bêche-de-mer* fishery.

Gill (1876, p. 214) refers to "the depopulation which has been going on for many years past, reducing the number on this fine island to one hundred and seventy-nine". In Sept. 1888 there were 30 male, 23 female and 23 children, natives (76); and 33 male, 19 female, and 21 children, South Sea natives (73). It is obvious that even at that time the old conditions must have very largely passed away.

The following account is necessarily a collection of items and not a systematic study of the people, but it is to be hoped that the Rev. W. H. MacFarlane may be able to remedy this deficiency.

#### *Language*

Mr MacFarlane informs me that while the language used by the people of Ērub and Mer is now substantially the same, there were differences in earlier days. As an example, in narrating the legend of Bramble Cay (p. 192) the words in the Ērub language are:

*Kei egandanā gei tindinanī.*  
This way take there put it.

These were given in the Miriam language as

*Kei egarlararā gei tirirarā.*

In Ērub, *galbol*, meaning proud or "stuck up", is in the Miriam language *malgoi*.

#### *Practices to affect human beings*

In sickness a *zogo* man was called in to the patient and began by preparing bush medicine, the patient meanwhile being taken to a spot on the beach close to the water's edge. With a skull<sup>1</sup> and his medicine, the *zogo* man, quite naked, approached the spot, using exorcising chants, and then he gave a portion of the medicine to the sick man, he himself consuming a portion also. After this he jumped into the sea, or in some instances this was done by a substitute, and the malady was adjured to take its departure. "Bush medicine" is still extensively used by the natives, and some of the preparations seem to possess a certain efficacy; but others again are quite valueless and any effect produced is simply the result of suggestion (MacFarlane).

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the skull was employed to divine the person who had caused the sickness, cf. VI, p. 266.

*Madub* were used in various ceremonies, particularly for malevolent magic, when it was desired to obtain revenge for an injury, or to cause another person harm. Some *zogo* men were capable of producing the death of the person upon whom a spell was cast, within perhaps only a few days.

Blood-letting is much practised for all ailments, the back, forehead, and limbs being cut. One such operation was seen by Mr MacFarlane. The patient, who had fallen from the roof of a house, was placed stomach downwards. Several wax matches were inserted into a piece of soap and lighted, then placed on the injured spot, and a glass clapped on top. Presently, as the heat drew up the flesh the glass was removed, and a number of incisions rapidly made with a piece of glass bottle, then the glass was replaced and the blood drawn away. The patient was then carried to the sea to be bathed, and was about again in a couple of days.

Snake *zogo* at Egru. At this *zogo* were round stones representing the eggs of a snake and certain stones represented the snake's head. Mr MacFarlane was unable to get any information about this *zogo*, except that it was "proper devil place". If people dropped food out of a basket when going along the road leading past it, they would not stop to pick it up, but they hurried on. The object of the *zogo* was "to spoil people".

#### *A modern wedding*

A modern wedding is described by MacFarlane as follows: "The youth no longer sends a friend to mark the lady of his choice with red paint on each cheek, as of yore, to signify that she is his, but sends a gift, generally a handkerchief; if his attentions are accepted the gift is retained and he begins to prepare his house and incidentally get some ready money together to purchase his future bride's trousseau. In due course the boy and his friends go to the girl's relatives to make a formal proposal of marriage. Later on the girl herself is formally asked, usually in the presence of her relatives, and she may keep the young man and his friends seated on a mat until cockerow in the morning ere she finally whispers her consent. On the day of the wedding ceremony processions escort the bride and bridegroom to appointed places in the village, with much singing and dancing as the flower-bedecked and garlanded friends pass along under the coconut groves and great shady *wangai* trees. While the bridegroom gets ready, perhaps filling in the time meanwhile by helping with the preparations for the feast, the bride is taken by her girl friends, who give her a final bath and adorn her. Then with her attendants she meets the bridegroom's party as he claims her at the house, and together they move off to the church with public rejoicing. The actual ceremony has now to be performed by duly qualified persons according to Queensland law. As the procession leaves the church door waiting dancers in quaint attire of leaves, flowers and paint lead the newly wedded couple to the village and thence to the feast laid out on coconut and banana leaves. Gifts of food and other presents are then presented by the bride and her people and by the groom and his friends; this is followed by the greeting of the new relatives. While this is taking place certain formalities of silence must be observed: the bride's people must not under strict penalties mention the husband by name or vice versa. Then comes the turn of the dancers, and the well-knit and muscular figures move and jump and sway and glide with wonderful agility to the accompaniment of the *warup* drums and the chanting of weird songs. The watching spectators follow every action with keenness, while the bride and her attendants prepare cigarettes and hand out cups of water".



*Former funeral ceremony*

The old time funeral ceremonies were very elaborate and included the mummification of the body, which was sometimes kept in the dwelling-house for two or three years. Preparation had to be made for propitiating the ghost, and winding fences erected to prevent evil spirits from entering the house. Lengthy funeral feasts had to be provided, and, as the departed spirits' home is Boigu Island, where the sun sets, there had to be careful preparation and carrying out of the ceremonies for sending the spirit on to Boigu. Mourning customs were lengthy and full of detail, and had their particular significance. Nowadays [1925], amongst the surviving customs is the death-crying. Friends gather round awaiting the indication of death, and immediately there is a succession of mournful cadences thrilling the listeners with their weirdness, the higher tones of the women yielding to the bass of the men as they take their turn. With each party of mourners that arrives the crying breaks out afresh, and even weeks after death, should a boat arrive from another island or from work outside, the first duty of those on board will be to proceed to the house of the deceased and cry, so that perhaps in the middle of the night the air will be suddenly rent by the death-wail. At the house the father or near relative stands over the body, alternately wailing and chanting, until the time arrives for the body to be removed for burial. A funeral feast follows, with another at a later period, and still another at the erection of the grave-stone, if there be one. Some of the old people still preserve the former style of mourning, but naturally the advent of civilisation has changed things considerably.

MacFarlane's description of the method of desiccating corpses is given in the section on "Mummification", p. 325.

*Corpse-eating*

MacFarlane was told by Obram and others at Ērub that the flesh of the corpses of their own people was eaten "to make man's heart strong so he no fright for anything". One spot where this was done was in the grove at the back of Medigi Bay, but there were probably other localities as well where endocannibalism took place. Banana leaves were laid down on the ground. In the centre was placed a carved wooden figure of a man, *madab* (this was similar to a figure found at Rennel Island some time ago). Portions of the dead body were placed on leaves and the "grease" from the body in shell receptacles. Both men and women sat round in a ring. Some say that only the men partook, but others declare that both men and women ate. After eating, the men became "proper cranky", and jumped up and ran away to a considerable distance. Elsewhere MacFarlane says that the wooden figure was "carved and hewn out, or burnt out with dry coconut shell, in the form of a man. Some of these figures are quite well executed. With appropriate song and dance the ceremony began, and naturally the revolting food produced an effect little short of temporary madness".

The eyes, too, made into a mixture with sweet potatoes and other things, were capable of imparting certain virtues when eaten by the boys and young men, as were also other portions of the body.

The grease that dripped from a corpse on a *paier* was collected and mixed with "bush medicine" and preserved for future use.

*Massacre of shipwrecked persons*

Shipwrecked crews were massacred on their reaching Ērub; "Suppose canoe or boat he capsizes, man he swim ashore, he salt-water man now, people must kill him", said one old Ērub man. The heads were valuable, of course, and after they had been severed from the bodies, the trunks were cast into the sea attached to floating wood. Possibly the survivors would not be killed immediately; in some cases they would be invited to sit on the mat usually spread for visitors, then, at a signal, clubs and axes were quickly brought out from concealment and the unfortunates were despatched (Rev. W. H. MacFarlane). This custom of killing shipwrecked or castaway strangers was common to all the islands, but occasionally they were spared (p. 56).

## FOOD-GETTING ACTIVITIES

*Horticulture*

In Ērub, as in Mer, the food supply was not left to the ordinary course of nature after the essential gardening operations had been completed, but these had to be assisted by various rites, usually at a shrine or *zogo*, which were sometimes of an individual character but more generally were the concern of a group of people whose hereditary function it was to perform them. The group may have been a family one or the residents of a restricted area who doubtless were closely related to one another, but in either case there was one officiator, *zogo le*, or at the most two or three.

The following can only have been a very few of the rituals that were practised. Unless otherwise stated, the information was collected by MacFarlane mainly from Idagi and sent to me in 1925.

*Maiiau-e zogo* for bananas (Idagi, informant). In the *zogo* place, which is on the mission ground on the hill overlooking Bodog and Medġi bays, there was a stone called *Maiiau-e* or *Ma-i* in a *miskor* (clam) shell. The people dug out one banana plant, left it in the garden and informed the *zogo* man. "Medicine" of *rusebaga* leaf, *mar* leaf, and oil, was made by the *zogo* man, who anointed the banana plant and planted suckers from it in each garden. A present of food was given to the *zogo* man (cf. p. 137 and VI, p. 207).

Before planting bananas, portions of the young shoots had to have ritual words spoken over them by *zogo le*; they also controlled the elements to produce sufficient quantities of food. *Zogo le* by the use of certain stones could produce shortage of bananas or could destroy garden produce.

*Bġrobġro zogo*. This *zogo*, which was connected with yams, had its centre at Egru, where the *huberup* dance was held; Dabad was the last *zogo* man. The *birobġro* birds come to Ērub when the new yams are ready; when they arrive in large numbers they are thought to indicate a good season. The *birobġro* bird is larger than the *ti* bird, has a long bill and a gorgeous plumage of blue and green feathers. Old Spia (now deceased) had a buried *birobġro* stone, but could not locate it (see p. 138 and VI, p. 211).

*Rain-making*

Rain-making was actively employed in Mer (p. 134 and VI, pp. 194-201) in which stone effigies of men, *doiom*, played an essential part; they also were used in Ērub.

Mr P. G. H. Guilletmot informed Dr Hamlyn-Harris (1913, p. 4) with regard to the *doiom* of Ērub that

about three months previous to the North-West Season, when universal drought prevails, the rain-maker envelopes the "Doyom" in so-called "bush medicine" consisting of herbs, etc., and lowers the weather-god by means of an attached string into a hole specially prepared to receive it. The cord is left only partially visible after the hole has been filled up. After the "Doyom" has been allowed to remain for at least three days and three nights undisturbed in the ground, the rain-maker visits the spot fully dressed in ceremonial finery, and approaching from the weather side indulges in incantations until, by the rehearsal of magic ritual only understood by themselves, the weather-god is pulled out by the cord. It has been a belief amongst them that the fumes given off by the fermented herbs reach the "medicine man" and affect the testes, which swell in consequence. Rain follows next day after severe winds.

At Ērub, but in no other island, certain *zogo* women performed a rite in connection with the *wangai zogo* at Dorobar point on the south coast; no men were allowed to be in the neighbourhood. [*Wangai*, *wagai*, or *ubar* is the "plum" bearing *Mimusops Browniana*.]

Ete of Bumeau practised *meidu sab* (cf. p. 144).

#### FISHING

The extensive *sai*, or fish-traps (p. 152), encircle the shore of Ērub except in the north-west, as can be seen in the map, p. 33; those of Mer are referred to in vols. IV, p. 158, VI, pp. 26-8, 218. Hamlyn-Harris (1913, p. 1), on the authority of Guilletmot, says the fish-traps of Mer were built by Seiido (Soydo or Sida), but native testimony is unanimous that all the *sai* in Mer, Ērub, and elsewhere were built by Abob and Kos. He gives a plan of one which is much more complicated than any of which I have a record.

Two photographs taken by W. H. MacFarlane illustrate the association of Abob and Kos with Ērub. Pl. IV, fig. 1, shows old Spia or Supia (now dead) sitting in front of rocks that represent these heroes; they are on the north-west side of the island looking towards Nepean. Nearby is the holed stone to which they tied their canoe; in fig. 2, Spia is pointing to the "story stone".

MacFarlane says:

When making [repairing] the walls of the *sai* all the people had to be on the spot at the same time; if anyone arrived late "everything spoil, he got no fish". When spearing fish in the *sai*, the stones of the walls must not be moved with a loud noise, "no fish will come again by-and-by; he savee that noise". Hence people do not like children to play in the *sai* and knock the stones.

No pregnant woman is allowed to enter them, if she does the fish will go away and not return for a long time, "they savee". Neither does a pregnant woman take any part in repairing the walls, nor does her husband during her pregnancy.

At about the centre of the wall of a *sai* there is a big stone or sometimes a roughly carved stone figure.

I have seen one fish-charm carved in volcanic ash which resembles those used on Mer (VI, p. 217) and doubtless was similarly used in connection with the *sai*.

The *sai* at Badog Bay has a large round stone in the centre of the outer wall, this was visited by all the people when repairing the wall each year; it was called the "Master" of the *sai* and was offered a present of yams, bananas, etc. with singing; the food was carried away at next high tide: "Plenty of fish after that". (MacFarlane.)

At a big *sai* opposite Mugur village on the beach near some rocks, there formerly stood a stone figure of a woman, which is now destroyed. It was about 3 to 4 ft. high, with features, limbs, etc. similar to those of other rudely sculptured figures of Ērub. She was called Augari or Ogari. "Work belong her, look out [take charge of] that *sai*." Formerly, when repairing the walls at the beginning of the north-west season, people took baskets of food which they put in a heap "along front of Augari for show him. They talk along stone, (master belong that fence). 'You make plenty fish fast in fence'. Then they make fence good, come back and take that food and share out". At night they would go to the *sai* and find a big catch. A few fish had to be given to Augari, "Man he very glad, he thank you that one". The stone was "flashed" [decorated] with coconut palm leaf, but apparently not anointed. (MacFarlane.)

Another figure at Gazir, at the east of the island, is called Kiau. (MacFarlane.)

In vol. vi. pp. 46-51, I gave a long story of a turtling expedition by Wakai and Kuskus of Mer, who brought the two *nam zogo* from the water hole on the sandy islet of Garboi to Babud in the Meaurem district of Mer. They were accompanied by two Ērub men, who asked for a *zogo*. The Meaurem *le* took two old and very long coconuts and inserted some red *wec* (croton) leaves into the opening of the husk of the nuts and gave them to the Ērub men, saying, "This *agud*, *nam zogo*, belongs to you two fellow. When you return to Ērub they will help you to catch turtle". They then gave them instruction how to catch turtle, "*zogo tonar*" (*zogo* fashion). This is the Miriam tale, but the Ērub version has not yet been recorded. MacFarlane reports that the important *Daido-siriam* cult was connected in some obscure way with turtle.

#### *Daido-siriam*

In the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery are a few objects from Ērub given in October 1846 by Lieut. Riske, R.N., of H.M.S. *Fly*. The Director, Dr H. Bolton, has kindly had them photographed for me, and I am indebted also to Mr Stanton for further information.

(1) A turtle-shell mask (pl. V, fig. 1) of the usual eastern type; the hair of the head is in pipe-like ringlets, *ed*, and there are whiskers, moustache and beard; a fretwork surrounds the face; the length from crown to chin is 24 in. Jukes (I, p. 178) gives an illustration of a somewhat similar mask from Ērub which is now in the British Museum.

(2) A head-dress made of vertical sharply pointed slats of bamboo, the slats are interrupted in front so as to resemble a toothed mouth; rising from the centre is a flattened stick carved to represent a human face, similar to those of the *sokop madub* (VI, p. 207), the end of which is carved in a cone-in-cone design, and bears a plume of cassowary feathers. The mouth is bounded by a double and triple row of white *Natica* and *Oliva* shells. In the centre above the rows of shells are two *Natica* and tufts of cassowary feathers. This is the only specimen of the kind known to me (pl. V, fig. 2).

I submitted a photograph of these specimens to the Rev. W. H. MacFarlane, who kindly sent me the following information.

Old Waicaisu of Ērub recognised the mask as belonging to the *Daido-siriam*, as did the head-dress. He called the central carved stick *pinar* and said there should be two pieces of wood called *gčšis* projecting at right angles from the lower edge [as in the *dari*, IV, pl. VIII].

*Daido-siriam* was an important *zogo* that belonged to the Idagi group. Although the Murray islanders greatly desired to see it they were rigidly excluded, as the ceremonies were very carefully guarded. The sacred ground was at Kayere (or Keiri) on the south-east

side. [Bruce says Idagi of Darnley is *au kale zogo le* (very great *zogo le*) because of his ancestor Gedor.]

The cult was connected with turtle-fishing. The ceremonial objects belonging to it were hidden away in a tunnel-like cave close to the beach near Bomeo (Bumeau); this is now blocked up, so that MacFarlane could not enter it. He was told that it contained skulls and many other relics, including, so far as he could gather, an old pair either of spectacles or marine glasses. He was also informed: "That *zogo* got something very fine, all same flower stop along head: all body covered when that head-(dress) put on, you can't see leg". [Perhaps this refers to the previously described head-dress worn with a shredded-leaf cloak, such as is worn with masks in the Papuan Gulf and in Melanesia.]

The *Daido-siriem* was "a proper bad thing all same as Waier [of Waier]; Malu was good, but this was bad"; its *zogo le* made sorcery, "purri-purri", and caused the death of others. Men who belonged to it "lay down all same dog, with head out and paws in front; he got that thing [the mask] on face; some man he come outside house, he lay down like that, then he come and take what woman he like, take her go bush for humbug her, then by-and-bye she come back, she tell people what that man do to her, only she don't savee he proper man". Apparently considerable licence was allowed to the members and the male relatives of the women could not interfere.

When a member of the *Daido-siriem* died, a funeral dance was held some time before dawn on the beach at Gibgir, on the south-east side of the island. The performers stood in couples some distance apart. Each man wore two, or perhaps three, *mai*, crescentic objects shaped out of cottonwood, *kob*; one was worn on the upper chest, a second lower down, and a third below that if he were a "big man". His face was completely concealed with small branches of *ser*<sup>1</sup> (a small tree with tripinnate scented leaves) intermingled with the feathers of the white reef-heron *sir*. His legs were painted with red *maier* and white *su* of coconut leaf surrounded his ankles. There was no singing, but the drummer made short rapid beats, and when he sounded a loud note the men jumped in unison up and towards each other. Afterwards they moved backwards, but "don't turn to see which way they go, they only walk backward". Spectators were allowed to be present but of course were unable to recognise any of the performers. Later a feast was held at Gibgir and the corpse was placed on the *paier*.

Kanpa, Idagi's sister, told MacFarlane that there were three *zogo* women who were responsible for making a specially large circular basket into which heads were placed to be kept in the *zogo* house. MacFarlane suggests that this may have been in connection with the *Daido-siriem*.

Waicaisu told MacFarlane there was also a cult called *Tu-siriem*, to which his father belonged: it was different from the *Daido-siriem*, and was a "good thing"; in practice and ritual it was more like Malu.

To the east of Mōgor a great belt of woods reaches down to the shore. Jukes says: "In walking along the beach, we came on several huts. . . . Near one of these huts was a stump of wood that had been rudely carved into the human shape, representing a woman. Just before it, on the ground, were several old large murex-shells, and behind it was arranged a series of split cocoa-nut shells, in a semicircular form. This figure [illustrated on p. 185] was 5 ft. 6 in. high. It had holes at the sides of the head, apparently for ears to be fixed into, and others at the shoulders for arms. The border round the legs represents the nessoor,

<sup>1</sup> *Polyscias fruticosa* (L.) Harms. (*Panax fruticosa* Linn).

or petticoat. The eyes were pieces of mother-of-pearl, with spots of black gum on them. It had all been painted red" (I, pp. 184-5).

One informant in Mer, when I showed him the illustration, called it "*Daido-siriam*, belong *zogo*" and said that Daido is the name of a place in Ērub. MacFarlane showed the illustration to several Ērub men but could "get no really authentic information", nor could he find any place named Daido. Some men told MacFarlane they thought it was a garden *madub*, but others thought it was "used for turtle". The suggestion of a Mabuag man that it was an image for *maid* may be disregarded (v, p. 324). I am not at all sure that the image represents a woman, the carving round the waist may represent some kind of belt.

MacFarlane says there was a Malu "lodge" at Ērub which was under the great cult of Mer and when anything went wrong with their Malu *agud*, the Ērub *zogo le* sent word to Mer and then the *zogo le* of Mer had to send someone to straighten up things. The head *zogo le* was Epia, the father of Pilot. Idagi's people did not belong to it.

Bruce gives (MS.) the following *Erub baba wel*:

*Karu E a Aguda Ou! nade degemle.*

My tears for Agud Oh! ah! where does he walk?

He adds: *Agud* is the general or principal name for Malu and Bomai (one would not say Malu or Bomai *zogo*, it would be *agud*). The term *zogo* is correct for any other *zogo*, such as *u zogo*, and its officiators are *zogo le*, but for Bomai the officiators are called *Agud le*, not *zogo le* [but I find that in his MS. Bruce usually calls them *zogo le*, which evidently is the colloquial usage].

*Stones associated with the moon and with the evening star*

The Rev. S. MacFarlane was informed that "the moon belongs to two men at Erub, and is the shadow of two stones in their possession, one for the new moon and the other for the full moon. One stone on one side of the island is round like the full moon, the other on the opposite side is crescentic like the new moon" (vi, p. 202).

W. H. MacFarlane sent me a photograph, pl. IV, fig. 3, of the *meb* (moon) and *gerger* (sun) stones in their original *miskor*, giant-clam shell, in which they reposed at the shrine at the north-west side of the island.

Jimmy Dei of Mer informed me that *Iuel* or *Iwel*, the large stone image of a woman that represents the evening star [Venus], belongs to Ērub, and remains at Irméd. When the sun goes down the star comes up and shines with a faint light; any man or boy can take a small stone and hit the stone *Iuel* all over the body, head and limbs. "By and by, sundown, *Iuel* he light, like moon" (see vi, pp. 4, 202). The Rev. W. H. MacFarlane has sent me the following: "A stone, called *Iuel*—the evening star—stands in the water on the north-west side of Erub. At certain periods the boys and men foregather and throw small stones at the stone in order to make the evening star shine more brightly: 'When that one he come bright now, then we get good year'". Pl. IV, fig. 4.

## UGAR (STEPHENS ISLAND)

The geology of this island is referred to on p. 35 and the rising up of the surrounding bed of the sea on p. 36.

When at anchor under Ugar (Sept. 7, 1792) Bligh saw some natives, one being a woman who had some covering round her hips and had a dog with her; the houses were well thatched within the fences (Ida Lee, p. 179). Some natives traded with their bows and arrows, clubs and spears very fairly for large nails and hatchets which they also called "toorick".

"They are of middle size, quite black and woolly headed, with beards. Some of them had lost their teeth and some had their foreheads daubed with red; some had a few feathers stuck in their wool, and others had the skin on their shoulders raised in circular rims that together formed a kind of badge about the size of a waterman's. Their noses were very full at the point, and the septum had been pierced in which they wore a ring of shell or bone to distend it. Their ears were also pierced, being sometimes cut through and sometimes full of small holes into which were thrust ornaments of plaited grass or shell. . . . On the whole the countenances of these men were not bad. The chief sign they made us was patting the top of their heads with the palms of their hands. Their expression of surprise sounded wow wow wow wah. They made use of the words attahgooroo for sleep, and tecterec when they wanted to haul up their canoe. One of the men wore a conch-shell over the lower part of his body, the others were quite naked." He refers to the bows and arrows, "their clubs rudely carved and their spears about 14 feet long", "Their canoes were 58 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 2 feet deep, and in one piece, except a kind of gunwale to form a straight sheer. They had a stage across the gunwale and an outrigger on each side, and the stem was a little carved and ornamented in the head with shells. They paddled standing, the paddles being long and having narrow blades. A looking-glass did not surprise them, but they cared for nothing but iron. . . . They had a strange way of showing their astonishment by whistling and making a noise like a ball whizzing through the air. . . . A boar's tusk was seen. . . they went to Island E [Nepean, Ēdugor, Ātagor or Attagog] to sleep" (*l.c.* pp. 180-81).

Portlock says: "Soon after I had anchored, a canoe came from Island E [Nepean] and came alongside. The natives came on board [the *Providence*] and were much surprised. They would not go below. . . they were more struck there than on board the small 'Assistant' and frequently made use of the word 'Whywool!' and it appeared to me it expressed wonder and surprise [the present Miriam term is *waiiai!*]. A number of bows and arrows, necklaces, and other things were purchased from them and they traded with the greatest honesty" (*l.c.* p. 257).

I have already referred to the unnecessary firing on the natives of Stephens Island by Bampton and Alt in July, 1793. The island was traversed all over, the people having fled in a canoe. "The plantations, huts, images, skulls, and hands were found similar to those of Darnley's Island." A cuscus was found in a cage (Flinders, I, p. xxxviii).

*The story of "Fire-eye"* (Rev. W. H. MacFarlane)

In the days of the old men, a big ship was wrecked on the reef near by. (Ugar has many wrecks to its credit, and at one time there were a couple of big stone figures which the local worker of magic used to propitiate in order to procure the destruction of ships passing down the north-east channel.) The crew and passengers managed to get ashore; amongst them were an officer and a woman. He carried with him a box and, opening this, revealed to the astonished islanders something within that gleamed and scintillated in the sun, so that their eyes were dazzled, "That fire-eye stone he too bright, he shine, shine, you shut your eye", they say. Possibly he intended

to overawe them, but it had the effect of arousing the cupidity of the "magic man", for might not this be very good *puri-puri*? So by the simple expediency of club and axe, the prize passed into local keeping and possessed great potency. In the seventies, it, with a number of old time relics, was "destroyed". In reality the things were buried and, although the secret was confided to an old man, the knowledge of the spot perished with him. A couple of attempts have been made to ascertain the resting-place of the mysterious box and its contents, but without success.

Mr MacFarlane adds: "This story may possibly link up with the historic incidents of Lope de Vega and Mariana de Castro, his wife, who were wrecked somewhere on the Barrier Reef towards the end of 1595. There are many indications of old Spanish wrecks in these waters: Spanish coins, copper ingots, and old gems have been recovered. On the occasion of a ship being caught by the relentless reefs of Stephens Island, canoes fore-gathered from neighbouring islands and the loot was distributed round about, some being buried on Dalrymple and other islands for convenience, where from time to time it comes to light in the process of making gardens and breaking up the ground". Mr MacFarlane tells me that a few years before 1925 two ingots were picked up near Mer and an analysis showed copper with a percentage of silver and gold. A Spanish coin was recently found in Mer similar to those picked up on the Eastern Fields [90-100 miles east of the Murray Islands] years ago, but it bore a late date, eighteenth century. When making gardens some four years ago at Erub, near the hill at the back of Medigi, a Spanish coin and a ring engraved with a dagger in a shield were dug up.

[When the late Mr Lawrence Hargrave visited Ugar in December 1877, he saw on the north side of the island a small hut by itself, little larger than a dog-kennel, and on pulling aside the pandanus leaves that hung across the front of it, he saw a long object lying on some dry palm leaves. It was about 18 in. long by four 4 in. diameter and "was covered with the brown gum the natives secure the barbs of their arrows with, and a number of jecquerity seeds (*Abrus precatorius*) were stuck in the gum. A native came out of the scrub with signs of fear at my proceedings. I calmed him, and he saw I meant no harm. . . . It has been watched with jealous care by three generations of a man called Ma-te. It is death for a woman or a beardless boy to look at it. The custodian has to visit it daily without clothing or arms. Sundry skulls are around that were taken by an ancient Papuan man whose name I could not catch. Ma-te told me not to tell the missionary, as he would steal it. He said I was the first white man who had seen it" (p. 46). (Lawrence Hargrave, "Lope de Vega", *J. and P. R.S., N.S.W.*, XLIII, 1909, pp. 39-54.) The ultimate fate of this object, as well as its significance, are unknown to me. Mr Hargrave asked the Rev. E. Baxter Riley to investigate the matter. "In due course Mr Riley went to Hogar and ascertained from the teacher there, and the oldest inhabitant, that the little hut and its contents, which the teacher called a god, had been burnt about 20 years ago. . . . The teacher, with the consent of the people, set fire to the place. . . . In April 1907, Mr Riley said that after he left Hogar, an old woman said the contents of the hut were removed and buried before the building was burnt. The natives had turned up the ground all round the site, in places to a depth of three feet, but found nothing. . . . In October 1907, a great part of the island had been turned up with no result" (*l.c.* p. 48). Mr Hargrave considered that the cylindrical object was a relic of the residence on the island of Lope de Vega or of one of his party, but there is no evidence that any Spaniard lived there, nor indeed in Mer or Erub. The cultural evidence on which he relied can reasonably be explained otherwise, as I attempted to show in my reply to his paper (A. C. Haddon, "Note on Mr Lawrence



Hargrave's paper on Lope de Vega", *L.c.* 1910, pp. 79-82). I should like to state here that in spite of my criticism I retained the friendship of Mr Hargrave, and in 1913 he gave me a typed MS. on Lope de Vega, with later information than he had previously published, illustrated by 57 photographs, which will be deposited in the Library of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.]

Sarmiento-Mendaña set out on April 9, 1595, from Callao to make another attempt to discover the Great Southern Continent, the Java Maior, with a fleet of three large vessels and a frigate. Lope de Vega commanded the *Santa Ysabel* and had on board his wife, Mariana de Castro. They discovered the Marquesas and arrived at Santa Cruz in September; he named La Graciosa bay and attempted to found a colony, but died there. Before reaching Santa Cruz, Lope de Vega's ship parted company from the fleet and was never heard of since. Mr Lawrence Hargrave (*L.c.* p. 42) claims that Lope de Vega either made a landfall at Port Macquarie, N.S.W., and sailed northwards, or else "passed the Louisiades and so to Murray Islands". At all events he supposes that Lope de Vega's ship was wrecked in that neighbourhood and on that assumption he built up a theory of Spanish influence in the Eastern Islands.

*The origin of the sabay fish* (told by Oroki to the Rev. W. H. MacFarlane)

Once upon a time there was a man named Badi on Ugar who one day was cutting out various things from a piece of wood and made something which looked like a fish, which he threw into the water. Immediately it grew into a school of live fish, each with a spike on its forehead. Badi made a spear, and when the school in its circular movements came within range, he took aim and transixed the last one. Taking it ashore, he cooked it in a baler-shell and fed a little of it to the ants. They took no harm, so he tried some on his dog, which licked its chops and looked up for more. But Badi was not quite satisfied. Some white pigeons were hovering round and he gave some to them; they pecked at it and swallowed every morsel. Some black birds then came up and he gave some to them also. "All he no dead", so he decided to risk some himself and cautiously tasted it. "Ah! he proper good one, this one", and so he went out to get some more and to make sure that the island would have a supply of the *sabay*, as this fish is called.

Over at the sand-bank on the western shore of Ugar you will see Badi as a big stone standing up in the water. That is a good place for *sabay*. In the bush, not far from the burial ground, is the stone fireplace where Badi cooked his first *sabay* and two roughly cut stones which represent the two birds upon which he tried the fish.

*The discovery of coconuts* (Rev. W. H. MacFarlane)

At one time Ugar had no coconuts. One day a man spearing fish saw something floating on the surface of the sea. As it rolled and twisted, it bore first the appearance of a man's head, then it seemed to resemble a *sabay* fish. He speared it to see what it was, and as he secured it on the prongs of his fish-spear he looked at it, then took it ashore and examined it more carefully. "Ah, I thought this was a fish," said he, "but it seems to be no good at all for kaikai." So he flung it down and buried it. By-and-bye he noticed a shoot springing up and watched it carefully. It grew bigger and bigger and developed into a tree. Then it bore curious green nuts something like the brown one he had found floating. Each day he watched to see what would happen next, the fruit ripened and dried, and began to drop on to the ground. Picking one up he broke it and within found white meat; but he was afraid to taste it lest it might be "no good kind of thing", so he scraped a little and gave it to the ants to eat. He saw that they suffered no ill effects—"all they eat, they no die". Next he tried it on lizards with a like result. So then he put some into his own mouth. "Ah, best kind of kaikai, this one", said he as he ate. He drank some of the milk and expressed strong approval likewise. Communicating the result of his discovery to others, they all planted some of the nuts, and soon the palms were growing everywhere.

*The story of Daumer and Seprumrum* (told by Oroki to the Rev. W. H. MacFarlane)

In the olden time there were two bird-women, Daumer<sup>1</sup> and Seprumrum, who lived together on Ugar. Daumer had a son, who, when he had speared fish, always gave a portion to his mother. She cooked it and, being of a generous disposition, generally gave some of it to the other woman, Seprumrum, who was a mat-maker. One day the boy went out with his spear, and while he was away on the reefs hunting for fish the two women went from their house into the bush. Presently they came to some pandanus trees, the "cabbage tree" of the islanders, of the leaves of which the women plait mats. Said Seprumrum to Daumer, "You climb up into the cabbage tree and break off some of the leaves". Daumer agreed and as she got up on to a branch it began to bend and sway. Daumer was frightened, but Seprumrum reassured her, "Why I'm your sister, and I am not afraid to go much higher than that. I can climb right up to the top!" Ashamed of her fears Daumer climbed higher, and then suddenly there was a crash, the branch had broken and Daumer fell to the ground and lay there stunned. Seprumrum caught up a clam shell and began to hit the fallen woman with it until presently she broke her jaw and finally killed her. Breaking off some branches, she covered up the body and went home. Then, assuming the features and appearance of the woman she had killed, she took Daumer's mat and sat down in her place.

By-and-by the boy came singing along the beach, carrying his spear and a fine string of fish. Following his usual custom he gave them to his supposed mother, who roasted the fish. But when they were cooked she ate them all herself and gave none to the boy. He looked on wonderingly. Whatever had come over his mother? "Before", said he to himself, "I have always eaten first and had a good portion of the fish; but to-day I eat last and get only the bad parts that are thrown away". As he tried to make out what was the matter he picked up a round knobby *ubar* fruit and threw it some distance away in front of him along the road. Then suddenly there came the thought that this was not his mother at all. But where was his mother? He must go and find her. Picking up the fruit he had thrown, he walked along the road upon which the two women had previously gone, throwing the *ubar* as he went and retrieving it every few yards. Presently where the fruit dropped he saw a blue fly. That was an omen—he was on the track of his mother now! Going on still slinging his *ubar*, he saw a couple of flies, and then a number. Then his throw landed the fruit in a clump of broken-down bush. Going up to the spot he discovered the missing woman. He wanted to cry, but he must first find out who had caused her death. So slipping to one side, where he had espied a green ants' nest, he took some of the ants and placed them on the body. The body moved and rolled over to the south-east side. He placed more ants on top and it moved more violently, this time in the opposite direction. Taking a third handful, he put it on the body, then it stood right up on its feet and began to speak. He asked what had happened and the mother informed him of the deceit and treachery of Seprumrum. "Very well", said he, "you go and pay back. Here is a spear for you." Together they walked back along the track and presently came to where the unsuspecting murderess sat making her mat. Approaching within range, Daumer hurled the spear and Seprumrum fell dead.

At the site called Apro may still be seen stone figures of the actors in this drama.

The story of the giant dog of Ugar will be found on p. 192.

I am indebted to the Rev. W. H. MacFarlane for the following information.

Ugar, or Hogar (Stephens Island), is but a small patch, but stands up well, and, with its rich growth of coconut palms, *wangai* trees, bamboos, and tropical foliage, is a very attractive little spot. Bligh sheltered there in 1792, at the time that he named Darnley and Nepean, but it was not until the next year that it (with the other islands of the Straits) came under the British flag. It carries now (1925) a population of about forty, very mixed

<sup>1</sup> *Daumer* = Torres Straits pigeon (*Carpophaga luctuosa*).

as to blood, European half-east, Philippino mixture, natives from Murray, Yam and Badu, and a little of the original Stephens blood.

Every now and then, when gardening, people turn up some old relic—a cutlass, coin, etc., from the numerous wrecks which have occurred in the neighbourhood, it being the practice of the people of this and other islands, after looting a ship, to bury the plunder in the sandy ground near the village.

Ugar belongs to the eastern group and therefore has the Miriam language and also the curious stone fish-weirs, *sai*, ascribed to the mythical Abob and Kos. These two benefactors came on to Ugar, and after changing their names remained there, becoming the *zogo* for the island, so that they were venerated and a shrine made in their honour.

Fish abound; there is one, the *sabay*, a thick-set fish with a spike in the forehead which frequents the reefs, though not often found round neighbouring islands. When boiled down it yields an exceedingly rich oil, which the people use in cooking. The island is also the home of the helmet-shell (*Cassis*), which is found only infrequently off other islands. "When you look round for this shell you don't pick him up till you find his mate; always those two they must lie close alongside one another". The shells are picked up in the season, buried in the sand for a period to "stink out the meat", and then well washed.

The islanders declare that during the past couple of years the surrounding bed of the ocean is rising [this was written in 1925]. They point to wrecked vessels, etc., which are now beginning to show above water at low tide.

When on a visit to Ugar, MacFarlane saw a woman with a one-day old infant in a comfortable house with well-kept surroundings. Her name was Olai, which is the same as that for the large shell-turtle: in the house were hung the backs of a number of turtle, but he thought this had no special significance.

The infant lay on mats and pillows beneath an erection like a hut-frame in miniature which was covered with a mosquito net. At the infant's head was placed an open Bible, a custom introduced from the South Seas, the idea being to bring good fortune and to ensure the child being "good".

The infant was being suckled by another woman, who herself had a child five months old. The mother said she could not give her baby *susu* for three days, she had to wait until it "came good".

The mother was sitting up and was apparently strong. A little while after the birth she had the customary "swim" in the sea. She had ten children, seven of whom were boys. When asked how she managed to get so many boys, she smiled and indicated that she still had faith in the efficacy of particular food eaten to produce whichever sex was desired.

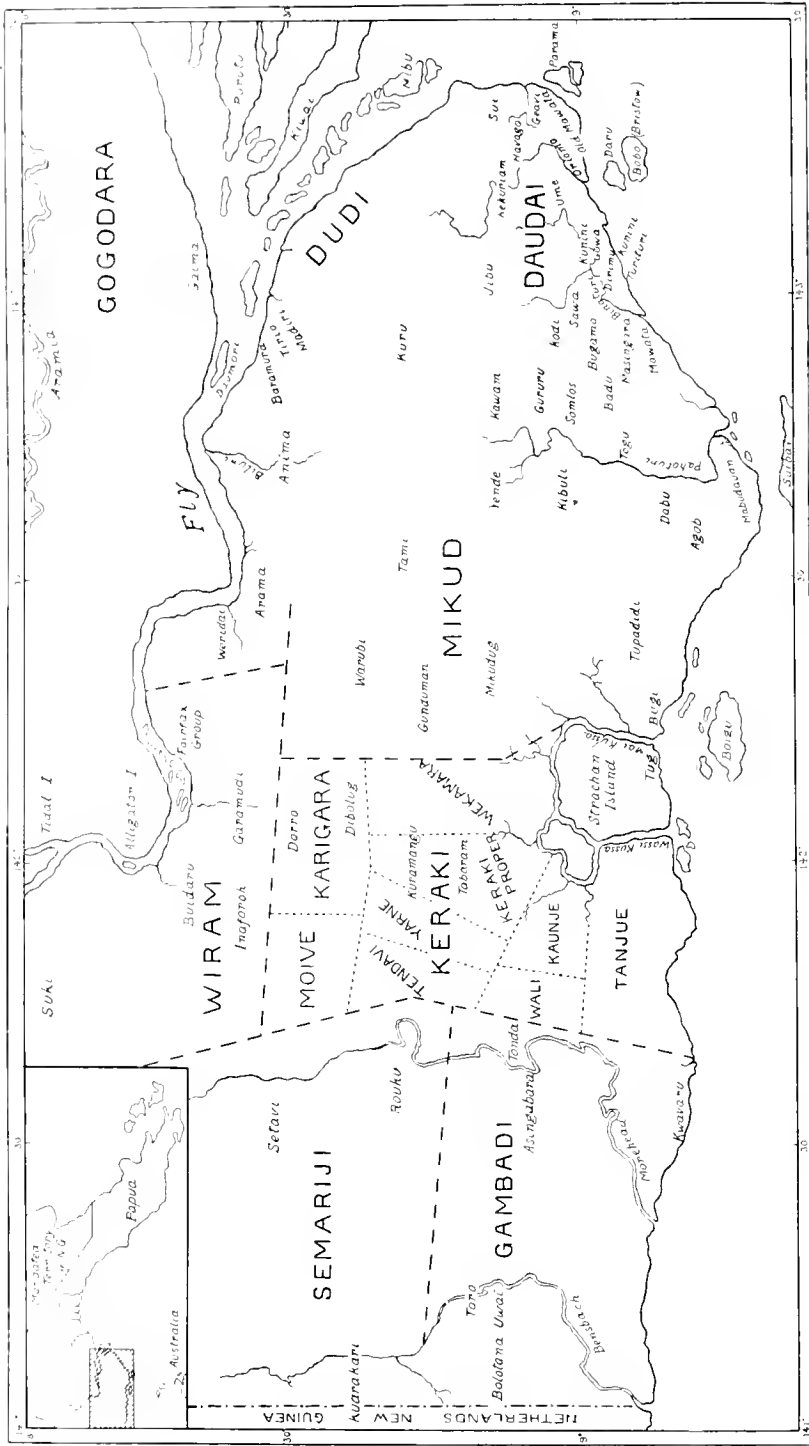
## ZÄPKER OR TÄPOGA (CAMPBELL ISLAND)

The following is all I have been able to discover about this island.

Macgillivray (1852, I, p. 299; Sept. 29, 1849) says: "On Campbell Island, numbers of the natives came down to the edge of the reef, waving to us as we passed by, and inviting us to land. There were many cocoa-nut trees, and we saw a village on the north-west side of the island, beautifully situated on the shady skirts of the wood. The huts resemble those of Darnley Island, being shaped like a haycock or bee-hive, with a projecting central pole ornamented with a large shell or two attached to it. Most of the huts were situated in small enclosures, and there were other portions of ground fenced in with tall bamboo paling".

Flinders states that there were "no plantations, cocoa-nut trees or fixed habitations" on Campbell Island, this was perhaps some other island.

## PART II



The south-western portion of Papua, based on a sketch map by F. E. Williams.

# ETHNOGRAPHY OF NEIGHBOURING AREAS

In order to appreciate the nature and history of the culture of the Torres Straits islanders it is necessary to have some knowledge of the conditions in the adjacent parts of New Guinea and North Queensland. An attempt is made in this Part briefly to supply this information and to indicate the sources from which students can obtain the additional facts that they may desire.

## I. WESTERN PAPUANS

(i) The Kiwaians: history and totemic grouping, *p.* 210. (1) Ceremonies coming from Kiwai: *Moguru*, *p.* 213; *Mimia*, *p.* 214; *Madia*, *p.* 217; *Mado*, *p.* 219; various dances, *p.* 219. (2) Ceremonies coming from Bush folk: the *madubu* (bullroarer) initiation ceremony, *p.* 219; *Gaera*, *p.* 221; sequence of ceremonies, *p.* 223. (3) Ceremonies coming from Torres Straits Islands: *Horiomu*, *p.* 224; *Nigori*, *p.* 230; ritual connected with turtle fishing, *p.* 235. (4) Summary, *p.* 236.

(ii) Dudi and Parama: Folk-tales, *p.* 237.

(iii) Daudai: traditional origins, *p.* 239; Masingara, *p.* 241; Dirimu, *p.* 245.

(iv) The extreme west of Papua, *p.* 247.

## II. SOUTH NETHERLANDS AND NEW GUINEA

The Marind, *p.* 251; totemic organisation, *p.* 254; *Mayo*, *p.* 258; *Rapa*, *p.* 260; *Imo*, *p.* 261; *Sosom*, *p.* 261; *Ezam*, *p.* 263; Other cults, *p.* 263. Summary, *p.* 264.

## III. NORTH QUEENSLAND

(i) The Koko Ya'o, *p.* 266; *Okaintä*, *p.* 268; the dugong hunters, *p.* 270.

(ii) Sivirri, the culture hero of the Tjungundji, *p.* 270; Discussion of these cults, *p.* 272; Other legends, *p.* 273.

## IV. SKETCH OF THE ETHNIC HISTORY OF PAPUA-AUSTRALIA, *p.* 274

### I. WESTERN PAPUANS

The region of New Guinea contiguous with Torres Straits consists of: (1) the estuary of the Fly and its islands; (2) the west coast of the estuary, but probably not far inland, is known as Dudi and may be said to extend from Baramura and Madiri to Sui—that is the coast opposite to Kiwai Island; (3) west of this is the area that the natives vaguely term Daudai, I adopt this name for the areas drained by the Oriomo and the Binaturi and their tributaries; (4) the extreme west of Papua.

The trading operations, when taken in conjunction with the cultural and linguistic evidence, limit Papuan influence on Torres Straits to the area of Papua from the estuary of the Fly westwards, and it seems probable that the direct cultural influence of Kiwai was very slight, if indeed there was any.

I give the following information regarding certain peoples of the area from Kiwai to the extreme south-west of New Guinea in order that students may be in a position to form an opinion concerning the ancient relations between these various peoples and the islanders. It appears to me unnecessary to consider the peoples east of the Fly estuary or those up the Fly river.

## (i) THE KIWAIAANS: HISTORY AND TOTEMIC GROUPING

The culture of the Kiwaians, more particularly that of the Kiwai islanders and the inhabitants of Mawata, has been dealt with in an exceptionally admirable manner by Dr G. Landtman in his *The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea* (London, 1927), and he also gives many references to other peoples from Goaribari in the east to Bugi in the west. His memoir, *The Folk-tales of the Kiwai Papuans* (Helsingfors, Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1917) is the most complete collection of the folk-tales of a primitive people that has hitherto been published; it contains a very large amount of ethnographical information of which I have freely made use.

The late Rev. E. Baxter Riley covers much the same ground in his *Among Papuan Headhunters* (London, 1925), though he is mainly concerned with Mawata.

A short account of Mawata and Turituri, which he visited in 1872, is given by W. Wyatt Gill (*Life in the Southern Isles*, London, 1876, pp. 231-42).

D'Albertis visited Kiwai and Mawata several times during his three expeditions of 1875-7 (*New Guinea*, XI, London, 1881). The first general description of the Kiwai islanders is the admirable account by Sir William Macgregor (*A.R.* 1889-90, pp. 36-43; a fairly complete reprint of this is given in *J.A.I.* XXI, 1891, pp. 75 ff. and a shorter one in Thomson, *British New Guinea*, 1892, pp. 117-21). He refutes the fantastic statements made by T. F. Bevan (*Poil, travel, and discovery in British New Guinea*, 1890, p. 258).

E. Beardmore published an account of the natives of "Mowat" in *J.A.I.* XIX, 1890, p. 459, to which I added some notes. W. Macgregor gives a few notes on Mawata (*A.R.* 1891-2, p. 35) and denies "that these tribes were extensively addicted to unnatural offences", and says this allegation was repeated by me, which was not the case, though I knew of them from Beardmore (*l.c.* p. 464) and other sources; such practices are known to occur among various inland tribes in the western part of the Western Division of Papua.

The following are valuable accounts of the history, land tenure, and inheritance of various tribes: J. B. Cameron: Turi Turi (*A.R.* 1892-3, pp. 67, 68); Mawatta and Kadawa (*l.c.* pp. 68, 69). B. A. Hely: Turituri (*l.c.* p. 69, 70); Kadawarubi (*l.c.* p. 70); Pededarimu tribe, Kiwai (*A.R.* 1895-6, p. 69); Siburubi tribe, Wabuda Island (*A.R.* 1897-8, pp. 83, 84); Paara tribe (Sumai), Kiwai Island (*l.c.* pp. 84, 85).

Other ethnographical accounts are: B. A. Hely: "Native habits and customs in the Western Division" (*A.R.* 1892-3, pp. 57-9); "Notes on totemism, etc. among the Western Tribes" (*A.R.* 1894-5, pp. 44, 45) [dealing mainly with taboo, *sabi*, and mythical beings, but there is nothing about totemism]; "Kiwai Island and People" (*A.R.* 1895-6, pp. 69, 70); "Totemism, Pededarimu Tribe (Kiwai Island)" (*A.R.* 1897-8, pp. 134-6); "Totemism of the Kadawarubi Tribe (Ture-Ture and Mawatta)" (*l.c.* p. 136) [the last two are referred to in vol. v, pp. 156, 187-90].

A description of my visits to this area in 1888 and 1898 are given in *Head-hunters, Black, White, and Brown* (London, 1901, pp. 95-116).

A. H. Jicar gives a valuable account of the trade and canoe traffic of the Kiwai-speaking peoples (*A.R.* 1904-5, pp. 69-71).

J. H. P. Murray (*Papua or British New Guinea*, London, 1912, p. 191) describes the Kiwai islanders as "a gloomy race of men", and he makes a few remarks on the people.

W. N. Beaver in *Unexplored New Guinea* (London, 1920) has a good deal to say about this area (pp. 60-77, 153-87).



A. P. Lyons (*Man*, XXI, 1921, No. 12) describes the custom of *harina*, which was a recognised method among the Kiwaians of providing a substitute or agent to enact retributive justice for serious breaches of tribal law. In a paper on "Animistic and other spiritualistic beliefs of the Bina tribe,<sup>1</sup> Western Papua" (*J.R.A.I.* 1921, pp. 428-37) he relates the story of Bidirdu and the expulsion of the Hiamu from Daru, and discusses *nïro-iopu* (which is practically the same as soul-substance), and various spirits and super-human beings.

Landtman (1917, pp. 64 ff.) gives several legends of the origin of the Kiwai people. It is commonly stated that originally there was no island, but a sand-bank appeared which gradually grew in size and became Kiwai Island. The account of the people having developed from maggots suggests that there was an early population of people of a low culture akin to that of the neighbouring western part of the mainland. Immigrants from Dibiri or from Manouette (Manavete) settled at Kubira, on the south side of Kiwai east of Sumai, and their descendants spread over the whole island. The Iasa warriors, like those of Daudai, used not to cut off the heads of enemies slain in battle, but learned the practice from the Kubira. A Kubira man taught an Iasa man how to smoke tobacco and the Kubira women instructed the Iasa women how to make proper fringe-skirts and to carry their babies in baskets (*l.c.* p. 76). We hear of "good people" coming from Gaima and Waribodoro, also on the north shore of the estuary, but no immigrants came from Dudi on the right bank. So far as the evidence goes, the progressive elements in the population of Kiwai were not due to migrations by water down the Fly but from the northern (or left) coast of the estuary.

According to Hely the Kubira are very few in number, well-behaved, and speak a language different from that of other Kiwaians [Landtman informs me that they speak "Kiwai" with a slight accent]. The newcomers settled at Barosara in the centre of the island, but troubles arose which led to dispersals of sections of the population to other parts of Kiwai, the main stock moved to Iasa, and later settlements were made on the islands of Waboda and Parama and westwards along the coast to Mawata. Beaver (1920, p. 155) agrees in the main with Hely, and Landtman (1917, pp. 68-77) gives versions of the dispersal from "Barasara".

As the present inhabitants of Turituri and Mawata are almost certainly offshoots from Kiwai, it will be convenient to refer to them before dealing with the other peoples of Daudai. Landtman, however, reminds me that this origin has not been proved.

The country about "Old Mawata" (Dirogori, at the point just north-east of Daru) was originally inhabited by very backward groups of hunters and collectors who, they say, were taught better ways of living by a man (or a movement) who came from the headquarters of the Binaturi. Neither of these peoples could have spoken the Kiwai language, therefore a subsequent spread took place from Kiwai to this coast, doubtless affecting Parama during its progress.

The legends given by Landtman indicate that it was mainly due to direct pressure from Kiwai and probably from neighbouring islands that the Hiamu were driven from Daru (p. 50). Beaver suggests that similar raids from Kiwai at a much later date were a factor in the westward migration of the then Kiwai-speaking people from Old Mawata.

According to J. B. Cameron (*A.R.* 1892-3, p. 67) and B. A. Hely (*l.c.* p. 69) and others

<sup>1</sup> In a letter (1929) Riley says: "*Bina* is the name of a banana from which the river takes its name. It is *not* the name of a tribe or people".

this movement took place about the beginning of last century. Two chiefs, Kuke and Gamea, travelled westwards looking for new lands. Kuke with his people settled at the present Turituri site which was then unoccupied. Gamea in his journeying entered into terms of great friendship with the Masingara, who gave him all the territory which the Mawata people now occupy, and the two peoples have always been on most friendly terms. The Kadawa section came from Darn some ten years later. The villages of Mawata and Kadawa are now close together on the western bank of the mouth of the Binaturi (Bina river), the Katau river of D'Albertis, and both he and Beardmore called the whole settlement by the name of Katau. Landtman (1917, pp. 90-4) gives versions of this migration.

From the foregoing it will be seen that there is a wealth of material on the Kiwaians. Landtman has dealt with them so thoroughly that it is unnecessary for me to do more than refer to a few social institutions.

The complexity of the culture of the Mawata folk as compared with the culture of the Kiwai islanders is well exemplified in their totemism.

In Kiwai (1927, p. 185) each person has only one totem. Of the thirty-two totems, seven are animals, twenty-two plants, one wind and one mat. In addition the Kubira have a mythical, gigantic, invulnerable lizard, *ateraro*, which is looked upon as their *ororarora*, a local spirit or guardian, though regarded as a genuine *nurumara* (totem) by the other Kiwai people. All the animal totems are also found at Mawata, except the pig, but this occurs among the Masingara. There is no classification of the totems into larger groups, but it is possible that this simple grouping may be due to degeneration or simplification and not really be primitive. The totemic groups are exogamous and patrilineal.

#### MAWATA CLANS

(Odirubi)		Gurahi	(Humurubi)	
Hawidaimere	Marowadai		Doriomo	Gaidai
<i>amu</i> (dog)	<i>dirare</i> (cassowary)	<i>apiteri</i> (moth)	<i>hibaru</i> (crocodile)	<i>gera</i> (sea-snake)
<i>haurumu</i> (N.W. wind)	<i>kurumu</i>	<i>harama</i>	<i>uro</i> (S.E. wind)	<i>aro</i>
<i>hiu</i> (W. wind)	<i>hiu</i>	<i>hie</i>	<i>nigori</i> (E. wind)	<i>nigori</i>
<i>wario</i> (hawk)	<i>wario</i>	<i>wario</i>	<i>wario</i>	<i>wario</i>
<i>auhi</i> (a kind of taro ?)	<i>auhi</i>	<i>tamane</i> (a kind of yam)		<i>tamane</i>
<i>omere</i> (creeper edible fruit)	<i>omere</i>			
<i>hibua-merc</i> (creeper)	<i>hibua-merc</i>			
	<i>apiteri</i> (moth)	<i>(apiteri)</i>		
<i>usaro</i> (wallaby)	<i>pumoa</i> (tortoise)			<i>pumoa</i> (tortoise)
<i>hawia</i> (white heron)	<i>hamuru</i> (croton)	<i>amuru</i> (bird of paradise)		<i>wanmerc</i> ( <i>arania</i> ) (frigate-bird)
<i>karupu</i> (rock-fish)	<i>kakivare</i> (a tree)	<i>epoo</i> (wild-fowl)		<i>topimuru</i> (sting-ray)
<i>yamo</i> (turtle)	<i>mumu</i> (red flower)		<i>momoro</i> (dugong)	<i>komuhoru</i> (cranky-shark)
<i>badura</i> (eel-like creek fish)			<i>waca</i> (pelican)	
<i>hauuara</i> (small tree, leaves used at ceremonies)			<i>baidamu</i> (shark)	
<i>noora</i> (any stone)			<i>duomu</i> (cat-fish)	
			<i>biridac</i> (flying-fish)	
			<i>korobu</i> (crab)	
			<i>dou</i> (sago palm)	
			<i>utu</i> (nipa palm)	
			<i>gagari</i> (bamboo)	
			<i>abe</i> (a tree)	
			<i>hac</i> (a tree)	

In Mawata each person has a chief totem, and several subsidiary totems, the number of which may be large. Of the forty-two totems, *nurumara*, twenty-four are animals, thirteen

plants, four winds and one stone. These are classified into five clans, each with a chief totem as in the accompanying table. These clans are socially very important and are strictly exogamous. They combine into three larger groups which are not now known by any distinctive name, but Landtman says "the two men's houses were called Odirubi and Humurubi, originally the common names of two groups of totem clans but later on used for the houses themselves" (p. 8), and "the part of the [*horiomu*] shrine belonging to the Doriomo group is called *humu*, that of the Hawidaimere group is called *odi*" (p. 328); the masked men of the *humu* and *odi* groups who represent the *karara oboro* (mask spirits) dance alternately, and "there are two *yaruso* spirits, the one for the *humu* and the other for the *odi* side of the shrine" (1927, p. 339). I was informed of a dual grouping of the clans, but did not hear of the anomalous Gurahi clan and was told that the totems of the Diwari group "stop ashore" while those of the Hibara "stop in water" (v, p. 188).

Group I. North-west and west winds (i.e. blowing from the land). The only exceptions to totems that live on land are an eel-like creek fish, the rock fish which hides in crevices of rocks, and the turtle which lays its eggs on land.

Group II. South-east and east winds (i.e. blowing from the sea). The exceptions to aquatic forms are: tortoise, bamboo, two trees, and *tamane*, a kind of yam. The sago and nipa palms are swamp plants. The tortoise is the only totem common to groups I and II (Marowadai and Gaidai).

Group III agrees with Group I in its winds, it shares the moth with Marowadai (Group I) and *tamane* with Gaidai (Group II). It has two land birds: bird of paradise and wild-fowl. This appears to be a small anomalous group which may have branched off from Group I, or more probably it represents a group of bush folk who have been admitted into the social system under the patronage of Group I. The hawk is common to all the groups.

Landtman informs me that the winds play a very insignificant part among the Mawata subsidiary totems and for a long time he doubted whether they were real totems at all.

Thanks to the researches of Landtman (1927) and Riley (1925), we now have an adequate account of the great ceremonies of the Kiwaians, especially those of the Mawata group. In the subsequent account I follow Landtman, as he goes into greater detail than Riley was able to do, but the observations of the latter have not been neglected by me. For obvious reasons I deal primarily with Mawata, and it will be seen that here there have been three main influences at work, which can be briefly described as coming (1) from Kiwai, (2) from the bush natives, and (3) from the islanders.

#### (1) CEREMONIES COMING IMMEDIATELY FROM KIWAI

Although these do not appear directly to have influenced the Torres Straits islanders, it is possible that to a small extent there may have been some indirect influence. At all events it is necessary to record them in view of wider distributions; they are the *Moguru*, *Mimia*, *Madia*, *Mado*, and four dances which are strongly reminiscent of the two latter.

#### *Moguru*

The *Moguru* is the most sacred, secret and awe-inspiring ceremony of the Kiwai people. It appears to have been held formerly every year (sometimes on a smaller scale twice a year) in Kiwai with little regard to the season, but at Mawata generally during the north-west season. The ceremony always took place inside the *darimo* (men's ceremonial house). It is composed of a number of episodes, of which the principal are: (1) The preparation of the life-giving medicine, *máure moguru*, for the gardens. The *máure moguru* is particularly

practised in Kiwai and farther east, but not so much at Mawata, where the people have very few sago plantations. The *moguru* forms the one great exception to the strict rules of decorum and morality which on the whole are a very prominent characteristic of the people. (2) The initiation into sexual life of the girls and boys who have reached puberty. (3) *Goro*, the episode of the captured wild boar. The great object of the *goro moguru* is preparation for war, but the *goro* also yields medicines for gardens and other purposes. At the present time the people in Kiwai mostly hold the *goro moguru* in the bush and the proceedings are much simplified. (4) A series of minor rites and dances. The central rites are preceded by minor feasts at which *gamoda* (kava) is drunk (Landtman, pp. 350-67).

### *Mimia*

The *Mimia* is not held every year; the proper time for beginning the preparations is about February, in the "moon" of Goibaru, during the north-west season, and the ceremony is celebrated the following "moon". In Goibaru the people begin to eat the green shoots of the *mimia* reed, which, generally mixed with sago, is eaten during the ceremony. In order to provide themselves with a store of sago the Mawata people generally go for a few weeks to Sumai or to Iasa; both villages are in Kiwai.

The first phase of the *mimia* takes place in the bush, where the men and the "new" boys engage in a mock fight, the results of which are sometimes serious. If a man be killed, the women are kept in ignorance of the cause of his death, merely being told that he has lost his life "from *mimia abere*"; the fighting is renewed on several days, each time nearer the village, and finally in the village itself, but there it is innocuous.

One day a wild pig is hunted; this and *mimia* flower-spikes are cooked in the *darimo*. A wild boar is the symbol, not only of fighting, but also of strength and health; the people say that it chases sickness away merely by grunting. The smoke of the central fireplace, where the first *mimia* and piece of the boar are cooked, produces a health-giving effect on the people. The people then dance and sing.

An important part of the *mimia* at Mawata is played by an effigy of coral, rudely shaped into the head and shoulders of a man, almost life size [the *mimia abere* of Riley, p. 219, *abere*, "old woman"]. In Kiwai, full-length wooden human figures of various sizes are employed. When not in actual use the Mawata stone is hidden underneath the *darimo*.

After the dance just referred to, the *mimia* stone is carried into the *darimo* and placed on a mat in front of the central post (*haro*, the main post of the house), which is carved to represent a human being; harpoon points and other harpooning gear are put on the stone. All spit *manababa* and other medicines over the stone and in turn each puts his right hand on it and with it pushes up the skin of his forehead so that the eyes are forced open and lastly strokes his shoulders with it. Some men address the stone figure, saying in a low voice, for instance, "You give big sweet potato, banana, yam; my garden all big *kaikai*; I first man spear him dugong; you help me"; or, "I go fight; you help me; I go kill him old man, woman, kill fighting man; you go first kill him, behind I go kill him finish". There are various rites to ward off sickness from the people.

One evening, while the women are shut up in their houses, the great fire-dance takes place. The participants fasten dry leaves and pieces of coconut husk on their heads and into their belts, armlets and leglets, set fire to them and dance with a lighted torch in each hand. The whole house is full of fires and the men are often badly burnt. After a time the fires are put out, and the dancers attend to their wounds and go to sleep.

Another day the lads are taken into an enclosure of mats in the *darimo* and men throw lighted torches of leaves on them and severely scourge them with burning torches; the purpose of this ordeal being to harden the boys and make them able to endure any suffering thereafter. They are to be made "strong for garden, for fight; no matter big sore, blood he come—he walk about; no matter wind he blow—he look out canoe, look out outrigger; that boy he no fright". The men also fight among themselves with lighted torches, with which they first touch the *mimia* stone.

On another occasion the boys are brought to see the fire-dance of the men; each is led into the *darimo* by his *miduabera* (maternal uncle) or some other older relative who walks behind the boy, covering his eyes with one hand and holding him round the body with the other; when the dance is in full swing the boys are allowed to open their eyes. Particular significance is attached to the great central fireplace on the right-hand side, that of the "old father and mother" of the *darimo*. The *miduabera* take the boys there to get warm and so become strong and hardy.

The following game accompanies the fire episode of the *mimia*. Each player provides himself with a few large leaflets of the nipa palm, the edges of which are slightly curved in the shape of a flat-bottomed boat, and into the end of each he attaches a piece of coconut husk. This he sets on fire and the "boats" are vigorously pushed one by one over the floor, where they glide along quite a good distance "all same snake he go", with the fire burning in front. As soon as one stops it is sent back the same way.

One morning the men go quietly out of the *darimo* while the boys are asleep, leaving a few older men in charge of them. The men get into canoes which are launched; the boys are awakened and told that a large party of strangers has arrived. With a great noise the men rush ashore and begin to fight each other, and surrounding the terrified boys fight them also. The boys are then thrown on thorny bushes and creepers, later the bushes are set on fire, the boys standing close by so as to be enveloped in the smoke, and medicines are administered to them to help them in harpooning, shooting, gardening, courting the girls, and keeping off sickness. The boys are next sent to swim in the sea and spiny bushes are thrown over them while in the water. Finally they are led or carried ashore by their guardians to a large fire on the beach, where they are allowed to dry themselves and their sores are treated with medicines, in particular with ginger.

At a late stage of the ceremony the harpooning implements are taken off the coral effigy and it is beautifully decorated like a man. All the men then enter the *darimo* in full festive attire and the "big fighting men" stand in a file one behind the other facing the figure with their legs apart. The boys have to crawl from behind between the men's legs, each one accompanied by his *miduabera*, who walks abreast of him outside the file of men. On passing over the *mimia* stone each boy presses his chest against it, to strengthen his "heart", and touches the stone with his teeth. Thus the boys are shown the *mimia* figure.

Shortly afterwards a number of men dance with the stone and with a roaring "Aah!", at which a trumpet shell is sounded, the stone is dropped through a hole in the floor. Further rites are employed to drive away sickness.

After the ceremony the boys are allowed to eat pig's flesh, from which they were debarred after their initiation at the *horionu*.

In Kiwai Island a number of wooden images are used instead of the stone one at Mawata, but in their main features the rites are very similar over the whole district. The Kiwai rites do not concern us here.

The following observations of Landtman are of interest:

As to their signification the *mimia* effigies are surrounded by the same obscurity as the human figures carved on the posts of the *darimo*. In the whole district the common name of them is *mimia*; occasionally they are spoken of as *chihare* (something mysterious) or *ororarora* (mythical being), also as Begeredubu (the local being of Waboda). The female figures in Kiwai are sometimes called Waia, Sibuma, Sone, Abema, or Eci, which are the names of the girls of the mythical woman, Abere. All these names are also used for the *darimo* posts. The *mimia* ceremony is in a vague sense associated with Abere (as is also the *mimia* reed), just as the *moguru* ceremony, although more definitely, bears reference to the mythical hero Marunogere. No connection can be traced between the *mimia* figures and any of the multitudinous supernatural characters in the Kiwai folklore, which includes the whole of their mythology. The effigies are held in great awe.

The Mawata people say that they have learnt the *mimia* from the Kiwai islanders. On the other hand, stone figures similar to those used at Mawata and neighbouring villages have also been found in the Torres Straits islands, although nothing is known of their use there (1927, p. 380).

Landtman gives two Mawata folk-tales concerning the origin of the *mimia* figures: (1) A man named Badabada had connection with the mythical woman Abere in his canoe and she enticed him to dive into the water after her nose-stick; her secretions had fastened to him, but came off in the water and formed into a stone, which grew in size. From this stone come all the stones with which the Mawata, Turituri, Daru, Parama, Katatai and Saibai people perform the *mimia* ceremony. (2) While shooting fish in the sea, Boromoburo, an old Mawata man, saw a stone swimming towards him like a fish. He picked it up, and instead of going home, built a small hut on the beach and spent the night there. After spitting medicine at the stone, he lay down on his back to sleep with one hand under his head and the stone placed in the angle of his elbow. In the night the stone turned into a man, told him that his name was *Mimia* and instructed him how the *mimia* ceremony should be performed.

The graphic account by Riley differs somewhat from that by Landtman, though agreeing in essentials. Riley says that *mimia* is the name of an edible plant something like sugarcane, but not sweet; the shoots and flowers are cooked before being eaten. The ceremony cannot take place until the plants are in flower, i.e. about the end of February or the beginning of March. *Abere* means an old woman. On Kiwai Island there are two wooden figures, one representing a man and the other a woman. The coastal tribes have two stones, one larger than the other. These are specially endowed with spirits.

After the conclusion of the *gamabibi* ceremony, the elders decide upon the date for holding the *mimia*. In the *mimia* the object is to continue the education of the initiates, *kouea mere*, and instil into their minds the quality of self-control, to test their physical vigour, to teach them how to endure suffering and pain, how to fight, and to infuse into their natures the traditions of the elders. It also has the purpose of ensuring good health to the community, and to make the gardens grow quickly and have plenty of food in them.

I have dealt at some length with the *mimia* ceremony because, although it is essentially a Kiwai ceremony, it has been adopted by the Mawata folk, who have introduced into it elements pertaining to the harpooning of dugong, and also stone or coral *mimia* effigies, in both of which we may suspect influence from the Torres Straits.

Maino told MacFarlane that, apart from the natives of Saibai, Dauan and Boigu, the only islanders who knew anything about the *mimia* ceremonies were the Tutu men, who

joined in it and gave pieces of dried male sexual organs to the Mawata boys in their food to "make him strong".

Landtman records in detail the following minor festivities and dances, which, though they are apparently confined to the Kiwaians, are mentioned here to make the list of dances as complete as possible.

#### *Madia*

The *madia* ceremony is regarded as an important feature of the tuition of the boys and girls; it contributes to make them good gardeners, and to enable the boys to kill anything. Among other medicines administered to the boys and girls are the scrapings of garden tools which have been used by famous people of the past; the boys are also given scrapings of harpoon- and club-handles and of bows, and the girls scrapings of cooking shells. In Kiwai Island the *madia* is also connected with sago-making. It is held some time during the south-east season when food is plentiful. The ceremony is composed of four distinct episodes, the *ganu*, *madia* proper, *wete*, and *baiduo*, and lasts for at least a week; throughout this period the "new" boys and girls are looked after by their *aramo-rubi* or guardians, the boys generally by their *miduabera* (maternal uncle) and the girls by their *midumaramu* (maternal aunt). (1) Some of the *ganu* songs refer to a canoe sailing from far away on the sea and to an episode in the Sido myth when Sido sent his bride Sagaru a message by some birds. (2) The *madia* proper, which extends over several nights, is one of the principal occasions when epic serial songs are sung to the accompaniment of the dances, each forming a sort of crude narrative—Sido being the principal hero. (3) Sometimes there is an interval of a couple of weeks between the *madia* proper and the *wete*; during this ceremony the boys and girls are thoroughly terrified. At the opening of the ceremony, sitting men sing about some incidents connected with the mythical woman Abere and her people. Later on the dancers sing a serial story in which some episode from the story of Sido and Sagaru is related; the verses also mention the Bamu river and an island called Goro (said to be near the Bamu), also More and Iribu, the Mer and Erub of Torres Straits [the people of Erub often speak of the island as Erubu]. Another equally obscure song refers to Mesede, the mythical Bowman. (4) The *baiduo* is danced on the night after the *wete*. It, like the rest of the *Madia*, is said to be a very old dance; at it a serial song is sung in which are mentioned the *Wae-rubi* (a people on the Bamu river?), the Bamu river, and Siva and Naka, two mythical mountains in the same region.

According to Riley (p. 38), some of the old men called the *wete* ceremony a *muguru* ceremony, others say that it does not come under that term. At Mawata, children of both sexes between twelve and sixteen years of age were taken at 7 a.m. on the appointed day in the south-east season to the men's house and placed inside an enclosure specially erected round the central post (*bobo omabu*); here they were subjected to various kinds of physical and mental tortures inflicted to make them submissive to their parents' authority. On Kiwai Island the children were not taken into the house as they were in the villages along the coast, but were put in a deep circular pit near the men's house and were treated in much the same way. At 4 p.m. they were taken to the sea-beach to be washed, the boys by their male guardians (mothers' brothers), and the girls by their aunts. Then they were taken to a good fire to warm themselves and were permitted to sit on the ground and watch the women dance. A large enclosed space, about 40 yd. long by 5 yd. broad, had been built on the sea-beach, which served as a dressing-room for the women dancers, in which there was only one doorway for entrance and exit. They were elaborately ornamented

and so dressed up as to be unrecognisable. Two women first emerged and danced before the villagers and initiates; the latter were informed that this was the *wete* dance and were exhorted not to reveal what they had experienced or seen that day to the younger children. They then drew the coverings from their faces so that the initiates might see who they were, and then they retired. Soon afterwards the whole company of women came out and danced until about 5 o'clock; they then sat on the ground in two rows 6 ft. apart. Two men, one at each end of the passage between the women, lighted a torch and rushed down to the opposite end, where the torches were extinguished. The women then stood and received presents of food from the men. Immediately after the evening meal was over another performance took place in the men's house, women and children being allowed to enter the building—dancing, singing and drumming were kept up all night, lasting till daybreak. Both men and women danced, but not together, and all were dressed in their best; the men wore long grass petticoats. *Wete* body marks are illustrated by Riley, p. 43.

The *geno'o kamara*, or rat dance. The initiates were placed at one end of the house under the care of their guardians and were permitted to view the dancing, ashes were thrown on them from time to time and the men occasionally gently beat them with sticks; the men with drums made a rumbling sound and with their mouths imitated the squealing of rats. The children were informed that rats were coming to fight them. The house was in semi-darkness and the young people were terrified. Before the performance ended in the early morning the children were informed how the noises were made. The *wete* is a thing of the past along the coast, but is carried out in places on the Fly river. [In this, as in the following description, I have omitted various secondary details given by Riley.]

"The next ceremony of importance for the youths and maidens is the *madia*. . . The Kiwai young man in the *madia* dance or ceremony displays his strangely attired person, makes a show of himself and his dancing capabilities that he may attract the fair sex and by his winsome qualities obtain one or more proposals of marriage. It is only the youth who has passed through all the initiation ceremonies, and is of a marriageable age, that dances in the *madia* with the object of procuring a wife." Some of the old men call this a *muguru*, but others call it simply a festive dance. In this festival there is none of the secrecy that characterises the *muguru* ceremonies, all who desire to dance may do so and women and children are admitted to the men's club-house to take part in the performance. The parents of the youth who is to go through the *madia* have to provide a large quantity of food with a view of impressing their neighbours with eligible daughters. The youth is gaily decked, and a charm made of a concoction of sweet-smelling plants is prepared by his parents. It is an unwritten law that no man can take a wife until *madia* has been made for him. He must wear a *dori* head-dress, his hair is rolled into long ringlets, and he is otherwise decorated; he and all the men wear long petticoats. Before the performance begins the father holds the shell containing the concoction whilst his mother sprinkles the boy from head to foot. Every dancer, or every two dancers, carries a round ornament of white feathers, named *gora*,<sup>1</sup> in his or their hands: the married men carry long ornaments decorated with white feathers. During the dancing women carry young children (not their own) on their shoulders, men also dance with small boys on their backs and shoulders. The women dance in the same manner as in the *wete*, walking behind the men from one

<sup>1</sup> "*Gora*, a ring of cane with cross-pieces in the centre to grip it by, hung with *gora* nuts and decorated with white feathers, used as a rule in dances" (W. H. MacFarlane). A simple rattle of this kind described in vol. IV, p. 272, figs. 299, 230, and Riley, fig. 2, pl. p. 232; illustrates a feathered one.



end of the house to the other. The *madia* dance is carried on all night and ends at daylight. The father removes the *dori* head-dress from the head of his son.

### *Mado*

The *mado* bears very much the same character as the *madia* proper, but, though one of the more important dances, it does not rank quite so high in public estimation. It is one of the old dances and may be undertaken at any time of the year in celebration of an event of public or private interest. The people expect every family to give them a *mado* dance on some suitable occasion: it generally lasts one night. The singing includes certain narrative serial songs, one of which is given by Landtman in his chapter on Folk-tales. It would seem to describe a journey from Adiri, the land of the dead, and mentions various places and islands, from Boigu to Dibiri, an island on the eastern side of the mouth of the Fly, the extreme east of the country known to the Kiwai (Landtman, 1927, pp. 414-425).

### *Various dances*

Four other dances take place in the *darimo* (men's ceremonial house) or *moto* (communal house); these are strongly reminiscent of the *madia* proper and the *mado*. (1) During the *gama-mutu* a serial song is sung about Sido; (2) the *barari* is an old indigenous song and dance, and, like the *mado*, is held in celebration of various memorable occurrences, particularly the building of a new house; (3) the *upipoo* is an old Kiwai dance without any ritual meaning, in which only women and grown girls take part and are dressed up as men; they beat drums and sing while the men attend to the fires. The serial songs refer to episodes in certain folk-tales, particularly concerning the mythical Aberé and her girls, and one on the making of a canoe in which the islands of Abo, Gebaro and Dibiri in the Fly estuary are mentioned: this song is given by Landtman, 1927, p. 431; (4) the *asasi*, which is said to be an old Kiwai song and dance, is very like the *upipoo*: the serial song, in which Aberé and her girls are mentioned, begins by telling of Darai, a legendary mountain in Dibiri, and then refers to Manavete Island and Tirio and Davare villages in Dudi.

Landtman also refers to outdoor mimetic dances which are held only for the sake of general amusement, or in celebration of some public or private event. They are of a purely secular character and imitate actions from real life. The *badara* is said to have been introduced from Bugi, and recently the *taibubu* from Torres Straits. [MacFarlane says that the *taibubu* was introduced into Torres Straits from the South Seas by early bêche-de-mer fishermen largely through Rotuma influence.] The *Hairo* or *Sairo*, however, is an old dance and is regarded as the most important of the mimetic shows; the songs refer to legendary incidents related in the folk-tales, and masked figures also appear in it. The *Osare* is also one of the more serious mimetic dances, and is said to have come from the bushmen in the Tirio-Baramura district of Dudi (1927, pp. 419, 420).

## (2) CEREMONIES COMING FROM BUSH FOLK

### *The madubu (bullroarer) initiation ceremony*

Riley (pp. 201-7) says "the *yam muguru*" is one in which the youths are instructed in the correct method of planting yams, for till then he had not been permitted to plant any yams or even to see them planted, though he had assisted his father to make a garden fence. He was taught the secrets of making medicine for yams and the mysterious powers

of the bullroarer, which they see for the first time and which is believed to be effective in producing an abundant harvest.

Tradition states that a woman discovered a bullroarer somewhere near Bugi; she showed it to her husband, who dreamed that the spirit of the piece of wood told him, "My name is *malubu*. . . I am the father and mother of all yams. . . You must tell the people to make a lot of *malubus*. They must be made in the men's club-house. No woman or child may see them; they are *tarena* (sacred). When you have planted your yams, you must swing the *malubus* round your head in the gardens, then bury them until the yams are almost ready for taking out of the ground; afterwards take them into the men's club-house and keep them there until the next planting season". The Kiwai version is that some Kiwai men brought the bullroarer from Boigu; they call it *umamomaramu*, the mother of yams.

The initiation is briefly as follows: The novices awoke one morning in the *darimo* to find all the men away except a few old men, who frightened the lads, who were then led to a spot near the garden where the other fully armed men were sitting on the ground in a formation resembling a bullroarer, fig. 25 A. The old men and boys entered the open

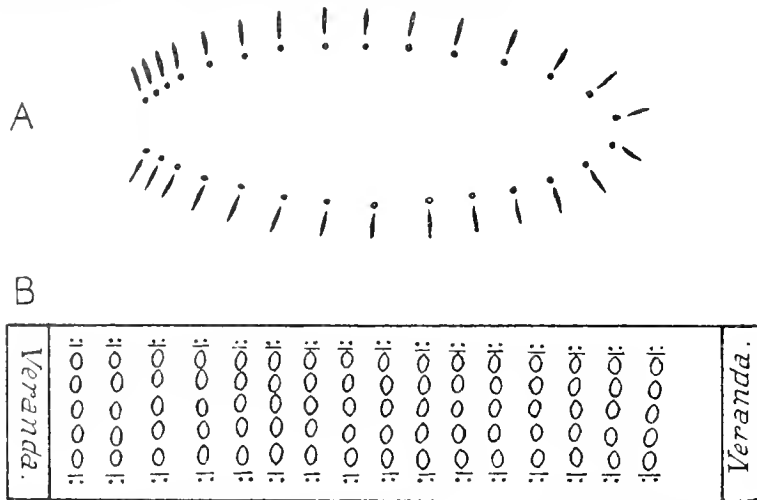


Fig. 25. A, Men seated in the shape of a bullroarer; the dots represent the men and the strokes the bullroarers. B, Ground plan of a *darimo*: the bullroarers are laid on mats ranged in the centre of the hall; the lines represent all kinds of dance ornaments and accoutrements, outside these are two half coconut shells, one contains water and the other *gamada*, between them is a bund of *gamada* leaves. After E. Baxter Riley (1925, pp. 204, 206).

end, which was immediately closed by two men. In dead silence every man rose up and threatened to shoot or club the novices, who howled and called for their mothers. The arms were laid on the ground and the bullroarers picked up by the men and shown to the novices, each of whom was presented with one by his guardian. The usual threats were made and the lads were taken into the garden and instructed in the ritual of planting yams.

That afternoon the initiates were taken by their guardians to the *darimo*, on the floor of which were arranged the ritual objects, fig. 25 B. The *karea* rite was performed by dipping the *gamada* leaves into the water and sprinkled towards the four quarters and all the spirits of the forest, together with the ancestral spirits, were called upon to come and

produce a great yam harvest. The lads were exhorted to make good gardens and look after them well, they were to defend their gardens from enemies and not to be afraid of fighting, and were instructed to take care of their parents, wives and children. A man might not take the bullroarer of another man and swing it over his own yam patch, but the guardian of an initiate might swing the bullroarer of his ward should the latter be away fishing when the yams were planted.

#### *Gaera*

Each of the leaders of a tribe is expected to give the people a treat on some occasion or other, and one of them will formally make a statement that he has made a *gaera* and challenges another man to do likewise (Landtman, 1927, p. 382).

By way of introduction to the *gaera* proper, certain games are played beginning with the racing of toy canoes, also there are tugs-of-war in which the women also take part, and particular interest seems to be bestowed on a subsequent game of shooting with toy bows and arrows, *tea*, at a mark; this takes place outside the *horiomu* ground. The words then sung, as well as those on subsequent occasions, are not understood by the people themselves, who say that, like the whole *gaera* ceremony, they have come from Bugi; according to others, the words are in the old Daru language.

When the games are finished, the men cut down several young trees, *gugu*, which they carry entire to the place selected for the *gaera*; there a dance is held in which the trees are carried and swayed in dance movements to the accompaniment of songs. Sometimes the *gugu* are carried to the festal ground outside the *horiomu* screen, where all but the terminal branches are cut off; the trunks are beautifully painted, among other designs with the totem marks of the respective clans. The men put on their usual dance ornaments and carry the *gugu* to the village and dance before the rest of the people, holding the trees upright and pounding the butt end heavily on the ground, while they sing the usual songs.

After the *gugu* dance there are several minor rites and dances, in some of which bows and arrows are carried, or shooting at a temporary screen, *báruára*, occurs. The last dance is essentially one in which "love medicine" is given to the young men.

The series of rites culminates in the erection of the *gaera* tree. A fairly large tree is chosen by the master of the *gaera*, who asks his old parents or some other old couple to begin the cutting of it, and the work is continued by the younger men, who fell the tree and cut off the branches, but leave fairly long stumps; the top of the tree is left intact. The tree is carried to the chosen ground and is mainly in charge of the totem group of the master's wife. The digging of the hole in which the tree is set up is begun one evening by the old father and mother with medicine rites. Next day it is hauled to the hole, and in the evening a rite is performed to remove the peril which the men have incurred through digging the hole. The men of the master's wife's clan should erect the tree, but numerous other men assist, as it is heavy work.

At the last *gaera* ceremony celebrated at Mawata before Landtman's expedition (which was in 1910) one large tree only was erected, but formerly several trees were used at the same time. In Kiwai, where the people assembled at Iasa for a *gaera*, they used to erect a separate tree for each totem group, but the trees were smaller than those used at Mawata.

A huge conical bamboo framework was erected round the tree at Mawata, the whole structure and the tree were covered with food, and the remaining food was heaped on mats on the ground (Landtman, fig. 105).

When all is ready, the people are summoned to come and look, and they burst out in exclamations of wonder at the imposing sight. A great feast and dance are held, the songs allude to a dance by spirits in the bush at Adiri and then to their entrance into the village of Adiri and of their journey eastwards. One of the songs is "Along Bauda and Togi Tugeri man make noise". Boigu is also mentioned and the island of Davane (Dauan) and Saibai, Mabudavane (the hill usually known as Mabudauan), and various other places from the far west to Kiwai.

The ceremony concludes with a dance by women, each of whom carries a drum or a long thin stick, the upper end of which is decorated with a knob of grass, and to the sticks are attached fringes of leaves and large seed rattles.

Finally, all the food is shared round and everybody replants a little of the food, particularly yams, in his garden, which is thought to profit greatly by it.

When only the empty *gaera* tree remains, the master of the ceremony climbs up into it, decked in his usual dance ornaments, taking with him a bow and two arrows. From the top he addresses the people, explaining that he has now retrieved his honour and is quits with the man who had previously scoffed at him and who had incited him to hold a *gaera*. He then shoots one arrow westwards towards Adiri and the other straight into the ground, saying, "You me straight now; you me change *kaikai* (food); you me sit down yarn". The empty tree is taken down and thrown away and the hole is carefully filled up.

Riley, somewhat differently from Landtman, describes the *gaera* ceremony, which he says may be called one of reconciliation. A violent quarrel may arise between two men, in which others join, and this may last for a long time, till someone suggests that a *gaera* be held by a son or brother of the injured party. Large quantities of *gamada* (kava) are made by the clan in charge of the function. On the first day a *kaikai oboro* (*kaikai* are sticks decorated with white feathers), or dance of the spirits (*oboro*), is held in memory of the recent dead. Landtman informs me that he is not of the opinion that the *gaera* is essentially a reconciliation festival, he regards the *gaera* tree as an instance of the widespread "fertility tree".

The man who had done the wrong will make a *gaera* the following year, after which the feud is considered at an end. Only one *gaera* can be made during a year (doubtless on account of the enormous quantity of food which has to be provided). Along the coast the *gaera* was made only for the purpose of settling a quarrel. It is now a thing of the past. On Kiwai a *gaera* is held yearly and there it is a yam festival. [Mr Ray informs me that the *gaera* songs are in the Western Torres Straits language.] (Riley, 1925, pp. 253-60.)

The native tradition that the ceremony came from the Bugi suggests that there may be some Marind or similar influence at work. During the *domandeh*, a great pig-feast of the Marind, which has little or no correspondence with the *gaera*, a pyramidal bamboo structure, *luga*, is erected, about 10 m. high, on which are hung bananas, yams, taro, areca nuts, young coconuts, etc. for the glorification of the *apanapne-anim*, who are the active directors of the feast. These *luga* correspond to the *kabe-aha* of the Mayo feast. There does not seem to be sufficient evidence to connect the *gaera* tree-framework with the *luga*, as elsewhere in New Guinea it is customary to attach food for festivals to temporary stagings.

