

KAJ BIRKET-SMITH

STUDIES IN
CIRCUMPACIFIC CULTURE
RELATIONS

II. Social Organization

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 45, 2



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Corrigenda

- Page 31. L. 13 fr. below, father, read: farther.
- 36. L. 21 fr. top, bans, read: bands.
 - 48. L. 20 fr. below, notes, read: with.
 - 59. L. 15 fr. below, Anal, read: Anāl.
 - 64. L. 14 fr. below, Espite, read: Despite.
 - 67. L. 12 fr. top, bide price, read: bride price.
 - 69. L. 13 fr. below, last, read: east.
 - 72. L. 13 fr. top, Ogorot, read: Igorot.
 - 123. L. 19 fr. below, footed, read: rooted.
 - 124. L. 1 fr. top, Arapoho, read: Arapaho.
 - 132. L. 1 fr. top to be replaced by l. 2 and vice versa.
 - 138. L. 15 fr. top, afterwards, add: killed.

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CONTENTS

| | Page |
|---|------|
| I. Historic and Pseudo-Historic Relations | 5 |
| II. The Matrilineal Complex | 18 |
| 1. Northwestern North America | 18 |
| 2. Eastern Asia | 48 |
| 3. Oceania | 76 |
| 4. Historical Suggestions | 104 |
| III. Slavery | 113 |
| 1. Western North America | 113 |
| 2. Eastern Asia | 115 |
| 3. Oceania | 120 |
| IV. Secret Societies | 123 |
| 1. Northwestern North America | 123 |
| 2. Eastern Asia | 133 |
| 3. Oceania | 136 |
| 4. The Problem of Circumpacific Relations of Northwest American Secret Societies | 153 |
| V. Bibliography | 155 |
| 1. Abbreviations | 155 |
| 2. List of Works | 156 |

PREFACE

The present work is a continuation of my paper published in this series in 1967 on Potlatch and Feasts of Merit. Here it has been my purpose to discuss the possibility of historical connections between certain characteristic features of Northwest American social organization and some societies west of the Pacific.

It may be appropriate to emphasize that in speaking of social structure and social organization I have not followed the terminology of Raymond Firth, according to whom "in the aspect of social structure is to be found the continuity principle of society; in the aspect of organization is to be found the variation or change principle — by allowing evaluation of situation and entry of individual choice." However clear this definition may appear, I find it very difficult to employ on the basis of the available sources and I have therefore used the terms indiscriminately.

It gives me great pleasure to reiterate here my sincere thanks to the Carlsberg Foundation for financial support during my work, and no less is my gratitude to my friends at the National Museum where I have always been received as a welcome visitor after my retirement from that institution many years ago.

March 1971

KAJ BIRKET-SMITH

I
HISTORIC AND PSEUDO-HISTORIC
RELATIONS

In the first part of the present *Studies in Circumpacific Culture Relations* I have tried to show historical connections between the American potlach institution and the feasts of merit in Southeast Asia and Oceania.¹ Now, the distribution of the true potlach is rather limited, being restricted to the northwestern parts of North America, which, of course, in a way facilitates the investigation. It is a well-known fact, however, that the Old and the New World have many elements of culture in common which occur not only in the Northwest but also in regions much farther south in America. In such cases it would certainly be rash to take their distribution as evidence of circumpacific relations for granted without considering other possibilities.

Thus, there may simply be a question of early European contact east of the Pacific. Apparently this applies to the use of *sails*. Sails are of course common throughout East Asia and Oceania, but in America outside the Eskimo area they seem to be post-Columbian even if manufactured of native materials such as skin, matting, etc. It is true, indeed, not only of the Northwest Coast, where sails are never mentioned by the first voyagers, and it is expressly stated of the Nootka in 1790: "After we had been some time in King George's Sound, the natives began to make use of sails made of mats, in imitation of ours."² The alleged sails of the Maya and Island Carib are highly questionable, and although they were observed on balsas off the Peruvian coast as early as

¹ Birket-Smith 1967. I take the opportunity of correcting an omission in the bibliography. The following title should be added p. 97: *C. R. Stone: The Feasts of Merit among the Northern Sangtam Tribe of Assam. A. XLV. 1950.*

² Niblack 1890; 296. Boas 1890; 817. Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 382. Birket-Smith 1953; 198f. Drucker 1955; 67. Meares 1790; 264.

1526 it has been suggested, and actually with some reason, that the Indians there had become acquainted with them through indirect contact with the Spaniards in Panamá¹ — unless we prefer the other, though admittedly rather faint chance, that they should be ascribed to pre-Columbian contacts across the southern Pacific.

Dug-outs provided with washstrakes or separate stem and stern pieces present problems of another kind. They occur on the Northwest Coast from the Tlingit in the North and as far south as the Chinook and Quinaielt,² and were used together with plank-built boats by the Chumash and Shoshonean tribes on the Santa Barbara Islands and the coast of southern California.³ Kroeber believes that here the plank construction may be due to scarcity of suitable wood. On the other hand, Friederici has called attention to some remarkable parallels in the culture of the Santa Barbara islanders and the Indians of the North Pacific Coast which may suggest historical relations between the two areas. We may probably disregard the Aztec war canoes and their stem and stern protections against hostile missiles, but true *washstrakes* were used again on the Antilles and the north coast of South America.⁴

On the East Asiatic continent washstrakes seem to be rare. The Ainu craft consisting of a bottom piece and two sewed-on side pieces are more or less influenced by Japanese plank boats.⁵ Similar canoes, although with pegged-on sides instead of sewn, are used in the Amur region among the Gilyak, Goldi, Olcha and Oroche.⁶ Dug-outs with washstrakes fastened by means of ribs are reported from Cambodia and Cochinchina (southern Vietnam)⁷, but otherwise we have to go as far as the Southeast Asiatic archipelago in order to find them, even though plank-built vessels are more common here. Washstrakes occur for instance on the Nicobar and Mentawai Islands as well as on Nias where, however, plank-

¹ Rydén 1956; 155f. Cf. Friederici 1907; 73ff.

² Friederici 1907; 64 (with references). Krause 1885; 172. Eells 1889; 641. Boas 1909; 446. Lewis 1906; 164. Waterman & Coffin 1920; 26. Goddard 1924; 44. Ray 1938; 105. Olson 1936; 70.

³ Friederici 1907; 65ff. Kroeber 1925; 812.

⁴ Friederici 1907; 67f.

⁵ v. Siebold 1881; 22. MacRitchie 1892; 27f. Hitchcock 1891; 472. Torii 1919; 182. Montandon 1937; 131f.

⁶ v. Schrenck 1881–95; 95, 507f. Albert 1956; 59. Levin & Potapov 1964; 702, 724, 753.

⁷ Paris 1955; 29.

built boats are also used.¹ So it is also among the Iban on Borneo, whereas dug-outs with separate gunwales are the only craft used by the Dayak tribes of the interior.² They are common also in some places in the Small Sunda Islands and the Moluccas, either as true washstrakes or as wave protections made of palm fronds sewn together and propped up by means of bamboo sticks.³ An old report likewise tells of dug-outs with washstrakes from Luzon.⁴

Plank-built boats occur in several of the Melanesian islands: the Bismarck Archipelago, Solomons, New Hebrides, and Lau Islands,⁵ however canoes provided with washstrakes are far from being rare; we find them on New Guinea and neighbouring islands,⁶ Matty, Anachoret and Hermit Islands,⁷ Admiralty Islands,⁸ the Bismarck Archipelago,⁹ Solomons,¹⁰ New Hebrides,¹¹ New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands,¹² Fiji and Rotuma.¹³ Both plank-built boats and dug-outs with washstrakes occur throughout Micronesia

¹ On Indonesian craft in general cf. Friederici 1912; 235 ff. and Nootboom 1932; passim. Nicobar Islands (Man s. a.; 78). Mentawai (Hansen 1915; 207). Nias (Schröder 1917; I 194f.).

² St. John 1863; I 81f. Low 1892–93; XXII 51. Ling Roth 1896; II 246 ff. Nieuwenhuis 1904–7; II 221. Hose & McDougall 1912; I 56, 201. Lumholtz 1920; I 48. Hose 1926; 87.

³ Bastian 1884–89; I 73. Huetting 1921–22; LXVIII 246. Jansen 1939; 348f. Josselin de Jong 1947; 31. Nutz 1959; 39.

⁴ de Morga 1601; 82.

⁵ Cook 1779; 78. Labillardière an VIII; I 230. Verguet 1885; 220f. Penny 1887; 78 ff. Somerville 1893a; 375. Somerville 1897; 369f. Pfeil 1899; 94. Ribbe 1903; 52. Ribbe 1910–12; 422. Blackwood 1912; 370 ff. Williamson 1914; 63f. Stephan & Graebner 1907; 80 ff. Ivens 1927; 149. Ivens 1930; 260. Hocart 1935; 97 ff. Bogesi 1947–48; 224. Selaginhaufen 1959; 58, 82. Nutz 1959; 30 ff. Guiart 1961–62; 34.

⁶ Finsch 1888; 213, 347, Atlas pl. VI. Macgillivray 1852; I 202. Moresby 1876; 133. Haddon 1890; 341, 381. Hagen 1899; 218. Parkinson 1900; 31. Schellong 1904; 176. Erdweg 1902; 363 ff. v. d. Sande 1907; 198. Neuhaus 1911; I 351f. Vogel 1911; 172. Seligmann 1910; 15, 527. Haddon a. o. 1912; 207. Malinowski 1915; 613f. Jenness & Ballantyne 1920; 186. Schmidt 1923–24; 718. Landtman 1927; 211f. Riley 1925; 115. Armstrong 1928; 22 ff. Saville 1926; 132. Malinowski 1932; 110, 112 ff. Haddon 1935; 306. Thomas 1941–42; 176.

⁷ Carteret 1773; 608. Labillardière an VIII; I 272. Parkinson 1907; 443f. Krämer 1909; 85.

⁸ Labillardière an VIII; I 266. Moseley 1897; 404. Parkinson 1907; 362. Vogel 1911; 84f. Nevermann 1934; 285.

⁹ Pfeil 1899; 92. Stephan & Graebner 1907; 77. Strauch 1877; 83, 98. Bell 1948–49; 215 ff.

¹⁰ Woodford 1890; 148, 157. Codrington 1891; 291. Hopkins 1928; 194f. Bernatzik 1936; 83, 86f. Oliver 1955; 7.

¹¹ Forster 1777; II 354. Codrington 1891; 292. Deacon 1934; 204, 206. Layard 1943; 455, 458.

¹² Ray 1917; 264. Sarasin 1929; 84.

¹³ Wilkes 1842; III 365. Williams 1858; 73. Gardiner 1898; 457. Thomson 1908; 291. Haddon & Hornell 1936–38; I 308.

on the Marianas, Yap, the Carolines, Gilbert, and Marshall Islands,¹ and in Polynesia washstrakes are common everywhere if dug-outs are used.²

Apart from the plank-built boats of New Zealand, which most probably are the outcome of a local adaption to the luxurious wood supply of the country, there can be no doubt that plank-built boats are a late type introduced from the Indonesian Archipelago.³ The question is different in the case of washstrakes. As far as they are concerned — and here I am thinking particularly of the possibility of a common origin for those of the American Northwest and those of the Old World — they are more likely to be local response to the necessity of creating sea-going craft able to resist the oceanic waves, or in other words the result of geographical adaptation to local conditions and *not* of cultural relations.

Possibilities of geographical adaptation together with lack of detailed information may likewise prevent us from arriving at definite answers, as for instance in the case of *pile dwellings*. They are widespread in East Asia, Indonesia and Oceania, and in America they occur outside the Northwest Coast⁴ both on the Pacific and Atlantic coasts of South America, in Guiana, and in some parts of the Amazon region as far south as Mojos.⁵ It is necessary to realize, however, that a general term such as pile dwelling may refer to more than one type of construction, for instance to houses in which the piles constitute an integral part of the building as well as to houses built upon a separate platform, and unfortunately the descriptions do not always enable us to distinguish between the types. Moreover, geographical and other factors such as adaptation to sloping or swampy ground, defence measures, etc. should be taken into consideration. Even if purely

¹ Waitz 1870; 82. Finsch 1893; 67f, 159, 222, 347. Lutké 1835; I 368, II 76. Kubary 1880; 264. Thilenius 1903; 155, 190, 219. Krämer 1906; 358. Matsumura 1918; 66. Girschner 1912; 149. Müller 1917; 173. Sarfert 1919–20; I 224. Hambruch 1915; 159f. Marshall 1914; 56. Eilers 1934; 90f, 428. Eilers 1935; 100, 271. Eilers 1936; 176, 228. Damm 1935; 109. Damm 1938; 54, 133, 175, 250. Bollig 1927; 127. Krämer 1935 2; 75f. Krämer 1932; 228f. Krämer & Nevermann 1938; 175f. Sarfert & Damm 1929; 195ff. Spoehr 1949; fig. 26.

² Haddon & Hornell 1936–38; I passim.

³ Haddon & Hornell 1936–38; I 339. Cf. Rivers 1912: II 451f. On Oceanic water craft in general cf. Friederici 1912; 235, passim.

⁴ E. g. Vancouver 1798; II 274. Sarfert 1909; 170. Olson 1927; 27. McIlwraith 1948; I 17. Boas 1935; 1. Drucker 1950; 178, 249. Drucker 1955; 59.