*Sequence of ceremonies*

According to Riley there was formerly a sequence of six ceremonies through which all the Mawata youths were compelled to pass; extended over two, three, or more years. A novice was called *kowea mere*, a finding or seeing boy.

1. *Kaikai oboro*. This began with an inspection of all the gardens and was followed by a *karea* rite (aspersion with kava, *gamada*) for good luck at which the *ororaorora*, the spirits of the bush, were requested to leave the gardens. In an oval space near the gardens an announcement was made of the ceremonies to be held and of the names of the candidates for initiation. After a few days the first part of the *kakai oboro* (spirit dance with feathered sticks) was held. The boys were carried into the *horiomu* enclosure and were frightened by men disguised as spirits; the ceremonies lasted for several days. No boy could take part in a dugong expedition until he had passed through this ceremony (Riley, pp. 175-200). This is part of the *horiomu* of Landtman.

2. Yam *muguru* [or, more correctly, the *madubu* initiation]. In this the youths were instructed in the ritual method of planting yams and were introduced for the first time to the significance of the mysterious bulroarers, *madubu*, which are effective in producing an abundant harvest and each was presented with one (Riley, pp. 201-7).

3. *Gamabibi* (drum-hitting) *muguru*. This was the most important, cruel, and revolting of all the ceremonies; it was much more than an initiation ceremony, as it was an indispensable preliminary to every warlike expedition during the north-west season and was often held three or four times during that period, and they would never go to war without performing it. It was never held in the south-east season should any fighting then take place. Its object was to make the initiate fierce and courageous in war. It was sometimes called *muguru aruwa* or *ede muguru* (the snake-ceremony) or *kewori muguru*, and amongst the men in the club-house was generally spoken of as *boromo* (pig) *muguru*. The ceremony is described by Riley (pp. 208-18) and by Landtman as the *moguru*, the life-giving ceremony (pp. 350-67).

4. *Mimia aberé*. The object of which was to teach self-control and to test physical vigour, and also to ensure good health to the community (Riley, pp. 219-33; Landtman, pp. 368-74).

5. *Uruba muguru*. This important annual ceremony in memory of the recent dead was held at the close of the turtle and dugong fishing. It was not a proper *muguru* like the *gamabibi* and the *mimia*. It was a farewell to the spirits of the dead, who at the conclusion of the ceremony would return to their home in the west until the approaching wet season should be finished. This was also the time when men and women surveyed the past and speculated on the future (Riley, pp. 234-40).

6. *Taera*. Tradition says these ceremonies were originated in Daru by the Doriomo clan, which always was recognised as the leader in the *taera*, and if other clans wanted to celebrate a *taera* they had first to consult with the Doriomo and obtain their aid. They were held at intervals of from two to five years and the full series has not been carried out since 1900. The ceremonies were partly religious but mostly festive in character, and were held (1) to do honour to those long dead, (2) to ensure a good fishing season for turtle and dugong, and (3) to provide amusement for the whole community. The account given by Riley (pp. 241-52) agrees essentially with that given by Landtman, though Riley makes a distinction between the *uruba* and the *taera* which is not recognised by Landtman.

## (3) CEREMONIES COMING FROM THE TORRES STRAITS ISLANDS

*Horiomu*

The great *horiomu* or *taera* ceremony is a series of pantomimic dances and rites connected with the celebration of deaths which have occurred during the previous year, and there is an initiation ceremony in which the lads are taught about the *horiomu* and many other things as well. As it was borrowed by the coastal Kiwai-speaking peoples from Torres Straits and does not occur in Kiwai, I give a fairly full description of it, abstracted from Landtman's *Kiwai Papuans*, for it supplies a key to much that was obscure in our investigations in Torres Straits. One of the main objects of the ceremony at Mawata is to assist people in harpooning dugong.

The *horiomu* ground is an open space close to the beach and a short distance from the village. Parallel to the beach are two long screens, 2 m. high, the inner ends of which overlap so that the spectators cannot see through the entrance into the shrine beyond, which is surrounded by the bush on its other three sides. In front is the dancing ground, on one side of which, close to the screens, sits the orchestra; the performers beat drums, pound the ground with sticks, strike two shells together, or clap their upper arms or their knees with their hands; occasionally the drummers sing also, but the dancers are always silent. Nearer the beach is the place of the onlookers, where there is generally one fire for each of the five clans, at which food is cooked. Within the shrine are five exactly corresponding fires, said to belong to the ghosts, from which no firebrand may be taken. During the ceremony each clan keeps a number of harpoon-shafts, and also poles for the building of harpooning platforms, which are taken away at intervals to be used for harpooning expeditions. Within the shrine each of the five clans (p. 212) occupies its own place exactly corresponding to those of the women's places on the beach, and they never intrude on the space of another clan. Nearest to the bush on the right-hand side, when facing the central opening, is the space of the Doriomo, then follow the Gaidai, Gurahi, Hawidaimere and Marowadai; the right-hand screen belongs to the Humurubi and the left to the Odirubi. The Doriomo (crocodile totem clan) are considered to be "masters" of the *horiomu* shrine and ceremony, and their young men sound a trumpet-shell in turn within the shrine when the orchestra plays.

In the background of the shrine parallel to and of the same length as the screens is a huge heap of gay branches and leaves, the *tara*; each clan owns its own portion, from which they provide themselves with accoutrements. The *tara* is very important, nothing should be thrown away or harpooning and fishing luck would go too. It represents a store of prosperity created for the people during the ceremony; branches used in the rites may be planted in the gardens to promote growth.

The screens, supported by posts, are made of lattice-work of split bamboos into which coconut leaflets are skilfully plaited; they are decorated with shells, feathers, masks, fringed leaves, etc., and the projecting ends of the posts are capped with trumpet-shells. At each end of the screens next the bush is an additional entrance occasionally used by the ghosts during the rites. No bird or wallaby may be killed near the ground because it may be a ghost appearing in that shape. The screens are permanent erections and are put in order and redecorated each time they are needed. Thus the *horiomu* shrine forms a sort of village sanctuary, sometimes used as an assembly-place, and it is also used for other ceremonies.

The Rev. E. Baxter Riley says concerning the word *horiomu*: "Originally the word meant a feast, then the place for making a feast, then it was used to denote a screen for the dancers to dance in front of, and behind which they could retire when their turns were finished; later the word *horiomu* was used to designate the ground round about the screens. . . . The native name for the dance in memory of the dead is not called the *horiomu* ceremony (in fact there is no such thing as a *horiomu* ceremony), but *kaikai oboro*" (1925, p. 179). *Kaikai* in this case is not the jargon-English word for "food", but wands decorated with white feathers (v, pp. 251 ff.). The drawing of the *horiomu* ground given by Riley (*l.c.* p. 180) is incorrect.

The *horiomu* seems to be held annually, at the beginning of the south-east season, in celebration of the deaths which have occurred during the year. But in the rites also appear spirits of people who had been dead for a longer time, as well as an indefinite number of other ghosts which are not identified in any particular way. The entire ceremony lasts several weeks, generally occupying a few hours every day before sunset, but interrupted from time to time for a day or so by harpooning and fishing expeditions.

Dr Landtman gives the rites of the ceremony in so great detail that only the outline can here be recapitulated.

After great quantities of food and dance-decorations have been prepared, various games take place which last a couple of weeks. They generally begin with "skipping-rope" (*morihiro*), some skip by themselves. The "tug-of-war" (*iri kararamudo*) is merely play in which anyone may join without regard to clans or groups. Boys and girls only engage in the next game, the *gogobe*; this name refers to small hoops of coconut leaflets which are allowed to race before the wind along the beach. This game usually precedes the racing with toy canoes in which the participants and spectators more or less group themselves according to their respective clans, although there is hardly any regulated match. During the race some man of the Dorioimo clan blows a trumpet-shell. The last game is the *kokadi*, a kind of hockey, in which a ball of *wongai* wood is driven along the beach by means of stout sticks. In this game the Humurubi generally play against the Odirubi. The game is very rough and there are no definite rules. Although stated to be a mere play, there is a tendency to associate prowess in the *kokadi* with success in the harpooning of dugong.

On the appointed day a few men of the different clans dressed to represent ghosts emerge from the bush some distance to the west of the village, being supposed to come from Adiri. The *kokadi* is still in progress, although the clubs have been laid aside and the ball is thrown from man to man. Suddenly the ghosts are seen approaching and the game ceases. When the ghosts arrive the *kokadi* sticks are put in a line along the beach in the direction of the *horiomu* ground, along this "ghost-ladder" (*oboro-toto*) the ghosts walk; finally the sticks are placed on the *tara* according to clans and are not used again, but the ball is kept by the Dorioimo on their part of the shrine and later kept in the *darimo*. On arriving at the *horiomu* ground the ghosts begin to dance and tell the people that all the ghosts left Adiri a month previously and are on their way to visit them.

During several nights in succession the women see fresh crowds of ghosts, bearing flaming torches, going to the *horiomu*. The women are also constantly reminded of the presence of the ghosts in the daytime by dressed-up phantoms who show themselves for a few moments and then disappear, and they are told to provide food for the fasting ghosts.

One day, about the time the ghosts first arrive, some Humurubi men go to spear dugong and to bring back some of the marine grass (*damu*) on which dugong feed; this is taken to

the *horiomu* ground by an old man and an old woman of the Doriomo clan; after a certain rite the *damu* is planted at various places about the *horiomu*; inside the shrine *damu* and other objects are buried in various spots and at each of the places of the five clans, and an *esamu* twig (croton) is stuck in the ground at each spot. When planting these the man and woman blow a trumpet-shell and swing round a bullroarer (*madabu* or *ubabu*), and all the other men join in with their drums, trumpet-shells, bullroarers, rattles, etc. The old pair also bring fire to the *horiomu* from the woman's fireplace in her house, and from this all the other fires on the *horiomu* ground are lighted.

The first dance is the *oboro gama*, "spirit drum" or *kaikai gama*; it is the ordinary *horiomu* dance and is repeated at frequent intervals throughout the whole ceremony. The performers wear the ordinary ghost attire of grass and leaves that covers them from head to foot, including the face. Every dancer shakes a rattle (*korare*) and holds *warakara* branches. Some of the dancers are supposed to represent individual ghosts, particularly those of people recently dead. The women are induced to believe that they actually see their deceased friends. Even the men believe that real ghosts take part in the rites, although invisible to the naked eye, and their whole demeanour during the ceremony is inspired with awe and reverence.

The *horiomu* pantomime is composed of a great number of different disconnected episodes. The order varies a good deal, some occur daily or recur at frequent intervals, others are only performed once.

Of daily occurrence is the *oboro* or *kaikai gama*, which seems to begin every day with the *kokome*, which is danced by young men only; the women also join in this dance, standing in a line parallel to the screens. The words of the songs are said to be in the old Daru (Hiamu) language.

During the first few days of the *horiomu*, the spirits belonging to different totem clans appear in separate groups in turn; after a group has finished its dance there is an interlude during which one or more *sareamu* ghosts, belonging to the same clan, slowly move about in a bent position; they are entirely disguised by sheets of a cloth-like tissue peeled off the *sira* tree, and are regarded as the last ghosts arriving from Adiri and left behind on the way by the others.

The *imigi* are the comic characters of the *horiomu* who walk about outside the *horiomu* ground and behave in a silly manner, sometimes they pretend to attack some other less important spirit or fool about among themselves; they also harass the women, who chase them away. Their only object is to make people laugh. They are supposed to be ghosts of still-born children, or of orphans left at a tender age or having an unknown father. The *imigi* are usually personated by boys and young men, or occasionally by visiting bushmen; in addition to the ordinary ghost attire they carry a large leafy bundle under each arm suspended by a string over the opposite shoulder, and in the hand a stick with a tuft of leaves at the end, or a wooden imitation of a stone-headed club.

A third group of independent spirits who move about anywhere in the neighbourhood of the *horiomu* ground are the *morí*, who appear from time to time at will during the whole ceremony. They are chosen from among the best dancers, and their purpose is to exhibit their skill in dancing, particularly during intervals. In addition to the usual ghost attire, they wear a number of *gogobe*, rings of coconut leaflets, on the shoulders, wrists, ankles, and elsewhere, and carry a branch of wood with the twigs and leaves intact at one end; this they hold between their legs like a hobby-horse. The *morí* are considered to have



been born of ghost parents in the spirit world and have never lived on earth as ordinary men.

The *karara oboro*, "mask ghosts", wear large decorated masks, the usual type of which is like a crocodile in front and a fish behind. A few men dance at a time, the *humu* and the *odi* moieties (p. 213) being represented alternately. The dancers appear every day and the masks are kept in the shrine. The verses sung by the drummers are in the old Hiamu language.

There are two *yaruso* ghosts, one for each moiety; they wear the *karara* mask and are said to be the fathers of the *karara oboro*; each is accompanied by five *oboro ohio*, "spirit boys", one for each totem clan; they are ornamented with a great number of *gogobe* and wear a mat-like mask (*poriso*) made of sprouting coconut leaflets stitched together, and carry a rod in each hand. The *yaruso* have been men before, but the "spirit boys", like the *mori*, are born in Adiri. The main function of these two groups is to attend to the supply of provisions.

The *kupam oboro*, "big fighting-man spirit", appears every day and is continually on the run; he wears the spirit's attire, two cassowary feather tails and a leaf or *poriso* mask. In one hand he holds a stone-headed club, and a beheading-knife and head-carrier in the other, and occasionally a coconut moek head as well. The women are much frightened of him when he rushes towards them; he also makes daily excursions in the direction of the village, daily increasing his range till he reaches some distance beyond, and then shortening his daily trips. He also pretends to attack and kill the *imigi* and *mori* spirits, and the women shriek with terror and believe the victims to be really killed.

The *muru* also appears alone; his episode brings luck in the spearing of dugong and turtle. He wears green twigs and *gogobe* on his head. On one shoulder he carries the harpoon-points (*kinor*) and the *iga* ropes, used for tying the poles of the harpooning platforms together, of the *Humu* moiety, and on the other those of the *Odi*. His thighs are tied round with a great number of strings (*makamaka*) and his calves are wrapped round with banana leaves. The *muru* does not dance, but walks round and round the arena, inclined forward with bent knees, staggering to right and left. He blows a trumpet-shell continuously. The thigh-strings and banana leaves are distributed after the rite among the harpooners, the former being used on the next expedition to the reefs for tying round the harpoon line and shaft, and the latter for wrapping up the tobacco of the harpooner.

Another harpooning rite is performed by five *baura* spirits, one from each totem clan, with another spirit dancing behind each. The man in front is elaborately decorated, his face is blackened and he carries a spear provided with a feather tuft at one end, like a harpoon. His companion wears an ordinary grass garb and a *karara* mask, and holds in one hand a rattle and in the other a bunch of leafy twigs. The former represents the harpooner in the bow of a canoe and the latter the crew in the rear. As soon as a woman recognises a spearman as her husband she stands up in the front row of the spectators. The five men, holding their spears in the same way as a harpoon, dance in front of their wives, advancing and retiring slowly a few times across the ground; the women trip up and down on the same spot with quick steps, each holding a large yam in front of her. Then the spearmen withdraw to the shrine and hand over the spears to five other men and the women pass the five yams to another group. The last five men to dance are the chief harpooners of the respective clans; at the end of the dance the five women kneel down, holding the yams on the ground between their hands, and the men spear the yams,

breaking them in two. The women keep one half of the yams, dividing them among all the wives who have participated in the dance. During the next harpooning expedition the woman cooks her piece of yam and eats it at sunset. The men's portions of yams are picked up by the assistant spirits and shared out inside the shrine among the dancers. These pieces too are kept till the next harpooning expedition, when they are roasted in the canoes. Husband and wife eat their parts of the yam at the same time, the one standing on the harpooning platform, the other at home; this ensures success in harpooning. The two *baba* (short sticks with feather ornaments) which the dancers wear in their head-dress during the *baura* rite are preserved till the same expedition. The harpooner inserts one under a string round his head and fastens the other to the harpoon-shaft. Both get lost in the act of spearing, when the man throws himself into the sea, but contribute in bringing good luck.

Another episode to give luck in fishing and harpooning is the *gorihoboro*. Two women representing the moieties kneel on the *horiomu* ground with their backs to the screens holding a conical fish-trap (*worohoro* or *gonea*) under their left arms, the opening directed backwards; in each trap is put a piece of food. Two men, one of each moiety, come out from the shrine wearing a *karara* mask; they are called *gorihoboro*, from the name of the *goriho* bush, of which they hold a bunch of twigs in one hand. Each man puts one of his *goriho* twigs in the *worohoro* of the woman of his moiety. After the spirits have retired to the shrine, the two women get up and carry their traps to the beach, where they turn out the contents into the sea and also spit some *manababa* there. Immediately afterwards they tilt the traps over the objects in the water, squeezing the trap between their feet, exactly as when catching fish; the things are then thrown on land as if they were fish and left there. Shortly afterwards the women go and fish properly and are expected to have a large catch, and the men expect to have a successful expedition when next they go to spear dugong or turtle.

On a subsequent day a similar rite is performed called *oboro-pe*, "spirit canoe". A medium-sized *hae* tree with branches and leaves intact has previously been brought into the shrine. When the "spirit canoe" is being carried across the dancing ground, each woman breaks off a twig and places it in her *worohoro* and proceeds in exactly the same way as in the *gorihoboro* observance. The *hae* tree is taken back into the shrine and thrown on to the *tara*.

In certain of the dances, particularly the *oboro* or *kaikai gama*, female spirits also appear. Their part is played by beardless young men who wear a fringed skirt and have their chests covered with coconut leaves, which they keep in place by pressing their arms against the body, folding their hands over the stomach. The only dance of the "women", as in real life, is tripping up and down on the same spot. The drummers sing a song during the "women's" dance.

*Oromo-rubi oboro* are spirits of warriors armed with bow and arrows; they appear in a long line performing a very vivid dance, which imitates a fight with an imaginary foe. At intervals during the dance the drummers cease beating their drums and shout in full cry "aaa!" and then "hou-hou-hou!" the latter being the bushmen's war-cry and reminding one of the barking of dogs.

*Kepeduai-oboro* are the ghosts of bushmen who appear among the other spirits; they wear a *poriso*, a grass covering, *gogobe*, and other ornaments, and carry a bow and arrows.

After the *horiomu* proper has begun, a couple of days are generally devoted to initiating

the grown boys into the secrets of the ceremony. The main features of this are: the carrying of the young boy by some female relative on the mother's side to the beach where he is thoroughly washed by his parents to "take away smell belong woman", for up till then he has continuously associated with women. He is then rubbed with certain medicines to make him a favourite with the girls, the principal ingredient being fringes of petticoats which the mother has secretly appropriated from a great number of girls. Another ingredient is sea-foam, which is the "laugh" of the sea, so that the boy should not always be stern; certain "medicine belong dugong and turtle" are added and the whole is mixed with coconut oil in a vessel. A special fire is lighted for each boy with medicines burning in it, and the boy is enveloped in the smoke. After the boy has been taken back into the house, his mother lies down in the entrance and he walks over her, treading with one foot on her abdomen; at the ladder he is carried on the shoulder of his maternal uncle, *miduabera*, who carries him to the *horiomu*; on the way the boys and their carriers are harassed by masked spirits, who frighten the youngsters. The boys are left for a while in the shrine, the spirits withdrawing into the bush. While the *miduabera* keeps the eyes of his ward covered with his hands, one group of spirits come and stand in a row in front of the boys removing their masks and head-gear. Suddenly some trumpet-shells and drums are sounded and all the men set up a roaring, "huu-ooo!" The boys are allowed to open their eyes and see that the spirits before them are men. In a similar way other groups of spirits present and reveal themselves. The *miduabera* teaches the boy everything he ought to know about the *horiomu* and many other things as well. Finally the boys are painted and decorated, but during the ceremony they have to remain inside the shrine as long as the women are present.

Towards the end of the ceremony, after performing certain rites, the men file out from the shrine on a harpooning expedition, taking with them the various harpooning implements that have been kept in the shrine: the Gurahi men first, followed by the Gaidai, Hawidaimere, Marowadai, and lastly the Doriomo. The dugong are taken to the *horiomu*, where they are laid on the women's place. A special dance is made by a Gurahi man, who performs various rites on the first dugong caught by a Doriomo man. The dugong are cut up and the meat distributed in a ceremonial way and cooked in earth-ovens, one for each clan, and a great feast is held.

Next day a *kaikai* or *oboro gama* is held once more in the presence of the women. An expedition is made to the reefs, but with less elaborate preparations, and the dugong are cut up and divided in the ordinary way in the village. Another feast is held, this time in the village, accompanied by an ordinary *hairo* dance.

Beaver (1920, p. 74) says: "After the actual dancing of the 'spirits' is over the women go away and the food is changed from the Crocodile to the Cassowary fence and vice versa. It is then removed to the Darimu and shared out and eaten".

On the last day the spirits are supposed to return to Adiri. The women see some *imigi* passing to the west along the shore. Later they are summoned to the *horiomu* to watch the departure of the main body of spirits. The women smear themselves with mud and wail partly in sorrow for the departing dead and partly because the great festivities are over.

The groups of *imigi* and *mori* set off together. When they have gone a certain distance the *kupam oboro* rushes out and fells them with his stone-headed club; after a while they get up and go on, the *mori* still jumping about on his hobby-horse. The women watch this scene from the village. Last to come out from the shrine is the *murru*, wearing his full

equipment, ropes used in harpooning and a firebrand; one rope attached to his belt trails behind, suddenly a man pulls the rope and brings the *muru* to the ground. The great harpooners carry him back in a rigid position, head first, and deprive him of his decorations. The more sparks that fly about from the firebrand when the *muru* is being jerked to the ground, the more dugong will be speared. When on the next night the men go out to the reefs, the *muru* remains by himself in the shrine and the ghosts of successful harpooners come to him; he makes the "people lucky along dugong".

After a woman's death, a man will go to her grave and pound it with a coconut-leaf stalk; he beats the ground several times with a shell, and whistles. When the spirit is supposed to listen, he explains that the women have been deceived during the *horionu* and asks the dead not to mind.

#### *Nigori*

The turtle ceremony, or *nigori-gama*, is performed at the end of the south-east and the beginning of the north-west monsoon when the turtle copulate. It is said to belong properly to the Torres Straits islands, but is also practised in the Mawata district.<sup>1</sup> Muere, a more or less mythical man, lived on Tutu, or Warrior Island, and is supposed to have instituted the various practices regarding the harpooning of turtle, and he is represented in the ceremony.

Before the ceremony begins, the people attend to the graves of their dead. They clear the burial ground, ornament the graves with *gogobe*, put down food for the dead and pour coconut milk on each grave, saying: "You come look out turtle, give me fellow; I give you plenty kaikai, make place nice". (The graves are not attended to in connection with the harpooning of dugong; it is disastrous if a woman lights a fire on a grave, or even near the burial ground, while the men are away harpooning dugong, since the ghosts will stay by the fire instead of going out to the reefs to help the men. For this reason it is not customary at Mawata to light a fire on the graves at all, as they do in Kiwai where no dugong are speared.)

As soon as the turtle are seen floating about on the surface of the sea in copulation, the men go out, and one man harpoons the female while another catches the male with his bare hands, and both are brought into the canoe. The harpoon-head is removed from the carapace of the female and the hole stopped up with grass, so that she shall not bleed to death, then she is left lying on her back. The male turtle is forced to swallow a certain medicine, one ingredient being a small piece of a dog's penis; a grass ring is tied round his neck and he is let loose again in the water. That turtle will make all the others "cranky", the males (like dogs) will continuously be after the females and being thus occupied they will allow themselves to be speared easily.

The first female turtle to be harpooned is brought ashore to a spot on the beach near the *darimo*, where the drummers are already assembled and beating their instruments. One highly decorated man dances about and pretends to assist in hauling the turtle by means of a *kubai* held in his hand.

Landtman states that the *kubai* "is a wooden stick about 30 cm. in length carved like a man, but with a head like a bird and a long beak, forming a hook at the end. It is

<sup>1</sup> W. H. MacFarlane was kind enough to go through this account of the *Nigori* with Maino and others at Yam, and their version was substantially the same. Maino called Muere, "Muyer", and said he belonged to the same period of time as Newia (p. 83), he was "a very big man" [probably this means a very important man] who had an exceptionally large penis, which caused him to be very amatory.

ornamented with feathers and medicine plants, and on the chest is generally carved a small model turtle" (v, figs. 57, 58, p. 337).

The turtle was placed on the ceremonial ground with a ring of coconut leaves round it. The men gaily decorate themselves in the bush and the captain of each canoe sticks his *kubai* upright in his head-dress. They return to the turtle and dance round it, whistling and making as much noise as they can with drums, trumpet-shells, rattles and bullroarers, so as to bewitch all the turtle in the sea that they can be easily harpooned. A medicine consisting of water from the turtle's eyes, secretion from its cloaca, red paint and coconut oil is prepared in a vessel and with it the men smear their canoes. The turtle is cut up alive and the shell carefully preserved.

The men spend the night on the dancing ground in temporary shelters and set out next morning to harpoon more turtle, which are brought to the *nigori* ground with less ceremony than for the first turtle of the season.

On the *nigori* ground there are four separate places allotted to the totem clans where the turtle are cut up: the Hawidaimere (dog) and Gurahi (moth) clans forming one group, then follow the Marowadai (cassowary), Gaidai (snake), and Dorionio (crocodile). Near by is built a long narrow platform, *agu*, parallel to the water's edge and supported by posts, *abo*. It is covered with mats and ornamented all round with fringes of coconut leaves reaching to the ground; along the sides are sticks decorated with leaves and white feathers; at the pointed end of the *agu* stands a wooden figure representing *Muiere*, it faces the platform, wears a feather head-dress and other ornaments, and has an enormous penis (*arumo*). The people believe that *Muiere* copulates with the female turtle and causes them to lay eggs. The *kubai* are affixed upright on each side of the *Muiere* figure, one for each canoe engaged in the fishing; just before a harpooning expedition these are removed and erected at the bow of each canoe. At feasts in connection with the *nigori* they are stuck in the ground close to the supply of food; "he all same proper man, look out *kaikai*".

All the heads of the captured turtle are placed on the triangular end of the platform, in front of *Muiere*, as well as a few skulls of famous harpooners dug up from their graves; these are painted and decorated. When placing the skulls on the platform, the people invoke their assistance to make the turtle come to be caught; after the ceremony the skulls are returned to their graves. Along the platform is a long single row of turtle carapaces, that of the first caught being in front, nearest to *Muiere*, figs. 26, 27.

Near the *agu*, behind *Muiere*, other human figures are set up in a row in the ground. These *agu-markai* (*agu*-spirits) are cut out of the soft wood of the *kanharo* tree; they wear the same dance accoutrements as the men and each carries a toy harpoon. They represent certain spirits who feed on the refuse left on the beach where turtle have been cut up. Over this row of figures is suspended a string between the *agu* and a decorated post; the string, to which fringes of banana leaves are attached, is the "ladder" along which the spirits are supposed to have come from the *agu*. During the rites the men call out to the figures: "*Agu-markai*, you come give me plenty turtle". The noise of the bullroarers heard in the village from the *nigori* ground is thought by the women to proceed from the *agu-markai*, and that of the trumpet-shells from *Muiere*. The women who attend certain of the *nigori* rites are allowed to see the *agu-markai*, but *Muiere* and the *kubai* are hidden from them.

There is in addition another but smaller platform, the *ali*, at each end of which a fairly large stone is placed (also called *ali*) and nearer to the centre a few smaller ones. The stones also represent *Muiere*, for after he had taught the Tutu people the *nigori* ceremony,

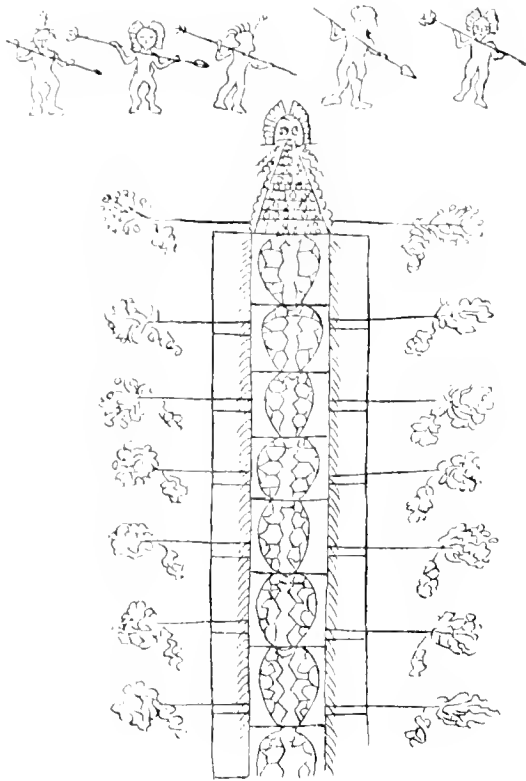


Fig. 26. Native drawing of the plan of an *agu* at Katatai, a coastal village west of the Fly. The heads of the turtles are ranged in the triangular projection; at the top are "the figures of dancers in the Woibu dance which the women perform". After E. Baxter Riley (1925, p. 127). This ceremony is not referred to in Riley's book as the publishers did not print the long account which he had written. Katatai and Parama are the only places where *agu* have been made as recently as about 1928.

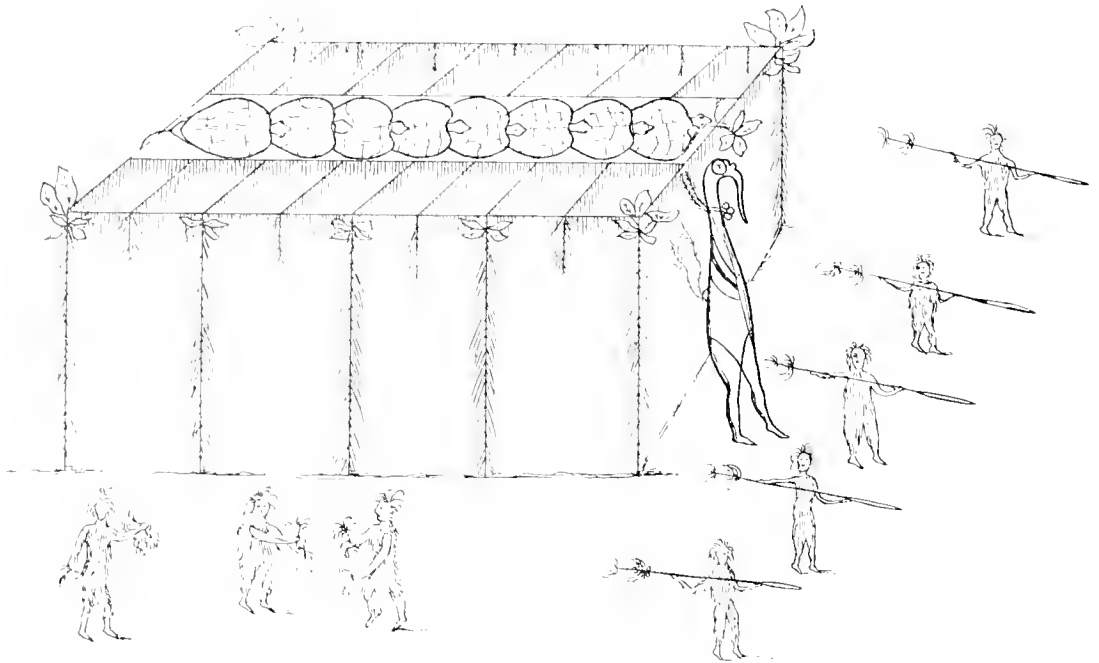


Fig. 27. Sketch by a native of Mawata of an *agu*; the three figures are labelled "Woibu" and the five "agu-marakai". Sent to me without further information by E. Baxter Riley.

he transformed himself into a stone. Right in the middle of the platform is placed a well-made wooden model of a turtle (v, pl. XVI, fig. 5). It is the office of the Hawidaimere and Marowadai clans to look after the *adi*, just as the Doriomo, Gaidai and Gurahi clans take charge of the *agu*. The Hawidaimere and Marowadai men stick their *kubai* figures into the *adi* platform during some of the rites.

On the ceremonial ground is a large hut, *kava*, walled in on three sides and provided with a roof (cf. the *kwod* at Mabuiag, iv, fig. 135). Each totem clan has its own fireplace inside. The young men's place is at the back, that of the older men nearer the opening; the youths are guarded at night by the elders, lest they should go and associate with girls in the village, a disastrous thing during the *nigori* and turtle-spearing period. The women bring food daily, which they put down with averted heads at the entrance of the *kava*.

The men dress up in the bush for the *nigori* dance and stick their *kubai* up inside their cassowary feather head-dress; they come to the ceremonial ground and dance near the *agu* and *adi*. At first they make a great noise with drums, rattles (*gore* or *korare*), bull-roarers and reed whistles, *sarangani*, while at the same time the men shake the platforms causing the leaf decorations to wave. After the uproar has subsided the men sing a number of verses (given by Landtman) referring to the platforms, the turtles on them, and the mating of the turtle; these are said to be in the island language.

When the song is over, the men remove part of their grass decorations, placing them on the platform. Then the women are summoned, and the *woibu* dance is started, the men dancing near the *agu* and the women a short distance off. The *woibu* lasts till about sunset, when the women are sent home; they have brought large quantities of food on which the men feast by themselves. After the meal *Muiere* and the *kubai* are again uncovered and the men perform the *Muiere* dance with appropriate songs (given by Landtman), the last being: "Muiere, you come help me fellow; from your basket you take him out turtle, put him outside; me spear him turtle". *Muiere* of Tutu was said always to hold a trumpet-shell before his mouth when speaking to the people, so his voice had a very hollow sound. During one of the *nigori* rites a man will hide himself underneath the *agu* and there speak into a trumpet-shell imitating *Muiere*'s voice. The women are told that it is *Muiere* himself asking them to bring him food, and they hasten to comply with his request.

The *Muiere* dance lasts part of the night, and after resting a little the men set out next morning in their canoes to harpoon turtle. Such expeditions are undertaken at frequent intervals during the progress of the *nigori*. At sunrise before they start a dance is held on the *nigori* ground to the accompaniment of bullroarers, rattles and *sarangani* whistles. It is essential that at the same time the *agu* and *adi* platforms should be shaken, for "that thing he go first, wake him up turtle; turtle he float outside, man come behind spear him turtle". After this rite part of the dancers' decorations are placed on the *agu* and the *kubai* are taken to the canoes. There the "master" of each canoe spits *sanea* and *mauababa* at the craft and *kubai* and into the water, dips the *kubai* once into the sea and then fastens it to the bow of the canoe. He mentions the name of some deceased renowned harpooner, and says: "You sing out turtle he come out quick; all me fellow hungry; you hurry up, make luck he come".

On nearing home the successful crews signal by waving a *dadu* flag (a stick to which young coconut leaflets have been fastened). The signal is immediately answered from the shore in the same way and the men and women at home begin the *wuai-kima* dance on the beach, singing and beating drums.

On the arrival of the canoes the turtle are brought to the *nigori* ground. One female turtle is cut up close to the *agu* and the blood sprinkled by means of a shell over the turtles' heads on the platform and on the *kubai*, which have been replaced there immediately after landing. The fat and eggs of that turtle are set aside "for *Muiere*", which, however, are cooked and eaten by the men during the following night, except a little which is kept as a powerful medicine. The other turtle are cut up in the ordinary way and the meat distributed according to the totem clans, and all the shells are added to the *agu*.

After the sacred images have been hidden temporarily the women are summoned and the *wuia-kima* dance is continued. Both men and women are elaborately ornamented and with both hands carry *dadu* over the right shoulder like a flag. All the dancers line up in single file, a man always standing behind a woman, his wife, or, if he is unmarried, his sister or "sweetheart". The column moves forwards and backwards across the *nigori* ground with bent knees and slightly staggering steps to the accompaniment of songs and dances. (The songs are given by Landtman.)

After the *wuia-kima* dance is over, the women leave and the men proceed to their secret rites of the *nigori*.

There is also a separate rite in which pregnant women play the principal part. These women and their husbands keep strictly apart from the rest of the people until the return of the first harpooning expedition. Then they and their "people" bring a great supply of food to the *nigori* ground, where it is heaped up. The pregnant women sit on the ground near by, and their husbands close behind them, all with bent heads. Each couple is attended by an *aramo-dubu* or guardian [MacFarlane says a brother-in-law]. The other men dress up in the bush in gay leaves and other decorations, also covering their faces. A group of musicians near the *agu* begin to beat their drums, while others swing bullroarers or blow *sarangani* whistles. At this signal the dancers emerge from the bush in single file encircling the pairs of men and women sitting on the ground. They dance with bent knees round and round, shaking a rattle close to the ears of the latter. At the same time each of the *aramo-dubu* places a medicine of turtle meat and egg in the mouth of the couple in his charge—immediately afterwards these bend their heads again. Some of the dancers whistle with a *sarangani*, others produce a wailing sound in their throat with the mouth shut. After a while the dance ceases, the food is shared out, and a feast is held. Landtman could not get any definite meaning for this rite, except the husband and wife who are sitting close together represent two copulating turtle. (See p. 158).

Introduction of the boys into the *nigori*. One morning the young boys are carried to the *nigori* ground by their *aramo-rubi* (guardians). They are made to sit on a mat close to the *agu* and are allowed to watch some of the less important dances and rites, and also the cutting up and distribution of the turtle. The secret *nigori* objects, like *Muiere*, the *kubai* and the bullroarers, however, are hidden away that day, so the boys only witness the general course of the ceremony by way of preparing them for full participation in it the next time it is held. The boys must remain on the mat all day without food or drink, and in the evening they are carried back to the communal houses.

The turtle-breeding period and the *nigori* ceremony last about two months. On one of the last days a large feast is held. Two men climb on to the *agu* and paint a red streak lengthwise over the heap of turtles' heads (some of which are decaying, while of others the skulls only remain), and along the rows of carapaces as well. At the *kara* the people meanwhile are singing to the sound of their drums "Plenty turtle have come".



First the *agu* and *ali* platforms are taken down, but the *kara* is retained for a short time as a sort of assembly place for the men. The grass decorations are burnt, and the posts may be used for making fences, propping banana trees, etc. The turtle-shells are left in a row on the ground to rot away, and the boys are allowed to play about on them, jumping from one shell to another and inspecting the harpoon holes. A pole is erected where *Muiere* has stood and on it turtles' skulls are hung, threaded on a string. At the beginning of the next *nigori* ceremony they are burnt to ashes and mixed with certain medicines into a kind of paint, with which the canoes are rubbed; this makes the turtle in the sea "cranky".

The *ali* stones are kept on the ground, but *Muiere* and the wooden model of a turtle are taken to the men's house and are looked after by the several clans. The *kubai* are rolled up in a small mat and carefully kept in a basket inside the men's house.

*Ritual connected with turtle fishing*

An account of the ritual connected with turtle fishing at Mawata is given by Riley (pp. 118 ff.). On the day before the fleet went to sea, each canoe was decorated with perfumed leaves and grasses, which were regarded as charms. A mat was spread out on the sand in front of the bow of each canoe, on which were placed a large quantity of food and a wooden figure of a man or bird on which a turtle was carved [v, fig. 57]; in this *kubai* was embodied the spirit which would bring good fortune to that canoe. Each captain sprinkled the image and food with *gamala*, and the image and canoe were entreated to bring plenty of turtle to his canoe. The spirits of their ancestors were invoked later for aid. The fluid of a coconut was poured over the image and food and the captain and crew partook of the kernel of the nut. One member of each canoe was in charge of a small bullroarer, *agumakai*, and during the expedition he swung it at sunrise once from right to left and from left to right producing two loud weird blasts. The first movement indicated the plunging of the harpoon into the body of the turtle and the backward movement its withdrawal. The *kubai* was taken from his basket and his feet were dipped in the sea and then tied amidships to the platform; food, water, and a bamboo tobacco pipe were placed in front of him, the lighted pipe was placed to his lips from time to time so that he might have a smoke. At the conclusion of this rite the image was addressed as follows: "We have given you plenty of food, good water, and a smoke; we want you to bring us plenty of good turtles; we have looked after you, you should now look after us". Sometimes when the canoes were paddling round, the *kubai* were tied to the bows of the canoes so that they might attract the turtles towards them. The person in charge of the *kubai*, usually the cook, often used abusive and threatening language to him. If no turtles were caught on that day, his food, water and tobacco would be stopped; and he would be immersed in the sea. "The ritual connected with the wood image is now a thing of the past; the regulations [given on his pp. 119-21], or most of them, are still faithfully carried out, but are rapidly losing their hold upon the rising generation" (p. 126).

The first turtle caught must be a female; when it was placed on the beach an old man chewed a root and spat upon a piece of a certain vine and inserted it into the turtle; this was supposed to render the turtle in the sea incapable of sinking. Then a hooked stick was inserted to bring a large number of turtles to that village. The turtle was dragged to the spot where it was to be killed; behind it walked four men, who trailed a mat along the ground to obliterate the marks made by the turtle's back; this was to shut out other villages from catching turtle.

Early next morning the captain and crew were clothed in shredded coconut husk and leaves. A procession was formed in which the captain of the canoe that caught the first turtle walked in front. All the captains carried a *dadu* flag and one of each crew carried a *kubai*. The men marched round the turtle two or three times with bent body and head inclined forwards. The poles of the *dadu* and the *kubai* were inserted into the turtle and all were then erected round the turtle; finally the costumes were placed on the turtle. After a time the turtle was killed and shared out to all those who had a right to it. The *dadu* and *kubai* were removed and stored in a safe place. These rites connected with the first turtle captured bear a marked resemblance to those described in vol. v, pp. 83, 84; vol. vi, pp. 213, 214.

It was customary for the crew of an unsuccessful canoe to clean the grave of the captain's father, and after doing certain things to address his spirit as follows: "We have cleaned your grave and given you a drink of water. You come with us and drink some *gamada*". The captain and his crew returned to the village and made three *kavea* rites: one for the dead man, one for the crew, and one for the *kubai*. Next morning the canoe returned to the fishing ground and had much success.

#### (4) SUMMARY

The important Mawata cults with initiatory rites are:

##### I. *Coming from Kiwai.*

1. The *moguru*, which consists of (a) rites to restore fertility to the plantations, more particularly to sago palms, and by them the people also add to their own strength and vitality; (b) introduction, especially of the girls, to sexual life; (c) the *goro moguru* is a preparation for war.

2. The *mimia* has for its objects the increase of garden produce, skill in hunting dugong and in fighting, the warding off of sickness, and lessons in self-control.

3. The *madia* is to make boys and girls good gardeners and to enable boys to be successful hunters.

##### II. *Coming from the west.*

4. The yam-bullroarer ceremony for success in growing yams.

##### III. *Coming from the islands.*

5. The *horiomu* or *taera* comprises (a) a series of pantomimes in which the spirits of the recent dead visit their village and various other spirits appear, (b) rites for success in dugong hunting. This is the *tai*, *taiai*, or *markai* of the western islands.

6. The *nigori* or turtle ceremony.

The *gaera*, or reconciliation ceremony, has no initiatory rites.

A brief comparison between the cults of the Kiwaians and those of the Marind will be found on pp. 264, 5.

#### (ii) DUDI AND PARAMA

Very little has been written about Dudi. From the legends it appears that originally there was a population possessed of a very primitive culture, who subsequently were affected by cultural influences coming from Kiwai but previous to the upheavals in Kiwai to which allusion has been made.

The island of Parama is merely a detached portion of Dudi and had the same general history.

Landtman records a few legends about this area.

## FOLK-TALES

The Katatai, Parama, and Ubiri people all developed out of maggots in the fruit of an *ubura* tree at Wiraro in Dudi. At first there were five men and five women; they had no fire, fed on certain larvae, and lived in holes in a tree. Their dwelling was broken down by a man named Sâisu who came from the Kiwai side, and taught them the arts of life. After a time some settled at Ubiri in Dudi and others at Parama, the Katatai people remained at Wiraro [Katatai is a village on the coast, west of the Fly].

A Kiwai man named Kovinoro, who was living at Wiraro where the people were greatly troubled by mosquitoes, converted a sand-bank into a habitable island to which the people went and called it Parama: there they settled in three villages, Bugido, Tetebe and Auo Mouro, made gardens and speared many dugong (1917, p. 88).

Long ago the Old Mawata and Gurahi (or Katatai) people did not know of one another, although their villages were only a short distance apart. One day a great Mawata man, named Agiwai (or Sivagu) wounded a bird and followed it; he met a Gurahi woman named Eéi, they went to Katatai for the night and next day Agiwai took Eéi to Old Mawata. Since then the Mawata and Gurahi people have been friends. Many Mawata men married Gurahi women and gave payment for them but the reverse did not take place, for the Mawata women did not want to go to Gurahi (1917, p. 89).

Parāma (Parēm, Bampton Island) is about twelve miles in circumference and is separated from the mainland by a narrow strait. "The greater portion of the island is mangrove swamp, below the level of high water. Round the margin there is at many places a belt of soil composed of mud, shells, and pumice stone, which is two or three feet above high-water mark, and grows fairly well coconut-trees, bananas, and sweet potatoes." The village Parāma consists of half-a-dozen houses from 50 to 70 ft. long and a number of new small houses, each apparently destined for a single family. "In the middle of the village there is a small temple consisting of a house about six feet square, inside of which there is a figure about two feet long with a head like that of a man with wings and fish tails and fins projecting from a small central body. This, they say, is to carry off disease from the inhabitants of the village" (W. Macgregor. *A.R.* 1889-90, p. 66).

Fifteen years earlier the Rev. Dr Wyatt Gill visited the island and left two teachers there; he refers (1876, p. 219) to "a very long house built on piles, with end verandahs. . . inside were sleeping cribs for thirty married couples [he refers on p. 240 to two large houses—one for boys and the other for girls, with elderly custodians, as at Mawata and on Saibai]. . . Near the landing place, between two trees, was a large pile of dugong bones. A number of turtle-skulls were tastefully arranged in front. In the exact centre was the skull of a man—maybe of some noted turtle-catcher. All these skulls had red crosses painted on them; this is the *marae* of the dugong and turtle-giving god. Here, too, these much-prized fish are divided, a portion being first offered to the deity. [It should be remembered that Gill had long laboured in eastern Polynesia.] Close by were two or three new graves. . . a fire was burning at the head of the most recent grave. A bunch of bananas hung from a pole. On a forked stake at the head of each grave were suspended three young cocoa-nuts. . . also a well-filled basket" [containing two drinking cups, a pipe, fire-sticks, a small mat, and some fish-hooks]. I have copied his description and illustration of "two funeral screens" (v, p. 366). [These evidently were *horionu* screens.] "These islanders are some of the fiercest in the Straits, being always at war with the tribes living on the banks of the

neighbouring Fly River... (they) are avowedly cannibals. An unmarried man of about twenty boasted that he had devoured three Daudai warriors." The heads of the women are invariably shaved, sometimes they plaster their bald heads with mud. Gill was amazed at the extent and excellence of their plantations, not a weed was to be seen, trenches ran in all directions to drain off the waters of the wet season. He figures a well-built bridge of cross sticks across a salt-water creek. Coconut trees, bananas, sugar-cane, sweet yams and sweet potatoes were growing in profusion. He saw numerous mound-nests of the *Megapodius* along the shore and there was an abundance of various kinds of birds. "Never were evangelists located under seemingly more favourable circumstances... And yet, only a few weeks afterwards, the whole party was massacred by these same islanders."

"Nowadays", says Beaver (1920, p. 55), "Parama is a most civilised village and the people among the most intelligent and enlightened in the West even as they are among the finest physically." He gives examples of the very independent spirit shown by men and women alike. "The tribe is totemistic and the totems and organisation are almost identical with those of Mawatta. Like the latter, the people are keen fishermen and a great deal of their lore is connected with the sea... As at Mawatta, turtle and dugong fishing are most important. The turtle-catching season, that is coupling time (November and December), is a lively one both from a social and a ceremonial point of view." Beaver describes the methods of fishing for turtle; he says "the canoes go out either by day or on moonlight nights with certain charms called Kobai placed on their prows. Previous to setting out on a turtle hunt a wooden figure of a man is set up by night, and a charm something in the nature of a small bull-roarer is swung. This is supposed to attract the turtle much in the same way, I suppose, as the bull-roarer is used to ensure a good crop agriculturally. The women do not see this charm and they believe that the figure itself is making the noise" (*l.c.* p. 57). He also describes the modern grave posts.

The Rev. E. Baxter Riley has informed me that the natives of Parama originally came from Dudi and were the first inhabitants of the island, also that the Parama people have intermarried with the Ērub folk for some time back.

### (iii) DAUDAI

Some of the tribes of the interior of Daudai are migratory according to A. H. Jiear (*A.R.* 1906-7, p. 17), others are settled. They are decreasing in numbers owing to injurious social practices which Beaver (*A.R.* 1908-9, p. 12) confirms in his book (1920, p. 95), and he discusses the decrease in the population of the bushmen. In writing to me in January 1910, Mr J. Cowling says that in the Kura district, Oriomo river, they have a boy or two in every village who is painted black with charcoal and wears a belt with a bunch of grass in it; he is used for sodomy. Probably these lads were undergoing initiation into some ceremony: this is the most easterly occurrence of paederasty known to me; it extends westward to the Marind.

At the extreme headwaters of the Binaturi and beyond are the Jibu and other tribes. Sir William Macgregor was the first to report on the Jibu; he refers (*A.R.* 1895-6, p. 40) to their plantations of tobacco, bananas, yams, taro, sweet potatoes and coconut palms, and to their extensive hunting grounds. They do not chew lime and betel nut, but drink the *Piper methysicum* (kava). They receive no molestation from their neighbours. A vocabulary is given in *A.R.* 1901, p. 169.

North of the Jibu are the Kuru. This was an important tribe but is now greatly diminished in numbers. Their territory is 400 ft. above sea level. Hely (*A.R.* 1896-7, p. 44) describes the country as being lightly timbered rolling ridges with sweet grass; a great drawback to cultivation is the number of kangaroos. The whole district is a planting one, taro being the staple crop. Very big gardens are made which are worked with digging sticks and shell-hoes, but the gardens are very scattered. In the west of western Papua the yam is the principal food, while away to the eastward very little but sago is used (Beaver, p. 88).

#### TRADITIONAL ORIGINS

##### *The origin of the Bugamo and Kunini people*

Once when a male kangaroo was playing in the grass at Kuru, a place at the sources of the Binaturi, its semen passed and flowed on to the ground, from it a boy, Javagi, grew up and a *gamoda* plant struck root there. A female kangaroo suckled the boy and made him into a perfect human being, she taught him the use of *gamoda*, telling him to put a little piece with every plant he grew in his gardens, and to chew *gamoda* leaf and spit over the gardens. Also she taught him how to make bows and arrows; as the boy had no stone axe, he was taught to cut off the wood by sawing it through with a rope twisted of young bamboo, and he made his bow-string of split rattan, as some bushmen do even now. The arrow points were made of palm wood and secured to the shafts with string; he had no proper *aligo* (arm-guard), but used a curled bamboo leaf instead. Once when Javagi was sawing a piece of wood in two with his bamboo rope the wood caught fire, the boy was at first much frightened, but in the night "his mother" (the kangaroo) came and said, "That good thing belong you, fire. You no fright, you cook him kaikai along that thing, you no kaikai raw". Some bushmen still make fire that way. He shot various animals for food; one day he shot a kangaroo and cooked it, not reflecting that "them fellow been make me". After eating the flesh he fell down dead and his spirit roamed over the country. Maggots bred in his corpse. Finally a kangaroo came and spat a certain "poison-wood" over the boy, recalling him to life. The kangaroo cut off a small piece of its tail, so that by means of it the boy might transform himself into a kangaroo if he wanted to kill anyone secretly, and he was also given "medicines" to enable him to assume the form of a snake, pig, or hawk. The kangaroo taught Javagi many secret methods of killing men. When the boy came to himself, he knew that he was forbidden to eat kangaroo meat. Since then, none of the bushmen ever eat kangaroo, although their women do. Only when practising certain kinds of sorcery will a bushman eat a little kangaroo and human flesh together, which causes him to become "cranky", "make him body wild, him go kill man".

Javagi roamed about the bush, he had no house, but camped every night in a different place, and after lighting a fire in the evening, cooked the game he had shot. He wandered over the country giving names to different places, for they were all uninhabited and had no names before. Ngamuara, Binamenea, Jibu, Bodugo, Magi, Sawa, Gama, Worupi, Dirimo, and Kunini were named by him. At Bugamo he came across a woman, Orle-walo (= the flower of a certain tree) and her girl Morari (from *Mora*, arrow) who had arisen out of maggots in a decaying *amuhe* (*novai*) fruit: they lived in a *novai* tree and fed on swamp fish only, for they had no garden [an interesting conversation between them is given by Landtman (*l.c.* p. 84)]. As they were nude, Javagi taught them how to make petticoats from the inner bark of a tree, but meanwhile kept himself at a distance. Javagi laid out

beds and put up some large leaves for a shelter; he slept with the elder woman and hunted game, while they made gardens. In due time the woman gave birth to a son, Baduame; as soon as the boy was weaned Javagi and Orle-walo went away to Kuru (a place at the sources of the Binaturi), leaving the girl to look after the boy.

Morari and Baduame remained at Bugamo. Now there were many people living at Kunini, on the other side of the Binaturi. They also had sprung from maggots which had grown in the fruit of Orle-walo and Morari's *norai* tree, but their fruit had fallen into the water and floated to the other river-bank. One day Morari for the first time saw and spoke to the Kunini people. The Kunini men climbed up a tree which was leaning over the river, hooked a branch of a tree on the opposite bank and tied the two together. "Road here, you come", they said to Morari and Baduame, and the two went across and remained with the Kunini people. They are the ancestors of the Bugamo group, and their descendants since that time have had gardens on the Bugamo side of the river. The Kunini people used to go to the sea to catch fish and crabs; later on, in consequence of a great sickness, they migrated to the coast and permanently settled down at Pomoguri close to Turituri (Landtman, 1917, pp. 82-5).

This sickness was said to be due to a curse by the ghost of a famous very large and old crocodile called Wabodame that lived on the left bank of the Binaturi not far from Dirimo, and had been wantonly killed. A number of villages shifted their quarters. The inhabitants of Magi and Sawa were wiped out and the Dirimo folk were nearly annihilated. After a time, when the survivors thought that the bane of the crocodile had ceased, they began gradually to move back to their old homes. Some places, where the people had died out entirely, remain deserted (*l.c.* p. 471).

Landtman (1917, p. 85) gives a long legend which the natives evidently consider an important one as the substance of it is well known and widely spread.

Baduame, the head-man of the Bugamo, was a great hunter. One day he got wild and shot some children in revenge for the slighting he had received when he was a small boy. He left his village and wandered about the country, but finally settled at Jibaru, a bush village to the west of the Binaturi; here he married and had a son, Bidedu. One day when his father was homesick, Bidedu said he would go and have a look at Kuru [which evidently was the ancestral home of the Bugamo]. On coming to Ije, within sight of Kuru, he sat down under a *kaparo* tree. A hawk that had seized a dugong bone, which the Hiamu of Daru had thrown away, alighted upon the tree and dropped the bone. Bidedu picked up the bone and carefully noted the direction in which the bird flew. Next morning he put the bone in his basket and set off in the direction taken by the bird and eventually reached the sea-shore at Dudupatu near the Oriomu and saw Daru in the distance and surmised that the hawk had picked up the bone there.

The original people of Old Mawata were living in the stem of a large creeper called *buhere-apoapo*. Bidedu walked under the creeper, without knowing that anyone was living inside it, but hearing voices he split open the stem with his bone coconut-husker, and men, women and children came out. Bidedu performed the *karea* rite [i.e. he sprinkled them with *gamodu* (kava) fluid] and told the people that they ought to leave the inside of the creeper, a home for rats and snakes, and come out into the open, "walk about, see wind, moon, star all right". The leader of the Mawata people was Bija. They wanted to prepare a meal for Bidedu and brought to him earth instead of sago and very inferior wild fruits instead of bananas and coconuts. They ate everything raw as they had no fire. When

Bidedu saw what poor food the people had, he said he would go to Kuru and return to them.

At Kuru Bidedu provided himself with all kinds of garden produce for eating and planting, and also *gamoda* and tobacco, etc., as well as a glowing fire-brand. His wife helped him to carry the things. On his return he instructed the Mawata people how to use the different kinds of food; he taught them how to build houses and make gardens, and the people were very happy. "Several Mawata families profess to know the names of all their ancestors up to Bidedu and Bija, as many as six or more generations ago" (Landtman, 1917, p. 87).

Mr T. Reeves Palmer in 1916 gave me a short version of this legend which agrees closely with the above, except that the Kuru man was named Manuka or Manuga, the bird that dropped the bone was a hornbill, and that finally Manuka returned to his own country. A. P. Lyons (*J.R.A.I.*, LI, 1921, p. 428) gives a part of this tale; he says the *buhere-apoapo* is the D'Albertis' creeper.

We may take it for granted that Bidedu, who came from the northern interior of Daudai, taught the primitive coastal people better ways of living, or at all events that a definite culture drift was associated with a particular person. This was the first introduction of the culture of the lower Fly district, a feature of which was the use of kava; this culture must be clearly distinguished from the Kiwainian culture of the estuary of the Fly, which apparently reached Kiwai from the northern shore of the estuary.

At this time the Hiamu of Daru had a relatively advanced culture which certainly was not derived from the estuary of the Fly or from the immediate neighbouring mainland. As the spirits of the dead represented in the *horionu* were supposed to be paying a visit from Boigu to their earthly home, we may fairly safely assume that these spirit-pantomimes also came thence and, further, that the culture of which they formed a part had its eastern limit at the Mai Kussa. If this be so, it follows that the rites connected with dugong hunting were a local addition to the intrusive death cult.

The cultural movement associated with the name of Bidedu was quite distinct from and much earlier than the westerly raids from Kiwai which resulted on the flight of the Hiamu, and the yet more recent colonisation of Turituri and Mawata from Kiwai.

The Kumini were living with the Gowa (in the interior) for a number of years after Kuke settled at Turituri, but owing to dissensions they moved to the coast, where they were allotted land by Duba, chief of Turituri, but the latter retained the coconut palms growing there, though the Kumini were allowed the fruits of those growing on the village site (*J. B. Cameron, A.R.* 1892-3, p. 67; B. A. Hely, p. 69). Beaver states (*l.c.* p. 62) that the Kumini have taken to seafaring to some extent, but cannot get rid of the "bushman" taint.

#### MASINGARA

About two miles inland north of Mawata is the double village of the Masingara (Masingle), who were the first inhabitants of the area and were part of the original bush stock; indeed one tradition says that all the bush tribes originated from them, but other traditions do not bear this out.

D'Albertis (1881, II, p. 180) met and described some Masingara in 1876, but the first account of these people was given by Macgregor (*A.R.* 1890-1, p. 46). He describes the houses for the men as being about 40 or 60 ft. long, without walls and not built on posts, the occupants sleeping on the ground. In these houses are trophies of the chase consisting

of the skulls of hundreds of wild swine, and the breast-bones of great numbers of cassowaries. Then there are numerous family houses, the sides and ends of which are completely closed down to the ground, in which the women and children live. It was on this occasion he discovered that *Piper methysicum* was chewed and he describes the process; he was told that it was the custom of this tribe to drink it when they had any important business to discuss. He compares the "inornate custom" here with the elaborate drinking of kava in Oceania. This record is reprinted in *J.A.I.*, XXI, 1891, p. 204. B. A. Hely (*A.R.* 1893-4, pp. 54, 55) gives a detailed account of their laws regarding property and land tenure. He says there is a population of about 400. Masingara is divided into six divisions: Anewati (8 houses), Doregi (10 houses), these two share 1 men's-house; Uberepupu (17 houses), Gomodoro (9 houses), these two share 1 men's-house; Toaenigi (16 houses, 1 men's-house), U'piapupu (7 houses, 1 men's-house). [It is not stated what is the significance of these groupings.] He says the houses are small, but half of each is shared with the pigs; houses are generally built on the ground but in some cases are erected on piles [doubtless copied from Mawata]. Married men live with their wives and families; single men and boys above the age of puberty live in the men's-houses. The villages are kept much cleaner than those of the coast tribes and the people plant crotons and other ornamental plants about the village. Murray (1912, p. 194) makes a few remarks about them, and, in *A.R.* 1912-13, p. 16, says the Masingara and Burawa apparently belong to the same tribe. Measurements of 11 men taken by Seligman were published by me in 1916, p. 14. Beaver (1920, pp. 90-6) says a little about them and Landtman (1927) gives valuable information scattered about in his book.

The following account of the totemism of the "Masingle" is given by Landtman (1927, p. 189). Every person has one chief totem and several subsidiary ones. All the totems, *aluamo*, are animals, but some say that the bullroarer, *rirangode* or *erapisa-pisa*, is also a totem. In several cases different clans have the same chief totem while differing as to the subsidiary ones. There are two exogamous moieties, but any man of one moiety can marry any woman of the other moiety [probably this means, provided that kinship rules are not broken].

I. The *Mlobe* moiety (chief totem, pig) consists of the following clans: *mlobe*, *obeutope*, *nugumura'ae*, *sibletope*, *baguaingle*, *waglaiame*, and *pita-doreame*. II. The *Dariame* moiety (chief totem, cassowary) consists of the clans: *dariame*, *dagalubi*, *rirangode* (*erapisa-pisa*), *uaua*, and *iria'ame*.

Landtman enumerates numerous totems, but there is no information concerning the totems of each clan.

The following tale is given by B. A. Hely (*A.R.* 1894-5, p. 45). When the Masingara were living at Sariwe, a man named Usai was walking near the crossing place on Pndumatura creek on the boundary between the Masingara and Badn countries. He heard a crocodile talking and singing to its two young ones in the Masingara language, so he went back and told the people about it; they went to the spot where the crocodile was and asked him to become their "god" and they would take him to Sariwe, and promised to provide him with food. Nugu, the crocodile, declined the honour and disappeared in the water. Then they caught Nugu and one of his young ones named Ulbe, who was held by Nugu under one of his fore legs, and took them to Sariwe and put them in a house. After a time it was noticed that children who were left in the village while their parents went to the gardens were occasionally missing. It was then discovered that Nugu had been eating the children,



but he refrained from doing so when the people promised to supply him with pigs. [This seems to be an attenuated version of the novice-devouring monster.]

In a small house [*maria*] in which unmarried men live at Masingara there are two well-carved effigies of these two crocodiles; that of Nugu is about 8 ft. long and that of Ulbe about 4 ft. long. They are used at the large hunting dances, being placed in the middle of the circle of dancers, and are anointed with pig fat and refreshed with libations of *sie* [kava]. There is also an effigy of Nugu in human form "which is kept in the chief's house and is the great totem of the tribe". Beaver (1920, p. 92) says it "was looked upon as a garden god".

*The origin of the Masingara*

Long ago (according to Landtman, 1917, p. 77) there lived at Masingara a woman named Ua-ogrerere; she had no husband and no children. She had always existed, she had not been born, neither had she sprung from the ground nor from a tree. Once she speared a kangaroo and left the body without cooking it, from the body maggots appeared which developed into small babies. Ua-ogrerere fed them, and when they grew up she taught the boys how to make bows and arrows and the girls to make petticoats from the bark of a tree. She told them to marry each other, gave them all sorts of fruits and plants, and told them to drink *gamoda* before making their gardens. The men and women built houses, one for each couple and a men's-house, *maia*. Ua-ogrerere taught the men to hang up the bones of pigs and cassowaries in the *maia*; she taught one man sodomy and told him to instruct the young men in the practice, so that they might grow into tall men, as hitherto the people had been so short that the men's beards reached to the ground. After the introduction of the new custom the young people grew very tall, but the parents and a few others who had not practised it remained short. On one occasion, the young tall people were sent by their parents to hunt in the bush, and on their return they found the old fathers, who had arisen from the maggots, assembled in the men's house, each one standing at one of the posts (the house was built on the ground, not on piles, and there was no floor). On the return of the young men, the old people sank into the ground; the children tried to keep them back, but could not stop them. After the old people had been swallowed up by the earth, their voices could still be heard saying, "All post along man-house you call him *agetobe-memeu*", and enjoining them to attend carefully to their houses and gardens, and when they killed a pig or cassowary, every child was to put some by that post where his father went underground. They said that the children were proper men, but they themselves were maggots from a kangaroo and not proper men. Ua-ogrerere inaugurated a great ceremony, connected with the initiation of the young men, in which a kangaroo plays an important part. The people were strictly forbidden to eat kangaroo meat. At last she became very old and said farewell to the people; there was a small hut with one side of the roof resting on the ground while the other was supported by a post, she went on to the roof by the post and then began to climb up a rope which was hanging down from the sky. After a time the rope broke and one end fell to the ground, but the woman remained in the sky. All taro, yams and sweet-potatoes derive their origin from Ua-ogrerere, and she helps people in their garden work; on festive occasions they offer food to her, which is placed on the ground close to the men's-house.

The short people, in one version, became various birds and animals, and also certain mythical beings in the bush.

In one version, there were two sisters who lived at Sareére, near the present Masingara,

who looked after the people who developed from maggots. The practice of sodomy was enjoined, but some refrained and these remained very short of stature. The tall and short people constituted two distinct groups and took part in dances and other festivities in separate formations. Fa-ogere (one of the sisters) reprimanded the short men for disregarding her directions, and feeling themselves slighted, they went away one night and hid themselves in the bush, where they transformed themselves into various kinds of animals. When the tall men came to look for their short brothers, one of the latter told them, "You fellow man, me fellow belong *oboro* [spirit of a dead person]"; the tall men wanted to prevent them from going away, but could not. Since that time the Masingara always form the columns of dancers of alternate pairs of tall and short men, and in other ways too they avoid separating the tall and short people into different groups.

One informant said that the name of the woman was Kuin.

*The origin of the Bush tribes*

A "Dirimo" man told Landtman (1917, p. 80) that a woman named Mole-ege lived by herself at Glulu [Gururu]. She felt lonely and wanted to make some people. She collected maggots from a dead bird, expecting them to grow into men, but that did not happen. The maggots from the carcase of a cassowary and a pig also disappointed her, but she succeeded with the maggots from a dead kangaroo which she had killed by her mere word. The maggots turned into babies and when they grew up Mole-ege made the boys and girls marry. The present bush tribes are the descendants of these people. . . . One day, she told these people, "By and by me (we) no die, stop all time. You fellow look me". She showed them how to open the skin over the nose, "Skin he break here, chuck him away old skin, man he come out, new skin he come, no more old". The people, however, frustrated her in her scheme by killing a pig in her absence, which she had ordered them to keep alive (1917, p. 110). The killing of the first, a supernaturally produced, pig caused the death of Marumogere and his wife, Dodi-abere, and since then all men have died (1917, p. 342). [Sido also tried to secure immortality by sloughing his skin like a snake (p. 375).]

*Wanderings of the Masingara and other Bush tribes*

The following traditions were told to Landtman (1917, pp. 81 ff.). All the bush tribes originated from the Masingara. Owing to a fight started by two boys there was a complete rupture among the people and the different groups separated. Some men remained at Masingara, the rest departed for Irupi, Tati, Jibaru, or Sawa (on the Dirimo side). Up to the present time these different groups have waged war on each other continually. One version says that the fight started at Glulu and some people settled at Irupi, eventually the Glulu people moved to Masingara; another that the fight began at Masingara and the people went away and settled at Tati, Sogale, Irupi, Glulu, and Aderapupu. After a time the Irupi and Aderapupu people fought, and the latter moved back to Masingara. Another tale says that the Masingara people formerly lived at Sareeve and were desperately troubled by mosquitoes, so they asked their head-man, Barberi, to find a mosquito-free place and he discovered Masingara. Another one tells that the Masingara and Aipupu people lived at Aipupu, close to Glulu; they moved to Bureau and thence to Masingara.

The Drageri people used formerly to live at Muere; owing to the ravages of a crocodile they went to Irue. From that time they had constant fights with the Mawata people at their various coconut groves. Later on they moved to Drageri, a bush village west of the Binaturi. E. R. Oldham (*A.R.* 1925-6, p. 55) gives a few notes on the Glulu.

## DIRIMU

The Dirimu live up the Budupupu, or Kunnibalaga, the eastern affluent of the Binaturi. Physically they resemble the other peoples west of the Fly. Beaver (1920, p. 85) describes them as "a dark weedy lot, much addicted to the wearing of clothes. They live in a mixture of small communal houses both on piles and on the ground... In numbers they are distinctly on the decrease". A few remnants of other tribes are added to the original Dirimu. The following information was given to me by Mr T. Reeves Palmer.

There are three main exogamous clans, or divisions, which are termed *gu*, this is also the term for a totem.

1. Pewa, their *gu* (totem) is the *banga*, duck or teal.
2. Dariame ,, ,, *pita*, black cockatoo.
3. Milobo ,, ,, *gimai*, white pigeon.

I give the information on the totem clans as I received it from Mr Palmer, who did not go into the matter seriously. On comparing it with the admittedly imperfect data about the Masingara, it seems that the Dirimu have two clans, *milobo* and *dariame*, which in name correspond with the two Masingara moieties *mlobe* and *dariame*. The third main clan is not represented among the Masingara. I do not understand what Palmer means by "main clans"; probably that they are the largest ones and that there are others.

Married people may not call their parents-in-law by their names, but must use the term *gite*. All others of the opposite *gu*, i.e. the one to which husband or wife, as the case may be, belong, are called *galiamo*.

Children of women originally belonging to the same clan, irrespective of the clan into which they have married, are in the relationship of *bre-e*, and may not marry each other.

On marriage a boy gives his sister into the clan from which he takes his wife. Failing a sister, he gives goods, but this leads to a lot of quarrelling. Not infrequently a girl, not necessarily his sister, but one from his own clan, is handed over to the other clan. This is of course an arrangement between the boy and some other of his clan, and almost certainly means a pay-back later. In one case a man gave a girl to a friend, so that the latter could get a wife in exchange: a daughter of this marriage was given to the former man.

A mother's brother is of no particular importance. It is customary for the girls to propose marriage to the boys and not the reverse; the boy obtains the consent of his parents before marriage. If one of two men who are friends, but in no way related, dies, the other takes complete charge of the children. The children of these two families are considered as true brothers and sisters, though not related at all, and a girl of either family can be given in exchange as a wife for a boy of either family.

Land appears to be held by the *gu* and distributed to responsible individuals by the old men of the locality. Women on marriage lose possession of what land, coconut palms, etc. they may previously have regarded as their own; these go back to the *gu*. At the death of her husband the widow returns to her original *gu* and regains possession of what she had before her marriage; if she has any children they are taken from her and cared for by members of her husband's *gu*; this causes a lot of heartburning among the women. A father leaves his land to his own sons and not to those of relatives; daughters can inherit when there are no sons. If a mother, being without brothers, has inherited land from her father, that land goes to her sons and not to her daughters, unless she has no sons. A father during his lifetime may give a few palms, etc. to his son, and on his

death it is probable that the old men of the *gu* allocate to the son those palms, etc. which had belonged to his father. A man travelling from one village to another can claim food from those in that village who have the same *gu* as himself. Mr Palmer believes that there is a good deal of communal holding of things within the *gu*.

A ceremony takes place towards the close of the north-west season which is known as the *bromo-giri*, a pig-dance, and lasts for four days. Pigs are an essential feature of the ceremony; they are caught when small about the beginning of the previous south-east season, that is, nearly twelve months previously. Large quantities of taro and bananas are heaped up in readiness for the ceremony and are eaten during the course of it. At the beginning of the ceremony wooden human effigies, *udo*, are brought out and laid on the ground, the male effigies on one side and the female on the other of the dancing ground, close by the men's-house, *maia*. The women stand on the side where their effigies are and the men sit down on the other side. The pigs for the feast are placed behind the men. The dancing is intermittent and consists in the men dancing round the *maia* in double file, followed by the women, the *udo* being carried on their owners' backs. This takes place during the first three days. On the fourth day the pigs are killed and their fat is rubbed over the *udo*. The *udo* are used only on this occasion; during the rest of the year each man keeps his in his own house, *meta*, where it is tied to a post. It is not necessary that there should be a *udo* for this ceremony, but those who have them are held in more esteem. A man who can make one is considered especially clever; the carving is always done in secret and the *udo* is produced with great pride when completed. The male effigies belong to men and the female to women, any person can have one. It is customary for a man to make a present of a female *udo* to the woman who feeds and looks after the pigs.

*Gamada* (kava) is drunk at this ceremony and to some extent on other occasions as well, but only by the fully grown men and by women past the age of child-bearing. It is chewed by men only: the chewed root and saliva are spat into a piece of *choblabe* (the leaf sheath of a coconut palm) and then squeezed into half a coconut shell, the process is repeated several times. Mr Palmer understands that the fear of attack by neighbouring tribes is the reason why *gamada* is not indulged in more freely. The young men of the village are sent out to keep watch and protect the village as the *gamada* incapacitates the drinkers for a time; thus the practice is well under control.

Mr J. Bruce Freshwater presented a *udo* to the Cambridge Museum (fig. 28). In a letter dated March 31, 1915, he says: "The wooden image does not belong to the Kiwai-speaking people. I found it in the deserted village of Irimisi on the Binaturi. The place was deserted on account of several deaths in the village. I found the image in one of the houses and naturally thought they did not value it, so took it. I found that they used it in their ceremonies connected with the planting of their bananas. After their gardens are finished they make a feast and dance and at this time bring out the image and anoint it with coconut oil. It is a symbol of fruitfulness". Beaver (1920, p. 90) refers to similar effigies.

So far as Mr Palmer can make out, the large kangaroo, *cheba* (not the small bush kind), is regarded as the common Mother of all the Bush people of the district. An old woman living in the neighbourhood of Glulu (Gururu) was the only person on the earth. Being desirous of making human beings, she made various attempts, following the same plan. After ineffective experiments with the bandicoot, small kangaroo, pig, cassowary, etc., she finally killed a large grass kangaroo, *cheba*, and left it for four days to rot. On opening it up she found it full of grubs, *uplo*; this time they were as large as a finger and not the little

maggots of the earlier attempts. Thus encouraged she made a large fire, and at some little distance away made a low framework under which she placed embers from the large fire, so as to maintain a moderate heat. She procured a *kuko*, the cup-like receptacle between the palm stem and the leaf of the *pugo* (the *tere* of Kiwai or *te* palm), into which she put some water and the *uplo*. This was placed on the framework and the gentle heat caused the *uplo* to swell; eventually they burst and children came out. The woman reared the children and so peopled the country, and therefore the kangaroo is tabooed to them as food; but this prohibition is now breaking down. Dirimu men now sell *cheba* for the Kiwaiian plantation labourers to eat, who have not this taboo. Though they now profess not to believe the legend, the men will not eat *cheba* themselves, but their children do.

#### (iv) THE EXTREME WEST OF PAPUA

There is a certain amount of scattered unsystematic information in the Annual Reports and elsewhere about the tribes living to the west of the Binaturi, of which only a few notes can here be recorded. The character of the country is described by A. P. Lyons (*A.R.* 1920-1, p. 64) and F. E. Williams (1935).

The Masingara are friendly with the neighbouring tribes, with the exception of the Badu, who live about five miles to the north-west. The Badu claim to be the owners of the coconut palms which their forebears planted at the mouth of the Binaturi before the Kiwaiians arrived, and hence their enmity with the Mawata as well as with the Masingara (W. Macgregor, *A.R.* 1895-6, pp. xix, 41). In 1888 I obtained a number of Badu skulls which were hanging in clusters under one of the long houses of Mawata.

About twelve miles north-west of the Masingara is Somlos, which was first visited by Sir William Macgregor in 1895; the people drink kava, but do not chew betel nut.

Macgregor states that the Dabu and Togu or Toga were driven from the coast into the swampy land of the interior near the Pahoturi by the Tugeri (*A.R.* 1890-1, p. 43). The stockaded village of Tog which Kwoiam attacked (v. p. 74) may have been that of the Togu when they lived on the coast, but Williams (1935) refers to the village of Tug on the coast of Strachan Island near the mouth of the Mai Kussa.

Beaver (1920, p. 101) says that formerly the Bush people were subjected to a great deal of annoyance by the islanders. Parties of Saibai men were in the habit of sailing up the Pahoturi on hunting and so-called trading trips and the Boigu men did the same. Beaver

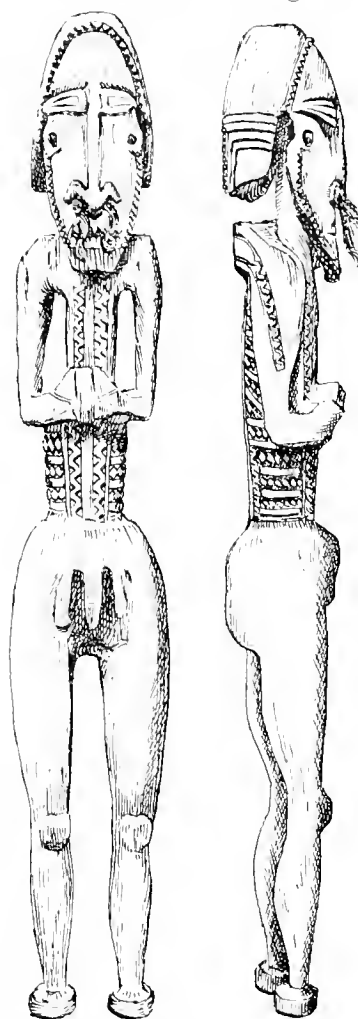


Fig. 28. *Udo*, Irimisi village, Binaturi, height 46 in. (116.7 cm.). Given by J. Bruce Freshwater to the Cambridge Museum. Landtman, 1927, gives a photograph (Fig. 104 C, p. 380) of this image under the impression it is a *mimia* figure.

notes that the Paho people are almost black and wear their hair in short curls; to the westward the prevailing colour is much lighter.

Leo Austen (*J.R.* 1919-20, p. 113) gives an excellent general account of the Yende who live at the headwaters of the Pahoturi. On the whole their customs resemble those of the Keraki. They do not know how to make fire, so if the fires in a village go out, they have to borrow a fire-brand from elsewhere. Native tobacco, *sakop*, is grown in large quantities for trade. The origin of the Yende was in this wise. Gulbeweliang sprang from the ground at Wieli; he journeyed to Karama in the far north-north-west and married a woman there named Bigag; they brought various plants and animals to Wieli. They had ten grandchildren, five of each sex, who married each other. The ancestor divided them into five clans and gave land to each clan. At that time they ate their food raw, but Gulbeweliang heard that on the coast far to the south there was fire, which a small lizard brought to him. The spirits of dead men, animals, plants, and inanimate objects go to Karama, which is a replica of this world. It is a place where thought forms take shape and it is guarded by a chief named Gara. A man can visit Karama in his dreams.

Paho Island, at the mouth of the Pahoturi, is much used by the Mawata people as a temporary camp, either while they are on fishing trips or when they go to Mabudauan to make gardens. The part used for houses is that facing the old station site. On the other side, facing the sea, is a well-known spot with a small rocking-stone, and nearby a flat stone on the ground evidently covering a hollow. The former is the home of a local "devil" named Besai, and the stone over the hollow is her drum. When stamped upon it gives forth a muffled echo. When a death occurs at either Mawata or Turituri the boom of Besai's drum can be heard as the spirit passes Paho, and also the rumbling of the rocking-stone nearby. Even when the people are camped at Mabudauan they know when somebody has died at home by these sounds at night (Beaver, 1920, p. 104). Beaver also refers to Sido's footprints on a rock near the water's edge and the fig tree near the highest part of the island under which the spirits of the dead weep. All these are referred to by Landtman (1917, pp. 111, 198; 1927, pp. 285, 287, 301), who says Bāsai is a mythical woman (p. 285), but also says: "The name Bāsai is sometimes used for a mythical being inhabiting that spot, but in other cases this being is said to be a woman named Kaibani who lives underneath the stone" (1917, p. 198).

The mass of granitic rock and boulders known as Mabudauan, which lies to the west of the mouth of the Pahoturi and is in fact the only hill in the neighbourhood, is not unnaturally associated with the folklore of the natives.

Landtman (1917, pp. 192-6; and in an abbreviated form, 1927, pp. 146, 287, 300) gives some tales of a legendary man, Wawa, of Mabudauan ("Mabudavane") who lives inside a huge block of stone (granite). From Wawa's house a path leads to a flat slab of rock on which he sharpens his stone axe, as can be seen from some oblong marks in the rock. Landtman gives photographs of both these rocks. The spirits of dead Mawata people pass Wawa's house on their way to Adiri, the land of the dead. The people of Mawata plant gardens at Mabudauan and come there to catch crabs and fish; "Nowadays the people do not appeal to Wāwa as carefully as they used to, and this is the reason why they do not get so many crabs now as formerly".

At Bugi to the east of the mouth of the Togi (Mai Kussa) have now been collected the remains of various tribes from Strachan Island and the neighbourhood which had been nearly exterminated by the "Tugeri". The Bugilai were visited about 1890 by J. Chalmers,

who gave a brief account of them (*J.A.I.* XXVII, 1897, p. 139; XXXIII, 1903, p. 108). S. H. Ray (*J.A.I.* XXVII, p. 141) says that the language of the Bugilai shows some connection with that of the Dabulai to the east; the latter has more agreement with the eastern language of Torres Straits than with any of its nearer neighbours. Beaver (1920, pp. 106 ff.) alludes to this and neighbouring small tribes. A tale is told (v, p. 55) of Kari, a youth of Bugi, who left his parents and danced all the way to the Tugeri country. Landtman gives the tale of Madara and his wife Sine who lived at Bugi. A *kiwai-abere*, a malignant female spirit, induced Sine to climb up a tree, which the spirit caused to grow so high that Sine could not come down. The *kiwai-abere* then made Madara believe that she was Sine. A large snake Maigidubu, who appeared in his human form at night, rescued Sine, who by this time had borne a son. He adopted them and treated them well. One day he issued invitations for a big dance which Madara attended and saw Sine. Everything being explained, Madara went home with his son who was now grown up, and they killed the *kiwai-abere*. They returned and all lived with Maigidubu, who by that time resided in a large house instead of in a tree (1917, p. 228). Landtman gives (pp. 456-9) other stories of a snake-man who protects a woman, but the names of the people concerned vary, and, though not so stated in two tales, they all evidently are variants of the Bugi story about Maigidubu; in one of them a Bugi man, named Usari, went away in anger to Tugagoro, whence he never came back. "His people are very numerous, they are the Tugere tribes who come and fight the Budji people" (*l.c.* p. 459).

F. E. Williams has made a valuable study of the tribes of the Morehead district (*Papuans of the Trans-Fly*, 1935), of which only the briefest account can here be given.

The Mikud and other tribes live between the Pahoturi and a line northwards from the Mai Kussa. They have a large number of patrilineal totem clans which are largely localised. Moieties have not been recorded.

The Keraki occupy the area westwards nearly as far as the Morehead river. Between the Morehead and the Bensbach are the Gambadi and the Semariji, respectively south and north of about 8° 45' S. lat. See Map, p. 208.

North of the Keraki from about 8° 25' to the Fly are the Wiram and other tribes. The Wiram have five patrilineal totem clans, each with a single animal totem, which are grouped into two moieties.

The Keraki comprise nine tribes, of which the most centrally situated are the Yarne and Keraki Proper. The tribe, though a recognised social unit, has not much cohesion, the really important unit is the small local section group, of which there are three or four in every tribe.

The whole population of the Morehead district is divided into three patrilineal groups: Bangu, Maiawa (only about 12 per cent.), and Sangara. The first two are closely associated and may not intermarry; thus there are two exogamous moieties, Bangu and Sangara. The three groups are distributed all over the area and are also termed respectively as Front, Middle, and Rear.

They are not clear about their *yuvi*-totems, which are also called *kaki*, ancestors. These have little significance in the lives of the people, the most prominent are the brown kite of the Bangu and the white-headed hawk of the Sangara. More important are the *tuarar*, a term applied to the totem and the local totem group. Each group has a magical control over its *tuarar*, which is exercised at local shrines at which there usually are sacred stones, "eggs". Their action is ambivalent. The local group hunts, makes sago, gives feasts, is

responsible for the negotiation of marriage, plays the leading part in rituals, combines to initiate boys, and owns the major bullroarer and organises the ceremonies connected with death. The majority of the local totems belong to the Bangu moiety.

Williams suggests that the hawk totems of the Bangu and Sangara moieties have been superimposed upon the more primitive local exogamous totem groups, and infers that the Bangu spread into the area from the south-west and that later the Sangara came from the east.

The sun mythologically belongs to the Bangu and the moon to Sangara. Predominantly associated with Bangu are the bullroarer, the lawyer-cane, the "female" drum, rain-making, crocodile-tooth magic, and the ginger root. The Maiawa section is credited with the introduction of lime. The Sangara have few prerogatives: a particular garden rite, and the sacred *ari* pipes made of the *kajan* bamboo.

According to myth, the people were liberated from a tree. In the Bangu version this occurred at Kwavaru, east of the mouth of the Morehead in Gambadi territory, the liberator being Tivr. The Sangara place it at Kuramangu in Keraki Proper, the liberator being Gainjan, whose wife was Yumar (the sun, *erwaha*, whose esoteric name is Eram) and their son was Gufa (the moon, *harari*, whose esoteric name is Bangi). Gainjan is the harmless synonym for Kambel, a secret name, and also for other beings; there is however a confusion between Kambel and Gufa.

Marriage by exchange of sisters is practically universal; when a true or classificatory sister is not available, the man purchases a suitable woman elsewhere whom he exchanges as a "sister" for a wife.

When novices are to be initiated a special hut is built in which to seclude them. The ceremony consists of an impressive display of personally owned bullroarers, *moiank*, after which the boys are beaten, and then all feast. Later in the day the novices parade the village, where they are beaten by the women. The women are told that the sounds of the bullroarers are the voices of certain beings demanding food, who sometimes were said to be the monstrous snake and crocodile of the *gainjan* time, but apparently there is no pretence that the novices are offered to the *moiank* to be devoured. Finally the novices are taken to the hut and are taught sodomy, this is a regularised custom which lasts until the final lime-eating rite; its avowed purpose is to make the lads grow. The *sosom* (bullroarer) cult of the Marind is very similar (pp. 261, 265).