⁵ Nordenskiöld 1920; 1ff.

historical motives may be responsible for their distribution in numerous and, perhaps, even in most cases it would therefore be premature to treat all pile dwellings as a whole as do Schmidt and Koppers when referring them to their "free-matrilineal" complex.¹

Difficulties also appear if the ulterior motives of apparently identical customs are unknown. This applies, for instance, to a remarkable greeting ceremony to which Friederici has called attention.² On the arrival of the first European ships to the American Northwest Coast the Indians used to *paddle around them*; so also did the Indians of the Santa Barbara Islands, whose affinities to the Northwest Coast have previously been referred to, and the same custom has been reported from the Philippines, the Moluccas, western New Guinea, and Hawaii.² No reason has been given for this custom. It may be an old and widespread procedure that has survived in the circumambulation ceremonies of Islâm, of Brahmanism in India and Buddhism in Central and East Asia, and is found again even among the Netsilik Eskimo, where all mothers in a camp must walk in single file around a visiting sledge and its dog team in order to confine the evil influences brought along with the strangers.³ But really nothing definite is known.³

On the other hand, there are instances of culture elements which are extremely widespread in both Americas and nevertheless seem to be historically related to those of the Old World. One example of this kind is the *knot records* used as mnemonic devices.⁴ Here we have to do with a practically uninterrupted distribution from Chile to Alaska and west of the Pacific from northernmost Japan to Polynesia.⁴ The widespread *dog myths* are another example.⁵ Sometimes, it is true, the relations seem to be more problematic, viz. if the element in question at present has its principal distribution in South America, but even then a connection with Asia may be surmised if vestiges may be discovered in North America. This applies, for instance, to the *composite comb*

¹ Schmidt & Koppers n. d.; 92, 122, 580f.

² Friederici 1929; 465f. (with references).

³ Rasmussen 1931; pl. opp. p. 61.

⁴ Birket-Smith 1966.

⁵ Koppers 1930a.

or "Stäbchenkamm" of German authors. Graebner included it in his "Polynesian" culture stratum, and neither he nor Schmidt and Koppers hesitated to connect the Old and New World occurrences,¹ but even apart from their fundamental failure of establishing universal culture strata, its specific Polynesian character is certainly doubtful since it is neither common to all Polynesian nor — as was afterwards suggested — to South Polynesians or "proto-Polynesians".²

In South America we find the composite comb widely distributed among a great number of Arawakan, Cariban, and Tupian tribes, and it likewise occurred in the Cordilleras, whereas it is doubtful whether it existed in Meso-America and the West Indies.³ On the other hand, it is not entirely absent in North America. I have previously called attention to its occurrence on the northwestern plateaux among the Molala, Nez Percé, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Sokan, Thompson, Sinkiuse, Wenatchi, Coeur d'Alène, Okanagan, Shuswap, and Lilloet, and outside the plateau area on the Aleutian Islands and among the Angmagssalik Eskimo.⁴ To the plateau tribes may now be added Chinook, Klikitat, Tenino, Umattilla, Kittitas, Kalispel, Chilcotin, Kutenai and Flathead, and archaeologically it is known from the Upper Columbia region.⁵ Similar combs were used in northern California, too, by the Karok and Yurok,⁶ in Alaska by the Koyukon and Ingalik and in former days maybe among the Chugach Eskimo.⁷

In the eastern hemisphere the composite comb is mentioned not only from numerous Polynesian islands, but also from the Carolines,⁸ Yap,⁹ and Palau¹⁰ in Micronesia. It is likewise common on many Melanesian islands: Fiji,¹¹ New Caledonia,¹² New Hebr-

¹ Graebner 1905; 48. Graebner 1909; 746. Schmidt & Koppers n.d.; 88.

² Cf. Birket-Smith 1956; 175.

³ W. Schmidt 1913; 1084 ff.

⁴ Birket-Smith 1937; 34 f.

⁵ Ray 1942; 170. Collier, Hudson & Ford 1942; 87.

⁶ Driver 1939; 329.

⁷ Osgood 1940; 290. de Laguna 1947; 222 f. de Laguna 1956; 196, 293.

⁸ Edge-Partington 1890-98; II 88. Finch 1893; 368. Matsumotu 1918; 29 f, 110. Krämer 1932; 98. Krämer 1935, 2; 32. Damm 1935; 31 ff. Eilers 1935; 122. Krämer 1937; 37. Damm 1938; 17.

⁹ Edge-Partington 1890-98; I 177. Müller 1917; 21.

¹⁰ Kubary 1895; 195. Matsumotu 1918; 113.

¹¹ Williams 1858; 227 fig. Edge-Partington 1890-98; I 118.

¹² Cook 1779; 118 f. Glaumont 1889; 104. Edge-Partington 1890-98; I 134, III 67. Lambert 1900; 144. Sarasin 1929 162.

des,¹ Santa Cruz,² Banks,³ Solomon Islands,⁴ New Ireland,⁵ St. Mathias,⁶ and Admiralty Islands,⁷ as well as among numerous tribes in New Guinea.⁸ It appears from this distribution that even if Graebner was mistaken in referring the composite comb to his Polynesian stratum it certainly occurs mainly among Austronesian speaking tribes, even though in some cases it has spread to Papuans, too.⁹ This agrees with the fact that we find it on Sumbawa,¹⁰ among the Yami on Botel Tobago¹¹ and the Li on Hainan,¹² as well as among several of the backward peoples in the southeastern part of the continent.¹³ Moreover it has been found archaeologically in the Chinese province of Hsinchiang,¹⁴ possibly also from the Jômon period on Hondô,¹⁵ and it is still used by the Mongols and the Ket on the Yenisei.¹⁶ Obviously composite combs are preserved from earlier periods only under especially favourable conditions. Notwithstanding the wide gaps in the distribution I thus believe that we are justified in considering them a true, i.e. historically interrelated, circumpacific element.

The manufacture of *bark cloth* presents somewhat similar but still more complicated aspects. On the North Pacific coast of America the inner bark of red and yellow cedar was made into thread after being soaked in water and beaten with a grooved

¹ Edge-Partington 1890-98; I 145. Speiser 1925; 171. Speiser 1935; 183. Nevermann 1960; 198.

² Graebner 1909a; 76. Speiser 1916; 160.

³ Speiser 1923; 171.

⁴ Verguet 1885; 203 fig. 86. Edge-Partington 1890-98; I 196, 227 ff, II 101 f. Krause 1907; 83 f. Hopkins 1928; 57. Bernatzik 1936; 45.

⁵ Edge-Partington 1890-98; I 256.

⁶ Parkinson 1901; 230. Nevermann 1933a; 69 f.

⁷ Nevermann 1934; 113 ff.

⁸ Turner 1878; 477. Edge-Partington 1890-98; I 302 f, II 138, 143. Finsch 1882; atlas pl. xvii. Finsch 1893; 21, 94 f, 306 f. de Clercq & Schmeltz 1893; 15 f, cf. 212. v. d. Sande 1907; 68. Reche 1913; 88 ff. Schlaginhaufen 1910-11a; 31. Schultze-Jena 1914; 14, 43. Williamson 1914; 209. Williams 1924; 48. Wirz 1934; 26.

⁹ Cf. also Schmitz 1960; 64.

¹⁰ Fischer & Rassens 1924; 7. On Central Sumatra they are expressly stated to be of Chinese manufacture. Fischer 1916; 48.

¹¹ Kano & Segawa 1956; 12.

¹² Stübel 1937; 276.

¹³ Senoi (Martin 1905; 700, cf. fig. 125). Karen (Marshall 1922; fig. p. 37, cf. 46). Lushai (Shakespeare 1912; 13). Meau (Bernatzik 1947; II 324). Rengma Naga (Mills 1937; 19).

¹⁴ Bergman 1939; 139, 178, cf. pl. 9 and pl. 27.

¹⁵ Ohyama cited by de Laguna 1949; 223.

¹⁶ Boyer 1952; 21 fig. 3. Spec. in the Anthropological and Ethnographical Museum of the Academy of Science, Leningrad.

beater of the bone of a whale and employed for weaving blankets, either exclusively or together with the wool of the mountain goat, dogs' hair or strips of bird skin. Such blankets were used among the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Bellacoola, Kwakiutl, Nootka, Canadian Coast Salish, Puyallup-Nisqually, Chehalis and Klallam, although the technique was introduced among the Masset Haida and Sanyakwan Plingit from the southern Haida, and was not used at all by the Chilkat Tlingit (and Eyak).¹ Several tribes in northern California made women's skirts or aprons of shredded bark.² In the interior, bark was more rarely employed. Nevertheless the Sanpoil and Nespelim on the Columbia River had woven bark fabrics and "upon reaching a settlement a temporary cloth was made of a piece of inner bark of the willow, or the penis and scrotum were simply wrapped and tied with a similar piece of bark."³ The Sinkaietk (southern Okanagan) used scraped instead of beaten willow bark.⁴ Woven bark blankets occurred among the Thompson, while among the Shuswap "willow and cedar bark were very rarely used materials",⁵ and several inland tribes had ordinary woven blankets.⁶ In the southeastern United States mulberry and other kinds of bark were beaten and made into thread for weaving. "The range of this industry was from the Mississippi River to the Atlantic, but its extension northeast and northwest is uncertain."⁷

In order to find true, i.e. non-woven bark cloth we have to go as far south as Mexico, where it was known at least in the formative period, and to the Maya.⁸ On the other hand it is typical of tropical South America, particularly of the Amazon area.⁹

It will appear from this survey that in North America bark is used practically only for weaving. Olson is of the opinion that Northwest Coast weaving was derived from Mexico, connected by

¹ Gibbs 1877; 220. Jewitt 1896; 102f. Hill Tout 1904b; 333. Boas 1909; 395 ff. Goddard 1924; 54f. Gunther 1927; 219f. Koppert 1930; 50f. Barnett 1939; 247. W. M. Smith 1940; 311. Drucker 1950; 182, 259. Drucker 1951; 93f. Barnett 1955; 70, 121.

² Driver 1939; 330.

³ Ray 1933; 45.

⁴ Commons in Spier 1938; 68.

⁵ Teit 1900; 218, 220. Teit 1909; 507.

⁶ Ray 1942; 163.

⁷ Swanton 1928; 650. Swanton 1946; 442.

⁸ Vaillant 1948; 32. Thomson 1956; 186.

⁹ Nordenskiöld 1924; 208f, cf. maps 28, 30. Métraux in Steward (ed.) 1946-59; V 67f.

the scattered instances of bison-hair weaving on the plains.¹ The difficulty in accepting this hypothesis is the fact that the techniques are quite different, and a few remarks in passing may therefore be appropriate. Among the Aztec and Maya, and probably farther south in Central America as well as in the West Indies, the loom had two bars to hold the warp skein more or less horizontally at tension by means of a back strap, the weaving proceeding from below upwards.² Two-bar horizontal looms are also widely distributed in South America.³ In northern Mexico and the southwestern United States we meet with upright, two-barred looms, but whereas the Hopi and Navaho weave upwards, the work among the Cahita proceeds downwards.⁴ Our information from the Southeast is defective: "While the typical suspended, or downward, weaving was used, some tribes used a true loom, the two-barred loom, and a loom with three rods for twilling buffalo-hair cord".⁵ In the Northwest the warp skein is always vertical, but while a "half-loom" with two cross bars occurs among the Chilcotin, Thompson, Lilloet, several of the Canadian Coast Salish and many tribes in Washington,⁶ we can hardly speak of a true loom among the other tribes at all. The Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Bellacoola, Kwakiutl and Nootka as well as some Coast Salish put up a frame consisting of two vertical posts and an upper cross bar for suspending the warp, the weft threads being introduced with the fingers downwards.⁷ Downward weaving occurs, moreover, in basket and wallet making on the Aleutians and among the Ojibwa and other Central Algonkians, and the technique used in making the widespread rabbit-skin blankets should also be considered. If furthermore it is remembered that in some places European influence cannot be ignored, it seems obvious that the history of American weaving is still problematic. If there is any connection between Meso-American and Northwest Coast weaving at all, it can only be a case of so-called "stimulus diffusion," independent of the type of loom. On the other hand there is hardly reason for questioning a connection between the use of bark fibres

¹ Olson 1929; 117 ff.

² Joyce 1916; 41, 246. Joyce 1920; 308.

³ O'Neale in Steward (ed.) 1946-59; V 106 ff.

⁴ Goddard 1921; 46f, 90, 158f, 164. Beals 1943; 29.

⁵ Wissler 1922; 59.

⁶ Olson 1929; 115. Barnett 1939; 242. Ray 1942; 163.

⁷ Olson 1929; 115. Barnett 1939; 242. Drucker 1951; 94.

in weaving and of bark cloth. The use of grooved bark beaters, whether made of bone, stone, or wood, on the Northwest Coast, in Central and in South America is significant, and besides it seems that genuine bark cloth is not quite unknown in the Northwest, as exemplified by the Sanpoil and Nespelim.