Some time later the initiation into the *ari* takes place; these are sacred bamboo pipes which are split on one side along their length, they are blown in pairs. It is combined with an ordeal. After some months of seclusion a rite takes place in which unslaked quicklime is poured down the agonised throats of the initiates. After this the homosexuality is ended and the lads can marry.

The dead are usually buried with their feet to the south; there are no elaborate ceremonies connected with death.

The rain-maker has mythological precedents for all his actions and conforms to the traditional technique of Kambel and of his son Sikara Wambuwambu, the heavenly rain-maker, who is sometimes called Bangi and sometimes identified with Gufa, but in the rite he is always mentioned by the first name. Rain is caused by the Gainjan cassowary splashing when bathing in Wambuwambu's trough in the sky. The laboratory of a rain-maker is concealed in the bush. Each consists of two shallow troughs orientated in accordance with the directions of the two prevailing winds; resting on a low rack of saplings are stones which



bear the names of the sun, moon, stars, and the winds. There are also *Pus* shells and a great variety of other objects collectively termed *wen*. The essence of the rite is to transfer the heavenly bodies, as represented by the stones, from the rack to a trough full of water and cover them with sheets of bark symbolically to cloud over the heavenly bodies; other symbolic rites are also performed. Spells are uttered, the intrinsic power of which seems to consist in the secret names therein employed, and also a direct appeal is made to Sikara Wambuambu. For a detailed account of rain-making see Williams, *J.R.A.I.* LIX, 1929, pp. 379 ff.

The Dibolug described by Leo Austen (*A.R.* 1919-20, pp. 7, 8) are similar to the Keraki; they live in the Karigara country.

As might be expected there are affinities in culture between the Keraki and their neighbours. The myth of the liberation of the local people from a tree extends with variations as far as the Fly river. Although culture-bringers in Daudai consistently come more or less from the north, there is a strange tradition that fire was obtained from the south, often from Boigu, and that it was procured by a lizard. It seems probable that the Keraki were not, like their southern neighbours, devastated by the Marind (Fugeri). Cultural influences from the Marind and allied tribes have percolated into the area, but in earlier days there was a cultural spread from this area to the west.

Williams says that the alluvial plains of the Morehead district are almost entirely stoneless. There are very rare small outcrops of ironstone conglomerate which is friable and useless. All stone implements and stones have been imported. He identified some of the sacred stones used in rain-making as being granite; these may have come from Mabu-dauan (about 40 miles distant) or from the western islands of Torres Straits. The ritual use of stones for rain-making and other purposes was very common in Torres Straits, where they also were associated with personages. The important ancient garden shrine in Mer (VI, pp. 269-71) was connected with the constellation *Beizam* (shark) and it had a general resemblance to a Keraki rain shrine. There undoubtedly is some relation between certain elements of culture of the Keraki and their neighbours with those of Torres Straits the exact nature of which is at present obscure. It is possible that some at least of the sacred stones of the Keraki were brought by their ancestors in their presumed migration from the far north or north-east.

## II. SOUTH NETHERLANDS NEW GUINEA

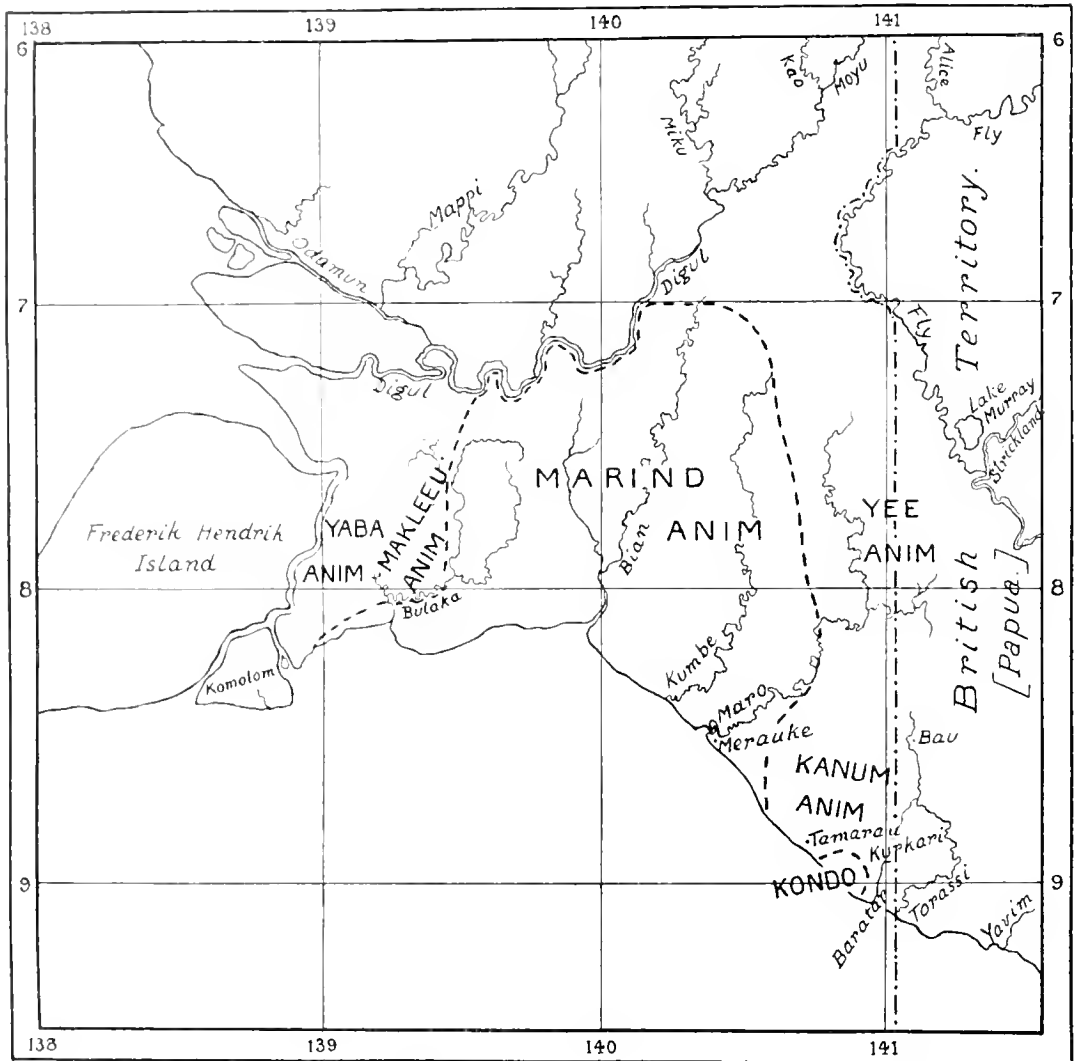
### THE MARIND

In his great work on the Marind-anim\* P. Wirz has given a wealth of detail which it is impossible to summarise. I here give brief abstracts of certain sections, but the student must consult the original work for further details of these sections and for those subjects on which I have not touched. The mythology is fully recorded and the monograph is abundantly illustrated.

Recently Jan van Baal has published an important work, *Godsdienst en Samenleving in Nederlandsch-Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea* (Amsterdam, 1934), in which he summarises and annotates, and theorises upon the investigations of Wirz and many other authors, and gives an exhaustive bibliography.

\* *Die Marind-anim von Holländisch-Süd-Neu-Guinea*, Hamburg. I, i, ii, 1922; II, iii, iv, 1925.

The country of the Marind and allied peoples extends southwards from the Digul river to the coast. The main rivers west of the boundary (141° E. long.) are the Maro (Merauke river), Kumbe, Bian, and Bulaka. Only a few of the numerous tribes or groups of peoples can be mentioned: the term *anim* means "people" and so can be omitted.



Up the Maro, north of about 8° 10' S. lat., is the country of the powerful Yee. The Kanum live inland between the Torassi (Bensbach river) and the Maro, but most of the land east of the Maro is uninhabited, as the earlier tribes have been more or less exterminated by the Marind, and this applies also to the areas about the Torassi and Yavim (Morehead river) in British territory. South of the Kanum on the coast, not far from the boundary, are the Kondo, an isolated group of the Marind. The group of peoples known as the Marind live about the Maro south of the Yee and in the river basins of the Kumbe, and Bian, and south of the Bulaka and up its eastern affluent (not the western as in the

map). North of the Bulaka are the Makleu, and to the west of them and north of 8° S. lat. are the Yaba. The sketch map is after Wirz.

Though between the Marind and their eastern and western neighbours there has always been occasional friendship and trade, this was never the case between them and the tribes beyond the Digul, and there are great uninhabited stretches between them.

Wirz says that the speech of the Marind, including its numerous dialects, has nothing in common with the languages of the various neighbouring tribes. Ray has drawn attention to a linguistic affinity between the Marind and the natives on Lake Murray (*J.R.A.I.* LIII, 1923, p. 357), and I have referred to certain cultural relations between the "Tugeri" and the people of the Middle Fly region (*J.R.A.I.* L, 1920, pp. 238, 239, 242 and *The Geographical Teacher*, XII, 1921, p. 17) and have put forward the hypothesis that an initiation ceremony including a monster that devours novices, with which the drinking of kava is associated, spread from other parts of New Guinea into the interior and passed down the Strickland affluent of the Fly, and thence down various rivers to the coast. Wirz admits that the Marind are by no means homogeneous in speech and culture.

The social groups of the Marind consist of: (1) the family, which is patrilineal, patrilocal, and at the present time monogamous; (2) age-grades which tend to weaken the solidarity of the family; (3) a socio-religious grouping of the clans, the cults of which appear to have been originally associated with particular clans, but now they have become more embracing.

There are no chiefs, and though the old men always have a leading and respected position the preponderating influence is exercised by the young men of the third grade who live in the *gotad* (young-men's house) and by the young married men, among whom the impulse towards adventure and warlike undertakings is strongest. A certain degree of authority is also acquired by the old women, who are the repositories of ancient manners and customs. Women and girls are formed into classes which have a very subordinate position, and they take no part in many of the secret cults and consequently know nothing of their significance.

The Marind have a series of ceremonies connected with death and the spirits of the dead, but there is no skull cult or the wearing of bones of their dead, though the juice from corpses is indispensable for magic. The skulls obtained by head-hunting and the preparation of trophy heads is another matter.

The spirit of a person immediately after death is termed *gora*; the *hais* is the true spirit who has completed its transformation after it has entered upon its journey to the other world in the east, the *hais-mirar*, a journey that is beset with dangers. Here they take on the form of various animals in succession. After some days they return on their tracks and with difficulty cross the Maro and continue their wandering to the Digul river, north of the Marind country, where they prepare themselves for a feast and dance. Meantime in the village of the dead man preparations are made for the funeral feast; the *hais* know this and return to participate in it and eat food provided for them. At the conclusion of the funeral feast the *hais* again leave the village; they have no fixed resting-place but are to be found anywhere, especially at night, when they play all sorts of tricks on men. The dead are not invoked nor mentioned in magic formulas, the living prefer to have nothing to do with them.

Head-hunting among the Marind was not only a much-enjoyed sport and an opportunity for cannibal feasts, but was regarded as necessary for the naming of their children. It was the custom to give each child, as soon as possible after birth, the name of a beheaded person, regardless of his origin, as the chief- or head-name. A head without a name was

useless—at most it could only be exchanged under a fictitious name, for barter in heads was usual. That there is a belief in spiritual power resident in the head is indicated by the preparing, decorating and painting of heads. It is not clear how the natives regard the power which is implicit in the name. They cannot say that people without head-names are in any way worse off than those with them. In the many myths and stories of the Marind about head hunting there is never a hint of the real purpose of the practice or of the name-giving connected with it. The heads always adorn the men's-houses and the erection of a new men's house is always attended by a head-hunting expedition; here too they cause an influx of power which influences the men's-house as a whole as well as the individuals.

In earlier times the different settlement-groups had certain head-hunting areas, *kui-mirav*, which were regularly visited. The eastern Marind (called Tugeri) were especially formidable in the British coastal area and almost yearly made raids to the east for heads [even as far as Mawata]. On the farther side of the Fly was the *hais-mirav*, the abode of the spirits of the dead, while between the Fly and the Morehead was the *dema-mirav*, the place where their ancestors, *dema*, had once lived. The inhabitants of the upper Kumbe and Bian went to the Digul to fetch heads, but these people are dangerous warriors, which lent zest to the enterprise. The Marind between the Bian and Bulaka had their *kui-mirav* in the area of the Makleu, who, in their turn, had the reputation of being specially keen head-hunters. There was reciprocal head-hunting between the Marind of the upper Kumbe and the Yee; and so for other groups and areas.

But along with all this hostility, and at the same time, went a certain amount of friendly connection. Everything could not be got by robbery and so recourse was had to friendly barter; everywhere together with the bitterest hostility one finds also peaceful intercourse and trading going on. Wirz gives a vivid and detailed account of a head-hunting expedition. The hunters try to catch their victims alive in order to ask them their names, but, as the language is strange to them, it may happen that any sort of cry or curse is taken for a name. Wirz describes the preparation of the heads, which is very similar to that given by Riley (*Man*, 1923, No. 48) for farther east. Now that head-hunting is forbidden and skulls from recent expeditions are collected by the police and destroyed, the natives save the lower jaws as these have the same properties as the whole skull, or even the atlas vertebra. The heads or skulls are kept so long as the people named after them are alive, once these people are dead the skulls seem to have no value and are readily parted with (Wirz, II, iii, pp. 49-62).

#### TOTEMIC ORGANISATION

Before considering the totemic social organisation of the Marind, it is necessary to refer to the *dema*. In the long-ago were the *dema*, sometimes termed *amai* (ancestors), human- and animal-like beings with supernatural characteristics and powers, who had the faculty of transforming themselves and of doing all sorts of wonderful things; there was no death, merely a transformation and bringing forth, but in course of time they lost their power and their descendants became as we now know them. All psychic or physiological phenomena of men and all powers and attributes of animals, plants, or inanimate objects derive directly from their respective *dema*. Innumerable myths recount the life and works of the *dema*, later they withdrew, so far as they had not changed themselves or betaken themselves to the earth, stones, river, sea, and sky, where they still live as spiritual beings. The *dema-mirav* are those spots whither the *dema* have withdrawn and frequently they are the places of origin of totems. One occupation of the *dema* consisted in the holding of

obscene ceremonies of which the oldest were those belonging to the *majo* cult, the cult-object of which is the coconit palm. Also dating back to this remote period are the *rapa* (whose cult-object is fire) and the *imo* cults. If these secret rites of sexual and cannibalistic orgies were omitted, the *dema* became angry, fruit trees would be barren, and the people would fall ill and die. Ceremonies are performed to avert the wrath of the *dema* and to secure good crops, etc., and though they are feared, the natives ascribe good influences to the *dema*, who are regarded in some way as protecting patrons. The *dema* were addressed in formulas which were almost a kind of prayer. There is a common belief that it is a good thing to have a *dema* and to keep him.

No kind of morality is ascribed to them, in fact the reverse is the case, nor did they institute marriage regulations. No higher moral being is recognised by the Marind.

Intimately associated with *dema* are the *dema-nakari*. (The term *nakari* is applied by a man to the younger unmarried girls who belong to his *boan* and therefore cannot be married to him, but this prohibition does not apply to the *dema-nakari*.) Every *dema* possesses several *nakari*, they are his companions and playthings and accompany him everywhere. As the *dema* can take on human form at will, so can the *nakari*, generally as *irâg* (marriageable girls of the fourth age-class). A *nakari* is often considered as the wife of a *dema*. A *dema* and his *nakari* form something like an indivisible unity.

Stones with unusual shapes are considered as *dema* who have transformed themselves into stones, especially all the larger crystalline stones which have been brought from the interior. A *dema* stone can change its form at pleasure and turn into a human being or an animal. These stones can transfer their energy to other things and especially to those objects with which they have a soul-substance in common. Thus a coconut-stone *dema* gives powers of growth to coconut palms, the fish-stone *dema* influences fishes, and so on. The stone-*dema* can also influence objects with which it has a mythical relation, for example an areca-stone *dema* can exert its power over crocodiles. Closely related soul-substance works interchangeably, and it comes to the same thing whether a crocodile is charmed to make it catch an enemy or whether an areca nut is thrown into the water. The areca nut may also be used for catching crocodiles as the related soul-substance has a reciprocal influence. The stones must be prepared before they can exercise their powers; this is done mainly through the recital of formulas which trace back to the myths, and also by rubbing them with semen in order to make them reliable and not lose their characteristic nature (Wirz, II, iii, pp. 95-8).

Totemic kinship traces back directly to the immigrant *dema* ancestors. A mythological totemic group or clan called after its chief totem is a *boan*; this includes one or many clans or sub-clans whose inter-relationship has a mythological basis. A *boan* usually becomes a complex group owing to objects mentioned in a myth being brought into association with the totem and to their being regarded in some way as "totems", through their mythological connection with the *dema* or ancestor. The clans are named after the immigrant *dema*; or if the immigration was conducted by a group after the canoe in which they arrived; or after some place where the *dema* had previously settled. It is difficult to determine what elements originally belonged together or what became secondarily united in a complex *boan*.

The *boan* (totem union, totem clan, or local group) is exogamous and patrilineal and has a social position independent of and even opposed to the natural groupings of the family or of age grades, but its exogamy is bound up with that of the clans related through the *dema*. The *dema* is the chief totem of a *boan*, but as many objects may be mytho-

logically associated with a *dema*, there are numerous subsidiary totems (sub-totems) and there are sub-totem clans for which mythology is employed in explanation and justification. Thus there is a totemic connection with numberless objects, and even such activities as sleeping or copulating are considered as totemic activities for a certain clan or clan unit, and baldness or ringworm may be considered as a totem character, or indeed anything provided that it is mentioned in a myth.

One finds here the typical totemic union of natural phenomena, of environment, etc. between totem, sub-totem, and man. Any sort of event or chance accident may have been the cause of a clan or individual feeling connected with the event and brought into close relationship with the *dema* causing such an event. Thus no chance occurrence was ever considered as such but was always ascribed to some higher, thinking and designing being who purposely brought it about.

A number of *boan* are grouped into what Wirz calls "totem societies", for which the Marind have no special term; they are exogamous and patrilineal. This connection is based on possession of the same myth, or on totem friendship or totem relationship; thus all shore animals and shore plants are related to each other.

There is a legend of a female *dema*, Nubog, the earth, who was married to a *dema*, Dinadin, the sky. They had two sons, Geb and Sami, from whom the two half-stocks, the *Geb-ze* and the *Sami-rek*, of the Marind are descended.

I. The *Geb-ze* comprises three main *boan* (clans): 1. *Narpet* (banana), with at least four sub-clans which are classed together as *Geb-ze-ha*, and numerous totems; associated with it is the *kuper sar*, or pearlshell *boan*, with two totems. 2. *Ongat* (coconut), with two sub-*boan*: (a) *Meri-ongat* (a rare variety of coconut palm with an unbranched inflorescence), with one sub-clan, *Moyu-rek*, with two totems; (b) *Ongat-ha* (ordinary coconut palm), with two sub-clans, *Waba-rek* and *Jayriwar-rek*; the former has numerous totems and the latter two. 3. *Ugu* (fan palm), with one sub-clan and two totems; this stands in close mythical connection with the coconut myth and is often united with the *Ongat boan*. These *dema* came in the *uga* canoe. The *Geb-ze* from a closed group.

II. The *Sami-rek* is composed of four loose exogamous groups or "totem societies" or "relationship circles":

(i) *Kaprim-sami*, with three *boan*: 1. *Kei-ze* (cassowary), with seven sub-clans and numerous totems which are arranged under three groups—smoke, fire, cassowary. 2. *Sam-kakai* (kangaroo), with one sub-clan and a few totems. 3. *Ndik-end* (giant stork, *Xenorhynchus*) or *War-rek*, with one sub-clan and numerous totems. These three groups are bound together through a common mythological hero, Aramemb.

(ii) *Bragai-ze* or *Godai-sami*, with four *boan*: 1. *Kanis-kiu* (areca-crocodile), with six sub-clans and numerous totems. 2. *Elob* (waves of the sea), with one sub-clan and several totems. 3. *Aee* (fish), with one sub-clan and numerous fresh and salt water fish as totems. 4. *Kidub* (sea eagle), with several sub-clans and totems.

(iii) *Dah-sami*, or *Sami-rek*, of which the sago, *dah*, is the dominant *boan*, with three sub-*boan*: 1. *Ngat* (dog) or *Mahu-ze* (or *Sami-rek* in the restricted sense), with several sub-clans and totems. 2. *Anda* (a Siluroid fish) or *Wokabu-rek*, with one sub-clan and numerous totems. 3. *Gem* (clay), with several sub-clans and numerous totems. The *Ngat* and *Anda boan* are grouped under the *Dah boan* and the *Anda* and *Gem* under the *Zo-he boan*. The other *boan* is *Vrik* (penis) or *Diwa-rek* (the *diwa* canoe in which the *dema* arrived), with two sub-clans and three totems.

(iv) *Basik-basik* or *Marob sami* (*basik*, pig; *marob*, rainbow), with two sub-clans and numerous totems.

On inspection of the tables given by Wirz (I. ii, pp. 79, 119, 138, 168, 182) it will be seen that certain natural phenomena, very numerous plants and animals, and some human activities and artifacts are brought into this complicated totemic system.

A. W. Nieuwenhuis ("Die psychologische Bedeutung des Gruppentotemismus in Australien", *Internat. Arch. f. Ethnogr.* xxviii, 1927, pp. 76-9) points out that the statements made by the Marind concerning the relation of the clans (*boan*) and totem ancestors (*dema*) correspond closely with those of the Euablayi of New South Wales and the Wotjobaluk of Victoria and may be compared with the conceptions of the Aranda of central Australia. He also points out that it is clear that the totemism of the Marind fundamentally agrees with that of the south-east Australians, except for the fact that the latter, influenced by their environment, give the foremost place to animals and the Papuans rather to plants. As regards taboo, he quotes from Wirz (I. ii, p. 32): "Further there are certain food prohibitions. These are connected not with all totem animals, but rather, according to the Marind, only with birds, but even so the Marind do not observe them very closely. For example, they never observe this rule in face of a roast cassowary or a crowned pigeon, or large duck, but, with a cry of regret for their *amai*, eat it up without scruple". Although the group totemism of the Marind agrees [with that of Australians] in its conception and consideration of nature and of a totem ancestor as the personified cause of the totemic system of group or clan, yet there seems to be a higher development of the totem-ancestor idea in the attempt at an explanation by means of the *dema nakari* of such phenomena as symbiosis, parasitism, and so on.

Although at first sight the *Geb-ze* and the *Sami-rek* appear to be moieties of a dual organisation they cannot be regarded as such, for they do not seem to have sufficiently distinct functions in the common polity, nor is there any statement by Wirz that members of one group have to marry into the other, as would be the case were they moieties of a true dual organisation. Spouses must belong to different totems and the *boan* are exogamous, but it is not clear whether a man of any one *boan* can marry a woman of any other *boan* of the *Geb-ze* or *Sami-rek* respectively. It is moreover very doubtful whether this clan exogamy is the sole restriction for marriage. Wirz does not give the restrictions due to kinship, which everywhere are the most important, indeed, as Radcliffe Brown has shown, in Australia kinship is the decisive factor.

Wirz says (II, iii, pp. 212-15) that it is not improbable that both these groups, the *Geb-ze* and the *Sami-rek*, trace back to an antecedent two-class organisation, and adds there is evidence that, according to all probability we have to do with an overlaying of elements from two culture layers: "the older a two-class system with matrilineal descent, and the later a class-less local totemism with patrilineal descent, of whom the Yee [a non-Marind people who live about the upper waters of the Maro] are pure representatives. . . . In any case only traces of a former two-class culture with matrilineal descent are present to-day among the Marind, while among the neighbouring tribes nothing of the kind can be proven".

Three important cults of the Marind came from the east; these are the *Mayo*, *Rapa*, and *Sosom*.

### *Mayo*

Among the Marind and neighbouring tribes the *mayo* held a prominent place, but it was prohibited by the Government about twenty-five years ago. According to tradition, this cult was originally confined to the *Geb-ze* and even to the *Waba-rek* and perhaps also to the *Moyu-rek* (which are coconut *boan*), but, like the other cults, it has now spread over the Marind anim area. Only the *Geb-ze-ha* seem to form an exception; these belong to the banana *boan* and perhaps were the earliest migration, and developed the *imo* cult. Various wanderings from the east caused a splitting up of the tribe into simple social units which formed mythological-totemic connections of their own and at the same time built up further secret cults. According to the myth, the *mayo* cult consisted of nothing but sexual and cannibalistic observances; from the beginning the sexual observances were a kind of sympathetic magic and consisted of two important factors: (1) the symbolic repetition of the myth, especially the coconut myth, to the novices, (2) the sexual indulgences of the old initiates; both influence the fertility of the palms. In course of time further totem associations and their myths were added; thus finally the *mayo* cult embraced all *boan*, and lost more and more its purely totemic character, although the *Geb-ze* have retained their predominating rôle.

The ceremonies were held annually, in the month when the *doga* fruit was ripe, roughly corresponding to May, each year in a different village group: in 1906 between the Muri and Bulaka rivers, in 1907 between the Bulaka and Bian, in 1908 between the Bian and Maro, in 1909 in those villages east of the Maro, and in 1910 they began again in the west. [This progress of the *mayo* from west to east is strange, as the trend of cultural movements has been from east to west or from north-east to south-west.] The villages in the interior conformed with those on the coast, the ceremonies began about the same time in every village and care was taken to make the special ceremonies synchronise.

On the appointed day the novices are assembled in the following fixed order of *boan*, which order is retained throughout the ceremonies: *Geb-ze*, *Kei-ze*, *Samkakai*, *Ndik-end*, *Bragai-ze*, *Diwa-rek*, *Mahu-ze*, *Wokabu-rek*, *Zo-he* and finally the *Geb-ze-ha*. The novices, *mayo-anim*, spend some five months in seclusion in the *mayo-mirar*, a screened-off place in a coconut-palm plantation. Both sexes are kept apart, as usual, and none may have anything to do with the uninitiated, *burap-anim*. At their entry into the *mayo-mirar* the novices behave as if they were only just born and know nothing whatever about food or occupations and are deprived of all ornaments. They have to learn everything from the *dema*, their ancestors, who are represented by the *metoar*, initiated persons of both sexes, and they learn it in the sequence that their mythology gives for the origins of plants and animals.

Throughout the ceremonies the old *metoar* sing the *gaga*; these are songs which are sung at all ceremonies of secret societies when representations of *dema* take place. *Gaga* are occasionally sung at funeral ceremonies, where no obscene actions take place, but at ordinary feasts, even when *dema*-actors appear, *gaga* are not sung, but always *yarut*. The text itself consists of single words repeated countless times in different variations; in most cases they are numerous place-names of the neighbouring or more distant areas, which are always termed *dema-mirar*.

On the first day the novices are carried, clasped round the neck of the men, into the *mayo-mirar* by *metoar* dressed as old women, *mayo-mes-irwâg* ("old mother of the Mayo").



Other *metoar* take off all ornaments and clothing from the novices, but the women and girls retain their petticoats, which later are exchanged for a piece of eucalyptus bast. The *metoar* smear the teeth of the novices with a black slime mixed with semen, others dig a hole in front of each with a paddle-like *mayo*-stick, *gev*, into which the novices spit the slime. The novices are then given roots of areca palm and the bast of rhizophores which they cook and eat. Then in customary order they go to a stream and paint their bodies with white clay. On their return to the *mayo-mirav* the novices are given a series of instructions and make cloaks of strips of young coconut leaves which they must wear when going outside; the male novices also have a stick which terminates in a bird's head. Towards evening more *metoar* bring an inferior kind of small unripe banana, these mixed with semen are given to the novices to eat. Everything that the *metoar* set before the *mayo-anim* to eat must first be *kamak* (that is, learnt and tasted) before it can be used again as food or drink. Towards night, as the novices return to the village, they are met by *metoar* who imitate bats. At midnight, a row of *metoar*, standing on the beach in the sea, represent coconut *dema*: each has about his body a long rope to the ends of which two novices must be attached, the latter pull these and eventually drag the *dema* to land on the western side of the village.

On the second day the novices are instructed in climbing coconut palms and in plucking the nuts: they are given some coconut milk mixed with semen and some young coconut kernel to eat: thenceforth they may eat and drink coconuts, ordinary water being not yet allowed. The same is done with the fruit of the *Inocarpus edulis*.

On subsequent days, at varying intervals, *kamak* is done with sago, and the female novices are taught how to prepare sago, and on another occasion all are taught how to hunt for crabs and clams; on their return from the shore they are instructed in sexual matters by means of two large wooden images. The novices on this occasion may eat only small inferior shell-fish. On other days the novices are taught how to fetch water, and after the *kamak* may thenceforth drink water. On one of the following days appears the *dema Aramemb*, who brings the *mayo* ornaments (of which he is the reputed inventor) to the *mayo-anim*: he wears two large red parrots on his head. The restriction of ornaments is now removed and the next day they are returned to the novices and ordinary costume is resumed. Then hunting, the lore of the sea and of canoes, etc., are taught.

In such manner the novices are instructed in their daily occupations; one essential feature is the *kamak*, by which rite a fresh article of food is presented to the novices about which they are taught and of which they are given a small and often an inferior portion, always mixed with semen. By the end of the ceremonies the novices are fully instructed and may eat anything. (The ban on sexual intercourse for the novices probably lasts till the demonstration by means of the wooden images, but the *metoar* appear to have unrestricted licence every night during the whole period.)

So far as the separation of the novices is concerned, the *mayo* ceremonies reach their end with the appearance of the two *dema*. (1) One represents a *Kapiog*, the great black cockatoo; this is the *De-heraai*, "father who kills", of the myths, who belongs to the pig-*boan* and is associated with the pig-*dema Nazr*; the *kapiog* also belongs to this totem group. Besides being dressed up in black cockatoo feathers, etc., he carries a spear and a remarkable, purely cult-weapon, the *imbassum*: this is a stick with a hoe-like stone hook at one end and thus superficially resembles a spear-thrower, and when the performer has no *imbassum* an ordinary bamboo spear-thrower, *kander*, is used instead. Its use is confined

to the *mayo* and especially to the *imo* ceremonies. According to legend, it is the weapon of *De-hevaai*, the pig-*dema*, who ascended to the sky and comes in thunder-storms; once he gave it to Molma, a *yob-zi*, who later threw it away being terrified by flashes of lightning, but he made another like it for use in his secret *imo* cult, and for the execution of those who on cult-occasions made some mistake and were condemned to be sacrifices at the ceremonies. With the appearance of *De-hevaai* there is probably also connected the execution of a certain *inag* as a sacrifice for the cult. (2) The *Aramemb* comes for the second time. What goes on within the closed society of the *mctoar* and probably also that of the male *mayo* novices may only be conjectured from the myths and the *dema* performers appearing therein. Probably the appearance of *De-hevaai* and *Aramemb* gives the signal for the beginning of general sexual and cannibalistic orgies.

There are now many persons of both sexes and various ages who have not been able to take part in the *mayo* ceremonies, and the old initiates say that these do not know anything about coco-, sago- and arcea-palms, and so they do not know how to eat betel, climb the palms, gather the nuts, prepare sago, catch fish or crabs, hunt, and so forth. Of course this is not to be taken literally, but figuratively. They mean that the uninitiated know nothing of the myths and *dema*, which brought forth all plants and animals, and that they do not rightly understand how to estimate and value the nourishing plants and animals, and therefore the peculiar nourishing qualities of these forms of food are taken away from them by the *dema*. The sharing out of the various food and drink to the novices with the addition of *koorona*, semen, is the most important part of the ceremonies. If the *koorona* were omitted, the novices would fall ill and die, its presence renders the food harmless and digestible; besides its properties of healing and acting as a prophylactic against sickness, the semen also has a recognised life-giving influence in the ceremonies, as a series of myths testify. Thus in the origin of yams, sago, banana, the kangaroo, pig, and other objects, perhaps in all cases where the *dema* brought forth new plants or animals, semen had a part as an important ingredient in the creation or development of them. Doubtless some of the ceremonies at the celebration of the *mayo*-cult should be considered in this connection as direct representation of the myths. There appear to be certain episodes during the *mayo* ceremonies which do not seem to be connected with *kamak*, though they may be with *dema*.

These prolonged and very elaborate ceremonies constitute a typical initiation, with the exception that both sexes participate equally. The novices are carried by men dressed as women to the secluded area where they are supposed to be born again and have to be instructed in everything: this instruction occurs in regular order, and with it goes the privilege of resuming certain foods, all of which for the first taste are mixed with semen; finally admission to sexual life is celebrated by an orgy in which it appears that cannibalism was also a feature. The older initiates seem to have indulged in general sexual licence throughout the whole period (Wirz, II, iii, pp. 1-25).

No other festivities were held while the *mayo* was in progress, everything was postponed until the end when a great feast took place, but the burial of the dead took place in the usual way.

#### *Rapa*

Only at Kondo, the most easterly Marind area, are found the *rapa-anim*, the fire-drillers, while their neighbours the Kurkari (about 40 km. from the coast at the Netherlands-British boundary) and Bau-anim (about 70 km. from the coast just within the

British area) probably belong to the pig cult. One might almost call this a fire cult, for the ceremonies recall the mythological discovery of fire; originally it was confined to the *Kei-ze*, i.e. the fire-cassowary *boan*. The men and youths who belong to the cult spend this time in sexual excesses practised on an *iwâg*, who has been secretly carried off. The other women are told that she has been killed or burnt by the *rapa-dema*, and they and the children, under penalty of death, are kept far from the enclosure containing the spirit-huts where the rites are carried on. Probably there is, as usual, a long preparation for these festivities, certainly the large fat pig is always got ready for the *rapa* ceremonies, and the old initiates employ secret songs. Simultaneously with the sexual excesses the old men make fire by drilling, for which they use long sticks painted with blood which are kept in the spirit house, and set alight a great pile of wood, on which when it is fully alight the *iwâg* is thrown. When the fire has died down the pig is laid whole on the glowing embers and hot stones, and covered over with a thick layer of eucalyptus bark; when fully roasted the body is all blown up by the heat and steam and the fat melted. A small portion of bark over the belly is removed and a small opening made with a knife at the navel, whence the hot fat and steam spurt into the air. This is kindled and a sheaf of fire shoots out and surrounds the pig. With alarm and shrieks the women see the fire at a distance, believing it to be the *rapa-dema*. Then the *iwâg* and the pig are divided up and form the roast meat at the final feast. After the *iwâg* has been eaten her bones are carefully collected and the skull is cut off and prepared. The bones are painted red and one is buried under each coconut palm to increase its fertility. So that the *rapa* ceremony, too, has this aim, but Wirz says it is certainly not the chief object of the ceremonies, as it is of the *mayo* cult (Wirz, II, iii, pp. 31-3). Fire proceeded from the erotic festival of a *dema*, and if these observances were omitted fires would go out; in other words, the fire-*dema* would be angry and make further production of fire impossible (*l.c.* p. 3).

#### *Imo*

Very little is known about the *imo* cult. The uninitiated and neighbouring peoples are in great terror of the *imo-dema* and attribute to its evil influence all diseases and misfortunes. Wirz is doubtful whether it has any practical aim; there are ceremonies and festal occasions where *dema* performers appear, as in the *mayo* ceremonies, but the details are quite different. The culminating act is the mishandling of a young man and maid who eventually are killed and eaten. There are vague statements about underground rites and a canoe *yavuu*; the word for canoe among the Yaba-anim and also in the extreme west is *imo*, and on Eiland river a richly carved canoe, said to be hung with skulls, is used in certain undescribed ceremonies. Wirz suggests that the *imo* cult may be known to these natives. The *imo* cult is known to occur at a few spots on the coast: Ongari, west of the Kumbe; Domandeb, east of, and Sangasse and Alatep, west of the mouth of the Bian, that is, in coastal villages immediately to the west and east of the Bian (Wirz, II, iii, pp. 26-31).

#### *Sosom*

The *sosom* cult, with which the bullroarer is bound up, has been taken over by the Marind from their eastern neighbours; thus it seems to have spread from the Kanum, who live east of the Maro and about 20 km. from the coast, but it is not known west of the Kumbe, though it is up the Bian at about 7° 40' S. lat. where, in Aboi, Wirz was told that the *sosom* comes from the *Adka-ze mirar* of Waruti and belongs to the *Kei-ze boan*. *Sosom* was a rake who had his penis cut off; he went to the Kanum towards Saruatal on the

other side of the Yavim river, where he remains to-day as a *dema*; as Sosom could only practise paederasty he was called *tu-po-anim*, buttocks-man.

Sosom is a giant *dema*, as tall as a coconut palm, who lives to the east in British New Guinea and comes annually to the west in the dry season about September or October; the country behind the villages is dry and there is then an abundance of bananas and other fruit. Preparations are made several weeks before and the women are told that he is on his way; they have to provide great quantities of food and the men build far in the bush a lofty edifice of four piles, some 10 m. high, which support a small platform, and the old men secretly prepare bullroarers. Sosom stays in a village for two or three days and then goes farther west; wherever he goes the men must bring to him the boys of the village, these he swallows and returns them without their noticing it. Only of some of them, again unperceived, he cuts the bellies open, devours the entrails and puts inside some young coconuts, *boka*; then he closes the body and leaves no trace. If the mothers neglected to give their boys, the *dema* would come into the village and kill them all. On penalty of death the women are kept well out of the way and far from the place where the cult is held. Sosom generally carries under his arm his younger sisters, the five *iway* who are much smaller than he is.

The bullroarers are also called *sosom* and the whirring sound is said to be his voice, but as they are usually made of the wood of the *gongai* palm (*Caryota* sp.) they are also called *gongai*. These are kept carefully hidden, so that no uninitiate may see them, and are generally destroyed at the end of the ceremonies.

One morning the booming sound of the *sosom* is heard in the forest; behind the village great foot marks, a metre long, and heaps of dung are to be seen, these betoken the *sosom*. The men adorn themselves and the women are ordered to keep out of the way. Towards evening, the boys, shaking with fear, are led into the bush up to the high erection which is covered with branches of bananas, areca nuts and crotons which form a dense screen. In front is a great company of men who sing the *bandra* song which is used on this occasion only. Some of the men swing bullroarers with all their might; these according to their size emit a variety of noises. Other men are provided with pipes, *haupa*, the length of one's arm, made of a thin-stalked variety of bamboo (*haupa*); the pipe is closed at one end, the rest is split and the two halves of the stem are held together in two places by bast wound round them. Air blown through the cleft makes an unpleasant sound. These pipes are the *dema-nakari*, the younger sisters of the *sosom*. The boys are mishandled paederastically and are forbidden on pain of death to tell anything to the uninitiated. It appears that the *sosom* ceremonies are not always carried on in the same manner; thus at Borem and the neighbouring coast settlements masked *dema* actors appear, as in the *mayo* ceremonies; they represent a kangaroo, snake, cockatoo, and hornbill.

At the moment when a boy leaves the village and repairs to the youths'-house he comes under the care of a man who is generally unmarried. To this man, *binahor*, the youth is under complete obedience, he sleeps with him at night and must yield himself whenever required, and this goes on until he leaves the youths'-house. There is actual sexual jealousy among the *binahor* with regard to the *wunangib*, and they never allow the latter to be mishandled by another without permission. Quarrels on this account are not infrequent, but when the *sosom* comes these proprietary rights vanish, as at ordinary feasts in the case of women. The legends connected with the origin of the *sosom* do not appear to possess any deep significance; it is merely a men's festival at which unrestricted sodomy can be

indulged undisturbed and without fear of arousing the vengeance of the women (Wirz, II, iii, pp. 33-9).

#### *Ezam*

The people on the upper Bian have a secret cult of their own associated with a dwarfish *dema*, called *Ezam*, who usually dwells underground, but comes forth at the end of each dry season [November] when the ceremony must be held; women may not see him under penalty of immediate death. The whirring of the bullroarer *ezam*, "husband", is his voice. Another ceremonial object is called *uzum*, "wife", i.e. the secret gong, *kandara*, which is made of a very hard bamboo *nakok* (hence the gongs are also called *nakok*); these gongs consist of a bamboo 60-70 cm. long, open at one end and closed at the other by a piece of wood. By striking two of these bamboos together at the closed ends a dull, drum-like sound is made. These gongs correspond to the flutes, *nakari*, of the *sosom*. The novices have to undergo a period of seclusion with the usual restrictions. The village visited by Wirz was completely divided into two by a high, thick fence which passed through a large hut, the *ezam-aha*, "ezam-house", so that the uninitiated were completely cut off from the novices and initiates. Two enormous tree trunks, the one close to and parallel with the other, were placed in this house, resting on the ground at the partition but raised close to the roof at the other end, where it was supported by props. On the two *uk* (so called after the name of the tree) was a little bamboo platform on which were bullroarers, one being larger than the rest and richly decorated. Initiates from other villages were present. At intervals throughout the days and nights a monotonous, melancholy song was chanted, the bullroarers swung and the *nakok* knocked together; at nights men and women retired to the bush and on the man's return he placed a twig on the *uk*, in a short time a great heap was collected. At the close of the ceremonies men come from far and near, a fearful noise begins, songs and the droning of the bamboo gongs become almost continuous and the bullroarers whirl between. So it goes on day and night, the people are stirred up to feverish emotion so that they become almost mad and are stimulated by erotic excesses all the time, from which the novices are at first excluded to increase their desire. The gongs get louder, wilder and more excited the singing, bullroarers increasing the din, finally one (? several) *iwäg* (young woman of marriageable age), richly adorned and unconscious of her fate, is brought into the *ezam-aha* and is motioned to lie on eucalyptus bark spread under the *uk*. Then the orgies begin, in which the novices now share and from among them one is chosen to be a sacrifice to the *ezam*. Then suddenly, at a given signal, a tremendous drumming arises, the men standing by the props supporting the great beams swiftly knock them aside and with a heavy crash the tree-trunks fall to the ground crushing the youth and maid beneath them. A fearful howl arises, the slain are quickly withdrawn, cut up and cooked and the blood-thirsty crowd has its meal (Wirz, II, iii, pp. 40-4).

#### *Other cults*

Wirz says (II, iii, p. 46) that besides these secret cults there are very probably among the neighbours of the Marind a whole series of other ceremonies.

The Kanum must have possessed a pig cult, the *sangar* or *basik bāmbari* connected with the myth of Nazr, the pig-*dema* (I, ii, p. 170). These ceremonies consisted of a big pig-feast, which culminated in obscenity; they strewed the cut-up pig with semen and shared it among the people. It is difficult to decide whether this was done in order to

increase the supply of pigs, or merely for hygienic reasons that no ill effects should happen from eating pork, or in order to excite the people for the cult.

In Garam [in the south of the Kanum country and inland between the area of the Kondo and the rest of the Marind], connected with the *sangar* feast, there was a ghost-hut (*dema aba*) where the pig-*dema* is still thought to live, but Wirz could not find out anything about it. The Garam people have long since died out and those of the neighbouring village of Tamarau dare not go near the hut, which has long since fallen into ruin. Probably this pig cult, like the Kanum themselves, was once very widespread.

The Yee to the north know nothing of the bullroarer, but it is said they had a pig cult. On the other hand, the bullroarer and especially the *sosom* cult was known to the people of Komolom Island in the extreme west, and it is certainly known to tribes on the upper Digul.

A pig cult appears to have been an ancient feature in the south-west of Papua. A captured wild boar plays a very important part in the *goro moguru* of Kiwai (p. 214); this ceremony is essentially a preparation for war, though the *goro* also yields medicine for other purposes.

#### SUMMARY

The *mayo* was the only cult into which girls as well as boys were initiated. It was essentially connected with coconut palms, the fertility of which was increased by the sexual indulgences of the initiates. The novices were supposed to be born again and then had to be instructed in all daily occupations, and food taboos were successively removed; finally admission into sexual life was celebrated by an orgy in which all participated and in which cannibalism played a part.

The *mayo* has some resemblances to the *máure moguru* of Kiwai (p. 213), as can be seen by the account given by Landtman (1927, pp. 350-6), but the latter restores fertility to the sago palms. The *mayo* retains an old convention that novices of both sexes are newly born and have to be re-educated; in the *máure moguru* the girls are instructed in sexual matters. The *goro moguru* is a preparation for war. The drinking of semen is common to both cults, as is the intimate connection of various songs and dances with mythology; indeed these cults might be regarded as largely dramatised mythology. Probably both cults are divergencies from an unknown earlier cult.

The *rapa* seems to be a fire cult which originally was confined to the cassowary-people, but it also assists in ensuring the fertility of coconuts. Erotic practices are indulged in which keep fires alight. In one rite a girl and a pig are burnt and then eaten; the bones of the girl are buried under coconut trees to increase their productiveness.

There has not yet been any record in Papua of a cult similar to the *rapa*, though fire plays a spectacular part in the *mimia* of Kiwai (p. 214).

The *imo* cult. Very little is known about this cult, which seems to have been confined to the coastal villages immediately east and west of the Bian. The uninitiated are in great terror of it, as they attribute all diseases and misfortunes to the *imo-dema*. A youth and maid are mishandled and eventually killed and eaten as the culminating rite.

The *sosom* is a bullroarer (*sosom*) cult. The novices are supposed by the uninitiated to be swallowed and disgorged by a giant *dema*, named Sosom, who lives in British Territory and annually goes to the west in the dry season (about September or October). Sodomy

plays an essential part in the cult. The noise of the bullroarers is the voice of *Sosom* and the unpleasant notes made by the pipes of split bamboos, *haupa*, are the cries of his younger sisters.

Wirz considers that the *sosom* cult formerly had a wide distribution in New Guinea and that it existed wherever the bullroarer served as an instrument to terrify women. He instances the *balum* legend of the Bukaua, Yabim, and Tami, which so closely recalls the tales of the *sosom* that there must have been a connection, but sodomy is not recorded at initiation among these peoples. He asserts that among the Marind the whole ceremony is solely for the indulgence of sodomy and denies that it is a fertility ceremony for yams, though it is held when yams are ripe.

In his account of the initiation of the Keraki Williams does not allude to any association of the bullroarer with yams, though it is associated with sodomy and there is also an accessory initiation in which split bamboo pipes, *ari*, are played (p. 250). Thus it falls closely into line with the *sosom*. At Setavi, Semariji country, the bullroarer is called *sosa*. *Sosa* is an old man who comes out of the water and dries himself at the initiation fire.

We know that the bullroarer occurs throughout the whole south coast of New Guinea from the Marind to the Toaripi, but there is extremely little information regarding its significance. It is interesting to find that the Kiwaians and the Marind place the introduction of the bullroarer in approximately the same area.

The bullroarer, *malubu*, is the main feature of a ceremony of the Kiwaians called the "yam *muguru*" by Baxter Riley, but it does not seem to be a real *moguru* ceremony. The novices are shown the bullroarer for the first time and are terrorised. The object of the ceremony is to instruct the youths how to plant yams and to make gardens productive by swinging the bullroarer (p. 220). This ritual use of the bullroarer, *bigu*, is said to have come from Bugi or from Boigu (Landtman, 1917, pp. 316, 17).

Though the bullroarer is employed in Torres Straits in connection with gardening (including rain-making) and with turtling, there is no record of its having been the ritual object of a definite initiation ceremony except in Muralug and Keriri (v, p. 217).

E. Beardmore first drew attention to sodomy at Mawata (*J.A.I.* XIX, 1890, p. 464), which was indignantly denied by Sir W. Macgregor. J. Chalmers, speaking of the Bugi and neighbouring tribes, says (*J.A.I.* XXXIII, 1903, p. 109): "At the initiation of young men, they practise sodomy". This practice seems to die out in the region of the Fly river; there is no reason to believe, as Wirz does, that sodomy was inherent in a cult of the bullroarer, but certainly they became associated in the far west of New Guinea.

The *sosom* is clearly a variant of the widespread novice-devouring monster of a particular type of initiation ceremony (Haddon, *J.R.A.I.* 1920, pp. 241, 253, 257, 258; A. B. Deacon, *Folk-Lore*, XXXVI, 1925, pp. 332 ff.).

The *ezam* cult of the upper Bian river is also associated with the bullroarer, the noise of which is the voice of a dwarfish *dema* who usually lives underground; noise is also made by bamboo gongs. Sexual excesses are indulged in by the initiates, the rites culminate in an orgy by initiates and novices, during which time a novice and a girl are crushed to death and then they are eaten by all.

I have dealt at some length with the Marind partly because the information is not readily accessible to English students, but mainly to round off my survey of the ethnography of south-west New Guinea, for it is to this area that the Torres Straits islanders owe most of their culture.

### III. NORTH QUEENSLAND

The older published information about the natives of North Queensland is very imperfect and scattered and does not have much bearing upon the ethnography of Torres Straits, but the recent investigations of D. F. Thomson in the Cape York peninsula demonstrate that reciprocal influence has taken place between these two areas.

The few contacts and exchange of artifacts hitherto noted between the mainlanders and the islanders have been duly recorded in these Reports.

Dr D. F. Thomson has recently published an important paper that sheds new light on the history of north-east North Queensland ("The hero cult, initiation and totemism on Cape York", *J.R.L.I.* LXIII, 1933, pp. 453-537).

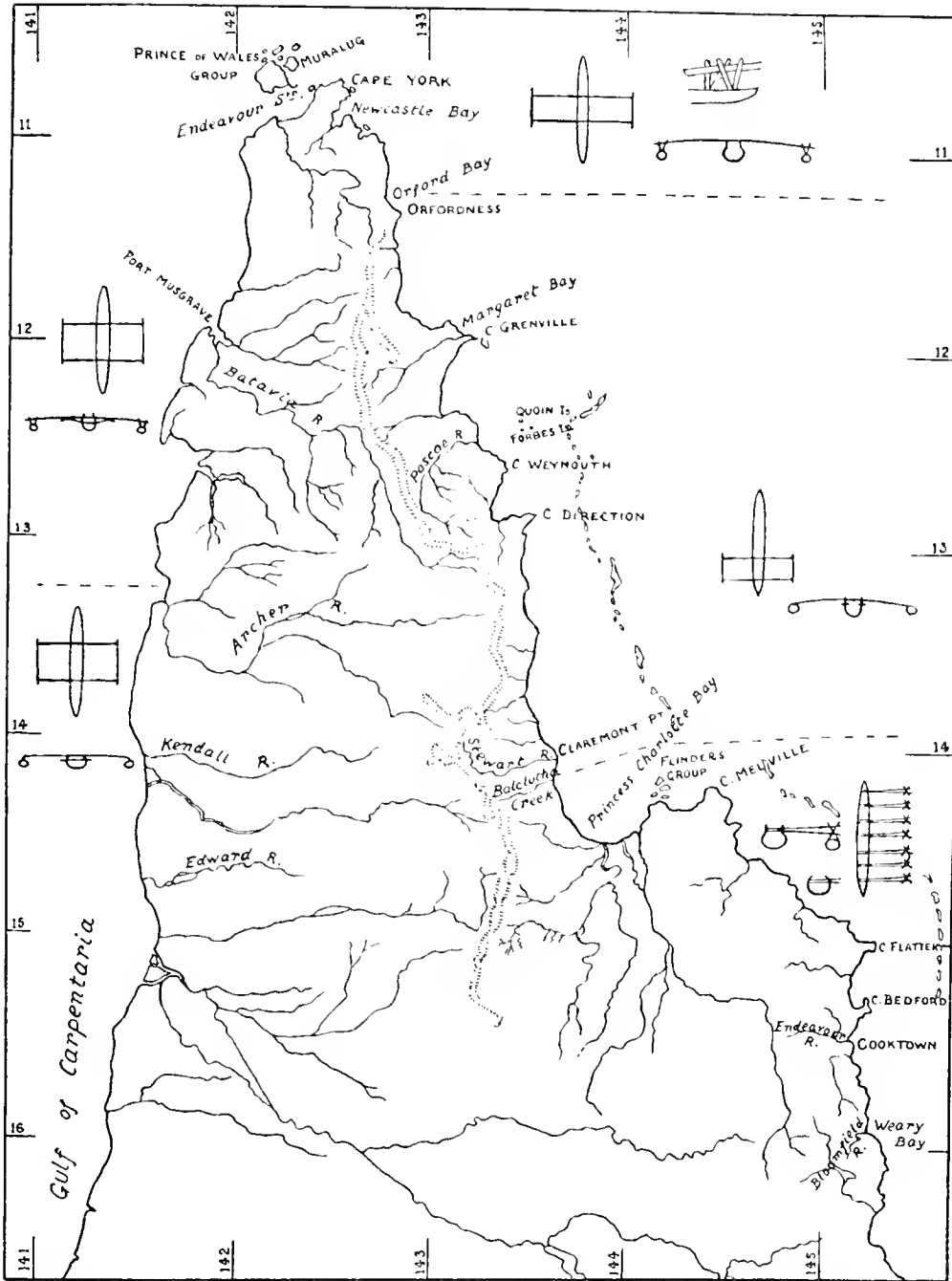
The Kawadji, "the people of the east", or as they call themselves Pama Malnkäna, "people of the sandbeach", comprise six tribes who occupy the territory east of the main range from Orford bay to Princess Charlotte bay; typical of whom are the Koko Ya'o, who live around the Pascoe river and up to Cape Grenville. They are essentially fishermen and dugong hunters, skilled canoe builders, and make adventurous voyages to the Great Barrier Reef in search of dugong, turtle, and the eggs of turtle and sea birds. Though nomad hunters and collectors, they frequently settle down for months at a time to obtain vegetable food; usually their camps are on the open sandy beds of river courses during the south-east or dry season. With the first rains of the north-west monsoon they move to the open coast well above high spring tides; this is the time of the *Okaintü* initiation ceremonies.

#### (i) THE KOKO YA'O

The Koko Ya'o are divided into two moieties and various exogamous totem clans. The clan is a landowning group. There is no central authority, each horde or "camp" being an independent self-governing unit, but the hero cult has acted as a modifying influence in establishing a common tribal centre at Tolugonoma on the upper Pascoe river and so providing the basis for tribal, as distinct from clan, solidarity. Regulation of conduct is in the hands of the old men; women, except in matters which concern their sex alone, have, as a rule, little to say in social matters. Patriliney obtains in the moiety and clan. The horde is the war-making group; the fights usually take place between hordes of the opposite moiety. There is a classificatory system of relationship: the two types of permissible marriage are: with a classificatory mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter, and with a sister's son's daughter respectively, with whom no blood relationship can be traced. Cross-cousin marriage is prohibited. Marriage classes or sections are absent.

I'wai ("crocodile"), who had the form of a man but with crocodilian attributes, was the leading personage among the Yilamo or Wulmpano, the mythical ancestors, who invented the present culture and lived "in the beginning". "After the big men, the middle people lived, last we come and we find the white men." In the days of the Yilamo all the animals were men, except the dog and the tern. The Yilamo were true men though they were endowed with powers not possessed by men to-day. I'wai alone can be regarded as a culture hero, he invented the initiation ceremonies, the others were his helpers.





Map of Cape York peninsula, North Queensland; after D. F. Thomson showing the distribution of the various types of outrigger canoes (p. 310).

The evidence seems to suggest the existence in this area of an earlier society organised on the basis of totemism with matrilineal descent. There is no doubt that the *Mon'ka* initiation ceremonies belong to the old order, they are pre-eminently of a disciplinary nature. Pai'yamo, the Rainbow Serpent, is the guardian of the *mon'ka kintja* (taboos); it is always associated with water and generally avenges a broken taboo by bringing a flood. Cf. Rainbow Serpent in Australia, *Oceania*, 1, pp. 342-54 and in New Guinea, IV, p. 51.

#### OKAINTÄ

The *okaintä* series of ceremonies were introduced by the I'wai. They take place in a well-screened sacred cleared space *ngartji kintja*, which no uninitiated person can approach. In the centre is a grass screen, *ko'ol*, the name of which is taboo, *kintja*, to the uninitiated; it is decorated with certain leaves and feathers, profane eyes may never look on it and live, as it is *kunta kunta* (*kunta* = powerful or strong, and sacred or dangerous, as the case may be). During the ceremonies the *ngartji kintja* becomes a kind of men's club which the old men as well as the novices, *kän'nga* [*kernge*, west Torres Straits], make their headquarters during the day. Here all the sacred paraphernalia are kept which are progressively revealed to the *kän'nga*: among these are the painted jawed-drums.

The first of the three early minor ceremonies, *ompoibo*, marks the removal of the lads from the care of the women; then follow two ceremonies differing little from each other except in the progressive elaboration of the head-dresses, or masks. The bullroarer is shown early in the ceremony, but it is not a sacred object. The I'wai (crocodile) also consists of three ceremonies in which a more or less elaborate head-dress in the form of a crocodile is worn by the dancer; all of them, especially the third, are strongly *kunta*. Then follow the *Ai'tati*, "Big devil", the *Kalijiro*, Kingfish, and the *N'yi-wälli*, Sawfish. At the end of each ceremony the masked dancers kneel down, and as the masks are removed every detail is explained to the novices. Each dancer rises and clasps his arms around the body of a novice, whose arm is also placed about the unmasked dancer. This rite is to give life or strength to the novice.

When all these initiation rites are concluded a non-*kintja* pageant, *koimpadji*, takes place; the drummers and spectators, including women and children, collect at the southern end of the secular ceremonial ground, and a pantomime of two totemic ancestors is performed by new initiates. From the north end emerge the novices, imitating a mob of feeding kangaroos: this is merely a mime representing totemic ancestors; it terminates with a wrestling match.

On the completion of the *okaintä* series an important ceremony takes place in which women play a leading part.

Finally a *koko kintja*, "speech taboo", is placed on the newly initiated in regard to certain individuals which can only be removed by a ceremonial presentation of vegetable food, and mourning taboos are removed at the same time.

The *okaintä* ceremonies represent a recapitulation of the doings of I'wai as recorded in mythology. In the beginning he lived alone at Tolngonoma on the upper Pascoe river, where he initiated men of various totems into "plays", *a'igä*, in which costumes and masks were worn, which he progressively improved; the rites were held in a *ngartji kintja*. Then

he stole Yanki (Python), one of the wives of Ka'oma (Echidna). He made a drum, *waiyuba*, in which he cut a toothed mouth, *kama*, like his own. When the python people heard the drumming they went to kill I'wai, for Ka'oma said, "Let us kill him, he runs *okaintä* all the time", but I'wai ran away with his wife and left his dance paraphernalia, which turned into stones, and reached the mouth of the river. He saw a dead saw-fish, made a head-dress like it and invented the dance as it is now performed. Later he reached the sea when a storm was raging, and he sang for fine weather. With a number of girls and boys he went to Mitirinji (Quoin Island), two girls crossed the island and found a bullroarer and made a noise with it. I'wai woke up and was ashamed and angry, he took the bullroarer from the girls and left them on the island and they were turned into stones. I'wai went to Mutarrä (Forbes Island) and thence to Ontoiba (Hicks Island, off Cape Grenville) and said: "This is a good country. I keep close to mainland". When he got to Margaret bay he told Yanki to go to a point near Cape Grenville. He went with his initiates to a small island near Tee reef; when they were asleep their canoes drifted away, but eventually a sting ray carried them all back to the mainland.

Dr Thomson says that the funeral ritual of the Koko Ya'o, which differs greatly from that of the southern tribes of the peninsula, appears to have accompanied the cult, and he considers that "mummification" of the dead likewise was associated with it. He notes that the *ngartji kintja* is identical with the *kwol* and regards the *ko'ol* as the counterpart of the *wans* (screen or screens) of the *kwol* in Torres Straits; some of these erections were simply screens, but some, at all events, were of a ritual and perhaps of a sacred character (v, pp. 366, 367). The *ko'ol* however seems to correspond more closely to the *tara* of the *horiomu* (p. 224). The screens of this ceremony were erected merely to prevent uninitiated spectators from seeing what took place within the sacred area.

The *okaintä* evidently was a transplanted and modified *horiomu*, and it is interesting to note that men of the crocodile totem clan were the "masters" of the *horiomu*. It was also, as Thomson points out, a pantomime of the doings of I'wai and of his journeying in search of a country, *ngartji*, in which to settle.

From the descriptions and illustrations given by Thomson there is a close resemblance between the masks of the *okaintä* of the Koko Ya'o and those of the spirit-dancers of the *horiomu* and with certain masks of Torres Straits. W. E. Roth illustrates similar types of masks from adjacent tribes (*North Queensland Ethnography*, Bull. 4, pls. xxxiii, xxxiv; Bull. 12, pls. I, lii, liii), which are discussed by Thomson. Dr Thomson has not yet published his account of the funeral ceremonies which were introduced by I'wai, but we may infer that they were of a similar nature to those of Torres Straits.

The Yilamo, or totemic ancestors, closely resemble the typical Australian totemic ancestors. They also were at times in human and in animal form, and performed extraordinary deeds, the scenes of which are often marked by stones; sometimes the totemic ancestors were themselves turned into stones, which thus became totem-stones. By reason of his powerful *kunta* I'wai has acquired a pre-eminent place among the Yilamo and the people refer to him by the honorific title Tjilbo, the grey-headed one. He enforced various taboos, *kintja*, and he and all his belongings were full of *kunta*. The drum was intimately associated with him and he introduced dances in which masks were worn. So far as one clan is concerned the sacred objects of I'wai have been brought within the scope of totemism, but for the other clans these objects are non-totemic though possessed of strong *kunta* and hedged about with taboos.

Landtman says that the Hiamu [pp. 50, 51, 241] fled southwards from Daru past the Torres Straits islands, as they wanted to go to the "outside island people, keep off alongside deep water" (1917, p. 367). They settled down at Murilago and introduced the *taere* ceremony there. The position of Murilago agrees well with Marilag (pp. 391, 394), which lies within the Great Barrier Reef and close to the deep water of the coral sea, and the name Yilamo is suspiciously like Hiamu.

The introduction of the new cult doubtless occurred a considerable time ago and must have had a disturbing effect upon the pre-existing totemic cults. This is shown by the opposition of the Echidna men, who actually drove Iwai away from his headquarters, but the *kuntu* of the new cult was so great that the cult has persisted and, after adjustment had taken place, now forms an essential element in the culture of the tribe.

#### THE DUGONG HUNTERS

In his paper "The dugong hunters of Cape York" (*J.R.A.I.* LXIV, 1934, pp. 237-62) Thomson describes the Kawadji as a splendid seafaring people, great adventurers and great fighters. The Yintjingga, who live about Stewart river, Princess Charlotte bay, have a wide-spread fame as dugong hunters, but they get their powerful magical charms for dugong hunting, as well as red paint for ceremonial purposes and other things, from the inland Koka Aiebadu, who know nothing of dugong hunting and are clumsy with canoes. There is however an atmosphere of mutual fear and distrust between the two peoples.

Dugong hunting is done in double-outrigger canoes, *tūng'o*, which are of the Claremont type (p. 311). The harpoon shaft, *warnagūdji*, the detachable point, *koi'yero* [*kwoiōro*, *kwiaru*, west Torres Straits], and the ropes are similar to those of Torres Straits, but the shaft is not so skilfully made as is the *wap* and is little more than a simple pole. Thomson saw only one dugong platform, which he considers a recent introduction.

When there is a falling off in the number of dugong, the old men of the Koko Ya'o, who claim the dugong as a *pola* (clan totem), perform a simple ceremony of walking round a rock, *wot'i kola* (dugong stone), and striking it with leafy branches, at the same time hissing "come plenty, come plenty".

There was a ritual eating of human flesh by the Koko Ya'o, usually from the calf, to make a man fearless and to give him special prowess in dugong hunting.

#### (ii) SIVIRRI, THE CULTURE HERO OF THE TJUNGUNDJI

Dr D. F. Thomson ("Notes on a Hero Cult from the Gulf of Carpentaria, North Queensland", *J.R.A.I.* LXIV, 1934, pp. 217-35) has discovered a hero cult among the Tjungundji of the lower Batavia river, 120 miles south of Cape York, whose language differs in structure and phonetics from that of any other tribe on Cape York peninsula. The tribe is organised on a basis of localised exogamous totemic clans with patrilineal descent. The territorial factor is an important one and the clan is named after its territory.

Sivirri, the culture hero of the tribe, belonged to the Langanamma clan; his cult is localised there and he is regarded not only as a totem of the clan but as the chief totem, he is "a man of long ago". He never assumed animal form or acquired animal attributes.

Ernyongo was Sivirri's mother's brother and was closely associated with him in myth and cult. He came from Ni Kuringa, the most northerly clan of the Yupungatti tribe which adjoins Langannamma on the south: Janie creek separates the two areas.

Sivirri made a drum, *n'yu'ungaya*, then speared a wallaby and made a tympanum with its skin. He beat the drum so that the people might dance, *kwarraka*. He took novices to the taboo ground, *trenna*, and put them inside the *mbaga*. This is a rectangular enclosure in the *trenna* surrounded by walls of saplings hung with bulrushes. He made the first outrigger canoe, *patra*, which he moored off the mouth of Janie creek, where it was stranded at low water and turned to stone and still may be seen.

Sivirri then built another canoe and eloped with the two daughters of Ernyongo (cross-cousins may not marry now) and set off northwards to Torres Straits. One of the girls became sick on the journey and Sivirri left her on the mainland at the head of the gulf, where she was turned to stone. Sivirri continued his journey to Torres Straits where, after engaging in much fighting, he died a warrior hero.

The initiation ceremonies of the Tjungundji which take place at the end of the south-east season are associated with Sivirri and Ernyongo. The two principal officiators represent them and do not wear masks, they are the drum-men. The other old men are merely dance-men and also do not wear masks. All are painted and wear a fringe, *ndega*, from the waist to the knees and elaborate fillets and arm- and leg-bands. The drums are cylindrical, without jaws, and have a tympanum of wallaby skin.

Two masked performers, *patallokrigga* and *aritimra*, play an important part.

Other dances are frequent which are not associated with the hero cult or with initiation and are not performed in the *trenna*. They may be seen by anyone. These dancers, *rimarango*, wear animal masks which generally represent a crocodile or kingfish; their bodies are elaborately painted and they wear the *ndega*.

I have very recently received from Miss Ursula H. McConnel some notes on "Shiveri": the detailed account will be published by her in due course.

Shiveri lived on the north side of the mouth of Janey creek, about 8 miles south of Mapoon at the mouth of Batavia river, in the country of the Tyongandyi. Immediately opposite, on the south side, there lived Ngunya.

Shiveri had a large dancing ground on a flat by the river and on it he built an oblong-shaped dance-house, *mbaga*, the framework of which was covered with bulrushes. The men wear skirts of shredded bark when dancing to the accompaniment of the cylindrical wooden drum which has a tympanum of wallaby skin. The songs are all related to Shiveri and his sons. The sea-gull is the dominant hero of these songs, the others are the sea-eagle, various kinds of fish, etc. These are all totemic. Sea-gulls congregate on the sand-banks on Shiveri's side of the river.

Ngunya also had his *mbaga* and the other features of the cult that were inaugurated by Shiveri (which Miss McConnel points out are common to the Torres Straits islands but are foreign to Australian culture). He was definitely associated with the Torres Straits pigeon, which migrates annually to New Guinea and returns at the end of winter to this part of the Gulf. His children were the native-companion [large grey crane], the duck, and various sea-shells (bailer shell, conch, etc.).

Shiveri stole the two daughters of Ngunya and took them up the coast in his canoe. One he left at Red point and the other on Red island. His canoe being smashed, he took great strides across the sea and islands appeared wherever he put down his feet. He

arrived at Mabuag, where he was killed; here he is known as Kuyam or Kwoyam and a stone marks the spot where he was killed. The Tyongandyi and the Mabuag people are close friends on account of their relationship through Kuyam.

Ngunya followed after his daughters and Shiveri, but he went on to the Fly river in New Guinea.

Miss McConnel has no doubt that Shiveri is the sea-gull totemic hero. The sea-gulls go to Mabuag to nest at the beginning of the wet season, just as the Torres Straits pigeons go to New Guinea at the end of the wet season (these natural history details are asserted by the Australian natives). She saw a dance by Mabuag people at Mapoon which represented the flight of sea-gulls over the water when the south wind was blowing and she considers that Kuyam was definitely associated with the sea-gull and that his voyage from the mainland to Mabuag is related to the migration of these birds.

I have retained the spelling of the names as given by Dr Thomson and Miss McConnel and further information must be awaited before these two accounts can be discussed. I did not find any trace of an association between Kwoiam (or Kuiam) and sea-gulls; his totem was said to be *kaigas*, the shovel-nosed skate (p. 383). There also is no indication that Mabuag people formerly had relations with any Australian natives and I suspect that the present friendship is of very recent origin.

#### DISCUSSION OF THESE CULTS

As Thomson remarks, virile cults that came from Papua spread down both coasts of Cape York peninsula and have been able to establish themselves in the face of the extreme hostility that existed between the Australians and the Torres Straits islanders.

He regards the introduction of the Iwai cult of the Koko Ya'o in the east as being more ancient than the cult connected with Sivirri of the Tjungundji in the west. His informants were quite positive that the *rimarango* were dissociated from Sivirri, and he believes that they represent an infiltration of Torres Straits culture that entered the area independently of and possibly at an earlier date than the hero cult.

Both heroes introduced the double-outrigger canoe, the drum, and initiation ceremonies performed in a taboo-ground in which was a sacred erection. Dancers wearing animal masks were an essential feature of the Iwai cult but apparently only subsidiary to the Sivirri cult.

Thomson suggests the identity of Sivirri with Kwoiam of the western islands of Torres Straits and says he "can find nothing to suggest that Sivirri was other than a mythical culture hero and nothing at all to support such a belief as is held by Haddon with regard to Kwoiam, of whom he says, 'Personally, I have little doubt that this warrior was a real person to whom many marvellous feats have been credited subsequently'" [v, p. 79]; but he also says: "It is true that Sivirri is a totem of the clan Langannamma, but there was no suggestion in the culture myth that he was ever other than a man". This totemic relationship also characterised Kwoiam (p. 383). If Kwoiam was merely a mythical personage, the circumstantial accounts of his exploits in Torres Straits and New Guinea leave little doubt that the islanders considered him to have been a real man.

The drum is not an Australian instrument, so it is interesting to find that it is associated with both cults. Among the Koko Ya'o it is cylindrical, without a handle, and has toothed

jaws at the open end. This is not a Torres Straits type, but a non-constricted drum without a handle and with jaws does occur in the region of the middle Fly river and on the Bamu river. It is conceivable that the cylindrical form of the Koko Ya'o drum may be a degenerate feature due to lack of skill and that it may have originated from an early form of *warup* of Torres Straits, which is now a highly evolved type. The sacred Malu drum of Mer (VI, pp. 43, 296, pl. XVII, fig. 1) is a slightly constricted drum with jaws and without a handle. Iwai made the tympanum of his drum of Varanus, *yita*, skin, which is still used when available, but that of the globe fish is also valued; when these are unobtainable wallaby skin is used.

The drum made by Sivrri had a wallaby skin tympanum, as have those still made by the Tjungundji. It also is cylindrical and without a handle, but it has a circular mouth. I have elsewhere referred to drums in New Guinea with a mammal skin tympanum and a circular open end, such as are characteristic of the Marind and allied tribes, though these drums have a handle (*J.R.A.I.* XLVI, 1916, p. 350). It looks as if a people with this tradition passed a short distance down the west side of the Cape York peninsula while a people with the jawed drum and a lizard skin tympanum went down the east side (cf. Drums, p. 314).

#### OTHER LEGENDS

The following legends were told to S. H. Ray by Jimmy Matauri, with Kaiiau as auditor. They are fragmentary and unsatisfactory but they seem to be worth preserving as we have so few tales from North Queensland. Their main interest is that they confirm other accounts of reciprocal cultural drifts between the western islands and the Cape York peninsula.

Oiyandai appears to have been a culture hero about whom it would be desirable to have further information.

#### *Ged'a Oiyandai*

All islands belonged once to mainland [Queensland] man. Islands one land before, then break [away] Moa, Badu. Mainland learnt corroborree from Oikantu.<sup>1</sup> He lived first [at] Kuḡum. Not known where he came from. Oiyandai (said to be the same as Kwoiam and also a freshwater turtle) took snider and revolver and fire shot, it go in stone and broke island, bullet belong him *owe* (this is the Yaraikāna name for "pigeon belong sandbeach", the curlew; the island name is *karuri*). Oiyandai took coconut, banana, fowl, pumpkin, water melon, get him from mainland, so mainland got none left. He went west (?) find no good ground, he carry coconuts, drop him [them], but not grow in bad ground. (Kaiiau thinks he did not go to Mer but Jimmy thinks he was told that he did.)

Boy belong Oiyandai he die. Mother look out [carry] bone along basket. Oiyandai like him to die and finish. Mother cry all time, put dead body along basket. He sorry he leave mother behind, she so sorry. He lives again. She hear cockatoo sing out "ka ka", she says "Haloo my boy". Catch him. [he said] "Mother I want *unti* (Cyraena shell, *akul* of the islands) to sharpen my spear. He sharpen stiek, catch hold shell wrong and make fool [of] mother. Mother say, "This good shell sharpen". He (she) sharpen 12 spears. He say "all no good". She wild, she get bone and basket and throw in sky [and said] *Notapa duba garumada gunan* (I your bone

<sup>1</sup> The connection between Oiyandai and Oikantu is obscure; the "corroborree" is evidently the *oikantā* (p. 268) and Jimmy seems to have confused the ceremony with a culture-hero.

got), I keep your body everything. He (she ?) wild because he live. Oiyandai and his wife were mainland people.

Once mainland no savvy fire. One man live on Nagi mountain [Nagir]. Mainland men see grass burning. The man on Nagi blind, he knew everything and knew any one who came, he knew fire-stick. Lizard stop under fire-stick, stole him when blind man asleep. Took fire-stick on head and swim to mainland. Lizard a mainland man [Nagi may be the same as Naga, p. 406].

Tabu was Badulaig (a native of Badu, so Jimmy thinks). He got bow and arrow, went on mainland, shot bow and arrow along scrub to measure land and see if big enough to live in. Tabu lived there and taught song and dance. Tabu left island because bad ground and mainland has good ground [cf. p. 110].

#### IV. SKETCH OF THE ETHNIC HISTORY OF PAPUA-AUSTRALIA

Beginning from the coast of New Guinea at about 4° S. lat., the 100 fathom line runs south-westerly in a sinuous course to beyond 122° E. long. and thus includes the Aru islands. This margin of the continental shelf of Australia (the Sahul bank of Griffith Taylor) is distant about 80 miles from Timor and about 60 miles from the Kei islands. A similar contour almost uninterruptedly connects the Kei islands with Ceram (Seran). In the east the 100 fathom contour coincides with the outer margin of the Great Barrier Reef and at about the level of the Murray islands it curves irregularly north-east and ends at about Yule island on the south coast of New Guinea.<sup>1</sup>

A continental shelf (the Sunda bank of Griffith Taylor) connects Borneo, Java and Sumatra with south-eastern Asia, the 100 fathom contour of which reaches to about 30 miles from Celebes.

If the land were raised in the Sahul and Sunda areas to a height of 600 ft. there would be a relatively small central sea (the Banda deep) which would doubtless be mainly smooth

<sup>1</sup> It is not possible here to discuss the problems connected with the continental shelf, the general surface of which is remarkably even, so it does not seem probable that much differential variation in vertical movement has taken place. Such movement we are told occurred in the east during the Pleistocene ice ages when New Guinea was alternately connected with and disconnected from Australia; this might in part be accounted for by the locking-up of water as ice during a glacial phase and the subsequent thawing in a genial phase, both of which would affect the sea-level, but local movements have also to be allowed for.

The late Pliocene or Pleistocene glaciations were almost certainly contemporaneous with accentuated crust-warping and in New Guinea the Cretaceous-Pliocene strata underwent intense orogenic movements, mountains being produced up to and over 15,000 ft. in height. The New Guinea of those days was presumably in the main cooler than now, because the mountain belt was higher and because the coastal and deltaic plains, especially in the south, had not yet been formed by fluvio-glacial and fluvial down-wash. This high and cool mountain chain was probably for some time during the Pleistocene joined with the north-east Australian highlands, corroborative evidence for which is found in the migration of rhododendrons from Papua to the Bellenden Ker range near Cairns, Queensland.

All these and other geographical changes have to be taken into account when dealing with the complicated problems of human migrations. In specific cases powerful motives for migration may have been given by earthquakes, volcanic outpourings and subsequent famine.

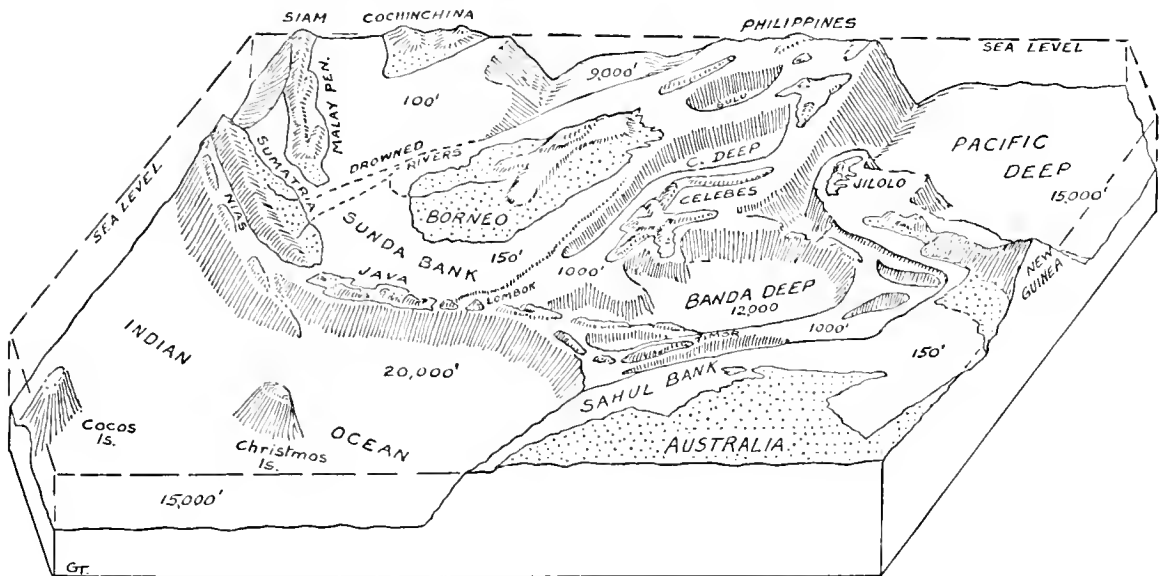
I have abstracted the foregoing from a mass of information kindly supplied to me by Prof. O. H. T. Rishbeth of Southampton.



water for a considerable period of the year, as it is very largely surrounded by land. The southern islands form an almost continuous chain and thus voyagers in simple craft, such as canoes or even rafts, could readily have passed from Asia to Australia.

The inter-shelf zone has been one of great geological instability for a very long time as is evidenced by earthquakes, volcanoes and vertical movements of great amplitude, and therefore the present conditions do not afford a sure indication of what were the conditions at the times when the earliest migrations of man took place across that zone.

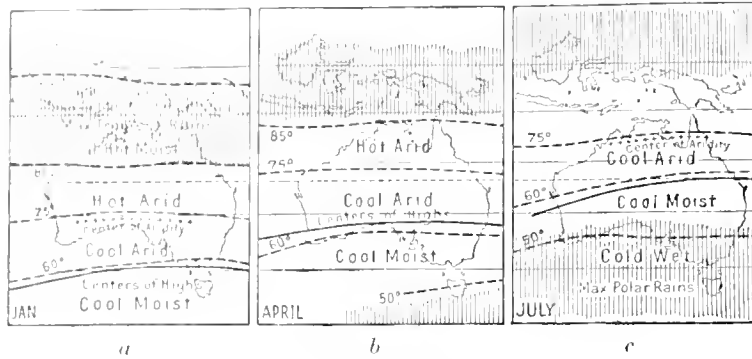
"The changing environment in the Australasian 'peninsula'" is discussed by Griffith Taylor in *Environment and Race*, 1927, pp. 51-67. He says: "It is generally held that these two large areas, Sunda Land and Sahul Land, were above sea-level during the last of the Ice Ages... We thus see that during the Great Ice Ages an influx of primitive folk into Australia would have been much easier than to-day... Two factors preserved them when they reached the Australian continent. We may reasonably suppose that soon afterwards Sunda and Sahul Lands were drowned, thus greatly diminishing the risk of attack; and secondly the climatic conditions in the north of Australia certainly did not attract any peoples who were not driven there by dire necessity".



The generalized block-diagram shows the "Stepping-Stones" to Australia. The ocean is supposed to be absent. Notice the Sunda bank and the Sahul bank, each only 150 feet below sea-level. Between is the profound Banda deep surrounded by the Celebes-Timor shelf 1,000 feet below the surface. Lowlands are dotted. The depths are from Dutch surveys. Fig. 15 of *Environment and Race* by the courtesy of Prof. Griffith Taylor and the Oxford University Press.

Australia is crossed from east to west by a broad belt of arid climate which swings north and south with changing temperature. When Australia is hottest (January), the desert conditions reach to the south coast. When Australia is coldest, they reach practically to

the north coast. The tropical rain belt covers northern Australia in summer, while the polar rain belt covers southern Australia in winter. Hence only the central portion suffers from desert conditions all the year round.



Pleistocene Climates in Australia: *a*, Present Summer and like Pliocene Equinox; *b*, Present Equinox and like Pleistocene Summer; *c*, Present Winter and like Pleistocene Equinox. In the Pleistocene Winter the belts were probably still farther north. Fig. 18 of *Environment and Race* by the courtesy of Prof. Griffith Taylor and the Oxford University Press.

During the Pliocene the conditions were somewhat hotter and during the Pleistocene colder than at present. Thus in the Pliocene the annual climatic swing was shifted southwards and in the latter it was shifted northwards, with the consequence that in the Pliocene the arid zone was more to the south and more to the north in the Pleistocene and so there were then more repellent conditions in the north in the Pleistocene than occur to-day; the same swings affected south-west New Guinea.

The greater part of Australia was well watered in the Pliocene and may have been so when the first men arrived, but gradually the conditions became worse, especially in the north, during the Pleistocene to become somewhat ameliorated in recent times.

The theory that the early Australians reached Australia by the western portion of the northern continental shelf might explain the lack of evidence for their having occupied what later became New Guinea, which presumably was already peopled by Negrito-Papuan stocks.

Mr McDonald (*J.A.I.*, VII, 1878, p. 258) refers to a "statement of Andrew Hume [no reference given], that the blacks near the north-west coast of Australia say the first men who ever came to this continent, landed on that coast, and that the righteous and prevailing part of the population, afterwards, drove away a multitude of offenders against their sacred law towards the south-east".

We may assume that the latest Australian immigrants into the continent spoke languages of the North Australian linguistic group and that a branch of these may have reached the area now forming the western islands of Torres Straits, but apparently this branch did not enter New Guinea. After their arrival the continental shelf became entirely submerged and therefrom Australia (except at Cape York) could be visited only by small parties in sea-going boats.

We know that fishing crews have occasionally come from Indonesia to the northern shores of Australia and probably have done so for a considerable period of time, but their influence on the Australians appears to have been almost negligible.

Accepting the foregoing as a working hypothesis, we may further assume that the earliest ulotrichous stocks reached Papua-Australia by eastern land extensions, through Celebes and Halmahera, i.e. east of the Banda deep, and crossing New Guinea entered North-east Australia. They may have passed to Tasmania mainly east of the cordillera. Later ulotrichi may be regarded as having reached New Guinea by the same route, but if any of them arrived in Australia they must have done so in such small numbers as not to have affected the physical characters of the Australians to any appreciable extent. Even the spreads from Papua into North Queensland previously noted do not appear to have affected the ethnic characters of the Queenslanders. I have found a slight trace of brachycephalism in the north of the Cape York peninsula which may be due to such a movement; it remains to be proved whether the same applies to Central Australia, for Baldwin Spencer (*Rep. A.A.A.S. Melbourne, 1921*) says, "amongst five Central Australian tribes I found the cephalic index of the men varied from 80.5 to 66.6". He also says (*Federal Handbook, 1914, pp. 34, 35*) he does not find any evidence for crossing between the incoming Australians and the Tasmanians they found in Australia, nor does he believe in the theory of the Rev. J. Matthew (*Eaglehawk and Crow, 1899; Two representative tribes of Queensland, 1910, and J.R.A.I. XL, 1910, p. 165*) that the moieties represent an amalgamation of a lighter with a darker race. He (1921) also rejects the statement of Rivers (*Brit. Ass. Rep. 1914, p. 530*): "The history of Australian culture and its present nature become far easier to understand if there has been a gradual infiltration of seafaring peoples, starting from many points on the coast, if immigrants, few in number, first formed small settlements on the coast, and passed on their culture to the interior of the continent by gradual secondary movements". Spencer says "the reverse, taking all things into consideration, would seem to be pre-eminently true". He goes on to say, after developing an argument based on biology [which I think does not apply in this connection], this biological process "has led to the independent development of a race of human beings along [cultural] lines parallel to those pursued by other early races of humanity elsewhere, but always again controlled by some factor or combination of factors that has prevented them from developing into anything higher than men of the stone age".

Obviously on the whole I agree with Rivers, but not necessarily with all the implications he probably had in his mind. Baldwin Spencer regards the higher culture of the tribes he studied as being due to a local evolution, but very few ethnologists would concur with him.

It is generally admitted that the first inhabitants of the Papua-Australian continent were varieties of woolly-haired (ulotrichous) man arriving like all subsequent migrations (except the European settlers) by way of Indonesia. Probably there were several varieties, some of very short (pygmy), others of short or medium stature, all of whom now exhibit a tendency to vary in head breadth. Dr H. J. T. Byhmer's view may now be accepted that the pygmoid Papuans and the taller Papuans are two groups of the same stock (*Proc. Fourth Pacific Congress, Java, 1929*). This stock may be termed "Negrito-Papuan" or "Papuan" for short.