In Asia elm bark, after being soaked in hot water for about ten days, is made into threads and woven by the Ainu on the Kurile Islands and in northern Japan.¹ The technique, however, differs from that of the American Northwest Coast, since, as emphasized by Olson,² the Ainu loom unmistakably belongs to East Asiatic types notwithstanding certain minor peculiarities. But here again the connection with true bark cloth is clear. In the Manyoshû, the famous Japanese anthology written for the most part around 700 A.D. though a few poems may be older, the beating of paper mulberry bark for making cloth is mentioned.³ Chinese paper manufacture is undoubtedly derived from bark cloth making, which dates back to the Lungshanoid Neolithic before the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C.⁴ In southern China bark cloth, known as *l'a-pu*, *ka-pu*, etc., is described from numerous "barbarian" tribes ever since the 6th century B.C., and it is added that "a map . . . reveals clearly that it started from the Huang Huai Plains of North China, passing through the valleys of Yangtze and Han Rivers of Central China and spread to the hilly area of South China and the Southwest Plateau, as well as to the two large islands off the China Coast."⁵ On Formosa it was used since the 3rd century, and among the Li of Hainan it occurred at least as early as in Sung times.⁶

In Assam bark threads are woven among the Dafla and Konyak Naga,⁷ whereas true bark cloth is worn by the Abor,⁸ and while the Garo weave cotton they still have bark cloth blankets.⁹ In early times bark cloth was probably common throughout the Indo-chinese Peninsula. Thus, it was formerly made by the Lamet,

¹ v. Siebold 1881; 13. Hitchcock 1891; 451. MacRitchie 1892; 16f, 23f. Batchelor 1901; 144. Montandon 1937; 83.

² Olson 1929; 115.

³ Munroe 1911; 464.

⁴ Chang 1964; 369.

⁵ Ling 1961; 29 ff. Cf. Eberhard 1942b; 140, 154, 168, 226, 309, 334.

⁶ M. M. Ling 1960; 353 ff. Eberhard 1942b; 223f.

⁷ Mills 1926a; 31. Dunbar 1938; 235. Fürer-Haimendorf 1955; 161.

⁸ Wadell 1901; 15. Hamilton 1922; 20. Cf. Dalton 1872; 27.

⁹ Playfair 1909; 59f.

and it still occurs among the Moi and the Semang, Sakai and Jakun in Malaya.¹ On the Nicobar Islands it was in general use, though in modern times the manufacture was limited to the primitive Shompen tribe.²

It hardly needs pointing out that bark cloth is common practically everywhere in Indonesia. Even where cottons are now generally employed, coarse bark cloth is used for packing while finer qualities may be utilized for writing.³ Finds of bark beaters testify to the use of bark cloth in both Celebes and the Philippines as early as the Neolithic.⁴ In more recent periods it was used in the Philippines by one of the Bagobo groups in Mindanao, by the Negritos of Palawan and Luzon, and by the Bontoc Igorot, Ilongot and Ibanag ("Cagayanes") and in northern Luzon.⁵

In Melanesia we find bark cloth almost everywhere. Rivers considered it a culture element characteristic of his "Kava" and "Betel" peoples, while according to Speiser it belongs to both his "Round adze" and "Quadrangular adze" complexes.⁶ So much seems certain, at any rate, that it must be early Neolithic. It occurs both on the coasts and in the interior of New Guinea and among Melanesian as well as Papuan speaking tribes.⁷ North of New

¹ Hoffet 1933; 7. Izikowitz 1951; 111. Martin 1905; 687f. Skeat & Blagden 1906; I 375, 380ff, 384f, 389. Evans 1938; 71f. Segebesta 1954; 33f.

² Rink 1847; 162. Man n. d.; 74 ff. Svoboda 1892-93; V 200. Whitehead 1924; 55.

³ Adriani & Kruyt 1901; 139ff, 159ff, 166ff. Kennedy 1934; 229f. Add: Nias (Rappard 1909; 518. Loeb 1935; 135). Minangkabau (Cf. Joustra 1923; 161). Lampong (Loeb 1935; 267). Kubu (Forbes 1885; 122. Hagen 1908; 74. Loeb 1935; 283). Orang Mamma (Speiser 1910; 98). Flores (ten Kate 1894-95; VIII 16). Sula Islands (van Holstijn 1918; 92). Alor (Vatter 1938; 255, 281). Wetar (Elbert 1911-12; II 218).

⁴ v. Heekeren 1957; 126f.

⁵ Garvan 1931; 44. Ventrullo 1907; 547. Ventrullo 1908; 137. Colin 1906; 45. Worcester 1906; 815. San Antonio 1906; 304. Schebesta 1954; 45. Jenks 1905; 111 ff. Birket-Smith 1952; 8. Quirino & Garcia 1958; 137.

⁶ Rivers 1914; II 445. Speiser 1946; 22, 28. Cf. Schmitz 1960; 73.

⁷ Forest 1779; 96. Finsch 1888; 44, 131, 333, 326, 227, 355. Finsch 1893; 85, 299. de Clercq & Schmeltz 1893; 46 cf. 201. Adriani & Kruyt 1901; 185ff. Elmberg 1955; 10. Held 1947; 30. Moszkowski 1911; 321, 335f. Oosterwal 1961; 16. Hogbin 1934-35; 335. v. d. Sande 1907; 234. Eechoud 1962; 125. v. Hasselt 1876; 136. Bink 1897; 190. Wollaston 1912; 113f. Rawling 1913; 57, 59. Pouwer 1955; 17. Mead 1937-48; 211, 269. Neuhaus 1911; I 343, III 7, 22f, 290, 398. Parkinson 1900; 27. Reche 1913; 67. Schmidt 1923-24; 712. Schmitz 1960; 71 ff. Fischer 1963; 34. Grabowski 1895; 188. Miklucho-Maclay 1875-76; XXXV 78. Erdweg 1902; 207. Schultze-Jena 1914; 12. Thomas 1941-42; 177. Höltker 1962; 91. Höltker 1964; 49. Schmidt 1899; 22. Biro 1899; 1. Groves 1934-35; 47. Biró 1901; 26, 52f. Williams 1940; 7, passim. Williams 1924; 39. Williams 1930; 77f. Williamson 1913; 368. Landtman 1927; 23f. Wirz 1934; 24. Newton 1914; 113. Saville 1926; 55. Haddon 1901; 259. Malinowski 1915; 543. Read 1954; 8. Chinnery 1934; 115f, 120. Bjerre

Guinea we find it on the Admiralty and the Anachoret and Hermit Islands to the west of them, and Bühler refers it to the earliest inhabitants of the first-mentioned group.¹ It is likewise made on New Hanover, New Ireland, the Duke of York Islands, and New Britain,² as well as on the Solomons.³ Furthermore, it occurs on Santa Cruz and the Banks Islands where, however, it may be due to Polynesian influence.⁴ The same is also said to be the case on the southern New Hebrides,⁵ but it should be noted that it occurs also on the northern islands of this group (Espiritu Santo and Malekula).⁶ Moreover, bark cloth is reported from New Caledonia, where it was noticed as early as James Cook's second voyage,⁷ from the Loyalty Islands,⁸ Fiji,⁹ Lau Islands,¹⁰ and Rotuma.¹¹

In Micronesia the ordinary dress is made either of grass and the like or, on some Central Carolines, even of material woven of plant fibres on a horizontal, back-strap loom, evidently of Indonesian origin and spread also as far as the Santa Cruz and Banks Islands in Melanesia. Bark cloth is not quite unknown, however. It is found at least on Ponapé and Pingelap in the Central Carolines and on Ualan in the eastern part of the archipelago.¹² It seems unnecessary to give a detailed account of its distribution in Polynesia, where it occurs all over the area apart from some small atolls and New Zealand owing to lack of raw material. Even on New

1954; 77. Bjerre 1963; 24. Aufenanger & Höltker 1940; 11. Beaver 1920; 261f. Williamson 1912; 201 ff. Williamson 1914; 179, 208. Bernatzik 1944; 103. Williams 1940-42; XI 136f. Wirz 1952; 17. v. d. Leden 1956; 13.

¹ Mosely 1877; 397. Strauch 1877; 35. Parkinson 1907; 367, 371. Vogel 1911; 78. Bühler 1936; 11, 27f. Nevermann 1934; 230f. Thilenius 1903; 137f, 165, 201, 212, 239. Krämer 1909; 74.

² Strauch 1877; 40. Finsch 1893; 92f, 121, 126. Stephan & Graebner 1907, 53f. Ribbe 1910-12, 326 footnote. Parkinson 1907; 166. Burger 1913; 46. Burger 1923; 143. Friederici 1912; 152. Powell 1884; 174.

³ Somerville 1897; 361. Ribbe 1903; 313, 318. Williamson 1914; 22. Paravicini 1931; 175. Ivens 1927; 78, 88. Ivens 1930; 122. Bernatzik 1936; 44. Coombe 1911; 346. Bogesi 1947-48; 227.

⁴ Dumont d'Urville 1933; 214. Graebner 1909b; 85. Speiser 1913; 291. Speiser 1916; 167, 194f. Speiser 1923; 267.

⁵ Gray 1894; 228. Speiser 1913, 277, 296. Speiser 1923; 267. Speiser 1934; 190. Cf. Humphreys 1926; 65.

⁶ Dillon 1829; 275. Speiser 1913; 45. Guiart 1958; 50.

⁷ Cook 1779; 119. Lambert 1900; 162 ff. Glaumont 1889; 102. Sarasin 1929; 112 ff.

⁸ Nevermann 1936; 213.

⁹ Wilkes 1844; III 357. Williams 1858; 65 ff. Seemann 1862; 348 ff. Cumming 1881; I 274 ff. Roth 1934; 289 ff.

¹⁰ Hocart 1929; 131 ff. Thompson 1940; 193 ff.

¹¹ Gardiner 1898; 410.

¹² Lutke 1835; I 355, II 26. Eilers 1934; 426. Hambruch & Eilers 1936; 283 ff.

Zealand it is known that the first immigrants tried to introduce it until they had to give up the attempt.

From what has been said it is obvious that we meet with numerous obstacles in trying to establish circumpacific relations. We must consider sources of error such as post-Columbian influences in America, and possibilities of adaptation to the environment. In sufficient knowledge of basic ideas for apparently identical customs has likewise to be taken into account. On the other hand, there is no reason for rejecting the supposition of historical relations, even though the element in question at present has its main distribution in South America, provided it can be shown to occur in North America, too, either in limited areas, as is the case of the composite comb, or, like bark cloth, in changed form.

There are, however, other elements which do not present such simple aspects, because they are more or less constituent parts of a complex and therefore require closer investigation. This applies, for instance, to the elements of the social structure which are to be the object of the following analysis.

II

THE MATRILINEAL COMPLEX

I. Northwestern North America

The principal characteristic of the matrilineal complex is, of course, that descent is reckoned in the female line, as a rule in connection with exogamous sibs (clans). Besides there are several other features more or less closely — though neither always nor exclusively — combined with matrilineality.¹ Very often residence is matrilocal (“uxorilocal”) so that a nearly married couple moves permanently or at least for some time into the house of the bride’s parents or her mother’s brother, and to some degree in connection with the residence rules is the custom that the groom instead of paying a bride price is obliged to serve his parents-in-law before and/or after the wedding. As may be expected, the maternal uncle occupies a privileged position in the family since he is considered a closer relative than the father, and sometimes matrilocality is replaced by avunculocality. There may be other features too, such as the women’s prominent parts in economic and religious life; here, however, only the social aspects of the complex are to be taken into account.

Matrilineal descent is widespread in the western hemisphere. In South America it is common among the “Foot Indians” of the Gran Chaco, among several tribes in Central and Eastern Brazil and more particularly in the Circum-Caribbean and northern Amazon areas, including most of Colombia, Central America, Venezuela and Guiana as well as the Greater Antilles.² In North America matrilineal descent is prevalent in the Mexican Gulf area, the only exceptions being the Quapaw and Shawnee, who are rather late immigrants, and perhaps also the Yuchi.³ It seems

¹ Cf. Haekel 1950–54. Cf. Lowie 1919.

² Steward (ed.) 1949; V 685f, 702, cf. 328.

³ Swanton 1946; 654.

highly questionable, in contrast to earlier assumptions, whether it existed among the southeastern Siouans, but at least among the Virginia Algonkians and the Delaware chieftainship was inherited in the female line, undoubtedly as a result of the strong southern influence among them.¹ The matrilineal organization of the Iroquoian tribes is too well-known to need further substantiation, and the same applies to its occurrence on the plains among the semi-agricultural Pawnee and Missouri Siouans (Hidatsa and Mandan) as well as the exclusively hunting Crow.² In the western part of the continent we find matrilineate in the Southwest both among the pueblo dwellers proper and the Pueblo influenced western Apache and Navaho.³ From California there are only a few suggestions of matrilineal descent. It has been reported from a single Yokuts tribe, but this is "almost certainly an error of observation," and "although there are more positive indications of descent reckoning in the female line among some of the Pomo and Wappo the facts pointing to Pomo matrilineate are but slight", and "it is clear that the institution was at most a sort of suggestion, an undeveloped beginning or last vestige, and not a practice of much consequence."⁴ Thus MacLeod's view that these facts suggest a formerly widespread matrilineate in California rests on very slight foundation, and Krause's statement that "bei den Nordwestkaliforniern vererbt sich der soziale Rang des Individuums durch die Mutter, offenbar als Ausläufer der Nordwestkultur" is certainly wrong.⁵ There are, admittedly, numerous cases of either permanent or temporary matrilocality in California as well as of bride service,⁶ but this in itself is insufficient evidence of former matrilineal descent.