The now-extinct Tasmanian falls naturally into this group and may be regarded as a somewhat generalised variety of the Negrito-Papuan stock, which at a very early date

crossed Australia and became isolated in Tasmania by the formation of Bass Strait before the Australians reached so far south. Baldwin Spencer thinks they may have entered at the north-east of Australia in Pliocene or very early Pleistocene times, Edgeworth David places their arrival in Tasmania between twenty thousand and one hundred thousand years ago.

Griffith Taylor (*loc. cit.* p. 84) believes that, later than the above migration, the first horde of Australians arrived in a Pleistocene ice age when Sunda and Sabul Lands were dry ground. They and later migrations probably drifted to the south-east along the then great rivers of the interior between the deserts of the north-west and the temperate jungles of central New South Wales. Subsequently the attractive central portion of Australia, the ancient corridor, became almost a desert and the thick forest of inland New South Wales became open, grassy plains.

In addition to the variable Papuan, or Negrito-Papuan, stock which spread all over New Guinea there are along the north coast and round the east coast as far as Cape Possession in the south very numerous settlements of peoples speaking "Melanesian" languages whose ancestors originally came from Indonesia in different migrations. These do not concern us here and, as I have indicated in various connections in this volume, it is unlikely that any of them have directly influenced the Torres Straits islanders.

The cultural traits that Austronesian-speaking peoples brought from Indonesia to New Guinea on their way to Melanesia have spread over a considerable part of that island. By secondary diffusions, whatever routes they took or whatever modifications they underwent, some of these traits reached the southern coasts of New Guinea and influenced the Torres Straits islanders. It also seems probable that numerous elements brought by the Australian culture-bearers had their source in this cultural trend.

I candidly admit that the foregoing is highly theoretical but at present I have no better hypothesis to suggest.

# PART III



# GENERAL ETHNOGRAPHY OF TORRES STRAITS

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- II. PSYCHOLOGY AND BEHAVIOUR, *p.* 284.
- III. LANGUAGES: WESTERN AND EASTERN, *p.* 289.
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- VI. DOMESTIC LIFE (INCLUDING DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD AND MUMMIFICATION), *p.* 316.
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- XI. SUMMARY OF THE CULTURE-HISTORY OF TORRES STRAITS, *p.* 410.

## I. THE PHYSICAL CHARACTERS OF THE ISLANDERS

This brief account of the physical characters of the islanders is based very largely on my own measurements, and the conclusions which I have drawn are those at which I had arrived many years ago; many of the data were published by me in 1916, *Rivista di Antropologia*, vol. XX. Dr L. H. Dudley Buxton has studied all the available material according to modern anthropometric methods and his conclusions are given in our joint memoir which will appear in vol. II and will form the final portion of these Reports.

The islanders have a dark chocolate-coloured skin and ulotrichous (woolly) hair which when short forms close spirals about 3-4 mm. in diameter, but one sample of hair from a native of Keriri (Kauralaig) has a diameter of about 18 mm. and thus shows a close approach to the most curly varieties of the hair of Australians, as might be expected from the intermarriages that took place with Cape York women. The cymotrichous hair of the Australians is very different from the hair of Papuans.

Facial characters are difficult to describe with accuracy, and an inspection of pls. IX, X, XI, and IV, pls. I, II, V, VIII will give a good general idea of the features of the Torres Straits islanders. The spirited drawings by Melville in Jukes (I, *p.* 159 [IV, pl. I, figs. 3, 4], II, pp. 236, 237) give a rather repellent impression. The photographs taken on the expedition show a considerable range of features, some of the men would have a "savage" appearance if they were unkempt and had not been influenced by the example of Europeans, while others have a definitely "civilised" appearance; both types are illustrated by the photographs on pl. XI.

The forehead is usually slightly retreating and never is bulbous. The brow-ridges are frequently well-marked, as may be the glabella. Speaking generally, the nose has a high bridge and is straight; often it is very slightly convex but the marked convexity of many western Papuans is absent. The tip of the nose is blunt and frequently swollen. Although the nostrils are large and often wide, the alae are rarely large and may even be small. The lips are sometimes thin but are often moderately full and they may be thick and somewhat everted. Absolute prognathism (as in pl. XI, figs. 3, 4) is rare, but alveolar prognathism

to a varying degree is common. The chin as a rule is moderately developed and sometimes very slightly so (pl. X, fig. 3; IV, pl. V, fig. 8).

If it were allowed to grow the facial hair would be luxuriant.

All the islanders are of medium stature: 33 Malulaig (Mabuiag and Badu), median, 1.618 m., = 65 in. (1.530–1.747 m., 60½–68¾ in.); 63 Miriam, median, 1.653 m., + 65 in. (1.540–1.795 m., 60½–70½ in.). Thus there is on the average no difference between the two groups, though many of the individual Miriam are taller than certain Malulaig. Eleven Saibai men, 1.668 m., = 65¾ in.; three Muralug men, 1.650 m., 65 in.

H. J. T. Bijlmer (*Nova Guinea*, VII, pt. 4, p. 48) says that in many, if not in most cases, the Papuan is a man below the medium height, averaging 160 cm. [63 in.] or thereabouts. There is also a short as well as a tall element, each "with a certain focus, but diverging in all directions". The Marind (46) have an average of 1.672 m., 65¾ in. (1.518–1.79 m., 59¾–70½ in.); the 21 Toro are tall on the average, 1.691 m., 66½ in. (1.556–1.798 m.); Bugi (21), 1.640 m., 64½ in. (1.553–1.692 m.); Daudai (11), 1.616 m., 63½ in. Kivai (50), 1.625 m., 64 in. (1.535–1.731 m., 60½–68¾ in.). The Kerewa (Goaribari) are about 2 in. and the Purari men about 3 in. shorter than the islanders, but the Gulf natives vary from medium to very tall.

The stature of the islanders requires no comment. Their general physique is very good, they are strong, muscular, and well-proportioned. Their physical well-being may be attributed in part to the hygienic conditions under which they live as compared with the often swampy and less ventilated terrain of so much of the neighbouring areas of Papua. The active life of the island fisherfolk and the variety in their food are also contributory causes.

The difference between the Western and Eastern islanders is most clearly revealed by their respective head and face measurements and the corresponding indices. These are dealt with here only briefly as more detailed information will be found in Dudley Buxton's memoir.

*Cephalic Index of (living)*

46 Marind, 75.5 (69–85)
21 Toro, 74 (68.8–83.7)
21 Bugi, 76 (70.2–84.3)
11 Masingara, 71 (67.5–74.4)
50 Kivai, 82 (74.7–92.1)
11 N. Is., Saibai, 78.6 (72–85.3)
33 W. Is., Malulaig, 81.1 (74.7–86.5)
63 E. Is., Mer, 77.2 (68.3–90)

*Cranial Index (skulls)*

90 S.W. Neth., N.G., 72.15 (63.16–82.21)
16 Badu, 72 (63.9–77.1)
8 Daudai, 74 (66.2–75.8)
10 Oriomo, 78 (73.6–81.2)
15 Mabuiag, 79.9 (73–84.3)
33 Moa (O.T.), 69.4 (61.9–75.9)
12 W. Is., Kauralaig, 77.6 (69.2–83.2)
24 C. Is., 75.5 (66.3–88)
100 W. and C. Is., 74 (61.9–88)
43 E. Is., Mer, 72.9 (66.7–81.8)

Length of head, living: 33 Western, 189 (174–198), 63 Mer, 193 (175–207); skull: 100 Western, 180 (154–202), 44 Mer, 180 (163–192).

Breadth of head, living: 33 Western, 154 (139–164), 63 Mer, 149 (134–162); skull: 100 Western, 133 (116–154), 44 Mer, 132 (120–155).

The cephalic index of the 63 Miriam men is much more uniform than the figures suggest, as all but three indices fall between 71.5 and 83.9, and 22 range from 75 to 77.9; thirteen are 80 and over, the index of 90 must be regarded as abnormal. The averages were for



5 women 77.9, for 26 boys 77.3, and for 22 girls 76.9. The average index is mesocephalic in the living.

The cephalic index of the Western and Central islands shows less uniformity and the averages (which are mesocephalic) are misleading. A brachycephalic element is evident throughout, and three Muralig men had the surprising indices of 80.6, 81.6 and 84.3.

So far as the cranial index is concerned the Miriam show a very uniform dolichocephaly; of 43 skulls 9 are under 70 (hyperdolichocranial) and 7 are 80 and over (brachycranial). The skulls from Ērub are very similar.

The craniology of the islands to the west is more complicated. The Moa average is hyperdolicho. The Western and Central islanders as a whole are dolicho, but the Moa skulls reduce the average; excluding these, the averages are mesocranial (75-79.9).

Most of the skulls measured by Oldfield Thomas (*J.A.I.* XIV, 1885, p. 328) form a homogeneous series. This collection was obtained by S. McFarlane from Pulu islet, Mabuiag, and there can be little doubt that the majority of the skulls were those of their Moa enemies. The skull with most pronounced characters is his No. 1 (C.I. 61.9; N.I. 62.2, hyperchaemerrhine; Naso-malar index 109.4, mesopic, pls. XIV, XV). This ultradolicho skull has well-marked alveolar prognathism, enormous brow-ridges, remarkably broad and low orbits, and other "low" characters. Thomas even says: "This skull may be taken as a type of the lowest and most simian human cranium likely to occur at the present day". The general features of this series may be regarded as having been characteristic of the ancient western islanders. Among the Kai Colo of Fiji described by W. H. Flower (*J.A.I.* x, 1880, p. 153) a very similar type of skull occurs and it also resembles some Australian skulls; indeed it appears to be an old type of skull, but the "simian" characters may be attributed to racial senility, as they do not appear to have been characteristic of the early forms of *Homo sapiens*. Nothing closely allied to it has been described from New Guinea.

The other Western and Central dolichos differ in various respects from the Miriam; this may be partly accounted for by mixture with other stocks.

The brachycephalic (80-85) heads and skulls may be regarded as being the legacy of an immigrant people who must have come from New Guinea. This element is also noticeable among the Muralaig and other Kauralaig. I have found a trace of it also among living Cape York natives, where it seems probable this element came directly from the western islands, as we have ethnographical evidence of a similar nature.

There is an appreciable amount of brachycephaly among the Kiwaians and a low brachycephalic element makes itself felt in Oriomo. It is strongly developed in Canoe Island, at the apex of the estuary of the Fly, and the supposition is that it has come down the Fly. The traces of brachycephaly in southern Netherlands New Guinea perhaps may be a western branch of this movement, and it is to this branch that the traces of brachycephaly among the Marind and among the Toro and Bugi of British Territory may be attributed.

The Kerewa (Goaribari) to the east have a large proportion of brachycephaly: 67 living men, 84.3 (73.6-90.6); 14 skulls, 81 (72.4-88.1). Probably this represents an independent north to south migration. Farther east the natives of the Purari delta are almost entirely dolichocephalic: 22 living men, 72 (68-77); 100 skulls, 71.5 (62.1-81). There is no need to go into further details as there is not the least evidence of any influence reaching Torres Straits from east of the Fly estuary.

<i>Nasal Index in cm. (living)</i>	<i>Nasal Index (skulls)</i>
21 Toro, 80 (63.8-93.9)	16 Badu, 53 (46.2-61.1)
21 Bugi, 84 (69.1-93.8)	8 Daudai, 49 (42.9-54.9)
11 Masingara, 80 (65.6-94.2)	10 Oriomo, 52 (46.2-57.1)
31 Kiwai, 81 (62.5-95.7)	12 Mabuag, 51 (46-55.3)
33 W. Is., Malulaig, 90 (76.3-104.5)	37 Moa (O.T.), 53.9 (45.8-62.5)
63 E. Is., Mer, 92 (73.1-111.1)	12 W. Is., Kauralaig, 52.6 (45.5-61.7)
	11 C. Is., 52.2 (44.9-56.3)
	100 W. and C. Is., 52 (40-69.2)
	27 E. Is., Mer, 50 (40-57.4)

The cranial nasal index shows considerable uniformity, the Miriam have a nasal index of 59, the Mabuag of 51, the Kauralaig of 52.6, while the Moa have 53.9. Thus the Miriam are at the lower limit of mesorrhiny and the remainder are chamaerrhine, but near its upper limit.

The nasal index of the living is less reliable, as there may be variations in the method of taking the measurements. My indices show that the Eastern islanders have somewhat broader noses than the Western and both are chamaerrhine, while the New Guinea peoples are mesorrhine.

	Living: 33 Malulaig	63 Mer	Skulls: 100 Western	44 Mer
Naso-malar index	111 (105.9-120.6)	112 (101-127)	109 (105.4-113.7)	109 (105.3-111.1)
Head l.-ht. index	69 (62.2-74.2)	68 (60.7-77.7)	74 (64.6-82)	74 (69.4-77.5)
Head br.-ht. index	85 (79.5-91)	88 (80.3-103.3)	99 (89-113.1)	101 (92.7-111.6)
Nasio-mental index	83 (72.8-93.7)	82 (69.8-91.2)		
Nasio-alveolar index	49 (40.4-57.7)	47 (38-53.1)	54 (44-75.4)	53 (45.9-55.5)

The median naso-malar index of 11 Muralug skulls is 107.5. Thus the average indices of the skulls are all mesopic but with a strong tendency to prosopy; the living are decidedly prosopic.

The altitudinal index (l.-ht.) in the living is hypsicephalic, in the skulls it is orthocrane and the br.-ht. index is akrocrane.

The total facial index (n.-m.) of the living is euryprosop and the upper facial index (n.-a.) is apparently hypereuryene. The upper facial index of the skulls is of medium height, mesene.

The indices of the Kiwaians approach more closely to those of the Western than to those of the Eastern islanders, but the heads are smaller and the faces are narrow as compared with those of the Western islanders.

## II. PSYCHOLOGY AND BEHAVIOUR

The psychologists of the Expedition were mainly concerned with investigating the physiology of the senses, and as efficiency in practical life is dependent upon the keenness of the senses, ability to improve with practice and upon interpretation of the sensations, these experiments are of great theoretical and comparative importance. The results are given in vol. II. "Physiology and Psychology": Introduction, by W. H. R. Rivers. I. Vision, by W. H. R. Rivers: 1. Physical characters and diseases of the eyes, 2. Visual acuity, 3. Colour vision, 4. Visual spatial perception. Appendix by C. G. Seligmann. II. Hearing, by C. S. Myers: 1. Pathological condition of the ears, 2. Auditory acuity,

3. Upper limit of hearing, 4. Smallest perceptible tone-difference. III. Smell, by C. S. Myers: 1. Olfactory acuity and discrimination of odour-strengths, 2. Memory and discrimination of odours. IV. Taste, by C. S. Myers. V. Cutaneous sensations, by W. McDougall: 1. Delicacy of tactile discrimination, 2. Localisation of point of skin touched, 3. Temperature spots, 4. Sensibility to pain. VI. Muscular sense, by W. McDougall: 1. Discrimination of small differences of weight, 2. Degree of the "size-weight illusion". VII. Variations of blood-pressure, by W. McDougall. VIII. Reaction-times, by C. S. Myers.

The scope and methods of the investigations are described by Rivers on pp. 1-7. I shall content myself with recording some of the conclusions arrived at by the several investigators.

Rivers says that most of the men were intelligent and conscientious in the experiments and did their best to perform what was required of them, even when the work was tedious and prolonged. "So long as they were doing well they were thoroughly interested, but the interest began to fall off directly they found that they were not as good as their neighbours. . . . It often happened that a native who began his observations only after much persuasion, became interested as soon as he had begun and did as well as anyone else." Self-esteem is very characteristic of the Miriam, of whom we have more complete knowledge than of any other group. The spirit of competition and rivalry has been exemplified frequently in the accounts of their social customs, such as *wetpur*, secular dances, and even in top-spinning. Rivers found that the mean variations in most of the quantitative investigations were decidedly small, and he believes that the results of the experiments are in some cases even more consistent than those made by civilised people.

Although the visual acuity (the resolving power of the eye as an optical mechanism) of the islanders was not found to be in any way extraordinary, the powers of observation depending on the habit of attending to and discriminating minute indications were equal, Rivers thinks, to any of those which have excited the admiration and wonder of travellers elsewhere. "By long-continued practice in attending to minute details in surroundings with which he becomes extremely familiar, the savage is able to see and recognise distant objects in a way that appears almost miraculous, but it is doubtful whether his visual powers excel those of the European who has trained his vision to any special end" (p. 43). The islander is an extremely close observer of nature and has names for an enormous number of natural objects, but Rivers thinks that such exclusive attention to objects is a distinct hindrance to higher mental development and it seems possible also that "the over-development of the sensory side of mental life may help to account for another characteristic of the savage mind. There is, I think, little doubt that the uncivilised man does not take the same aesthetic interest in nature which is found among civilized peoples". Thus "the predominant attention of the savage to concrete things around him may act as an obstacle to higher mental development" (p. 45).

"Defect in nomenclature for a colour may be associated with defective sensibility for that colour" (p. 49). Nearly all the objects from which colour names are derived come into the lives of the people in some practical way, either as food, medicine, or as objects used in sorcery. Objects which might have attracted attention on account of their beauty seldom seem to form the basis of colour names (p. 63). The Mabuiag vocabulary is a good example of the existence of a large number of special names with a few which have become definitely abstract terms for colour.

The ordinary red-green colour-blindness is absent or extremely rare in Torres Straits (p. 90). There is a certain degree of insensitiveness to blue, and probably green, blue evidently being a darker and duller colour than with us, but there is a great sensitiveness to red. "The blue of the sky, the green and blue of the sea, and the general green colour of vegetation do not appear to interest the savage" (p. 96).

The general auditory acuity of the islanders is inferior to that of Europeans; this may be attributed to pathological conditions (Myers, p. 148), and these may have been due in part to diving in the sea for shells.

The average olfactory acuity is slightly higher than in Aberdeenshire (p. 179). "A faint odour may be simultaneously perceptible to the civilized and to the uncivilized individual. To the latter it will be full of meaning and so will at once engage his attention" (Myers, p. 181).

The power of tactile discrimination, their sense of touch, of the Murray islanders is twice as delicate as that of Englishmen, while their susceptibility to pain is hardly half as great (McDougall, p. 195). The power of discrimination of small differences of weight appears to be more delicate in them than in Englishmen (p. 198).

It appears that the auditory reaction-times of the young Murray Island adult and of the young English townsman are almost identical, and that the visual and choice-visual reaction-times of the former are respectively 20<sup>σ</sup> and 60<sup>σ</sup> longer than those of the latter. The young Murray Island adults reacted more quickly than children. They reacted not only more quickly but more regularly than the older men. "An interesting point, elicited by the carrying out of reaction-times in Murray Island, was the well-marked variety of temperament among the reagents. A dull steady-going islander, having plodded through a series of reactions with moderate speed but with satisfactory regularity, would be followed by a highly strung excitable individual, who was obviously always straining his attention to the utmost and reacted perhaps quickly, but so often prematurely or erroneously that little confidence could be placed in the average of his reaction-times. Between these extreme types there was every gradation" (Myers, p. 220).

It is usually emphasised that when making inquiries from savages particular care should be taken not to put leading questions, as they may suspect that the inquirer wants a certain kind of answer, and they do not wish to disappoint him. Naturally we were careful in this respect, but on the other hand we found that there were occasions on which this could be done with safety. Our islanders were so aware and proud of their own individuality that they frequently said when a leading question was put to them, "that fashion belong another fellow, that no fashion belong we fellow".

Myers found when investigating the sense of smell that when individuals who had previously been examined about various scents they had smelled spoke freely to those who had not, nevertheless those who were examined later showed just as much independence of judgment as those who had been examined before them. In many other of the experiments the decisions of the islanders were remarkably unbiased by suggestion from outside and by any leading questions that might be asked (*l.c.* p. 184).

They are however susceptible to suggestion of another type, and this lies at the base of many of their nefarious practices. Thus sickness and even death may be induced by a belief in the efficacy of certain things said or done by sorcerers or even by others.

We have been inclined to put down to missionary and other recent influence certain discrepancies that occur between native precept and practice; that these have operated

is certainly true, but, on the other hand, as we have occasionally noted when the custom or injunction was unduly hard, there were ways of circumvention which were tacitly acknowledged or tolerated. Rarely a strong personality, or a "wild" man, or even one who was more or less mentally deficient, with apparent impunity, did things which were not normally sanctioned. This tolerance may in many cases be put down to a desire not to make further trouble.

In a society based on a "classificatory system", such as that of the islanders, a marriage often produces a situation which upsets usual social behaviour. Rivers says (VI, p. 176): "In the case of the Mabuia community it was suggested (v, p. 241) that the extensive restrictions on marriage, and the wide application of the brother-sister or '*babat*' relation, had brought the marriage system to the verge of impracticability, and it is possible that among the Miriam they have led to a modification of the system and to a change from district exogamy to one of village exogamy". He notes (v, p. 144) that in Mabuia: "It happened not infrequently that a man might stand to another in some other relation in addition to that through his wife. In such a case the blood relationship relieved the individuals from these disabilities"; i.e. restriction on intercourse and conversation.

In other ways there may have been variations in procedure which did not seriously impair the supposed effectiveness of a practice, or even perhaps of a ritual, though these were probably rare and doubtless were kept secret.

We have abundant evidence for the enthusiastic acceptance of new rites or cults, which proves that native beliefs and practices were not so conservative as has usually been assumed, and this is now acknowledged as characterising other peoples.

The individual or group psychology and behaviour of the islanders is implicitly or sometimes explicitly illustrated throughout these Reports, and it would take too much space to recount that information here.

The islanders had a system of morality based on the obligations of social life and deriving practically no sanction or support from religion, as that term is usually understood. We have seen that the spirits of Miriam men, if stunted in their funeral ceremonies or if their children had been neglected or wronged, might sometimes feel resentment and cause injury to the houses or gardens of their relatives.

A definite system of morals was inculcated when lads were initiated into manhood; that given by the Western islanders was very thorough, perhaps more so than among the Miriam (v, pp. 210-15; VI, pp. 250, 310). The lads were then in a transition stage, when increasing virility stirred up new emotions and aspirations. The self-restraint acquired during the period of complete isolation (at all events in some islands) was advantageous, and being cut off from all the interests of the outer world the lads had an opportunity for quiet meditation which must have tended to mature their minds. The privations and often the infliction of physical suffering were lessons in endurance. The lads were awed by the rites they had witnessed and by the sacred secrets that had been unfolded to them. It is not easy to conceive of a more effectual means for a rapid training during this impressionable age.

The injunctions were: remembrance of the admonitions, reticence, thoughtfulness, respectful behaviour, prompt obedience, generosity, diligence, kindness to parents and other relatives in deed and word, truthfulness, helpfulness, manliness, discretion in dealing with women, quiet temper. Bravery, ferocity, endurance of pain and hardship, and other warlike qualities, were regarded as great virtues. The prohibitions were against theft,

borrowing without leave, shirking duty, talkativeness, abusive language, talking scandal, marriage with certain individuals, revealing the sacred secrets.

But it was not only on such occasions that the youths were instructed: in a friendly manner the elders would admonish an unruly lad; he was told to take care of himself and was warned to amend his ways.

That morality is rarely directly inculcated in the folk-tales is due to the fact that, typically, such tales are simply non-moral; nevertheless disapprobation or punishment does sometimes follow on anti-social behaviour.

Mythology belongs to a different category as it fortifies a man by giving authority to his beliefs and to many of his daily actions, and also provides an emotional sanction for his cult practices. Myth enhances the prestige of tradition, as is especially manifest in the ceremonies connected with death and with the hero cults.

As regards the behaviour of the people in everyday life, the men seem to have treated their wives well on the whole and to have been affectionate to them. It is true that in sudden fits of anger they sometimes thrashed or wounded their wives, but resentment does not appear to have lasted, and it was soon brought home to the men that they were largely dependent on their wives for garden produce and almost entirely so for the cooking of food and the amenities of home life. The women knew how to use their tongues and hen-pecked husbands were not unknown; there was a solidarity among the women, probably not confined to relatives, so the men could not have it all their own way. Parents were very fond of their children and we did not hear of any case of cruelty.

Personally I have received much affection from the men and after intervals of many years they have received me with strong expressions of delight. In various little ways they exhibited solicitude for our comfort and safety. In consonance with native custom gifts were very rarely made without a distinct understanding that a reciprocal gift was expected.

Shame is felt when any taboo is broken which regulates the behaviour of certain persons to one another, perhaps less for the offence itself as for the odium incurred and especially for the ridicule that follows, for the fear of ridicule is a very potent factor in regulating social behaviour.

The highest moral opprobrium attached to incest, that is marriage or connection between certain persons as defined by universally recognised convention. This seems to have been the only offence which could be characterised by our term of "sin". Irregular relations with women were spoken of as "stealing", the only party wronged was the owner of the woman or girl, that is the husband or father as the case may be. It seems that formerly chastity before marriage was practically unknown, but decorum was always observed. Unbridled license probably was extremely rare, as public opinion exercised a restraining influence. In the case of the rape of a married woman or adultery with her, the aggrieved husband might in the past require the death of both parties, and he would take over the widows of the co-respondent if he were married, but sometimes he would satisfy himself with a fine, though doubtless the erring wife would receive dire punishment at his hands and probably the co-respondent would suffer some bodily harm.

The canoe traffic affords a good example of commercial morality.

Any infringement of the customary rules of the community was regarded as an offence against society. Many acts of the people were of a social nature: a clan or group must perform certain rites or ceremonies for their own or for the public weal. Such practices were regulated by tradition, and any inaccuracy of performance on the part of an individual might impair their efficacy and would clearly constitute a crime against society. Most

taboos and regulations arose in the interests of the community, though some were designed to strengthen the authority of the old men. Any infringement of custom weakened that authority and tended towards individualism and disintegration of the community, which was a danger to be guarded against. Crimes against the person would be punished by the injured party if he were strong enough, if he were not he would enlist the help of his friends or of a sorcerer. There is no doubt that their general vainglorious excitable temperament led to frequent squabbles, but as a matter of fact most of the energy was expended in words.

Blood-feud between different communities was a recognised and approved custom, but private wrongs were often avenged by the community.

Homicide was not *a priori* reprehensible: a man formerly had the right to kill his own wife and children since they were his property, but doubtless unless he had very good cause for his action he would himself suffer loss. Foeticide and infanticide were not uncommon and were not considered as anti-social acts, indeed they were regarded as a social necessity in view of the limited food supply. No stigma attached to any one who sought the help of a sorcerer to compass the sickness or death of an enemy. The murder of a clansman, relative, or friend was a matter for personal or group revenge. To kill foreigners in fair fight or by treachery was most meritorious, and he who brought home skulls covered himself with glory and found favour with women.

In olden days any stranger or person arriving unbidden, and especially those who were shipwrecked or cast up on the shore by the sea, were liable to be done to death; even their own people were not exempt. This custom doubtless arose from communal self-preservation, for outside the islands lay the great hostile unknown whose emissaries boded harm, and those cast up by the sea were dangerous.

There are a few accounts of a man being suddenly seized with murderous fury and then as suddenly relapsing into normal behaviour and even befriending the person he was attacking (p. 85). "Brain-storms" of this kind have also been recorded from the neighbouring part of New Guinea.

The sentiments and reactions of the islanders are on the whole very similar to those of our own, always bearing in mind the very different physical and social conditions under which they live and the local patterns of behaviour, custom and belief. For example, we met with the somewhat slow and perhaps rather dull conscientious man, the nervous and easily excitable man, the rather morose man, the genial man, and among other types known to us at home, the man who smiles and loses no opportunity to get the better of anyone. More might have been recorded by us of this aspect of the life of the people, but it should be remembered that all of us were engaged in studying various branches of their ethnography and the work of the psychologists was often very laborious, and also that the field observations were made thirty-five years ago.

### III. LANGUAGES

The most prominent difference between the Western and the Eastern islanders is that they speak entirely different languages which have no genealogical connection. The language of the Central islanders is essentially western, though in many islands there is marked influence from the east. The languages have been thoroughly studied by S. H. Ray, and, as his investigations are published in vol. III, I need here give only a few general conclusions taken from that Report and later publications.

## WESTERN LANGUAGE

The various groups of the Western islanders already mentioned are characterised by slight variations in pronunciation and vocabulary. The language is of more simple construction than that of the Eastern islanders and those of the Papuans of New Guinea.

By a brilliant analysis of the very imperfect material at his disposal R. G. Latham affirmed a connection between the "Kowrrega", Kauralaig, grammar and that of various Australian languages (Appendix to Macgillivray, II, 1852, pp. 330-45, and in *Opuscula*, 1860, pp. 223-44). Ray established (1893, p. 518; 1907) the conclusions arrived at by Latham. He says (1907, p. 509): "Although there is more agreement between the Mabuig vocabulary and that of the Yaraikana and Gudang, there does not appear any connection in grammar beyond the general resemblance which appears in all three as following Australian methods of constructing words and sentences. . . . It is difficult to reconcile the non-Australian physical appearance of the Western Islanders with the Australian form of their language. It has probably resulted from a gradual occupation of the Islands by natives from the New Guinea mainland". He refers to Kwoiam, whom I have discussed on pp. 380-5, "in the tales Kwoiam spoke the Muralag, not the Mabuig dialect. . . .". "Although the Saibai, a dialect of the Mabuig, is spoken in Boigu and Saibai, almost within sight of the shores of New Guinea, there is no reliable evidence of a connection between the Western language of the Straits, and those of the New Guinea mainland. There are, certainly, in the Bangu, Dungenwab, Bugi, Dabu, and Kumini vocabularies, many words which resemble the Mabuig, but these, though possibly indicative of a connection between the languages, are liable to suspicion. . . . Until the grammars are known, however, nothing can be decided as to the relations of these languages to one another or to those of the Straits. The language of the Western Islanders shows no agreement in grammar with that of Mawata and Kiwai, and must be regarded as distinct from them." (p. 510).

Later (written in 1913, but published in 1925) Ray assigned the language to the Cape York Group of North Australian (I, 1925, p. 41) and this position was also established in Pater W. Schmidt's treatise on the Australian languages ("Die Gliederung der australischen Sprachen", 1919; a corrected reprint of his paper with the same title in *Anthropos*, VII, 1912). There is still no evidence of any connection of the languages of this part of Australia with those of New Guinea other than those quoted above. Ray says (1925, p. 14): "Many of the Northern Australian languages resemble the Papuan of New Guinea. They have the Papuan characteristic of diversity in vocabulary and grammar. Radical and functional changes of words are made not only by suffixes but by prefixes and infixes. But as the Papuan languages show no community of origin when one language is compared with another, it follows that the Northern Australian languages cannot be expected to show any community with the Papuan of New Guinea". "From this general statement", Ray informs me, "the Mabuig and probably most of the languages of the Cape York region must be excluded. Though these languages have the Papuan characteristic of diverse vocabularies, the grammar is so far similar to the Australian languages farther south as to suggest a mixture of Papuan and Australian. Hence in his later studies Schmidt has separated the Koko-yimidir and Bulpomara from the North Australian and included them with the Southern languages (1919, p. 209; *Anthropos*, VII, 1912, p. 234). A better knowledge of other languages of the peninsula may show that some of these, including the Mabuig, are definitely South Australian."



This raises a problem of such magnitude that it cannot be discussed here, but it may be mentioned that the linguistic group of north and central Australia is regarded by Schmidt as being more recent than the group of languages which extends over the rest of the continent.

#### EASTERN LANGUAGE

Ray says (1907, p. 510): "In dealing with the position of the Miriam language it is necessary to note, that unlike the Mabuiag and its dialects, it nowhere comes into direct contact with the Australian". This was admitted by Latham, who says: "The Miriam Vocabulary belongs to a different class, viz. the Papuan" (1852, p. 345). Ray (p. 511) says it resembles the Papuan of Mawata and Kiwai: "There is a correspondence especially in the demonstrative aspect of the verbal prefixes, and in the method of expressing person and number of subject and object (cf. III, pp. 55, 68-72, 74, 79, and pp. 305, 310-12). The chief disagreement is in the use of the distinctive inclusive and exclusive forms of the first personal pronoun. These are wanting in Mawata and Kiwai, but appear in other Papuan languages. There is no appearance of an identity in actual particles between the Mawata or Kiwai and the Miriam, and we may therefore regard the latter as a distinct language". Subsequently Ray wrote to me saying: "A few resemblances with the Kiwai and Mawata were indicated [in the above quotation] but no general agreement in grammatical methods or particles was apparent. A better knowledge of the Kiwai confirms this view of the separation. Dialects akin to the Kiwai are found in most of the islands of the estuary of the Fly and from Mawata and Turituri on the western mainland to Wabuda and Gesoa on the north-eastern border, and even into the basin of the Bamu river. These have pronouns and particles only phonetically different from Kiwai, although there is a considerable variation in vocabulary (*J.R.A.I.* LIII, 1923, pp. 338, 344, 351 ff.; *A Grammar of the Kiwai language*, by S. H. Ray with a Vocabulary by E. Baxter Riley, Port Moresby, 1933). In all these Kiwaian dialects the grammar is practically identical. But the Kunini (or Masingara) language and the Tirio language on the north-western shore of the estuary of the Fly, show grammatical forms and vocabularies quite different from Kiwai and also from one another. The dissimilarity is shown in the pronouns and particles as well as in the vocabulary. Kunini, for example, has inclusive and exclusive pronouns for the first person plural as in Miriam, and this distinction does not occur in Kiwai and Tirio. The conjugation of the verb is complicated and a different method appears in each language. In Kiwai the personal pronoun is prefixed to the noun to show possession. In Kunini and Tirio, as in Miriam, a possessive pronoun is formed by a suffix from the personal pronoun. Kunini and Miriam contain a small number of words in common (1923, pp. 356 ff.). Since, however, some of these occur also in Kiwai and the western language of the Straits, they provide no definite evidence of a common origin of Kunini and Miriam". In 1923, p. 356, he says: "The languages of the Masingara group (Jibu, Masingara, and Kunini) show a considerable amount of agreement with the Miriam of Eastern Torres Straits, and less agreement with the essentially Australian language of Western Torres Straits".

#### OTHER MEANS OF COMMUNICATION GIVEN IN VOL. III

The jargon English of Torres Straits, by S. H. Ray, p. 251. The gesture language of the western islanders, by C. G. Seligman and A. Wilkin, p. 255. The gesture language of the eastern islanders, by A. C. Haddon, p. 261. Fire signals in Torres Straits, by C. G. Seligman and A. C. Haddon, p. 263.

## IV. FOLK-TALES

The ethnographical value of folk-tales has been noted on p. 101. I here add some wider considerations advocated by Dr Frobenius and Dr Foy.

Dr L. Frobenius ("Die Weltanschauung der Naturvölker", Beitr. 3, *Folks- und Völkerkunde*, VI, 1898; *Das Zeitalter des Sonnengottes*, I, 1904) and Dr W. Foy (*Arch. f. Religionswissenschaft*, X, 1907, p. 129) have suggested that there is a nature mythology enshrined in many of the folk-tales from Torres Straits. "Here", writes Dr Foy, "we might expect the connecting links which join the primitive Australian with the more developed culture of New Guinea, presuming that Australia truly—as Schötensack and Klaatsch probably rightly assume—is to be regarded as the cradle of man, since Australia has preserved the most primitive forms in beliefs concerning magic and souls". This introductory remark cannot go unchallenged. No zoologist will admit that Australia could have been "the cradle of man", and it is very difficult to understand how an ethnologist can entertain that hypothesis.

Dr Foy states that Dr Frobenius "first correctly interpreted the tale of Mutuk as a myth of the sun god" because he was swallowed by a fish, lost his hair, and climbed up a tree; these coincidences with folk-tales elsewhere appear to me to afford rather slender evidence, and the subsequent killing of Mutuk and his companions on his return to their home and their transformation into fruit-eating bats seems at variance with a sun hero (v. p. 90).

Another supposed sun hero is found in Sida; his transformation into a bird is paralleled by numerous other transformations of men into animals in the folk-tales and does not necessarily have any relation to the fact that various peoples may conceive of the sun as a bird. Dr Foy notes that "immediately after his connection with a young maiden (originally probably the earth) vegetation sprang forth". The Kiwai version narrates the miraculous birth of Sida, and from the first he was associated with vegetation, especially with food plants. Wherever he went he had connection with women and bestowed fewer or more plants on an island in proportion to the age or desirability of the women with whom he was provided; he had connection with several women in Mer. If it is necessary to mythologise these folk-tales, it would seem more natural to make Sida a vegetation spirit rather than a sun god. The two women in the tale who were congenitally joined back to back are regarded as "certainly earth and heaven"; they threw the dead Sida on a fire, out of which arose a young man, whom the women greeted with the words "You've just been born", "the sun comes into the world in the red glow of morning". Sida separated the women by a blow, so that they saw each other for the first time; "by the rising of the sun heaven and earth, hitherto hid in common darkness, are first distinguished from each other". Sida becomes a ghost, "the sun represents the first death"; the earth opened, and closed after he had jumped into it, "a picture of sunset". In another version of the tale, one of the conjoined women swallowed Sida after he had entered into a small shell, "sunset"; he was born from her, "sunrise". Finally he died by falling into a water-hole; "according to Preuss, the water-hole represents the sunset glow". There is no indication that the islanders considered Sida as anything higher than a secular culture-hero; there was no cult connected with him personally, though there were small rites at the *u zogo* which he is said to have founded in Mer.

Dr Foy also argues that Kwoiam was a nature god, and "in no way can Kwoiam be

regarded as a historical personality". The argument rests mainly on the following circumstances: his uncle Togai makes a thunderstorm by stamping on the ground. I fail to see that this constitutes him "a clear storm god" any more than we can regard the numerous Torres Straits islanders who make rain or thunderstorms as rain gods. It is true that Kwoiam is said to have copied the form of his turtle-shell crescentic ornaments from the moon and that these emblems presumably were sometimes spoken of as eyes, but this is slight evidence upon which to convert Kwoiam into a moon god. The equation of other crescentic objects with the moon seems rather risky; those worn in the mouth at the spirit pantomimes were called *gud*, which also means mouth; there is no warrant for calling them "moon emblems" or for adding "thus testifying to the close connection of the ghosts and the moon". The ordinary crescentic pearl-shell chest ornaments are called *dangamai* (tooth pearl-shell), which suggests that they are imitations in pearl-shell of boars' tusks, which everywhere in New Guinea have a magical significance. Regarding the star-shaped stone-headed clubs in the skull baskets [v, p. 369] Dr Foy "suspects" "an old long vanished connection with the sun, the first being to die, and the powerful ghost, or else with the stars, the heavenly incorporation of the souls of the dead. In any case this supports the above significance of the moon emblem". I fail to follow this reasoning and would only add that Kwoiam is nowhere reported to have employed these typically Papuan weapons; further, as star-shaped stone-headed clubs are widely distributed in New Guinea, it seems superfluous to seek a mythological significance for these common weapons.

There is no reason to believe that the Torres Straits islanders regarded Mutuk, Sida or Kwoiam as connected with the sky-world. Referring to Mutuk, Dr Frobenius says "these sun myths of the Jonah type are comparatively common in Oceania": comparative mythologists accept the wide diffusion of myths and they are apt to seize upon selected elements in folk-tales to prove their hypotheses. How far such selected items are organically connected is a matter for discussion. I have given enough evidence to prove that Torres Straits owes its complex culture to distant cultural spreads from south-west New Guinea arriving at different times, and also it is clear that certain cults and cultures came to south-west New Guinea from the north—but it is not yet known what mythology accompanied these movements. We need more precise information before definite conclusions can be arrived at. We do not know to what extent the folk-tales of Torres Straits are of solely indigenous origin, that some may be seems probable.

## V. MATERIAL CULTURE

For convenience of reference I shall follow in the main the order of the descriptions of the arts and crafts of the islanders given in vol. iv, but in most cases only those will be mentioned about which there is additional information or where corrections are necessary. The distribution of many objects or of operations is also given for neighbouring areas in order that the material culture of the islanders may be appreciated in its relation to Australia, New Guinea, and Melanesia, but the broader problems of migrations and diffusions are beyond the scope of this study.

Artificial deformation of the head, *p.* 294; Nose- and ear-piercing, *p.* 294; Penial mutilation in Mer, *p.* 295; Scarification, *p.* 296; Personal ornaments, *p.* 296; Clothing, *p.* 297; Textiles, *p.* 298; Houses, *p.* 299; Domestic utensils, tools and food, *p.* 301; Tobacco smoking, *p.* 303; Weapons, *p.* 304; Canoes, *p.* 305; Sound-producing instruments, *p.* 314.

## ARTIFICIAL DEFORMATION OF THE HEAD

Antero-posterior deformation by manual pressure of the infant's head was practised to some extent by the Western islanders in Tutu and also apparently sometimes in Mer (iv, pp. 7-9). C. S. Myers (1899, p. 95) says he was informed on Mer: "When a piccaninny born, him head too long, too wide, too round. Women she lay hand on sides of head or on front and back. She press sometimes one hour, sometimes more. That old-time fashion, that no longer". It is not an Australian practice; the instance given by Maegillivray for the Gudang is only one of other cultural borrowings from the Straits. According to Kubary the Torres Straits' method still occurs in Samoa; it has also been recorded for Tahiti. Occipito-frontal deformation occurs elsewhere in Polynesia and in the Geelvink bay area of New Guinea and is common in Indonesia.

Possibly the custom was practised in the Western islands of Torres Straits in order to produce the shape of head that characterised the low brachycephalic people who presumably brought with them some higher form of culture. It does not appear to have been an original Papuan practice, and alike in New Guinea and Oceania may be traced directly or indirectly to Indonesian influence.

## NOSE- AND EAR-PIERCING

The perforation of the nasal septum is or was everywhere practised in Australia, but not in Tasmania. It was universal in Torres Straits and is so in New Guinea and is widely spread in Melanesia, but is absent in Polynesia, Micronesia and Indonesia.

Nose-piercing, *pit ckos*, in Mer (iv, p. 10) is done about five days after birth. The friends, *le*, or brothers, *tokiap*, go with the operator, who is the *narbet* or eldest brother. Mr Bruce adds, "the child is his *nunc*, as in the case of ear-piercing, [as a *nunei* is a sister's son (vi, p. 92) it seems evident that the operator is the eldest maternal uncle of the child; according to Rivers (vi, p. 96) the term *tukoiap* or *tukiap* is used for distant relatives on the father's side]. The child is put on the neck of a man or woman, an uncle, aunt, or friend, who is sitting on the ground with head bent down, *esorarapere*; the child is laid face upward on the neck. The hole in the septum is made with a turtle-shell bodkin, *ter*, about 10 in. long. The *narbet* holds the *ter* at its point and each of his brothers takes hold on each side of the *ter*: there may be as many as six holding it." [From Mr Bruce's account it would seem that the *tokiap* are relatives on the mother's side] (Bruce MS.).

The distension of the lobe of the ear, so characteristic of the Straits, is absent from Australia and Tasmania. It occurs in parts of New Guinea, Melanesia and Indonesia. The perforation of the margin of the ear by many holes is not done in Australia and but rarely and to a less extent in parts of Melanesia.

Ear-piercing, *laip dekos*, in Mer (iv, pp. 10-12). The hole in the lobe of the ear is made with a *ter*, or with the dorsal fin-bone, *serer lid*, of the *garom* fish. Then the stump of a quill-feather is inserted into the hole. The father or mother take charge of the enlargement of the hole. Later a piece of smooth hardwood, *enau*, about as thick as a lead pencil is inserted, and as the hole enlarges they put in a larger piece until it reaches about an inch and a half in diameter [the ear-weights to keep the pendant lobe straight, *laip tut*, are described in iv, p. 11; sometimes a piece of coral, *weswes*, was used as a weight]. The enlarging of the hole, *laip degoli*, is very painful, so coconut oil is poured over it, *sabid degmisi*.

The brother of the mother receives presents from the father for piercing the ear, which is called *nune bauerme*. When he has finished, he is told to wait, the parents give a cooking-shell, bow and arrows, a stone-headed club, etc. [probably not all these] to the child to present to the uncle, and afterwards food is given in the *kaketut* manner. The operator and two friends lay hold of each other by the arms in a ring and bend their heads close together, the parents pile presents of food on the top of the heads, the food is removed quickly and placed on the ground. Then all sit down and feast.

When the mother's brother wants to have his children's ears pierced, he has it done by his brother-in-law, so that the presents he received go back to the original donor.

*Le la op dewela* is to make holes in the rim of the ear in which to insert ornaments. The *laip neb*, ear-hole, is solely for decoration for both sexes. Anyone who knows how can perform the operation, it is not reserved to a particular relative. It is done after the lobe is properly distended, *laip sak*, by means of the dorsal fin-bones of the *gurom*. The fish is boiled, the fin removed, and the bones well scraped and cleaned before use. The operator takes one of these very sharply pointed bones and pierces the ear with it, pushing the bone until it comes to the thick part; it is then broken off, leaving a quarter of an inch in the ear. He begins at the pendulous lobe and works round the rim to the top; the insertions are made about half an inch or a little more apart. During the operation, another holds the subject's head firmly with his hands and between his legs.

One ear only is operated on at a time so as to allow the subject to rest on his other ear when sleeping. It becomes inflamed and very much swollen and has to be continually anointed with coconut oil. It takes about a week or so for the ear to heal, the operator then extracts the bones and replaces them with pieces of the midribs of coconut palm leaves, *be lil*; these are left in for a few days longer until the ear is considered to be thoroughly healed and can be slept upon comfortably. The other ear is then similarly treated. This operation is a very painful one and during the inflammation the subject has to be watched while asleep to see that he sleeps on his good ear and does not roll about and break the small pieces of fish-bone.

After both ears are healed, they always keep the *be lil* in the holes as they are liable to close up too tight if left empty for some time. A young man or woman meeting each other and seeing an empty hole in the other's ear, immediately apprises him or her of it and inserts a piece of something handy to keep the hole open. They are very particular about doing this service to each other.

This was considered a very effective decoration, especially for dances. Sometimes very small white shells, *waraz* [Oliva], were fastened with coconut fibre and strung round the ear, or shoots of young grass and pieces of the young frond of coconut palm leaf were used [cf. IV, p. 40] (Bruce MS.).

#### PENIAL MUTILATION

As penial mutilation is of considerable ethnological interest, I wrote to J. Bruce for further information than that given in IV, p. 12. He informed me that Pasi and Gabi told him that the ideal shape of the penis, especially when seen in dances, was for the foreskin to entirely cover the glans, this was termed *paupaur eb*. It should be remembered that formerly all the males in Torres Straits went nude.

It is very doubtful whether circumcision or incision were ever practised. Some old men told Bruce that the cutting of the *eb let*, penis cord (frenum preputii), to secure the approved condition, was not generally practised by the young Miriam men as previously he had been

informed was the case. Pasi and Gabi knew of only four men, Ulai, Wataila, Kilarup and Mare, on whom this had been done. A blade of a strong grass, called *eb let esak lu*, was used for the operation: as Bruce pertinently remarks, "seeing that this grass was specially named one is inclined to think that the operation must have been fairly prevalent". *Tete eb* is when the foreskin is drawn back slightly and *eb ageg* when it is drawn well back, but this was not considered to be correct.

#### SCARIFICATION

Bruce informed me that the following terms were used in Mer: *dup* [*dub*], the mark or scar of a healed up wound; *gem dup*, scar as the result of a cut on any part of the body; *bad dup*, the scar left after a festering sore has healed up but is likely to break out again.

Concerning the *koima* shown in iv, fig. 26, p. 24, Bruce says the central portion of the design represents a hammer-headed shark, *iruapap*, and is named *iruapap tarim*, the greatest of those sharks. This *koima* was not confined to the *Beizam le* although it was their decoration.

Scarification of the skin to form scars or raised cicatrices (cheloids) occurs throughout Australia and formerly in Tasmania, it is also common among the dark-skinned Papuans of New Guinea and in Melanesia. The lighter coloured Papuo-Melanesians are frequently tattooed, and that practice has extended to a slight extent among certain Papuans.

#### PERSONAL ORNAMENTS

Nearly all the personal ornaments, such as plaited or twisted necklaces and arm- and leg-bands, were made locally and appear to be common to all the islands, yet most of them can be matched with those made by the Western Papuans and often with those from other parts of New Guinea. Some were imported, such as the belts, which are often fringed (iv, pls. IV, fig. 3; XIV, fig. 1). The island names for these objects differ from those in Papua.

A very large well-carved comb, *kerem seker*, of hardwood from Mer has been given to the Cambridge Museum by the Curator, L. C. G. Clarke. In the centre is a human head in relief wearing a *dari*, pl. VI, fig. 3 (cf. iv, p. 32).

The forehead band of pieces of naere (iv, p. 36) occurs in North Queensland, but that and a few other objects may very well have been borrowed from the Straits.

The valuable dogs' teeth frontlets and necklaces were mainly imported from New Guinea, as were all the artificially deformed boars' tusks, the wearing of which seems to have been practically confined to certain members of the Bomai-Malu cult, at all events those I know of came from Mer as did the shell imitations. Also restricted to that cult were the fretwork pearl-shell discs (iv, p. 46). The *weapu* pendants (iv, p. 44) were confined to Mer and the *sabayorar* and *o* pendants worn by brides were certainly most common in the Eastern islands, if they were not confined to them. The world-wide distribution of the *tituititui* (iv, p. 34, and fig. 78 A) has been noted by W. Foy ("Fadenstern und Fadenkreuz", *Ethnologica*, II, 1913, pp. 67-109).

The *o kaukau* or *o wauri* (iv, p. 47) were occasionally made of turtle-shell, and Bruce thinks that the object mentioned in vol. iv, p. 31; pl. VII, fig. 4, was one of these. These with the *ter* (iv, pl. XI, figs. 11-17) were *serer zogo lu*, rejoicing sacred things, and were worn on special occasions such as when the *we serer le* came to receive their presents of food at Nani pat, Begegiz, and Gigo during the Bomai ceremony (p. 391), or at a *wetpur* and at dances.

There are two types of bracers (IV, pp. 56, 71): (1) of rattan in coarse plaitwork in twilled patterns (IV, pl. XIV, figs. 9, 10), which is also worn when dancing; (2) made of longitudinal splints bound by wickerwork technique (IV, p. 37). In the islands type (2) appears to be solely a dance accoutrement: those employed in secular dances are more or less pliable (IV, p. 71, pl. XIV, figs. 11, 12), but the *zogo kadik* is rigid (IV, fig. 77; VI, pl. XVII, figs. 2-4). Bruce says that the Western islanders preferred the dance *kadik* of Mer that were made of *tereg* vine; the Mäsig and Waraber people exchanged fish and turtle-shell for them and traded them to the Western islands. The *tereg* is obtained from New Guinea.

*Makamak* (IV, p. 59) were made from the surface roots of the coconut palm. During the wet season the rain washed the soil or sand away from the roots and they were then collected and prepared. A man who had a great quantity of roots would invite all his friends to assemble at his place to have a day's plaiting, and he supplied them with food for the day. Some men had large bundles of *makamak* and they were considered as so much wealth; they were used as trade and for presents at marriages (Bruce MS.). [A precisely similar ornament is worn in the same manner by many of the interior tribes of Sarawak, where it is called *unus*.]

## CLOTHING

Formerly the Torres Straits men went entirely nude, a custom which obtained throughout Tasmania and Australia, and in New Guinea in the region of the Urama river and westwards to the Marind, though a pubic or a penis shell may be worn.

Unlike the Tasmanian and Australian women, those of Torres Straits invariably wore a skirt made of split leaves or bark fibre (IV, p. 60) and on the whole they were very similar throughout the islands. The costume of the women of the Prince of Wales group (and of Cape York) consisted of a tuft of grass or split leaves in front and behind which might be tied together between the legs (over which a short fringed skirt was occasionally worn). This is analogous to the fore and aft fringe tucked between the legs worn by the Marind, the Kiwaians, and as far east as the Purari detta; Landtman was informed that it was worn in ancient times in Torres Straits (1927, p. 23). An analogous clothing was part of the mourning costume in Mer (VI, p. 157) and probably in Mabuiag (V, p. 262). On the other hand the bush tribes of the Western Division of Papua wore fringed skirts. The discontinuous skirts of Saibai and Dauan, which exposed a portion of the right thigh, was due to influence from New Guinea.

According to traditions collected by Landtman, at one time the women in Kiwai Island and those of the bush folk went nude and certain folk-tales relate how they were taught to make fibre skirts. This is the only report, known to me, of female nudity in New Guinea.

Waria of Mabuiag said that the root of the *dani* (*Ficus*) was chewed to make it soft and suitable for skirts; they swallowed their spittle.

MacFarlane informs me that there were at least three kinds of skirts at Mer: (1) *ome nesur* (IV, pl. XVIII, fig. 2), made from the root of the fig-tree; the central portion of the root was removed and the outer softer "skin" beaten out, pl. V, fig. 3. Single girls wore two skirts by day, fastened at opposite sides of the body; at night one was worn tucked up between the legs and secured by the belt. (2) *dā-yar nesur* [? *dear*, III, p. 138] made from the leaves of a plant somewhat resembling banana leaves; the leaves were dried and split; when finished the appearance was that of twisted grass. (3) Banana leaf was also

used (IV, pl. XVIII, fig. 3): it was cut into wide strips at Ērub, where the *ome nesur* was also worn, but according to the old women the *dā-gar nesur* was less worn.

At Ērub, mangrove was used for dyeing skirts and also a yellow dye from the root of a tree.

Bruce (MS.) says that "*omi* [*Ficus*] roots were dug up, cut into lengths, the bark stripped off and pounded with a stone, then shredded and the woody particles washed out; later it was dried in the sun, and being of a dark colour was dyed red; then it was ready to make into a skirt" [IV, p. 61].

A red dye was made from the bark of the mangrove tree, *gar*; it was broken up in small pieces and boiled with the addition of wood ashes in an *ezer* shell. The articles were dipped in the boiling liquid for a short time, taken out, and wrapped up; after a day or two they were spread out to dry.

A yellow dye was made from the roots of a small tree, *ubar* [*Polyacanthus Queenslandiae*]; the bark was scraped off and mixed by constant stirring with wood ashes in fresh water. The articles to be dyed were soaked in the infusion, taken out, and rolled up tightly in dry banana leaves, left for a day or two and finally opened out and spread out to dry.

The foregoing work was done by the women.

## TEXTILES

### *Preparation of leaves for making mats and baskets*

The green frond of the coconut palm is cut off and the leaflets removed, which are laid out in the sun to dry until well browned. The midribs are stripped off and then they are ready for plaiting into mats. The leaflets are not dried so thoroughly for baskets as for mat-making and the midrib is left on, as it strengtbens the basket. For making small fancy baskets, the young leaflets from the top of the coconut palm are used; they are split down the middle of the midrib and then dried for half the time taken by the large ones, usually about one week; they are then ready for use.

Pandanus leaves for mat-making are cut when green and dried in the sun as with coconut leaves; or the green leaves are boiled in water and then dried in the sun; this whitens them. When dried, the thorny edges of the leaves are stripped off with a knife. They are then ready for making mats or baskets. The dry leaves that fall from the tree may be used, but they are considered to be not so good or strong as the dried green leaves (Bruce MS.).

### *Mats*

The plaited mats of Torres Straits are worked all over in plain check or twilled twos (IV, p. 65).

The mat made of bands of pandanus leaf sewn together (IV, p. 67) was imported from New Guinea and perhaps was usually, if not always, used for ceremonial occasions. There is no record of it being used as a hood (Landtman, 1927, p. 27).

### *Baskets*

*Plaited baskets.* The really indigenous baskets are plaited in plain check and in twilled technique (Mrs A. H. Quiggin, IV, pp. 72-86).

The *luge epi* of Mer is an oval basket of various sizes made in finer plaiting than the *u lam epi* (IV, fig. 98). It is more carefully made and the upper border, *bogbog war*, is in different plaiting from that of the body, *ses war*. It is made of green coconut palm leaves scorched over a fire.



*Garbad epei* is a large cylindrical basket made of the same material. These baskets are hung to the roof inside the house so as to be preserved by the smoke. They are about 3 to 4 ft. high and about 3 ft. in diameter and are used to hold a large quantity of food on special ceremonial occasions, such as at a *wetpur*, for the *nei lever* of a *sab*, etc.

*Aipus* is a small basket made of pandanus leaves, *gerer lam*, or of coconut palm leaves, *u lam* (Bruce MS.).

The check and twilled plaited baskets can be matched among most of the peoples of New Guinea.

*Fitched or twined baskets, walsi li* (iv, pp. 72, 74, 81, pl. XVII, figs. 5, 6). Of the two specimens of this technique collected by me, one was obtained at Muralug in 1888, which might very well have been a direct importation from Cape York; unfortunately the label on the other was lost. Bruce showed photographs of them to people in Mer, they denied ever having made such baskets and thought that they belonged to Mabuig but were introduced there from Cape York or the adjacent islands. This technique is common in Australia, especially in Queensland, and it appears to have been the only type of indigenous basket in Tasmania.

*Coiled baskets.* The only example of coiled technique collected by me in Torres Straits was employed as a receptacle for a stone top, *kolap*, in Mer (iv, p. 82, pl. XVII, fig. 4). This technique was introduced into Mer by Kamase, a Yam Island woman who was married to Katu of Dauar (Ormei, 25). Bruce says that the coiled baskets partly replaced the older form of *kolap epei*, which was plaited from coconut or pandanus leaves. Coiled basketry occurs in several parts of Australia including North Queensland, but it is not known in western Papua.

*Netted bags.* It is rather surprising that netted bags were not made in Torres Straits, as they are in common use throughout New Guinea and Australia.

## HOUSES

Wilkin and I have dealt so fully with the houses of Torres Straits (iv, pp. 93-111) and with those of the neighbouring coast of New Guinea (pp. 111-19) that little further can be added.

The original type of house of all the Western and Central islanders appears to have been a simple, oblong, low structure built on the ground with a roof sloping on each side to the ground, or in some there were very low side walls. They were very similar to the ruder type of house that occurs in New Guinea west of the Oriomo river, but here some of the houses though of the same general type are better built, as among the Marind. Those of the Prince of Wales islanders were even more crude and resembled some of the huts made in North Queensland.

Dr W. Roth has shown in his descriptions and illustrations various types of houses in Queensland ("North Queensland Ethnography", Bull. 16, *Records of the Australian Museum, Sydney*, VIII, 1910, pp. 55-66). One type has a ridge pole supported on two forked poles and covered with tea-tree bark, others have two ridge poles a short distance apart, thus forming an oblong framework. In the most developed type the interior is occupied by a raised sleeping platform. It seems probable that the ridge pole and the sleeping platform, such as I saw in Muralug in 1888 (iv, p. 95), were due to influences from New Guinea.

Bligh saw in 1792 on Damut "a small village consisting of a dozen or fifteen huts with

flat roofs. Each had a doorway but no door, and several of the huts were joined together and formed one front. They were slightly built and covered with mattings or palm thatch" (Ida Lee, 1920, p. 181).

The northern Western islanders (Saibailaig) for a long time have had pile dwellings which undoubtedly were copied from those of a later culture. This type of house spread from the Fly river westwards and has been sporadically increasingly adopted by the Masingara and other bush tribes; it also reached the Western islands in a desultory manner and seems to have exerted some influence in North Queensland.

The round houses of the Eastern islands were sharply differentiated from the houses elsewhere in the Straits. The one seen by Jukes on Masig (IV, p. 96) may safely be regarded as having been copied from the east. We heard that there were once a few round houses in Mabuiaq (IV, p. 99), but we could not get this statement satisfactorily substantiated and no one has alluded to them.

Bruce (MS.) says the Miriam houses were about 18 ft. in diameter and about 14 ft. high, the doorway was about 2 ft. high and only broad enough to admit a man's body. The bent bamboos were tied to the centre post with a strong vine, *boz* [*Flagellaria*]. The interior lashings of the framework were dry pandanus leaves, *abal*. The thatch was tied on the laths by *sirib* vine [*Entada scandens*], the vine was beaten and twisted to make it pliable for lacing. The doorway, *meta te* or *depuede*, was closed by a slab of wood, usually a piece of an old canoe, *pao* or *meta pao*.

The men pull or cut the grass, *akar*, for the house and the women assist in tying it up in large sheaves which they carry from the top of the hill to the house site. The men do the thatching.

Formerly there was great overcrowding in the houses, as the people dearly loved the scent of the human body, which they called *au debe gem lag*, very good body smell. Young married couples lay on the same bed with their older relatives, or with the children.

What was the origin of these round houses? Wilkin describes the construction of a house in Mer which if it "does not form a connecting link between the dwellings of Daudai and those of Murray and Darnley it certainly has all the appearance of being one" (IV, p. 104).

According to Roth circular dome-shaped houses are made in parts of Queensland. Some are constructed of withes bent in a semicircle which cross one another and of intermediate withes stuck in the ground and fastened to the crossings; the whole is covered with tea-tree bark (*l.c.* p. 60). One type has a withe bent in a semicircle to serve as the entrance, at right angles to which is a long withe stuck in the ground and fastened to the top of the arch; other withes which complete the circle, except for the entrance, are tied to this longitudinal withe. Another type is built of withes set in a circle which are fastened together above. There are several modifications in details of structure, but in no case is there a central pole. These simple structures are so very different from the Miriam type that no immediate connection seems possible.

Round houses have been recorded for only one area in Papua (British New Guinea) and that is the mountain region behind the Mekeo district, where there are conical ground houses with elliptical and circular bases (A. C. Haddon, *The Geographical Journal*, 1900, p. 122). R. W. Williamson (*The Mafulu*, 1912, p. 293) says: "The Kuni houses differ from those of the Mafulu, being more or less round or oval in apparent shape, even though the floor is rectangular". (Mafulu is on the southern side of the upper waters of the Anga-

bunga river and Kuni is to the west of Mafulu.) The Mafulu house is a pile dwelling, the floor is always within a foot or two of the ground, there is a central post and "the roof generally slopes down on both sides to the level of the ground (concealing the side structure of the house) or nearly so" (*l.c.* p. 108). If the other round houses of the mountain districts resemble the Kuni houses, it seems clear that they are merely slight modifications of the ordinary type of local house, the character of which is masked by the roof.

When the first missionaries went to the Murray Islands they were struck by the resemblance of the round houses to those they were accustomed to in the Loyalty Islands, and they also thought there might be some significance in the similarity of the names of Mer and Maré (locally termed Mengöne). "Generally the houses were built of an oblong shape, but occasionally they were round, on the New Caledonian model" (E. Hadfield, *Among the natives of the Loyalty group*, 1920, p. 39). Dr F. Sarasin (*Ethnologie der Neu-Caledonier und Loyalty-Insulaner*, München, 1929, pp. 127 ff.) gives a general account of the houses but no detailed description. This is however supplied by the unpublished sketches and notes made by the late P. Montague, which show that the constructional details are very different from those of the Miriam houses. Sarasin (*l.c.* pp. 134, 311), mainly on account of the round houses but also on other grounds, believes that there was a migration from Torres Straits to New Caledonia. F. Speiser (*Zeit. für Ethnol.* LXV, 1933, p. 184) agrees that the round house of the Eastern islanders "is clearly different from that of New Caledonia" and adds, "The problem of the round house in the Pacific is, in short, quite unsolved".

The only other round houses known to me in Melanesia are those of San Cristoval (S. Solomons) and Santa Cruz.

Dr C. E. Fox (*The Threshold of the Pacific*, London, 1924) says: "Round houses about 18 feet high, with steep conical roofs and decorations on the summit, were once, it is said, general in San Cristoval, and I have seen one or two, but they are no longer made" (p. 332). "Sometimes a round house is made for a feast" (p. 195). Fox adduces evidence to show that these were the dwellings of the Atawa and were replaced by the long houses of the immigrant Araha (pp. 325, 363, 365). Dr Codrington (*The Melanesians*, 1891, p. 301) says the only round house he has seen was at Ha'ani in San Cristoval, which was built to contain the village drums, an excellent building.

The round houses of the Santa Cruz group were first seen by Mendaña in 1595. The club-houses, *madai*, are rectangular. The round houses are described and illustrated by W. C. O'Ferrall (*Santa Cruz and the Reef Islands* [1908]), by W. Foy (*Ethnologica*, 1, 1909, p. 89), and by F. Speiser (1916, p. 170). The details of the construction are not recorded, but, as in the case of the New Caledonian houses, the resemblance between these and the Miriam houses appears to be merely superficial, and it would be unsafe to draw any conclusions as to any immediate connection between them. In Santa Cruz as in San Cristoval the rectangular houses have supplanted the round houses.

#### DOMESTIC UTENSILS, TOOLS AND FOOD

There appear to be no essential differences in the domestic appliances of the islanders, except that a water bucket made from the sheath of the *Seaforthia* palm or from the bark of an acacia was used in Muralūg; probably this was imported from Queensland, but similar buckets are used by the bushmen of the Western Division of Papua (Landtman, 1927, p. 39).

I was informed that the use of the coconut-leaf broom (iv, p. 120) was introduced into Mabuiag; before then they used the dried inflorescence, *manpas*, of that palm.

In one note, Bruce says that the point of the vertical stick, *wereu dirim*, of the fire-sticks (iv, p. 121) was split and a piece of the rib of a coconut leaf, *bei lid*, was inserted in the slit.

A hook, *kobai*, used in Mer for pulling down fruit from a tree was either a hook-like branch or else made of a short piece of wood bound with sennit at an acute angle to a longer stick (Bruce).

The only Western axe blade known to me was dug up at Badu (fig. 29), it is made of *Tridacna* shell, as were those from Mer (iv, p. 125). It seems probable that stone blades were also made. What may have been a factory for making axe blades in Yam is referred to on p. 76.

The old name of the Central islanders for the axe, according to MacFarlane, was *daumer-upi-kuia*. The general Eastern name was *panigob*, but the axe with a shell blade was in Érub called *daumer-upi-tulik*, as the blade was shaped like the tail (*upi*) of a pigeon (*daumer*). The axe head of ordinary shape is termed *daumer-upi-kanba-tulik*, as it is rounded off. The stone for sharpening was obtained from the mainland (Australia).

"The old stone and clam-shell axes have given way to 'white man' goods, as have the bamboo knives and big bailer shells which did duty as saucepans, though even now many shells are still in use, and fish are still cooked in banana leaves over the embers. But the 'kop-maori' is still as popular as it was in the days of old, and no feast is complete without its pig roasted whole in the kop-maori earth-oven and its leaf packages of yams and other food seethed in squeezed-out coconut milk" (MacFarlane MS.), see iv, p. 132.

Gracber (*Anthropos*, 1913, p. 803, l.n. 8) makes the surprising statement that Haberlandt (*Peterm. Mitt.* 1913, p. 4) "rightly omitted" a reference to the earth-oven in Torres Straits as "being a quite recent importation under European influence". He appears to base this assumption on the fact that in speaking to Europeans the natives always use the term *kōpa manri* (iv, p. 132). One might just as well assert that the natives had no indigenous houses or canoes, as they always speak of them to Europeans by the English equivalents. The fact that the earth-oven is referred to in folk-tales proves that it is of considerable antiquity.

Friederici (*Peterm. Mitt.* LX, 1914, p. 5) in a valuable paper gives a classification of the various kinds of earth-oven. The Torres Straits variety belongs to his Polynesian type, which is spread practically all over the Pacific, over large areas in New Guinea, in parts of Australia, and in some islands in Indonesia. In the *Mitt. Deutsch Schutzgebieten, Ergänzungshft.* VII, 1913, pp. 165-7, he shows that the earth-oven is called *umu* throughout

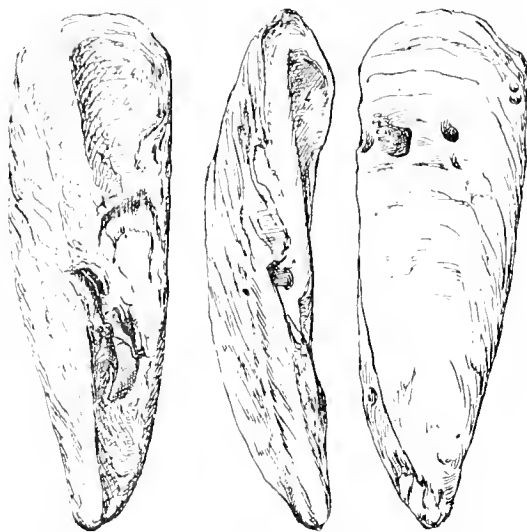


Fig. 29. Axe blade dug up at Badu, made of *Tridacna* shell:  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$  in. ( $24.1 \times 8.3$  cm.). Given to the Cambridge Museum by C. Walker.

Polynesia, and variations of that word occur in the western Pacific together with local terms which evidently belong to an older linguistic stratum. He considers the Torres Straits names *amai*, *ame* to be the same as the Motu *amu*, the *amun* and *umun* of New Ireland, and the Polynesian *umu*. The earth-oven is used by the "Papuan" Koita and Koiari as well as by the Motu, and by the "Papuan" of the Western Division; *moboro* is the Kiwai name. We obtained the word *netebu* in Mer as an alternative for *ame*; it may be a more ancient term. Cooking in an earth-oven is in Mer *esaprida*, and *dekasiri* is to boil food. The Muralūg custom of lining the oven with pieces of bark is also an Australian custom (W. Roth, Bull. 3, p. 8).

Boiling food in a shell is universal in Torres Straits and was employed sporadically along the North Queensland coast, but was unknown along the South Queensland coast (Roth, *l.c.*).

Broiling over an open fire is practised all over New Guinea, Torres Straits and Australia.

Bruce (MS.) says the women prepared the food, all of which was roasted with the exception of *tup* [iv, p. 155] and turtle, which were boiled in an *ezer* [bailer] shell. Since the introduction of saucepans much more food is boiled (iv, p. 131).

*Ud* is rarely eaten, as it is very pungent; it is considered to be the wild variety of the aroid *wagao* or *wagau* [*wagon*, iv, p. 136, is a misprint] (Bruce MS.).

The Miriam do not eat frogs so much as they did formerly (iv, p. 139).

The Meaurem *le* of Mer and their *nam boai*, the Kōmet *le*, and the Giar pit *le* of Dauar, can eat the fat of turtles, *nam*, and drink the oil as much as they like and not feel sick, because they are *nam zogo le* (Bruce MS.).

It is stated in vol. iv, p. 138, that the Western islanders eat the hawks-bill turtle. Sir William Macgregor says: "Recently some seven men, comprising nearly the whole of the adult population of Dauan, died on one day from eating a hawks-bill turtle. From the description of their illness, as related to me by the natives of Mawatta, this lethal poisoning was purely narcotic, and not irritant as one might have supposed" (*Ann. Rep.* 1896 (1897), p. 48).

The male and female *madub le* of Mer, in connection with their *zogo*, ate snakes, which they roasted; they also ate locusts, but only male locusts, *pem ra gebo*, and that raw, having previously been wrapped up in the leaf of the *paiwa* shrub. The *madub le* (men and women) collected the excreta of dogs, *omai ra le*, for smearing over the human flesh they ate from dead bodies, along with the juices that dripped from the joints of the body whilst on the *paiw*—they were ghouls not cannibals (Bruce MS.).

#### TOBACCO SMOKING

So far as Torres Straits is concerned I have very little to add to what I recorded in vol. iv, pp. 141–3, 150, 377–83.

Pasi told W. H. MacFarlane that the islanders had tobacco before the arrival of Europeans [a matter upon which there can be no doubt, as we know that tobacco was grown and smoked in bamboo pipes in Torres Straits a hundred years ago (Brockett, 1836, p. 22; *Naut. Mag.* vi, 1837, p. 754)], and that the owners of tobacco gardens took great pride in them and vied with each other in producing the best quality. He also referred to the *sokop madub* (vi, p. 207). On an appointed day, when the leaf was well ripened, a visit was paid to the various gardens [in Mer] and judgment passed on the crops. "Very strong tobacco that one. Some man he take only one draw, then he jump up and fall down,

all same dead man. We got to chuck water [over him] to make his sense come back." Pasi made a definite statement that smoking together constituted a definite act of friendship. "But suppose a man smoke that pipe along you and me, he must be a friend for us; he can't fight you and me or make trouble" [W. G. Lawes describes something similar among the Koiari, a "Papuan" mountain tribe, inland of Port Moresby, *J.A.I.* VIII, 1879, p. 375].

Bruce (MS.) says that when a tobacco crop was ready on Mer a man invited his friends to come and smoke. His ambition of hospitality was to make his guests sick from over-smoking. A pipe, called *tor zub*, was specially made for this occasion, it represented a king fish, *dabor*. One end was cut to represent the open mouth of the fish, this was ornamented with *busor* [a white *Natica* shell]; *semte*, a spiral shell, and tufts of cassowary feathers adorned the ends of the jaws. An engraved line encircled the middle of the pipe; of the two divisions thus made that which had the jaws at its end was called "sea" and the other end was called "land". Only the "land" portion was decorated with engravings of marine creatures, such as: shark; *goar*, sting ray; *nam*, turtle; *seuriseuri*, fish [or probably *saurisauri*, a blue starfish, *Linckia*, usually with four rays]; *pagei*, sea snake [*pagi*]; *aber*, hêche de mer. [I suspect that Bruce must have made a mistake, for why should marine animals be represented on the "land" and not on the "sea" part of the pipe?]

The only account we have as to how tobacco was cultivated and treated is that given by MacFarlane for Masig (p. 91). Probably a very similar method was employed in other islands. The New Guinea tobacco plant is *Nicotiana Tabacum* (J. S. L. Gilmour, "The species of tobacco grown in New Guinea", Territory of Papua, *Anthropology*, Report No. 11, Port Moresby, 1934).

It can be demonstrated that tobacco smoking with the name for tobacco passed southwards from the upper waters of the Fly river and eventually reached Torres Straits; this drift spread mainly along the right bank, or at all events somewhat to the west, of the river. The other spreads of tobacco smoking from the region of the Fly do not concern us here.

#### WEAPONS

Landtman has confirmed the statement (IV, p. 173) that the upper end of the bow when held in a vertical position for shooting corresponds to the root end of the bamboo when growing. In stringing and unstringing the bow the same end is placed against the ground as it is the stronger. He states that "the same end is directed forwards when the bow is carried horizontally in the hand. This seems to be a universal rule; 'where strong (strength) he stop, he go along head'" (Landtman, 1927, p. 28). The Torres Straits names for bow are *gayai* (W.), *sarik* (E.). The name is *gayare* among the Kiwaians and the Daudai bushmen, and variants occur elsewhere in the Western Division, and as almost all the island bows were imported from New Guinea it is not surprising that the name came too, but the eastern name is totally different.

Probably all the arrows were imported from New Guinea, and the descriptions and illustrations given by Landtman (pp. 28-31) may be compared with those in vol. IV, pp. 174-90.

So far as my evidence goes, wooden clubs were common in the Eastern islands but I have no note of their occurrence in the Central or Western islands.

The limited use of the javelin and spear-thrower is noted in vol. IV, p. 196; they admittedly were introduced from Cape York and were only sporadically and rarely employed in certain Western islands.

There is a clumsily made sling from Mer in the Australian Museum at Sydney (pl. VI, fig. 4). It seems to have been made of *wali* (IV, p. 90): the string is twisted and has a loop at one end; the coarse network bag is not made by true netting. As there was considerable uncertainty about the indigenous occurrence of the sling in Torres Straits (IV, p. 172), I wrote to J. Bruce on the subject and he replied definitely that the sling was introduced by the Tanna crew of the *Woodlark* (VI, p. 190). It is never used now and he had not seen one for many years; it was called *tana lu*, "Tanna thing", or sometimes *mantan lu*. The Miriam were experts at stone-throwing by hand, it was the principal method of killing birds. The Mabuiag *singi* (III, p. 183) is the old cane loop for carrying heads. Lieut. Tobin says: "Their weapons were mostly bows and arrows, but a sling, some clubs and spears were observed amongst them"; this was in 1792 (I. Lee's edition of Bligh's second voyage, 1920, p. 186). This early record, if correct, complicates the problem. A. Wilkin records (V, p. 311) that when Mabuiag warriors made a foray on Moa, they saw two boys "slinging stones with grass slings at the tree-tops, and shouting after the manner of boys when they play".

Shields of all kinds are wanting; they are also lacking in the whole of the basin of the Fly river and from the coast and hinterland of all south-west New Guinea up to the Purari delta. They are distributed throughout most of Australia but do not occur in Queensland north of the Mitchell river; similarly the boomerang is absent north of the Palmer affluent of the Mitchell, 16° S. lat.

## CANOES

The canoes of Torres Straits were fully described in vol. IV, pp. 205-17, to which account I can add only a few supplementary notes.

The earliest descriptions of canoes are those made by Bligh and Portlock during their voyage in 1792 and recorded by Ida Lee.

Bligh says (*l.c.* p. 185) the sails of the canoes at Yam "are made of matting in an oblong form rudely stitched together. The mast to which it is hoisted consists of 2 bamboo poles, the lower ends fixed close together in the bottom of the canoe and the upper ends extended the width of the sail, from whence it is hoisted travelling upon two guys. Some canoes have two sails. They are always fixed close together in the fore-part of the canoe. We observe them always row well to the windward before they set their sail, and I think they have a piece of plank which they sometimes use as a lee-board" (Yam, p. 185).

Portlock (*l.c.* p. 254) judged that the canoes at Mer "were from 60 to 70 feet long; about 2 feet 6 inches wide, and about the same depth" (the rest of the description agrees with what has already been recorded). The mat sail "was about 5 feet wide, 6 or 8 feet deep, yet with this untoward contrivance for a sail they made great way when going, but, of course, could do but little on a wind. . . the only contrivance for keeping water out of the canoe was a mat tied taut around the fore part of it. The canoes were ornamented in different parts with shell, and towards the stern there was a small kind of gallows with some nude figures carved on it. They made use of a very large conch shell for bailing out their canoes, and certainly understand and make use of signals to each other when at a distance. . . I saw them frequently display a small flag on a long pole, and whenever this was done. . . I saw one or more of the other canoes at a distance also displayed a small flag, as if in answer to the signal". A drawing by Lieut. G. Tobin is given of a canoe with two sails (pl. p. 184).

The old type of canoe was a dugout provided with a washstrake. There were two booms on each side. In the centre was a platform on which were two lateral crates or railings, *sal*, to hold gear, etc. (fig. 30).

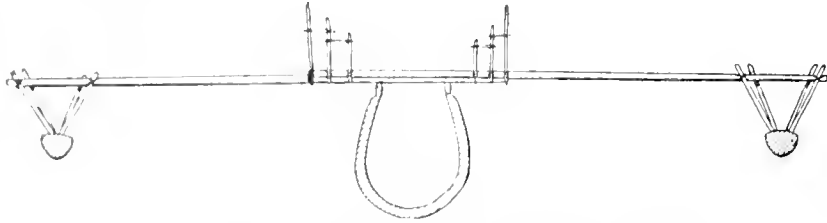


Fig. 30. Section of the old type of Torres Straits canoe.

The typical method of connecting the float to the outrigger-booms is by means of two pairs of stick-connectives: the sticks of each pair usually converge over the boom but not necessarily crossing over it, or they may be parallel; each pair diverges from the other pair (fig. 31A). Anthony Wilkin photographed two canoes at Mabuia in 1898, which

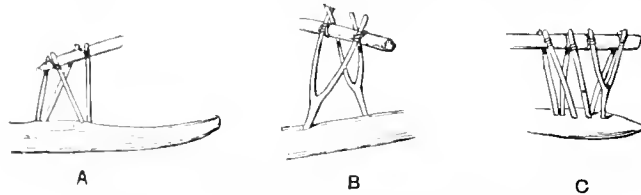


Fig. 31. Torres Straits Canoe attachments: A, typical; B, C, varieties seen at Mabuia. After photographs.

had the attachments shown in fig. 31 B, C; in B, the pair of Y-shaped connectives replace the two pairs of simple sticks of the normal type, C is a composite method, being based mainly on a somewhat simplified type of attachment characteristic of the estuary of the Fly (fig. 31), but the Y-stick has also intruded. I regret, not being then aware of the importance of the method of attachment, that I did not inquire into the matter. In a paper "An anomalous form of outrigger attachment in Torres Straits, and its distribution" (*Man*, 1918, No. 68), I gave an account of the distribution of the Y-connective in which I said: "The New Caledonian and Loyalty Islands' attachment undoubtedly consists typically of a pair of Y-shaped sticks, the forks of which converge over and beyond the boom - precisely as in one example at Mabuia in Torres Straits. The explanation of the latter is now perfectly clear. It was made by a Loyalty Islander resident in Mabuia. S. McFarlane, *Among the Cannibals of New Guinea* (1888), describes how he founded the Mission in Torres Straits in 1871 'with a few Lifu teachers in our boat' (p. 26). . . other Loyalty Islanders followed in their wake. I knew several of them in Mabuia in 1888, and some still remained in 1898". On p. 210, vol. IV, a single-outrigger canoe was attributed to a native of Ware; I should have said Uea, Loyalty Islands.

The following account of the designs painted on canoes refers to Kiwai, but doubtless an analogous symbolism obtained in Torres Straits. "In some cases the painted decorations of the canoes have a magical relation to fighting. One of the ornaments painted on the inside of a canoe represents a row of hearts, and they help the men to fight and 'kill him man good'. Another pattern represents sinews of the human body, and their effect is that 'bushman he no can run away, he stop in house, you kill him'. A certain drawing



which shows the breast-bone or shoulder of a man serves to prevent the bushmen from hitting the people with their arrows, and an inverted triangle, representing the tongue of a man, refers to the shouting of the people when they have captured an enemy and kill him" (Landtman, 1927, p. 150). The carving at the sides of the bow of a Miriam canoe is said by Bruce (MS.) to be done by the New Guinea maker, but that on washstrake is done locally.

Landtman (1927, p. 206) gives instances from folk-tales of the utilisation of floating tree trunks that were employed for travelling from one place to another. The natives of New Guinea often make rafts, and Sóido, the culture-hero, is said to have made a raft of bamboo, on which he set up a leaf of a nipa palm as a sail and thus floated over from New Guinea to Mer. I have myself seen, as have others, a nipa palm leaf used as a sail in the Purari delta.

Landtman also says (*l.c.* p. 207) that

The earliest craft of which the Kiwai traditions bear witness was made of a solid trunk, sloped at both ends up to a blunt edge or point. Two or more pairs of sticks about  $\frac{1}{2}$  m. long were driven into the trunk forming oblique crosses, and over these were lashed two transverse booms rather more than 1 m. apart. The long ends of each pair of booms were attached to a pointed float by means of similar sticks, driven into the floats. Over the middle of the trunk, on top of the booms, a little platform was constructed, affording shelter from waves which were washing over the trunk. In the bow was a mat sail in the shape of an elongated triangle, with the apex pointing downwards. The two poles or masts between which the sail was suspended were inclined slightly forward, and kept in position by two stays, the other ends of which were tied to the foremost transverse boom on either side of the platform. By tightening or loosening one stay or the other the position of the sail could be regulated according to the wind. To prevent the sail from being torn, a long rope was tied criss-cross between the two supporting poles, so that the sail rested against the rope. A board was used for steering the canoe, and the steersman, standing at the stern end of the trunk, was often submerged over knee deep in the waves. A stick driven vertically into the trunk in front of him served as a support.

The following folk-tales narrate the introduction of an early form of dug-out canoe into Saibai, Mabuiag, Badu and Moa, and into Yam and Tutu:

Two Saibai men, Nimo and Puipui, went in a coconut shell to Daudai and met their brother-in-law, a Mawata man who was fishing on the Orionu river; he gave them two canoes, each with a single outrigger and advised them to remove one outrigger and fasten the two canoes together, which they did by means of a cross-piece at each end. After their return to Saibai, two Mabuiag men, Kupado and Moiwosa, arrived at Saibai on a solid trunk with two outriggers and Nimo gave them one of the two canoes. On reaching Mabuiag they reconstructed the craft, providing it with a wash-strake on both sides, two outriggers, and a proper bow and stern; they also ornamented the whole canoe beautifully and their wives made mat sails for it. When finished they sailed to Badu and Moa, the people there were very anxious to have a similar canoe and asked the two men to get them one, putting down many things by way of payment. Kupado and Moiwosa taught the Saibai people to make ropes of coconut fibre and to fit out their canoes with double outriggers and other improvements; they also paid over the things given to them by the Badu and Moa men (Landtman, 1917, p. 148).

In another version Nimo and Puipui went in a coconut shell to Daudai and at Mawata Boromburo gave them a canoe in exchange for a *wap* and they taught the Mawata people the right kind of *wap* to use, as previously they had only an ordinary pole with a hole at one end for the harpoon-point. When they returned home, Mereva, another Saibai man, was taught to make sails by a spirit who appeared to him in a dream. After that, a regular trade in canoes took place between Saibai and Kiwai, through Mawata (*l.c.* p. 151).

On one occasion when the Hiamu, or ancient Daru people, were preparing to celebrate the *taera* or *horiomu* ceremony, which then, as now, was prefaced by a race of small toy canoes, the toy canoe of Ebogubu, the son of Daguri, sailed so fast that he could not recover it, and it sailed away to Yam: Tutu was then merely a sand-bank and the people lived on Yam. A Yam man, also named Ebogubu, saw it coming and summoned other men to see it, they tried to catch it, but it evaded all of them and steered straight for Ebogubu, who picked it up and pointed the bow in different directions, but it always turned towards the direction of Daru and gave Ebogubu's hand a jerk in that direction. So they decided to go thither.

The people made a log-canoe ready; this consisted of a solid trunk of a tree and was provided with two outriggers, a little platform and mat sails. Ebogubu held the toy canoe which directed them to Daru, where they saw the two large screens, *horiomu*, for at that time only brushwood grew on Daru, thus the screens were visible a long way off. The Yam people were entertained by the Hiamu and were permitted to witness the dancing of the masked spirits; they stayed some days and watched the whole *taera* ceremony. The Daru men gave the Yam men two dug-out canoes, in which they sailed home swiftly. In this way the Yam men learnt how to make dug-outs, and also they introduced the *taera* ceremony with its two screens, and this practice spread to Nagir, Moa, Badu and Mabuag. This story is told to the novices of the *taera* at Mawata (*l.c.* p. 361).

Two other Mawata versions narrate that a toy canoe from Daru drifted to Yam. Kenora and Ebogubu went in a log-canoe to find out where the toy canoe came from and fastened a "wind-rose", or whirligig of coconut leaves, to the toy canoe which whirled round when they held the right course. The Daru people had dug-out canoes. A dug-out canoe floated over to Daru from Daudai, the Yam men took it, added a wash-strake, and as it had only one outrigger they provided it with another and sailed back to Yam. They procured a number of arm-shells [*mabuo*, Daudai; *wairi* or *wauri*, Torres Straits; iv, p. 56] to pay for the canoe. They eventually found that it came from Waboda, and since then there has been a regular trade between the islanders and the New Guinea folk, arm-shells, stone axes, harpoons, dugong and turtle meat being exchanged for canoes and garden produce (Landtman, 1917, pp. 363-5). These versions also state that the *taera* was introduced to Yam from Daru at this time.

One Mawata version relates that while Naga was living on Tutu a canoe floated from Sui in Dudi and drifted to Tutu. Naga was delighted with it and with twelve companions decided to go and see where it came from. He went to Daru and was sent to various places on the coast till he found the owner of the canoe at Sui. Naga bought the canoe for six arm-shells, and each of the other men also bought a canoe. Naga was the first man to use a plaited mat sail (Landtman, 1917, p. 364).

The short version I obtained at Tutu (v, p. 48) states that a toy canoe drifted from Daru to Tutu, where it was found by Kebra and Waier, who made fast two logs of wood side by side and paddled to Daru, where Naga and Waiait were performing a death-dance (i.e. the *taera* or *tai*, as the islanders called it). They returned the toy canoe to Naga, who gave them a large proper canoe with mat sails; he also taught them the *tai*. Later Naga went to Yam and thence to Ugar and taught the people how to perform the death-dance (*markai*), see p. 108.

From information kindly supplied to me by Dr Landtman I made the following statement in 1913:

This old [dug-out] canoe had no wash-strake, the single outrigger was on the starboard (right) side, and a small platform, *patara*, was built round the aft boom of the outrigger. The sails were one, two, three, or even four in number and were rigged at the bow more or less side by side; this was rendered by the sails having the form of an elongated isosceles triangle with the apex pointing downwards.

Once the islanders had become acquainted with the new type of canoe they abandoned their old pattern, as the solid trunk was heavy and difficult to handle, and the waves washed over it. The rougher seas of the Straits induced them to add a wash-strake, and they replaced the single outrigger by a double one. The old sail was composed of strips of pandanus leaf sewn together and was known as *tiro*, but the islanders also used their plaited oblong mats as sails; this type of sail (Kiwai, *saua*, Mawata, *hawa*), the wash-strake and the double outrigger have since been adopted by the Kiwai-speaking peoples.

If we may accept these traditions as evidence, it seems (1) that the original double-outrigger craft of Torres Straits was a very rude affair, (2) that a dug-out with a single outrigger was introduced, (3) that the original double outrigger replaced the single one of the introduced canoe, and (4) that a wash-strake was added [also (5) a new type of sail and other improvements were employed].

It is interesting to find that Neuhauss (1911, i, p. 347, figs. 32, 248, 249) describes a very simple craft from Sialum (Huon peninsula, on the north coast of New Guinea), a few miles south of lat. 6° S. The hull (fig. 32) consists of an unhollowed log of driftwood, the ends of which have been roughly sharpened, each "side" of the canoe is made of a rail supported by four upright sticks, the craft is steadied by a single outrigger, the two long booms of which are lashed on to the top of the railing in its centre and are attached to the float by two pairs of [under-]crossed sticks. There is a small central platform. The correspondence with the traditional Torres Straits type is very close, the only differences being in the single outrigger and a slight variation in the attachment of the float and the framework on the hull (Haddon, 1913, p. 612).

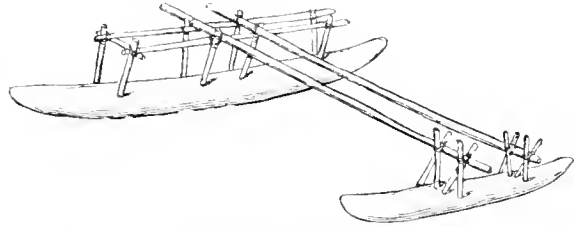


Fig. 32. Canoe at Sialum, Huon peninsula. After Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, Berlin, 1911.

There does not appear to be any tradition in the estuary of the Fly concerning the origin of the simple dug-out, but its history may have been forgotten, as it is found universally in New Guinea. Nor is there a tradition of the origin of the single outrigger of that region; it is extremely doubtful whether it is in any way directly related to the existing single-outrigger canoes farther east in British New Guinea. The attachment is essentially similar to that of the Torres Straits canoes, but there are more stick-connectives, fig. 33. I can only conclude that it belongs to the same culture drift as that of the Straits,

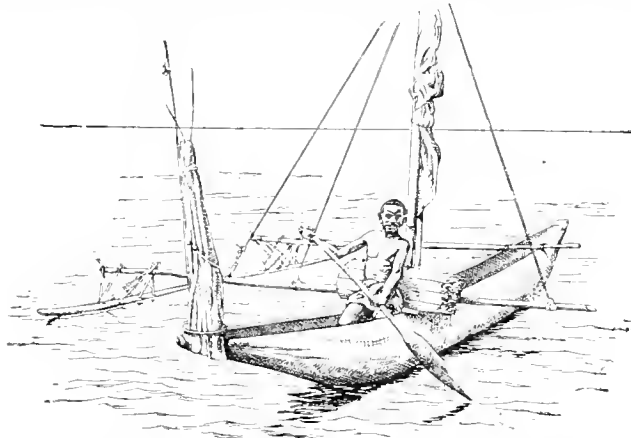


Fig. 33. Single-outrigger canoe at Sunnai, Kiwai, Fly estuary. After a photograph by G. Landtman (cf. Landtman, 1927, fig. 76).

and that a single outrigger replaced the double one for greater convenience in river navigation. A change of this kind is very widespread, even for navigation in the open sea.

*North Queensland outrigger canoes*

Dr W. Roth and others have described outrigger canoes on the coasts of North Queensland (Haddon, 1913, p. 609, where illustrations and more detailed information will be found, see also *Canoes of Oceania*, by A. C. Haddon and J. Hornell, to be published by the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, for which memoir the map on p. 267 was prepared; it shows the distribution of the various types of canoes).

On the east coast from Cape York to Orford bay double-outrigger canoes occur which appear from vague descriptions to be of the old Torres Straits type.

From Orford bay (or possibly Cape Grenville) to Balclutha creek in Princess Charlotte bay (14° 10' S. lat.) occurs another type of double-outrigger canoe with a direct tied attachment of the two booms to the floats. This I have termed the Claremont type. This distribution is on the authority of Mr D. E. Thomson, but Jukes (1, p. 134) says the canoes of Mer appeared to be similar to those we had seen at Cape Direction," about 13° S.

From Balclutha creek to Cape Grafton the canoes have but a single outrigger, with four to eight paired booms which are attached to the float by means of single pairs of crossed stick-connectives; the two booms of each pair are very close to each other, one of them passing below and the other above the crossing of the connectives. This I have termed the Cape Bedford type.

The available evidence shows that the use of double-outrigger canoes is still spreading from north to south along the west coast of the Cape York peninsula.

There appear to be two types of the attachment of the float to the two booms at Batavia river, 12° S. lat.: (1) Each attachment consists of two short sticks usually inserted into a single hole in the float: they diverge from each other and are lashed to the foreside of the boom (fig. 34). (2) Each attachment consists of two pairs of short sticks which converge over the boom. Type (1) is analogous to that of the Erub canoe drawn by Melville (iv, pl. XXIV, fig. 1), and a model in the British Museum (cf. *Album*, 1, pl. 320, fig. 1) shows a similar arrangement: it may thus be an older type. Type (2) is not unlike the ordinary Torres Straits attachment.

The Archer river type probably extends from about 13° to 14° S. lat. or even farther south; on the whole it resembles the Claremont type as it has a direct lashed attachment, but there is a small peg stuck in the float to which the boom is lashed to prevent it from slipping, which is not recorded for the Claremont type.

In the Batavia river canoes, a stick, "bracket-spar", passes through both sides of the hull and projects on each side immediately below a boom to which the ends of the bracket-spar are lashed (fig. 35). In the Archer river and Claremont canoes there is, in the same

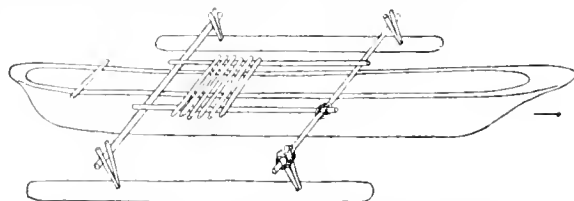


Fig. 34. Batavia river canoe, N.W. Queensland.  
From Roth.



Fig. 35. Outrigger of a Batavia river canoe showing the bracket-spar. After a photograph by Roth.

position and also lashed to the boom, a short stick on each side which is inserted into a hole in the hull. No such contrivances occur in Torres Straits or along the south coast of New Guinea, but a straight bracket-spar is found on the north coast from Cape Nelson westwards, at least as far as the Wuwu river. A bracket-spar is present in the *tsine* of Nissan and at the northern end of Bougainville in the Solomons, but this canoe has a single outrigger (fig. 36), as have the canoes on the north coast of Papua.

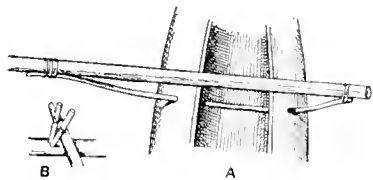


Fig. 36. Bracket-spar and stick attachment of a *tsine* canoe, Nissan, N. of the Solomons. From original sketches by Friederici.

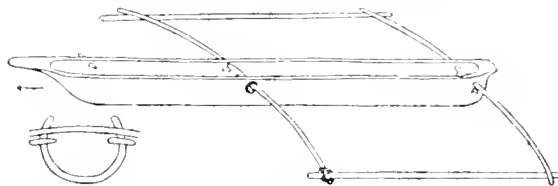


Fig. 37. Claremont canoe, N.E. Queensland. From Roth.

The Claremont type (fig. 37) has a double outrigger, two booms, and a direct lashed attachment. The same construction is also found in the *kõp* canoe of Nissan (fig. 38). I saw in 1914 one small canoe of this type, though with only a single outrigger, at Buniki



Fig. 38. Section of a *kõp* canoe, Nissan. From an original drawing by Friederici.

in the Bann delta region (east of the Fly), but this appears to have been merely a casual example of no distributional significance (Haddon, 1920, p. 125). The northerly limit of the Claremont type is only about forty miles south of the Forbes Islands. It is interesting to find that there are certain resemblances between the two types of outriggers at Nissan and the Batavia river type on the one hand, and the Claremont type on the other. I do not know of any other cultural similarities between these two widely separated areas.

The Cape Bedford type (fig. 39) has a single outrigger, several booms, and a crossed-stick attachment, and in these respects it is similar to forms met with in south-eastern

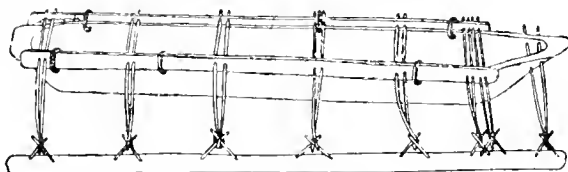


Fig. 39. Cape Bedford canoe, N.E. Queensland. From Roth.

New Guinea and in southern Melanesia generally, but the pairing of the booms is peculiar to Queensland. The Cape Bedford name for the canoe is *wangga*, and for the float, *darman*; the former is unquestionably the *wanga* (*waka* or *wa*) of the Melanesian languages, and the latter is the western Papuo-Melanesian *darima*, a dialectic variant of *sarima*; in Fiji we have respectively *vaga* and *zama*. While it is thus certain that the canoe of this area came from a Melanesian-speaking people to the east, here also other associated cultural traits appear to be absent.

The former existence in Torres Straits of a solid trunk for a canoe is attested by various folk tales which cannot be disregarded, especially as there is a similar craft on the coast of the Huon peninsula, but it is difficult to understand how a migration could be effected by means of so clumsy a craft. It is probable, however, that it was a degenerate structure, the art of hollowing-out having in some way been lost, possibly through lack of suitable timber.

There is reason to suppose that the double outrigger is an older type than the single. Evidence from other parts of New Guinea and elsewhere suggests that the single outrigger may possibly have developed from a double canoe, but this will not apply to the double outrigger. A Mawata folk-tale tells how as a temporary expedient two canoes were lashed together though the outrigger of one was retained (Landtman, 1917, p. 150), but this is the only instance, legendary or actual, known to me of such a device in western Papua.

*Distribution of canoes without outriggers on the coasts of New Guinea*

Along the whole west coast south of Onin peninsula and continuously round the south coast to Mawata. They occur again at the Bamu (east of the Fly estuary) and continue as far as the eastern limit of the Purari delta. All these may safely be regarded as river craft which the inland tribes have brought with them in their migrations to the coast with no essential modification.

Thus it is only when we come to the Alele (the easternmost mouth of the Purari), where the territory of the Orokolo people begins, that the single outrigger is found, but in all the details the difference between the Gulf and the Fly river canoes is so great as to preclude any immediate connection, and the same applies to all the canoes farther east.

*Distribution of double outriggers in New Guinea*

(1) These occur with more than two booms in the north-west from Onin peninsula to Cape d'Urville; in the extreme north-west there is an elbow- or Halmaheran-attachment (Haddon, 1920, pp. 91, 129), but in Geelvink bay there is a spike-attachment (*l.c.* pp. 79, 127).

(2) With but two booms, Torres Straits only. All the Torres Straits canoes formerly had double outriggers, but, owing to the influence of South Sea men, single outriggers have become common, the first is said to have been introduced about 1873 (iv, p. 211).

*Distribution of single outriggers in New Guinea*

(1) Geelvink bay, with several booms and a spike-attachment. (2) Speaking generally along the north coast from Cape d'Urville to Huon gulf, the canoes have two booms with under-crossed sticks, but locally there may be three booms or even more, as on the coast north of Huon peninsula. (3) From Huon gulf to Oro bay (about 9° S. lat.) with two booms and an attachment of two pairs of sticks which cross under the boom and between them a pair of vertical sticks which embrace the boom. The vertical sticks are not very different from the Torres Straits arrangement, the under-crossed sticks are usual among Papuo-Melanesians and Melanesians, but are entirely absent from Torres Straits and the Fly river areas. It is very interesting to find that on the Wuwu river, immediately west of the boundary of Papua, there are (according to photographs given to me by E. P. W. Chinnery) two forms of attachment: one is like that just described, the other has two divergent pairs of sticks, which are parallel or slightly convergent, and two pairs of convergent central sticks, an arrangement which precisely resembles that which occurs in the estuary

of the Fly (fig. 33). These are the only two localities known to me in which this type is found. These north Papuan canoes are also provided with the straight bracket-spar to which allusion has been made. It may be mentioned that in this area the two long booms give the canoes a superficial resemblance to those of the Torres Straits area, except that the outrigger is single in the former. There is at present no further evidence in favour of the supposition that these canoes indicate the route by which the Torres Straits canoes arrived at their final destination. (4) Thence all round the coast (and in the archipelagoes) as far as Orokolo in the Gulf of Papua, with numerous booms and local variants in the attachments. (5) The Fly estuary with two booms and overlapping sticks. For detailed information *The canoes of Oceania*, by Haddon and Hornell, should be consulted.

From the foregoing summary it will be seen that the Torres Straits and Fly estuary canoes have no close parallel with any others in New Guinea (except in the instances just noted), and the same applies to Indonesia and Melanesia, though in Fiji and Samoa the canoes have a single outrigger with two booms and an attachment precisely like that of Torres Straits (Haddon, 1913, fig. 15). It seems possible therefore that the Torres Straits canoe was an ancient type which came from Indonesia round the north and east coasts of New Guinea and thus reached Torres Straits from the east. The double outrigger canoe has been replaced almost everywhere by single-outrigger canoes which have various methods of attachment.

The canoes of North Queensland with double outriggers point to the same conclusion, whether they belong to the same hypothetical migration as that which brought in the Torres Straits canoe is another question; but the Cape Bedford type belongs to a later and quite different culture drift from any of these.

There is the very plausible alternative that the canoe came directly from Indonesia, where double outriggers are almost universal, but I do not know of any evidence for direct Indonesian influence in south-west and south New Guinea, or in Torres Straits. The stick attachment appears to be entirely absent from the Indian ocean and Indonesia, except in the Andamans and Nicobars, in which islands the canoes have a single outrigger (Haddon, 1917, pp. 84-6, figs. 10, 11).

Although evidence from structure may be dubious, there is little ambiguity as regards linguistics. We may distinguish between the name for the canoe, i.e. the hull, and that of the outrigger; the latter consists of booms, stick-connectives and float. The names for the booms and sticks appear to vary considerably in New Guinea and elsewhere, as they would be liable to be called by names which would be applied to other similar pieces of wood, but the float is the most peculiar feature and it is this which most persistently retains its original name.

We do not find a name for a canoe having an extended range going from west to east along the south coast of Papua till we come to the east of Cape Possession (which is the westerly limit of the Western Papuo-Melanesians), thence, right down the coast there occur such terms as *vanagi*, *wanagi*, or *ahi*, *asi*, *gasi*, *gai*, *ai*, etc., which are allied forms. Among the Eastern Papuo-Melanesians, or Massim, the term *waga* (*waka*, *wa*) is predominant. Dialectical variations of this word occur throughout Oceania, but there are other root-words in Melanesia, though *wanga*, *waka*, *uanka*, *raka*, *aka* and the like are very widely spread. In Indonesia *wanga*, *waka*, *haka*, etc. are common. These terms, taken by themselves alone, demonstrate the course of migrations, but the evidence for these migrations rests on a much wider foundation.

Frequent names for the outrigger-float in Indonesia are *sama*, *suma*, *soman*, *seman*, *sema*. In Melanesia it occurs as *sama*, *seman*, *isama*, *iam*, *iam*, etc. Among the Massim we find *sarima*, *larima*, *sama*, etc., and among the Western Papuo-Melanesians *larima*, *ralima*, *darima*, *tarima*, etc. But in Oroko the word is *milo* or *biro*; in the eastern part of the Fly estuary it is *toloka*. In Kiwai it is *sarima* and a short distance farther up the Fly and along the Daudai coast as far as Mawata it is *harima*. In the western language of Torres Straits we have the recognisable word *sāimā* or *sarima*, but strangely enough in the eastern language it is *sirib*, for which I can find no parallel.

It is thus evident that the name for the float of the outrigger among the Kiwaians and in western Torres Straits is a word that is common to the Austronesian group of languages; it could have arrived direct from Indonesia, but it is much more probable that it came by way of western Melanesia. The structure of the Torres Straits and Fly river outrigger disproves a direct Papuo-Melanesian origin, though there is little reason to doubt that a double-outrigger canoe with a float called *sama*, or some such term, arrived at an early date from the west Pacific. If this be admitted, it seems probable that the single outrigger of the Fly estuary was a modification, presumably to suit local conditions.

#### SOUND-PRODUCING INSTRUMENTS

Mr Bruce sent me an account of a stridulating instrument made of bamboo, the flat edge of which is serrated; the serrations are rubbed smartly backwards and forwards with a sliwer of bamboo, *akris lu*, or with a shell, *keret*. It makes a harsh grating sound like the croaking of a frog, there is a rattle of *serpa* shells at the free end which makes the sound more weird.

"It was used as a plaything, *segur lu*, at a *Tama* [IV, p. 310], when they were sitting down; sometimes they used it as an accompaniment to their singing, it was merely a *kab lu*. It is not indigenous to Mer, the first time it was introduced was shortly after you had left—a year or so [about 1900]; it is thought it was brought from the west, and had quite a rage for a time. Maino says that it was used in the western islands, when it was rubbed lightly it gave the hiss of lightning, *pauepan*, and when rubbed roughly it represented thunder, *gigi*—but the *lolo* was more often used to represent the sound of thunder. They only used these about the time the north-west season began, and it was not used in connection with dances." [As the stridulation resembles the croaking of frogs, the instrument was appropriately used for rain-making; it is evidently a variant of the *kat* of Mabuig, IV, p. 270.]

#### Drums

The two main types of Torres Straits drums, the *warup* and *buruburu*, are certainly Papuan. Landtman (1927, p. 43) says: "The oldest type of drum known in the Mawata district is the *gama-ia* or *warupa* (in the Saibai language). . . fig. 46*a*. According to tradition the first drum in Mawata was a *warupa*, and it came from Saibai, which is said to be the original home of all the drums in that part of the country, the inhabitants of that island not having learnt the art of making drums from any other people [for an account of a very large Saibai *warup* in the British Museum, see IV, p. 367]. All the drums made at Mawata in olden times are said to have been of that type. Nowadays no more *warupa* drums are made in the Mawata district, the more modern type being the *buruburu*, the original of which comes from Budji (fig. 46*b*). . . It is also a common practice at Mawata to remodel imported Budji drums. . . then incising fresh ornamentation (fig. 48)".



We may thus take it for granted that the *warup* was distinctly a Torres Straits type, perhaps more particularly of the Western islands. Its form and decoration have already been sufficiently described and illustrated (iv, pp. 278-80, 364-7, pl. XXVII, fig. 2; Haddon, 1894, pp. 39-42, pls. I, III); it is evidently a highly evolved form. As previously pointed out (iv, p. 279) the sacred Malu drum "Wasikor" (iv, pl. XII, fig. 2) is intermediate in form between the *warup* and certain forms of *buruburu*. It has the general form of certain varieties of the latter, but with jaws at one end, and is without a handle; in the last two details (but not in the form of the body) it resembles the *gama* of the Bamu river.

Two specimens of a drum, *marep warup*, made of bamboo, *marep*, were obtained in Mer in 1898; they are about 87 and 101 cm. in length and about 9 cm. in diameter, and have squared jaws (fig. 40).

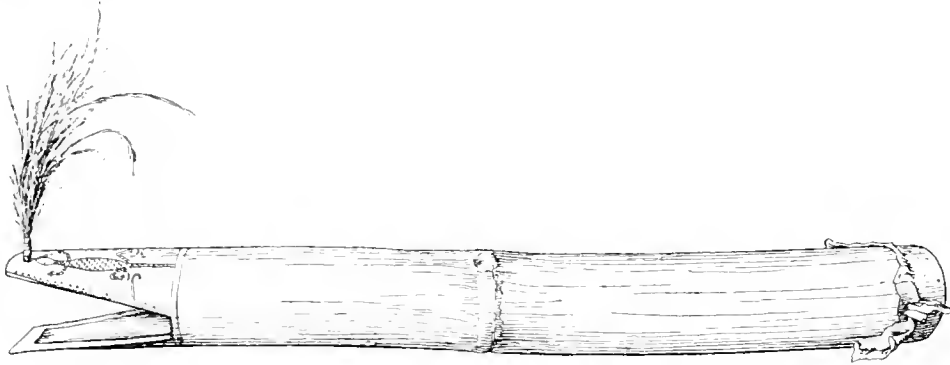


Fig. 40. Bamboo drum, Mer, length 34 in. (86.4 cm.). Cambridge Museum.

They may have been but local makeshifts, but Landtman says that a particular instrument of the Kiwai sorcerers is a small drum, *waduru-gama*, of bamboo, *waduru*, with a membrane glued over one end; these are employed in order not to produce too much noise (1927, p. 325). Bamboo drums with circular mouths are recorded by van der Sande from Humboldt bay (*N.G.* III, 1907, p. 305, pl. XXVIII, figs. 9-11).

*Buruburu* drums are described and figured in vol. iv, p. 279, and the designs on them on pp. 368, 369. It is possible that they were often imported from New Guinea.

I obtained in Mer in 1898 a slightly constricted cylindrical drum, *boroboro*, with a circular mouth and a central encircling squared groove; there is no handle, it is provided with slight decoration and a fish-skin tympanum; length 76 cm., diameter at ends *c.* 12 cm. It was made in "New Guinea".

I have collected a good deal of information about the drums of New Guinea, but the following is all that is here necessary for my immediate purpose.

In the middle region of the Fly river there are two types of drums: (1) a stout constricted cylindrical drum with a circular mouth and handle (iv, figs. 243, 361, 362). This type spread southwards and is known among the Marind as *kandara* (Wirz, I, i, p. 83, pl. 25, fig. 6). This is the "Tugeri" drum (iv, pp. 281, 373), though the decoration is very different. The *buruburu* of Daudai and Torres Straits (iv, figs. 240, 352-6) seems to be a modification of this type, as does also the common type of the Gogodara.

The second Fly type has an elongated conico-cylindrical form with a small jawed mouth and no handle (Haddon, 1894, pl. V, figs. 79-81). This type extends to the Miku affluent of the Digul river, Netherlands New Guinea. It also passed down the Fly, and in the Kiwai

*gama* the body becomes a slightly constricted cylinder and occasionally there are three jaws (IV, figs. 242, A, B, 357, 358), while on the Bamu the original form was retained (IV, figs. 242, C, D, 359), but here again the decoration is very different.

The Masingara (Masingle) *waple* (Landtman, 1927, fig. 46 c) has a constricted body without a handle, the circular mouth has a dorsal and a ventral narrow triangular projection which give the appearance of jaws. Landtman (p. 44) says that the open end represents a mouth and the two projections are teeth, and adds that this type of drum is used by other bushmen in Daudai and that they "are also found at Mawata and in Kiwai island". The *waple* and the *warup* may have been derived from a common source or the *waple* may originally have been a *gama* type which became influenced by the *buruburu*.

The well-known drum, *aopa* or *apa*, typical of the Purari delta and the whole of the Gulf district, is in the main like the first Fly type, but there are large jaws which usually are elaborately carved.

So far as I am aware (with a few sporadic exceptions in Papua which can be traced to influence from the Gulf) all the drums throughout the rest of New Guinea have circular mouths and the same applies to the Bismarek archipelago. Drums with a tympanum of skin are absent from the Solomons and the other Melanesian islands; their place usually being taken in places by wooden slit-gongs.

We are now in a position to state that the Torres Straits drums did not come from Australia (the two types of drum recently recorded from the Cape York peninsula are mentioned on p. 272; they belonged to immigrant cultures) and certainly not from Melanesia, and we may also rule out the whole of New Guinea east of the Kikori. We may therefore feel confident that the Torres Straits drums belong to the culture area of the Fly river. It is important to note that the sacred Malu drum of Mer could not have been derived from a Melanesian or an Indonesian type, but it is not possible to affirm that this particular form was connected with the introduction of the Bomai-Malu cult.

## VI. DOMESTIC LIFE

The details of the domestic as opposed to the economic and ritual life of the islanders are given in vols. v and vi, and those of the Miriam in addition on pp. 131 ff. In this section I deal in a comparative manner only with: The regulation and social effects of marriage, p. 316; Disposal of the dead and mummification, pp. 320-4; Spirit pantomimes, p. 343; Inheritance and Property in land, p. 344.

### THE REGULATION AND SOCIAL EFFECTS OF MARRIAGE

Rivers (v, pp. 233 ff.) finds, taking the natives of Mabuiag and Badu as typical for the Western islanders, that the genealogical record shows that marriage is now regulated by kinship rather than by clanship, and probably this was always the case. The people recognise two general marriage regulations: (i) a man could not marry a woman who had the same totem as himself, and (ii) a man could not marry his *babat*, his *apu*, or his *kutapu*.

(i) In every case in which a man and a woman possessing the same totem had married, the spouses belonged to different clans; such clans are now regarded as quite distinct, and the possession of the same totem is considered as a bar only to a slight extent. There is no restriction on marriage between two people possessing the same totem when they belong to different islands. There is no definite instance of marriage within a clan.

(ii) A man could not marry any of the following whom he calls *babat*: 1. Own sister; no case recorded. 2. Classificatory sister; only two or three very doubtful possibilities. 3. A member of the man's mother's clan; the three cases are recorded. Rivers points out that different degrees of nearness in the relationship of *babat* are recognised, and of these three cases, one is a distant relationship corresponding to that of a third cousin, while there is an element of doubt as to the relationship of the other two cases (v, p. 237). 4. A member of the man's father's mother's clan and of the same generation as himself; the four cases recorded are what we term second cousins. 5. Daughter of *babat*, this comes under 3; there may be cases of marriage between the children of distant *babat*, and there is no certain case of marriage between *babat* who are the children of own brother and sister. 6. A man and woman may be *babat* when they are children of women who are *tukoiah* (v, p. 130) to each other; there is no clear record of a marriage of this kind and certainly not of a marriage between the children of two own sisters. An artificial tie of *tukoiah* may be entered into (v, p. 131) which also involves the relationship of *babat* between the men and their sisters, and this constitutes a bar to a man marrying the sister of his *tukoiah* friend. These are the "mates" referred to in vol. v, p. 211 [something of the same kind occurs in the *henamo* bond which Seligman describes for the Mota and Koita, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, 1910, p. 69].

A man's *apu* is his mother (his stepmother is *kutapu*), and practically every woman of his mother's generation on both sides (v, p. 134). The four cases in which a man married his *apu* are given in vol. v, p. 238.

The general result of the analysis of the genealogical tables confirms the marriage regulations as stated by the natives. It certainly shows that marriages between people nearly related to one another practically never occurred, while marriages were rare between people who were even remotely related to one another. No single case occurs in Mabuiag or Badu in which marriage has taken place between own brothers and sisters, and no definite case between *babat* of the same clan. Only one case is recorded of marriage between first cousins and this is very doubtful. In those cases of marriages between people related to one another by some degree of cousinship the relationship is either very remote (third cousins or second cousins once removed) or there are extenuating circumstances.

Rivers reports (vi, p. 121) that the Miriam say a man must not marry: (i) into his father's village, his mother's village, or his father's mother's village (if any of his ancestors had been adopted he is also debarred from marrying into the village to which he would have belonged by actual descent); nor (ii) his *berbet* or his *negwam*.

(i) There is not a single case in the genealogies in which two people of the same village have married one another, nor in which a man has married into that of his father's mother. There are however six cases of marriage with the village of his mother, but there are possible explanations for these cases (vi, p. 121). The regulation concerning the mother's mother's village, if it actually existed, was not rigidly kept. It is probable that the people take into account nearness of blood relationship when considering whether a man shall marry into the village of his mother or other prohibited section of the community. We may take it for granted that while the people always talk of marrying or not into a particular village they really have the kinship tie more in their minds. Rivers says: "If we regard the people of a village as a clan, using this as a term for the social unit which forms the basis of a system of exogamy, the genealogical record shows that the regulation that a man shall not marry a member of his own clan is strictly observed".

(iii) The term *berbet* (VI, p. 94) is applied by a man to his sister, the daughter of his father's brother and to all the women of his village of the same generation as himself, and by a woman to the corresponding men of these categories.

The term *negwam* is now widely used for relatives on the mother's side, but it is also given to the child of the father's sister; probably it was primarily a term applied to one another by the children of brother and sister (the children of *berbet*). At the present time it is certainly used for the children of the mother's sister and for other relatives on the mother's side. As with other kinship terms its use came to be extended to all the members of a village belonging to the same generation.

The terms *berbet* and *negwam* are now applied so widely that there is little doubt that a man sometimes marries a woman whom he would call *negwam* in some distant way.

When marriage is prohibited with near relatives of both father and mother all traces of a dual organisation must of necessity disappear in a few generations, and as this double restriction on marriage is now present throughout Torres Straits, it is not to be expected that the genealogical record would provide any evidence for a dual arrangement even if it had at one time existed.

Rivers has shown quite clearly that although marriage is regulated by kinship, the exceptions indicate that kinsmen who are addressed by the same term are not looked upon in exactly the same way, and that the closeness or remoteness of kinship was of more importance than mere kinship terminology and was so recognised by the elders who adjudicated. On the whole there appears to have been a remarkable correspondence in practice with the recognised regulations for marriage. We have noted some apparent reasons for exceptional behaviour in a few cases, but it must always be admitted that not only in marriage regulations but in other matters there is occasional variation in a stable community since individuals may act in a manner independent of customary practice, but this tendency does not seem to be unduly strong among the islanders. Rivers says: "There seems to be no doubt that there are in the genealogical record [of Mabuiag] a certain number of cases in which the marriage laws have been disregarded. Some of these cases are recent and may be indications that the marriage system is breaking down owing to outside influences. Some of the cases are, however, of old standing, and it seems probable that the term '*babat*' has gradually come to denote so wide a circle of relatives that the marriage system has been brought to the verge of impracticability" (v, p. 240).

We have good evidence (v, pp. 222 ff.; vi, pp. 112 ff.) that in the great majority of cases a marriage takes place because the young people are attracted by one another, and it was the custom for the girls to propose marriage to the young men. There are cases in which old men marry young women, and here we may assume that it is mainly a one-sided affair.

There was a very general custom for a young man, or rather for his elders, to give a girl in exchange for the bride to the "brother" of the bride, the girl being own sister to the bridegroom or a relative to whom he applies the term *babat*, W. or *berbet*, E. The "brother" similarly need not be an own brother of the bride. This exchange of "sisters" was the usual method of obtaining a wife in Mabuiag, and if he had no *babat*, he might always remain unmarried unless he was rich enough to purchase a wife. The western natives seemed to think that the custom was connected with that of payment for the bride. This price was heavy (v, p. 230), and the necessity for paying it would be removed if a man at the time of marriage would give, or promise to give, his "sister" to the "brother" of the bride. The

exchange of "brothers" and "sisters" (v, pp. 241, 287; vi, p. 124) is an old custom (see p. 250). It may be admitted that the first of these double marriages was a love affair, but it is not probable that the second would necessarily be so.

Macgillivray says that in most cases, in Muralug, the females are betrothed in infancy, according to the will of the father, and without regard to disparity of age; thus the future husband may be, and often is, an old man with several wives (v, p. 226). This custom was apparently adopted from Australian procedure, I do not remember hearing of it among the other groups of Torres Straits.

Before a marriage of mutual attraction or of "brother-sister" exchange takes place there is a discussion among the responsible adults. Presumably in a love match the young people in most cases conform to the regulations and so no difficulty arises, but, with the following exception, we have no record of what would happen if there is a social barrier to marriage.

Difficulties sometimes arose in the case of adopted children who in most instances were kept in ignorance of their real parentage, though it was known to other members of the community (v, p. 151; vi, p. 178). I have heard that a proposed marriage was prohibited in Mer when an adopted son, ignorant of his parentage, wanted to marry a particular girl who by reason of his adoption was a suitable match, but was forbidden on account of his real parentage, which was then first revealed to him. Wilkin was told in Mabuiag (v, p. 240) that if an adopted son in ignorance wanted to marry his true sister, it was only if no other means could be found of preventing the marriage that he would be told the facts concerning his adoption.

Especially in the Western islands the husband had complete control over his wife: she was his property as he had paid for her (v, p. 229), but this did not affect his obligations to her family.

Frequently the girl's relatives more or less seriously fought the young man's relatives, but no fatalities were allowed to occur (v, pp. 223, 225; vi, pp. 112, 114).

That the marriage of a girl was considered as a loss to her family is shown by the presents given by the husband for pregnancy and on the birth of the children (v, p. 232). Thus not only was the loss of her actual work recognised, but also the theoretical loss to her group through the alienation of her offspring. This is analogous to the idea of property in trees, for when a man plants, for example, a coconut not only does he own the tree irrespective of the ownership of the land on which it grows, but he also owns the fruit in perpetuity. The essential conception of property is work done, and even the slight effort of putting a nut into the ground is all that is necessary to acquire ownership. The parents of the girl had done work in raising her and consequently they required payment for the children in exchange for the usufruct enjoyed by the husband.

In Mer there is a ceremonial presentation, *kaketut*, given by the bridegroom to his wife's relatives at a variable time after the marriage (vi, p. 118), the presents, which are not necessarily confined to food, are not regarded as marriage presents. It is obligatory that there should be a return *kaketut* by the wife's people. The custom maintains friendly relations between the two families and often helps to make them friends again after family squabbles (p. 181).

Marriage sets up mutual obligations between the two families concerned. Presents on the part of the bridegroom and assisted by his friends were given to the family of the bride (v, pp. 230-2). Bruce goes so far as to say that, in Mer, "Marriage is looked at from

a business point of view, the parents considering how much can be obtained in the way of money and goods in exchange for the bride, while the bridegroom's friends study how much land they will get out of the bride's family" (vi, p. 115). This naturally refers to recent times, formerly it was native articles of value versus land, for gardens were always of prime value to the Miriam (vi, pp. 164; U'ai's gardens, p. 168). Gardens were second only to the sea as a source of subsistence in Mabuiaġ and are now little more than objects of a more or less sentimental regard (v, p. 284), but land was given to a bride at marriage (v, pp. 286-7). At all events in Mabuiaġ, the presents might be spread over a period of several years if the bridegroom and his friends were incapable of settling at the time of the marriage.

Apparently in every case there was an exchange of valuables between the contracting parties, which were usually of approximately equal value, thus following the usual procedure of a gift always being followed by a counter-gift of equal value.

The social effects of a marriage are shown in other ways. Thus in Mabuiaġ, about which we have most information, there was a taboo on mentioning the personal names of certain relatives by marriage and even on speaking to some of them and a certain amount of mutual avoidance (v, pp. 142-4). Rivers points out that "It happened not infrequently that a man might stand to another in some other relation in addition to that through his wife. In such a case the blood relationship relieved the individuals from these disabilities".

New mutual obligations also arose. In the Western islands (we have no precise information about the Eastern islanders) the *imi* of a man (his wife's *babat*) and to a less extent his *ira* (his wife's *tati* or *apu*) had special duties on the death of the man (v, pp. 148, 248 ff.), and with fishing (v, p. 148), and in a few other circumstances. If the *ira* or the *imi* of a man took anything belonging to him, nothing would be said, but the natives seemed to lay far less stress on the custom in their case than in that of the *wadwam* (v, pp. 134, 146). The essential feature of the various customs connected with the relationship of brother-in-law (and to a less extent with the relation between a man and his wife's kin in general) is that an individual could demand certain services of anyone who stood to him in this relation. There seemed to be little doubt that the duties of *imi* were reciprocal and that a man could demand service of his sister's husband, while the latter could in return demand service of the former, his wife's brother.

Marriage results in new economic ties, new personal contacts and new friendships, not only between the contracting individuals but also among their immediate kinsfolk. Naturally friction occasionally arises, but the natives recognise that some give and take is necessary if the community is to function satisfactorily and public opinion definitely lends its support to harmonious relations.

#### DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD AND MUMMIFICATION

When a Mabuiaġ man died, it was the duty of his *imi* (roughly speaking one of the own or clan brothers of his wife; conversely, if a woman died the preparation of the corpse would fall to the *imi* of her husband; I am not clear in this case whether these were men or women) to announce the death to the immediate relatives of the dead man. The *imi* restrained the relatives when they wished to avenge the death on a sorcerer, and it was their duty to prepare the corpse and carry it to the platform or framework, *sara*. The *imi* were termed *mariget*, "spirit-hand", while they performed the mortuary rites. The mourners came to the *sara* after the corpse had been placed thereon and shot arrows at the *sara*

and at the *mariget*; after they had been comforted by the *mariget* they went away and destroyed garden produce. The *mariget* watched over the *sara* for several days to mourn and also to drive away the spirit in order that they could remove the head. The skull was cleansed and retained by them until it was formally handed over to the nearest relatives, on which occasion the mourners shot arrows at the *mariget* without harming them. A feast was then made. The other bones were collected by relatives and deposited in crevices in the rocks (v. pp. 248-51).

In Nāgir, Yam and Tutu the corpse was interred for about four days and then the skull was removed by an *imi* and cleansed and decorated by him (v. pp. 257-8).

In Muralūg and Keriri the corpse was usually placed on a platform supported on four posts, or sometimes on a platform in a tree. When decomposition set in the head was removed by the *mariget*, by whom it was cleaned, and the skull was handed over to the nearest relatives. The headless trunk, whether it happened to be dry and non-odorous or in a decaying state, might be interred and a decorated mound was raised over the grave, or it was wrapped in bark and suspended in the scrub. More or fewer of the bones might be kept in the house if they had not been buried. The widow usually carried the skull of her husband in a bag during her widowhood; bones were frequently worn by mourners (v. pp. 259-61).

An account of the disposal of the dead in Mer is given on pp. 117-27.

There were four main methods of disposal of the corpse in Torres Straits.

1. Simple interment. Probably this was more or less employed everywhere, but it was the only recorded method for the Saibailaig or western-northern islands, and for the Kulkalaig or central islanders it was certainly the most usual method. The skull was very frequently exhumed and kept.

2. Platform disposal. This was characteristic of the Malulaig or western-middle islanders and of the Kauralaig or western-southern islanders and also to some extent of the eastern islanders. The skull was usually preserved.

3. Tree disposal. This occasionally occurred among the Kauralaig, but among no other group; doubtless this was due to influence from Australia.

4. Desiccation or Mummification.

Mummification in Torres Straits, p. 321; Mummification in Australia, p. 331; in New Guinea, p. 332; in Melanesia, p. 334; Stuffed heads in New Guinea, p. 333; Carrying of dried hands, etc. in Torres Straits, New Guinea and Australia, p. 337; Effigies, p. 340; summary, p. 341.

#### *Mummification in Torres Straits*

The occurrence of mummification, or more correctly desiccation, of corpses, *and le*, in Torres Straits has created such interest that I have thought it worth while to bring all the evidence together. We know that this practice was common in the Eastern islands, but it was not performed on the majority of the dead.

References to other mummies in the Eastern islands are given in vol. vi, p. 138. The first record is that in Brockett, 1836, and this is repeated in King, 1837, p. 23, and in the *Nautical Magazine*, 1837, p. 663 (see p. 98). Bastian in a short note, "Mumien aus Australien und der Torresstrasse", *Z.f.E., Verhandl.* xii, 1880, p. 302, does not give any useful information. F. Sengstake, *Globus*, lxi, 1892, p. 248, refers to an Ērub mummy. W. W. Gill (1876, p. 217) saw several mummies in Mer in 1872. A reference to mummification in Tutu is given in vol. v, p. 258, which is a quotation from Gill (1876, p. 212), but I omitted to copy the

second half of the sentence: "The soles of the feet are taken off, as if in imitation of a pair of sandals". We are justified in assuming from this that the soles were removed for a mourner to wear, as in Mer (VI, pp. 138, 158). Gill (1876, p. 202) also records the custom of mummification in Mabuiag (Jervis Island) (v, p. 256).

MacFarlane says that it was sometimes practised on Masig (Yorke island), where the bodies of men and women alike were prepared by men at night on the spot where the burial ground now is. He thinks "that mummification (as distinct from desiccation) was confined to the eastern islands"; with regard to Masig he adds: "this may not have been the regular thing though". The practice in Tutu may very well have been borrowed from Mer as there was intercourse between those islands, but this would not explain the Mabuiag mummies recorded by Gill; I can only suggest that these were vestiges of a practice that had practically died out in the west. If this be the case it would support the hypothesis that this practice had come to the Eastern islands from the west. There is no record for the Saibailaig.

There is no evidence that the temporary drying of the corpse which was sometimes employed by the Kauralaig (v, p. 260) was for the purpose of preserving the body, for when it was non-odorous the bones were picked up from under the framework and kept in the house, or the body or the bones might be buried after desiccation: Macgillivray says the corpse was allowed to rot on the framework. Temporary desiccation was probably an ancient practice of the Western islanders. The fire at the foot of the framework was merely for the comfort of the ghost: Muralüg, Mabuiag, Nāgír (v, pp. 260, 249, 259).

Macfarlane says: "The only reason for keeping the mummified body was that the friends might have something to keep fresh the memory of the deceased—'all same photo'".

The following account of the procedure with regard to mummification at Mer was supplied to Dr R. Hamlyn-Harris by Mr J. S. Bruce (*Mem. Q. Mus.* I, 1912, p. 1). I have quoted most of it in full as it supplements what was given in vol. VI, pp. 126-30, 135-8, 140, 149.

Immediately after death and when the first death wail was finished, the body was laid out on a mat on the ground in front of the house where the person died; if a male it was nude [as in life], if a female, the petticoat was retained. "If the death took place in the daytime they kept up a subdued wailing and crying until sundown, when the old men sat down in a circle round the body and began to sing the death chant, accompanying themselves by beating on their drums. When they were finished, the relatives and mourners, who sat in an outer circle, began the wailing (E bazoli). The two parties kept on alternately with chant and wail until break of day, when green cocoanuts were distributed amongst the mourners, a sign that the wailing was finished." Then followed the Terer and Aukem episode. Terer appeared in the east and danced along the beach to the west.

The body was next removed by the relatives to a cleared space in the bush at the rear of the residence and placed on a bamboo platform, *paier*, about 8 ft. high. A fence of dried coconut leaves was erected around it as a screen. A fire was lit on one side of the platform and kept continuously alight while the body remained there, not to dry the body but for the comfort of the dead.

There were generally six attendants (relatives) appointed whose duties were to watch the body, keep the fires alight, and prepare the body for mummifying. If the deceased was a male, the attendants were all males; if a female, one-half were females. A ladder was placed for the attendants to mount on to the platform to view the body where it lay four or five days to decompose.



When it was considered to be ready for operating on [about the tenth day] it was placed upon the piece of an old canoe...and carried down to the sea. The outer skin (epidermis) was then scraped and peeled off, an incision was made with a shell in the side, and all the entrails were removed, also the testicles. The eyes were also pierced to let the liquids drip out. None of the internals were kept; they were allowed to float away with the tide. For preservation, the tongue was cut out by the root. An incision was also made round each wrist, and round each finger and nail of the hands. Then the palms of the hands with finger-nails attached were pulled off; the same was done with the soles of the feet with toe-nails attached. These were dried and worn by the widow suspended from her neck. After the body was thoroughly cleansed in the sea, it was removed to the beach and placed in a sitting posture; a cut was made at the base of the skull behind, a piece of broken arrow was inserted, and the brain removed by screwing the arrow around. The body was then stretched out at full length on the beach and pieces of dried sago-palm (which float to these islands from New Guinea) about 1 inch in diameter were placed inside the cavity of the body in positions to support it from contracting too much in the drying process. One long piece rested on the pelvis and extended to the breast-bone as a principal support; other pieces were placed in positions where it was considered necessary. When those were all placed, the cut in the side was sewn up with fine sennet, and the body was smeared all over with red ochre mixed with cocoanut oil. Cuts were made on the kneecaps and between the fingers and toes; then holes were pierced in the cuts with an arrow so as to allow the liquids to drip from them. The body was then laid out on a wooden or bamboo frame with two bars for the feet to rest upon, and other bars were fastened across the frame where the body was fixed to them with loops of sennet at the knees, hands, and shoulders; a broad plaited band passed round the forehead. The head was supported by a pin of wood, which was placed under the chin and rested on the breast-bone. This frame, with the body on it, was then taken to where the platform had been removed, and hung up on a gallows, about 12 or 14 feet high, with ropes. Some of the cross-bars extended to the gallows, where they were tied to keep the body from swinging in the wind (fig. 41). There was no screen round the gallows, it being open for anyone to view, but no one except the attendants were allowed near until the drying of the body was completed. A bunch of bananas was hung up on each side of the body, and renewed as they rotted off. A ladder was fixed up for the attendants to reach up as high as the head of the body. Twice

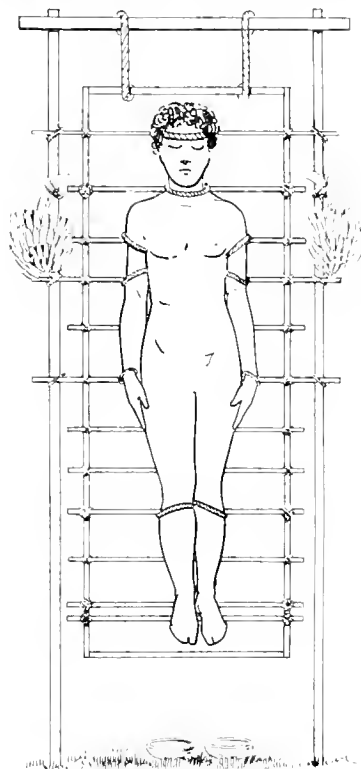


Fig. 41. Corpse on a frame which is suspended on a gallows for desiccation. After J. Bruce and Dr R. Hamlyn-Harris (1912, pl. 3).

a day they squeezed and rubbed with their hands the body downwards from the face to the feet. Two large shells were placed on the ground to receive the juices which dripped from the body.

When the body was nearly but not quite dried, it was taken down from the gallows to be decorated. Pieces of nautilus shell were placed in the eye-sockets to represent eyes. The body was all smeared again with ochre and cocoanut oil. . . . After decorating the body, it was again hung up on the gallows to complete the drying process. When it was considered to be thoroughly dried a big feast was held, and the widow was presented with the dried tongue, palms of the hands, and soles of the feet, which she wore suspended from her neck along with her other mourning trappings [VI, p. 157]. The mummified body was placed inside the bee-hive dwelling-house and fastened to the centre post. After a few years the head began to get loose and shaky; when the relatives

would decide it was time to remove it from the house, the head was taken off, placed in a particular basket (*ka*) [I do not know of any basket called *ka*, but there is a mat made of strips of pandanus leaves of that name (IV, p. 67)], and presented to the widow to take care of. The mummified body was then taken to one of the deceased's gardens and placed on a bamboo platform and left there to decay away [in vol. VI, p. 149, it should have been made clear that the wax model was made of the face, not of the head, and 'the beach', to which the body was removed, is a misprint for 'bush', cf. p. 126]. In preparing the body of a female for mummification, females dressed the lower parts of the body and prepared suitable coverings for these parts. When the body was placed on the first platform, the petticoat was removed and one made of shredded leaves of the vine called *Puar* [? *puar*, an epiphytic aroid, apparently it was used on this occasion only] was placed in front, covering from the waist to the knees. When the body was hung up on the frame to dry, an apron made of shredded banana leaves was worn in front, and a small mat made from plaited pandanus leaves worn behind. The tongue was not cut out, neither were the palms of the hands or soles of the feet stripped off. The attendants, both male and female, who prepared the bodies kept their heads wrapped up with banana leaves to protect their hair from the fumes from the time they began work until they were finished. Their food was supplied to them strung on to arrows, so that they would not require to touch the food with their hands; they gnawed it off the arrows, holding one in each hand. The bodies of very old people were not mummified; others were, if their friends felt inclined to go to the trouble, or according to the season of the year, as many feasts were held and it required a season of plenty to supply the food."

Owing to the kindness of Mr W. H. MacFarlane I am able to give an account of the ceremonies at the death of *Iu* (the father of *Pasi*) and of the disposal of his body, which supplements that given in vol. VI, p. 146. We may regard this as typical of what was done in the case of an important member of the *Malu* fraternity.

At the time his father died, *Pasi* was about two or three years old and consequently does not remember him; these particulars that *Pasi*, in the presence of old men, gave to MacFarlane would therefore be those handed down by relatives and friends.

*Iu*, who had another name, *Gamalai*, lived at *Giar pit* in *Dauar* [VI, genealogy 27], where he died. The body was taken by his cousins *Taigo* and *Maza* to *Werbadu*, on the south side of *Mer* (*Iu* was a *tamileb* of the *Malu* cult and *Taigo* and *Maza* were *kadik-ami-le*, "men wearing the *kadik*") [*Taigo* and *Madsa* (*Maza*) were the two sons of *Kawiri* (*Werbadu*, 21 A) who married *Dabagai*, the sister of *Kaisamu*, the father of *Iu*; they were thus the sons of *Iu*'s father's sister and were therefore *nequam* (VI, pp. 95, 97) to *Iu*, and vice versa]. After a night's mourning at *Werbadu* (the first night was at *Giar pit*) the three *Malu zogo le*, *Koit* [Las, 14 A], *Iski* [*Eski*; Las, 14] and *Aumet* [*Aumad* or *Tapa*, *Boged* 7, who was a brother-in-law of *Eski*] arrived from *Las* and requested that the body should be taken to *Miar*, near *Las* [this was one of the *deber utch* (good place) or cleared spaces in the bush, this one belonged to the *Piaderem le* (*Gadodo*, the son and heir of *Eski*, had a house there in 1898). We were told that *Arei* (*Zaub*, 2) and *Pasi* (*Giar pit*, 27) would be taken to *Miar* when they died, VI, pp. 145, 146]. There they sang the *Malu* dirges the following night [VI, pp. 145, 150, 151]. The next morning they took the body and placed it on a *paier* at *Kao*, on the south side of *Las* [this was either a special spot at, or another name for, *Gazir*, the most important of the *Malu* sacred places]. It remained there for a few days, then it was taken by the "last brothers" of the three *zogo le* [the younger brothers of *Koit* were *Awasi* and *Wame*, that of *Eski* was *Kamori*, and *Aumad* had no younger brother; perhaps this is some more general term. In vol. VI, p. 146, it was said that a "brother and a cousin" of *Iu* prepared the corpse, the former may have been *Zub*, but the latter cannot be

identified] to the beach, where the outer skin was loosened by rubbing, and pulled off. An incision was made in the right side with a piece of glass bottle (formerly a bamboo knife was used) and the entrails removed. A cutting at the back of the head was made with a piece of glass or a sharp shell and the brain removed with an arrow, the "brains and guts were chucked away". The cavities were filled with the pith, *bet*, of the sago palm [trunks of the sago palm drift to Mer from New Guinea]. The eyeballs were removed and replaced by pieces of *idaid* (nautilus shell). The Malu *kadik* [VI, p. 295] and other regalia were put on the body, which was again taken to the *paier*. Incisions were made in the feet (between the great and second toes), knees (below the cap), hands (between thumb and index) and at the elbows; the "grease" was allowed to drip on to the ground (in this case it was not caught in shells, as was frequently done). The body remained there until it was dry. The *zogo le* then sent "news" to the Malu people in Mer and Dauan. When the body was fully dried, the head was removed by the *zogo le* and placed in the keeping of Koit and Iski, who kept it in the house [probably the Malu *peluk* at Gazir]. The body remained on the *paier* till it "broke up". Subsequently the head was provided with a nose modelled out of black beeswax, *iso* [*isau*], and the eyes were re-furbished with shell and wax, and then was sent to Wam [Er. 18], the widow of Iu, who kept it in her house. Finally Igod, cousin to Iu, kept the head in his house until the time when the *Woodlark* came and made a raid, burning houses, etc.; both the house and the head were then destroyed [VI, p. 190]. [Egod (Igod) Dauar, 28, married Patagam (Werbadu, 21); after Iu died Egod succeeded him as *tamile* (*tamileb* or *keparem le*) to Koit. I cannot trace in the genealogies any connection between Egod and Iu or Wam.]

Dr Myers and I were told that bodies which were foul from disease and the bodies of children and of old men were often not prepared for mummification, but were taken at once to the gardens in the bush or buried close to the house (VI, p. 127). We know that young children were sometimes mummified, at all events in Ugar and Ērub (p. 327). We also state (VI, p. 145) that on the death of a *zogo le* or of a *keparem le* (VI, p. 286) the body was not taken to the sea but was taken to a *deber uteb* in the bush, where it remained until decomposition had so far advanced that the head could be removed from the body, and we add, "It must be remembered, however, that these officials of the Bomai-Malu ceremonies would usually have been old men and that it was not the custom to mummify the bodies of the aged". The more detailed account of the disposal of Iu's body states that it was kept in a special spot in the bush, but MacFarlane states that the corpse was taken to the sea, where the ordinary procedures took place. Iu's desiccated body remained on the *paier* till it mouldered away, but the skull was preserved in a dwelling-house. Iu was a *keparem le*. We may take it for granted that though the sacred men were more or less mummified, their skulls alone were sufficiently valued to be preserved. In the case of ordinary people, whether mummified or not, the skull was frequently retained.

The Rev. W. H. MacFarlane sent me the following note in 1925 on mummification in Ērub.

The body was kept till it was well-swollen and then handed over to three men who performed the rites. It was taken to the sea and the epidermis was rubbed off with their fingers. The viscera were removed through an incision made in the side of the body and the brain extracted by an arrow through a hole at the back of the head. In some cases the toe-nails were removed. Chunks of the pith of the sago palm were put inside the body to "keep him good". The big toe and the second toe were tied together. Incisions were made below the knees and in the ankles, hands, wrists and elbows. The body was placed

on a bamboo platform, *takar* [*taier*, in Mer], several feet above the ground, and a fire of coconut husks was made beneath, or the sun might be sufficient to dry it. Clam shells were placed at convenient spots to catch the drippings, the "grease", mixed with "bush medicine", was preserved for the *zogo*-man. When well dried, the body was placed inside the house and decorated with nautilus-shell eyes, the nostrils were plugged with black wax, the fruit of a palm fastened to the ears: bands of pandanus leaf encircled the forehead, waist, and ankles, the body was painted red. It was kept in the house for a long time (exactly how long it is difficult to ascertain). If a second death occurred, the first body was removed to the grove at the back of Mēdigi Bay, where the skull and jaw-bone were removed and the body buried. Women prepared the bodies of females for desiccation, and this was one of the duties of the *zogo* women.

The evidence as gathered from a study of the mummies themselves is now added.

Mr Warren R. Dawson, who has paid much attention to mummification, has written a paper, "A mummy from the Torres Straits", *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, XI, Liverpool, 1924, pp. 87-94, pls. X-XII. This mummy is now in the British Museum (Natural History) and labelled "84. 7. 21. 1. Native Mummy of a chief, Torres Straits Islands"; it was presented in 1884 by the Hon. John Douglas. The essential features are as follows:

The body is that of an adult man in a fully extended attitude fixed to a rectangular frame made of bamboo poles. . . . Although now lying horizontally it is necessary to bear in mind the attitude it assumed whilst undergoing the process of treatment, for the present state of the body, now hard and rigid, is conditioned by its former upright posture. . . . The whole body is thickly coated with red paint, except the head, which is painted black, but has a red line about 15 mm. wide running like a fillet round the head across the forehead. . . . The lower jaw. . . was originally kept shut by a string. . . . The tongue has not been excised. . . . The right orbit is filled with some dark paste (? resin) [*isau*, black beeswax of a small black bee] which is thickly laid on over the shrunken eye, and on this paste is the well-defined impression of an artificial eye, . . . a fusiform plate of mother-of-pearl, 43 by 17 mm., the pupil being a circular blob of the same dark paste [this is the ordinary artificial eye of *Nautilus naere* with a pupil of beeswax]. Both ears have been completely excised. . . . The roof of the mouth is quite intact, and there is no visible passage, either natural or artificial, through which the brain could have been extracted, unless it was removed through the nostrils in the characteristic Egyptian fashion. . . . Owing to the packing of the nostrils [with beeswax], I was unable to pass a probe up them to ascertain whether the ethmoid bone had been broken through and the nasal route used for extracting the brain. . . . As there is no incision in the neck, the brain could not have been removed through the *foramen magnum* as was sometimes done. The top of the head is either quite bald or has been closely shaved. . . . The body-cavity has been completely emptied of all viscera, both abdominal and thoracic. . . . A plug of black material (? resinous paste) is pushed into the base of the neck. Two pieces of stick, about an inch in diameter, were found in the cavity. One of these was vertical, the top, which is sharpened to a point, being level with the breast, and the bottom thrust into the left thigh. . . . The other, about nine inches in length, was thrust up the perineum through a perforation in that region. . . . From a careful examination of the damaged tissues of the back it seems fairly certain that an incision was made in either side of the vertebral column obliquely from the crest of the ileum to the posterior costal margin. Two large oval wounds were thus made in the back and left gaping after the viscera had been excised. . . . It must have been through these openings that the stick, which was thrust upwards through the perineum, was adjusted and pressed downward in a different direction into the thigh, after the removal of the viscera. The epidermis was not removed, and is present in every part of the body. . . . The feet were submitted to several manipulations. The nails were all carefully removed, the skin round each nail being sharply and cleanly cut, paint afterwards being applied to the whole of the foot and smeared over these cuts and the sites of the nails [the

hands appear to have been treated in a similar manner]. A fusiform incision 32 mm. in length was made, parallel with the sole, in each foot on the inner side, below, and slightly in front of the ankle. The sole of the left foot is intact, but in the right sole is an accidental breakage, through which we can see that the lower part of the foot was stuffed through the incision with some kind of fibrous matter. . . . The feet are plump and less shrunken than the rest of the body, the packing accounting for this condition. Between the great toe and its neighbour, on the *upper* surface of each foot, about 10 mm. from the angle, is a fusiform incision, 17 mm. long."

In the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, xx, 1927, p. 832, Mr W. R. Dawson gives "Contributions to the History of Mummification", and on p. 850 describes an unrecorded specimen from Torres Straits. The mummy is of a male infant, probably between twenty-four and thirty months old. It is in the usual position on a *paier*. "The nails are all *in situ* (it was usual to remove those of male adults) [but we are told that this was not always done], and the usual incisions have not been made in the hands and feet." The painting and artificial eyes are as in other cases.

"The nostrils have not been plugged as was customary with adults. . . . The brain has been extracted through an oval incision 38 by 14 mm. in the upper part of the back of the neck, a little to the right of the vertebral column, and a hole made in the occipital bone, which owing to the infantile thinness, presented no obstacle. No attempt has been made to close the opening, nor to plug it. The viscera have been removed through a vertical incision 47 mm. long in the left flank midway between the iliac crest and the costal margin. It has been closely sewn up with fine string. It is difficult to understand how the evisceration was accomplished through so small an aperture, for the operator's hand, armed with a knife, had to be inserted into the body cavity in order to sever the organs from their connections. We know that in some countries male operators were employed to embalm the bodies of men, and female operators those of women. Are we to see in this the logical conclusion that in Torres Straits children were employed to embalm the bodies of infants? The aperture is only large enough to admit the hand of a small child."

This mummy was presented to the Royal College of Surgeons in 1900 by the Corporation Museum of Leicester; Osteological Catalogue, No. 1188-1.

The following comparison of the eight known specimens is based on that given by Mr Dawson:

1. A specimen from Ērub, formerly in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, London. This was brought in 1872 from Ērub by M. Charles Lemaistre, Captain of the French barque *Victorine*. It was found in a vertical position in a round house. Around it and on the ground were some broken shells, bones of fishes, and a few human skulls (Sir W. Flower, *J.A.I.* VIII, 1879, p. 389, pl. xi; Dawson, pl. xii, fig. 2; Reports, vi, p. 137; Elliot Smith, 1915, p. 93).

2, 3. Two mummies of children from Ugar, in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (vi, p. 137, pl. XVIII, figs. 1, 2; Dawson, pl. xi, figs. 2, 3; Elliot Smith, 1915, p. 96).

4, 5. Mummies of a woman and man from Ugar, in the Queensland Museum, Brisbane (Dr Hamlyn-Harris, *Mem. Q. Mus.* i, 1912, p. 1, pl. 2; Dawson, pl. xii, fig. 1). The only information given by Dr Harris is that they were said to have been brought from Ugar (Stephen Island) by the late Mr W. F. Petterd of Launceston, Tasmania and donated by Sir A. H. Palmer, K.C.M.G., then Acting Governor of Queensland. He adds: "The only reference to these two specimens seems to be in Edge Partington and Heap's *Ethnographical Album* (3rd Series, p. 94), in which their country of origin is said to be Murray Island. . . . The Queensland Museum mummies measure 5 ft. 4 in. (male) and 5 ft. 5½ in. (female) respectively, and on the whole are in a good state of preservation. . . . The bodies

show clearly that no incision was made in the sides to extract the viscera...the viscera evidently having been removed from an opening created by the removal of the anus and its attendant parts...a fairly large piece of wood had been inserted into the body cavity according to custom". The present Director of the Queensland Museum, Mr Heber A. Longman, has very kindly lent me the original blocks, which I reproduce on pl. VII. He with Dr C. Gillies confirms the absence of any lateral incision. The finger nails and toe nails are intact.

6. A specimen (unpublished) in the Macleay Museum, Sydney (cf. G. Elliot Smith, *The Migrations of Early Culture*, 1915, p. 21; W. R. Dawson, pl. xi, fig. 1).

7. The specimen in the British Museum (Natural History), South Kensington (W. R. Dawson, *J.L.L.*, XI, 1924, p. 87, pl. x).

8. Mummy of a child in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, London (W. R. Dawson, *P.R. Soc. Med.*, xx, 1927, p. 850, fig. 11).

All the specimens agree in the following respects:

- (a) Being tied to a bamboo frame, *paier*.
- (b) Painted red on the body and black on the head.
- (c) Artificial eyes.
- (d) A red band painted on the forehead.

No. 1 has been eviscerated through an incision in the right flank, and Nos. 3 and 8 in the left flank, the incisions being sewn up with string. No. 7 has two such incisions in the back as well as a perforation in the perineum; Nos. 4 and 5 were disembowelled from the perineum. There is no information about Nos. 2 and 6. Inside the body cavity are sticks (No. 7) a large piece of wood (Nos. 4, 5), and pieces of very soft wood or pith are recorded in Nos. 1, 2. Mr Dawson says (p. 92): "These sticks were evidently used in conformity with a tradition, for they fulfil no purpose." This may apply to No. 7, but from the evidence given on p. 323 and VI, p. 136 the pith was doubtless inserted to prevent too much shrinkage and perhaps to act as an absorbent. Mr Dawson adds, "The erect attitude of the body made it needless to pack the cavity, for the skin would not fall in as would be the case in a mummy whose normal position was horizontal; nor are enough pieces used to accomplish this end even if it had been intended. Again, the wood was useless for the purpose of consolidating the mummy, since it required no such support when tied on the framework. The position of one of the sticks in B.M. [No. 7] furnishes a clue. In the XXIst Dynasty in Egypt, the limbs were packed with material to plump them out into a life-like form, and sticks must have been used to push this material down the arms and legs. The stick in B.M. is driven down the thigh, and hence I conjecture, and in this Prof. Elliot Smith concurs, that when the Egyptian custom, perhaps a bit modified, reached the Torres Straits, the stick was remembered though its proper function had been forgotten." Flower says that the place of the viscera in his specimen "was occupied by four pieces of very soft wood, roughly split from the interior of some endogenous tree, each being from 12 to 15 inches long" (*l.c.*, p. 391). Mr Dawson's explanation is more ingenious than convincing, and it is strange that he does not refer to Mr Bruce's distinct statement (which he must have read) that pieces of dried sago-palm were placed inside the cavity of the body in position to support it from contracting too much in the drying process (*Mem. Q. Mus.* I). Further confirmation of this is found in MacFarlane's remark that chunks of pith of the sago palm were put inside the body to "keep him good", i.e. to preserve the form (p. 325).

"The custom of painting the head black and the body red, and of tracing a band across the brows, together with the use of artificial eyes, were all adopted by the embalmers in Egypt during the XXIst Dynasty. At this time also the practice of stuffing was introduced. Incisions were made in the hands and feet for packing purposes (and incidentally for drainage also) and in other parts of the body. In the Torres Straits all these remarkable features are found. The foot incisions are made between the great and second toes *on the upper surface of the foot*, in all the Torres Straits specimens, in a position which *precisely* corresponds to that made in the XXIst Dynasty Egyptian mummies. B.M., as already mentioned, has additional incisions in the sides of the feet, through which packing material was actually introduced, and the idea of packing has survived, as suggested above, in the presence of the sticks. Had the foot incisions been made purely for drainage purposes, the obvious position for them would be on the soles instead of on the upper surface of the feet" (Dawson, p. 93).

Mr Dawson is scarcely correct in saying that in all the Torres Straits specimens the foot incisions are made on the upper surface between the great and second toes. There is no evidence with regard to Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6; Mr Dawson says that "the usual incisions have not been made in the hands and feet" of No. 8; so we are reduced to one specimen, No. 7. On looking at the photographs of the mummies on their *paier*, which was in a vertical position when manipulated (VI, pp. 126, 136) with the toes pointing downwards, it will be seen that a spot between the toes or even slightly above them would afford better drainage than an incision in the sole. The information gathered by Myers and myself, J. Bruce and MacFarlane proves that incisions were made between the toes (probably only between the great and second toes) and in various parts of the limbs for drainage purposes and usually the drippings were carefully caught in large shells (pp. 323, 326; VI, pp. 136, 148). We know that on occasions this "grease" was mixed with food and eaten, and it is probable that this was done more frequently than the natives liked to admit.

Mr Dawson notes that No. 7 is unique in having the ears ablated and is likewise alone in retaining the epidermis. He adds: "It is stated by Dr Hamlyn Harris that the skin was cut round the tip of each finger and the skin, with the nail attached, was pulled off. [The original statement is given on p. 323. Dr Harris says nothing about the fingers and toes of his two specimens (Nos. 4, 5); as a matter of fact, judging from the photographs all the nails are preserved. Mr H. A. Longman informs me that 'there are evidences of the preservation of part of the nails on both fingers and toes'.] The Egyptians likewise paid special attention to the nails, and took care to affix, with thread or wire wound round the fingers and toes, the thimbles of skin with the nails attached, in order that when the epidermis peeled off in the salt-bath the nails should not be lost. . . . Here again, the traditional treatment of the nails survives, but is reversed in practice, for the Torres Straits embalmers took as much care to remove the nails as the Egyptians did to retain them." Mr Dawson was really referring to Mr Bruce's account, but did not appreciate its significance. What was actually done in Mer. in the case of certain males, was to preserve the nails with the palmar skin of the fingers together with the palms, and the same was done with the feet, that the widow might wear them. The palms and the soles were not stripped off in the case of women. A transcription of Mr Bruce's remarks is given on p. 323. MacFarlane says that in some cases the toe-nails were removed; they are in situ in No. 8.

There are variations in the accounts regarding the removal of the brain. Flower says of No. 1: "The brain cannot have been removed, for the walls of the orbits and nasal chambers were intact, and it would not seem possible to extract it through the foramen magnum without greater external damage than the body had sustained. . . . Except the

wound in the flank, there was no other opening or injury to the skin". He also says "the tongue, hyoid, and larynx had all been removed through the mouth, as no remains of these parts were found". The brain was removed through a hole in the occiput in No. 8, but could not have been removed through the foramen magnum in No. 7, though it may have been by the nostrils. There is no information regarding Nos. 2-6. It is strange that all the accounts derived directly from the natives of what was done agree in stating that the brain was removed by an incision in the back of the neck, as in No. 8, and the foramen magnum, explicitly in vi. p. 136 and implicitly in other accounts.

Mr Dawson has adopted the point of view first promulgated by Prof. G. Elliot Smith, whose original statement is here given.

G. Elliot Smith (*The Migrations of Early Culture*, 1915, pp. 21 ff.) says:

"When I examined the mummy from Torres Straits in the Macleay Museum (University of Sydney), and studied the literature relating to the methods employed by the embalmers in that region, I was convinced, from my knowledge of the technical details used in mummification in ancient Egypt that these Papuan mummies supplied us with the most positive demonstration of the Egyptian origin of the methods employed. Moreover, as they revealed a series of very curious procedures, such as were not invented in Egypt until the time of the New Empire, and some of them not until the XXIst Dynasty, it was evident that the cultural wave which carried the knowledge of these things to the Torres Straits could not have started on its long course from Egypt before the ninth century B.C., at the earliest.

"The incision for eviscerating the body was made in the flank, right or left, or in the perineum—the two sites selected for making the embalming incision in Egypt; the flank incision was made in the precise situation (between costal margin and iliac crest) which was distinctive of XXIst and XXIInd Dynasty methods in Egypt; and the wound was stitched up in accordance with the method employed in the case of the cheaper kinds of embalming at that period. When the flank incision was not employed an opening was made in the perineum, as was done in Egypt—the second method mentioned by Herodotus—in the case of the less wealthy people.

"The viscera, after removal, were thrown into the sea, as, according to Porphyry and Plutarch, it was the practice in Egypt at one time to cast them into the Nile.

"The body was painted with a mixture containing red-ochre, the scalp was painted black, and artificial eyes were inserted. These procedures were first adopted (in their entirety) in Egypt during the XXIst Dynasty, although the experiments leading up to the adoption of these methods began in the XIXth.

"But most remarkable of all, the curiously inexplicable Egyptian procedure for removing the brain, which in Egypt was not attempted until the XVIIIth Dynasty—i.e. until its embalmers had had seventeen centuries experience of their remarkable craft—was also followed by the savages of the Torres Straits!

"Surely it is inconceivable that such people could have originated the idea or devised the means for practising an operation so devoid of meaning and so technically difficult as this! The interest of their technique is that the Torres Straits operators followed the method originally employed in Egypt (in the case of the mummy of the Pharaoh Ahmes I), which is one requiring considerable skill and dexterity, and not the simpler operation through the nostrils which was devised later.

"The Darnley Islanders also made a circular incision through the skin of each finger and toe, and having scraped off the epidermis from the rest of the body, they carefully peeled off these thimbles of skin, and presented them to the deceased's widow.

"This practice is peculiarly interesting as an illustration of the adoption of an ancient Egyptian custom in complete ignorance of the purpose it was intended to serve. The ancient Egyptian embalmers (and, again, those of the XXIst Dynasty) made similar circular incisions around the fingers and toes, and also scraped off the rest of the epidermis; but the aim of this strange procedure



was to prevent the general epidermis, as it was shed (which occurred when the body was steeped for weeks in the preservative brine bath), from carrying the finger- and the toe-nails with it. A thimble of skin was left on each finger and toe to keep the nail *in situ*; and to make it doubly secure, it was tied on with string or fixed with a ring of gold or a silver glove.

"In the Torres Straits method of embalming the brine bath was not used; so the scraping off of the epidermis was wholly unnecessary. In addition, after following precisely the preliminary steps of this aimless proceeding, by deliberately and intentionally removing the skin-thimbles and nails they defeated the very objects which the Egyptians had in view when they invented this operation!

"An elaborate technical operation such as this which serves no useful purpose and is wholly misunderstood by its practitioners cannot have been invented by them. It is another certain proof of the Egyptian origin of the practice."

*Mummification in Australia, New Guinea and Melanesia*

(a) *Australia.*

Mr Warren R. Dawson (*J.R.A.I.* LVIII, 1928, p. 115, pl. viii) gives an account of "Mummification in Australia and in America" from which the following is taken. "Mummification in various forms has a wide range in Northern Australia, extending throughout Queensland and reaching as far south as Adelaide." After stating that the painting and decorating of the Torres Straits mummies was "to impart a life-like appearance to the corpse, and to render it a fitting abode for the spirit" [but for this there is no evidence], he adds:

The Australians had no such motives: their main object was to preserve the body in as portable a form as possible. . . and they therefore flexed it sharply and bound it into a compact bundle. In some districts the viscera were removed through an incision in the left flank, and the body was placed on a rough platform, built of poles and covered with a roof of boughs and grasses. The methods of the Torres Straits had some influence upon corpses treated in this manner, for the body was decorated and adorned during its sojourn on the platform. It was then desiccated and doubled up, ligaments of cane, net, or cord being drawn tightly about it, so as to compress it into the smallest possible compass. There are many variant methods of treating the body, and some account of these will be found in Dr Roth's memoir [North Queensland Ethnography Bull. No. 9, "Burial customs and disposal of the dead", *Rec. Austral. Mus. Sydney*, vi, 1907, pp. 365 ff.].<sup>1</sup>

It is evident that some of these practices are degraded forms of mummification. Such, for instance, is the method of unleshing the skeleton by provisional burial, and then arranging the bones and binding them up in a sheet of bark-cloth to simulate the bodies prepared by desiccation. . . the body was disinterred and packed before decomposition had entirely destroyed the ligaments. . . . A fuller study, however, of Australian burial customs reveals some remarkable features that seem unmistakably to betray an external origin.

(a) Mummification was practised even when the corpse was destined for cremation or some other form of destruction. . . [this] suggests that the custom was borrowed and followed as a mere ritual practice that had neither a utilitarian purpose to serve, nor could it have been prompted by the motives that originally gave rise to the art of embalming—*i.e.* to preserve the corpse indefinitely from decay, and perpetuate the identity of the individual.

(b) Elaborate pains were often taken to remove the whole of the epidermis from the body, although the body was subsequently dismembered or burnt. [Roth reports the removal of the cuticle at Bloomfield and Lower Tully rivers.]

<sup>1</sup> Dr Walter E. Roth says that on the Lower Tully river, North Queensland [18° 1' S., 146° E.], desiccation is "practised only in the case of very distinguished males. . . after being disembowelled and dried by fire on a grid or platform, the corpse is tied up and carried about for months. On the Russell river, this desiccation process appears to be highly developed, the 'mummy' being ornamented" (*l.c.* p. 393). Occasionally on the eastern coast a woman's corpse may be wrapped up in bark and carried around for months from camp to camp (*l.c.* p. 398).

(c) The body, during its treatment, was laid upon a roof-covered platform. . . . The use of the covered platform on which the body was placed during its treatment and desiccation has a wide geographical distribution. The late Dr Rivers held the view that "exposure of the dead on platforms is only a survival of preservation in a house". I think, however, that we may go further, and look for its origin in Egypt. . . . It is, therefore, suggestive in the highest degree that the use of funerary biers, with or without roofed platforms, is a survival of the Egyptian embalmer's kiosk.

(d) The body was painted with red ochre, and an attempt was sometimes made to give a life-like appearance to the face by painting the shrunken eyes.

Again reference is made to Egypt. It is straining the point to say, "All the Torres Straits mummies have artificial eyes exactly resembling those of the Twenty-first Dynasty mummies of Egypt", who inserted "under the eyelids artificial eyes made of white stone, with an inlay of black stone to represent the iris". The article should be consulted for further details, references and hypotheses. Cf. *Man*, 1929, Nos. 12 and 30. An exhaustive study by D. F. Thomson on mummification in North Queensland is not yet published.

We do not know for certain, but it is probable that the motive for the preservation of convenient portions of the body of a relative was one of affection, alike for the Australians and for the Torres Straits islanders.

If, as is probable, the idea of preservation in Torres Straits came from outside, it is equally probable that the same holds good for Australia; this problem is discussed later.

(b) *New Guinea*.

D'Albertis (II, p. 100, pl. p. 101) discovered in 1876 on the Palmer river, just below where it is joined by the Tully river, a circular platform about 8 ft. high built round an old lopped tree-trunk and protected by a large mushroom-shaped roof of leaves. The platform was covered with a thick layer of leaves and on it lay two large bundles of leather-like bark.

The packages were tightly and securely bound with rattan and looked like mummies. . . . On opening the first, I found the entire body of a woman. The bones were in great part covered with the dried skin, almost intact. It was of a uniform red colour. . . . I think that the flesh had been removed before the body was preserved, leaving only the skin. . . . The thighs were doubled up on the chest so that the knees touched the chin, the legs lay straight along the thighs, the arms were placed across the chest, with the hands on a level with the chin. . . . The body was not lying on the bark of which the bundle was composed, but on a soft layer of palm-leaves. The other bundle contained the skeleton of a man, entirely denuded of flesh and skin. . . . The skeleton of the man was not in the same position as that of the woman, but stretched out straight, the arms at the sides. The skeleton rested on a layer of leaves, like that of the woman. In neither case was there any other object. . . . The bundles being too large for stowage on board the little "Neva", I abandoned the idea of removing them, but I placed the bones in two bags and sent them on board.

He left a number of presents "in a little cabin near the shore, so as to compensate the natives, after a fashion, for my sacrilegious theft". [The remains of the woman must have looked very like the mummy from Trinity bay, Queensland, figured by Hamlyn-Harris, *Mon. Q. Mus.*, I, 1912, pl. 4 and copied by Dawson, *J.R.A.I.* LVIII, 1928, pl. viii, fig. 1; but in this specimen the knee-caps of the dead man had been removed.]

Beaver (1920, p. 152) refers to the people of Lake Murray in the angle of the Fly and the Strickland rivers as having mummified bodies laid out on platforms in the villages, and he also saw stuffed human heads. In *Man*, 1923, are papers, Nos. 18, 19, 20, by E. Baxter

Riley, Leo Austen, and myself, describing stuffed human heads from Dorro, a village somewhere between the head of the Mai Kussa river and the Fly; Karigara, a district about 142° E. long. and 8° 30' S. lat.; and Lake Murray and adjoining areas. So far as is known they are found on the middle Fly and lower Strickland from about 7° S. lat. to Evrill Junction, and also one degree farther south and west of the Fly. These are so fully described and illustrated in these papers that nothing further need be said, except that a median cut is made in the skin of the back of the neck and head, the skull removed, cleaned, and the brain extracted; all the flesh is scraped off the skin, the skull is replaced, and a packing of coconut fibre and teased bark of the *ti* tree is inserted and the slit sewn up; the mouth and orbits are plugged with white clay. It is then placed on a framework over a fire to be cured. Finally it is decorated in various ways. The lower jaw may be retained in order to hang it up in the house as a permanent trophy.

Leo Austen states that the Karigara cut off the arm of the dead enemy midway between the elbow and shoulder, the flesh up to the wrist, the bones are taken out, and the hand is left intact with nothing but the skin of the arm attached to it. After the skin has been properly cleaned of all flesh, it is stuffed like the heads and the end sewn up with rattan. It is then dried over the fire. The Karigara state that none of the flesh of the heads or arms is eaten; it is always thrown away. Among the Karigara stuffed heads are not used in dances, but the stuffed arms are held in the hands when dancing. The head of a friend or tribesman is not stuffed, but the whole body is buried in the extended position on its back with the head to the setting sun.

The Marind-anim of south Netherlands New Guinea decapitate the heads of enemies and stuff them but not the neck; the hair is retained, the faces are painted red and black. There is not the great distortion of the face as occurs in the middle Fly (P. Wirz, II, iii, 1925, p. 59, pl. 8, figs. 1-3). H. G. Beasley illustrates a dried head (*Man*, 1932, No. 324).

Mr A. B. Newcombe saw skulls in some houses "and in one a complete body dried and wrapped in leaves" in the upper valley of the Tiveri, and affluent of the Lakekamu which rises at Mount Lawson (*A.R.* 1912-13, p. 38).

Chinnery was told that among the Aiga tribe, Opi river, Kumusi Division, "the corpse was formerly placed on a platform over a smoking fire, incisions were made to aid the escape of fluid, which, as it fell was, in some cases, rubbed into the bodies of the mourners. Later the smoke-dried corpse was wrapped in bark-cloth and kept on a platform until certain rites were performed, when it was buried in the village within a small fenced enclosure under a roof of palm leaves".

He was also told that on the north side of the Wharton range "the body was allowed to dry in the sun and mourners stood beneath and anointed themselves with fat which dropped from it. The skulls were afterwards kept in the houses, and on feasting occasions, painted and decorated as in life, were held by dancers during the ceremonies" (*J.R.A.I.* XLIX, 1919, p. 282).

Dr W. G. Lawes says of the Koiari, who live in the mountainous country inland of Port Moresby, that the corpse of an important man is not buried, but after a few weeks it is placed on a platform up a tree in an exposed position. A fire is lit underneath and what with the smoke and the rays of the sun the body soon becomes perfectly dry. He saw one or two with the knees tied up as when sitting. When they have become thoroughly dry and fall to pieces, the bones are wrapped up in a bundle and hung in the house where the man lived, or in a tree close by (*J.A.I.* VIII, 1879, p. 375).

According to Gill, "the Koiari treat their dead after this fashion. A fire is kept burning day and night at the head and feet for months. The entire skin is removed by means of the thumb and forefinger, and the juices plastered all over the face and the body of the operator (parent, husband, or wife of the deceased). The fire gradually desiccates the flesh, so that little more than the skeleton is left" (Chalmers and Gill, 1885, p. 307).

The nearest approach to desiccation in the Massim district that I have been able to find is that recorded by A. M. Campbell (*A.R.* 1900-1, p. 75) and noted by W. E. Armstrong (*Rossel Island*, Cambridge, 1928, pp. 104, 216). Campbell found in one house the body of a man carefully wrapped up in native mats and dried grass, etc. strung up to the beams supporting the roof, while another corpse was lying in a hole in the ground underneath the house. No earth had been thrown on it, only some dried grass and leaves covered the body, and a few canoe planks had been placed over the hole. There was no offensive smell from either of the bodies, although there could be no doubt that they had been there for some time.

"In some parts of Geelvink Bay...for example, on the south coast of the island of Jobi or Jappen and elsewhere the corpses are reduced to mummies by being dried on a bamboo stage over a slow fire; after which the mummies, wrapt in cloth, are kept in the house, being either laid along the wall or hung from the ceiling. When the number of these relics begins to incommode the living inmates of the house, the older mummies are removed and deposited in the hollow trunks of ancient trees. In some tribes who thus mummify their dead the juices of corruption which drip from the rotting corpse are caught in a vessel and given to the widow to drink, who is forced to gulp them down under the threat of decapitation" (J. G. Frazer, *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead*, 1, London, 1913, p. 313, from A. Gonswaard and J. L. van Hasselt).

According to Krieger (1899, p. 398) the Arfak and other mountain tribes in the hinterland of Geelvink bay formerly did not bury their dead in the earth, but left the bodies on a high platform erected for the purpose and dried them by means of a fire put underneath, but now these tribes almost always bury their dead, generally in the neighbourhood of their houses, and food is put on the graves for two months. It is only rarely that they hang the corpses in the houses. Formerly they caught the exudations from the decaying corpse in vessels placed underneath (this custom was reported for the Kei Islands by Capt. C. Webster, in 1896) and they made the widow drink the fluid by threatening her with death if she refused. The bodies of slaves were either cast at Geelvink bay into the sea or else left on the ground for dogs and pigs to devour.

(c) *Melanesia*.

Parkinson (1907, p. 275) states that a Methodist missionary told him that in the district of the Rossel mountains in central New Ireland, the body is placed in a sitting position and is then not only rubbed with coral-lime but is packed with powdered lime and bound round with leaves. This bundle is then placed in the hut on the cross beam under the roof. His informant told him that he had seen such a package only a few days old and that no cadaveric odour came from it. He has also seen several in native huts, some of which had been there for a whole series of years and were consequently covered with a thick crust of dust and soot.