It is not our object to answer the question whether there exists a historical connection between all the scattered occurrences mentioned above. Apart from the doubtful instances in California, it is, perhaps, suggestive that they practically all belong to semi-agricultural, maize-growing areas, in other words mainly to regions

¹ Speck 1938; 1 ff. Flannery 1939; 183.

² Cf. e.g. Morgan 1954; I 80. Lowie 1963; 96 f.

³ Goddard 1931; 98 f, 166 f.

⁴ Kroeber 1925; 832, cf. 250 ff.

⁵ MacLeod 1929 a; 424. Krause 1921; 66.

⁶ Goddard 1903; 55 f. Kroeber 1925; 29. Lowie 1939; 308. Voegelin 1942; 130 ff.

where the women take a considerable share in food production.¹ In a way this agrees even with the opinion expressed by Steward that among the Chaco Indians matrilineality is "probably to be explained by the relatively great importance of seed gathering, which placed women in a strong economic and, therefore, social position."² Moreover, primitive agriculture is far from being unknown in the Chaco and may even have been more important in former times. It is true that the extensive irrigation works in the Pueblo area put the agricultural methods there on a considerably higher level than elsewhere, but at least it may be remembered that there is archeological evidence of maize being introduced to this region from the east, i.e. from the semiagricultural Gulf area, whereas in the more westerly Gila River region (where descent is patrilineal) it was obtained direct from Mexico.³ Both the Apache and Navaho show strong Pueblo influence. The one hunting tribe of the Great Plains with matrilineal organization is the Crow, who are definitely known to have separated from the semi-agricultural and matrilineal Hidatsa in rather late times. What has been said here is not, of course, a proof of matrilineal historical connections but at least goes to suggest that a certain economic background was necessary. In any case the interpretation of matrilineality as a survival from primeval conditions should be definitely abandoned; in small primitive communities based upon nuclear families and food production of both sexes the idea of unilineal descent is unlikely to arise.

Instead of delving deeper into these problems we may now turn to the remaining matrilineal area of North America, viz. the Northwest Coast and adjacent parts of Alaska and British Columbia. On the southern part of the coast descent is mainly reckoned bilaterally. Among the *Nootka*, for instance, privileges may be inherited both in the male and the female line, although the oldest son was supposed to belong to his mother's crest group if it ranked higher than his father's.⁴ These groups, while enjoying certain

¹ The idea of a connection between primitive agriculture and "mother right" has, of course, been set forth previously, particularly by the followers of the "Kulturkreislehre". Cf. Schmidt & Koppers n.d.; 28, 542ff.

² Steward (ed.) 1949; V 685.

³ For other parallels between the Pueblo area and the Southeast cf. Speck 1909; 131.

⁴ Boas 1891; 584f, 567, 595. Sapir 1916; 365. Goddard 1924; 87. Jenness 1932; 346 footnote.

privileges such as the right to crests and certain personal names, are not exogamous subs and apparently nothing but originally local groups. On the other hand, the inheritance rule may, perhaps, indicate that the crest idea was introduced from the matrilineal tribes farther north. Matrilocal residence is probably common only among poor people.¹

Kinship among the Canadian *Coast Salish* is also bilateral with a slight emphasis on the paternal line and based upon originally localized, non-exogamous kin groups.² Property, including crests, is likewise inherited bilaterally.³ It is hardly possible to speak of chiefs in the ordinary sense of the word, the only persons who may, perhaps, be called so being the heads of kin groups or extended families.⁴ Normally the position of a Squamish "chief" will be inherited by his son; only in case of the chief's wife being of lower rank will his office pass to his brother's son unless he himself and his own son give a series of potlatches. Whether this, as has been suggested, should be interpreted as a vestige of matrilineal inheritance,⁵ seems more than doubtful, for in both cases the office remains in the paternal line. Residence is everywhere mainly patrilocal.⁶

Conditions among the *Kwakiutl*, i.e. Kwakiutl proper or southern division of the people, have given rise to various opinions. Boas first described their original social organization as "a series of village communities among which descent was counted in the paternal line, and the members of each community were considered descendants of one ancestor. These communities combined in groups, but the composing elements of the groups kept a certain degree of independence and continued to be considered relations. Each clan, as we may call the composing elements of the tribe, developed a clan tradition, which was founded upon the acquisition of a manitou [guardian spirit] by the mythical ancestor, the manitou becoming hereditary in the clan. Owing to the influence of the northern tribes, this manitou became attenuated to a crest, which in consequence of the same influence, no longer descends in the male line, but may be given in marriage,

¹ Drucker 1950; 215.

² Boas 1889; 321. Boas 1890; 828. Boas 1891; 569. Hill-Tout 1904a; 311. Hill-Tout 1900; 475. Barnett 1939; 268. Barnett 1955; 184, 241f, 296.

³ Barnett 268. Barnett 1955; 157.

⁴ Barnett 1939; 267. Barnett 1955; 243.

⁵ Hill-Tout 1900; 475f.

⁶ Barnett 1939; 259. Barnett 1955; 242. Suttles 1958; 502. Suttles 1960.

so that it descends upon the daughter's children."¹ The crest groups — as we may better call what Boas here describes as clans — are not exogamous, and it is possible to belong to more than one at the same time.² Originally the inheritance rules of crests and other privileges were interpreted by Boas as evidence of former "matriarchate",³ but he changed his view. Says he: "Certain privileges are inherited in the paternal line, while a much larger number are obtained by marriage . . . In the north [i.e. the northern Northwest Coast] a woman's rank always descends upon her children. Practically the same result has been brought about among Kwakiutl, but in a manner which suggests that a people with paternal institutions has adapted its social laws to these customs. Here the woman brings as a dowry her father's position and privileges to her husband, who, however, is not allowed to use them himself, but acquires them for his son. As the woman's father, on his part, has acquired his privileges in the same manner through his mother, a purely female law of descent is secured, although only through the medium of the husband," and he explains this as "an adaption of maternal law by a tribe which was on a paternal stage."⁴

This view of Boas has not remained unchallenged. The principal argument set forth against it is the fact, afterwards also admitted by Boas himself, that Kwakiutl society is not really patrilineal but bilateral, and inheritance of names and other prerogatives based upon primogeniture independent of sex. So if the first-born child happens to be a girl she will receive a man's social status but has to transmit it to her eldest son as soon as he is grown up.⁵ Notwithstanding Boas's original statement it is clear, therefore, that the son-in-law does not acquire his father-in-law's prerogatives as a dowry, and the alleged matrilineal influence is at least open to doubt. The crest groups have their own chiefs, and residence is patrilocal.⁶

The neighbours to the north of the Kwakiutl are the *Bellacoola*. Like the former they are divided into village communities, the

¹ Boas 1897; 328, 337f. Cf. Boas 1891; 605ff. Boas 1898; 121.

² Boas 1891; 410, 609. Boas 1921; 713f.

³ Boas 1890; 829. His view was adopted by Adam (1918; 411f.).

⁴ Boas 1897; 334f. Cf. Boas 1896a; 437.

⁵ Sapir 1915; 370. Boas 1920; 125. Boas 1966; 49ff. MacLeod 1924; 260f. Cf. Siao Murdock 1949; 199.

⁶ Boas 1935; 174. Boas 1966; 51f.

members of which are supposed to descend patrilineally from the first inhabitants and have certain crests and traditions in common. Thus, residence is normally patrilocal. Otherwise kinship is reckoned bilaterally as among other southerly tribes, but in contrast to elsewhere on the Northwest Coast there seems to be a tendency towards endogamy in order to keep the privileges within the same family — a tendency which MacLeod, nevertheless, thinks unsatisfactorily founded.¹

On the other side of the Bellacoola live the northern Kwakiutl including the Heiltsuq (Bellabella, Owikeno a. o.) and Xaisla. Most *Heiltsuq*, we are told, “had divisions named after the Eagle, Raven, Blackfish, and Wolf, which they themselves equated with the Tsimshian clans [phratries]. However, they had neither a strict rule of descent determining affiliation in these groups, nor of exogamy, two concepts which seems to be indispensable to true matrilineal organization. A man and his wife might assign their child to the father’s so-called ‘clan’, the next to the mother’s, if she belonged to a different ‘clan’, depending on the names and rights they wanted each child to share . . .”² Boas mentions six such groups, viz. Beaver, Eagle, Wolf, Salmon, Raven, and Blackfish.³ Of the Bellabella in particular it is stated that they “are not rigidly unilateral (or matrilineal) in their descent reckoning. They ‘favor’ the mother’s side but are not completely matrilineal, though this tendency is strong. This is obviously due to influence from the wholly matrilineal tribes to the north (Haisla Kwakiutl and the Tsimshian). The result is that the Bellabella themselves are somewhat confused or uncertain in these matters.”⁴ Instead of being divided into sibs they have in the south five and in the north four local, non-exogamous crest groups. Their names correspond to those of the northern tribes, but actually they are almost functionless, and moreover “the emphasis on matrilineal descent is quite contrary to the linguistic forms.”⁵ There can be no doubt, therefore, that both the crest groups as well as the tendency to matrilineal descent are derived from the north.⁶

¹ Boas 1898; 122f. Cf. Boas 1892; 409. MacLeod 1924; 261f. McIlwraith; I 117ff. 139, 374, 399.

² Drucker 1955; 116. Cf. Olson 1954; 214.

³ Boas 1890; 817. Boas 1891; 604. Boas 1897; 323.

⁴ Olson 1955; 329. Cf. Boas 1890 829.

⁵ Boas 1924; 325ff. Goddard 1924; 96.

⁶ Olson 1955; 324.

The *Xaisla* are the southernmost Northwest Coast tribe with what has been called a "full-fledged" matrilineal sib organization.¹ Boas mentions the following sib names: Beaver, Eagle, Wolf, Salmon, Raven, and Blackfish or Killerwhale (though zoologically quite different the Indians do not distinguish between the two species), whereas Olson substitutes Wolf with Crow, adding that the sibs are combined into three phratries, one including Beaver, Raven and Crow, another one Blackfish and Salmon, whereas the Eagle phratry stands alone, and contrary to the sibs the phratries are non-exogamous.² It is generally assumed that this sib organization, unique as it is among the Kwakiutl, has been introduced from the neighbouring Tsimshian, and some of them or certain sib-lineages are in fact "traditionally reputed to have been of Tsimshian origin."³ In keeping with the matrilineal descent we find the usual residence rules and avunculate. A newly married couple will, even if only temporarily, live with the bride's family, and a man succeeds to the property of his maternal uncle.⁴

Exogamy among the *Tsimshian*, whose organization was otherwise more or less copied by the *Xaisla*, is not connected with the individual sibs but with the phratries, the number of which varies somewhat according to locality. The Tsimshian proper and the Nisqa acknowledge four, viz. Eagle, Raven, Blackfish (or Bear), and Wolf, each of which includes several sibs with their own origin myths, and these again a number of "houses", the members of which were originally related and lived together under the authority of the hose owner and possessed their own personal names, crests and prerogatives.⁵ Even though both phratries and sibs are now scattered over the tribal territory, and even if the "houses" include persons of different kinship, a "house" will nevertheless claim a certain part of the area as its particular property. However, both the origin and the name of the Raven phratry seem to be Tlingit, and among the Nisqa the Eagles too were introduced from the Tlingit only about ten generations ago.⁶ Unlike the

¹ Drucker 1950; 220. Drucker 1955; 108.

² Boas 1890; 819. Boas 1897; 323. Olson 1940; 169. Drucker 1955; 115.

³ Olson 1940; 170. Drucker 1950; 281. Drucker 1955; 115.

⁴ Olson 1940; 169, 186. Drucker 1950; 222.

⁵ Garfield 1939; 173 ff. Garfield, Wingert & Barbeau n.d.; 19f. Cf. Niblack 1890; 249. Boas 1890; 819. Boas 1897; 323. Barbeau 1917; 403f. Drucker 1950; 220.

⁶ Drucker 1955; 114. Olson (1933; 366) is of opinion that even the Wolf phratry was introduced in rather recent times.