According to Codrington (1891, p. 261) at Saa in Malaita or Mala ("Malanta") in the Solomon Islands, "If a very great man dies, or a man much beloved by his son, the body

is hung up in his son's house, either in a canoe or enclosed in the figure of a sword-fish, *ili*. Very favourite children are treated in the same way". The figure of the sword-fish is cemented and no smell whatever proceeds from it. "If the body is put into a canoe they make fine raspings or chippings of a certain tree to spread under and above it, and lay over that certain large leaves, and planks above all. The canoe is not closed over with cement, but there is very little smell. Sometimes the corpse is kept in this way for years, either in the house or in the *oha*, public canoe-house, waiting for a great funeral feast (a similar custom was observed by Mr Forbes at Timor, *Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago*, p. 435). When a year of good crops arrives a man will say, 'Now we will take out Father'." The body of a chief is taken to the family burying-place but that of an inferior person to the common burial-ground. The skull and jaw-bone are kept as they are *saka*, hot with spiritual power, and by means of these, the powerful ghost of the man, whose relics these are, can be obtained.

Dr C. E. Fox in his most valuable book on San Cristoval (*The Threshold of the Pacific*, 1924) makes it quite clear that of the numerous methods of disposing of a corpse all, except those noted below, were concerned with the rapid removal of the soft parts, so that the bones and especially the skull might be recovered, but this was obviously impossible when the body was buried at sea, or thoroughly cremated, but in the case of a chief the head was protected so that it would not be burnt and could be preserved afterwards (p. 228).

In canoe-burial.

"The canoe was lifted up on trestles 12 or 15 feet from the ground and slung between two tall poles, over a small *heo* [a mound of earth with a flat top] about 4 feet high: there was a *hera* [an oblong cleared space] to the east with an *oha* [canoe-house] and a house for the guardian of the *heo*. It was only for *araha* [the clan of the chiefs, pp. 296-300, 350-70; "Burial: always extended, and always exposed; not interred: usually the skull preserved. Burial on the *heo* and embalming are traditionally connected with the *Araha*", p. 298]. The body was washed and put into the canoe, in which was a bed of shavings of *o'a* wood, and liquid from wrung-out *o'a* shavings: over the body more shavings were wrung out and heaped up, leaving the face exposed. The body was sometimes painted with turmeric, and kept fresh for some time, allowing relatives from distant villages to view the dead" (p. 225). On p. 363 we find "Karaoa, a kind of embalming, is used in their [the *Araha*] case, and is associated with burial in a canoe called *ahaaha* ['high, lofty']. The viscera are removed and replaced by certain vegetable preparations... They paint the corpse, and the stone statue into which the ghost goes". "Sometimes bodies put in *hohoto* [a long shallow trough] were embalmed" (p. 225).

"People placed in caves were sometimes embalmed differently. Two incisions were made on the right side, one under the armpit and one below the ribs; the viscera were taken out and buried, and the inside of the body was stuffed with *o'a* shavings. Lime was then apparently placed over the incisions and fire applied close to these. The body was placed in a limestone cave far up on the hills. People asked to be treated in this way so that 'their bowels might not come out through their mouth.' I am told there is a body so embalmed 70 years ago in a cave in the far interior, and that it is still in perfect condition... These limestone caves are, of course, exceedingly dry. This form of embalming is called *tahamae*. The body is afterwards wrapped in pandanus mats *ha'u*, or in the heated and softened bark of *gaha*, *doru*, or *marabare'o* trees" (pp. 225-6).

From the foregoing it is evident that the *karaoa* method of embalming was for temporary purposes only: the *tahamae* process was intended to be more permanent. There are supposed to be two souls: the *aunga*, the peaceable and good part of a man (compared to a reflection), went out finally at death on its long road to Maraba. The *adaro*, the malicious and trouble-

some part (compared to a shadow), did not leave the body till the flesh came away, not at all finally till the tenth day. "*Mena* [= *mana* of elsewhere] still attached to the *adaro*, and therefore it was useful to keep it as an ally and provide it with a home. This was done in a variety of ways: it was housed in (1) the skull, (2) a stone statue or stone head, (3) a stone, preferably round, or merely a block of stone, (4) an animal, fish, reptile, or bird, (5) a tree." The *annya* does not seem to possess *mena* (pp. 230 ff.).

In Santa Cruz an ordinary man is buried in his house and a sacrificial feast is made on the fifth day and in the case of a chief again on the tenth day. A chief is painted all over with [red] ochre and put in the men's house and a roll of feather money is laid on him. The men's house may not be used again (Speiser, 1913, p. 295). Speiser tells me that he is "of the firm conviction that the bodies of chiefs are left in the houses to decay and *not* to be preserved".

According to Speiser (1913, p. 269) at Gana (Santa Maria), Banks Islands, the male dead are placed in the hut on a raised bed under which a very smoky fire is kept burning. Widows and near relatives must sleep beside the decomposing corpse. After 200 days, when the body is for the most part putrified, the hollow bones are collected and worked into arrow tips, the rest are put in a basket and buried or exposed in the roots of a fig tree. Formerly the skulls of the especially loved dead were carried about in a basket and made to share in every feast. Speiser could not discover in the Banks Islands a definite ancestor cult as occurs in the New Hebrides, but formerly it must have occurred there.

In certain parts of [Espiritu] Santo, New Hebrides, the bodies are placed in old canoes and straightway buried; sometimes they put the corpse on a raised bed and make a fire beneath until it is dried (Dr A. Hagen and Lieut. A. Pineau, *Rev. d'Ethnoogr.* VII, 1888, p. 332).

Speiser (1923, p. 305) says that in west Santo the men of the lower grades are buried in their huts as in east Santo. The men of the higher *Sukwe* grades used to be laid in their huts on a low bench under which a strongly smoking fire was lit. When the body was decomposed the women plucked off the flesh until the bones were clean. Some bones were kept to make points of weapons, the rest were buried near the men's house. In south Santo the bodies of common men, as in the north, are left lying in the huts and remain there till they fall into decay, their wives have to sleep near the body, weapons are made from the bones and the huts are abandoned. Men of higher grades are put on a low platform, food is put into their mouth, and a fire lighted underneath. The mourners allow drippings from the corpse to fall on the food which they eat. Weapons are made of the bones, the skull is buried in the hut and covered with a thick layer of cocopalms leaves, and the hut is abandoned.

On Ambrym, "At death the body of the chief, after the wailing is over, is placed on a frame inside the hut, and a slow fire kindled beneath. . . . As soon as the period of mourning is past, the entrance is closed, and the hut and its owner's body left to decay" (R. Lamb, *Saints and Savages*, 1905, p. 118).

When, as in the Banks Islands and the New Hebrides, the body is placed on a frame inside the hut and a slow fire kindled underneath, and the body is left to decay, it seems evident that the keeping of a fire burning near the corpse was done from several motives, such as making the dead man warm and comfortable, to keep flies away by means of the smoke, to modify the odour, or to prevent too rapid deliquescence, but not with the object of the permanent preservation of the body. So far as we know at present, throughout

Melanesia no means are known or taken to preserve the body for an indefinite period after death, with the exceptions noted below. Commenting on the foregoing, Dr Speiser wrote to me: "Certainly not all fumigation of corpses is meant to preserve the body; as you say, driving away flies, warming the dead, are important motives. Generally the treatment of the corpse is interrupted as soon as the decomposition of the body is evident, i.e. when it is clear that the man has now *really* died. The limit between this treatment and the desire for real preservation of the body is therefore not a sharp one, and one has cases when one does not know if it is simply a preservation of the corpse until the departure of the soul (real death) or the abortive attempt of permanent preservation".

Martin Johnson (*Cannibal-land*, London, 1922, p. 156) describes a method of preserving the heads of relatives in Tomman Island, Malekula. The head is first soaked in a mixture that hardened the skin, then it was held over a fire and smoked until the fat was rendered out and the tissues were thoroughly dried; after it had been smeared with clay it was again baked for some hours. This took about a week of constant work, but for a year it had to be again smoked at intervals. The bodies of great chiefs were dried and the joints smeared with clay to keep the limbs from falling apart; the corpse was continually turned in the smoke of a smouldering fire until it was a shrivelled mummy, the limbs were painted in gay colours and pigs' tusks substituted for the feet. This information requires verification. The Malekulan effigies, *rambaramp*, are made-up figures and certainly are not "mummies" (A. B. Deacon, *Malekula*, 1934, p. 544), though whether they serve the same purpose as mummies is another matter.

Glaumont (*Rev. d'Ethnog.* VII, 1889, p. 128) gives a brief account of "Mummification or Embalmment" in New Caledonia. This was then still practised by some tribes of the interior and had only ceased a few years before at Belep; it was performed on chiefs only. Immediately after death the body of a chief is punctured all over and the juices of certain plants introduced in the punctures to prevent decomposition of the tissues. The body was then suitably desiccated or smoked and afterwards painted red and black, and thus was indefinitely preserved. A hole was made at the top of the hut, through which the mummy was hoisted. The people on seeing it gave forth yells of terror. After a certain time of this exhibition the body was withdrawn into the house, which was carefully closed, and then became taboo with all that it contained.

Dr F. Sarasin (*Ethnologie der Neu-Caledonier, etc.* München, 1929, p. 269) says: "There is much talk in New Caledonia of the mummies of the natives. But this simply refers to more or less well-preserved corpses, shrivelled by the air in dry caves". He refers to Glaumont and adds "that the chief, thus preserved, was drawn up to the pointed top of the hut through a hole in the roof, and shown to the terrified people, must be a fable". J. B. M. Vincent (*Les Canaques de la Nouvelle-Calédonie*, Paris, 1895, p. 53) says that in earlier times only chiefs were mummified; but a woman at Toullo (? Touho), who did not belong to the chief's family, kept her mummified son in a hut. Whether the entrails were removed in this Caledonian mummification, we do not know. But it is probable.

#### *The Wearing of dried portions of a corpse*

##### (a) *Torres Straits.*

A Miriam widow in full mourning attire wore a number of *bud lu*, "mourning things", amongst which were decorated sticks of the measured length of the deceased's nose, index and middle finger, and arm and leg bones; his dried tongue, palms and soles (pp. 99, 122;

iv, p. 52, footnote; vi, p. 157, fig. 10). The sticks may be regarded as surrogates for actual bones that doubtless were worn in former times. We have seen, p. 185, that in 1793 the huts in Erub contained human skulls and several strings of hands; five or six on a string were hung round a painted and decorated wooden image of a man or a bird; and the same was found in Ugar. It seems probable that these dried "hands" were suspended on the images after the widows had discarded wearing them. There is no record of the wearing of such objects by the Western widows, but in the myth of Aukum and Tiai of Moa (v, p. 56), Aukum suspended the bones of her murdered infant son round her neck, so we may regard the carrying of bones by relatives as formerly being a Western, or at all events a Kauralaig, custom. On p. 322 I suggest that the soles of the dead were probably worn in Tutu, and perhaps the palms and soles were worn elsewhere.

(b) *New Guinea.*

W. J. Little saw dried human hands worn on the Ilo affluent of the Purari river (*A.R.* 1910-11, p. 203).

When on an expedition in 1911 W. N. Beaver visited the village of Kai'ai in the rocky limestone country about half-way between the upper waters of the Kiko and Mt Murray, Delta Division (*A.R.* 1910-11, p. 179).

A human jaw was worn as a pendant by certain men during the Bomai-Malu ceremonies (vi, p. 294) and lower jaws were attached to the Bomai mask (vi, p. 289), and were also displayed at the *mekt sarik* (vi, p. 275); and skulls were attached to the Kulka mask on Aurid (iv, p. 299). Skulls and numerous jaw-bones formed part of the shrines of Sigai and Maiau on Yan (v, p. 375). Jaw-bones were attached to the skull-baskets, *puker*, connected with the cult of Kwoiam in the islet of Pulu, Mabuiag (v, p. 369); but all these were directly or indirectly connected with warfare or with more or less ritual murder.

In his book (1920, p. 258) Beaver says:

But what immediately struck the eye was the habit of wearing round the neck a dried human hand with the flesh and nails adhering and complete. To the touch the hand was quite pliable and it had evidently been smoke-dried in much the same manner as the Tugeri prepare heads [in 1911, he wrote "prepared much in the same way as I have seen heads in the extreme west of the Division"]. From the various signs made both here and elsewhere it appeared fairly obvious that these hands were those of enemies. At the same time I noticed many men wearing necklaces of human bones and jaws, which I gathered were those of relatives. This latter custom is quite common in the West. All through the hinterland from the signs made I gathered the impression that hands are collected instead of heads in battle. When making signs of hostility instead of following the orthodox practice of drawing a hand across the throat, the men here invariably did the same to the wrist.

At a Sambrigi village which lies at an elevation of 6000 ft. north-west of Mt Murray, Staniforth Smith saw one youth with a skull round his neck and one man with a pair of human jaw-bones (*A.R.* 1911, p. 169).

Mr Frank Pryke, writing of the Iarime tribe (called Kukukuku by the Motu traders), who seem to range from the Vailala in the west to the headwaters of the Lakekamu and the Tauri, says that most of the young men wore what looked like thigh bones fastened to a belt, two of them were worn in front like a broad V (*A.R.* 1911-12, p. 77).

E. W. P. Chinnery saw dried human legs and arms suspended over the breasts of women in mourning among the Robijo tribe, who live at an altitude of 5275 ft. in the Meipa watershed, south-east of Mt Yule (*A.R.* 1916-17, p. 59). He also records concerning the



Goi-efu (Kuefa) tribe (on the headwaters of the Akaifu affluent of the Biaru river on the western slopes of Mt Yule), who practise amputation of the fingers, that "Widows, relatives, and intimate friends adopt mourning in various forms, which were similar everywhere. The bones of the fingers, back, and even the pelvis are worn as necklaces by women, and at Pole one woman came into camp wearing the dried arm and leg of what appeared to be a child. This form is said to be common, although it has been discarded by those tribes who have come into contact with civilization." He gives other information about the disposal of the bones and adds: "Amputation of the fingers is not confined to these districts, nor is the wearing of human bones, for I have noticed similar customs in the bush tribes behind Kikori. . . . The dried hand cult was observed by expeditions into the Sambrigi Valley [north of Mt Murray, D. Division], and although I think the dried leg was not reported, I should think it is part of the custom which obliges mourners to wear portions of the body, and drifts along the whole line of bowmen from the Fuyuge [the peoples dwelling about Mounts Albert Edward and Scratchley and the intermediate area] to the Sambrigi, and possibly further. . . . The limbs, it would appear, are bound tightly with calamus (rattan) shortly after interment, dismembered while the body is decomposing, and dried by continued exposure to the sun. It is said that no preservatives are used, and smoke curing is not adopted" (*l.c.* p. 63). Cf. Chinnery, *J.R.A.I.* XLIX, 1919, p. 282, where he says: "On the headwaters of the Lakekamu River and in the country around Mount Yule I saw women wearing over the breasts the dried arms and legs of relations; while others carried, suspended in the same way, the finger bones, pelvis, etc., of relations. I also found women in this district carrying the skulls and bones of relations in their netted bags, a practice which I noticed also in the bush villages near Kikori".

W. R. Humphries says that he saw in the village of Dunai-ia, on the Waria watershed north-east of Mt Chapman, some men and women wearing "human hand and leg bones", but he could not learn the significance of this custom. "I understand, though, that the hands are dried by continual exposure to the sun, that no preservatives are used, but of course I cannot vouch for this" (*Patrolling in Papua*, 1923, p. 144).

Gill saw at Hula an elderly woman wearing an immense necklace consisting of the vertebrae of her brother strung together. Also a widow carried the skull of her deceased husband in a small basket; three other of his wives wore necklaces of finger- and toe-bones and other small bones, whilst the fifth widow of the man wore his hair only (Chalmers and Gill, 1885, p. 290).

(c) *Australia.*

Very widely spread in Australia is the custom of wearing bones of deceased relatives; for example, A. W. Howitt states that the Kurnai sometimes cut off one hand of the corpse or both hands, soon after death, which they wrapped in grass and dried. It was hung round the neck by a string of opossum fur and worn in contact with the skin. It was carried by the parent, child, brother, or sister. The belief of the Kurnai was that at the approach of an enemy the *bret* or hand would push or pinch the wearer (*The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 1904, p. 460, fig. 26). R. H. Mathews says: "A custom which is quite common in New South Wales and Victoria is that of carrying the desiccated hands of a deceased relative, a friend, or even of an enemy, as a charm against evil, as well as a giver of warning when any danger is near"—it also gives notice of the proximity of game (*Notes on the Aborigines of New South Wales*, Sydney, 1907, p. 36).

Human bones and bags containing such were carried by the Tasmanians. Near Cornwall in East Tasmania were found, in a bag, two hands of an adult in fairly good preservation with their bones in position, but the nails were missing; there were also other bones (R. Pulléine, *Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Australia*, XLVIII, 1924, p. 83, pl. VIII).

### *Effigies*

Apparently confined in Melanesia to south Malekula was the making of life-sized effigies, *rambaramp*, which have been called by various names, even the erroneous one of "mummies". These are such striking objects that a considerable literature has accumulated about them, though usually without adding much beyond what is obvious. The following are the most important references: W. H. Flower, *J.A.I.* XI, 1882, p. 75; F. Speiser, *Sudsee, Urwald, Kannibalen*, 1913, p. 207, *Ethnographische Materialien*, 1923, p. 306; J. Layard, *J.R.A.I.* LVIII, 1928, p. 206; A. B. Deacon, *Malekula*, 1934, pp. 518-47.

The skull of a dead man was provided with a modelled portrait face and fastened on to an artificial body made of wood and covered with the inner bark of a palm. The head, body and limbs were covered with a vegetable composition and gaily painted and otherwise ornamented. The real body was allowed to decay and the bones were subsequently collected and deposited on a sacred ground.

In Malekula there are tales of the Ambat (Kabat, Hambat, Hambut), culture-heroes of superhuman powers. With this cult were associated social institutions having numerous grades of rank: the *ni-mangki*, the *nalawan*, a most sacred ceremonial with a complex mythology called *ucinbur*, and perhaps other societies, head-deformation, sacred pottery, certain sacred stones (especially stone tables), the making of geometric designs (*J.R.A.I.* 1931, pp. 129 ff.) and other elements. Much of this culture complex arriving in somewhat different ways has spread over the greater part of Malekula and in part over most of Melanesia. The effigies which would seem to belong to this culture complex occur only in the south of Malekula and thus appear to be a special development; on the other hand, it should be pointed out that the Kabat of Mewun district were buried in a sitting posture ("contracted position"), whereas the effigies are in full length ("extended position"). Deacon confirms Layard in the statement by the natives that the Ambat were men as white as Europeans, not like Polynesians, and one old sorcerer volunteered the information to him that they had narrow noses; they were not cannibals.

I obtained from Omai's *ravi*, Ukia-ravi, Baroi river, Purari delta, Papua, an effigy (pl. VIII, figs. 1, 2) which seems to be unique. It is about 5 ft. 5½ in. high and consists of a forked piece of wood which forms the body, legs and penis of the image; the arms are lengths of bamboo lashed to the upper part of the trunk, their distal ends are cut so as to indicate fingers. All are swathed with coarse bark cloth; round the waist is a plain bark belt with two small cone-shell buttons, round each upper arm is a small bark armlet in which leaf streamers were inserted. A skull is lashed on to the body, each orbit is filled with a dark substance which also forms the nose and it is smeared over the upper jaw. A cowry shell is embedded in each orbit and a small plaited cane ring is inserted vertically in the tip of the nose. The jaws are formed by two portions of the longitudinally bisected snout of a saw-tsb. The mouth is kept open by a plug of pith inserted under each ramus of the mandible. The skull is ornamented with a small coronet of cassowary feathers. Owing to the manner in which it was procured nothing was obtained as to the significance of the effigy, but probably it represents a recently deceased tribesman whose skull is affixed to the body.

The nearest approach to this effigy that I know of in New Guinea is a specimen described and figured by O. Reche (1913, p. 374, figs. 399, 400) from *Kōpār*, near the mouth of the Sepik in the Mandated Territory. It consists of a small extended male figure carved in the middle of a thin pole 191 cm. (45½ in.) long; a skull, through which the pole passes, forms the head of the figure; the length of the figure with the skull is 56 cm. (22 in.). The front half of the skull is covered with cement and the upper part of the face is smeared with red earth. Each orbit is filled with a slightly concave disc of naacre with a central oval hole for the pupil. On the chin is a strip with human hair to represent the beard. This *kādibōn* is an old piece.

### *Summary*

We have seen that there are close parallels with regard to the desiccation of the body and of carrying dried portions of a body or the bare bones in Australia, Torres Straits and New Guinea. This points to a definite cultural drift.

That a drift of this sort spread from Australia is so improbable that it need not be discussed. We are therefore faced with the alternatives whether it spread (i) from Torres Straits to Australia, (ii) from Torres Straits to New Guinea, or (iii) vice versa, or (iv) whether it came directly from Melanesia.

(i) There is no evidence that the Torres Straits islanders penetrated in force into Australia, but there is evidence for cultural drifts into the northern part of the Cape York peninsula borne by a few individuals (p. 272).

(ii) There is no evidence for any cultural drift from Torres Straits to the interior of New Guinea; at most there has been a little borrowing from the islanders by the Mawata and allied peoples of the Daudai coast (p. 236).

(iii) There is, however, ample evidence for cultural drifts from New Guinea to Torres Straits.

The distribution in New Guinea of the following list of customs appears to be as follows:

1. Desiccation of the body has been reported at places between Wharton range in the east and the Palmer river in the west, and in Lake Murray.
2. The carrying of dried portions of the body (arms, hands, legs, feet) occurs in places from the Wharton range to the upper waters of the Purari, and I have been told that the custom extends to the upper waters of the Turama. The Karigara, west of the Fly, carry the stuffed arms of enemies when dancing.
3. The carrying of skulls or bones occurs sporadically throughout the above areas.
4. The stuffing of human heads is found on the lower Strickland, the middle Fly, and among the Marind-anim and perhaps in the neighbouring region of British New Guinea.
5. The moulding of artificial faces on skulls is done from the Bamu to the Purari deltas inclusive.
6. The preservation of skulls which may be plain or decorated occurs almost everywhere in New Guinea.
7. The attachment of a skull to a stick or to a piece of wood that more or less resembles the human form.
8. The making of realistic life-sized effigies with a human skull.

Customs 1, 2, and 3 occur interruptedly (according to our present information) along the southern flanks of the main range from the Palmer river to the Wharton range, i.e. from about 141° 30' E. long. to 147° 30' E. long.

Custom 4 seems to be a modification of 1 or 2, and 5 may be regarded as analogous to 1, but it is not certain that they are definitely related, though the aim is very similar.

Custom 7, the only instance of this is from the Purari delta and is described on p. 340.

Customs 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 occurred in Torres Straits.

Customs 1, 2, 3 occur in Australia.

Customs 1, 5, 6 occur in parts of Melanesia, but 8 only in south Malekula.

It is arguable that these eight customs belong to or are derived from a common culture, and if so we may admit that originally it was an immigrant one. The impression left on my mind is that it is a very old culture that swept over New Guinea and crossed over to Australia. I do not presume to guess what other cultural elements were associated with this complex, but, whatever they were, most of them appear to have been lost either before they reached Australia or to have failed to impress themselves on the Australians, as, indeed, have half of the elements of this complex itself. All the eight elements, except t. 7 and 8, established themselves in Torres Straits, particularly so in the Eastern islands. Thus alternative (iii) seems indicated.

(iv) We have now to consider alternative (iv). G. Elliot Smith (1915, p. 92) says: "There can be no doubt that the practice [of preserving the dead] spread along the north coast of the island [of New Guinea] and then around its eastern extremity to reach the islands of the Torres Straits, where the practice is seen in its fully developed form". Various elements of culture which have been discussed in this volume, such as canoe outriggers (p. 306), Cult of the Brethren (p. 396) and stones of power (p. 365), lend some support to cultural drifts from Melanesia, but I am by no means certain that all these belong to the same culture movement. For example there is nothing to show that mummification or the stones of power in Torres Straits were connected with the Cult of the Brethren. For the present I regard all these elements in New Guinea (including Torres Straits) and Melanesia as having been acquired at various times and immediately from Indonesia.

(a) The wearing of bones, often including the skull, by mourners is met with among the Andaman islanders and, as we have seen, occurs in many parts of New Guinea inhabited by "Papuan", in Torres Straits, in many parts of Australia and in Tasmania, so we may regard this as a very ancient custom.

(b) Locally associated with (a) in these areas, with the exception of the Andamans, is the custom of wearing dried hands or limbs; probably we may regard it as belonging to the same complex.

(c) Desiccation (mummification) has much the same distribution as the latter custom, but it extends into parts of Melanesia, although there is no record of the wearing of dried parts of the body in Melanesia. It is possible that it also belongs to this complex.

This (a, b, c) complex has been noted from the Fly river and eastwards along the (southern) slopes of the main chain to about 8° 30' S. lat.; desiccation has been recorded for the Koiari (essentially a mountain people) and again in Rossel Island, but here it is possible that it belongs to a different culture, though it must be remembered that these islanders speak a non-Melanesian language.

This (a, b, c) complex has spread across Australia to Tasmania; its existence in the Torres Straits thus appears to date from considerable antiquity. Taking the above data into account, it may be argued that the custom of desiccation in Torres Straits was not introduced from Melanesia, but that it is a local form of what is practised in New Guinea. How this practice reached New Guinea is a problem beyond my immediate scope.

## SPIRIT PANTOMIMES

The islanders believed in the continuity of life after death: the spirits of the dead went to an island in the west where conditions of existence were similar to those left behind. There was no discrimination between the fate of those of either sex, or between peaceable and aggressive people.

The spiritual world was never far from the thoughts and actions of the people. Landtman has given a large number of tales from Mawata of visits in dreams to the land of the spirits, and such dreams seem to have become, as it were, standardised—they follow a general pattern which was widely recognised, and the slighter evidence we have from the islanders points to the same conclusion. The great ceremonies merely visibly reinforced a current belief and gave it a convincing dramatic form.

Tradition states that the elaborate annual pantomimic ceremonies in commemoration of the recent dead, and incidentally of those long since dead, arose in Daru. They were adopted by the people of Mawata, spread to the Western islands, and eventually in a modified form reached the Eastern islands. Probably we shall never know what death ceremonies there were before this cultural drift.

These ceremonies took place at the season (corresponding to our September–October) which is called *aibaul* (W.), *nur* (E.). The sign (*tonar*, W., *mčk*, E.) of its approach is the rising of the important star *kek* (p. 133; iv, p. 222). At this time food was abundant and therefore the numerous people who assembled at these or other ceremonies could be catered for and there could also be that lavish supply of food which redounded to the glory of those who provided the feast.

There is no doubt that throughout the islands the spirit pantomimes comforted the mourners. Dramatic reinforcement was given to the belief in a continued existence after death and this probably is a partial explanation of their popularity and diffusion. It can easily be imagined how a new cult that demonstrated this survival would appeal to a people who had but very vague ideas about the future life.

There may have been a real pleasure in the realisation of the return of the spirit, for we must not forget that these affectionate people kept their dead in remembrance so far as their limited resources permitted. This may be an explanation of the skulls and the stones painted with human faces in Nāgir (p. 69; v, p. 366). I was several times assured that the preservation of skulls in houses was due to a sentiment of affection and that this was reciprocal is shown by the invocation of the spirit by means of his skull to advise or assist his living relative (v, p. 362; vi, p. 266). MacFarlane says that, so far as he can ascertain, the only reason for keeping the mummified body in the Eastern islands was that friends might have something to keep alive the memory of the deceased.

But there was another satisfaction: these ceremonies were regarded as the final tribute of the living to the dead, the survivors had done their best and the spirits could make no more demands upon them. The living were reassured that their ghostly relatives would no longer haunt them, as they were now safely established in their spirit home.

Nor must one important value of these ceremonies be overlooked. Friendships were made and renewed, and doubtless family matters were discussed and the young people had an opportunity for becoming acquainted with each other. The feasting and jollity which invariably accompanied gatherings of this kind could not fail to promote friendship and goodwill.

It is unfortunate that even by 1888 the old native life of the Western islanders had been so broken down that only slight and imperfect information could be collected, but thanks to the admirable descriptions by Landtman and Riley of the *horionu* or *taera* at Mawata we can gain some idea of what the spirit pantomime, *tai* or *markai*, was probably like in these islands. They also throw light on the pantomimes of the Eastern islands.

The Mabuïag, Yam Tutu, and Nāgir islanders, at least, had an elaborate annual ceremony, or series of ceremonies, which was termed *tai* or *markai* and was held in a *kwod* (v, pp. 3, 365). We were told that the *kwod* on Pulu was entirely fenced round by a mat screen *motoul* or *wosal* to ensure privacy. In Nāgir only one screen is recorded, though at Parama there were two (v, p. 366); these *waus* certainly corresponded with the two *horionu* screens of Mawata (p. 224). *Wosal* is the plural of *wos*, or *waus*, a grass screen or fence.

The essential feature of the *tai* (which is the Mawata *taera*) was the representations of spirit inhabitants of Kibu who had come to visit the living. The spirits of the recent dead were represented by their male *imi* (own or clan brothers, or certain other men of the same generation) disguised in a leafy costume which is the traditional apparel of spirits. A female spirit was personated by a man with appropriate appurtenances.

In Mabuïag, the chief performers at a *tai* were the *markai* and *ipikamarkai*, who represented respectively the spirits of recently deceased men and women, and a *danilkau*, or buffoon, whose antics relieved the tense emotional strain of the onlookers (v, pp. 252-6).

The only performers at a *tai* recorded for Tutu and Nāgir were the *turkiam markai* (more correctly *turukiai* "male" *markai*) and the *ipikamarkai* (v, pp. 257-8).

The most important *tai* of the Mabuïag folk was held in the sacred islet of Pulu (v, pp. 3, 252), and I was told that a personage known as Waiat was the head of the *tai*. There was a cult of Waiat on the neighbouring island of Widul into which youths were initiated. When a new house had been made for Waiat (whose effigy always remained there) some old men dressed as *zara markai* made a dance and then returned to Pulu (v, footnote, p. 253). The *zara markai* had a dance by themselves on Widul and at Gumu on Mabuïag three days after the *tai*; they did not perform with the other *markai*. The real relation of Waiat, whoever he may have been, to the *tai* is obscure, but his connection with the spirit pantomimes of Mer were there fully recognised.

In Mer the spirit pantomimes were called *keber*; an account of these is given on pp. 118-27.

We have seen that the *keber* or spirit pantomimes of Mer are stated to have been introduced by Waiat or Waiat from Mabuïag. The first of these to be performed after a death was the *keber* of Terer and Aukem, who are the same personages as Tiai and Aukum of the Mabuïag tale. Tiai is credited with being the introducer of platform disposal of the dead, and if mummification was associated with platform disposal we may assume that it belonged to the same culture. We are told that the introduction of the *keber* was subsequent to that of the Bomai-Malu cult, so it is possible that mummification was not a very ancient practice in the Eastern islands. As the Western words of the *keber* songs are almost meaningless to the Miriam, they pay no attention to them, but the tunes are important.

#### INHERITANCE AND PROPERTY IN LAND

The following summary is based on the reports by Anthony Wilkin for Mabuïag (v, pp. 281-91) and Mer (vi, pp. 163-8), but we may assume that approximately similar conditions hold good for all the Western and Eastern islands respectively.

In Mabuig property is usually divided fairly equally among all the children, the daughters sharing with the sons; should a daughter be an only child she inherits everything. The father points out during his lifetime the share which will fall to each child. Favourite children may be left a larger portion than others. The eldest child sees that his wishes are carried out. The maternal uncle, *wadwam*, has no part in these matters.

A canoe (which in Mabuig is as important as a garden in Mer) descends to all the sons, the eldest being the captain in his capacity of executor. If there are no sons, the next brother of the deceased takes it outright, but if the sons are very young he keeps it till they are old enough to manage it for themselves. This joint ownership of canoes is a fruitful cause of disputes.

In the Western islands the daughters, beside their share of land, receive a large marriage portion as well, so as to counterbalance the great value of the canoe.

It seems to have been universally the custom that before the conception of restricted property in land was established, a local group had collecting rights over a well-defined area in which all the members of the group were at liberty to collect vegetable food or to hunt. This condition is characteristic of Australia.

In Muralūg and the neighbouring possessions of the Kauralaig (v, footnote, p. 285) all the land appears to have been inherited and owned individually, the owner having sole collecting rights, but none of it was cultivated.

In Mabuig there were *buai* or clans that held land in group ownership; they were constituted more or less as a corporate body and even had a recognised head; the distinction between land owned by a family and that owned by a *buai* is no longer clear (v, p. 286). Members of the same *buai* give each other plants for their gardens, the produce being returned to them.

Throughout the islands the conception of property in land appears to be founded on work done in connection with it; thus individual planting begets the right of individual gathering. At the present time in most of the islands there are numerous trees which belong to those who planted them and not necessarily to the landowners. An interesting example of this practice occurred in Mer. A party of picnickers ate some pumpkins they had brought with them; in due course pumpkins grew on the ground where they had sat. The owner of the land claimed the plants, but this was disputed by the picnickers, who said they had planted the seeds; there was only their word for this, but if they had merely pushed the seeds into the ground with their fingers they would, according to native custom, be entitled to the ownership of the plants and consequently of the fruit produced by them; Wilkin (vi, p. 167) says that they actually claimed the land as well. If the seeds had been thrown away by the picnickers, the plants would legally belong to the owner of the land. The greed of the Miriam for land is shown by the fact that they now assert that the land and the trees or crops on it must belong to the same person; their occasional surreptitious ways of enlarging their gardens are noticed in vi, p. 167.

Alienation of land is rare among Papuan peoples, even loans and leases are uncommon. To appropriate land in war is almost unheard of.

In Mabuig regular sales of land probably did not occur, but land was occasionally paid in compensation for injury, as were also dugong-harpoons and canoes. Gardens are lent on the understanding that the firstfruits are paid to the owner; this custom constitutes a sort of payment of rent. Friends never exchange gardens and only a small part of their produce. House sites and gardens follow the same rules of tenure and inheritance. Every

foot of land is owned by somebody, with the exception of the open space in a village; even the small rocky islets around the coast have definite proprietors, but adjacent reefs are subject to various *buai*. Waterholes are privately owned, though freely used by all.

Unlike the great part of British New Guinea, the Murray Islands are the scene of exchanges, sales, leases, and loans of land and house-sites. Exchanges are confined to the working and produce of gardens belonging to two friends. The sale of land may be due to alien influences, though strangers are said to have been always permitted to acquire land. It is difficult to distinguish between leases and loans: both, especially the latter, are very fertile sources of trouble. When land that abuts on the shore is lent there are endless disputes over turtle and fish, for the ownership of such land is bounded by the edge of the reef. The Miriam, especially relatives, are very fond of getting loans of land and giving others in return, as they like a change. In loaning land no time is stipulated nor is payment made: it is customary, but not compulsory, for the tenant to give a present of food from the first crop. Formerly when the tenant left the land he could take away whatever plants he chose to grow in a new garden or even destroy what he did not take; the lease was generally dissolved on account of quarrelling and the tenant was ordered to quit the land immediately, he therefore tried to do as much damage as possible (iv, p. 147). The matter of lending land is sometimes arranged by voting at a public meeting. A regular system of hiring a man for half the produce to look after a garden has recently come into being, its origin being probably due to the public election of a temporary tenant. If a man dies intestate and without relatives, his nearest neighbours divide the land between themselves.

In Mabuiag the widow remains in her old house, her children if old enough take their father's place and look after her until she dies or marries again. If there are no children she remains in undisturbed possession of all her husband's property, but if she marries again all that was his returns to his brothers and sisters in equal proportions. On the death of a wife, half her land is retained for her children, or if she has none the whole is returned to her relatives.

In Mer the widow and her children were formerly in an unenviable position, especially if the latter were young. The eldest brother of the deceased acted as nominal guardian to the widow and children and of the whole of the property, but actually he became the virtual owner of the wife, children and property: he usually married the widow. When a father dies and leaves young children, his personal effects are collected and the widow divides them among the relatives, telling them to take care of the effects for her children until they are grown up. She also makes presents of things as mementoes of the deceased. Formerly some of the deceased's belongings were broken up and finally burnt in the fire beside his corpse on the *paier*.

The eldest son gets the largest share of his father's estate, the daughters get very little, just enough for a marriage portion. In most cases the heirs of the deceased have been acquainted during his lifetime with his intentions regarding their respective shares. An only daughter inherits the property of both parents. A man can leave his land to anyone he chooses of his family or can even alienate it during his lifetime, but the family is not left without provision. A father can disinherit a child for good cause.

On the death of a wife the husband must give back her land to her relatives, at all events when he remarries. Young women often own land given to them by their mothers; on their marriage such land is equally divided among their brothers.



The main differences between the Western and Eastern islanders with regard to property and inheritance are that among the former there is a greater equality in the disposition of property between the sexes. Probably owing to the relative infertility of the soil and the uncertainty of crops the gardens are not held in much account in the west, but the canoe, which is the mainstay of existence, is highly valued. The concept of individual property is very well developed among the Miriam and land assumes a supreme importance.

## VII. VARIOUS SOCIAL CONTACTS

### FIGHTING AND HEAD-HUNTING

Less than a century ago head-hunting was socially recognised and regulated fights loomed large in the activities of the people, and I have little to add to what has been recorded in vol. v, chap. XVI and vol. VI, chap. XII. Squabbles, blood-feuds, or retaliation for wrongdoing must be sharply distinguished from head-hunting.

Landtman (1917, p. 404) says that "the Masingara bushmen do not cut off the heads of slain enemies" and probably this was also the case with the aboriginal "bushmen" of western Papua. This custom was introduced at an unknown time by peoples coming from the north and it spread into Torres Straits, for we may assume that the original islanders did not practise head-hunting, as in none of their folk-tales (with the exception of those about Kwoiam) is there any mention of it. The preserving of the skulls of relatives for purposes of divination is an entirely different matter.

This custom is also absent from Australia. We are not told whether Sivirri was a head-hunter in his Queensland home, though, as Kwoiam, he was so when he lived in Mabuiag; at all events the culture associated with Sivirri came originally from western Papua (p. 272).

Landtman (1917, p. 408) gives a vivid account of a fight between the Masingara and the Hiamu of Daru, but no mention is made of heads being taken. On p. 415 he narrates that some Yam and Tutu people paid a friendly visit to Daru; in the night a war party from Kiwai attacked the lot of them and went away with a booty of heads.

In Mawata Landtman was informed (p. 159), "before that there had been no fighting and Kniamo was the first man to teach the people to make war", but probably this really refers to head-hunting. The quest for heads became very characteristic of the Western islanders; we do not know whether it was in vogue before the arrival of the cults of Kwoiam and of the Brethren, but it was intensified by and received a definite sanction from these cults.

Head-hunting for the purpose of obtaining skulls is so prevalent in New Guinea, Melanesia and Indonesia that nothing more need be said.

Landtman records (p. 409) that it is the custom among the bushmen of Dandai to chew some betel nut and spit the red saliva on a man, who thus marked would be spared by everybody in a fight. This may explain why a man chewed the scented bark of the *paiwa* tree and spat the reddened saliva on the neck of the dead Kwoiam so that he should not be beheaded (v, p. 79).

The old Miriam men told Bruce that when they went on fighting expeditions, such as to Ērub or Ugar, they did not go specially for the purpose of getting heads, but if an opportunity occurred it was considered the correct thing to take them as they knew that their opponents would do the same to them; as Gabi said, the Miriam were "all the same as Herod in cutting off the head of John the Baptist, he was sorry, but it had to be done".

The string-figure, *kamut ares* (IV, p. 332), is considered as only a playful representation of this practice. The jaws of the heads taken on these occasions were used to ornament the Bomai mask.

On one occasion when a large party of Murray islanders were on their way home from a visit to the Fly river, they met a Fly river man in a canoe with his wife and child. The Murray men attacked and killed them and brought home their heads in a hurry as they were afraid they might be attacked if the deed were found out. They speak of this as quite a daring act.

Beheading may have a very different significance: Canoe's mother, Wesker, the wife of Giaz (VI, Ormei, 21), lived when she was a widow with a married sister, Mois, at Warwe. Madsa, a Werbadu man, "stole" her. Her Dauar relatives were so ashamed of her conduct, as were also her *uegram* of Ulag, that they arranged to kill her. They all met and went to Warwe with their bows and arrows and shot at her till she died; then they cut off her head and put the body on a *paier* in the bush (Bruce MS.).

All the islanders preserved the skulls of those they had slain, and many of the Western islands and the Yam-Tutu and Nāgir men made forays for the avowed purpose of getting heads. The skulls and jaws so obtained were retained as trophies, but, according to MacFarlane, they were sometimes traded or given to mourners. He says that heads were secured to "pay back" for some relative who had died, in accordance with the belief that it was necessary to obtain a head from somewhere in order that the deceased might rest well. It is recorded (v, pp. 71, 298) that Kwoiam made his head-hunting expedition "to pay" for his mother whom he himself had murdered. The presentation of the head of an enemy to a mourner is referred to in vol. v, p. 301.

Wyatt Gill says that the chiefs of Saibai and Dauan ornament their dwellings with strings of skulls of New Guinea bushmen (1876, p. 207), as Moresby also recorded. In 1888 I saw bunches of skulls of Badu bushmen hanging under houses in Mawata.

In Mabuiaḡ skulls which were usually painted and decorated were kept in the cave Augudalkula in the adjacent islet of Pulu (v, pp. 305, 309, 314, 368) or in the skull-house, *kuiku iut*, "head-house", at Gumu or in that at Ban (IV, p. 98; v, pp. 306, 314). It is significant that while the dwelling-houses of the people were simple huts on the ground, the head-houses were built on piles, with a door at each end; they were festooned with reddened skulls and in other respects were analogous to the long houses of the Fly river district. No woman or small boy was allowed to enter, and in them weapons were kept and the skulls of enemies killed in war. Here men and boys above a certain age slept; the conversation of the occupants, it is said, turned mostly on fighting and the taking of heads and each clan strove to outdo the others in tales of prowess. It appears that each head-house was the men's-house, or club-house, of one of the two moieties and that each clan of that moiety had its own fireplace in the house. When the head-houses were too hot or overcrowded some of the men and youths repaired to a quadrangular flat-roofed structure that was called a *kwod* and was used to lodge male visitors (IV, fig. 135).

The two head houses on Mabuiaḡ can safely be equated with the men's-houses in neighbouring parts of New Guinea which contain ritual objects, human skulls, etc. The pile-house which Jukes saw on Damut (IV, p. 96) evidently was an inferior copy of the Kiwaian type described by Landtman (1927, chap. II), but no skulls were noticed in it, nor were any recorded for the men's-house, *iota*, on Saibai (IV, p. 100). Ray gives the term "*makrem meta*, a house for unmarried men" (III, p. 152). Unfortunately no further

information is available; it may refer to a house in which the young men were lodged during initiation ceremonies.

The skull trophies, which (as in New Guinea) might have been exhibited in the men's-houses on these islands where such may have occurred, seem to have been segregated in the shrines or sacred places of the heroes—Kwoiam and the Brethren.

#### SARUP

*Sarup* is the term given in all the islands to anyone cast ashore from a wreck; such a person, who is called a "salt-water man", was killed unless he had friends who claimed him. Pasi told MacFarlane: "The salt water spoils his face and eyes, the sun blisters him so that his face comes different, his head comes another way (he is not in his full senses), that's why we kill him". He and others said the castaways were killed because, if strangers, they might cause trouble by killing some of the people of the island on which they landed, or might make *paripuri* (harmful magic), and, if belonging to the place itself, they were killed because having lost their senses through being in the water they might kill people or do other harm while in an irresponsible condition. But if a person landed and was recognised by a friend or called out the name of a friend, he was not killed but taken and sheltered by the friend whose name he had spoken. See pp. 9, 56, 84, 196; v, p. 278.

MacFarlane has been told of shipwrecked people coming ashore at Ērub, Masig and elsewhere, and being killed, but never of the bodies being eaten; the heads were taken and the bodies thrown out to sea attached to floating wood or on the raft or other object on which they had floated ashore. The body might sometimes be retained for the "grease" to be used in ceremonies. Possibly the survivors would not be killed immediately; in some cases they would be invited to sit on the mat usually spread for visitors, then, at a signal, clubs and axes were quickly brought out from concealment and the unfortunates were despatched [cf. v, p. 90, for similar treatment to visitors].

A Mabuiag crew came in a canoe to the Murray Islands on a fishing expedition, the canoe capsized and all were drowned except Dagapur and his daughter Meket, who swam ashore at Nei on Waier. They found various things to eat, including the wild almond, *meker*; the girl climbed up the tree, ate of the fruit and threw some down to her father. Whilst so engaged she was seen by a Waier man named Petori, who went and told his brothers, Dageri [29] and Waida. The three then went to the spot where the castaways were. Dagapur had left his bow and arrows sticking in the wall of the temporary shelter he had made and seeing the men coming he attempted to get his weapons, but they intercepted him and killed him. Then they cut off his head and set the body adrift after making it fast to a piece of driftwood. They killed him because he was *sarup*. Meket came down from the tree and wept when she saw her father killed; the men seized her and, after having had connection with her, took her across to Dauar, where the Dauar men had connection with her. The three Waier men wished to keep the girl and discussed who should have her as his wife. The Dauar people objected and finally the girl was killed, her head was cut off and the jaw taken, but the skull was placed on a rock on the south-east side of Dauar where it remained until not many years ago. As the people who killed the girl were Malu men they took her jaw for the shrine, while those who had killed her father were not, hence the jaw was not removed, but the whole head was kept by the Waier men.

There is a Miriam story of two Kōmet men who were capsized from a canoe about a mile from the land. They swam ashore and landed at Zomari [? Zomared], where they

were killed by some Kômet men. The reason given for killing in this case was that the *zopule* had tabooed the coconuts in that area, and there was the death penalty for anyone trespassing, however innocent his intentions. The two men slept at the place after landing and in the daytime hid in the bush; their tracks were seen and they were eventually found and killed. They seem to have been killed not merely because they were *sarup* but for having broken the taboo.

It may be accepted as a fact that the majority of those (white persons or others) who came ashore from wrecks were killed because they were *sarup*, and their heads taken as these possessed a high commercial value in trading with New Guinea and were also important for ceremonial purposes locally [cf. v, p. 279] (MacFarlane MS.).

#### CONTACTS WITH STRANGERS

It is evident that the treatment of persons cast ashore, *sarup*, created a very bad impression on strangers and led to reprisals. The islanders as a whole had a reputation for treachery and murderous tendencies, as is shown in the sailing directions and other nautical publications. We know of several unprovoked attacks on Europeans, which in some cases may have been due to the desire to loot boats for the highly valued iron tools they contained. We shall never know to what extent the islanders may have been led to attack Europeans in retaliation for former injuries inflicted on them by other Europeans, and we have reliable evidence that foreigners have deliberately done great moral and physical damage to various islanders. That there have been faults at times on both sides is beyond doubt, but we can hardly expect a virile and warlike people tamely to acquiesce in foreigners stealing garden produce and especially fresh water, which everywhere was at best barely sufficient for the local needs. Even the turtle that came to the sand beaches to lay their eggs were the property of the owners of those beaches, and the taking of them by others was theft of food, though the strangers might be unaware of it.

#### TRADE

Although the Eastern islanders had a vague knowledge of certain islands in the eastern part of the estuary of the Fly it seems definite that their trade with New Guinea was mainly confined to Parama, though Mibu and some villages on Kiwai were occasionally visited. It is probable that the Miriam traders always went first to Ērub, as those islanders had more constant communication with Parama and other places in New Guinea. It is even doubtful whether a Murray islander would ever go across without voyaging in an Ērub canoe or at all events accompanied by Ērub men. Another trade route, mentioned on p. 183, which ended at Mawata or at Turituri was connected with the western canoe trade, for the Tutu people obtained their canoes from Mawata, though the ultimate sources of all canoes were at Wabuda and Dibiri in the eastern side of the estuary of the Fly.

The Western islanders traded through Saibai with Mawata, and there is some evidence that the Saibai people traded with other villages on the Daudai coast, probably as far west as the Togi (Mai Kussa). A. H. Jiear has given an excellent account of the trading in former days between Mawata and Turituri and Kiwai on the one hand and with the inland tribes on the other (*J.R.*, 1904-5, pp. 69-71).

Further information is given on p. 182 and in vols. v, pp. 293-7; vi, pp. 185-8. All this trading, and especially that of canoes, made for peace between peoples.

FISHING

The only additional information on fishing beyond that given in vol. iv, pp. 153-71, will be found on p. 150, which refers mainly to Mer, though a few distributions are also given.

VIII. RITES AND RITUAL OBJECTS CONNECTED WITH DUGONG AND TURTLE HUNTING

Dugong and turtle hunting have always been important occupations, the former especially so among the Western islanders, and the rituals connected therewith doubtless have been employed for a very long time, though they may have become more elaborate in process of time. Unfortunately even in 1888 the attendant ceremonies had dwindled even to vanishing point in the islands, but they persisted much later on the adjacent mainland and have been studied in great detail by Landtman (1927) and by E. Baxter Riley (1925). Landtman informs us that the coastal Kiwaians learnt everything about these occupations from the islanders: "formerly not even the Mawata natives knew of harpooning when they lived farther east at Old Mawata", and the Kiwaians of the estuary of the Fly scarcely practise it even now (1927, p. 127).

As the published accounts of the rites connected with dugong and turtle hunting by the islanders are very imperfect and disjointed, I must refer the reader to the information given by Landtman, for we may legitimately infer that as ritual observances are intimately connected with secular practice the coastal peoples took them over as a connected whole from the islanders. The most important element foreign to the islanders is the use of *gamoda* (kava), but since this plays so important a part in agricultural and other occupations it is only to be expected that it should have been introduced to fortify other ritual observances.

The evening before every harpooning expedition the men sit and drink *gamoda* together and the *karea* (a rite in which *gamoda* is sprinkled) is performed over the harpooning implements, over each harpooner, or upon the first post used in erecting the dugong-platform. When the three mythical beings of the sea, Nagimarkai, Kibumarkai and Usaraba, are addressed the *karea* is directed to the sea. A similar ritual is performed after a successful harpooning expedition; in the *karea* the people also invoke their departed elders, famous harpooners of dugong who have helped them, in the hope that they will give further assistance (L. pp. 130, 141).

The methods of catching turtle are described in vol. iv, pp. 159-66, and for hunting dugong, pp. 166-71. The ritual observances in relation to turtle are mentioned in vols. v, pp. 183, 184, 330-7; vi, 213-16; and in this volume, pp. 154-8. Those for dugong in vols. v, pp. 182, 183, 337-42; vi, p. 217.

Landtman (1917, pp. 159 ff.) gives tales showing that the Mawata people credit Torres Straits islanders with the invention of harpooning dugong, but a Kiwai tale gives Bugi as the place of origin, though these people do not any longer know how to harpoon dugong.

A description of the decoration of a harpoon is given in vol. iv, pp. 373-7. Landtman says (1927, p. 123):

The thick end of the *wapo* is always decorated to look like the head of a snake, and this also has a magical significance, for the snake "helps" the harpooner. "Snake he go like that", said a native, and to illustrate his words he imitated the thrust made with a harpoon. . . . One of the designs carved on a harpoon-shaft is a conventionalized frog, and this is said to signify that the harpooner sometimes jumps at his prey with both feet together like a frog. A certain medicine for a harpoon is obtained from the body of a frog.

The harpooning of dugong and turtle does not represent an individual interest only, but concerns the whole population in a village, for custom requires that a speared dugong or turtle should be distributed among the friends of the harpooner and sometimes among the members of his community. For this reason the making of a harpoon is also regarded as a concern of general importance, and must be carried out as carefully as possible in accordance with traditional rules (p. 122). . . . A *wapo*, like most things made by the natives, is thought to be of little avail without the application of various medicines at different stages (p. 120).

Landtman describes the ritual observances employed in making the harpoon and the rope as well as those which accompany every stage of a harpooning expedition, but no rites are performed in order to multiply dugong or turtle, as the natives firmly believe that, unlike garden produce, the denizens of the sea can never be exhausted, however unsparring their capture. As in the case of many other rites, a sexual element is prominent and especially so in the preparation for a harpooning expedition. "All the harpooners recognize the important services rendered them by their wives, and for this reason they take care to let their relatives by marriage have a share in the dugong meat. Nowadays, however, so the natives complain, the above observances are less strictly followed, and this is why the harpooners do not find so many dugong as formerly" (L. p. 139).

Although most of the rituals are what are usually termed of a "magical" nature, there are also certain rites in which personages are invoked. At sunset of the day before a harpooning expedition an old man will walk alone along the beach and invoke three mythical marine beings—Nagimarkai, Kibumarkai [the spirits of Nagi and Kibu] and Usaraba; bones of the dugong caught used to be presented to them at the point of the shore where they lived (L. pp. 130, 305). Before a harpooning expedition and after the canoes have been beautifully decorated, a great feast is held at which an old man pours the fluid of two young coconuts over the bow of the canoe while mentioning the names of some dead famous harpooners of dugong and says: "To-morrow me fellow go outside, you go too, you give me plenty dugong (and) turtle". Then the men drink *gamoda*. An eye is painted on each side of the bow of the canoe and in the painted eye is fixed part of the real eye of a fish-hawk; this helps the canoe to find dugong and turtle (L. p. 131). Two mythical beings, Sōida and Pekai, the promoters of agriculture, are occasionally invoked to make dugong come to the harpooning platform. Or sometimes a harpooner will invoke two mythical beings, Guoni and Simarobe, "the mother and father of all the dugong, turtle, and fish in the sea" (L. p. 133). Similar invocations of ancient hunters and others were commonly made by the islanders. While waiting on the platform a harpooner will not use the proper word for dugong, as this would spoil his aim, so he calls it a "pig" (L. p. 132).

An account of the great *Nigori*, or turtle ceremony, of Mawata, the main function of which was to ensure an abundant catch of turtle, is given on p. 230. Before the ceremony began, the people attended to the graves of their dead in order that their spirits should influence the turtle so that they might be caught—but this was not done for dugong hunting. Young boys were initiated into the *Nigori* (L. p. 405), but the secret objects were shown to them only on a subsequent occasion.

The ritual connected with turtle fishing at Mawata described by Riley has been already noted, p. 235. He also gives an account of a ritual enacted on the shore when the fleet returns with the first turtle, which bears a marked resemblance to those described by me in vols. v, pp. 183-4; vi, pp. 213-14.

The more important ritual objects used in turtle ceremonies at Mawata and in the islands are as follows.

The wooden image of the culture-hero Muire of Tutu, where he is called Muyer, is placed on the *agu* at the *nigori*.

Landtman in his account of the *nigori* mentions human figures carved out of soft wood, these *agumarkai* (*agu* spirits) are invoked to give abundance of turtle. They are placed on the ground near the *agu* and behind *Muirc*, above them is stretched a string between the *agu* and a decorated post [this post may correspond to the *baiu* of the islands].

Wooden human figures termed *wauri* were used for various purposes in Mabuiag (v, pp. 197, 324); this seems to have been a general name, *koi ucl*. Those used in the turtle ceremonies at Mabuiag (v, p. 331) appear to have been the same class of objects as the *kubai* referred to on pp. 230-6, but the Mawata examples (v, p. 337, figs. 57, 58, and copied in Landtman's fig. 106) were more stylised and were used also in dugong hunting; indeed, most of them have the appearance of a hook-like conventionalised dugong. Chalmers called them "Agumanakai" (*agumarakai*). I did not get the term *kubai* in Mabuiag. In Bruce's MS. I find that in Mer a *kobai* is a hooked stick, the hook of which bends down at an acute angle. It is either a branch of the required shape or is made by binding together two pieces of wood with sennit. It is used for pulling down fruit from a tree. It is most probable that a similar implement was in use in the west, in which case the term *kubai* could be applied to anything which was hooked. Possibly for this reason the word *kubai* was given to the North Queensland spear-thrower which has a long peg. This type of spear-thrower spread into some of the Western islands, but there is a somewhat similar type among the Marind, where it is known as *kander* or *kandel* (Wirz. 1, i, p. 111). A *markai* is the spirit of a man after it has reached Kibu, and if the *kubai* (or *wauri*) represented noted deceased fishermen the term *agumarkai* would not be inappropriate for them.

Skulls of famous departed harpooners are ornamented and painted, put on the *agu* and invoked to assist in catching turtle (L. p. 400).

Landtman (p. 75) records various kinds of bullroarers, *madabu*, *yaga*, *bóigu* or *bigu*, *buruma*, *maramu*, and says there are others. Each one is named from the sound it produces when swung. The larger ones, *madabu*, are swung by means of a string only, but the smaller, *yaga*, have a stick attached to the string. Riley (p. 121) says that an *agumakai* (*agumarakai*) is a small kind of bullroarer, and this he confirmed in a letter to me. In Mabuiag the bullroarers employed in the turtle ceremonies were said to be the large *bigu* and the small *wanës* (v, figs. 51, 52).

In Mabuiag and also on Tutu or Yam was a rounded stone *wiwai* at which rites were performed to ensure success in catching turtle (v, pp. 334-6). These may be compared with the Muire stones at Mawata, p. 231, and with the *bau* stone on Waraber, p. 87.

All the foregoing ritual objects (except the bullroarers) were definitely closely connected with mythical or real persons who had repute as successful hunters of turtle or dugong, and they were all associated with the *agu*, or turtle platform. Their spirits were invoked to assist the living hunters, and so all could legitimately be termed "*agumarkai*". If the bullroarers, as is very probable, were also representatives of forebears, the same term would not be inapplicable to them also, and Riley asserts that this was the case.

Two long narrow carved boards were attached to a tall post, *baiu* (waterspout), on which a human face was carved (human figures (? *muri*) were carved on the boards) in a turtle ceremony at Pulu (Mabuiag), v, p. 333, fig. 54. I was told in Mabuiag that in Kibu, the

spirit land, the *markai* teach the newly arrived *mari* (spirit)—who by this time is a *markai*—how to make a waterspout, which they employ to spear and suck-up turtle and dugong (v, p. 356). In Mabuiag a waterspout is also called *klak markai* (spirits' spear). There, however, appear to be other spirits, *māri*, who descend and ascend waterspouts as sailors do on ropes and pass up the creatures caught by the waterspout (v, p. 359, fig. 78). A drawing by Gizu of Mabuiag (v, fig. 75) shows what, possibly, may be two boards carved with human faces; these heads he called *mari* and he drew a big spirit, *kai mari*, in the angle between them; I am inclined to regard the latter as the *mari* (or *markai*) who is spearing with a waterspout and the heads as attendant *māri*.

In Waraber a pole, which represented a waterspout, was erected at the *bau* shrine (p. 87). On each side of the pole were carved human faces, the ghosts of men in the waterspout.

The *baur* carried in the spirit pantomime of the *baur siriam* of the western side of Mer (p. 123) were carved at each end with faces of people who had died; they were said to have come originally from Mabuiag.

At the turtle ceremony at Giar pit on Dauar (vi, p. 214) two long narrow highly decorated boards on which human faces were carved were employed, figs. 48, 49, and the words sung during the rite were mostly in the Western language.

It is evident that all the foregoing poles and boards belong to the same general ritual, and here again we meet with *mari* or *markai* or their Eastern equivalents *mar* or *lamar*.

#### IX. VARIOUS RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS, OBJECTS, AND RITES

Sacred areas, p. 354. Religious concepts: *Ad*, p. 356; *Augud*, p. 356; *Zogo*, p. 357. Ritual objects: *Zole*, p. 358; *Madub*, p. 358; *Wirar*, p. 359; *Wauri*, p. 359; *Lu babat*, p. 359. Stones of power, p. 360. Masks, p. 368. *Kēber* as soul or soul-substance, p. 370.

##### SACRED AREAS

In the Western islands the *kwod* (v, pp. 3–5 ff., 365) was the equivalent of the *horimu* ground of Mawata (p. 225) and the screens were called *uans*; that on Parama (v, p. 367) may be regarded as typical, but Macgillivray describes a single screen in Nāgir. Both Wyatt Gill and Macgillivray describe them as "funeral screens", and on the Parama one were hung wooden images of animals, which were probably totemic.

The *kòp* of Mer were sacred areas either permanently tabooed to non-initiates, such as the *au kòp* of the Bomai-Malu cult and perhaps *kòp* of other cults, or temporarily tabooed while ceremonies were in progress (vi, p. 246); but evidently these did not have the significance of the Western *kwod*.

Landtman says (1927, p. 329):

According to tradition, Daru island was the home of the *horimu* ceremony, and it was then inhabited by the Hiamu people (evidently belonging to the same stock as the western tribe of the Torres Straits islanders, later on migrating to the Thursday island group). My informants were very positive about this. The *horiomu* occurs in the whole of the Mawata district, including Katatai and Parama, and also in Saibai, Boigu and all the "outside island", but everywhere the people are said to have learnt it originally from Daru. There is a long folk-tale relating how the *horiomu* was introduced from Daru to Yam, and thence it spread to Nagiri, Moa, Badu and Mabuiag. The Mabuiag name for the *horiomu* shrine is said [by the Mawata people] to be *kwadi*, but the two screens are a little differently constructed there on account of the scarcity of coconut palms in the island. The Torres Straits people do not know all the various rites of the *horiomu*, and consequently their ceremony is simpler and shorter, lasting only a few days. So the Mawata people say, adding that the islanders used to come to Mawata to provide themselves with vegetable food



and coconut leaves for the *horiomu*. Occasionally the islanders would take part in the performance of the complete ceremony at Mawata. The Masingle and other bush tribes, as well as the Kiwai islanders, are ignorant of the *horiomu*.

The two most important food animals of the Torres Straits islanders were the dugong and turtle, and it was only natural that there should have been elaborate ceremonial in connection with them. Unfortunately our accounts of the Western rites are too fragmentary to be very enlightening, but thanks to the descriptions given by Landtman and Riley we can form some idea of what the ceremonies may have been like.

It is interesting to note that among the Mawata folk the *nigori*, or turtle-breeding ceremony, was in the charge of the Odirubi moiety and more especially of the Hawidaimere group (p. 213), while the Humurubi moiety and more particularly the Dorionomo group took charge of the dugong ceremonies.

A dual grouping of the clans doubtless occurred among the Western islanders; our information is most complete for Mabuiag, but here the dugong and turtle clans belonged to the same moiety and with other marine totems were termed *mugi augudau kazi* (children of the small *augud*, totem). At the time of our investigations neither of these two clans was numerically large or apparently of any special importance; nevertheless there is good reason to believe that they were formerly responsible for certain rites connected with their respective totem animals.

Before and during the *nigori* ceremony (p. 230) the spirits of their own dead relatives, or those of noted deceased harpooners, or other spirits, were placated and invoked to give success in the turtling expeditions. The corresponding ceremonies for success in dugong hunting usually took place in connection with the *tai* (or *horiomu*), when the spirits were supposed to be actually present, and should a fire have been lit by the graves they would stay by the fire and not interest themselves in the fishing.

The *mawa* ceremony which was held when the *ubar* (or *wangai*, a wild fruit, *Mimusops kaukii*) was ripe was an important occasion for the Western and Central islanders, but I was told in Nāgir, in 1888, that it was not held in Muralūg. I have nothing to add to what I wrote in vol. v, pp. 348-9. As the ceremony, at all events in Nāgir, took place in front of the *waus* about September, it is probable that it formed part of the great annual series of ceremonies. In Saibai it followed the *markai* ceremonies. Masks were worn in these ceremonies, these represented a human face and were often made of wood (iv, p. 297).

The *garig kap* of Yam (v, p. 346) was held when fruit was ripe and the yams and sweet potatoes were ready for use; the dancers wore masks.

I saw *waiitutu kap*, a saw-fish dance, early in November 1888, which evidently had relation to the beginning of the rains, a time when vegetation is renewed after the parching of the dry season and shoals of fish visit the shores and thus the beginning of a period of renewed life and plenty and consequently a time for rejoicing and dancing. It seems probable that one object of the ceremony was to ensure all these good things (v, p. 342; iv, p. 303). Landtman identified my photograph of a participator in this dance as a "man wearing *karara* mask in the *horiomu* ceremony" (1927, fig. 98, p. 339). Landtman gives illustrations of two other turtle-shell animal masks, one of which was collected by me at Yam; it was made by Maino, who said it was sometimes worn during the *markai* ceremonies; it was worn in the *kab*, and had nothing to do with *augud* (totem) ceremonies (iv, p. 302). These and other *urui kwar* (or *karar*) (iv, pp. 299-304) may, as Landtman suggests, have been used in the *karara oboro* (p. 227) of the Mawata *horiomu* or in a corresponding dance

of the *tai* of the islanders. He evidently considers the various Torres Straits masked dances as elements that had become disconnected from the series of *horionu* ceremonies. We may safely regard those at which *urui krar* were worn as having primarily the purpose of ensuring a good catch of fish, and though possibly certain ceremonies of this kind may have belonged to definite clans and may have been performed locally in a *kwod*, yet it is equally probable that they were performed by the owners of the dances at the festive occasion when other rites and ceremonies were taking place. Thus I do not regard them as necessarily a part of the *tai* but as associated with it. The same applies to the *mawa* and similar Western ceremonies.

The word *siriam* or *ziriam*, which frequently occurs in connection with ceremonies of the Miriam, probably signified originally a sacred or ceremonial ground equivalent to the *kwod* (VI, pp. 129, 272) and also connoted some of the ceremonies that were performed there, in which case it would correspond with the term *horionu* of Mawata. Spirit pantomimes took place at the *horionu* and also in some of the Western *kwod*, and the Miriam *keber* were spirit pantomimes. Various *siriam keber* are mentioned on p. 123. In a note Bruce refers to the *zra markai keber* (p. 120) as a *siriam* and the Walet shrine (fig. 48) was also called a *siriam*.

RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS: *Ad* implies in Mer anything old and traditional with the idea of sanctity that is associated with ancient wont; thus certain folk-tales are *ad*, or anything about which a legend is told, and all sacred and potent stones are *ad*. The *ad giz*, or "ancient origins" of the Miriam, are referred to on p. 161 and vol. VI, p. 258.

*Adi* or *ad* of the Western islands has much the same significance. Certain tales are *adi* and the personage commemorated is *adi* (v, p. 18). *Adi* was explained to Ray as "a story perhaps not true" as distinct from *gida*, "a yarn, a true narrative" (III, p. 194); there is some sophistication in the former definition. On the other hand I was told a tale (v, p. 88) which was called a *gida*, that tells of a man who was killed by the *mari* of his deceased wife, and I was informed that a *gida* was like an *adi*, by which I understood at the time that a *gida* was a tale about a supernatural event, or rather that it was not a narrative of an ordinary occurrence relating to known persons. I am now inclined to take the view that the term *gida* does apply to a narrative of ordinary matters, as formerly the *mari* incident would hardly have been classed by a native as *adi*, as it was something that he thought might occur in real life. I think it would be correct to say that an *adi* was a legend or myth that belonged to the distant past and that it accounts for certain objects, phenomena, or persons, the latter being themselves *adi*. Thus Waria in his written account of Kwoiam (Kuiam) always prefixed the term *adi* when mentioning that hero's name (III, p. 191), and Ray was told that it was a "good name, like Mr", but I think it is evident that it is more than an honorific title. Three small standing stones by the *wiwai* on Mabuiag (v, p. 334) were called *adil* (plural of *adi*).

*Anqud*, *angñd* or *angud* (W.); *agud* (E.). The original meaning of this word in the Western islands corresponds to what we call a "totem", employing that term as applied to a clan totem of the usual Australian type, and we may regard it as having a sacred and mystical significance. When the hero cults spread over the Western islands this was the only term that could be applied to the new sacred personages and objects.

On their arrival at Yam, the two Brethren, Sigai and Maiau, were discovered by the wife of Garu, who told her husband, and he assembled the men of the island in the *kwod*. The men said, "Garu, what shall we call them?" and Garu replied, "You and me will call

them *augud*" (v, p. 65). Thereafter Sigai was equated with the *kursi* (hammer-headed shark) totem and Maiau with *kodal* (crocodile), but they were always spoken of and addressed by their hero names and never in the presence of the uninitiated by their sacred totem names. The hero name was described as the *kasa nel* (bare name or "just a name"), the animal name as *augudau nel*. These heroes were represented in the *kwod* by turtle-shell effigies of their respective animals, which were called *augud*; immediately outside each front corner of the fence that enclosed the shrines were two heaps of *Fusus* shells which were termed the *kupai* or *kupar* (navel) of the respective *augud* (v, p. 375). In a different part of Yam there was another *augudau kupai*, and there was a *kupai* of Sigai near the *kwod* on Tutu. Before going out to fight, the men prayed: "O *Augud* Sigai and *Augud* Maiau, both of you close the eyes of those men so that they cannot see us" (v, p. 377). Here we have an interesting example of the grafting of a hero cult on to a pre-existing totemism, with a persistence of the old nomenclature.

Kwoiam was occasionally spoken of as *augud* (pp. 58, 383) and his crescentic emblems were termed *augud*.

The word *agud* is not of frequent occurrence in Mer, it was described to me as "big name of big *zogo*". The *nam zogo* (p. 154) was called *agud*.

*Agud* was the *au nei* (big name for the Brethren, of whom Malu was the *kebi* (small) and Bomai the *gumik* (secret) *nei*, and the masks that represented them were described as the *agud* of the *Beizam le* (vi, pp. 245, 286). The Malu *zogo* at Ērub, which was also termed *agud*, was subordinate to that of Mer (p. 200).

*Zogo*. I have nothing material to add to what was said in vol. vi, pp. 242-5, 255-6, concerning the meaning of the term *zogo* in Mer: it is essentially something sacred or mysterious and may be applied adjectively or as a noun. A *zogo* may be a sacred object (*zogo lu*), a place (*zogo ged*), the rite itself (this was often spoken of as to "make *zogo*"), or the words employed (*zogo mer*). The *zogo le* are the men (or man) who alone were entitled to perform the rite or ceremony; such men were not sacred men, but merely *zogo* men, presumably they were the heads of the families that owned the *zogo* when the latter was a local institution. Various functions of the *zogo le* in Ērub are noted on pp. 196, 199, and only in that island there were certain *zogo* women who officiated at a *wangai* (wild plum) *zogo*, no men were allowed near it (p. 197); also three *zogo* women prepared the skull basket for the *zogo*-house (p. 199), and besides other duties they had to prepare female bodies for desiccation. The Miriam *zogo mer* in the great majority of cases were in a foreign language which broadly speaking is that of the Western islanders, and it is noteworthy that many of the sacred stones of the Miriam are of foreign origin and must have come from islands to the west. The "making" of a *zogo* (*zogo ikeli*) was usually a secret rite at which no women might be present. The *zogo lu*, which was usually simply spoken of as the *zogo*, was either natural or worked stone, or a mask or effigy made of turtle-shell; it was always treated reverentially. Although the primary function of a *zogo* was generally beneficent, it could also be used to procure a contrary effect; this ambivalence is very common in magico-religious rites. The *nam zogo* is an example of this; mosquitoes were produced and dispersed by the *lay zogo le*.

The *zogo* rites evidently belong to an ancient stratum of culture, and it is an open question whether they came in one culture drift to the Eastern islands from the Western, or whether certain sacred stones were imported at various times as cult objects.

A general account of the Miriam *zogo* is given on pp. 168ff.

The only *zogo*, as such, which I reported from the west is the *ubaran zogo* of Yam (v, p. 347), but in this instance the term probably was either borrowed from the Miriam language or given to me in explanation, as Maino knew I had just come from Mer. The word *zogu* is given from Mawata as meaning "tabu, holy" (Ray and Haddon, 1897, p. 355), but no reliance can be placed on this. MacFarlane refers to a few *zogo* elsewhere, pp. 38, 88.

RITUAL OBJECTS: *Zole* is the general name, *au nei*, in the Eastern islands for natural or carved stones that were used for magico-religious and mainly beneficent purposes. Special names, *kobi nei*, belonging to this category are *bager*, *doiom*, etc.

*Madub*. Wooden *madub* appear to have been fairly common in the Western islands, where, at all events in Mabuiag, they were placed in gardens to ensure good crops of yams, sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar cane, etc. They usually represented a man, but some were said to represent women (v, pp. 345-7, and for Kiwai, p. 218). There were several varieties of these garden *madub*: all were distinctly asserted not to be *augud*. The *madub* of Mabuiag was described to us as a kind of *wauri* (v, p. 345); this probably merely refers to the general appearance, though it is possible that a *madub* might be used for an evil purpose, in which case it would act as a *wauri*.

The *kerere*, *magag* and *dabugal* were said to have been carved from thin slats of wood and made only small food (v, p. 346). One special kind, the *sukub madub*, was placed in the tobacco (*sukub*) gardens; it was a male figure. At Mabuiag, in order to make the yams grow, the men danced at night time round the gardens and repeatedly sung the song of the *madub*:

*Ari ina ina dawaiu nure dawaiu nure* (repeat *ad lib.*)  
*ūbu ūbu ūbu. . .*

(This is the version collected by S. H. Ray, which differs from that given in vol. v, p. 346.) Later on in the same night, after the men had finished, the spirits, *mari*, of the *madub* also danced and sang, for the *mari* do what the men do; they were said to swing the bullroarers, *bigu*, at the same time, and though it was not definitely recorded, it is probable that the men had done the same.

I had made for me in Mabuiag a model of a *madub* of large size, carved in the round; this kind made big food (v, p. 346). An old man of Waraber (one of the Three Sisters) made for MacFarlane a model of the old kind of wooden *madub* as used in the gardens "to make everything grow good". It is about 2 ft. high, and though a male, has well-defined breasts, and wears a fibre petticoat; cf. the Ērub effigy, Jukes, I, p. 185.

*Madub* was a general term in the Eastern islands for human effigies which were made of wood or stone. Those made of wood in Mer are the *sokop madub* for tobacco, which represent men (vi, p. 207) and the *neur madub* or love charms, which usually represented girls (vi, p. 222). The latter appear as a rule to have been owned individually, and though there may have been some small rite connected with them, they were not *zogo* and were not connected with an organised cult. I illustrate (vi, p. 232) a wooden figure of a man that was called *madub* and used for harmful purposes. *Madub* for malevolent rites were also employed in Ērub (p. 194); for a doubtful *madub* in Ērub, see p. 200.

Human effigies, mainly women, in stone, which normally made gardens productive were called *zole*, but when used for nefarious purposes were termed *madub*. Davies informed me of one, named Siparker, which was a *zole* or *madub* and was used to make a person die through illness; the rite was performed by a *zogo le*, who on receipt of a present could restore the patient to health.

It seems probable that the Eastern *madub* were either borrowed from the Western islands or that they belonged to an earlier common culture.

The ghoulish customs of the *madub le* of Mer are described on p. 173. The so-called Madub men of Badu in the story of Yawar (v, p. 36) were poor gardeners, they travelled on a rainbow; the *madub* garden shrine of Mabuiag represented a rainbow (v, p. 346).

*Wiwar* appears to have been the Miriam *au nei*, more particularly and perhaps entirely, for those stones used in malevolent rites, but *wiwar* were also called *zole* (vi, p. 233). It would seem that when a stone was used anti-socially it was called *wiwar*, and, further, Pasi said when a *wiwar* was a stone carved to represent a human face it was *maidem* ("for the purpose of *maid*"), thus it is not surprising that a *doiom* (p. 134) could also be used for malevolent purposes (vi, pp. 201, 234), and it was probably in this connection that it was termed *maidem*. *Maid* (vi, p. 222) can only be translated by our term "sorcery" or "magic", and it was especially applied to maleficent acts; a sorcerer was a *maid le* or *maid kem le*. Thus *maidem* was a descriptive appellation rather than an actual name like *wiwar*, but at the same time it could be termed an *au nei*, as it designated a variety of stones.

A *wiwar* (or *zole*), which was a natural or carved stone, was frequently placed in a garden to do harm to anyone who stole from that garden; to cure that person the *wiwar* was placed in water to cool it. Mr Davies describes (p. 116) a rite for curative purposes by *zogo le* connected with a "zole" or "wiwar".

It is suggestive that of the seven *wiwar* described in vol. vi, p. 234, six are of stone that must have come from the Western islands, the seventh is of pumice and might have been picked up anywhere.

The *wauri* of the Western islands were small wooden images coated with beeswax, or sometimes moulded entirely of beeswax, made by the *maidelaig* to kill or torture persons (v, pp. 197, 198, 324, 325). These are practically identical with the *isau mani* of Mer (vi, p. 230).

*Lu babat*. The term *lu babat* is applied by the Eastern islanders to objects which are revered on account of their antiquity and mythical associations; these may be rocks *in situ*, or natural, or wrought stones. Some of them are merely natural objects about which some myth or tale is told, and thus are supposed to substantiate the tale. Others are unworked stones, or stones usually carved to represent the human form or face, placed long ago in certain positions, which commemorate some tale. In most cases they are petrified personages of folk-tales or in a vague way are regarded as representing such personages whose names they generally bear, and some at all events are supposed to have a *lamar* or spirit associated with them. There is no *zogo* connected with them, nor do most of them appear to have any powers or to be able to do anything; for example, Bruce says that Badkur of Er causes sores on feet and Domed of Deiau causes chills. But occasionally some informants attributed a function to a few of them; the uncertainty in most cases may be a dim remembrance of some former function, or may merely be the expression of an idea that such objects must once have had some use. No one seems to know the history of the unwrought or carved stones or where they came from, the people only know that their forefathers revered them. The term *lu babat* may be loosely translated as "father's objects". Each local group or a particular place has one or more *lu babat*.

Examples of *lu babat* in vol. vi are: Pepker (p. 5), Ter-pipi and Ter-seberseber, and Iruam (p. 8), Kol (p. 11), Pekari and Kudar (p. 22), Gawer and her associated stones and

shells (p. 28), Barat (p. 42), Irado (p. 52), Kaperkaper (p. 53), Markep and Sarkep (p. 56), *Ziai neur* (p. 235), *Au kosker* (p. 279).

#### STONES OF POWER

The employment of stones of power, whether natural or more or less carved, was very common among the Eastern islanders, but apparently much less so among the Western islanders; though in the latter case it was not due to lack of stone, but doubtless the old igneous rocks of the Western islands were more difficult to work than the relatively recent volcanic lava and ash of the Eastern islands. It should also be borne in mind that the Western islanders have been much more affected by foreign influence than the Eastern islanders and consequently the old practices have been more completely obliterated, but, on the other hand, the stones themselves are imperishable. Comparatively few of such stones from the Western islands are to be found in museums; it is possible that many stones have been made away with by Christian zealots of various nationalities and it is also possible that some may remain hidden in the bush. Stone does not occur on the low Central islands, and the few sacred stones known from those were imported mainly from the Eastern islands.

For these stones, as for certain other things, there was a general term, *au nei* (big name), and a special name, *kebi nei* (small name), though the distinction between these is not always clear, perhaps through lack of precise information.

#### *Unworked or slightly worked stones*

Natural stones were used for nefarious purposes and were then called *wiwar* (VI, p. 233). There were many stones or pebbles kept in the gardens of the Miriam to make yams grow, such as the *lower kep* (VI, p. 212); one example we collected was set in a large *Fusus* shell which was called *uar*, canoe. The *ketai* (a variety of yam) *kep zogo* is a concretion (VI, p. 212). Perhaps there was a definite rite connected with the last two, in which case they might be properly termed *zogo*. The *enau zogo* consists of a number of clam shells containing numerous pebbles (VI, p. 202); this was a *zogo* with a ritual and was said to be of recent origin.

Frequently there was no obvious connection between the form of the stone and its function. The *sirar-sirarzogo* for ensuring a plentiful supply of terns' eggs (VI, p. 219) is a pyramidal block of granitic rock, but another stone connected with *sirar-sirar*, called *thur wer*, bird's egg, is said not to be a *zogo*. The *nauareb zogo* is also a lump of granite; it made a garden productive (VI, p. 210). The constipation *zogo* is a rounded sandstone boulder (VI, p. 233).

The *omabar koj lu*, "omabar sexual intercourse thing" (p. 109; VI, p. 221), and certain circular flattened worked stones were used in love magic. There is no reason to regard these latter as representing testes, as the Miriam name for a testis is *geb wer*, serotum egg. *Omabar* is said to be the name of "a small bird; a love charm (*koj lu*), *au nei* for *birobiro zogo*" (III, p. 156). See also p. 139.

At Gumu on Mabuiag is a large boulder of granite called *wiwai*. When it was first noticed a big feast and dance were made for it, which then became an annual rite for catching turtle during the *surlal* season (V, p. 334).

There was also a *wiwai* on Yam that no one could lift, and at it was held a mimetic rite for *gapu* and hence for turtle (V, p. 335).

On Waraber there is a block of introduced stone, *bau*, connected with the waterspout shrine and cult (p. 86). This was really a cult for ensuring success in turtle fishing.

A globular black stone, *babat*, on Paremar was used as a turtle *zogo* (p. 87).

On Aurid was a large, circular, flat, black stone *maidam* which made wind, lightning, or fine weather (p. 88).

I obtained in Mer a worked fusiform stone of syenite which had an individual name, *tik*, and was a garden charm (VI, p. 212).

On Boigu is a rounded *zogo* stone which afforded help in head-hunting expeditions (p. 38).

A mythical female personage in Daru used to work mischief with two stones (p. 52).

#### *Stones carved to represent animals or heads of animals*

The following may be taken as examples of a numerous class. A large carving in volcanic ash of a Torres Straits pigeon, about which there is no information (VI, p. 235). A remarkable carving in coral of the skull of a horse-mackerel, kept in a banana plantation, but probably originally a fish-charm (VI, p. 234). The head of a turtle in volcanic ash (p. 157). The *Siriam nam zole*, probably the head of a turtle, of local stone (VI, p. 216). A number of effigies of fish *lar*, in volcanic ash, were used as fish-charms, but often these had the name of the particular kind of fish it was desired to catch (VI, p. 217). The *Puleb zogo* (p. 170) contained similar objects. I obtained a single head of a rat, *mokeis*, and of a snake, *tabu*, both of local rock (VI, p. 220); possibly these may have come from the *mokeis zogo* and the *tabu zogo* (p. 143). The *birohiro* bird *zogo* is discussed on p. 138.

I collected a stone dugong in Tutu in 1888 (*Album*, I, pl. 345, fig. 1).

#### *Stones carved in the human form or face*

The presumed purely "magical" effect of the stones of the two preceding groups can scarcely apply to this group, as with the human form a different order of association is likely to occur.

The *doiom* of Mer (VI, pp. 193-201) were stone rain-charms rudely or well carved in the image of a man, but with no indication of sex. A *doiom* was a *zole*, but not a *zogo*, though usually they were treated with great respect, especially the more important ones; they all had individual names. Rain-making was one of the functions of the *Zagareb le*, who had an annual ceremony, *imer gali*, for this purpose, preparatory to which novices, *kesi*, were initiated and instructed in the rites by the *zogo le*. The *gali-wed* were really prayers to *Irmer kara zogo*, "Rain my *zogo*", from which it is evident that rain was the *zogo* of the *Zagareb* division of Mer. From the number of *doiom* that I and others have collected it is obvious that numerous men were allowed to possess one, but it is highly probable that they were confined to the districts mentioned on p. 169, and though they united in participating in the *irmer gali*, they could also practise their rites individually when necessary. For the production of a gale by a *doiom* in 1836 see p. 99. A *doiom*, perhaps because it was in human form, could also be employed for maleficent purposes, in which cases it was spoken of as *maidem*, "for *maid*". Possibly the use of a *maidam* in Yam (V, p. 352) for making rain was introduced from Mer. A *doiom*, for wind, made of lead, from an island between Yam and Mer is described in vol. V, p. 353.

The *bager* of Mer are: (1) stones carved to represent a woman, usually pregnant, whose spirit, *lamar*, was supposed to prevent the fire at which she was placed from going out; (2) simply volcanic bombs (VI, p. 202). All of them were of local rock.

Many of the *lu babat* and most of the garden and other *zole* were of human form; those for gardens were frequently recognisable female effigies.

On Nagir is a roughly hewn stone about 6 ft. high which bears some resemblance to a man, and is surmounted by a hat of round coral. It is called Nāgi and was formerly much venerated (p. 71). The man thus represented may be the eponym of the island.

I collected at Tutu in 1888 a large block of pumice, *mat*, on which was carved a human face which was used for evil magic, *maid*; it is in the British Museum (v, p. 363); and also a stone figure at Mabuig (Album, I, pl. 317, fig. 9).

#### *Memorial stones*

In certain Western islands there appears to have been a class of stones that was absent elsewhere. Macgillivray in 1849 saw at the foot of the *waus* in Nāgir a row of stones with painted faces, to which the names of dead persons were given, in some of which the painting was comparatively recent. Although I did not see any of these when I visited the spot in 1888, I was informed that faces of both sexes were painted on these flat stones, *kula* (v, p. 366). Gill (1872, p. 220) in 1872 saw in Parama (Parem) a row of round stones at the base of the *waus*, which he termed "gods", presumably because they had faces painted on them. In both these cases it is most probable that the stones were simply memorials of the dead, for we know that skulls were kept partly for this reason, and MacFarlane tells me that in the Eastern islands, so far as he can ascertain, "the only reason for keeping the mummified body was that the friends might have something to keep fresh the memory of the deceased, as one man put it, 'all same photo'".

#### *Spirit stones of augul*

Of peculiar interest are the stones recorded in vol. v, p. 374 for Yam, where below each turtle-shell image of the *kodal* and *kursi augul* was a stone, *waier*, in which resided the spirit of that particular *augul*.

#### *Stones connected with gardens*

Stones connected with gardens were especially common in the Murray Islands, p. 136; some were impersonal but many had names, such as *Tik* and *Aiget* (vi, p. 212), that made garden produce grow. *Ai geres* is a rudely carved local stone to represent a woman: she caused a good crop of yams and used to call out to the *zogo* stones of the surrounding gardens and scoff at them (vi, p. 212).

The Nauareb *zogo*, so called after Nauareb, who came from Ērub with his two wives. As the stone is granite, it must have come from the west: it is a garden *zogo* of the Kōmet *le* of Mer. The wives stopped on the reef and are concerned respectively with *asor*, the spider shell, and *mi*, the clam shell (vi, p. 210).

The shrine of stones, also in Mer, known as Zabaker makes coconut trees fruitful (vi, p. 20); there are two *zogo le* for this *u zogo*.

On Ērub is a stone, *maiau-e* or *ma-i* for bananas, with officiating *zogo le* (p. 196).

A stone human figure, *ubarau zogo*, on Yam, secured a plentiful supply of the *ubar* fruit (v, p. 347).

#### *Stones to control animal life*

Besides the stones carved to represent animals or heads of animals there were others that controlled animal life, as, for example: the *sirar-sirar zogo* (p. 171), the snake *zogo* of Ērub (p. 194), the *babat* of Parama, the *bau* of Waraber, the *wiwai* of Yam and Mabuig (v, p. 335).



Many stones that had a primary economic function could be utilised anti-socially so as to injure or kill persons, such as the *doiom*, *nam zogo*, etc. The *omabar* were love-charms (pp. 109, 360). Others that were essentially malicious were a *zogo* to cause insanity and one to make people hungry and lean (VI, p. 232), the constipation *zogo* of Danar (VI, p. 233), the *wiwar*, were natural or carved stones (VI, p. 234), *madub* stones in Ērub (p. 194), a block of pumice carved as a face from Tutu (p. 75), the *uruwain* of Mabuiag (v, p. 324), the two stones on Daru associated with an evil spirit (p. 52), the head-hunting *zogo* of Boigu (p. 38).

#### *Stones associated with the sky*

There is very little evidence for the association of stones with the sky.

A large rock on Pulu, near Mabuiag, is said to have fallen from the sky (v, pp. 4, 22), and there was an analogous stone on Saibai (p. 46).

Dr S. MacFarlane said that on Ērub there were two stones, one on each side of the island, called *meb* (moon), one of which was circular (the full moon) and the other crescentic (VI, p. 202). I was informed that on Ērub was a large stone image of a woman, Huel, that represents the evening star (Venus) (VI, pp. 4, 202); W. H. MacFarlane also refers to *ilucl* (p. 200).

The circular flattened stone, with incised circles and radial lines, from Mer, may possibly be a sun symbol, but for this there is no evidence (VI, p. 235).

Although immediately outside the area, reference may be made to the war-stone that was formerly at Sumai, Kiwai Island, which was given birth to by a virgin, the moon being its father (v, p. 23).

Kwoiam's turtle-shell crescents were said to have been copied by him from the crescent moon (v, p. 70).

The *doiom* of Mer and Ērub to cause rain and storms have already been mentioned. A flat black stone on Aurid made wind, lightning or fine weather (p. 88).

#### *Images carved in wood*

Effigies of animals or human beings carved in wood have the same significance as those carved in stone.

The numerous miniature models of dugong from the Western and Eastern islands (IV, p. 390; v, p. 337; VI, p. 217) are examples of what is often termed sympathetic magic, as was the turtle from Tutu (v, p. 333).

The *kodal lu* or *saibri lu* were used in evil magic, *maid*, in Mer (VI, p. 228), as was the *waridub maid lu*, a staff with one end carved to represent the *waridub*, a large hawk (VI, p. 230).

Of human form in Mer were *sokop madub* for tobacco (VI, p. 207); *neur madub* for sexual attraction (VI, p. 222); *isau mani* and *madub* for nefarious magic (VI, pp. 230, 232).

Wooden human effigies in Mabuiag were *wauri* for malevolent magic (v, p. 324); *madub* to make gardens fruitful, of which a special form was the *sukub madub* for tobacco (v, p. 345). The "yam god" in the British Museum (*Album*, I, pl. 261, fig. 1) may be a tobacco charm, it has a human face carved on it.

*Summary*

Those stones which have been more or less carved to represent the human form or face may in most cases be regarded as an indication that some person or personage is implicated. The natural stones painted with a human face represented deceased persons (p. 362). The numerous effigies used to control vegetable life frequently had names, the significance of which is not now known; some certainly belong to legendary or mythical lore, and it is more than probable that this is the case for the majority of them. That most of these have a "religious" import can scarcely be denied.

That certain stones or rocks were once living beings was a common belief in Torres Straits, as elsewhere, and it seems not improbable that carved stones of power were crude representations of real or mythical ancestors who by this means continued to perform definite economic or social functions. It may be hazarded that these functions were those that were performed by the respective clans of those ancestors.

In the foregoing it will be seen that as a general rule each stone of power had its definite function, whether to promote vegetable fertility, success in fishing and in turtle or dugong catching, to control wind, to make rain, to do damage to crops, to prevent damage to crops, for sexual purposes, to make people sick or even to kill them, and so on. Also under certain conditions some of the foregoing could exercise the opposite effect to that which may be regarded as their normal function, and in a few cases the malevolent reaction which might be brought into play bore no relation to the normal function.

Thus most of the economic and many social aspects of life were affected by or allotted to these objects. In certain cases the stones seem to have inherent power due probably to their form, these being usually natural stones or stones carved to represent animals (in whole or in part). It is usual among students to regard this class of objects as coming under what is known as sympathetic magic.

There is always the possibility that here—as occurs elsewhere—the power exerted by the stone was due to an association with the power of some personage; as a rule, either the spirit of a deceased person or a spirit that was not known to have been human. When an unwrought stone possesses a personal name, though nothing more may be known about it, we may reasonably suspect that such stones belong to this category. We are here passing out of the "magical" into the "religious" sphere of action, according to the nomenclature that students have adopted in the past. A combination of these two aspects may frequently be met with.

There is the possibility that some, at least, of the stones owe their supposed power either to inherent or to transmitted soul-substance, as is believed by the Kai.

Dr Landtman mentions several times (1927, pp. 77, 78, 88, 96, 105, 118, 137) that certain objects are employed to "teach" yams, sweet potatoes, coconuts or sugar cane to grow; a dog to kill pigs; or the shafts of harpoons to get broken. Dr Hildburgh records something similar in his paper "The directing of conscious agents in some Japanese imitative magical practices" (*Man*, 1917, No. 2). He informs me that it is his opinion that much magic which has been assumed to be produced by the mere act of imitation has had as its basis a desire to show some conscious agent what was wanted, and in the case of material objects to keep on showing until the purpose was accomplished. In the instances given by Landtman there is a direct instruction of the objects concerned by imitation, but he does not say whether any soul-substance was implicated. Some of the stones of power might very well be considered as teachers that demonstrate the result it is desired to obtain.

*Stones of power in New Guinea and Melanesia*

The great abundance of stones of power in Torres Straits, especially in the Eastern islands, renders it desirable to consider analogies elsewhere. So many of the Eastern stones are of foreign origin that they evidently belong to a culture influence from the West. There can be no doubt that most of these stones are so old that no memory of their origin persists.

There is so little of this sort of thing in Australia that this cultus of stones could not have been thence derived. The stones of power described by Thomson (p. 269) in the Cape York peninsula were due to a culture drift from Torres Straits.

The whole southern area of British New Guinea from the western boundary (and beyond it) to the east of the Gulf of Papua is alluvial land and there are no local rocks or stones, with the exceptions of the rock at Mabudauan in the west and Cupola headland in the east, and of the local iron-stone in the Western Division; the natives therefore have to import their stone-headed clubs and axe and adze blades, and consequently over the greater part of this area there do not appear to be any stone effigies or other sacred stones; local exceptions at Mavata are mentioned on pp. 214, 231.

The interesting observations by Williams on the Keraki, who live between the Wassi Kussa and the Morehead (p. 249), show that there are cultural relations between these people and those of Torres Straits on the one hand and the Marind on the other. A great part in the rain-making rites is played by stones, each of which has a proper name, and the majority of them symbolise or represent some phenomenon of the heavens.

Although suitable stone is hard to come by among the Marind, yet we find (p. 255) that here stones are employed for magico-religious purposes and are representatives or embodiments of mythical ancestors, *dema*. This cult of stones was brought by their ancestors when they migrated from the mountainous interior of New Guinea.

Unfortunately our knowledge of the interior of New Guinea is very scanty and the first information I have been able to find about stones is the description by Reche (1913, p. 150, pl. XXXVI, fig. 2) of three large standing stones at 239 km. village [? Radja] on the Sëpik. The outer and smaller ones are much weathered and show only traces of carving, the central one has a large boldly carved face and indications of arms with the hands meeting below the chin. As Reche says, the presence of these stones is remarkable, as in this wide alluvial area even small stones are not found. Probably they were transported from the Hunstein mountains [south of the Sëpik], a distance of 140 km. by the river.

Dr P. Wirz (*Nova Guinea*, xvi, 1924, p. 64) found among a mountain people of the upper waters of the Him, an affluent of the Mamberamo, "power-stones" usually called *pibit* (which is also the general term for stone tools) or sometimes *ap*, man. They vary in size from about 20 cm. (8 in.) to 70 cm. (27½ in.) and are more or less elliptical in shape and biconvex in section, they are polished and painted red. When a child is born, the father makes a *pibit* for it, if he has not one by him as an heirloom from his maternal uncle, as is usually the case. Strength passes from the stone to the child throughout its life; there seems to be some connection between the stone and the soul of the owner. The stones do not appear to play any part in ceremonies, there is no secrecy about them though they are always kept in the men's house and remain the property of the men. A woman may borrow one from her husband or brother for the use of her child or herself. The stones form an inexhaustible source of power mainly for human beings (hence their name *ap*), but may be used to promote the fertility of garden produce. Wirz compares these stones with *churinga*.

Throughout the whole of the south-east peninsula of New Guinea and the adjacent islands there are extremely few records of sacred stones. There are, however, small natural stones, usually "yam stones", that were part of a sorcerer's kit among the Roro-speaking tribes (Seligman, 1910, pp. 282-8) or were used in simple garden magic. Seligman (pp. 172 ff.) gives a full account and illustrations of such stone charms: he says: "Probably the majority of charm stones are picked up in the district in which they are used. Some, however, may come from the Papuan Gulf". Two are said to have come from Vailala. There are analogous fishing, love, and weather charms.

In describing the region of Goodenough bay, the Rev. H. Newton (*In Far New Guinea*, 1914, pp. 167-71) speaks of a named sacred stone in a deserted village of Wamira which had been there for generations; to it was due prosperity and good crops. At Wedau there is a stone which gives strength and courage for war; from far and near people come to drink water in which chips of it has been boiled, but it is given only to allies. In all the villages there are stones which are revered and may not be moved. There are sling stones which have been kept for generations and they give to other sling stones the power of direction. In the Boianai villages many stones have signs on them, rude circles, chipped concentrically; their presence in the village ensures success to all garden work, a plentiful supply of food, and happiness to the people. The people are loth to part with them at any price. There are others, short stunted obelisks stuck in the ground with rude markings. All these are really taboo; they may not be interfered with or trouble will follow. Whence they came no one knows, they were here in the time of the ancestors of the people, they remain for ever, what the markings are no one can say.

D. Jenness and A. Ballantyne (*The Northern d'Entrecasteaux*, Oxford, 1920, p. 136) mention a large natural named stone on Goodenough Island and two large upright flat stones, which it would be disastrous to overturn as a spirit lives beneath them.

In Rossel Island (W. E. Armstrong, *Anthropos*, xviii-xix, 1923-4, and *Rossel Island*, Cambridge, 1928, pp. 140-68) there is a great number of *yaba*, or sacred spots, which may consist of nothing more than a bit of projecting coral on the reef, or a piece of ground with a stone in the middle of it, or a tree; usually each has a guardian, frequently a snake. The stone or other object seems in most cases to have a sort of dual existence, like that of the gods, for it has an existence in Temewe [a mythical land at the bottom of the lagoon], where it is human in form; in fact there seems to be a vague idea that that which is really the stone may be at the same time a stone in Rossel and a man, or perhaps it would be better to say a spirit or god, in Temewe. Each *yaba* (there are a few exceptions) controls some process in nature which is of importance to the native; for instance, the processes of sex. Many of the *yaba* have two modes of reaction, one beneficent, the other maleficent. The beneficent reaction occurs if the *yaba* is properly looked after by that man whose duty it happens to be, and if the rites prescribed for certain times are carried out. The care of a *yaba* consists in almost all cases of keeping the *yaba* tidy, and in particular the object (generally a stone), which is the source of the peculiar effect on nature appropriate to that *yaba*, must be kept free from fallen leaves. The maleficent reaction occurs if this care is not taken, the rites not carried out, or if a person (except the authorised person) or even an animal enter the forbidden area. The *yaba* are probably never fenced in, but in some cases the stone is kept in a small house. A second class of *yaba* consists of those which have only a maleficent reaction, which may be prevented by appropriate rites. With many *yaba* is associated a wind from a certain direction, which may be very violent in the

maleficent reaction. The light winds and calms which occur towards the end of the south-east season are entirely due to certain rites performed at the *sago-yaba*, but if these rites for calm weather are not carried out the sago, bananas and plaintains would fail.

The following are a few examples of the functions of *yaba* stones and their attendant animals: To increase coconuts (two crocodiles). Inflamed eyes, thunder and lightning, a northerly wind (a large mollusc). Rain, swelling of the testes, a wind (a tree with a guardian sting-ray). To give a good crop of taro (a snake). Sexual desire and fertility—the reverse and venereal disease, a gentle north-east wind—storm and floods (a snake). To control the taro-grub, the formula for this belonged to a woman who neglected to pass it on before her death: as a result the Rossel taro is very poor and fears are held that it will be completely destroyed by the grub; this is the only known instance of the loss of a formula connected with a *yaba* (the taro-snake). Swelling of the legs (dugong and a snake). Sexual desire—general sickness (a crocodile). High tides of the north-west season (a snake). An imported stone axe blade produces good appetite or hunger (the monitor lizard). Some have no attendant animal. There is an analogy between the *chaiu yaba* (1928, p. 159) and the Wag *zogo* (vi, p. 201): on the *yaba* is a large stone, containing a hole, which is plugged with sticks and leaves by the priest when rain is desired. The rain ceases when these are removed. It is not considered dangerous for anyone to approach this stone. There are two mosquito *yaba* (1928, pp. 160, 164): mosquitoes result from lack of care of the priests in keeping the places clean, they are soothed by the juice of limes being squeezed over the stones. The Lag *zogo* for control of mosquitoes in Mer has a different ritual (p. 168).

The Rossel islanders speak a non-Melanesian language, and there are several characteristics of their culture that indicate that they are different from their neighbours. In my Introduction to Armstrong's book I have shown that there is a mixed population in the island as indicated by measurements, and the mythology also supports a complex origin. The hierarchy of gods appears to belong to an ancient stratum, and we may regard the *yaba* as associated with the same stratum; and, if so, the sacred stones similarly belong thereto, and presumably to the "Papuan" stock. But the religion has doubtless been influenced by later cultures.

Concerning the Melanesians, Codrington says a man may pick up a stone that takes his fancy, and thinking it may have power he puts it in his garden; abundant crop that follows shows that the stone has *mana*, and having that power it is a vehicle to convey *mana* to other stones, but this power, though itself impersonal, is always connected with some spirit, human or otherwise. "If a stone is found to have a supernatural power, it is because a spirit has associated itself with it" (1891, p. 119). In the New Hebrides, "Some of these stones have an ancient established sanctity; only the few who know how to approach the spirit will visit them for sacrifice. . . . Some [sacred stones, *matiu*] are *rui* who have turned into stones; some in the sea are men of old time turned into stones; some never were anything but stones, but have a *rui* connected with them" (*l.c.* pp. 182-3). In the Banks group no garden was planted without stones buried in the ground. The stones had power for every kind of emergency. Rivers also discusses these stones (1914, I, p. 163; II, p. 406). Deacon says that in Malekula certain sacred stones are associated with two of the mythical culture heroes termed Kabat (Ambat), others are the residence of powerful *temes*, ghosts (1934, pp. 632, 646, 648).

Codrington (p. 170) says that in Omba, "All the stones that are sacred are connected

with Tagaro, though other spirits also are concerned; all charms have their power from the name of Tagaro in them".

It seems from the evidence adduced by Codrington that this association does not occur in the other islands referred to by him, and it appears more probable that the employment of stones of power belonged to a much older culture in Melanesia than that brought by the heroes of the Qat-Tagaro Ambat mythology.

F. Sarasin (1929, p. 297) gives much the same information for New Caledonia. He says that the prayers and formulas spoken over the stones and the offerings brought to them would scarcely be given to a stone with an impersonal soul-stuff, but only to a spirit which is thought to be active in it. It is also significant that the stones are generally kept with the skulls of ancestors or are brought to them before they are used, clearly in order that they may receive power from the souls of the ancestors.

There is no need to pursue this subject further, as sacred stones occur in the Solomon Islands and elsewhere in western Oceania.

#### *Whence was the cult of stones in Torres Straits derived?*

There is no doubt that there is a close resemblance between the stones of power in Melanesia, in the south-east of New Guinea and in the adjacent islands with those in south-west New Guinea and Torres Straits. Two alternatives present themselves:

(1) A culture drift from Melanesia. In the discussion on the cult of the Brethren (p. 396) the possibility is suggested that the cult came indirectly from Melanesia, but not directly to the Eastern islands as might be supposed on this hypothesis. It seems improbable that this culture drift (even if it occurred) brought with it the cult of the stones of power, as there is no associated tradition in the Straits to connect the stones with the hero cult, and the use of the stones appears to be very much older than the hero cult. If the use of stones of power came from Melanesia it must have been very early, but for this there is no evidence.

(2) There is so much evidence of Western connections in the cult of stones of power, as also in other elements of the Eastern culture of Torres Straits, that this supplies a more reasonable explanation of our problem. The use of stones in Torres Straits may therefore be merely the continuation under more favourable circumstances of an ancient culture spreading from the north into the south-west of New Guinea; the Keraki and the Marind show how engrained is the regard for stones of power.

Wirz has drawn attention to analogy between the stones of power of the Marind and the stone churinga of Central Australia. Although these stone objects are very different from the stones of power here described, they point, along with other matters, to some ancient connection between New Guinea and Australia, and there is much in common with the *doma* of the Marind and the *Alchera* ancestors of Australia.

#### MASKS

Very characteristic of Torres Straits are the masks that were worn on certain ceremonial occasions; many of these rites have been described in vols. v and vi. The masks were usually made of turtle-shell or wood; the simplest represented the human face, but some were effigies of animals, in which case most had in addition a human face. I have nothing to add to the full description of masks given in vol. iv, pp. 296-304.

We have definite evidence that in some cases a mask could only be worn on a particular occasion and then solely by a man who was entitled to do so. It is very probable that originally this was the invariable rule. We also know that frequently the masked dancer represented a personage of some sort, who in a few cases is referred to in mythology, and there can be no doubt that if we had a more complete knowledge of native mythology the significance of the other personages would be apparent.

The increase of garden products or of certain fruit trees was supposed to be due to specific men performing rites usually in connection with definite ritual objects, such as the *madub* of the west and the *zole* or *zogo* of the east. Feasting and rejoicing marked the beneficial results of such rites, and in many of these festive ceremonies masks were worn: for example, at the *gariŋ kap* at Yam (v, p. 346), the *mudu kap* at Mabuŋag (v, p. 339), the *dogaŋra wetpur* of Mer (p. 181; vi, pp. 209, 271).

In most of the Western islands a ceremony was performed when the *ubar* fruit (also called *wangai*, *Mimusops kaukii*, the *enau* or *enoa* of the East) was ripe. I formerly thought that the function of the ceremony was to ensure a good crop of fruit, but I am now of the opinion that it was a ceremony of rejoicing and possibly of thankfulness. At this *mawa* ceremony (v, p. 348) a mask was worn and, at all events, in Nāgir and Mabuŋag, there was a large one, *kai mawa*, and a smaller one, *mugi mawa*, and also two in Saibai. In several islands the masks, or rather masked men, represented certain named personages about whom I have no information. A mask made of hibiscus bark was worn in the *atag* or *waiwa lag* of the Miriam (vi, p. 204). When the *zogo* ceremony (p. 142; vi, p. 202) succeeded in producing a large crop of *enau* fruit, this performance was held. Mr Bruce regards this as "only a play carried on as a kind of thanksgiving for the good crop of fruit. It was not a *zogo*".

It seems probable that the animal masks, *urui krar*, such as the *waiitutu* (saw-fish) *krar* (v, p. 342) and the *iabur* (v, p. 343), were mostly for the purpose of securing a good catch of that particular animal, or perhaps for success in fishing generally. As some of these animals were totems, it may be accepted that these were worn (probably exclusively) by members of that totem clan and that the rites at which they were worn were essentially of the same nature as the *intichūma* ceremonies of the central Australians. The crocodile masks could hardly have been worn for this purpose, and it is possible that one function of the crocodile clan was to protect people from crocodiles, not that this was important for the islanders, as crocodiles are very rarely to be met with on the coasts of any of the islands: the crocodile, cassowary, and doubtless other totems were relics of an older totemism belonging to the mainland of New Guinea.

Some of the simple or combined human faces belong to a different category. The most important of the simple faces were the Kulka mask at Aurid (iv, p. 299; v, p. 378) and the Bomai mask of Mer (vi, pp. 289-92), which were the essential paraphernalia of the cult of the Brethren (in the cult of the Brethren in Yam (v, p. 373) there were turtle-shell effigies of a crocodile and a hammer-headed shark which served the same purpose; see also p. 387).

In the Western spirit dances at the *tai* (v, pp. 252-9), as also at Mawata, the men who impersonated the spirits of the recent dead or other spirits wore a leafy visor, *markaikuik*, and something similar was worn in Mer in the *kiber* of *eud lera roairoai* "dead man's likeness" (vi, p. 139), in the *weziwez kiber* (vi, p. 142) and probably in other *kiber*.

Wooden bar-like masks were worn in the *kiber* of *Tur siriam* (p. 124) and human-face turtle-shell masks in the *kiber* of *pop le op* (vi, p. 135) and the *kiber* of *Dogaŋ* (p. 125; vi,

p. 143). Turtle-shell masks were worn at the *taera* of Mawata by men who represented the spirits of those long dead, and this also may have been the case in the Western islands.

The *meket* was a small turtle-shell mask used in the *meket siriam zogo* (p. 166; vi, p. 273); this was a "small *zogo* like Malu", by this I understand a cult into which there was a definite initiation that was anterior to the cult of the Brethren. There seems to be no doubt that the *meket sarik* was the successful warriors' dance of the men initiated into this cult, during which a human-face turtle-shell mask was worn.

Turtle-shell masks in the form of animals were very characteristic of the Western islands and were occasionally employed by the Miriam. Among the Bruce MS. are two drawings, figs. 12, 13, of the *au kosker kiber*; this is a Waier *kiber*, as two *au kosker* were incidentally connected with Waiet.<sup>1</sup> In the *kiber* the two old women wore voluminous skirts and held plants in their hands, as did their prototypes. Bruce says a man wearing a great crocodile mask, *tete*, squatted on the beach and the women danced round him. He continually shifted his head as if he were bowing to each of the women as they went round him. He lifted his head and the long jaws opened and closed in a very comical manner. I believe this is the only record of a mask with a moveable jaw. *Te*, mouth; *tete* probably means a large mouth: for *dumib* or *dumieb* see p. 398. A man wearing a similar mask is painted on a stone top, vol. vi, pl. XXIV, fig. 5. Numerous animal masks are described in vol. iv, pp. 299-304.

There are masks of various kinds in many museums about which there is no information, and it is most improbable that the foregoing instances account for all the occasions on which masks were worn.

Masks certainly had a religious significance and therefore had to be treated with respect. It was probably always the case that when a man wore any particular mask he for the time being became identified with the personage or power which that mask symbolised. We may take it for granted that, at all events in most cases, a mask could be worn only by a man who had inherited the right to perform that particular ceremony or who had been specially initiated into that cult.

#### KĪBER AS SOUL OR SOUL-SUBSTANCE

The information received from Mr Bruce about the *kiber* pantomimes has been given in vol. vi, pp. 127-44. The meaning of the term in this connection seems to be the soul or the spirit of a dead person. The ceremonies evidently were the recognition of the continued existence of the deceased, hence the performance of a particular *kiber* was restricted to the social group to which the dead person belonged. Although it is stated (vi, p. 128) that the *kiber* pantomimes came from Mabuiag, the word is unrecorded in the Mabuiag vocabulary.

In a later note Bruce says: "*Kiber*, i.e. *lamar* or spirit, is whatever was really connected

<sup>1</sup> The following from Bruce's MS. supplements what is given in vol. vi, p. 279. When Waiet was sitting on the beach beating his drum and singing he noticed that the shrubs and small trees were swaying with the wind, so he timed his drumming and singing to synchronise with them. Waiet frequently drummed and sang to the two "old women" whilst they danced, but always at a distance of about 200 yds. away from them and he never spoke to them. The natives think that after Waiet changed himself into his *keisar* (turtle-shell) image the old women changed themselves into the two stone-figures (vi, pl. V, fig. 2); they are on the land belonging to Kureva [? Kriba, Waier, 29].





Fig. 42. *Tete* with an *au kosker* on each side. Waier.



Fig. 43. *Tete* (probably represented by *lone*) with a *dumib* on each side. Waier.

with a man in life or after death, it does not matter how insignificant the thing may be, it is looked upon as a part of the deceased. One might think that they regarded the thing as a part of the spirit". It is thus evident that the term *kēber* signifies the soul or the soul-substance, a concept that is widely spread in New Guinea and elsewhere.

It is therefore not surprising that consternation was felt by the Miriam at the theft of the *kēber* (VI, pp. 149, 150), since the spirit of the dead person was impoverished and feeling aggrieved was ready to vent its wrath on the living. The return of the *kēber* was thus essential to the peace of mind of the living and the pacification of the spirit, and this could only take place on the conclusion of a ritual exchange of food, called *merpa* or *murpa* (p. 150).

In a further note Bruce says:

It is astonishing the trouble that the stealing of the *kēber* causes, as all the friends have to assist in bringing presents of food stuffs. Certain days are appointed for exchanging foods between the parties of the feud. It will sometimes last for weeks, each party vying with the other as to who can produce and show most; everything they have of value is eventually taken out of their houses and exchanged. Each party tries to outdo the other in showing its wealth of food and household possessions. The whole thing is really a challenge of who can show most and keep up the dignity of their clan. The members of a poor clan try their utmost to show a good face and will exhibit the same thing over and over again in different guises if possible. Of course it is easily seen who has most wealth of food and goods. The affair generally finishes up with more high words. Afterwards the *kēber* is returned.

According to A. C. Kruijt (*Encyclop. Religion and Ethics*, VII, 1914, pp. 232 ff.) widely spread in Indonesia is the belief that human beings have two souls. The one plays a part only in this world and to this Kruijt applies the name of "soul-substance", which after death animates another part of nature. The second soul plays a part only in the next life and carries on a personal existence in a realm of spirits, which is similar to the earth. All parts of the human body and its secretions contain according to some people an impersonal soul-substance, though others regard it as personal. The impersonal soul-substance can be both increased and decreased. Life is made stronger by eating and drinking and thereby assimilating the soul-substance of the food. The Papuans and other peoples drink human blood and eat the brain and other parts of the body; that the main object is to add to their soul-substance appears from the parts eaten.

The Papuan-speaking Kai of the Sattelberg district of the Huon peninsula, according to C. Keysser (R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, III, 1911, pp. 111 ff.), also believe a man has two souls: one which persists after death and the "soul-stuff" which perishes with the body. The ghost-soul also has its soul-stuff, as also have animals, plants and stones. The powers and qualities of a person or thing also belong to his or its soul-stuff and can be transmitted by contact. It permeates not only his person and secretions but also his glance, his name, his voice and all his actions. Soul-stuff is the power which works through the object with or without the agency of charm words. The efficacy of the utterance of names in magical formulas and of mimetic acts in rituals depends on the soul-stuff. It can be insulated, or prevented from escaping, by various methods. There is a mutual attraction of allied soul-stuffs not only in persons but in objects; thus a white leaf of the size and form of a megapod's egg will guide a man in his search for those eggs. Whatever befalls the soul-stuff is undergone by its owner as well; this is very dangerous, since the soul stuff attaches to anything that is touched. This belief affects the whole life of the Kai and is the basis of their "magical" practices, of which Keysser gives numerous examples.

E. W. P. Chinnery ("The belief in soul and soul-substance", *Man*, XIX, 1919, No. 72) says:

The natives of the Northern Division [of Papua] speak of a "thing within" that leaves the body at death and becomes a ghost. A quality, described as the "strength" of the "thing within", permeates the body, and its influence becomes attached to everything with which the body is in any way associated. Water appears to remove the effects of association. . . Charms and inhalations are employed to acquire the good qualities of animals, inanimate objects, and plants that, like man, possess "strength" and souls. I am also informed that when eating human flesh a man chooses some portion of a victim to reinforce a weakness in that part of his own body (Northern Division and Moreri, Kikori District).

Like the Kai, these peoples speak "Papuan" languages.

A. P. Lyons (*J.R.A.I.* LI, 1921, p. 428) says that the "Bina tribe" [coastal Kiwaians] believe in a quality called *niro-iopu*, which occurs in men, animals and plants and in objects made from the plants. If this be so, it is practically soul-substance.

The *kunta* of the Koko Ya'o of north-east Queensland (p. 269) appears to be very similar to soul-substance.

Rivers in his paper "The concept of soul-substance in New Guinea and Melanesia" (*Folk-Lore*, XXXI, 1920, p. 48) says (p. 64): "We have no evidence from any part of Melanesia of the belief in the impersonal form of soul-substance which justifies this name".

The theft of the *kēber* may be regarded as an attempt to gain control of the soul-substance of the deceased, and, though no definite statement was obtained in Mer, or elsewhere in Torres Straits, of the existence of such a belief, we may accept that it was implicit in such customs as eating parts of the body or the juices of a dead person or the partaking of the sweat of a living person.

If we accept *kēber* to be the equivalent of soul-substance, it seems to follow that this belief belongs to an old "Papuan" element in the population of Mer and was not derived from Melanesia.

In a suggestive paper, "The significance of head-hunting in Assam" (*J.R.A.I.* LVIII, 1928, p. 399), J. H. Hutton shows that in the Naga hills the souls of the dead are potent in the fertility of the family, the village, and the crops. The soul resides more especially in the head; obviously, if fertilising soul-matter is required, the way to get it is by cutting off and taking home a head. The taking of heads may add to the soul-matter of a clan and so increase its powers of resistance to disease. He adds: "Clearly head-hunting, if based on the acquisition of soul-matter for the fertilising of the crop, might develop into human sacrifice. . . So, too, this theory of head-hunting suggests the principle on which some cannibalism, at any rate, has been explained—the eating of an enemy to acquire his attributes" (*l.c.* p. 405).

We are justified in concluding that the belief in soul-substance was implicit if not explicit in Torres Straits. This would explain in a satisfactory manner the partaking of some part of the corpse either of an enemy or of a member of the community, or of the sweat of a living warrior. There is no local evidence, so far as I am aware, that head-hunting had a somewhat similar significance, but this is not improbable. Everywhere there was a conviction that the spirits of dead persons could increase the productivity of crops and ensure success in dugong and turtle fishing, the mechanism of which can be explained by soul-substance, since the transference of its potency could be effected not only by indirect contact but also by uttering the name of that deceased person, whether he be a

relative, a clansman, or merely some personage of repute. It would be natural to believe that the power of the spirit of a dead person was especially associated with his skull, and skulls of relatives, or even of others, were constantly used for divination (v, p. 362; vi, pp. 266-9; see also G. Pinza, "La conservazione delle feste umani", *Mem. Soc. Geogr. italiana*, vii, 1897, pp. 305-492).

#### X. CULTURE-BEARERS, CULT-HEROES, AND HERO CULTS

Culture-bearers and cult-heroes, p. 374; Sida, p. 374. The hero cults: The cult of Kwoiam, p. 380; The cults of the Brethren: Sigai and Maiau, p. 385; Kulka, p. 390; Sãũ, p. 390; Bomai-Malu, p. 390; Discussion of the cults of the Brethren, p. 391; The social value of these cults, p. 397. The cult of Waïet, p. 398. The cult-heroes Waïet and Naga, p. 405.

#### CULTURE-BEARERS AND CULT-HEROES

Several legendary persons were credited with introducing new arts or better ways of doing things. Yawar of Badu unsuccessfully tried to teach some of his neighbours improved methods of gardening, but they chased him to Mer and we are told (v, p. 37) "Yawar took earth from Badu and took banana, yam, sugar-cane...taro, coconuts and water and threw them down in Moie (Mer)". Gelam introduced plants and fruits into Mer from Moa (v, p. 40; vi, p. 25). Sida or Soida, who came from New Guinea, was the bestower of many good things. The stories about him are discussed later.

Sesere of Mabuïag introduced the method of harpooning dugong (p. 60; v, p. 41). Bia of Badu discovered the method of catching turtle by means of the sucker-fish, which he taught to the Muralûg people (v, p. 44) and to the Miriam, by whom he was called Barat (vi, p. 41). Abob and Kos of Mer (p. 152; vi, pp. 26-8) built the first stone fish-traps (iv, p. 158), which they introduced into the other Eastern islands and into some of the Central islands. Later the brothers went to Ērub, where they changed their names to Pati and Ēnag, again changing them to Kulka and Dibir at Ugar; thence to Damut where they were known as Ūi and Sinarne, to Tutu as Waïan and Keboi, and to Parem as Badai and Kebor; finally they went to Kïwai, where they remained. At each place which Abob and Kos visited after leaving the Murray Islands, they either taught a new language or suggested a different way of speaking the old one. The people of Ērub and Ugar speak the same language as the Miriam, but with dialectic differences. The little that is known about the language of the Central islanders shows it to be half Western and half Eastern, and even at Tutu some Eastern (Miriam) words are employed. This is the only account I have of culture spreading westwards from the Eastern islands.

No cult was connected with any of these culture-bearers.

One or two personages introduced cult practices into various islands, such as Naga and Tabu, but there does not appear to have been any personal cult associated with them (pp. 405-10).

There were however definite cults of a few heroes: Kwoiam, The Brethren, and Waïet or Waïet.

#### SIDA AND SAID (SIDO AND SÓIDO)

There are discrepancies among the islanders concerning the name of this hero, or of these two heroes, for Mr Davies informs me that Pasi, Barsa and Mōdi of Mer had an argument whether "Saider" and "Sidar" were two persons or only one. I have found a note of Bruce's which says: "Said [Sóido] came after [later than] Sida" (p. 102). If there be two of them, their adventures have been confused by the islanders.

Thanks to the researches of Dr G. Landtman we now have a detailed account of two culture-heroes, Sido and Sóido (1917: Sido, pp. 95-119; Sóido, pp. 119-24; 1927: Sido, pp. 284-90, 426, 432, 433; Sóido, pp. 73, 74, 318). I can here give but the barest outline of their story.

I. Sido was born from a hole in the ground at Uúo in Kiwai, his father was Sopuse; when he was grown up he went to a dance at Iasa, where he fell in love with Sagaru, who returned with him to his birthplace, but eventually they went back to Iasa. Sagaru ran away (there are incidents of two miraculous *kurua* and *nabea* trees) and eventually went to Dibiri at the mouth of the Bamu, where she married Meuri. Sido followed her and was killed by Meuri's brother, or by Meuri himself. Sido was the first man to die. His body was put in a canoe; Sagaru lay on his body and they went back to Kiwai, but Sido's spirit went in advance. Sido's spirit became a mischievous sprite; he turned later into an *uae* shell-fish which was eaten by two twin sisters, Koremo and Ahau (or variants of these names), who were joined together back to back; he was reborn in one of them, and when grown up he cut them apart. Sido's spirit told the two women to wait for him while he wandered about; everywhere he went he dug a hole in the ground in which he lay, hoping to become possessed of a new body so that he might live as a man, and he wanted all people afterwards to be reincarnated, but everywhere he was prevented from passing from his old body into a new one. In one version it says that he wanted to change his skin in the same way that a snake does. The skin opened at the top of his head, and just as he was coming out he was seen by some boys and girls, who said, "Oh, Sido he come out now!" Immediately he drew himself back. He went westwards and came to Boigu, here his two "mothers" followed him contrary to his injunctions: they gave him water to drink out of his own skull, so he speared them and one was transformed into a turtle and the other into a dugong. Then he went to Adiri, where he married Gogu, the daughter of one of the three men there. They had no fire, no proper house, and no cultivated plants. From his connection with Gogu all sorts of vegetables sprang up; Sido showed them how to make fire and built an enormous house, and swung a *gope* in order to make people come and live in the house when they died in Kiwai, Mawata, etc.

II. Sóido came from Darai, a place near the Gama-oroma in Dibiri [the Gama river is east of the Bamu] and once during his wanderings arrived at Budji (Bugi, at the mouth of the Mai Kussa), where he married a bush-woman whom he killed and cut up and from the fragments grew all kinds of useful plants. He swallowed the food whole and it all passed into his genital organs. A frigate bird carried him to Boigu and he asked for a woman, which was refused; the same happened at Dauan, Gaba (Two Brothers Island), Yam, Erub and other islands. At last he came to More, Mer, and married Pekai; during their first intercourse all the food passed out of his genitals and immediately became coconut palms, bananas, yams, taro, etc., for up to that time Mer was a desert island. The intercourse killed Pekai, but Sóido restored her to life. When Pekai died she became a stone, like a woman, which was kept for a long time on Mer [cf. vi, p. 22], but was broken later and now only some fragments remain. Some small pieces of the stone have been taken to Kiwai and Mawata, which are used for garden "medicine"; a small portion is buried with the first banana, yam, or whatever it is they are planting, and a song sung about Sóido and Pekai. Sóido and Pekai are always associated by the Kiwaians with gardening, and many agricultural rites bear reference to them. They are also sometimes invoked by harpooners of dugong. "Sóido's spirit and Morevanogere's [Pekai's father] still dwell on More [Mer] beneath the ground. Sometimes the two are seen moving about on the island in the form of a snake, bird, or man" (Landtman, 1927, p. 74).

In the folk-tales given in vol. v, I give (1) a Mabuiag (p. 28), (2) a Saibai (p. 31), and (3) a Kiwai (p. 35) version of these tales, and in vol. vi (p. 19) (4) a composite Miriam version. I shall refer to them respectively by these numbers, and, following Landtman, I allocate each tale, or the appropriate portions of each tale, to the respective heroes while giving them their original designations. See also pp. 102, 104.

I. Sido. In (1), the story of Sida begins when the hero goes to Kiwai after leaving Mer (p. 29) and in (2) when he arrives at Mibu (an island west of Kiwai) after leaving Ugar (p. 32). In version (3) (p. 35) the hero is called Soïda, but his adventures are those of Sido, except the paragraph at the end which deals with Murray Island. Soïda was born from a hole in the ground at Dropo (Doropo on the north-east side of Kiwai), his father was named Sôpuse. After Sagaru left him he took food from Gaima (a Gogodara village on the north bank of the Fly estuary) and threw it on to Găba. Then he went to Boïgu and to the Wasi Kusa, where he cut up the wife who had been given to him, and from her fragments a great crop of vegetable produce sprang up. Later he went to Mer. (4) The whole of Beardmore's version of the story of Sidor refers to Sido (*J.A.I.* XIX, 1890, p. 465), whose spirit, after he had been killed by Meuri, went to Vigoö (Boïgu) and eventually to Wibo, the abode of spirits.

II. Sôido. In (1), Sida came from Pab (on the mainland of New Guinea beyond Boïgu) and flew as a frigate bird to Găba (or Gebar, Two Brothers Island), thence to Yam, Masig, Ērub, and Mer; he gave useful plants to each according to the desirability of the woman given to him by each island. In (2), Sida came inside a frigate bird from Sadoa, where the Tugerî (Marind) men come from, and went to Boïgu, thence to Saibai, Dauan, Găba, Tutu, Danut, Ērub, and Mer; on leaving Mer he went to Ugar and finally reached Mibu. Tale (3) says very little about the visit to Mer (the story is really about Sido). The Miriam version (4) deals solely with Sida, or Said, who came from Daudai (Hunt's version says Boïgu); before leaving Mer he killed Kudar, the mother of Abob and Kos (VI, pp. 21, 27), and flew back to New Guinea as a frigate bird, stocking some sand-banks with conus shells on his way.

Since the foregoing were published there has appeared a very unsatisfactory account by Dr R. Hamlyn-Harris, on the authority of P. G. H. Guilletmot who evidently obtained these disjointed sections of the story at Ērub (*Mem. Q. Mus.* II, 1913, pp. 1-3). Soïdo came from New Guinea and made his first halt on Mer for the purpose of making the hitherto barren island fruitful. After a very brief stay he was instrumental in causing the abundant growth of bananas, coconuts, yams, etc. He next visited Ērub, repeating his endeavours to fertilise the island, and whilst there he was seen by natives, who consulted him about the "evil spirits" believed to have existed in and around the island, with the result that he made a stone image, Patraéter [p. 192], and left immediately afterwards. Then he proceeded to Ugar and repeated his fertilising performances there. Thence

he went to New Guinea, where he met a beautiful woman (as he had done on the other islands), who was so struck with his handsome demeanour that she fell in love with him straight away and asked him to elope. Soïdo, however, denied her request, and informed her that he could never marry a mortal. [This is directly opposed to the Kiwai version of Sida (v, p. 35) when Sida married Sagaru.] He wandered to and fro from place to place, allowing her to accompany him until full moon came, when he took a certain seed from his dilly-bag and planted it in the ground. Assisted by certain incantations and weird noises, he caused the seed to germinate; the seed grew into a large tree, Soïdo seating himself with the woman on different branches, and as the tree grew higher and higher they were carried up to the moon, where Soïdo left her, going away on the wings of a cloud; but the woman's face is still visible in the moon until this day.

In a variant received from Mr Davies, Saider, or Sidar [i.e. Sôido], showed Kobai how to put mud, *bud*, on his hair so as to make it into long ringlets (IV, p. 30). Then he put a tail feather of a "man-of-war bird" (frigate bird) behind his ears and told it he wanted

Pekari for himself. Later on he stuck the feather behind him when he wanted to fly away with Kudar, the mother of Abob and Kos. One or two places on Mer where Saider planted something are mentioned by Davies which are not recorded in my account, and this also applies to Hunt's version, but these are not important. He came from the Fly river.

Mr MacFarlane has written to me that in the Eastern islands the hero is usually known as Said, but as Sida in the Western islands, and some of the Ērub people, Spia for example, called him Sida; some of the Ērub men have the name of Sida, or give it to their sons. He adds, Idage and others have taken him round Ērub and shown him stones representing various women whom Sida [i.e. Soido] wanted but "they no like": his footprints are also to be seen on a flat rock on the beach.

The Torres Straits versions of the story of Soido (usually there called Sida) state that he came from the mainland of New Guinea beyond Boigu, or from the country of the Tugeri (Marind), or from Daudai, or from Boigu. His route from Boigu, which was his recognised point of departure, was through certain islands to Mer, where he married Pekari.

In one of the tales collected by Landtman (1917) Soido came from Darai near the river Gama (p. 119), whence he went to Bugi at the mouth of the Mai Kussa and thence to various islands; when he arrived at Mer he married Pekai (Pekari). In another tale (A, p. 122) he was a Kiwai man who went to Bugi and after killing his local wife went to Mer and married Pekai. In one tale (D, p. 122) he is said to belong to Gaima, whence he went to Mer; F, p. 123, makes him a Kiwai man who went to Mer. An obviously inaccurate tale (B, p. 122) says that Soido was a Mer man who went to Davare in Dudi, where he married Pekai and took her to Mer. The ascription of Soido to Kiwai or its neighbourhood appears to me to be an example of the tendency to localise myths on account of local pride, but it is significant that Bugi is referred to in two of these tales, showing that there was a tradition of some connection of Soido with the west.

Soido (the Sida of Torres Straits) is a culture hero who probably came from the extreme west of British New Guinea and visited many islands in Torres Straits. Everywhere he was regarded as a benefactor: he instructed people in languages (v, p. 31), he stocked reefs with the valuable cone shell and notably he introduced plants useful to man (all versions), but from personal reasons he gave more food plants to some islands than to others. There is a very close association between the sexual act and agricultural fertility. The special powers and character of Soido are in conformity with his traditional place of origin, though there is no one among the Marind *dema* who exactly corresponds to him.

According to the Mawata and Kiwai versions, Sido was a native of Kiwai, where he married Sagaru and was killed by Meuri at Dibiri. Sido's spirit became a mischievous sprite. In Kiwai (or in Mibu) he entered into and was born from one of two sisters who were joined to each other back-to-back; these he separated. He went to Boigu, where he was followed by his twin "mothers". Subsequently he went to Adiri, the final home of spirits. According to these tales Sido journeyed along the coast between the estuary of the Fly and Boigu. In the Torres Straits versions the incidents on Kiwai agree with the above and took place after his visit to Mer. The essential feature of the Kiwaian versions is that Sido was a hero who was associated with death and was the pioneer to the land of the spirits, but there is no explanation why the spirit of Sido and subsequently those of all the Kiwaians should go to the west beyond Boigu.

Various difficulties could be resolved if we accept the view current in Torres Straits that there was only one hero who came from the west, went to the islands and stayed at Mer,

and then went to Kiwai, and later to Boigu and finally to Adiri. An explanation would thus be afforded for the westward journey of the spirits of Kiwaians, who followed the hero's example.

On the other hand we have Landtman's authority for two distinct personages with different attributes and functions. Sido had a miraculous origin in Kiwai, which is suspicious. Soido, according to two tales, came from an area to the east of the Fly estuary. Some of the natives of Kiwai admittedly arose from maggots (p. 211) and therefore presumably were the first inhabitants of that island, and they may have had no clear ideas about a future life, which the myth of Sido evidently supplied. It is narrated (p. 211) that the more cultured element of the population of Kiwai came from that area whence Soida came, but I have not been able to find any record that the spirits of the dead go to that area, nor on the other hand that there was any actual migration (however small) from the coastal region in the neighbourhood of Boigu to Kiwai; the linguistic evidence is against this.

Dr P. Wirz ("Die Gemeinde der Gogodara", *Nova Guinea*, XVI, 1934, p. 476) gives a tale of the first death. A woman named Darogo was killed by a snake; formerly people did not die but cast their skin when they got old. The spirit of the woman went to Dudi. Her husband Miwasa followed her and came to a village inhabited by spirits of women who had died in childbirth. Then he came to a village where all the spirits of the beheaded live, there Saída told Miwasa that he had married Darogo, but gave Miwasa permission to sleep with her. When they were alone he saw that she as a spirit had no genital organs. Saída gave Miwasa some kava, but he refused to drink as he thought Saída wanted to poison him. The next day Miwasa beat the large spirit-drum, *dabima*. The spirits brought food and they had a great feast. As Miwasa wanted to return home, Saída called to Darogo and took a large fish-hook to which was attached a long string, he hooked it into Darogo's navel. Miwasa took Darogo into his canoe, but they had scarcely started when Saída pulled the string and drew Darogo back to him, so Miwasa returned home alone. Wirz says that in Netherlands Territory similar tales are told about Worju, who was the first man to die (Wirz II, iii, p. 127). He says (p. 427) that this myth is told in a similar form along the whole coastal region of the Western and Delta Divisions; in the coastal area he is Sido or Hido; he thinks its origin is probably to be sought on the island of Kiwai. He says the natives of the region of the mouth of the Bamu have a different version. Sido was accidentally killed by his wife, Siruro or Babuó; he was the first person to die. In some ways the myths about Sido suggest those about Aramemb, the hero of the Marind. Farther east in the Gull region Sido, like Aramemb, is said to have discovered fire. At the same time Sido is not only honoured as the hero of his group but also as the bringer of good things. The Christian Papuans look upon him as a Messiah who some day will return. The spirits of the dead Marind also have a special drum, *kanaba*.

Various versions of the following evidently important legend were collected in the Purari delta by F. E. Williams ("The Natives of the Purari Delta", *Anthropology, Report No. 5*, Territory of Papua, Port Moresby, 1924, pp. 248-55).

A cassowary, named Darua, or Barema, laid an egg which was found by twin women joined back to back, Apiko and Novido (or the mother was called Baipa). One version says one of the women swallowed the contents of the egg and subsequently gave birth to a drum and to a boy; another version says the egg hatched into a baby boy. They reared the boy, who was adopted by a man named Marapai, and the man named him Iko. Iko cut his



foster-mothers apart. Later Iko went fishing with a hand-net and without looking tossed ashore all the fish he caught. As they fell the fish were transformed into coconut, sago and areca palms. When Iko turned back to gather up the fish he saw only these strange trees and thought some pigs or dogs had eaten the fish. He was the first to discover that coconuts are good to eat. He became a great hunter with his bow and arrows. Once he shot a cassowary, and as it fell dead he dropped down like a dead man and remained so till he was found by his foster-mothers, who revived him and told him that they were not his real parents and that he had shot his mother; but one version says that Darua was not killed and explained to Iko, whom she called Api, about his true parentage. After this Iko hunted no more.

Some say that Iko came to the Purari delta from the Urama river, to the west; others say that he came from the west along the sea-shore, passing great rivers and carrying his drum with him till he came to the Purari. Once, on wanting to cross a stream, he felled a *goru* palm over which he passed, and then the palm sprang upright. At Urama some of his drum-beats sounded like *Iua*, and as the people thought he was calling for a local woman of that name they gave her to him for a wife. At Vaimuru, the most western village of the Purari, he regulated marriage, taught the people how to beat the drum and sing, and instructed them in religious ideas and practices; he also gave them many food plants.

There are different versions about the death of Iko: some say he was killed by Aiparu, who had been a lover of his wife, and the villagers ate him, but his spirit fled into the bush. His ghost returned to the *ravi*, or ceremonial house, and said to the men: "Henceforth all men will die and vanish as I am about to vanish; no man shall rise again, but dying will die for ever". He sank into a hole in the ground and was never seen again.

Incidents common to Iko and Sido (Landtman's versions): (1) miraculous birth; (2) reborn in one of two women who were joined back to back (when he was an egg, W., or as a shell-fish after he had become a spirit, L.); (3) divided his foster-mothers; (4) drum calls out the name of his future wife (*Iua*, W.; *Sagaru*, L.); (5) the bending of the (*goru*, W.; *kuria*, L.) palm; (6) the truant wife hid on the top of a tree (*napera*, W.; *mabea*, L.); (7) killed by his wife's lover (Aiparu, W.; *Meuri*, L.); (8) henceforth all men will die (and vanish, W.).

The incidents in the Saibai versions are: (2) (shell-fish), (3), (5), (6); and in the Mabniag version: (4), (7), (3).

It is thus evident that all these are versions of an old legend which reached the Purari river from the west.

Leo Austen collected a number of myths concerning a hero named Sido or Hido of which he has published two in *Oceania*, II, 1932, p. 468. Legends of Hido are told to initiates during the great *buguru* ceremonies as far east as Nepau, at the western entrance of Paia inlet; and in other initiation ceremonies among the tribes farther eastward to the Purari, and, under the name of Iko, legends are told of him among some of the Naman tribes of the Purari delta. Austen states that a section of the Vaimuru of this area originally came from Kiwai Island. One legend of the Gope in the west of the Delta Division states that Hido travelled westwards from Nepau to Dudi, the land of the dead, and the second says that Hido or Waea went from Mibu Island in the estuary of the Fly to Aird hill (Neuri) and back again westward to the Morehead river (Tonda).

I consider it highly probable that there was a series of migrations down the Strickland river which rises in the Müller range and flows into the middle Fly. The migrations of the

original Marind tribes doubtless came this way and also elements in the population and the culture of the extreme west of Papua. One group of immigrants settled on Lake Murray, another formed the Gogodara (between the Bamu and the estuary of the Fly) and some migrants may have reached the mouth of the Gama.

More to the east, the Kerewa peoples at the mouth of the Kikori, the Purari delta peoples, and the peoples along the coast of the Gulf of Papua may be regarded as terminal points of analogous migrations from the north down the great rivers of the Delta and Gulf Divisions.

I am inclined to regard the Sôida myth as belonging to the most easterly of the migrations vaguely connected with the Marind and allied peoples, and that this special migration reached the coast at the mouths of the Wassi Kussa and Mai Kussa. Perhaps the Sida myth reached Kiwai from the northern coast of the estuary of the Fly, but evidently there was a belief in a spirit land to the west which might imply that the myth came from the west; on the other hand Landtman informs me that "as regards the association of the land of the dead with the country (or direction) from where the people have migrated, the Kiwais more likely seem to supply an illustration of the theory connecting the departure of the spirits of the dead with the direction in which the sun (and moon) set. Ideas such as 'sun he take him *ucio* (the spirit) belong man he go that way (towards the setting sun), carry him go along Adiri, place belong dead man' (1927, p. 258) are common among the Kiwais (*l.c.* p. 263)".

## THE HERO CULTS

Outstanding features of the social life of the islanders were the great hero cults, I, that of Kwoiam in the west; II, those of the Brethren in the centre and east; and III, the cult of Waïet in Mabuiag and the Murray Islands.

### I. THE CULT OF KWOIAM

I have little to add to what I have written about Kwoiam, or Kuïam (v, pp. 67-83, 153, 154, 367-73, and cf. III, pp. 194-219 and p. 58 of this volume). The name of his father is unknown and the story deals with him, his mother Kwinam, her two brothers Koang and Togai (who were thus *wadram* to Kwoiam), Kwoiam's sister Kwôka, and her son Tomagani (who also was *wadram* to Kwoiam). Kwoiam with his mother and her brothers and his sister and her son constituted what may be termed the "social unit" of a matrilineal community. His father and Kwôka's husband necessarily belonged to another clan and therefore were neither recognised nor remembered. The family came from Muri (Mount Adolphus Island) and settled at Gumu on the south-east of Mabuiag. Eventually Kwôka was changed into a bird. On one occasion Togai (or Good Eye as he was called) and Koang killed the members of the crew of their canoe, Utimal, Usal, Kwoior and Kek, who became stars or constellations, whose rising indicated various seasons. The Mabuiag story does not say what became of Togai and Koang. In Mer I obtained a story about Tagai and Kareg, which is evidently a variant of the Mabuiag version. These two constitute part of a large constellation (cf. also iv, pp. 219, 221), while six members of the crew became Usiam, or the Pleiades, and the other members became Seg, or the belt of Orion. In Mabuiag, as in all the other islands, Togai and Koang are recognised as forming part of the large constellation. It looks as if this story was an original part of the Kwoiam eyele, and, if so, it has travelled to Mer as an isolated tale.

Landtman (1917, p. 152) gives a long graphic story of Kuiamo of Mabuiag, that was told to him at Mawata, which supplements and varies somewhat from that given to me in vol. v, p. 67 and from Waria's written version as given by Ray (III, p. 194).

The story begins with his boyhood. When he was a small boy his body was covered with bad sores and he continually bullied other children and made them cry and behaved badly to grown-up people. When he grew older he gave up playing. As on a previous occasion, he stumbled over his mother's work, tearing out of her hand the plait of the mat she was making, and received a scolding. He went into the bush and accoutred himself as if for fighting, and thought "Poor mother, tomorrow you no more" and felt sorry for her and the people he meant to kill. Next morning he ill-treated all the children and was scolded by the people and his mother. He ran into the bush and painted himself red, black and white, and attired himself. When he returned the people did not recognise him because of the leaves which covered his face [IV, fig. 205, p. 203], and called out "Who are you", "That's me Kuiamo, Adikuiamo". He first speared his mother and danced and sang: "*Keda bana, keda bana, keda bana, ngai Kuiamo, Adikuiamo*—All same big sea I come now, I Kuiamo, Adikuiamo". He next speared his sister, and mad with rage killed men, women and children, crying out, "All time you people swear me, you think that (I) small boy". He cut off his mother's head with his beheading knife and made a wreath of fringed coconut leaves round it, and cut off all the other heads and arranged them in rings face upwards round that of his mother. At the thought of his mother Kuiamo said, "Poor mother, I sorry now. I been kill you first time, I pay you now. Every place I go clear him now, I go kill all place". In the morning he went to the other side of Mabuiag, where the surviving people had taken refuge [this was at Sopalai on the north-west side opposite the islet of Pulu. Kuiamo lived at Gumu on the south-east side], and killed everyone he came across. He carried the heads to the place where he had left the others, slept, and drank water, but did not wash the blood from his hands. Next morning he again killed all the people he could find. When he thought he had killed all the Mabuiag people he lighted a smoke-signal to summon the Badu people. Some went over and were killed by Kuiamo. The next day he lighted two fires and more people came over and were killed by him. The following day he lit three fires and more people came across and he killed all the people, except those in a canoe which he overlooked, who escaped back to Badu. Kuiamo made a ring of young coconut leaves round the heads and decorated those which had now become skulls by painting a red streak from the forehead to the chin of the males and a red streak across the face above the eyes of the females; the skulls of "big men" had their jaws reddened as well. He ornamented himself and sang, "*Eh kutibu waimce eh kutibu waimce*—I start now sing out along shell (trumpet-shell), every time I make all same, I learn (teach) him people now take head".

Next morning he decorated his mother's skull with artificial eyes and nose, with a nose-stick inserted, and tied the lower jaw on to it [cf. v, pl. XV, fig. 1] and made ready a "half canoe" and blocked the ends with mud and also put in a quantity of *bio* [*biu*, IV, p. 135] in it for food. Kuiamo had spared one boy only, the son of his sister [his *wadwan*, v, pp. 57, 134, 144-7]. They went to Dauan, where Kuiamo climbed the hill and saw Boigu in the distance; they sailed there and he killed all the people and sang his war-song: "*keda bana, etc.*" Kuiamo taught his nephew how to cut off heads, and how to become a warrior.

They crossed over to Daudai at Wasi point and Kuiamo killed the people there. Then he did the same at Dabo, and at Bugi, and followed the coast to the east and fought the

Beterago (Bero people), and the Tabatata, Guie, Daburo, Togo, Kupere, Butu, Ariki and Aibaru peoples. When fighting Kuiamo either sang his war-song or shouted "*To-to-to-to!*" "That's talk make him body strong, that fighting talk, make him man fight". Ever since Kuiamo's time some men in a fight shout "*To-to-to-to!*" while the war-cry of others is "*U-u-u-u!*" At last Kuiamo's beheading-knife broke, so he decided to go back. Carrying strings of heads on both his shoulders, and his spear over the right shoulder, he danced and sang "*Kutibu waimce, etc.*" This dance is called *nubua* or *pipi*.<sup>1</sup>

They set sail and reached Kagaro point on Saibai, where they slept. When they started again in the morning there was a very rough sea and Kuiamo threw some of the heads overboard. They form the reefs and sand-banks which are so numerous in those waters. The canoe was nevertheless swamped and they had to swim ashore at Gebaru (Two Brothers). The canoe was saved afterwards with the heads intact, and Kuiamo gave some of them to the Gebaru people in exchange for another canoe. After sleeping at Gebaru they continued their voyage, and between Saibai and Mabuïag threw out some more heads, which became reefs. Kuiamo said "By and by man he come, catch him fish, dugong along reef". At first he made the Numaru reef and then, throwing away more heads, said, "That reef he come up along Beka", and again, "That reef name belong Markai-madja" [cf. v, fig. 8, p. 60. The reefs are here said to have been made by Ankum].

Finally Kuiamo arrived at Mabuïag. His wrath had now subsided; every Mabuïag man slain by him was matched by a bushman killed in the same way. He put the remaining heads of the bushmen round the skulls of the Mabuïag people. A few Mabuïag men still lived in the holes they had dug in the ground [to escape from Kuiamo] and Kuiamo called out to them. "Finish now, you fellow come, no more fight now. You come stop along beach. I go stop on top hill. I sorry people, no good I go sit down alongside you people, I bad man."

Kuiamo is not dead, but dwells underneath the ground. Sometimes in the night he walks about on the top of the hill, and the Mabuïag people can see him. He is not a ghost but Kuiamo in person, for he went of himself into the ground while alive. When the people see the apparition, they know what it forebodes: "Oh fight he come now, somebody come to fight you me".

The Mabuïag people, following Kuiamo's example, treat their dead in the same way as he did his mother. They leave the body to decay till only the bones remain, and then take the skull, decorating it as Kuiamo did. The skulls are then kept in the houses close to where they sleep ("all same white man picture he keep him that head"), "Me fellow (the Mawata people) dig him (the dead) ground, forget all about, that's all name belong dead man me keep him inside".

In the other short versions given by Landtman (1917, pp. 157-9) the following incidents occur, the other incidents are repetitions:

(A) When a boy, Kuiamo went to see Ganaia in Badu; the people there did not know of

<sup>1</sup> Landtman, 1927, p. 162, says that the *nubua* song was sung by successful warriors as they paddled home in their canoes and "Shortly after the landing of the victors the *pipi* dance begins, performed by the men wearing all their war equipment. The *pipi* is said to have been introduced into Mawata from the Torres Straits islands, and is also called *Kuiamo pipi*, after the great war hero of Mabuïag. It is not practised in Kiwai island". Landtman gives the song then sung, of which one verse is "*Oh, Kuiamo Kuiamo, oh, woiwaria mura woiwaria*—Oh, Kuiamo, plenty blood he come, plenty people Kuiamo he kill him [them]", and adds: "The exact wording of the verses is uncertain, and the language of some of them is said to be that of Saibai island".

the use of fire. At the end of Kuiamo's right index finger there was an ever-burning fire and he taught the people how to cook their food. This he did in Moa and other places. He killed his mother, Tamagani, and killed many people in the islands and New Guinea, and sang "*Kupari manu keke koibaruke Kuiamo*—I sorry man, I been clean him out all place, my name Kuiamo". He arranged the heads in rings round a large tree and encircled them with coconut leaves. Dancing round the heads he sang, "*Ngai Kuiamo koubu garka*—I Kuiamo I been kill all people".

(B) He killed all the Badu men with his spear. Afterwards he summoned the Moa and Nagiri people and fought them. He did not kill his sister. He went to live on top of the hill in Mabuiag and became a *bihare* (general name for mythical beings). He lay down on his face with his neck resting on his folded arms [v, pl. IV, fig. 2]. "Suppose", he told the boy, "any people come from other place fight, you call my name, 'Kuiamo!' Me there alongside help you." Kuiamo remained on the hill and was no longer a man, but like a stone.

(C) Kuiamo remains in Mabuiag on top of the high hill called Podo.

(D) Kuiamo went to fight the Moa, Badu, Yam, Saibai, Davane [Dauan] and Boigu people. One night the Badu and Moa people came and killed him.

(F) Before that [the fighting in the islands and New Guinea] there had been no fighting, and Kuiamo was the first man to teach the people to make war.

Kwoiam was very occasionally spoken of in Mabuiag as an *Augud*, though he was not a totem there, but he was usually spoken of as *Adi* (p. 356). In the group of islands round Muralug he was definitely regarded as the "big *Augud*", he was spoken of as "the *Augud* of everyone in the island", indeed there was a *kwod* and shrine on Muralug associated with Kwoiam (v, p. 373). The term *augud* undoubtedly referred originally to what we understand as a "totem" of the ordinary clan type (v, p. 153), but with the advent of the cults of Kwoiam and of the Brethren new ideas had to be expressed. Probably the word *augud* was the most sacred term the Western islanders knew, and so it was not unreasonable that it should have been extended to the sacred heroes—evidently they did not know what else to call them—but this extension of the term does not necessarily imply that the heroes were regarded as totems. Kwoiam himself is said to have had *kaigas* (shovel-nosed skate, *Rhinobatus*) for his *augud* (totem) and possibly *surlal* (copulating turtle) as well. In Table 17 of the Genealogies in vol. v there is a Muralug clan that was said to have Kwoiam, *unawa*, *kursi*, etc. as its totems, but for social and ceremonial purposes the real totem was *unawa* (turtle-shell turtle) (v, p. 154, footnote 1); perhaps all that was meant by our informant was that his clan recognised Kwoiam as the hero of a cult in the same way that in Yam Sigai was equated with *kursi* (hammer-headed shark, *Zygaena*), and Maiiau with *kodal* (crocodile). In Yam, Sigai and Maiiau were invoked as *Augud* (v, pp. 154, 376-7); everyone knew of these two by their hero-names, but their animal- or totem-names were a mystery which was too sacred to be imparted to the uninitiated. The term *augud* was also applied to the two crescentic turtle-shell objects *katibu* and *giribu* made by Kwoiam, each of which became the emblem of a group of clans or moiety; these objects were also regarded as Kwoiam's particular *augud*, presumably because they assisted him in fighting, certainly they were subsequently regarded as *augud* in Mabuiag and these two relics became peculiarly sacred (v, pp. 70, 80, 153, 172, 370). The elevation of Kwoiam's emblems to the rank of head totems (*augud*) of the two groups of clans in Mabuiag (v, pp. 367 ff.) must be comparatively recent. In all the Western islands, there is an association (totemism) of a group

of persons (totem clan) with a group of natural objects, but here in the larger synthesis a manufactured object becomes the *augud* of each moiety and this object possesses definite supernatural powers. The same process occurred in Yam (p. 357, and vi, p. 245). It may be accepted that Kwoiam was regarded as an *Augud*, in this secondary sense of the term, by the Kauralaig. According to Waria's manuscript, he spoke the Kauralaig dialect (iii, p. 205) and called Tomagam "awade", which appears to have been an old form of *wudwam* (v, p. 134).

I have given full particulars of the reputed physical and psychical characteristics of Kwoiam, all of which betoken Australian affinities (v, p. 81). His mother, who was traditionally a Kauralaig woman, migrated with her family from Muri to Mabuiag, but he seems to have had a strong infusion of North Queensland blood. The natives of Cape York peninsula are said to talk about Kwoiam. Additional information about Kwoiam has been gained from Moa and Badu by the Rev. J. W. Schomberg of Moa, which definitely links him up with the Cape York peninsula. At Small River, Cape York, Macfarlane discovered traces of Kwoiam's preliminary exploits, and a series of stones marks the rope of his canoe. On the other hand a native of Muralug who had Kwoiam for his *augud* informed me that Kwoiam came from Yaru, but this could not have been the island of Daru or Yaru.

Kwoiam's sole weapon was the javelin hurled by a spear-thrower. A weapon of this kind is characteristic of a large portion of Australia, but the Marind of the south of Netherlands New Guinea also have a spear-thrower which bears a close resemblance to the North Queensland form (P. Wirz, *Die Marind-anim*, i, i, 1922, p. 111). It may be noted that elements in the Marind culture have some analogies with certain cultures in Australia.

After I had written the foregoing, I had access to the then unpublished paper by D. F. Thomson referred to on p. 270, in which he suggests that the hero Sivirri may be identified with Kwoiam. In this I concur, although the menage of each was different. It is quite evident that the head-hunting and fierce warlike traits of the traditional Sivirri-Kwoiam were not due to his residence in Australia, they are typically Papuan, as were his crescentic ornaments or emblems.

The evident conclusion is that this culture, and perhaps an earlier one bringing the *horionmu*, came to the Batavia river, from the Western islands of Torres Straits, though originally from New Guinea, and that both cultures (assuming there were two) were transported in canoes with double outriggers and brought a special type of drum. According to the Mabuiag tradition Kwoiam was essentially an Australian, thus a sufficiently long time must have elapsed between the first arrival of the culture and the departure of Sivirri-Kwoiam for him to have acquired Australian physical characters. To what extent he was a purely mythical character or a real person is alluded to on p. 272. If the foregoing hypothesis be correct, it is clear that the Sivirri who brought the culture into north-west Queensland could not have been the same person who fought in Torres Straits.

The presumption is that the cult of Kwoiam (Kuiamo) originally came from western New Guinea; the following evidence points that way, though it is not definitely conclusive.

Wirz says (ii, iii, p. 54) that preparatory to a head-hunting raid a new men's-house is always built in which the trophies are put on the return of the warriors, it is called *kui-aha* (head-hunting house) or *kui-otiv* (head-hunting men's-house). The term *kui-aha* or *kui-ahat* is also applied to a peculiar carved stick, 120-150 cm. long (*l.c.* fig. 2; pl. 8, fig. 4), which is carried on forays and stuck in the ground, perhaps it represents the men's-house. The men collect round it and sing the *ajassé*. This special head-hunting song is sung only at

their departure from the village or in the evening when they reach the enemies' district. The words of the song are mostly incomprehensible. The song is mentioned in myths and is said to come from an old woman, Sobra. When on the upper Bian, Wirz heard the *ajassu* (as it is there called) sung when the men were preparing for a raid, and the *kui-aba* stick is employed as among the coastal people (*l.c.* p. 56). One (untranslated) line of the *ajassé* runs: "*aha kuiana aha kuianu amaha*". It would be interesting to know what the word *kuianu* means.

Wirz collected two myths (i, ii, pp. 188-91) about an old woman called Sobra. In one version she was one of the first *dema* and made men, in the other she was the ghost, *lais* of an old woman, who married the pig *dema*, Nazr, and gave birth to children who became lightning. She fell from heaven (which may be above the sky but also may be the *laismirav*, land of ghosts, which was located in the north beyond the great rivers, the Fly and the Digul), and landed on the Digul, north of the source of the Bian; thence she went to the Kumba and other rivers. Head-hunting is supposed to have been originated by Sobra; she went head-hunting with Nazr and another *dema* named Mahu and showed them how to prepare the head-trophies. She walked before them and sang the *ajassé*, the head-hunting song which ever since is always sung on these expeditions.

In the language of the Western islanders of Torres Straits *kuik(u)* or *kwik* signifies a head, or base of a tree trunk; *kuiku-garka*, a headman or chief; *kuiku-iat*, a house for heads. The *kwikwi-iat* (or more correctly *kuiku-iat*) of Mabuiag is described in vol. v, p. 306.

I am not at present in a position to say whether there is any connection between the Marind *kui* for head-hunting and Kuiano and the *kuik* of Torres Straits, but it would not be surprising if this should prove to be the case. From the information given by Wirz it would appear that the practice of head-hunting came to the south from the region between the upper Bian and the middle region of the Fly; but its earlier source must be sought in the north-east far beyond the Fly.

## II. THE CULTS OF THE BRETHREN

### (1) *The cult of Sigai and Maiau*

In vol. v, pp. 373-8, will be found all the information which I obtained about the cult at Yam, and I expressed my regret that information was lacking concerning the ceremonies that took place at the shrines in the *kwol*, but fortunately this deficiency has to a large extent been remedied by MacFarlane, to whom I am indebted for the following account.

Four brothers came in their canoes from a spot along the coast called Marilag (probably Forbes Island way) accompanied by others. Their names were Malu (or Bomai, the secret name), Segar [Sigai], Kulka, and Saeu [Sāū or Seo], with Pinecar and Maiau. Segar with Maiau went to Yam, Kulka to Aurid, Saeu to Masig, and Malu to Mer. [In future I adopt a spelling of some of these names which differs from that of MacFarlane. The names of certain of the Brethren vary according to whether the informants were Western or Eastern islanders, but even so there is no uniformity, and the European recorders vary in their transcription. Thus we find: Sigai, Sagai, Sigar, Segar; Sāū, Saen, Seo, Seau, Seiu; Kulka, Kolka, Koga.]

At Yam, Sigai became the object of hero-worship. Thus after a fight, the heads belonged to Sigai and Maiau, but the greater number were claimed by Sigai, he being "more high". Each shrine had its officials, the *zogo-le*, the chief officiants at the Sigai shrine being Gana and Morkan, and those at the Maiau shrine being Guza, Azabu, Ausa, and Yabu (p. 75).

Ceremonial dances, the inculcation of good behaviour and ethics [cf. Tutu, v, p. 210], initiation

of the young men and so on, were connected with the cult at the shrines, and women and children, as usual, were excluded from witnessing the full ceremonies.

What may perhaps be termed the "lodges" were held in the islands of Nagir, Yam, Paremar, Aurid, Masig, Ugar, Erub, and Mer, and perhaps in some of the other smaller islands now uninhabited, but Muralug, Moa, Badu, and Mabuag had no part in this general cult. Members of the cult in one island might "visit" the "lodge" of another island. The "lodge" at Yam apparently was recognised as a sort of chief "lodge", as was that at Mer. The big annual festival, *Ajugatau-ai*, was held at the various islands on the same day.

About the middle of the south-east season, members of the cult visited Mer; this was the rendezvous of all the other islands because of its fertility, the canoes went there every year to obtain garden produce. The men yarned together and decided what day should be fixed upon, this was to coincide with the rising of the Kek star.<sup>1</sup> Long palm leaves were taken, the leaflets removed from one side and stripped on the other leaving only the midribs, care being taken that each carried exactly the same number of "fingers". One was given to the leader of each canoe and one was retained on Mer; the visitors then set sail for home. Arriving at Erub the *kopi* (the date-fixing device) for that island was left, and a "finger" broken off to show that a day had passed; at Mer the keeper of the *kopi* did the same. The remaining canoes went on, each to its respective island, and every day was ticked off on the *kopi*. By the time the last island was reached there might be perhaps a dozen or twenty "fingers" remaining, and those concerned knew that the time for the ceremony was "close up", and that preparation must be made for getting in supplies of food, hunting for dugong and turtle, and increasing the tally of heads to be offered at the shrines.

The night before the final day, the men of each clan slept together in the charge of their respective headmen. MacFarlane mentions the following clans: dog, cassowary, Torres Strait pigeon, snake (*tabu*), crocodile (*kodal*), shark (*baidam*), and hammer-headed shark (*kursi*), the natives call this "cross-shark" as "that one he got cross on his head" . . . "Sigai all same cross-shark". (The crocodile and snake people fraternise, and also the cassowary and dog people.) [I was told (v, p. 173) that the crocodile and shark men were "like brothers", and that the cassowary and dog men were associated together.] There might also be visitors from other islands who had to be accommodated by their fellow-clansmen. At dawn the old men aroused the others, then each clan, headed by its leader, made for the shrine. Should any man chance to get separated from his own group, he was regarded as a stranger and was killed with a stone-headed club and decapitated with an *upi* (bamboo knife).

By this time a *sarokay*<sup>2</sup> (fig. 44) had been

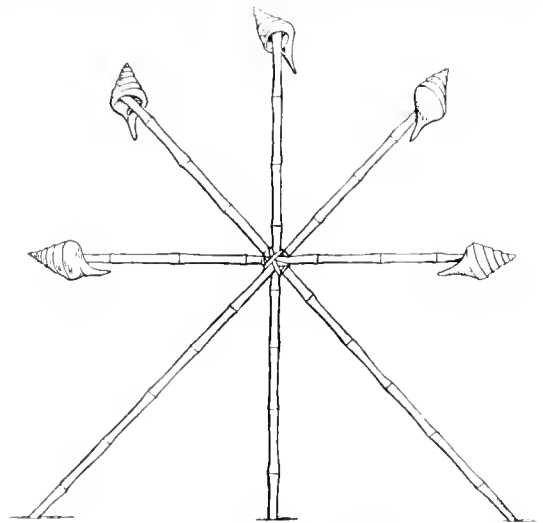


Fig. 44. Sketch of a *sarokay* by W. H. MacFarlane.

<sup>1</sup> MacFarlane says: "This is the star which the people get up early in the morning to see, generally some time in April. In the north-west season there are low tides in the early morning, but in the south-east season the early morning tides are high about April. Kek appears at the time the tides change. When the big high tide comes up, there in the south-east, Kek 'opens and shuts his light'. This refers to the peculiarity of the star becoming bright and dull. Maino said in reference to this alternation, 'all same lighthouse', referring to the light now on Wednesday island". [We identified Kek as  $\gamma$  Eridanus.]

<sup>2</sup> The main or middle post of a house is called *sarokay* (III, p. 121; IV, p. 98).



erected for each clan in the sacred grove. This consisted of poles about 6 or 8 feet long; one was vertical, two crossed over the centre of this, their lower ends being imbedded in the ground, and a horizontal pole was lashed where these met. A *bu* shell was stuck at the end of each of the five arms. The heads brought by the men were tied with canoe rope first to the centre pole, next on the oblique pieces, and finally on the horizontal pole, if there were enough heads. Each clan looked to see who had the greatest number. The *sarokay* was then decorated with young coconut leaves, *tu*, and the posts painted with red ochre to represent blood.<sup>1</sup>

The *zogo-le* then went to where Sigai lay. This *Augud* was a turtle-shell effigy of a huge hammer-headed shark; human skulls were attached all round it, and within it were also skulls. Sigai was next carefully placed on an erection of stones, while the *zogo-le* danced and chanted. Maiau was then lifted up and placed on "bed belong him"; he was in the form of a crocodile, adorned with skulls and having skulls and pieces of pumice-stone inside.

Inside each effigy was placed a *buiya*, this was the most mysterious object of the cult; it might almost be termed the "spirit" of the *Augud*, and there were similar objects which gave the characteristic distinction to the *Augud* in the other islands. No one seems to know what it really was; according to tradition it came from Boydong Cay way. It was described as a bright smooth stone, like glass, and, when removed from the case in which it was carefully kept, shone with a radiance that quite paled even the sun's rays. "I see that light myself", affirmed Maino, and Dawita and Billy bore similar testimony. "Too much he shine altogether, that thing." At Yam the two *buiya* were kept each in its own case, made of *akal* [Cyrena] shells; between the shells and projecting from them were teeth of wild pigs, dogs, and crocodiles, one end was left open so as to allow the light to shine from the *buiya*; it was fastened with coconut string. Maino said that when his father Kebisu was sick, some time before he died, he told Maino to go by himself to the shrine and fetch the *buiya*, but Maino took AUSA with him and was unable to find the sacred object. Kebisu was very angry and said, "That thing stow away [hide itself] because you take AUSA".

A ceremonial dance was made for Maiau at which the men wore *d'ivi* [IV, p. 37] and white coconut leaf (*tu*) accoutrements "because cross-shark when after sting-ray makes white water"; and they carried heads beneath their arms. When the dance was finished, the majority of the men went some distance off, while the *zogo-le* cleaned the *buiya*. Then all returned to the village.

Food was now carried to a spot that had been prepared for it; one man stood with a canoe paddle over his shoulder until it seemed that all the food was piled up, when he lowered it. Then came the feast. Some time before this the women had prepared *biiu*,<sup>2</sup> and placed the mangrove flour in a large receptacle in the centre of the prepared ground; beside it was another vessel containing clean turtle-oil.

Then took place the ceremonial eating of the mangrove flour and turtle-oil (which bears

<sup>1</sup> In another note MacFarlane says that heads from various other islands came to Yam, including Hammond Island, and were placed at Sigai's shrine "Waliserser". When heads came from Erub the man bringing them had "big name, all people want to see that man".

<sup>2</sup> MacFarlane says that *biiu* is made from the fruit of a young mangrove tree of a species similar to, but distinct from, the black mangrove; it has a larger leaf. The fruit of other species is not used for this purpose. *Biiu* is the tree and *biiu kapu* the fruit, which is shaped like a small banana [cf. v, fig. 27]. "This best tucker [food] belong *Augud*." After being cooked in an earth oven, the fruit is split lengthwise with an *akal* shell by women and scraped into a flour-like powder, in the same way as when preparing banana. The scrapings are placed in *budo* leaves and packed inside coconut-leaf baskets, which are sewn up with bush rope and anchored securely in salt water. After being in the water for at least a day, the *biiu* is taken out and washed in fresh water; it is then of a light brown colour and is ready to be eaten. The finished product is put into leaf parcels, cabbage-tree mats, etc. which are called *biiu sama* (*sama* is a round package like a ball). The islanders use it as a food in the case of a shortage of food. In places like Masig, where there are no mangroves, the floating fruit is collected and prepared. *Biiu* is used at the present day as food, being eaten with coconut milk, sugar, or something sweet. Even when people were anxious to fight, there could be no more fighting if *biiu* were eaten. It was a symbol of peace. "All same when we smoke *zab* [bamboo tobacco pipe] for make good friend." [IV, p. 135; used for caulking canoe, v, p. 73.]

resemblance to a sacramental feast); when partaking, each man knelt on one knee with head bowed on the hand. The first to partake were the people belonging to Maiau (the crocodile clan); Kebisu, the chief, came first as chief *zogo-le* and took a small portion of the mangrove flour on his finger, dipped it into the turtle-oil, placed it on his tongue, knelt, and returned to his place. The second *zogo-le* did likewise, after which all the other men followed according to precedence. Only men partook, the women and children were not allowed to witness this rite, but had to remain some distance away. After the ceremony was finished, the food for the feast was distributed to all the men and women by Mabua, Zabi, and Kagu [probably this refers to the last occasion on which the ceremony was held].

During the feast the big men (*augadau gerka*) walked around where the young men sat and exhorted them to fill up the *sarokay* with heads. Each carried under his arm a special basket containing dried human sexual organs, tongues, etc., which were covered up by sweet-smelling grass.<sup>1</sup> These organs were scraped and mixed with sago. This mixture was given to the boys "to make boy strong. . . . If no *kaikai* this one he can't *kaikai* that *biiu*". The boys were not told till afterwards that they had actually eaten the parts referred to. [Thus the *biiu* flour could be eaten only by actual or potential warriors.]

After the feast, if men had been killed who belonged to other clans, a *wab* leaf [a New Guinea plant, probably *Dracaena*] was split down the centre and placed on a piece of wood or on a tree, where it could be easily seen, to indicate that there was "no more enemy"—but there was no cause for retribution or a blood-feud. [This cessation of enmity was evidently due to the eating of *biiu*, footnote, p. 387.]

Towards evening the *zogo-le* [in one account "Angud Mabai" was the officiator] brought a basket and took from it the spine of a stone-fish which he held in one hand and with the other took a piece of *paiwa* bark (which came from Moa), chewed it and spat towards Moa; then he took a piece of *paiwa* that had come from Badu, Wabadi [Waboda] an island in the Fly estuary, and Dibi [Dibiri on the mainland at the eastern shore of the estuary, v, p. 296], repeating the process for each place in turn. As he spat towards Wabadi, Sigai moved slightly; when he spat towards Dibi, Sigai "moved and ran all over, all same canoes from that place". [*Paiwa*, which has a bitter taste, comes from certain islands, but that which grows in New Guinea is "more strong". When Sigai and Maiau first came to Yam, Garu chewed some *paiwa* from Badu which caused them to float nearly to the top of the water, but when he chewed some Dibiri *paiwa* they floated at the surface (v, p. 65). *Paiwa* was employed in magical practices (v, p. 328) and was spat on the neck of a person before decapitation.]

The chewing of *paiwa* was done to influence Sigai and Maiau: "Those two, they start move now, first one way, then the other". The people were warned to be ready, so that from their position below they might see what was about to happen on the hill near by. Presently Sigai stood up, ran to and fro, and waved his tail. Maiau did the same, and from both light emanated. All the people came out of their houses and their names were called so that they might answer and show that none were absent; "that way the people know no man make those two, Sigai and Maiau, do that thing, he do it himself".

The emanations were carefully watched, for several things depended on the direction in which they showed. "That light show every way, all same like search-light we see along gun-boat." If it shone in the direction of New Guinea they might see some *mari* (spirits) like blood, then they know that a fight had taken place there.

Over the hill the two moved, Sigai giving out the brighter emanations; then towards morning,

<sup>1</sup> Maino told MacFarlane that when he was a young boy he found a basket in his father's house and thought it was the round basket in which the *kolap* was kept; he found, however, that it contained dried sexual organs. His father was "very wild" and took it away. [This is the only instance known to me of a stone top, *kolap*, "for play game" as Maino expressed it, being used by others than the Miriam (iv, p. 315), but there was plenty of opportunity for *kolap* being exported from Mer in the old days.]

as the tide fell, they returned near to the *zogo*-ground, where the custodians found them at dawn and restored them to their places. Search was made for any decorative ornaments, etc., that might have been dropped in the bush during the night: these were picked up and re-attached to the *augul*.

A division of the food was made, offerings were presented to Sigai and Maiau, and other shares were placed for the visitors from other islands. All the food had to be consumed in one day, "but only men must eat".

When the *zogo-le* returned to their dwellings they had to keep at a distance from their wives and families until they had first bathed and cleaned themselves with sand, because they had handled the sacred *Augul*. Sickness might fall on their relatives should they fail to observe this ritual injunction.

Such was the festival as Maino described it, with others adding or elucidating little points as the old fellow talked, and with the ever-ready palm-leaf "stick" as a pencil, he demonstrated on the ground the various objects of which he spoke, pausing now and then while one of the others went off to collect something as a model. . . . Much of it is wrapped in mystery and much of it was repulsive, but evidently it had connection with some religious devotion introduced from without.

The *buiya* are very mysterious and the following notes do not clear up their real nature. The two turtle-shell crescentic emblems, *katibu* and *giribu*, made by Kwoiam (v, p. 70) are said to have emitted so strong a light that Saibai men saw them shining when Kwoiam was on the coast of New Guinea (v, p. 73), and elsewhere we hear that they shone so brightly as to light up the surrounding bushes at night time (v, p. 75). These objects were regarded by my informants as Kwoiam's *augul*, and certainly they were subsequently regarded as *augul* in Mabniag. In the *Kwod duar* in Muralug, which was associated with Kwoiam, was an *augul* which was kept in a bark case: this *augul* was a *buiya*, an emblem (probably of turtle-shell) shaped like two united eyebrows, and was decorated with cassowary feathers (v, fig. 83, p. 373 and cf. iv, footnote, p. 295).

At Yam I was informed that on the back of each of the animal effigies of Sigai and Maiau (hammer-headed shark and crocodile) were two crescentic turtle-shell objects, *baib*, or eyebrows (evidently similar to the *buiya* of Muralug), the eyes of which were termed *bui*, or blazing (v, p. 374). In the vocabulary, *buiya* is translated "flame, light of a fire: name of an emblem" (III, p. 93). The eyes of Bomai in his octopus form gleamed and shone like stars (vI, p. 39).

All these statements are more or less traditional and therefore need not be taken literally, but the emphatic statements of Maino and others that they had seen the blazing lights seem to require an explanation which is not forthcoming.

The sanctity in which the shrine was held is illustrated by the following incidents. Maino told MacFarlane that some years ago a trading schooner came to Yam with some New Guinea boys on board, one of whom went to the shrine of Sigai, took a *bu* (trumpet-shell) from it and blew it on shore and in the boat. Presently the wind changed, the boat was blown ashore; the white skipper did his best, but was unable to save the ship, which was smashed up. Amongst other things that floated ashore was a cash-box, and the people remember helping the skipper to dry a bundle of wet notes.

There was a belief in the island that earth taken from Sigai's shrine and placed in a canoe would cause the canoe to split open.