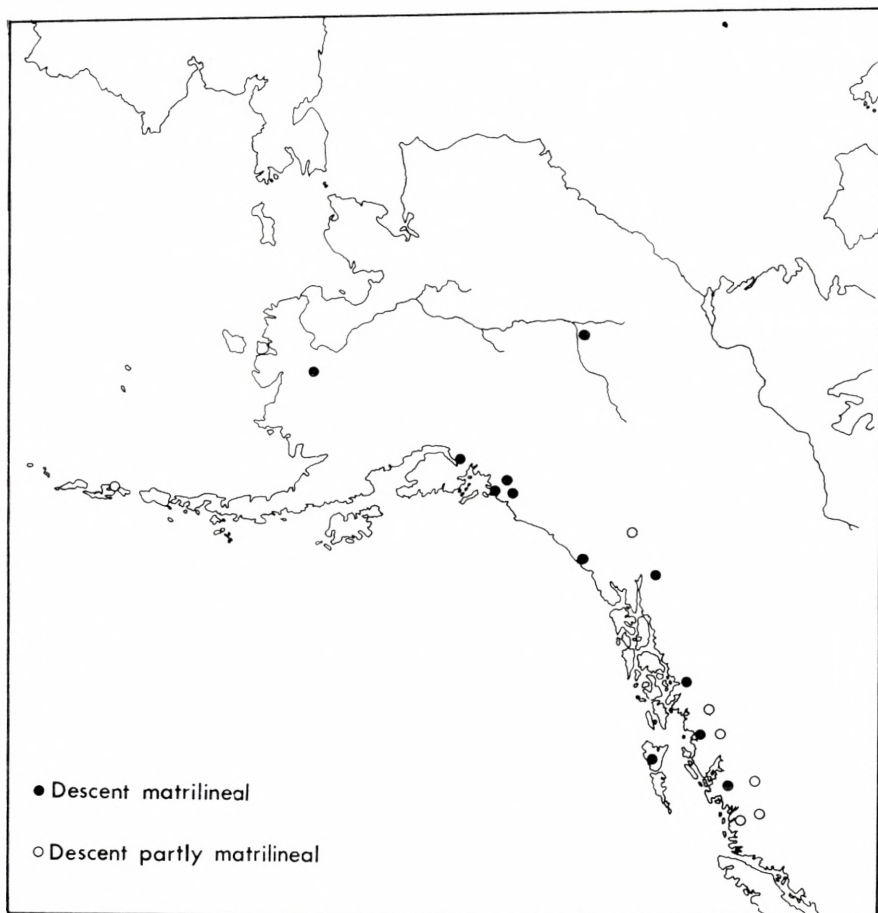


Fig. 1. Matrilineal descent in northwestern North America.

Tsimshian proper and the Nisqa, the *Gitksan* have but three phratries: Raven-Frog, Wolf, and Blackfish or Fireweed, only one local lineage in a single village being considered Eagles.¹ Generally speaking the Tsimshian phratries may be said to include sibs "either of more or less remote foreign origin or ancient local bodies", and thus "the process of amalgamation or federation of independent social units into a phratry is . . . responsible for the addition of many clans [sibs] of foreign origin constituting, in some cases, more than half of the original stock".² Strange to say, when comparing their four phratries with those of the Haida and Tlingit, the Tsimshian will not equate own their Eagles and Ravens with the Haida Eagles but with the Tlingit Ravens, and on the other hand their own Wolves and Blackfish with the Haida Ravens and the Tlingit Wolves or Eagles,³ which of course agrees with the supposition that the Tsimshian Ravens were introduced from the Tlingit but not with the apparently better founded fact that the Nisqa Eagles had a similar origin. Evidently the crests are considered more important than the phratry names.⁴

The rank system, which among the Tsimshian as well as elsewhere on the Northwest Coast is of paramount importance, is really independent of the phratry and sib organization.⁵ True, rank as everything else is inherited matrilineally, but that is not decisive. In the first place rank occurs among the bilateral sibless tribes too as far south as northern California and among some inland tribes, and besides it cuts across phratries and sibs. On top of the social ladder are the chiefs and their families which together with other distinguished lineages constitute the nobility; but if one of the parents does not belong there, the children will lose their position unless their parents or maternal uncles give a series of potlatches for them. Among the Tsimshian proper and the *Gitksan* (but not the Nisqa) the chiefs' families are even set apart from the ordinary nobility, forming an endogamous "royal" class. Most persons are referred to the common people, but even among them there is a distinction of rank according to wealth, bravery of their ancestors, etc. Some who were too poor to acquire spirit power and

¹ Drucker 1955; 115. Cf. Goddard 1924; 95.

² Barbeau 1917; 405 ff.

³ Garfield 1939; 231.

⁴ Swanton 1905; 65 f.

⁵ Garfield 1939; 177 ff. Jenness 1932; 337.

arrange potlatches had to be content with serving as attendants of their chief and their more prosperous relatives. Property and privileges are inherited first by the younger brother, then by the oldest sister's son, in the third place by the younger parallel cousin. The rules are not, however, always strictly observed. The highest ranking men within the local groups were head chiefs of the place, and the heads of the inferior lineages acted as their sub-chiefs. Only among the Nisqa and Gitksan were there something like real village and tribal chiefs, but this institution seems to have originated as late as the 18th century.¹

In spite of matrilineal descent, residence is chiefly patrilocal except, perhaps, among poor people, even though boys used to spend much of their time with their maternal uncles and went to live with them at adolescence.²

The social organization of the *Haida* is very much like that of the Tsimshian save for the one fact that among the Haida there are only two phratries, the Ravens and the Wolves, which are both matrilineal, exogamous, and non-localized.³ The remarkable thing is, however, that in former times there seems to have been a third phratry besides the two now existing ones.⁴ The phratries are not divided into sibs but into mutually independent lineages which seem, at least originally, to have been localized, some of them descending, perhaps, from Tsimshian immigrants.⁵ That the Ravens should constitute the original part of the tribe and the Wolves as a whole should be of foreign origin such as suggested by Adam,⁶ is, on the other hand, highly questionable. Children of parents belonging to the same phratry are considered illegitimate and have no social status.⁷

The phratries are not political units, nor in fact are the lineages so. According to Murdock there are here in reality two kinds of rank, one of political position and the other one of status.⁸ A man

¹ Garfield 1939; 182. Garfield, Wingert & Barbeau n.d. 26 ff.

² Garfield 1939; 324. Garfield, Wingert & Barbeau n.d.; 23. Boas 1935; 173. Drucker 1950; 215.

³ Boas 1890; 819. Boas 1897; 323. Niblack 1890; 249. Swanton 1905; 62, 66. Goddard 1924; 94 f. Harrison 1925; 68. Murdock 1934; 360. Murdock 1936; 9 16.

⁴ Swanton 1905; 90. Boas 1924; 324.

⁵ Drucker 1955; 110 f.

⁶ Adam 1913 a; 167 ff.

⁷ Murdock 1936; 19.

⁸ Murdock 1936; 15 ff. Cf. Murdock 1934; 360. Swanton 1905; 68. Drucker 1955; 111.

who has either given a potlatch for building a new house, or by potlatching has confirmed his right to come into possession of an inherited house, is head of the household. The highest ranking household chief acts as chief of the place while at the same time he is "trustee of the lands and prerogatives" of his lineage, a natural consequence of the fact that originally the village was the home of a single lineage. Social standing was not, Murdock says, actually hereditary but wholly dependent on the potlatches given by a man's parents, and only status acquired in this way entitled him to chieftainship, even if thus passing over possibly closer relatives. On the other hand, a man was unable to raise his own rank by potlatching, however rich he might become by thrift and assiduity, but only that of his children. Nevertheless prerogatives among the Haida as elsewhere on the North Pacific coast apparently primarily belonged to the lineages, and it seems, notwithstanding Murdock's assertion, that at least a man's possibility for obtaining a high social status primarily depended on his birth. Privileges and chieftainship were, of course, inherited in the female line, i.e. first by the oldest brother and then by the sister's son,¹ and just as obviously the maternal uncle occupied a prominent position among the relatives.² "After marriage the bridegroom had to reside in his father-in-law's house and work for him until his uncle died, whom he had to succeed, and then he was at liberty to obtain his uncle's position, house and property".³

The same matrilineal, exogamous and non-localized phratries, Ravens and Wolves, which regulate the social life of the Haida, occur among the *Tlingit* too, although here the Wolves are usually also described as Eagles by the northern divisions of the tribe.⁴ But while there are only vestiges of a third phratry among the Haida, it is certain that among the *Tlingit* there exists, outside the main phratries, a small group which is allowed to marry into both. It has been suggested that this group, and in fact the entire division of the *Tagish* or inland *Tlingit*, are *tingitized Athapaskans*

¹ Harrison 1925; 64. Murdock 1936; 17.

² Swanton 1905; 50. Murdock 1934; 358.

³ Harrison 1925; 77. Cf. Swanton 1905; 50. Murdock 1934; 359, 362, 373. Drucker 1950; 215, 279.

⁴ Lisiansky 1814; 243. Lowe 1842; 492. Holmberg 1856; 292f. Bancroft 1875; 109. Krause 1885; 112, 122, 220. Niblack 1890; 246f. Boas 1890; 819. Boas 1897; 323. Porter 1893; 54. Swanton 1908; 398. Jones 1914; 25, 44. Goddard 1924; 95.

or Nisqa.¹ We might, perhaps, also think of the Eyak, who are supposed to have occupied a larger territory in former times than they do at present.² Although this group, as just mentioned, may marry into the Eagle (or Wolf) phratry, it is not clear, as emphasized by Adam,³ whether this general rule is also valid when there is a question of intermarriage with the particular Eagle *sib* within the Eagle phratry, with which they share crests and names. The whole problem is, in fact, so complicated, being connected not only with tribal migrations and adoptions, but also with the possibilities of acquiring foreign prerogatives by conquest and transfer, that it must await its final solution.

Each phratry includes several sibs, which are again divided into lineages and house groups.⁴ Like the phratries the sibs are not localized, but they are named for geographical localities which are considered their private property, and new lineages may develop from the descendants of the builder of a new house, usually as a result of migration. The matter is not quite clear, however, partly because to some extent, the terminology of the various authors seems to differ, partly since a distinction between lineages and small sibs can hardly be drawn, and perhaps also because conditions may vary in the northern and the southern divisions of the tribe.

The system of rank and prerogatives of the Tlingit is similar to that of the Haida, although crests and names are fewer than among the latter tribe. A remarkable trait is, however, that the Raven phratry is supposed to be superior in rank to the Wolves.⁵ Besides, we have the usual distinction between nobles and commoners, some lineages within a sib ranking higher than others, but still without hard and fast lines between them, and the "chief of the highest ranking house in the top-ranking sib" is at the same time head of the village community.⁶

Bride service is common, in any case if the groom is poor,⁷

¹ Swanton 1908; 396. Sapir 1916; 368. Boas 1916; 483, 486. McClellan 1953; 49f. Jenness 1932; 376. Oberg 1934; 145. Drucker 1955; 112.

² de Laguna 1953; 54f. Cf. Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 341 ff, 352 ff.

³ Adam 1913; 101f.

⁴ Porter 1893; 54. Swanton 1908; 398. Oberg 1934; 145. Garfield 1947; 451. de Laguna 1952; 3 ff. McClellan 1954; 76. Drucker 1955; 110 ff.

⁵ Holmberg 1856; 292 ff. Krause 1885; 122. Swanton 1908; 415, 427. Jones 1914; 59f, 173. de Laguna 1952; 6.

⁶ Porter 1893; 54. Jones 1914; 61. McClellan 1954; 76.

⁷ Swanton 1908; 424. Drucker 1950; 215, cf. 279.

and avunculate well developed,¹ but on the other hand matrilocal or avunculocal residence seems to be more or less voluntary.²

It is highly unfortunate that so little is known of the social organization of the *Eyak*. At the time of Dr. de Laguna's and my own visit only nineteen partly Americanized persons, including children, were left of the tribe, and except an old man and his younger son they were all living on the sousskirts of the small town of Cordova. They recognized the matrilineal, exogamous and non-localized division into Ravens and Eagles,³ but it is obvious that under the circumstances there could be no question of either individual sibs or lineages. They told us, moreover, that the dual system had been introduced rather recently from the Tlingit, even though it apparently existed among them before the infiltration of Tlingit immigrants.⁴ Incidentally, mistakes were likely to occur when a foreign group was adopted into the phratries, just as it was sometimes the case among the more southern tribes.⁵ That the dual system was originally foreign to the *Eyak* may at least agree with the fact that it is not mentioned anywhere in their mythology, nor does it seem to be consistent with certain features in their kinship terminology no more than with the fact that hunting and fishing grounds were free to everybody regardless of phratries and families.⁶

Each phratry had its own hereditary chief, one of them being in addition chief of the tribe or probably rather of the village.⁷ His relatives were people of position, but otherwise there is no indication of rank distinction — which would of course also be rather meaningless in a community so small as that of the present-day *Eyak* but does not imply that it did not exist in former times.

Bride service was common, and the maternal uncle exercised a certain authority; our information about residence is contradictory, and perhaps Murdock may be right in considering it avunculocal, though actually there is no evidence for his assumption.⁸

¹ Jones 1914; 44. Durlach 1928; 37. de Laguna 1952; 7.

² Holmberg 1856; 315.

³ Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 123. Cf. Johannsen 1963; 881 ff.

⁴ de Laguna 1952; 2. de Laguna 1963; 219.

⁵ Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 124f, 447.

⁶ Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 193, 569.

⁷ Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 126 ff.

⁸ Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 132, 136, 195f. Murdock 1949; 200.