The cult of Sigai and Maiau was essentially a war cult that was grafted on to the existing totemic culture, with an emphasis given to the two moieties.

(2) *The cult of Kulka*

Unfortunately we do not know anything about this cult on Aurid. I have given an account, p. 89, of the finding on this island by Captain Lewis in 1836 of a mask which without doubt was associated with Kulka, and have there given full particulars.

(3) *The cult of Sāñ or Seo*

The only information about this cult on Māsīg is given on p. 92.

(4) *The Bomai-Malu cult of Mer*

The myth of origin of this cult is given in VI, pp. 33-46; the funeral ceremony of the Malu *zogo le*, on pp. 145, 146, 312, 313; and the funeral songs i-iv on pp. 151, 152. The cult itself is described in detail on pp. 281-312.

I have found notes in Bruce's MS. which supplement the information given about Bomai-Malu cult, the pages refer to vol. VI.

The place where the Bomai *zogo* [mask] happened to be was where the lads were initiated. (1) If at Gazir (p. 306), the lads were assembled with their fathers and guardians and after seeing Bomai and Malu they were cautioned about secrecy and warned never on any account to reveal what they had seen (p. 310).

Those who had been initiated formerly, as well as the fathers and guardians, struck and cuffed the boys indiscriminately: they struck with their stone-headed clubs on the head and body until the boys were bruised and bleeding (p. 311). A man who had only daughters would cut and slash as much as he liked as he had no fear of the *kèsi* retaliating subsequently on his own boys; but the *kèsi* would not fail to punish the sons of men when they came up for initiation if their fathers had been too severe with them. After they had been in the initiation place for a month or more, the *Beizam le* took their initiates to Las and the *Zagareb le* (or *warup le*) took theirs to Mei, where they instructed the novices in the arts of gardening, house-building, etc., as well as in the songs and dances connected with their own cults (p. 296).

After another month or so the head men of each group met to arrange a day for the finishing of the ceremony. The decorations were prepared, and on the appointed day a procession was formed: the *Zagareb le* went first, then followed the *we serer le*, fig. 45, and the *Beizam le* and finally the *zogo le*. The procession was in double file: first two *Zagareb le* with a novice behind each, then two more, and so on according to the number of novices; the other groups with their novices followed the same order. The procession left Mei and Las and half-ran in a zigzag manner along the beach right round to Gigo [thus following the route taken by Bomai, p. 39]. The *Zagareb le* had three drums, *warup*, which they allowed the novices occasionally to hold up in their hands, but they were not permitted to beat them; the men took them from the novices and beat the drums to the singing as they went along.

In order to get the food for the feast (p. 307) the *we serer le* came to Nani pat (Baur) for the food the *wazwaz le* (p. 288) had heaped up [but as previously stated, p. 165, the food

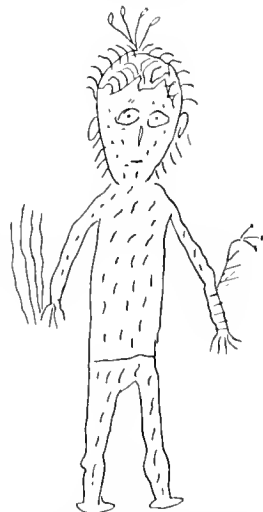


Fig. 45. *Atug le* or *we serer le* (sand happy men), *zogo le*. Three were drawn.

was provided by the Peibre *le*]. The *Zagareb le* [according to another note] inspected the heap and picked up what each could carry—yams, bananas, bamboos filled with turtle-oil—and took them to Zagareb. Each man also carried a specially large stone-headed club, *gabagaba*; these and other *zogo* paraphernalia were destroyed by the crew of the *Woodlark*.

(2) When Bomai was at Dam (p. 303) the *we serer le* went to Begegiz (Gigred), where the food was then heaped-up; and (3) when it was at Kiam (p. 307) they went to Gigo for the food.

The *oparem le* of Zaub, the Peibre *le*, *Danereb le* and *Dauar le* had to provide large quantities of uncooked food for the superior members of the cult. The labour entailed in growing the stuff and carrying it from the bush was very great; the food had to be heaped up annually at one of the three places in Peibre, and if the supply fell short in any way, the Bomai *le* punished the *tebud* (vi, p. 287). The Peibre *le* were sometimes called *erpei le*, as they acted as the hosts and looked after the *we serer le*.

Bruce does not say who the *we serer le*, sand happy men, were or where they lived, but it seems evident that this was another name for the *tami le* of Samsep and Piaderem (vi, p. 286). Among his MSS. was a drawing of *gorgor* (slanting) *le*, fig. 46.

The Malu *agud* of Ērub is referred to on p. 200.

#### *Discussion of the cults of the Brethren*

Although there were distinct cults of Sigai and Maiiau at Yam, of Kulka at Aurid, of Sān (Seo) at Māsīg, and of Bomai and Malu at Mer, they all formed part of one cultural whole which definitely came into the Straits from outside.

I was informed in Mer by Groggy (vi, p. 33) that Bomai came from Tuger and arrived at Mer after visiting various western and central islands. Tuger is the island name for the Marind-anim or "Tugeri" of the south coast of Netherlands New Guinea, and the mention made of Boigu, Dauan, Mabuīag, Badu, Moa, Nāgir, Yam, etc. is a perfectly consistent sequence of islands.

Other informants in Mer said that Malu (whose esoteric name was Bomai) came from an island that I took down as Muralūg. Recently MacFarlane has informed me that when he mentioned Muralūg (Prince of Wales Island) to Pasi, the latter said most emphatically "No, not Muralūg, that one he too close. I mean that other place, Marilag, down the coast". MacFarlane also says the Coconut Island story gives a similar name and his informant identified it as Forbes Island, which all natives call Marilag, or, as some pronounce it, Mari-a-lag. See map, p. 267.

Maino of Yam told MacFarlane that Malu, Segar, Kulka and Saeu, with Pinecar and Maiiau, came in their canoes from a spot along the coast called Marilag, but he told me that Sigai came from Pinaig (Snake Island) which lies close to Dugong Island (about 143° 4' E. long. and 10° 31' S. lat.) and not far from Boydong Cay. MacFarlane's information agrees essentially with that given me by Cowling, who obtained it from Maino through Waria of



Fig. 46. *Gorgor le*, Malu *zogo le* (slanting men). In the original drawing there are five figures above and three below. Bruce does not give any information about these.

Mabiniag; he says: "Sagai [Sigai], Koga [Kulka], Malu and Sau, all these brothers went from the mainland (Australia) to the island of Boydong Cay (lanakau), thence they went to Pinaig and Dugong Island, and later to Half-way Island" (v, p. 375). The tradition is thus quite definite concerning the Australian provenance of the cult.

With regard to the migrations of the Brethren within Torres Straits, it must be remembered that each informant from different islands has his own version which may or may not agree with that of others. It is also possible that within the last thirty years or so, owing to continual intercourse between the various islanders, some borrowing or harmonising may have taken place.

The route seems to have been from Marilag to Boydong Cay, Pinaig, Dugong Island, and Half-way Island, thence to various islands and reefs in the area comprised by Paremar (Coconut Island), Waraber (Sue Island), Sāsi (Long Island) and Utui (Dove Island). Here Sigai's canoe broke away in a storm and drifted to Yam. In some versions, when they were at some place or other within this area the Brethren agreed to separate, but the more reliable versions say that the remaining Brethren went to Aurid, where Kulka stopped, the other two went to Māsīg where Bomai killed Sāū (Seo) and finally Bomai went to the Murray Islands. That some importance was attached to the route taken by Bomai is shown by the fact that at the shrine at Dam in Mer there is a group of stones that represents certain islands, and they were said to have been placed there by "Malu". The *Kēsi* (recent initiates) were shown the stones and taught their names. Unfortunately the relative positions of these stones do not agree with the geographical position of the islands which they represent and there was considerable discrepancy in their identification by our informants (vi, pp. 304-5). The cults of Aurid and Māsīg and that of the Murray Islands are thus associated with four Brethren, but other mythical heroes have to be accounted for.

At Yam there is a dual cult, that of Sigai and Maiau; according to Maino (MacFarlane) Maiau and Pinecar accompanied the great four (there is no further information about Pinecar). Maino (according to Cowling) said Sagai with his mate Kodai [Maiau] went to Yam (v, pp. 65, 375). In Groggy's version (vi, p. 35), after leaving Nāgir, Bomai changed into a canoe again. Two men, Sigar and Kulka, were inside the canoe "all same as pie-caniny". These three went to Yam. Maino said that a big sea-snake, *ger*, came out from Sigai (*ger* was described as the "crew" of Sigai, v, p. 375) and a male *kari*- and a female *pīsis*-snake from Maiau (v, p. 66).

The relation between Bomai and Malu is rather obscure. In most accounts Malu is alone spoken of, but it seems certain that there were two individuals, and we know that the name of Bomai was too sacred to be imparted to a non-initiate. No difficulty was experienced by us or others in learning about the greater part of the myth of the origin of the cult, but the hero who came to Mer was spoken of as Malu; it was only under exceptional circumstances that we were informed that the name of this hero was really Bomai, and that Malu came later. The most probable explanation is that in ordinary narration the name of the less sacred individual was employed as a cloak for that of the more sacred: indeed we were definitely told that *agud* was the *au nei*, "big", i.e. important or general "name"; Malu was the *kebi nei*, "small name", and Bomai the *gumik nei* or "secret name" (vi, p. 310); it was described as "big *zogo*" (vi, pp. 37, footnote 1, 281-2). We may thus accept it as correct that Bomai came from Tuger (according to Groggy, who frankly spoke of him as Bomai), or from Marilag. It was universally recognised that Bomai constantly interfered with the local women in the Central islands; as Enoka said, "Bomai

he wild, he steal women all the time, he good *zogo*". The legend of what happened to Bomai in Mer is given in vol. VI, pp. 38-40.

There are two versions of what may be called "the quest for Bomai". Groggy said the *Omai le* (dog men), *Daumer le* (pigeon men), *Geregere le* (*geregere* bird men), *Bezam le* (shark men), *Wazuwaz le* (*wazuwaz*-shark men) and *Zagareb* all came from Tuger, each clan in its own canoe, and followed the migration of Bomai from Boigu to the various islands previously mentioned. At Nāgir they were joined by the *Nagirum le* and at Yam and Tutu by the *Sigarum le* (so called after Sigar, or Sigai), and men from the islands of Waraber, Paremar, Aurid and Māsig also followed them. In Groggy's version, after arriving at Mer they returned to Moa to fetch Barat, who taught them how to catch turtle with the sucker-fish (Barat is the Bia of a Badu story, v, p. 44). They all went to Mer.

Wanu and Baton said (VI, p. 42) that Malu came in the canoe with the *Sigarum le* and *Nagirum le* (these are respectively men from Yam-Tutu and Nāgir); on arriving at the Murray Islands the visitors asked where Bomai was and were told to go to the place where "all the coconuts were red"; at one spot they spoke to a man who was variously termed Sorkar or Barat, eventually they landed at Dam. Here they were entertained by the people of Dam and Las, but remained so long that they overstayed their welcome and their hosts grumbled and said, "Why do they not give us a dance?" The visitors then gave the Malu dances and songs, and thus for the first time in Mer was performed this ceremony. The *Nagirum le* and the *Sigarum le* said, "This *ginar* (dance) belong you, belong Bomai and Malu"; and thereafter it characterised the Malu ceremonies.

Malu stopped in the canoe off Dam. The *Nagirum le*, and some say the *Sigarum le* also, speared him in the back right through the body, and threw him into the sea, and he was a shark, but before that, when he was in the canoe he was a man with a shark's head. Malu was picked up by a Las man, who brought him to the shore. From the little we know about Malu it is not easy to understand why he received equal honour, or nearly so, with Bomai, and the same might be said of Maian, for Sigai was always regarded as the more important. Perhaps it was thought desirable to have a hero for each phratry at Yam, but this does not hold good for Mer, and, so far as we know, there was only one hero at Aurid and another at Māsig.

Some natives seem to have recognised a vague relationship between the cult of Kwoiam and that of the Brethren; for example, a Mabuiag man informed Mr Cowling that the Murray island people told him that the four brothers were maternal uncles (i.e. *wadwam*) to Kwoiam and that is why they followed him to Torres Straits (v, pp. 375-6), but this does not fit in with the Mabuiag account of Kwoiam's *wadwam*, as given on p. 380.

The legends give no clue concerning the time when these cults were introduced. The earliest indication we have is the description by Brockett in 1836 of a mask in Aurid, which without doubt represented Kulka. We have therefore to rely on indirect evidence.

It is quite clear that these cults were superimposed on an earlier culture. The kin of Kwoiam are said to have had *kaigas* for their chief totem, as did the later inhabitants of Gunu in Mabuiag (v, fig. 12, p. 163; p. 368), but nothing is said about totemism in the legend of Kwoiam. We came to the conclusion that there was an ancient dual grouping of the clans in Mabuiag, and that the association of each of the magical insignia, *kutibu* and *giribu*, with a moiety or phratry was consequent upon the introduction of the Kwoiam cult (v, pp. 174, 370). In vol. v, the dual grouping of the clans is discussed (pp. 172-9), and Rivers and I considered that we were justified in assuming that the grouping of the clans

of the Western islands into two phratries was an ancient feature. We found a strong case for it in Saibai, where no trace of a hero cult has been recorded, and this affords additional evidence that the dual organisation was earlier than the hero cults.

Yam and Tutu form one community, but the totem initiation ceremonies were performed in Tutu (v, p. 208), while the hero cult was performed in Yam; but there was also a *kupai* (navel shrine) of Sigai in Tutu (v, p. 377), though this evidently was merely the place for a rite and not that of a cult; doubtless it was a secondary introduction. There can be little doubt that as the cult of the Brethren came first to Yam, it took firm hold of that island but was scarcely practised on Tutu, although both islands were occupied by the same people; the explanation of which seems to be that the old totemic cult continued to be held in the latter island and remained practically unaffected by the new hero cult.

Nothing is known about the former social conditions in Aurid and Mäsig, nor about the cult of their respective heroes.

Dr Rivers has discussed the social organisation of the Miriam (vi, pp. 169 ff.); he alludes to "the complete disappearance of all traces of a totemic system which it is almost certain must have once existed", but there has come into existence in Mer a territorial system; he says, "it is probable that at one time the districts formed the units of the social organisation, and that marriage, kinship, and descent were regulated on this basis, and that the present system in which the village is the social unit has developed out of this district system" (vi, p. 175). I have made a suggestion how this might have come about (vi, p. 177). Rivers points out that there are "some facts which suggest that the dual division of the Malu fraternity may have fitted in with a previous dual organisation already existing on the island" (vi, p. 175). In Mer, therefore, the cult of the Brethren was superimposed on a social system which had even then evolved beyond totemism.

The attribution of an Australian origin of the cults of the Brethren has long perplexed me, but the recent investigations of D. F. Thomson (pp. 266 ff.) afford a satisfactory explanation.

We know that double outrigger canoes extend down the east coast of North Queensland as far south as Balclutha creek, Princess Charlotte bay; those from Cape York to about Cape Grenville are more or less of the Torres Straits type, but those farther south are somewhat different. North of Cape Weymouth near the mouth of the Pascoe river, at about 12° 30' S. lat., are the Forbes, Quoin, and other islands. MacFarlane was frequently told by various informants that this area, probably including the adjacent mainland, was definitely known as Marilag. He says that the Murray islanders brought their trade to Aurid (the local name for which is Yawad) and the Aurid men took it to the islands near Pascoe river, where they stayed for a time, and traded (map, p. 267). There are recorded statements that other members of the Kulkalaig made visits to islands a considerable way down inside the Great Barrier Reef.

Thomson has provided evidence to show that a long time ago a culture-hero named Fwai brought the *okaintä* initiation ceremonies from Torres Straits to the land of the Koko Yao; the sacred spot of the immigrant cult being on the upper Pascoe river. We are told that he was driven thence, and in his search for a place where he could settle he visited the Forbes and other islands. Thus even in remote times there was a strong influence from Torres Straits in this area.

In my description of the ethnography of Daru I refer (pp. 50, 51) to the migration of the Hiamu, who were the original inhabitants of that island. On one occasion the Hiamu



got into trouble with the Masingara, a bush people immediately inland of Mawata, and apparently about the same time they were harassed by the westerly movement of belligerent Kiwaians from the estuary of the Fly (this was before the time when the Kiwaians settled at Turituri and Mawata). These raids so disheartened the Hiamu that they left Daru and, as Landtman narrates, "settled down at Murilago and introduced the *taera* ceremony there". According to tradition the *taera* or *horiomu* originated in Daru, but it is more probable that it was derived from New Guinea, though doubtless it received its distinctive character in Daru.

Landtman was told that Murilago was Thursday Island, but this cannot be the case; neither was it Muralög, since according to MacFarlane's informants it was Marilag. If this be accepted, it may explain the introduction of the *okaintü* by I'wai into the country of the Koko Ya'o, for the *okaintü* is certainly the same as the *taera* or *horiomu*, and with these ceremonies are associated drums and masks. Probably the fugitives settled first on the islands before ascending the Pascoe river; at all events I'wai and his followers were ultimately expelled from the upper river and fled to the coast and the neighbouring islands.

It is not possible at present to say when the flight of the Hiamu from Daru or the arrival of the Yilamo in Queensland took place, nor whether there is any connection between these two movements. Thomson considers that the cult connected with I'wai must have been introduced a considerable time ago, as I'wai is now referred to as one of the Yilamo, the original totemic ancestors,<sup>1</sup> but he has acquired the chief place among them and is given the honorific title of Tjilbo, the grey-headed one; he enforced various taboos, *kintja*, and he and his belongings were full of *kunta*. The Yilamo gave rise directly or indirectly to the totemic stones which are now associated with them, and "story stones" were left by I'wai on his travels, some of which are especially powerful, *kunta kunta*. As I'wai called a meeting of the other Yilamo to see his dances, it may be supposed that these ceremonies did not belong to the original Yilamo totemic culture, and this suggests that the cult introduced by I'wai was later in date. Therefore it is permissible to suggest that I'wai and his followers may have formed part of the Hiamu migration, while the Yilamo belonged to a more distant past.

As in the case of Sivirri-Kwoiam (p. 270), so here, we may envisage the cult of the Brethren as a reflex movement to the Straits, not indeed of an Australian culture but of one that came originally from the Western islands, as is shown by the use of drums and elaborate masks and its close connection with head-hunting and warfare. It is not evident why this movement should have occurred, but it is not unreasonable to regard it as being

<sup>1</sup> The cultural movements in Australia seem to have been mainly from north to south. The distinctive culture of the Arunta and other central tribes was traditionally introduced in the far past, or dream times (the *Alchëra*), in which their mythic ancestors lived. In the Arunta version, two sky individuals, *Numbakulla*, made men and women of the existing half-formed creatures, *naputua*. The totemic ancestors who originated in this way marched in groups across the country, everyone of them carrying with him or her one or more of the sacred stones, *churinga*, each of which is intimately associated with the *kuruna* or spirit part of some individual (Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Arunta*, 1927, pp. 72, 75, 306, 322). In a review of *The Arunta* in *Man* (March 1928, No. 34) I made the suggestion to which I still adhere, that the culture-drift in *alchëra* times came originally from New Guinea. It has been suggested that the Australian Baiame (or Boyma, etc.) may be equated with Bomai.

The Marind culture of south-west New Guinea bears some analogies with certain cultures in Australia, and Wirz describes cult-stones in central Netherlands New Guinea which are to some extent analogous to the *churinga* of Central Australia (*Nova Guinea*, XVI, i, 1924, pp. 64, 65).

due directly to the restless U'wai or indirectly to his successors. A suggestion is made later to account for its apparently rapid spread over the Central and Eastern islands.

The foregoing hypothesis seems to solve the interesting problem of the introduction of the cult of the Brethren into Torres Straits, but other alternatives have to be considered.

There are recollections that the more elaborate elements of the culture of the Torres Straits islanders came from New Guinea west of the Fly river, and we may now accept these origins as being established – even indirectly for the cult of the Brethren, despite its immediate Australian provenance. This may account for one statement that Bomai came from Tuger.

We may dismiss the supposition of any cultural influence coming to Torres Straits from New Guinea east of the Fly river, the ethnographical evidence precludes this. To take but one item. The dug-out canoes from the Fly to the Purari delta are essentially river craft and are without outriggers. There is no evidence that these Papuans ever have undertaken anything more than a very limited coastal navigation.

The investigations of Landtman do not give any indication of a cult of the Brethren among the Kiwai-speaking peoples. Neither is there anything strictly analogous recorded among the Marind by Wirz.

I have more than once expressed my belief that all the great cultures of the south coast of New Guinea from Cape Possession westwards came from the interior of New Guinea and thus many elements in the various coastal cultures would have a common source, though certain features would be variously retained, modified, or lost, in the several migrations coastwards. The original cult of the Brethren may provisionally be regarded as the result of one of these migrations, though its distinctive characters were doubtless a local development.

Finally, we have to consider whether the cult of the Brethren came direct from somewhere in Melanesia to the Forbes Islands. The Cape Bedford type of canoe (p. 311) certainly came from a Melanesian-speaking (probably a Papuo Melanesian-speaking) people, but no associated Melanesian cultural traits are known from the area of its distribution, which area is south of the Kawadji (p. 266). It seems certain that the cult did not arrive directly to Torres Straits from the east, as the Murray Islands were the last to receive it and no new cultural features were brought to the islands in connection with it.

There are numerous obscure myths in Melanesia of groups of brothers or companions, one of whom usually stands out as being the strongest, wisest and best and is frequently opposed by one who is his very opposite, but this Qat-Tagaro-Ambat mythology bears no direct connection with the cult in question. The Torres Straits Brethren were not regarded as creators or invigorators of fertility in mankind, animals, or plants; their sole function seems to have been the encouragement of warfare, an aspect which appears to be lacking in Melanesia. Where two Brethren occur in one island, as in Yam and Mer, neither is credited with being stronger, wiser, or better than the other; the duality here appears to have a purely local significance. Tagaro and Ambat (Kabat, etc.) were associated with sacred stones or stones of power, and though analogous stones were common in Torres Straits they had no connection with the Brethren as such, but belonged to a more generalised and older culture. Melanesian drums are very different from those used in the Malu cult, and stone-headed clubs (but of a different type) occur in Melanesia only in New Britain. There is little in common in the social and material culture between Melanesia and the Torres Straits that cannot be accounted for otherwise than by direct transmission from the former to the latter.

*The social value of these cults*

According to the myths the cult-heroes who landed on several islands were very few in number, and though they are not reported to have brought a well-defined cult with them they certainly acted as a ferment, and in each case a cult arose on their arrival which probably was based largely on local cults and initiation practices. Whoever the cult-heroes may have been they evidently were warriors and head-hunters, as these activities seem to have been stimulated by their arrival, though this was less noticeable among the Miriam.

The war-hero Kwoiam gave rise to a cult in Mabuiag which does not seem to have been so well ritualised as that of the Brethren and into which no initiation is recorded. It provided a focus for the belligerent tendencies of the Gumulaig.

The cults of the Brethren came to a people who either had totemism, as in Yam, or small family or local rituals, most of which were associated with improving the food supply, as in Mer. Cults of spirits of the deceased were universal, but these appear to have been restricted mainly to their own families, though the benefits obtained might be shared by a larger circle.

The new cult replaced among the Yam-Tutu folk the indefinite communal association of a totem with its clan for a definite personal relation with superhuman beings, thus it is no wonder that it became predominant.

The disconnected ritual groups in Mer became organised into a religious system into which the earlier practices were fitted more or less successfully though not without friction, as is shown by troubles among the Ad Giz (p. 161).

The cults of the Brethren everywhere provided a synthesis which hitherto had been lacking. All the men could now meet as members of a common brotherhood, which was impossible under the earlier conditions, and a feeling of solidarity and an intense pride in their new cults was engendered.

The attitude of the Miriam towards the Bomai cult has been described by Bruce (MS.). He writes:

Mr Hunt was misinformed by his informants, who told him things they knew would please him. Hunt says: "Sometimes he was benignant, merciful, and helpful" [1899, p. 7], which was the very reverse as to what the people were taught to regard him. It was the fear of his vengeance that kept them in order. Even the *zogo le* believed in it because they had received it from a people whom they considered to be their superiors. One thing in Bomai's favour was that there was no magicians' art brought into the ceremony, and what they saw of Bomai and the ceremonies connected with it was awe-inspiring to a primitive people like the Miriam *le*, and, like all other *zogos*, the chief priests, if not exactly believing in it themselves, considered that the others knew that it had the powers ascribed to it and that they themselves were only lacking in power or faith and no doubt it would all come out right in the long run.

When one sees the Miriam *le* go through the Bomai ceremonies and hears them sing their songs no one can doubt their sincerity and earnestness in the belief of what they are doing and saying. Their facial expression is as rigid as if their lives depended upon the execution of their part of the ceremony in a true and becoming manner.

Again, to hear them sing the songs, or as I suppose they should be called hymns, the tremulous earnest voice with the shaking of the head is really the manifestation of the essence of devout belief. Yet the words of the songs they sing are in a foreign language, and although the men may have a glimmering of what they mean still they admit they do not understand them. Yet they have faith in what they have been told respecting the power of Bomai.

III. THE CULT OF WAIET<sup>1</sup>

I have given in vol. VI, pp. 277-80, all the information then available about Waïet of Waier, the smallest of the three Murray Islands. Through the kindness of Mr Heber A. Longman, Director of the Queensland Museum, Brisbane, I have received the following description of the cult of Waïet, written expressly for me in response to a request from the Director, by Mr A. O. C. Davies, formerly the schoolmaster on Mer and now in charge of a state school at Kalbar, south-east Queensland. Mr Davies collected the very fragmentary remains of Waïet and presented them to the Queensland Museum.

I have transcribed, with minor unimportant omissions and modifications, the account sent to me by Mr Davies and have clearly indicated my own remarks. I take no responsibility for the information given by Mr Davies.

Waïet lived at Mabuiag with his wife Weiba and their only daughter Gainau. Every day he went to the water-hole on the chance of meeting women or girls who came to draw water. On meeting some he would probably select one and have intercourse with her; if he was in a contrary mood he might order his attendant *zogo le* or *tami-leb* [or *tami le*] to cut off the girl's head.

One day, feeling indisposed, he did not go for his usual walk, but the *zogo le* and *tami-leb* went as usual. On the way they met Weiba and Gainau and, being determined to emulate Waïet, seized and had intercourse with them and, moved by jealousy, cut off their heads.

On hearing the news Waïet decided to take his drum and leave Mabuiag, and crying and beating his drum, went to Nāgīr. The island of Nāgīr was not satisfactory, as his drum did not sound well, so he departed and came to "Oïdol" [Widul]. His drum did not sound well here, so he went to Mer. Like Malu, he went round the island and stopped at Kapeub [?] on the other side, but as there was no suitable harbour, it was "no good sitting down".

Hearing that Malu was in possession of Mer, he took a canoe and went across to Dauar. He landed at Giz [?], but the land was straight and did not appeal to him, so he went to Onzes [Ukes], at the sand-spit called Teg. This was "no good", so he went across to Waier and, skirting the northern coast, came to the harbour on the eastern side called Ne. At the head of the harbour is a nice beach of sand and pulverised pumice-stone, behind which a cliff rises to about 150 ft. in height. This he climbed, and sitting down on a ledge of rock began to beat his drum. The sound echoed from the semicircle of cliffs, and pleased with the place he determined to settle there.

He again beat his drum, but more loudly than before, and began to sing. Two women, *dumieb* [these are the *au kosker* "old women", p. 370, fig. 43; VI, p. 279, pl. V, fig. 2], down at the point heard him and began to dance. Waïet then took some yellow sprouting coconut palm leaves and put them round his head (IV, p. 35) and beat his drum still louder and sang. The two women approached him and he sat down on some coconuts (because of this the turtle-shell effigy of Waïet was placed in a sitting posture on some coconuts). When the women came up to him he had connection with them and said that he would abide there, as it suited him. He micturated from the top of the cliff, which accounts for the large lagoon and the abundance of fish in it.

<sup>1</sup> This account of the cult of Waïet was published by me in the *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum*, IX, 1928, p. 127, but I have made a few emendations and omissions.

The cult of Waïet seems to have had the fertility of mankind as its main function and perhaps it also served to ensure an abundant supply of fish for food.

Pasi told Mr Davies that he was the only white man who had seen Waïet; his seeing the remains and collecting them caused considerable consternation, and for three nights he was apprehensive for his own safety, Barsa coming along at daylight to see if he were still alive.<sup>1</sup>

The effigy of Waïet was in a recess of a ledge of the cliff of Waier about 150 ft. above sea-level. Below this was another ledge with a number of recesses containing numerous clam shells, which had been used for cooking purposes, and the marks of fires were still visible in several of the recesses. There were also some small clam shells painted with red earth, and a number of the shells which are used by the natives for scraping coconuts; these were also painted red and were held in the mouth during the ceremony.

As no ceremonies had taken place since the coming of the missionaries, the effigy had fallen into disrepair, owing to the decay of the coconut string fastenings.

The effigy represented the head and trunk of a man and was about 4 ft. high. It had no legs and squatted on a heap of coconuts, and was made of pieces of turtle-shell neatly sewn together with coconut line. A *wangai* stake passed through the effigy and held it upright, and another stick at right angles to it supported the outstretched arms. The face was made from a large piece of turtle-shell with a border of finely carved chevrons. There was a *dãri* of tern feathers which had been dipped in a mixture of blood and red earth. The mass of hair contained remains of organic tissue. Around the forehead was a string of rib bones painted with blood and red earth. Pasi said that they were those of a white boy, but he would not say why he was killed. Around the neck hung a string of human rib bones, also painted red, and above this a crescentic pearl shell, *mai*. Around the waist was a string of arm and leg bones, and below this a groin-shell. A string of white cowrie shells [*bubuam*, *Ovulum ovum*] was suspended from each shoulder and hung down in front to the waist; while down the back hung two strings of small white cowry shells painted red and joined together in the middle by a jaw-bone, apparently that of a young person; this was the only jaw-bone attached to the effigy, and in this it differed totally from the Malu mask. Both arms were extended level with the shoulders, with the palms upwards. On the left fore-arm was a carved turtle-shell bracer or arm-guard, *kadik*, and under the left upper arm was hung a *gabagaba* (stone-headed club) with a triangular stone head, but the handle had rotted. Under the right arm was a basket, which also had rotted. In front of the effigy were several clam shells.

[Mr J. S. Bruce had a model made of Waïet which he presented to the Cambridge Museum. It is described and figured in vol. vi, p. 277, pl. XXII, fig. 6, but it bears no resemblance to Mr Davies' description and sketch. Mr Bruce said that round the brow of the original was a head-band to which were fastened the ribs of men and women, *eud lera bir lid*, "dead men's ribs". In the model there is a necklet of three wooden pendants in front and one behind, these represent the pieces of bamboo and bones of dead people of

<sup>1</sup> W. H. MacFarlane informs me that he had been told of the Waïet figure, but had never seen it. A couple of days after Davies procured it, MacFarlane was at Mer and was awakened very early by an old woman crying outside his door at the Mission house. "My Waïet, no man he take my Waïet", she kept on crying. She was very angry with Davies, but it seemed that her anger was chiefly due to the fact that he had taken the figure from ground of which she was the eustodian, without permission and without any payment.



Fig. 47. Native drawing of Waier in his shrine at Waier. He is sitting on the platform of a canoe and beside him are the crates, *sal* (cf. p. 306; vi, pp. 277-8, pl. XXI, fig. 1). He has a stone-headed club under one arm and a basket under the other and is wearing a *mai* and groin-shell. From Bruce.

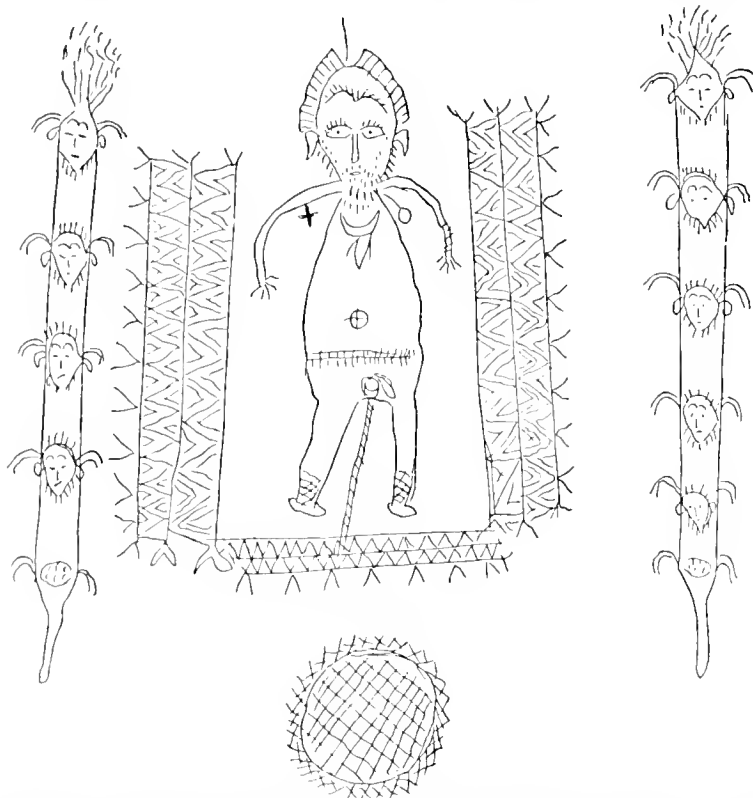


Fig. 48. Native drawing of Waier siriam. On each side there is a *baur* and in front is "usekol", this is probably the crater-bay of Waier which was formed when Waier micturated (*usi*, urine). Waier is wearing a *dāri* and a *kadik*. From Bruce.

the original; these rattled with a peculiar noise wherever he went. Mr Bruce also presented to the Museum a model of the *sal* or *sale* (railings of the platform of a canoe) which formed the shrine of Waïet (*l.c.* pl. XXI, fig. 1). I reproduce reductions of four out of several drawings connected with Waïet by natives that were among Mr Bruce's MSS. Unfortunately there was no explanation of them beyond what is here given, figs. 47, 48, 49, 50.]

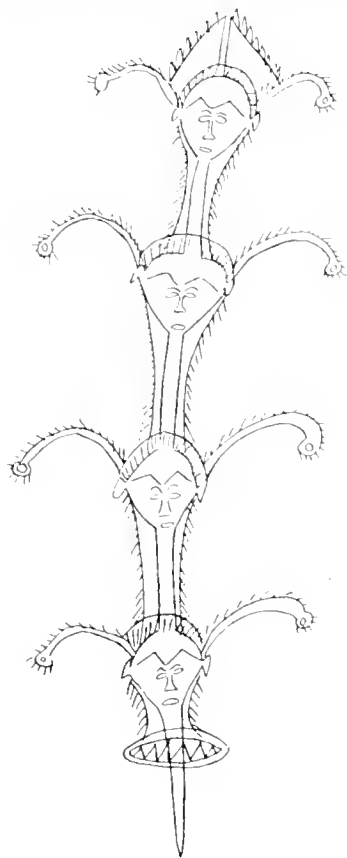


Fig. 49. Native drawing of one of two similar *baur siriam* which evidently are the same as the *baur* of fig. 48. It may be compared with fig. 34, and pl. XXI, figs. 11, 12, vol. VI, the *zogobaur* of Dauar which were connected with a turtle rite. Below the faces is a carving of a *Tridacna* shell. See p. 123.

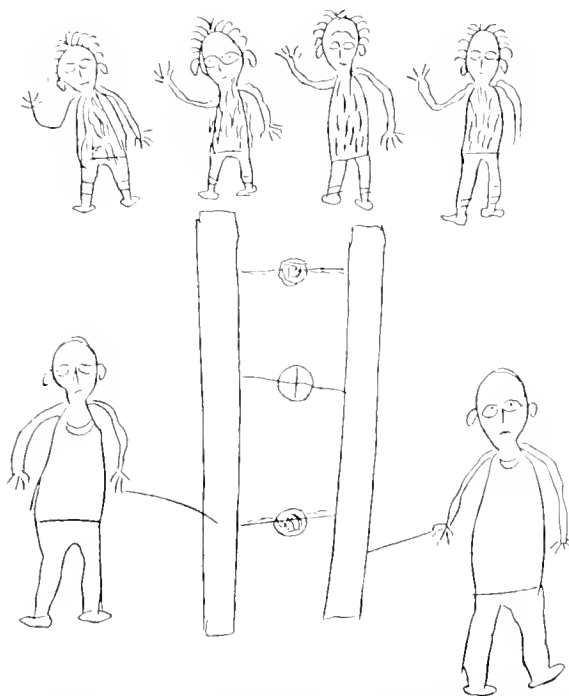


Fig. 50. Native drawing called "*kolap atimedele. Waïet zogo le*" about which there is no information. There appear to be two posts between which the *kolap* beans (*Entada scandens*) are suspended. The men on each side seem to be making the beans vibrate. There were six upper figures in the original drawing.

The Waïet ceremonial took place annually and lasted for eight days. No women or children were allowed to be present, and any woman who was caught trying to look at Waïet was immediately killed, or, if the ceremony was to take place in the near future, she would be kept to form one of the sacrifices.

At the time of the ceremonial all the families concerned went over to Dauar, where they camped. The men then formed a procession and with the novices, captives,<sup>1</sup> and a

<sup>1</sup> No information is given concerning the origin of these "captives". I have not come across any evidence for the keeping of prisoners or captives (except in the case of a very few white people); that they had numbers of them is incredible.

supply of food crossed over to Waier; the evening was spent in making preparations. The three *zogo le* and the three *tami-leb*<sup>1</sup> had come over previously, and, while the *tami-leb* cleared away any vegetable growth about the two ledges and gathered fresh coconuts for Waiet to sit down on, the *zogo le* repaired any part of Waiet that needed attention. The *tami-leb* were also responsible for cleaning the clam shells, bringing coconut oil and turtle grease for the anointing of Waiet and preparing the vine rope used for hauling the captives up the cliff.

The next day the *zogo le* took Waiet out of his recess and set him on the coconuts. Two *zogo le* took up their position on either side of Waiet and the *tami-leb* sat on the ledge below and at the command of the chief *zogo le* began to beat their drums; then the chief *zogo le* danced. Everyone held in his mouth a red-painted shell and instead of singing, said, "Ha ha, Ha ha!" The men below formed a grand procession; all who held office of any description came first with the regalia, then followed the novices, next the captives, and the last year's initiates formed the rear.

When the procession was over, the captives were placed under a guard. Then followed the presentation of peace offerings and next the novices were brought forward to the foot of the cliff and were duly initiated. (Pasi would not tell Mr Davies what took place, but denied that circumcision was a part of the ritual.) The young men were next taught the appropriate dances and songs.

The new initiates were taken to the place where the fire was to be made, then brought back, and hot coals from the sacred fire burning in front of Waiet were lowered down the cliff in a clam shell by a vine. Each initiate was given some of the sacred fire which he placed in a coconut shell, and then the initiates were marched back to the cooking place where they solemnly lighted the big fire to be used for cooking. It was their duty to see that this fire was kept ready for use, and also to get a supply of fuel.

The captives<sup>2</sup> were then divided into five groups, one for each day. They included prisoners exchanged for others from Ērub or from New Guinea, so as to avoid eating more relatives than they could help, men who had done wrong, and women who had been caught trying to look at Waiet.

The chief *zogo le* ordered a tattoo of the drums, and then cried out, "Prepare the sacrifice!"

<sup>1</sup> Bruce informed me (VI, p. 278) that there were two *zogo le* of the Waiet cult, each of whom had two *tami-leb*. The head one was Kriba of Waier (29), whose *tami-leb* were Kabe of Ormei on Dauar (25A), who was Kriba's *aua* (mother's brother), and Kalki, or Imari, of Warwe on Mer (16B). I do not understand why Sagiba of Arch on Mer (15) was the second *zogo le*: his *tami-leb* were Sinono of Terker on Mer (20A) and Lui or Ewali of Kamri on Dauar (26A). With the exception of Kabe, I cannot trace by the genealogies why the other *tami-leb* had this office. Kalki and Sagiba were Samsep *le* and Sinono a Mergarem *le*.

<sup>2</sup> I sent to Mr MacFurlane the account given by Mr Davies and asked him to check certain of the statements made by the latter. He has failed to obtain any confirmation of the presence of captives at the ceremony, but was told definitely that castaways from wrecked ships (p. 349), or prisoners taken in a fight, were never eaten. The heads were cut off and portions of the body taken for ceremonial purposes, sexual organs might be removed for specific purposes, but nowhere could he obtain evidence that the bodies were used as food, either fresh or preserved. For ritual cannibalism, see the account of the *madub le*, p. 173. There often is considerable difficulty in getting natives to acknowledge that they are or were cannibals, and it may be suggested that Pasi in an unguarded moment let slip something of which he was afterwards ashamed, and then denied. I have thought it advisable to retain the statements as originally given by Mr Davies, but from what I can gather it appears that he has confused what Pasi may have told him about the *madub le* (of whom Pasi was one), and possibly some other partly understood information, with the occurrences on Waier. Presumably, however, most of the other statements are substantially correct.



The day's quota of captives was brought to the foot of the cliff and the *zogo le* ordered that he (or they) should be cleansed. A captive was taken down to the water, scrubbed with pumice-stone and washed in the sea. Then he was taken to the foot of the cliff, fastened to the vine rope and hauled up the cliff. The *zogo le* marked off with lime on the body of the captive the portion each desired, and the *tami-leb* did the same. (The part most relished was the *susu*, breast, of men, and the muscle of the arm; the *susu* of women; but no particular part of children. Pasi said man-meat tastes much sweeter than pig-meat.)

The chief *zogo le* then described the cult of Waïet and explained that it was essentially to promote human fertility, and in order that the concluding ceremony should be effective, Waïet demanded a sacrifice first. As it was not seemly for the god to go to them, they must come to him and exhibit themselves for his inspection. (Pasi did not say whether Waïet ever rejected a sacrifice.)

The *tami-leb* then laid the bound captive in front of Waïet, the chief *zogo le* took a bamboo knife, cut off the sexual organs and placed them on Waïet's extended palm, a small clam shell caught a certain amount of the escaping blood. The chief *zogo le* killed the victim by striking him on the head with Waïet's stone-headed club. The marked portions of flesh were cut off and the remains were lowered down the cliff and taken to the fire to be cooked.

If there were two or three captives in that day's quota, the sexual organs of the previous victim were taken from Waïet's hand and placed in the basket under his arm, and after the last victim had been killed the organs were placed on top of Waïet's head. When all the victims had been disposed of, Waïet was replaced in his recess in the cliff and the *zogo le* and *tami-leb* cooked their portions on the lower ledge. The other men laid coconut and banana leaves on the ground on which the portions were served out.

The *Aua*<sup>1</sup> or uncle of Pasi carried a feather of a *gawei*, a big black and white bird (spoonbill) in each hand. The men beat the drums but did not sing, while the man with the feathers danced round the fire and, having chosen the portion he preferred, sat down in front of it. The other men, according to their age, seated themselves before the portion each fancied, the initiates, of course, coming last.

After the feast the time was devoted to special dances. In one dance the men held, in a throwing position, three-pronged spears made of hard wood from the Cape York peninsula. Another dance was performed with a dugong bone hung from the neck. In another, something was tied round the head and the tongue painted red with *mair* (this is a yellow ochre that comes from New Guinea and, when roasted, turns red), the man danced with his tongue protruding and the men sitting in lines held their hands palms outwards, up level with their shoulders, and kept time with drums, saying "Ha-ha, Hoo-hoo!" In another dance a man wore a turtle-shell mask of a "barracouta", the open mouth of the fish being in front and the tail behind. [This may be in reference to the mask taken by Waïet from Nāgir, which I was told represented a king-fish, *Cybium commersoni*, the *gagai* or *debu* of the Western islanders and the *geigi* of the Miriam; cf. v, fig. 7, p. 54.] One dance, which belonged to Sagare (Tom Sergeant's father), was performed with beautifully carved bamboos on the fingers, the hands were held up, palms outwards and level with the

<sup>1</sup> *Aua* is primarily a term for mother's brother, but is given to all men of the mother's village of the same generation as the mother. Pasi belonged to Giar pit, the westerly point of Dauar, and his mother, Wam, belonged to an important family at Er (18); she had two brothers, Charlie, and Maiwas who died unmarried. There were close relations between Er and Dauar.

shoulders, the song, according to Pasi, was about a mother calling for her lost son. The songs and dances belonged to particular families and could be performed only by members of the respective families. The office of the *zogo le*, *tami-leb*, and *aua* [?] was hereditary in the male line. It was usual for the eldest son, who would take that office, to have his wife chosen for him, so that the family should be kept very select. Pasi tells how his wife was chosen for him by his two uncles, as his father had died when he was about twelve years old. [He died when Pasi was about two or three years old.]

After dancing the men went to rest in crevices in the rocks, as no houses or buildings were allowed to be erected; even now there are no houses on Waier.

The foregoing incidents occurred on each day of the ceremonies and on the eighth day a farewell dance was performed before Waier who was then finally restored to his recess. The *zogo le* and *tami-leb* descended the cliff and supervised the covering of the fire with sand. It was believed that if anyone desecrated the beach of Ne by bringing a canoe there, Waier would cause this fire to burn the canoe. A man did once bring a canoe there and it was burnt—probably by his accidentally dropping a live coal when he got out of the canoe.

The procession then reformed, led by the *zogo le*, *tami-leb* and *aua*, and to the solemn beating of the drums the men responded "Ha-ha, Ha-ha!" as they marched round the island and crossed over to Dauar.

The women meanwhile had prepared a big feast for the concluding ceremony; fish, turtle, yams, sweet potatoes, coconuts, bananas, etc., were all ready and were placed on leaves on the ground, so as to form an oval, at which the *zogo le* sat at one end and the *tami-leb* at the other. The number of females present always exceeded that of the males and included every female over the age of about twelve belonging to the Waier fraternity, none being permitted to be absent.

By the time the feast was finished it was getting late in the afternoon, and the chief *zogo le* stood up and explained to all present the significance of the cult of Waier and its importance in maintaining the fertility of mankind, and how by means of the remaining part of the ceremony all the barren married women would have the opportunity of becoming productive.

The chief *zogo le* then chose for himself the most favoured girl, the other *zogo le* and the *tami-leb* in their order followed by the *aua* selected their partners. Then at the signal of the chief *zogo le* the men, with the exception of the initiates, rose up and seized any woman or girl they could, after which the initiates were allowed their choice of what was left. This licence was permitted for that one night only, and at sunrise next day all went to their own families, and any excess afterwards was punishable with death.

The foregoing account of the cult of Waier by Mr Davies presents some features of great interest (if they are correct), which were previously unknown to occur in Torres Straits. The more important of these suggest that it was a ceremony to ensure human fertility, and that cannibalism and promiscuity were integral parts of it.

A parallel may be drawn between the cult of Waier and the *Nogho Tilabwe* at Melpmes in the Mewun district of Malekula (A. B. Deacon, *Malekula*, 1934, p. 645), the object of which was "to make men", it ended with a rite of promiscuity and was associated with a culture-hero named Kabat; but there is no need to go so far afield for analogous practices, though it is probable that the Great *Nogho* and certain other cults in Melanesia will be

found to be related to many cults in New Guinea, and also that all of these can be derived from a common source in Indonesia.

The *moguru* of Kiwai is described by Landtman (1927, p. 350) as the Life-giving Ceremony, and as being the most secret, sacred, and awe-inspiring ceremony of the Kiwai people. The *maure moguru* is particularly connected with the fertility of the sago-palms, it also serves to add to the strength and vitality of the people, and promiscuity is indulged in. The ceremony ends with the death of the old couples who conducted the rites; it is not stated how they die, nor is there any hint of cannibalism. There does not appear to be any connection between the cult of Waiaet and the *moguru*.

With regard to cannibalism, W. N. Beaver (*Man*, xiv, 1914, No. 74) in "Some notes on the eating of human flesh in the Western Division of Papua" says that "a long experience of almost every district of British Papua makes me incline to the view that while ritual or ceremonial does in many instances form the prime reason for cannibalism, in by far the greater number of cases human flesh is eaten because it is a food and is liked". He adds: "Even at a village like Parama, at the mouth of the Fly, a native of the tribe told me that in his grandfather's time men were eaten. I am inclined to think that among the Kiwai-speaking tribes the same practice was not unknown. . . . From the western bank of the Fly eastwards it seems that in the case of a male the penis, and in the case of a female the vulva, was always cut out. These portions were used for various purposes". For cannibalism in Torres Straits see pp. 173-6, 195, and in Assam, p. 373.

I have referred on pp. 238-51 to what is known about the natives living between Mawata and the Netherlands boundary. P. Wirz says that the Marind (who are known as Tugeri in British territory) state that three of their important cults came from the eastern area beyond the boundary; these are the *Mayo*, *Rapa*, and *Sosom*, the last is a bull-roarer cult in which a monster is supposed to swallow novices. The *Mayo* is a typical annual initiation ceremony, instruction in everyday occupations is given to the novices of both sexes, and finally admission to sexual life is celebrated by an orgy in which it appears that cannibalism was also a feature; the coconut is the cult object. The *Rapa* is a fire cult (and probably also a pig cult) of the fire-cassowary group with sexual excesses and cannibalism. Cannibalism and promiscuity also occur in the *Imo* cult and in the *Ezam* cult in the interior. (For further particulars, see pp. 258-63.)

The traditional origin of the Waiaet cult from the western part of British New Guinea is thus supported, as it is in agreement with analogous cults of that region. No indication, however, was given to me in Mabuiag of the sinister aspects of the cult, but this may have been from prudential motives, and the same reticence may have been displayed in Mer; for though, as described to me, the cult on Waier was essentially of an erotic character, no one, except Mr Davies, had heard of cannibalism being associated with it, though this would not be improbable if the cult came from New Guinea.

#### THE CULT-HEROES WAIAT AND NAGA

Waiaet is mentioned in several legends, and as he is usually associated with Naga we must consider them together.

I obtained three versions of the story of Waiaet, as he is called by the Western islanders. In the Tutu version (v, p. 48) Naga and Waiaet (who acted as "crew" for Naga) went from the Binaturi (Katau or Bina river) to Yaru (Daru), where they performed a death-dance, *markai*, and taught it to two Tutu visitors. Naga went to Angar [Ugar ?] and showed the

people there how to "make *markai*", and later remained at the *kwol* at Kupad in Tutu. In the Nāgīr tale (v, p. 49), Naga was a resident of Nāgīr who instructed the men how to make masks in the form of animals, *urui krar*, and taught them the songs and dances and everything relating to the *kwol*, and how to "make *taiai*", or funeral ceremonies. Waiat of Mabuiag came to Nāgīr to learn how to beat the drum and Naga taught him; Waiat then stole a famous mask. Subsequently Naga gave a mask to the men of Tutu, Waraber and Moa, respectively. The Mabuiag story (v, p. 49) is much longer: There was a woman named Kuda who had two boys: they, Waiat (or Naga or Izalu) and some other people, lived on Widul, a small island off Mabuiag (I have an additional note that Kuda taught everybody how to make an earth-oven, *amai*). Kuda dressed her boys up and taught them to dance. Waiat used to play by himself, hauling up and letting down a *goa* rattle (v, p. 50). [This performance resembles an incident in the *uruba* ceremony of Kiwai described by Riley (1925, p. 236). The *uruba* is a kind of memorial service for the dead, and a farewell to the spirits of the dead who were returning to their home in the west.] Waiat persuaded the woman to put the boys under his care that he might instruct them in dancing. He heard a drum sounding and in order to find out about it went first to Badu; he was sent on to Moa and thence to Nāgīr. Arriving at Nāgīr, he went to the *kwol* and saw some theriomorphic dance masks; he went behind the *uauis* (v, pl. XIX, fig. 2) and saw a *debu* (king-fish) mask. He then went to the village and persuaded the men, who addressed him as "Naga", to show him everything, and he commandeered the *debu* mask, and took it to Gumu on Mabuiag (v, fig. 7). One evening Waiat sent the women to get some water, but Goinau, his wife, and their daughter, Wiba, refused to go. Waiat had previously sent some men to fetch the mask from Gumu to Widul, and evidently Goinau and Wiba saw what the men were doing, and it was probably for this reason that Waiat instigated some men to kill his wife and daughter. On the return of the men Waiat was informed of what had happened and then felt very differently about the matter. In the middle of the night he killed his "mate", Manari, and the two brothers. For this he got into trouble with Kuda's people who cut off his arms at the elbows and his legs at the knees, and otherwise ill-treated him till he died. The wooden image of Waiat is described in vol. v, footnote 2, p. 252; a special death-dance, *zara markai*, was connected with this cult. Once Waiat went to the Fly river and thence to Mer, but he returned to Widul.

The following tales about Naga were collected at Mawata by Landtman (1917, pp. 134-9).

"Naga and Waiati steal fire from Iku." Naga, who lived in a stone at Nāgīr, went to see Waiati of Mabuiag and they were carried by a hawk to Muri [Landtman identifies Muri with Mer, but I think it must be another island or possibly Mui on Mabuiag] where Iku lived, who had fire between his thumb and index, and was then making a canoe from a stranded trunk. Naga stole the fire, and they returned to Nāgīr and lighted a fire there. Waiati took fire to Mabuiag and cooked fish with it; previously all the Western islanders ate fish dried in the sun [but on p. 334 he gives a tale about Iku of Mabuiag who procured fire for his people from a woman who lived near Dauan].

Another time Naga and Waiati were carried by the hawk to Yam. Waiati returned to Mabuiag, where he had a wife and a daughter, Patagamu. Naga settled in Yam with his family; he was the first man to live there (p. 135).

Iku went and gave fire to Kogea of Davane [Dauan] and to Mereva of Saibai, and returned to Muri. From Saibai the knowledge of fire spread to New Guinea (p. 135).

"Naga, Wakea, and Sigai" (p. 135). Wakea, a man of the Govo tribe, lived at Buravo

(or Burau), one of the two villages of Masingara: he flew as a hornbill, *wakea*, to visit Naga on Yam, carrying a basket full of various kinds of food. He resumed his human form. Wakea asked Naga to make an island. Naga collected some soil, stones and trees and threw them a long way out to sea. Next morning they saw Tutu in the distance. The friends made a garden in Yam and planted many kinds of fruit. Then they visited Tutu; Naga asked Wakea to return to Yam and send his people over to him. All Naga's people went to Tutu, except one man, Sigai, who remained with Wakea. Naga and his people occasionally returned to Yam to look after their gardens. The story is then related of a canoe drifting from Sui to Tutu, to which I have referred on p. 308.

Wakea lived underground in Old Masingara. Once he flew as a bird to visit Sigai, who lived inside a stone in Yam, and this took place before there were any people on the island. Wakea gave Sigai various kinds of food and on Sigai's invitation remained on Yam. Sigai taught him a fighting song: "*Oh, matamana kuika patana singe sigamuka, oh, ngaika ngibeka nguru pana*" = Kill him man, put him head along head-carrier, I learn (teach) you now". This song belongs to a *pipi* dance which takes place after a fight. The men accoutred themselves in young coconut leaves and, as birds, flew to Queensland, where they fought people with their stone-headed clubs and brought back the heads to Yam; the skin of the heads was thrown into the sea and gave rise to sand-banks between Tutu and Bobo [Bristow Island, south of Yaro or Daru]. Finally they left off fighting and went to Wakea's home in a canoe made of a solid trunk and provided with outriggers (1917, p. 137), which carried them along of its own accord. They gave the Buravo people some dugong meat, which they had not tasted before. They returned to Yam, being carried by a hornbill, and remained there till they died, both being buried in the same grave.

Another version says that Wakea went in a canoe from Buravo to Yam to see his friend Maida, who had a son named Sigai. Sigai and Wakea died in Yam and their bodies are still there on a large stone.

"Naga's injury and revenge." In the absence of Naga of Tutu, his wife was outraged by two men. In order to take revenge, Naga made a wooden crocodile and went inside it. The monster cut his way to and fro through Tutu so that only a small part remained; this also is why there are many channels and passages in the shallow water round the island. He swallowed up all his people's canoes and the people in them, except the one in which was his own family. He went to Daudai and, by cutting his way inland, the crocodile formed the Binaturi and its tributaries. Naga made a home for himself at Yomusa up the Binaturi. The people still cut bamboo there for their bows and offer Naga dugong meat, asking him to help them. Naga said to the Masingara people, "That time you fellow kill bushman, you no cut him head, leave him", and for this reason the Masingara and the other bushmen, unlike the Kiwais, refrain from cutting off the heads of their slain enemies. Naga travelled inside the crocodile to many places along the coast westwards; wherever he scented people, he made a creek or river so as to fight people; he cut all the rivers as far as the Kobuara-gowo (Bensbach river). On his way back he went up all the creeks again and caught the people who came to fetch water. At last he returned to Yomusa, resumed his human shape and arranged the heads he had collected in circles with split coconut leaves around them, and since his time the people have done the same with the heads they bring home from a fight. Naga and Kuiamo were the first men to fight, and the Saibai side belongs to Kuiamo, while the inland people follow Naga. Mawata is on the border between the two areas and belongs partly to both. When Mawata, Yam and

Tutu people come to Yomusa, they offer dugong bones and meat to Naga, mentioning his name: "Naga, here meat belong you. Every time me fellow go spear dugong, you give me all time". They also ask Naga for success in war: "By and by me go fight—all same before you been kill him Tutu men, me kill him people all same". Naga still lives at Yomusa, and when he wants to go anywhere else, he assumes the shape of a crocodile. He made all the other crocodiles and they kill people because Naga did so when he assumed their form.

Naga's wife was married to a man named Sido in Tutu (not the Kiwai Sido) who possessed extraordinary powers. They called their first child Tutu and the others Waraber, Damut and Paremar, which are now the names of islands. Before that, the islands were uninhabited and had no names, but Sido named them and sent his children to live each in the island of the same name. [Landtman's informant was a Mawata man, so he called these islands respectively Tudu, Warabere, Damudo and Puruma.]

It is not easy to make a reasonably connected account from these tales.

It appears that Naga was a cult-hero of Nāgir. When living at Nāgir he visited Waiat of Mabuiag, and together they stole fire from Iku. Naga and Waiat went to Yam, and Naga was the first man to live there, but Waiat returned to Mabuiag. After Waiat had stolen a famous mask, Naga gave a mask to the men of Tutu, Waraber and Moa.

Naga in revenge for an outrage on his wife killed most of the Tutu people and also many in New Guinea (Naga and Kwoiam were the first men to fight). Naga still lives at Yomusa, up the Binaturi in Daudai.

The islands of Tutu, Waraber, Damut and Paremar were named respectively after the children of Sido (Naga's wife's second husband), which they colonised for the first time.

Naga and Waiat came from the Binaturi river to Yaru (Daru) and performed a death-dance (*markai*) there. Naga went to Ugar and showed the people how to perform the death-dance, then he went to Tutu where he remained in the *kwod* at Kupad.

Waiat of Mabuiag visited Naga in Nāgir in order to learn how to beat a drum, and he stole a mask. He went to Mer, Danar and Waier.

According to a Mabuiag version, Waiat (or Naga, or Izalu) lived on the islet of Widul off Mabuiag. He went to the Fly and Mer, and also to Badu, Moa and Nāgir. In the last island he was addressed as "Naga", he stole a mask and took it to Gumu in Mabuiag, and was killed because he had murdered some people.

Wakea of Buravo, a Masingara village on the Binaturi, visited Naga on Yam. At the request of Wakea, Naga made Tutu and lived there; all his people on Yam joined him, except Sigai, who remained with Wakea on Yam.

Wakea visited Sigai on Yam, who taught Wakea a lighting song and how to take heads. They visited Wakea's old home and returned to Yam and here they died. (One version says that Wakea went to Yam to see Maïda, the father of Sigai. Sigai and Wakea died in Yam.)

These tales point to cult-heroes coming from the Binaturi (Bina river) in Daudai to Yaru (Daru), bringing with them the death-dances (*horiomu* or *taera*, or *markai*, or *tai*, as they are variously termed in Daru and the Western islands). From this island the cult connected with death ceremonies, which probably was also a fertility cult, spread to Mabuiag on the one hand through Waiat, and to Nāgir on the other hand through Naga. From Nāgir the cult spread to Yam and Tutu and also to Moa, and other islands.

In Mabuiag, Waiat was said to be the head or chief of the *tai*, or *markai*, the spirit pantomimes that were held on Pulu, a sacred islet off Mabuiag, and, during these, the people

“thought about what Waiat did” and all the women were frightened; I could not discover why (v, p. 252). There was a wooden effigy representing the mutilated legless Waiat in a house on Widul which only the old men might see. Whenever they built a new house for Waiat some of the men dressed up as *zarar markai* and danced; this dance was also performed at Widul and Gumu three days after the ordinary *tai* ceremony. It is not now possible to recover the details of the cult of Waiet; a few obscure notes are given in vol. v, pp. 54, 252; turtle-shell masks were worn in the ceremony, and the *zarar markai* who were also connected with the cult wore leafy viziers.

Waiet (the Miriam name for Waiat) is stated (vi, pp. 128, 279) to have introduced to the Dauar and Waier people various *këber*, spirit pantomimes (for the meaning of the term *këber*, see p. 370), so these people claim to be the *giz ged*, “original places”, of the *këber*. The Dauar and Waier people in turn instructed certain groups of people on Mer; for example, Waiet taught the Dauar people the *këber* of the *zera markai*, they gave it to the people of Sebeg (Kòmet *le*) and Er (Geaurem *le*) on Mer, and in course of time ceased to practice it themselves; so when a Danar or Waier man died, the Er people received a fire-signal and went over in their canoes to perform the *këber* of the *zera markai*. According to another account, Waiet gave it to the Kòmet *le*, but the Geaurem *le*, whose headquarters were at Er on the south-east side of Mer, brought it independently from Mabuia (vi, p. 128). The *këber* of the *zera markai* was performed while a corpse was yet unburied (vi, p. 133), and it is acknowledged to be the same as the *zarar markai* of Mabuia (v, p. 253; iv, fig. 249, p. 289); the drummers sang, not in the Miriam language, but corrupted words of the Western language. The cult of Waiet belonged to Waier and Dauar, hence the *këber* of Mer became dissociated from this cult.

The cult of Waiat spread from the west to the Murray Islands, particularly to Waier, where (whatever it may have been in Mabuia) it seems to have been a fertility cult combined with sexual licence, and doubtfully with cannibalism. The Miriam death ceremonies, though traditionally introduced by Waiet, appear to have become disassociated from his cult.

As Waiet is definitely stated to have arrived subsequently to Bomai, these *këber* ceremonies were of more recent date in the Murray Islands than was the Bomai-Malu cult.

There does not appear to be any immediate connection between Waiat (or Waiet) and the Brethren, though there may be a very remote one.

The only knowledge we have of Wakea is from the tales told to Landtman by Gamea of Mawata. At first sight it might seem that Wakea was another name for Waiat, but Gamea spoke about Waiati of Mabuia. Wakea was a Masingara bushman of the Binaturi in Daudai. In one tale told to me by Maino of Tutu, Naga and Waiat came from the Binaturi (Katau) river, and Gamea told Landtman that Naga finally went to Yomasa on the Binaturi.

At all events Waiat became associated primarily with Mabuia, and secondarily as Waiet with Waier, and Naga with Nāgir. Neither of them was connected with the cult of the Brethren. The only possible linkage is that Wakea went from Yam to visit Sigai (or his father Maida) and that Sigai (who was the first man of Yam, according to one account) remained on Yam when all the other people went to Tutu to join Naga. It is not clear who this Sigai is; according to the legend of the origin of the Brethren (p. 391) the Sigai of the cult certainly had no father on Yam, but perhaps the version about Maida (the father of Sigai) is inaccurate; on the other hand the name Sigai may apply to two totally different

persons. The other stories given by Landtman may very well be an echo of the cult of Sigai on Yam (p. 407). Gamea was not initiated into the cult and could not have known very much about it. We know that the totemic initiation ceremonies of the Yam-Tutu people took place on Tutu (v, p. 208) and that there was a *kwod* with screens, evidently for the *tai*, at Yam (v, p. 366), and also that the cult of the Brethren was confined to Yam (p. 394). The statement that "Yam was the home of Sigai, 'a long time story man' who lived inside a stone, and this [when Wakea flew to Yam as a bird] took place before there were any people in the island" (Landtman, 1917, p. 136) seems to imply that the Sigai cult was older in Yam than the funeral ceremonies introduced by Naga, which agrees with the evidence from the Murray Islands that Waïet came later than Bomai.

There was also an obscure cult-hero named Tabu, who brought a mask-dance from Nāgir to Muralūg (v, p. 55), who may be the same as Tabu of Badu, who settled on Cape York, p. 273.

#### XI. SUMMARY OF THE CULTURE-HISTORY OF TORRES STRAITS

Physically the islanders are Papuans and can easily be distinguished from Anstralians, though it must be remembered that there is considerable diversity among Papuan peoples.

The evidence seems to point to a people of fairly uniform physical characters having populated the Eastern islands from Daudai.

The ethnic history of the Western islands is more complicated: (1) There appears to have been an ancient stock with a strong tendency towards very marked "low" cranial characters. (2) Presumably a later dolichocephalic stock spread from Daudai. (3) Subsequently a low brachycephalic stock came from the estuary of the Fly. The resemblances that occur in cephalic and cranial statistics between the Western islanders and the Kiwaians must be attributed to a similar ethnic mixture and not to a definite migration of recent Kiwaians into the Western islands. It is interesting to note that this third element has only slightly affected the Eastern islanders.

There does not seem to be any close relationship between the islanders and the Australians as a whole or with the Tasmanians.

There may be external physical and craniological resemblances between some of the islanders and other peoples far afield, but this does not imply any immediate connection, as this is precluded by ethnographical considerations.

In their temperament and general behaviour the islanders are distinctly "Papuan" and not "Australian".

The language of the Eastern islanders is definitely "Papuan", but that of the Western islanders is "Australian", and this suggests an ancient ethnic movement which requires further investigation. It is tempting to associate this language with the forebears of the stock indicated by the series of skulls from Moa.

The people of Muralūg have always had the reputation of being a nomadic people who wandered about the island in small communities in quest of food and did very little tilling. The more northerly Western islanders have never been great gardeners and their, for the most part, sterile soil has not encouraged them thereto. The Central islanders were also migratory (iv, p. 2), and it is evident from the nature of their islands that they could have done little, if any, cultivation, whereas the more isolated Eastern islanders grow plenty of food in their volcanic soil (iv, pp. 144 ff.). The economic life of these people is thus



clearly conditioned by geographical factors. We know that the Australians of North Queensland do not cultivate the soil, on the other hand the natives of New Guinea with but few exceptions are good gardeners.

The evidence of the material culture of the islanders is in conformity with that of their physical characters and psychology, as also are the general character of their social institutions and to a very large extent their ceremonial culture. Although certain cult-objects and rites can also be paralleled with those of various parts of Melanesia, ethnographical corroborative evidence for a connection between the two areas is of so slight a nature as to preclude any direct connection.

Cultural movements from New Guinea to Australia are much more probable than in the opposite direction. W. W. Thorpe (1924) has drawn attention to "Some New Guinea cultural influences found amongst the aborigines of Australia," and R. Hamlyn-Harris (1915) records "Some evidences of Papuan culture on Cape York peninsula." Most of the examples cited can be accounted for by the investigations of D. F. Thomson, pp. 266 ff.

The intelligent and energetic character of the islanders doubtless enabled them to develop what elements of culture they originally possessed and those that they acquired later into a distinctive culture of their own, and to this the Hiamu evidently contributed to a large extent.

In his "Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Ozeanien" (*Z.f.E.* xxxvii, 1905) and his "Die melanesische Bogenkultur" (*Anthropos*, iv, 1909) F. Graebner deals with broad migrations over large areas of Oceania, to each of which he ascribes a special complex of cultural traits; their elements are regarded as indicating a definite historical association on account of their distribution. The various traits of the culture of Torres Straits belong sporadically to most of Graebner's culture layers, and I think it is preferable to treat the areas under consideration in a more detailed manner and not to smooth out intricacies by general considerations. The culture circles and layers of Graebner and his followers are so hypothetical that the "culture-historical school" has been adversely criticised by many German and American ethnologists.

I have failed to find traces in Torres Straits of direct influence from Indonesia, although this might have been expected; what parallels there may be can be explained in other ways. Churchill (*The Polynesian Wanderings*, Washington, 1911; *Sissano*, Washington, 1916) gives maps showing a line of migration from Indonesia through Torres Straits to Fiji; this is based solely on linguistic grounds, but Ray denies that there is linguistic justification for influence from Indonesia either in the Straits or along the south coast of Papua.

Despite the views of L. Hargrave (p. 202) I cannot find evidence that Spanish or other early voyagers had any cultural effect upon the natives. At most they supplied them with iron tools and a few trade objects, but much of the iron that was used by the islanders appears to have been obtained from wrecks. Their culture was unaffected.

The influence of later contact with fishing crews was mainly very disastrous and destructive.

During the past half century or even longer there have been occasional visitors or settlers from Indonesia, "Manila men" and the like, but they do not appear to have had any cultural influence on the natives. The same applies to the Chinese and to the Japanese; the latter form an important trading and boat-building community in Thursday Island and they also engage extensively in pearl and other fishing.

Australian Government control and missionary enterprise since 1870 have had a rapid

and profound influence, which at the present time has very materially modified the old culture and certain aspects of it have disappeared.

According to tradition there have been numerous cultural movements to Torres Straits from Daudai and between the islands. Very few influences have come from the Cape York peninsula and these for the most part are reflex movements, as originally the cultures came to Australia from Papua through the Straits. I have reiterated on p. 101 my acceptance of the evidence of folk-tales as worthy of consideration, though every statement cannot be accepted as literally true. The marvellous is always apt to intrude, but this and deliberate exaggeration can usually be detected. In all mythologies cultural improvements and cultural spreads are usually associated with named persons. It is immaterial whether they ever existed as such, but it is convenient to employ these names as a concise method of recording the tradition. Therefore I have not hesitated to make use of the tales as indications in a general way of what has probably happened. Unfortunately it does not seem possible to construct even a relative chronology for these events, an actual chronology is quite out of the question.

Reference is given on p. 374 to various culture heroes: Yarwar, the expert gardener of Badu, and Gelam came from the Western islands and increased the vegetable food of Mer. Sida or Soida (pp. 374-380), who came from New Guinea, was the bestower of many good things. He instructed people in language, stocked reefs with the valuable cone shell and with other shells; he was the first to bring coconuts and bananas and other plants useful to man; but the greater fertility of the Eastern islands as compared with the Western is attributed to the treatment accorded to him in the different islands.

Seserc of Badu was the pioneer of harpooning dugong and Bia of Badu taught people how to catch turtle by means of the sucker-fish; he was known as Barat when he came to Mer. All the culture movements were from west to east except in the case of Abob and Kos of Mer, who built the first stone fish-traps which they introduced into the other Eastern islands and into some Central islands; on their way westwards they either taught a new language or suggested a different way of speaking the old one; finally they are said to have settled in Kiwai (vi, pp. 26-8).

The journey of Aukem and Terer from Mer to Boigu in the west is only an apparent exception, as this was merely the route taken by the spirits of the dead (vi, pp. 128, 131-3). Although they are said locally to be of Miriam origin (vi, pp. 31-3), they certainly were Western personages who were introduced by Waiet into Mer with other funerary ceremonies. In the Western version of the myth (v, pp. 56-62) they are Aukum and Tiai who lived at Boigu in Moa, but finally they went to the island of Boigu.

The folk-tales state that the original inhabitants of Daudai were in an extremely low state of culture from which they were raised by cultural influences coming from the north.

The earliest Western islanders were doubtless in a state of culture similar to that of the aborigines of Daudai, but the same cultural influences from the north spread into the islands—when or what length of time this took we have no means of knowing.

The migration to the Eastern islands may have been about the same period.

The earliest people were simple hunters and collectors, but the introduced art of the cultivation of the soil improved their mode of life. The natives of Muralug and the neighbouring islands never really attained this second stage, and even in Mer three folk-tales (vi, pp. 6, 9, 11) refer to the cooking of aroids for food, which now are eaten only in times

of scarcity; this may be a remembrance of a time anterior to the cultivation of yams. The story of Yawar shows that some of the inhabitants of Badu were then extremely incompetent gardeners.

The introduction of new kinds of cultivated plants or better varieties of yams and the like is accredited in the Eastern islands, or at all events in Mer, to named persons who came either from the Western islands or from New Guinea.

We may guess, but we do not know, what other elements of culture were used or practised at this period.

When inhabited by the Hiamu, Daru for some obscure reason became a focus of social activity, for here first in the Straits were performed the spirit pantomimes with their definite songs and dances and the employment of masks, particularly those in animal form. These rites were associated with initiation into the totemic regime, though the latter may have belonged to an earlier phase of culture. These socio-religious ceremonies were connected with the names of Naga and Waiat (pp. 405-10), who we are told came from the Binaturi; though nothing of the kind has been reported from Dandai. Their adoption by the Kiwaians of Mawata and farther east occurred much later. We may perhaps associate this new phase of culture with the same series of spreads that brought the culture-bearers of the Marind and allied peoples to the south coast of western New Guinea. It is worth noting that Boigu also became to some extent a cult-island.

The spread of the new cult over the Western and some of the Central islands has already been described, and it is obvious that it quickened the life of the people. In Widul, an islet off Mabuiag, a special cult of Waiat arose, but it does not seem to have been an important one.

There are very numerous traditions in Australia that a higher culture was brought in ancient times (Alchëra of the Arunta) by immigrants to the aborigines, the Inapätua of the Arunta. For example: the Numbäkulla of the Arunta (Aranda) and other central tribes, the Mura-mura of the Lake Eyre tribes, and the Muk-kurnai of the south-eastern tribes "made men" of the incomplete aborigines by means of initiation ceremonies, by cult-practices, and by the reorganisation of their social relations. These culture-bearers are usually stated to have come from the north. Baldwin Spencer is very definite concerning this general movement (*Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904, p. 20), but he implies that this northern culture was due to a local social evolution and not to culture-drifts from elsewhere as I suggest. Doubtless the culture-elements arrived in several waves, and spread in different directions.

There is much in common with these culture-bearers and the *dema* of the Marind, but if there is any connection it would imply that the migrations of the Marind to their present home took place a very long time ago; but, on the other hand, the "Alchëra" migration may be more recent than native tradition implies. Their relation to foregoing analogous culture-bearers of Torres Straits has yet to be determined. The introduction of the spirit pantomimes into the Western islands was probably the last phase of a series of spreads from New Guinea, as this phase reached only the most northerly parts of Queensland.

At some undetermined later time entirely new cultural developments took place owing to the intrusion of the cult of Kwoiam and the cults of the Brethren.

The influence of Kwoiam or Kuiam affected only the Western islands and more especially Mabuiag. The several cults of the Brethren were confined to three Central islands (Yam, Aurid and Mäsig) and to the Murray Islands, with an offshoot in Ērub. Attention has

previously been drawn to the fact that among the Yam-Tutu people the seat of the new cult was on Yam, whereas the older initiation rites were celebrated on Tutu.

The social value of these cults has already been noted; in the west and on Yam they were grafted upon the existing totemic system, but in non-totemic Mer an adjustment had to be made with the established regime of the *Ad giz*. In all cases the new cults produced local solidarity and increased vigour.

There is an unconfirmed statement (v, p. 376) that Kwoiam arrived earlier in the Straits than the Brethren.

The social history of the Eastern islands, or at all events of the Murray Islands, was different from that of the Western islands.

Some of the Miriam state that the first man and his wife came from the Fly river district, and it is extremely probable on linguistic grounds that the original Miriam and probably the other Eastern islanders came from the region to the west of the Fly.

At no time, so far as we know, was there direct intercourse between the Eastern and Western islanders, and perhaps it was not till the advent of the cult of the Brethren that friendly relations were established between the Miriam and the Yam-Tutu people. The Eastern and Western islanders were separated from each other by a broad expanse of sea pervaded with innumerable coral reefs and dotted with infertile sandy islands. These Central islanders perforce had to rely upon the sea for most of their sustenance, and to some extent they became traders and middlemen.

We may therefore envisage the Eastern islands as living to a large extent apart from the other islands and entirely so from the Western islanders. When they first arrived they must have been in a relatively low state of culture, but desultory communication with the natives of the estuary of the Fly kept them in touch with the outer world and provided them with canoes, weapons, feather ornaments and the like.

Allusion has been made to culture-bearers coming to Mer from the west and from New Guinea, but there is no indication as to when these occurred.

We do not know whether the forebears of the Miriam were totemic; if they were they seem for a long time since to have lost a totemic social structure. The Miriam developed a political system of the *Ad giz* which was superseded by the organisation of the Bomai-Malu cult; we have no information whether anything like it occurred elsewhere.

The *Dògai* and *Beizam* cults, *imer zogo* (the ritual of rain-making), the *meket siriam zogo*, and probably other cults of Mer were undoubtedly of old standing, but it is not possible to say at what time they were introduced.

Although it is by no means clear, it seems that Bomai came first to Mer and that Malu came in search of him accompanied by men from Nāgir, Yam-Tutu and other Central islands, and that they fetched Barat (or Bia) from Moa. Malu was killed on Mer and his followers returned to their homes.

The Miriam assert that Waiet came from Mabuig after the arrival of Bomai and that he introduced various *kiber* or spirit pantomimes. I cannot account for this comparatively late cultural spread, as the introduction of the cult of Waiet (his Mabuig name) and of the spirit pantomimes into Mabuig almost certainly belongs to a much earlier period.

There is no record of any cultural development among the islanders after the events just recorded until the arrival of the pearlshellers, the Government, and the missionaries.

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Fig. 1. With Mamo (p. 76)



Fig. 2. Stone block at Komakan, Yau, on which stone implements were ground  
Photographed by Kathleen Haddon







Fig. 1. Stone slabs at Konakam, Yam, on which stone implements were ground (p. 76)



Fig. 2. Shrine in Yam with stone image of Mudri Kurusa, who made coconuts, bananas, yams and other garden produce fruitful (p. 77)

Photographed by Kathleen Haddon





Fig. 1. *Biribiro*: A. *Tridacna* shell  
B. Stone. Érub (p. 139)



Fig. 2. *Biribiro*, stone (p. 139)



Fig. 3. *Gub*, Mer (p. 157)  
A. Length about 4 ft. 2 in.  
B. Length about 3 ft. 11 in.  
Photographed by T. A. G. Strickland



Fig. 4. Dawita of Mer with *pulch* stones (p. 170)  
Photographed by W. H. MacFarlane





Fig. 1. Spia in front of the Abob and Kos rocks. Erub (p. 197)



Fig. 3. Idagi with the sun and moon stones in their original clam shells. Erub (p. 200)



Fig. 2. Spia showing the holed stone to which the canoe of Abob and Kos was tied. Erub (p. 197)



Fig. 4. Throwing a stone at the rock representing *Hael*, the evening star. Erub (p. 200)

Figures 1-4 photographed by W. H. MacFarlane





Fig. 1

Fig. 1. Turtleshell mask of the *Daido-siriem*. Ērub (p. 198)

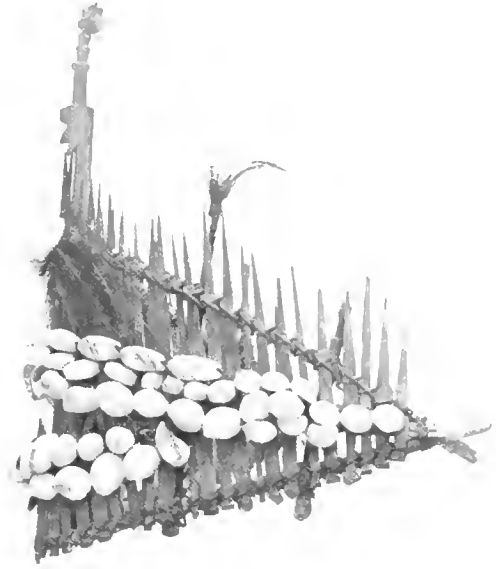


Fig. 2

Fig. 2. Headdress of the *Daido-siriem*. Ērub (p. 198)

Photographs by courtesy of the Director of the Bristol Museum



Fig. 3. Mur of Mer with a *ome nesur* she has made (p. 297; iv, p. 61)

Photographed by W. H. MacFarlane







Fig. 1. Back view of a Kobripatra. *Ērub* (p. 192)  
Photographed by W. H. MacFarlane



Fig. 2. Pasi of Mer showing the method  
of spinning a stone top (cf. IV,  
pl. XXVIII, fig. 1)  
Photographed by W. H. MacFarlane

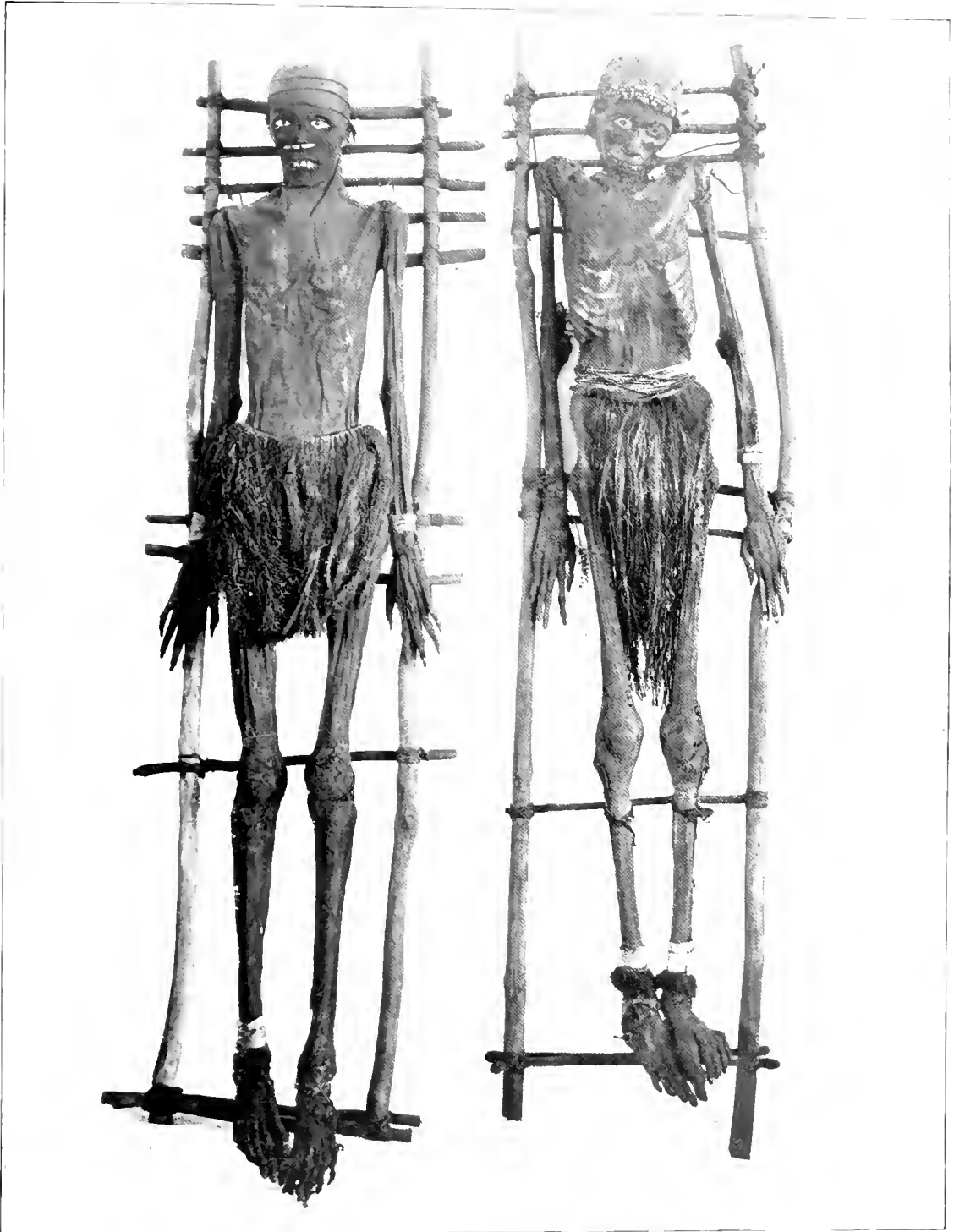


Fig. 3. Comb. *Mer* (p. 296)  
Photographed by T. A. G. Strickland



Fig. 4. Sling, probably copied from Tanna men.  
*Mer* (p. 305)  
Photograph by courtesy of the Director of the  
Australian Museum, Sydney





Mummies from Ugar (Stephens island). Queensland Museum. A. Female; B. Male (p. 327)

Block lent by courtesy of the Director of the Queensland Museum, Brisbane





Fig. 1



Fig. 2

Figs. 1, 2. Effigy from Ukia-ravi, Baroi river, Purari delta, Papua, Cambridge Museum (p. 340)

Photographed by T. A. G. Strickland



Fig. 3. Fishing for *tup* with *werir* and *weres*. Mer (p. 151)

Photographed by A. R. McCulloch



Fig. 4. Fishing for *tup* with cast-net. Mer (p. 151)

Photographed by A. R. McCulloch

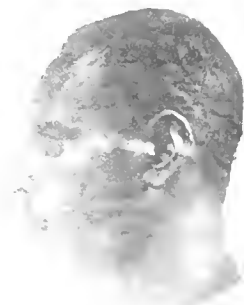




1. Waria



2. Gizu



3. Tom



5. Nungai



7. Gaudai



4. Tom



6. Nungai



8. Gaudai

Portraits of natives of Mabuag  
Photographed by A. Wilkin







1. Wag



2. Wag



3. Mur of Denau (p. 107)



4. Alo



5. Alo



6. Canoe



7. Bablo

Photographs of natives of Mer  
Photographed by A. Wilkin





1. Harry (Arei) *Mamus* of Mer



2. Harry (Arei)



3. Lépeta



4. Lépeta

Photographs of natives of Mer  
Photographed by A. Wilkin





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