Unilineal descent and sib organization are foreign to the *Eskimo*. Their kinship system is basically bilateral.¹ It is true that on Nunivak Island and the mainland of West Alaska there is a tendency towards patrilineages possessing their own powerful amulets and secret hunting songs combined with a certain reluctance against marriages within the lineage, but this aversion does not extend to exogamy and does not affect the social structure and kinship system and may simply be a consequence of the belief that the power of hunting charms is reduced if they are shared with too many inhabitants of the same village.² At Point Hope children belong to the ceremonial house (*qalgi*) of their fathers, but women change automatically to that of their husband, and on Nunivak a man would usually join that of his father-in-law.³

On Saint Lawrence Island the population concentrated around good hunting places, and within the group there was a certain amount of mutual helpfulness and common ceremonies. These bonds continued for life as far as men were concerned, but for women they were slackened at marriage even though they were never entirely broken, and exogamy did not exist. Thus "the internal structure of the group was apparently much the same as we find today in Eskimo bands of Canada and Greenland."⁴

Soviet ethnologists, on the other hand, believe in the existence of a true sib system among the Asiatic Eskimo, although the reasons given by Sergeev for "patriarchal clans" hardly indicate an organization essentially different from that of the closely related inhabitants of Saint Lawrence, and his statement that "exogamy was strictly observed" certainly seems to be too categorical.⁵ Nor does Menovshchikov, using essentially the same arguments as Sergeev, go farther than speaking of "survival" of unilinear sibs.⁶

Contrary to this approach to patrilinearity we find among the Alaskan and Asiatic Eskimo as well as the *Aleut* some traits suggesting matrilinearity. Thus, bride service is common,⁷ residence

¹ Birket-Smith 1927; 98 ff. Cf. Birket-Smith 1952; 82. Lantis 1946; 235 f. Giddings 1952. Spencer 1959; 66 ff.

² Lantis 1946; 239 ff. Giddings 1952; 8. Cf. Rasmussen 1952; 129.

³ Lantis 1946; 252. Rainey 1947; 242.

⁴ Hughes 1958; 1144 f.

⁵ Sergeev 1962; 42.

⁶ Menovshchikov 1962; 34. Menovshchikov in Levin & Potapov 1964; 842.

⁷ Nelson 1899; 292. Hughes 1958; 1143 f. Lisiansky 1814; 198. Lowe 1842; 476. Bogoras 1904-09; 609.

is frequently matrilineal though no fixed rules are observed except perhaps temporarily,¹ and a more or less pronounced avunculate occurs both among the Pacific Eskimo and the Aleut.² Most suggestive is probably the fact that among the Aleut the children of one mother and different fathers were not allowed to marry, whereas nothing prevented children of one father and different mothers from doing so.³ On the other hand, Rudenko's conjecture that the Eskimo as a whole were originally "matriarchal" is based upon such slight and in part directly erroneous foundations that it scarcely needs detailed refutation.⁴

The Cugach and Kodiak Eskimo had village chiefs hereditary in the male line, and at least among the former, and in all probability also among the latter, the members of a chief's family were held in high esteem, but there was no real aristocracy, and among other Eskimo chiefs were virtually unknown, even though on Nunivak rich people and leaders of the ceremonial houses might exert a certain influence in the community.⁵ Among the Aleut there were hereditary chiefs as among the Pacific Eskimo,⁶ but again a rank system was lacking.

Unilineal descent is unknown on the British Columbian plateaux among the *Cœur d'Alêne*, *Flathead*, and *Okanagan*, and at least the southern Okanagan have no fixed residence rules.⁷ From the Coast Salish the *Lilloet* have adopted their patrilineal kin groups, which, however, are not exogamous so that children may be arbitrarily referred to that of either of their parents.⁸ The heads of these groups are regarded as chiefs, but for that matter any influential and wealthy man may be described as a chief, and the children and grandchildren constitute a sort of nobility.⁹ There are no absolute rules for the residence of a newly married couple, though it is mainly patrilineal.¹⁰

¹ Lisiansky 1814; 198. Holmberg 1856; 399. Birket-Smith 1953; 81. Lantis 1946; 234. Hughes 1958; 1144.

² Lisiansky 1814; 243. Sarytschew 1805-06; II 167. Jochelson 1933; 71. Birket-Smith 1953; 83.

³ Sarytschew 1805-06; II 167.

⁴ Rudenko 1961; 167.

⁵ Holmberg 1856; 358. Birket-Smith 1953; 92f. Lantis 1946; 248.

⁶ Lowe 1842; 484. Merck 1937; 121.

⁷ Teit 1930; 150, 261, 373. Mandelbaum in Spier 1938; 117f.

⁸ Hill-Tout 1905; 147 ff. Teit 1906; 252. Olson (1933; 362f) includes the Lilloet, probably erroneously, among the matrilineal tribes.

⁹ Teit 1906; 254f.

¹⁰ Teit 1906; 255.

The descent rules of the *Shuswap* are somewhat obscure. The western bands of the tribe, living in contact with the Chilcotin and Carrier, have from them borrowed a division into nobles and commoners and the former are, according to Jenness, subdivided into exogamous, apparently matrilineal sibs, whereas Teit tells us that nobility was hereditary in both the male and female line, and in any case a class distinction was unknown among the southern Suswap.¹

Equally obscure are the rules of the *Kutenai*. Although they have been described as matrilineal, it is expressly stated of the family that "in theory it is mildly patrilinear and in fact strongly matrilocal" though for one or two years only, while "the avunculate was clearly if weakly practiced."²

The outside influence obvious among the western Suswap was equally unmistakable among the *Chilcotin*, who had adopted both the division into a noble and a common class and the crest groups of the Bellacoola, and as among them descent was apparently bilateral tending towards patrilinearity.³ In any case Olson is hardly correct in grouping them among tribes with descent in the female line.⁴ In some bands, but apparently not all of them, chieftainship was hereditary.⁵

No more than the Shuswap are the *Carrier* uniform in reckoning descent. While the bands near Fraser Lake are bilateral, and those living near the Bellacoola emphasize the rank of their fathers, the Carrier in contact with the Tsimshian are matrilineal, and among them titles are generally inherited by a man's sister's son or daughter.⁶ Besides, they are divided into two or five exogamous and non-localized phratries, each including separate sibs having their own chiefs, one of whom is also chief of the entire phratry, and residence was matrilocal at least for the first year after marriage, just as bride service was usual.⁷

The complex situation is probably best elucidated by the following quotations:⁸ "The Carrier of Fort Fraser, who, like other

¹ Teit 1909; 570, 575f. Jenness 1932; 352. Cf. Boas 1891; 637.

² Turney-High 1941; 132, 145. However, cf. Jenness 1932; 259.

³ Farrand 1899; 646. Teit 1909; 786. Jenness 1932; 362.

⁴ Olson 1933; 362.

⁵ Teit 1909; 786.

⁶ Jenness 1932; 366. Jenness 1943; 489, 513.

⁷ Morice 1890; 118f, 122. Morice 1895; 203. Jenness 1937; 47 footnote. Jenness 1943; 482f, 527.

⁸ Jenness 1932; 142 footnote, 365f.

Carrier groups, imperfectly adopted the organization of the coast tribes, seem to have reckoned clan and phratry through the female line, but rank through the male; whatever the rank of the mother, a man was not a nobleman unless his father was noble. At Stoney Creek, near by, both parents had to be noble." Like matrilineality, the order of precedence was taken over from the coast. "Most of the details of this organization (e.g. the titles of nobles, their crests and privileges) naturally came from the Tsimshian of the Skeena River, with whom many of these western Carrier intermarried; but the Kwakiutl of Kitimat, and the Salishan-speaking Bellacoola contributed in varying degrees, depending on the strength of their contacts with the different sub-tribes. Excepting those living near the Tsimshian any person might obtain rank and titles by potlatching. Moreover we are told that "every district and every fishing place was claimed by some clan and was considered the property of its chief, who supervised its use for the benefit of his fellow-clansmen and retainers. Yet the final ownership rested with the entire phratry, whose headman (i.e. the chief of the principal clan) could temporarily allot the area to some other clan and assign its usual possessors another district".¹ However, this may be, the crucial point is that both matrilineality and the more advanced features of the social structure are obviously results of a gradually decreasing influence from the coastal peoples.

The *Sekani*, on the border-line between the Plateau and Mackenzie areas and thus still farther removed from the Pacific coast, were nevertheless not quite outside its influence. The bands near McLeod Lake and lower Parsnip River adopted the matrilineal phratry organization of the Carrier but abandoned it again, whereas in other bands, who had likewise taken it over, either from the Carrier or the Tsimshian, it was certainly retained, but the phratries functioned at "petty feasts" only and did not affect the ownership of e.g. hunting territories.² In connection with marriage, bride service was usual.³

The western — but not the eastern — *Kaska* have likewise adopted the matrilineal and exogamous division into "Crows" (i.e. Ravens) and Wolves, combined with bride service and matri-

¹ Jenness 1932; 142 footnote, 365f.

² Jenness 1932; 381.

³ Jenness 1937; 53f.

locality, but unlike the Tlingit they attach a "slightly greater prestige" to the Wolves, and most of a man's property is inherited not only by his brothers but also by his sons.¹

At the close of last century when they were studied by Boas, only three survivors were left of the *Tsetsaut*, another Athapaskan-speaking tribe of the northern plateaux, so unfortunately even less is known about them than about the Eyak. Still, so much is certain that they recognized, obviously as a loan from the Tlingit, two matrilineal, exogamous phratries known as Eagles and Wolves,² but of bride service, residence rules, et., we are deplorably ignorant.

As to the organization of the *Tahltan*, information is strangely contradictory. According to Callbreath, writing in the latter part of last century, there were two exogamous sub-divisions of the tribe, Birds and Bears, and kinship "as far as marriage or inheritance of property goes, is with the mother exclusively, and the father is not considered a relative by blood", but then he adds: "A man who is a Bird must marry a Bear and his children belong to the Birds, but the Bears, his mother's people, inherit all his effects".³ It seems, however, that there is a mistake here. Originally, the Tahltan were probably divided into six (or three?) local bands which under Tlingit influence changed into three exogamous and matrilineal phratries, Ravens, Bears, and Wolves, and while the sibs theoretically still claimed the ownership of certain territories this was not carried out in practice.⁴ The system of rank was likewise introduced from the Tlingit, and as among them the Raven phratry was regarded as superior, but otherwise rank was dependent mainly on potlatching.⁵ Chiefs were without actual authority and were often just the most wealthy men of their sibs.⁶

Next to nothing indeed is known of the organization of the *Tutchone* and *Han*, although it does not seem unlikely to assume that it is matrilineal as among the neighbouring tribes,⁷ and very little is available concerning the *Ahtena*. Among the latter, however,

¹ Honigmann 1954; 85 ff, 89, 131f, 135. Cf. Jenness 1932; 398f.

² Boas 1895; 565.

³ Callbreath 1889; 197.

⁴ Emmons 1911; 13f, 27. Jenness 1932; 373. Teit 1906a; 348f.

⁵ Emmons 1911; 29. Jenness 1932; 373.

⁶ Callbreath 1889; 198. Emmons 1911; 28f.

⁷ Cf. McKennan 1959; 126. Schmitter's statement (1910; 11) that the Upper Yukon chiefs possess "despotic authority" is hardly trustworthy.

there are several matrilineal, exogamous sibs as well as avunculate, and the relatives of the chiefs made up a kind of nobility.¹

So much the better is our information about the *Kutchin*. Here we find three matrilineal and possibly more or less localized sibs which in theory at least are exogamous, even though exceptions to the rule may occur.² On the whole the demarcations between the sibs seem to be rather vague. "I am inclined to think," says McKennan, ". . ." that the changing clan structure is the result of several variables, operating within a small population. These would include migrations, emigrations, and extinctions due to war or disease."³ It is remarkable that while there is no upper class in the true sense of the word, only a distinction between rich and poor people,⁴ there is among the Chandalar Kutchin a certain order of precedence of the sibs, one of them ranking higher than the other two, and one playing "a somewhat servile role,"⁵ and similar conditions are met with among the Crow River Kutchin, one sib being here excluded from chieftainship.⁶ McKennan thinks that this difference in sib rank is the result of an original dual structure of the society among the Chandalar Kutchin, and in a way this is also in keeping with Osgood's remark about the Peel River bands: "I have at times . . . felt that there is a bilateral division of the clans among them — that is, two clans are more closely related in contrast to the third."⁷ We shall revert to this question later. Chieftainship belongs to the local bands, not to the sibs, but is not strictly hereditary; if so, it is patrilineal, however, just as inheritance generally descends in the paternal line.⁸ Residence likewise used to be patrilineal, and both paternal and maternal uncles act "as mentors" but never take the place of the father.⁹

An originally tripartite organization like that of the Kutchin, but in this case said to be changed into a system of two matrilineal and exogamous phratries, vaguely associated with Ravens and

¹ Allen 1889; 266. Osgood 1937; 143. McClellan 1961; 105.

² Kirby 1865; 418. Hardisty 1867; 315. Jones 1867; 326. Petitot 1886; 14f. Dall 1870; 197. Osgood 1936; 107, 122, 128. McKennan 1965; 60f.

³ McKennan 1965; 66f.

⁴ Hardisty 1867; 318. Osgood 1936; 108.

⁵ McKennan 1965; 60f.

⁶ Osgood 1936; 108, 123.

⁷ Osgood 1936; 107.

⁸ Hardisty 1867; 312. Jones 1867; 325. Osgood 1936; 108, 115, 133.

⁹ Osgood 1936; 116, 142, 151.

Wolves, has been reported from the *Nabesna* or Upper Tanana.¹ Each of these phratries includes several sibs of rather unstable character and named after certain animals such as Bear, Otter, Marten, Swan, and Sea Gull, even though there are no indications of totemism, nor of any class distinction. Chiefs are just persons who have gained prestige by efficiency, wealth, or potlatching, and while bride service is usual for a year, and matrilineal residence till the first child has been borne, but neither of these customs are inevitably observed.² In agreement with the matrilineal descent, inheritance passes from mother's brother to nephew, but hunting grounds are common property.³

The tripartite sib system also occurs among the *Kolchan* on the upper Kuskokwim, formerly supposed to be a subdivision of the Ingalik.⁴

Among the *Tnaina*, however, we again find two matrilineal, exogamous phratries, one including six and the other five sibs.⁵ Nevertheless the inheritance rules are not entirely consistent with the system. According to Richardson a man's nearest heirs are certainly his sister's children, "little going to his sons, because they received in their father's lifetime food and clothing."⁶ Osgood, on the other hand, gives more explicit information.⁷ At Kachemak Bay, he says, a son will inherit his father and a daughter her mother, whereas at upper Cook Inlet about half of a man's property passes to his son and the other half to his sib affinities, while a woman's possessions without exception go to her daughter and thus remain in her sib, finally, at Tyonek a man may indicate which of his belongings are to go to his wife and children, the remainder staying within his sib. At Kachemak Bay, Kenai, and the Upper Inlet, the village chief, who is often the most wealthy man of the community, as well as his family form the nobility, and his position is inherited in the male line, whereas neither at Tyonek nor at Iliamna is there a definite chieftainship, the richest

¹ McKennan 1959; 123 ff. Cf. v. Wrangell 1839; 104. A tripartite system was noted among the Tanana from Tanana River to Koyukon (Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 448 footnote).

² McKennan 1959; 119, 131 ff.

³ Osgood 1937; 143. McKennan 1959; 128.

⁴ Hosley 1968; 9.

⁵ v. Wrangell 1839; 104. Richardson 1851; I 406. Osgood 1937; 128.

⁶ Richardson 1851; 406.

⁷ Osgood 1937; 141 ff.

family head being, it is true, first in rank but at any time liable to be superseded by one giving bigger potlatches.¹ Unless the suitor of a girl is rich enough to make larger gifts, and therefore allowed to take her to his residence immediately, he generally lives in her parents' house for one to five years assisting them, and at the same time exercising the privileges of a husband.²

Like the Kutchin, the *Koyukon* above Nulato recognize three sibs, but it is definitely stated that "ces distinctions ne signifient plus rien aujourd'hui. Je n'ai trouvé personne qui pût me les expliquer et bien peu même qui en connussent l'existence", and it is scarcely possible to speak of chiefs among them.³

The organization of the *Ingalik* is still looser. There are no sibs, chieftainship is extremely weak and not hereditary, social influence depending solely on wealth.⁴ Bride service is usual, but the bridegroom stays one season only with his parents-in-law, after which he and his wife go to live in his own parents' house until he is fully able to sustain himself.⁵

This concludes our survey of the matrilineal complex in north-western North America and it remains to submit it to closer analysis. It is evident that it centres on the northern part of the Pacific coast and the interior of Alaska, fading gradually away in all directions and everywhere surrounded by tribes where descent is reckoned bilaterally. Bilateral kinship characterizes the Nootka, the Canadian Coast Salish — and, for that matter, the Coast Salish south of the United States border too — as well as the southern Kwakiutl and the Bellacoola.⁶ Apparently the Heiltsuq have taken over the Tsimshian phratry names for their local groups, but neither their exogamy nor the matrilineal descent rules even though the latter are favoured. In fact, it is not till we come to the Xaisla that we meet with true matrilineality combined with matrilocal residence and general avunculate, undoubtedly also here introduced from the Tsimshian but differing in that the individual sibs are exogamous instead of the phratries as such.

¹ Osgood 1937; 131 ff.

² v. Wrangel 1839; 105. Osgood 1937; 164.

³ Jetté 1907; 396f, 402.

⁴ Osgood 1940; 456.

⁵ Osgood 1940 457. Osgood 1958; 197.

⁶ For kinship terminology of the Wakashan and Salishan tribes in general see Sapir 1925; 74.

On the Cordilleran plateaux we find among the Lilloet a social structure similar to that of the Coast Salish, i.e. a division into non-exogamous, bilineal kin groups, and notwithstanding some coastal influence the organization of the Chilcotin likewise seems to be bilateral. Obviously matrilineal descent was originally also foreign to the Shuswap, Carrier, Sekani, and Kaska. Among the Sekani the matrilineal system played a very insignificant rôle and was even partly abandoned after it had once been adopted, while among the other tribes matrilineality occurred in the western bands only, the more easterly groups still upholding their old bilateral structure. As far as the western Shuswap are concerned it is even possible that the matrilineal system was restricted to the upper class. That the western Carrier adopted their matrilineal organization from the Tsimshian is evident, and in their rank system survivals of a former bilateral order still remained. Among the western Kaska inheritance was leastways partly patrilineal. The alleged matrilineality of the Kutenai is not only highly questionable but all events does not agree with their kinship terminology.¹ On the other hand its occurrence among both the Tsetsaut and Tahltan is beyond doubt and clearly connected with that of the Tlingit, with whom they have phratry names in common.

While descent in the maternal line was thus obtained by the Plateau tribes so far discussed either directly or indirectly through contact with the Northwest Coast, conditions are less clear as regards the Athapaskans of Alaska. Among the Tnaina we certainly find two matrilineal phratries, including six and five sibs respectively, but the inheritance rules of property do not quite agree with this system, and neither matrilocality nor bride service are strictly observed. To all appearances the organization of the Nabesna is closer to that of the coastal tribes in so far as we here meet with the same phratries, Ravens and Wolves, as among the Tlingit, as well as with both matrilocality and bride service at least for a certain period. However, on the other hand the dual organization is stated to originate from an older structure consisting of three matrilineal sibs. Three matrilineal sibs are indeed characteristic of the Kutchin, but here there may be traces of a dual organization, which contrary to that of the Nabesna, is supposed to be the original one, and residence is usually patrilocal.

¹ Cf. Sapir 1918; 415. Murdock 1949; 338.

Matrilineal sibs, but no phratries, are mentioned from the Ahtena, unfortunately without specification of their number. The tripartite organization of the Koyukon is indeed so vague as to be without any significance, and among the Ingalik it does not exist at all.

Of all the Alaskan tribes mentioned it seems to hold good that chieftainship, if it occurs at all, is connected with their local bands rather than with the sibs, and in any case it is but weak. Both among the Tnaina and the Kutchin it is inherited in the paternal line in spite of their matrilineal structure. The elaborate rank and crest system of the coastal tribes is unknown, and apart from the fact that a chief's relatives are supposed to possess a standing higher than ordinary people there is at most a distinction between rich and poor. That temporary matrilocality and bride service occur among the Tnaina, Nabesna and Ingalik is, of course, in accordance with matrilineal descent, but the Kutchin are, on the other hand, chiefly patrilocal.

It is quite clear that the matrilineal organisation of the Alaskan Athapaskans and that of the northern coastal tribes, i.e. the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian, must be in some way or other connected, the question being only how it should be explained. McKennan is aware of the problem but without really trying to solve it.¹ For one thing it is certain that neither matrilineality nor unilineal descent on the whole do belong to the Athapaskans in their entirety. Not only is it obviously due to rather recent introduction among the Plateau tribes, but it is unknown in the Mackenzie area and equally absent among the Athapaskans of the Plains and in California. True, we find a matrilineal system among the western Apache and the Navaho in the Southwest, but here it is doubtless borrowed from their Pueblo neighbours. Besides, the original Athapaskan kinship system seems clearly bilateral, being in fact if not identical with, then at least rather close to that of the Eskimo, so that all nephews and nieces, whether paternal or maternal, are classified only according to sex and seniority.² Moreover it should be noted that unilineal systems do not function very well in small hunting and fishing societies in the Arctic and Sub-Arctic such as those of the Alaskan Athapaskans.³

¹ McKennan 1959; 126f.

² Spier 1925; 73. Murdock 1949; 347. Hoijer 1956; 317.

³ Gjessing 1960; 75 ff. Gjessing 1963; 102f. cf. Gjessing 1960; 75 ff.

Even though this goes to show that the matrilineal complex of the Athapaskans is to be explained as cultural loans, it does not follow, of course, that it was adopted directly from the Northwest Coast where some at least at first sight significant differences in the number of exogamous units seem to occur. As formerly mentioned, the question is unfortunately further complicated, not only because the sib structure has a tendency to change so that it is often impossible to distinguish between small sibs and lineages, but also as a consequence of displacements between the tribes and the Indians themselves being sometimes apparently inconsistent in equating their own organization with that of their neighbours.

The Tsimshian proper and the Nisqa stand apart in having four phratries while another part of the same nation, the Gitksan, have only three. At least one of the four phratries seems, however, to be of foreign origin, and thus the problem primarily tapers down to the question of whether a dual or a multiple division should be considered part of the same complex and, if not, which is the original one. Among the Xaisla we find three non-exogamous phratries including exogamous sibs, whereas both the Haida and Tlingit are divided into two exogamous phratries with more or less clear indications of a third. That we find no vestiges of the latter among the Euak may simply be due to the extremely few members of the tribe at the time of investigation, and the same may be true of the Tsetsaut.

After a comprehensive study of mythology and traditions, Boas arrived at the conclusion that on the whole a tripartite structure was the older one throughout the area, even though in some cases it was later changed into a dual organization,¹ and his views were adopted by Lowie.² In a review of Boas's work his interpretation was, however, criticized by Barbeau who found no satisfactory evidence for the theory.³ Olson took up a similar position as did also de Laguna and myself in the analysis of Eyak culture.⁴

The whole problem, however, seems to require further attention. It is beyond dispute that in numerous and probably most cases in both North and South America a dual system is combined

¹ Boas 1916; 487, cf. 528.

² Lowie 1929; 129.

³ Barbeau 1917c; 556.

⁴ Olson 1933; 365 ff. Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 448.

with exogamy and sibs, but as often pointed out by various authors — there is nevertheless a fundamental difference between them. From a social point of view sibs are connected with unilineal descent and are primarily, like lineages, marriage-regulating institutions, the difference being that in the former kinship is fictitious instead of real. Moieties, on the other hand, may, if independent of sib organization, just as well be non-hereditary, ceremonial and more or less antagonistic. In some tribes even more than one moiety system exists. As shown by Olson they are in the New World as a rule associated with cosmic ideas of Sky and Earth, Up and Down or, as on the Northwest Coast, with Birds and (terrestrial) Animals.

Tribal dichotomy independent of sibs is found in many places in South America, the moieties in such cases functioning mainly in dancing and sporting contests.¹ It may perhaps be open to doubt whether the ritual combats reflecting the conflicts of day and night between the Aztec warrior orders of Eagle Knights of Huitzilopochtli and Jaguar Knights of Tezcatlipoca reflect an ancient dual organization as suggested by Lévi-Strauss,² but at any rate it is not unlikely. Combined tribal dichotomy and sibs are common throughout the eastern maize-growing and Plains areas in North America, but in some tribes, e.g. the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo, moiety membership is determined arbitrarily regardless of sibs and they function only in certain games. Moiety exogamy is questionable as far as the Chickasaw and Creek are concerned, among the Pawnee they are certainly matrilineal but non-exogamous and purely ceremonial, and among the Mandan and Hidatsa mainly political.³ Even in the majority of cases, i.e. of moieties and sibs combined, a pleasurable rivalry between the moieties will turn up in games. In the Southwest the dichotomous arrangement of both the Rio Grande pueblos and of the Pima and Papago is likewise prominent in ceremonial matters, and at least among the latter there seem to be no marriage regulations associated with them.⁴ In southern and central California, probably historically related to the Southwest though interrupted by influence from Shoshonean tribes, we find an area with both moieties and patrilineal sibs, but

¹ Kirchoff, Lowie and Steward in Strong (ed.) 1949; V 295, 332, 688.

² Lévi-Strauss 1944; 40.

³ Wissler 1922; 167. Swanton 1945; 663f. Lowie 1963; 99.

⁴ Goddard 1921; 93, 132.

among the western Mono as well as the Pomo, Wappo, and Washo the dual division is non-exogamous and purely ceremonial.¹

Coming now to the Northwest Coast we encounter there among the Kwakiutl a kind of more or less competing dual organization in the dancing or secret societies, one group ranking higher than the other, and while membership is not in itself hereditary, the right to admittance is one of the privileges following the ordinary inheritance rules.² A vestige of dichotomy may be found among the Xaisla in what Olson describes as a curious institution: "Through the center of the village there is a line which divides the boys into two groups regardless of clan. A lad crossing this line alone is likely to be set on by those of the other side, be stripped of his clothes or otherwise maltreated. On accession the sides line up for sham battles . . ."³ The Tlingit and Eyak moieties, besides their exogamous functions, are opponents in shinny contests.⁴ It may, perhaps, not be out of place to recall the fact that Sekani moieties have only ceremonial significance.

Even among the Eskimo there are some suggestions of tribal moieties.⁵ In the Bering Sea region the male population is divided into Ravens or Falcons on the one side and Wolves or Ermines on the other. They appear separately at the so-called Bladder Feast, but unfortunately we are so far ignorant of whether membership is inherited or, if not, how it is obtained. At Point Hope the greater part of its inhabitants, but apparently not all of them, belong to either the People of the Land or the People of the Sea, but this division holds good only in certain games such as football matches and the like; here a person belongs to the group of his namesake from whom he obtained his amulets. Traces of a dual division occur among the Mackenzie Eskimo, too. On Baffin Island in the eastern Arctic the inhabitants of a settlement are divided into Ptarmigans and Ducks, i.e. those who are born in winter and summer respectively. In the autumn these groups are matched in a tug-of-war, and if the Ducks win, the summer has triumphed and the weather is expected to be fair during the coming winter.

¹ Kroeber 1925; 587, 834f. Driver 1936; 215. Lowie 1939; 304.

² Boas 1897; 419ff. Boas 1966; 174. Sapir 1915; 373f.

³ Olson 1940; 170.

⁴ Olson 1933; 363 footnote. Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 240.

⁵ Birket-Smith 1959; 143f. Cf. Petroff 1884; 130. Nelson 1899; 387. Stefánsson 1914; 331. Boas 1888; 605.

Thus, there are at least a few indications of the social dichotomy on the Northwest Coast being basically associated with games and ceremonies as in so many other places in both Americas. The moiety names, Ravens and Wolves, i.e. birds and land animals furthermore suggest historical connections as does also the difference in rank observed among the Tlingit. On the other hand, there are obviously vestiges of a tripartite division on the coast where these occur among the Xaisla, Gitksan, Tlingit, and probably among the Haida too. Now it should be remembered that Lévi-Strauss does not distinguish sharply between dual and tripartite structures. What he describes as concentric, in contrast to diametrical, moiety systems are, he thinks, really tripartite, names like Sky (Upper) and Earth (Lower) expressing Sky, Earth *and* Water.¹ Whether this applies in other regions need not be discussed here — we shall return to this question later — but at any rate there are no traces of such ideas in northwestern North America. Haekel considers the tripartite structure here a separate institution, historically derived from Asia and probably also connected with similar systems in eastern North America, although later on overlaid by dual organization.²

However, leaving the question of close connections between dual and tripartite systems, if we ask whether phratries and moieties or individual sibs and lineages are most important, there can be no doubt that sibs and lineages play the greater part. The Ahtena, as far as known, have sibs only, and among the Xaisla the sibs and not the phratries are exogamous. Even though exogamy is associated with the phratries of the Tsimshian, Haida, and Tlingit, the sibs are nevertheless far more important in social life. They are owners of fishing and hunting grounds, they have their own traditions, chiefs and crests, and they are the units functioning at such events as communal undertakings, war, and potlatching.³ As seen in the case of the Tsimshian, the sib crests are more decisive in equating the phratries than their names, and the fact that e.g. the Raven crest of the Haida belongs to the Eagle phratry points in the same direction.⁴ All things considered, I therefore feel inclined to believe that a multiple, matrilineal sib

¹ Lévi-Strauss 1958; 167 ff.

² Haekel 1938; 12f.

³ For the Tlingit, cf. Oberg 1934; 145.

⁴ Drucker 1955; 112.

organization is more fundamental and consequently older in Northwest America than the moiety structure, and besides that it is more deep-rooted on the coast where matri- and avunculocal residence, bride service, and avunculate are more strictly adhered to than in the interior where on the whole several features do not agree with matrilineal descent. Moreover, this view of the coast being the centre is to some extent corroborated by the kinship terminology at least of the Tlingit. Not only are their terms "for the most part impervious to analysis and resist any attempt at historical reconstruction", but only in two terms are the phratry lines "absolutely disregarded."¹

There is no reason for wasting many words on the question of totemism. If sib totemism is understood as a kind of mystical connection between a social group and a species of animals or plants, or more rarely a natural phenomenon, it is at least questionable whether such an institution exists at all in northwestern North America where the connections are mythical, not mystical. There is no evidence of anything like totemism among the Athapaskans and next to nothing among the coastal tribes. Here we may at the most speak of a kind of pseudo-totemism which is evidently an outgrowth of the guardian-spirit idea. The belief in personal guardian spirits acquired either by quest or dreams is common throughout western North America.² On the Northwest Coast there is a tendency towards inheritance of such supernatural powers, and apparently this determines their association with lineages and sibs.³ In the course of time they have degenerated to mere crests and there is not, as in real totemism, any idea of descent from such beings nor taboos against hunting and eating the animals in question. Spier summarizes the evidence as follows: "It would seem that certain crests, whose origin is particularly remote, have lost such individual value as they may have had and have become clan [sib] emblems properly speaking, whereas others are more restricted in their use and would seem to be the peculiar privilege of certain titled individuals or families".⁴ The crests, as they appear on the so-called "totem poles", are indeed primarily mere heraldic

¹ Durlach 1928; 56f.

² Benedict 1923. Spier 1930; 247 ff.

³ Boas 1890; 826f. Boas 1896 a; 440. Boas 1899; 675f. Sapir 1915; 372. Haekel 1956; 59.

⁴ Sapir 1915; 367.

emblems referring to the ancestors' encounter with mythical beings who in some way came to their assistance, and they concern always just a single individual of supernatural beings and not the species as a whole. Sometimes the "totem pole" designs are simply meant to call to mind purely historical events, and the crests may be taken over both by peaceful transfer and by conquest in war. Several sibs may indeed be entitled to the same crest — the older it is, the more sibs share possession.

Although there can hardly be any doubt that the present organization of the coastal tribes is fairly ancient there is all the same some evidence that it is not the original one. The agreement of the Tlingit kinship terms with their sib structure has been mentioned, but in the Haida terminology there are suggestions of an earlier system on which the sib organization was apparently superimposed, and that of the Tsimshian shows neither "minute adjustments to social organization", nor "so rigid a distinction in the terminology between one's own and other clans".¹ Davidson has pointed out that the property rights to fishing and hunting grounds originally did not belong to the sibs as at the present time, but that there was previously a system of family hunting territories,² and a joint ownership of *tehm* as among the Eyak and Nabesna may, indeed, be older still.

According to Suttles, the matrilineal principle is simply formalizations of tendencies present elsewhere on the coast" and as such he mentions the tendency to keep consanguinal and affinal kin separate and the preference for continued marriage between groups enjoying a reciprocal relationship.³ Even provided these traits be old, they may certainly have so to say prepared the soil for unilineal descent, but it is difficult to see how they should actually be able to create it.

Professor Garfield is also of the opinion that the whole social pattern grew up more or less independently. To be sure, matrilineal descent is considered a "relatively old trait, probably diffused from Asia", but moities developed "from the stressing of opposed complementary or paired functions of two sets of relatives", and "exogamy, residence and inheritance came about in

¹ Durlach 1928; 69.

² Davidson 1928; 28 ff.

³ Suttles 1962; 36.

the areas of permanent villages, abundant food supply, fishing as the basic source of food and multiple family houses. Tlingit, Tsimshian and Haida developed their matrilineal institutions to the fullest, strengthening the basic structure with definite rules of transmission of lineage leadership and control of property, and utilizing legends, potlatching and art to validate prerogatives."¹ I fail to see, however, how a social organization like that may be particularly well adapted to a fishing economy where the women play a rather insignificant part, and this seems to preclude local origin. It is likewise hard to imagine matrilineal descent without some kind of social grouping, in this case exogamous sibs, the prevalent residence and inheritance rules being thus simple consequences of the sib system. For somewhat similar reasons as those set forth by Suttles (and in my opinion insufficient), Gordon B. Inglis maintains an independent origin of Northwest American matrilineality and flatly rejects any ideas of Asiatic influences.²

Kroeber has suggested that the social structure of the Northwest may be historically connected with the southwestern sib area, but also admits that it might have developed independently, and he was indeed inclined to choose the latter alternative.³ Both MacLeod and Loeb, on the other hand, emphasized the possibility of the Meso-American high cultures as the most likely source, even though MacLeod admitted that the Northwest American system showed more resemblances to Melanesian matrilineal organization.⁴ Apart from the circumstance that extremely few, if any Meso-American culture elements can with certainty be shown to have ever reached the Northwest, the great obstacle for adopting this view is the very fact that we have here a matrilineal structure. As just mentioned, Viola Garfield believes in its Asiatic origin — even if she supposes other traits to have originated on American soil — and in this view she follows a hypothesis formerly set forth by Dr. de Laguna and myself.⁵ On the whole there seems to be sufficient reason for submitting the whole problem to closer investigation.

¹ Garfield 1953; 61.

² Inglis 1970; 58.

³ Kroeber 1923a; 5, 12 Kroeber 1925; 836.

⁴ MacLeod 1929a; 428. Loeb 1933a; 661.

⁵ Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 449. Cf. also Garfield, Wingert & Barbeau n. d.; 19.

2. Eastern Asia

In order to find a fully developed matrilineal complex west of the Bering Straits, it is necessary to go as far south as southern China, Indochina, and Indonesia. In the mountain area of central Assam south of the Brahmaputra and east of the Bengal lowlands it occurs among the *Garo* and *Koch*, as well as among the *Khasi*, including the War Lynggam, and *Sinteng* or *Jaintia*.¹ That descent among the Garo is reckoned in the female line is testified by numerous authors, and cross cousin marriage is preferred.² The tribe is divided into three exogamous phratries, each comprising a number of non-localized sibs, or perhaps better into moieties and a smaller third group; but whether they are totemistic seems questionable.³ As is likewise the case among some Lalung and the Koch, matrilocality or avunculocality are prevalent.⁴

The *Khasi* (with whom the *Lynggam* are classed though possibly they are originally of Garo stock) and who unlike the Tibeto-Burmese Garo speak an Austro-Asiatic language, are likewise matrilineal and matrilocal, at least for the first year or two of married life, and as Gurdon states the mother's brother "is regarded more in the light of a father than of an uncle."⁵ They recognize exogamous sibs and non-exogamous sub-sibs, each supposed to descend from a common ancestress and often named for various animals, but at least in our times they do not seem to be connected notes totemism.⁶ Like property generally, chieftainship is inherited matrilineally, the position as head of the sib being passed on through the youngest daughter.⁷ Notwithstanding the fundamental identity of social structure there are nevertheless certain differences in the composition of property groups among the *Khasi* and Gajo.⁸

North and east of the *Khasi* and Gajo there is among some

¹ Heine-Geldern 1921; 105f. Ehrenfels 1955; 306.

² Dalton 1872; 9, 63. Wadell 1901; 55f. Playfair 1909; 65 cf. 71f. Bose 1936; 44f. Ehrenfels 1955; 306. Le bar, Hickey, Musgrave, etc. 1964; 56.

³ Dalton 1872; 63. Wadell 1901; 55. Playfair 1909; 64 ff. Führer-Haimendorf 1932; 333f. Bose 1934a; 28. Nakane 1967; 23. Burling 1958; 744 ff. Nakane 1967; 55. 1932; 333f. Bose 1934a; 28. Nakane 1967; 23.

⁴ Heine-Geldern 1921; 106, 125. Bose 1936; 44. Burling 1958; 744 ff. Nakane 1967; 55.

⁵ Dalton 1872; 54, 91. Risley 1903; 198f. Gurdon 1914; 76 ff. Becker 1924-25; 128f. Bose 1936; 44. Roy 1965; 521f. Ehrenfels 1955; 306.

⁶ Risley 1903; 201f. Gurdon 1914; 63 ff, 197. Führer-Haimendorf 1932; 334. Roy 1963; 521. Nakane 1967; 105f. Lebar, Hickey, Musgrave, etc. 1964; 109.

⁷ Gurdon 1914; 66 ff. Becker 1924-25; 134, 303.

⁸ Nakane 1967; 142.

Bodo tribes, i.e. the *Rabha*, *Lalung* and *Dimasa*, what Heine-Geldern calls a "mixed matrilineality."¹ Thus, in spite of matrilineal descent among the *Rabha*, wealth is inherited in the paternal line; among the *Lalung* only some groups are matrilineal, and it is up to a man and his wife to decide whether they wish to join his or her sib. Among the *Dimasa* sons belong to their father's sib and daughters to that of their mother.

In southwestern China and the northeastern parts of the Indo-chinese Peninsula we may perhaps find another area of earlier matrilineal structure. In southwestern China matrilineality or at least strong matrilineal traits occur among the tribes of *Tibetan* extraction. True, the inhabitants of Tibet proper have patrilineal, exogamous sibs, and in marriage matrilineal relationship is not taken into consideration beyond the seventh degree.² On the other hand, early Chinese sources inform us of female rulers in Tibetan tribes.³ Identical or similar reports come from tribes like the *Miao Lolo*, *Wu-man*, *Wei-p'u* and *Pa-pai Hsi-fu* in Yünnan and adjacent provinces as well as from the *Lolo* in Kueichou.⁴ The *Hei-khin* of the ancient *Moso* kingdom of Na-khi near the Tibetan border are likewise described as matrilineal.⁵

In our days the *Lolo* are divided into patrilineal, exogamous but hardly totemistic sibs.⁶ The sibs are again, at least in some *Lolo* tribes, organized according to rank into two well-defined endogamous classes, Black and White Bones, the former being as a rule though not invariably considered the more distinguished, to whom among the *Noso Lolo* are furthermore added the "Earth Eyes, or Earth Controllers, corresponding to the Chief Barons in the European Feudal System."⁷ To some extent residence rules seem to vary among the *Lolo* tribes. As a rule it is patrilocal except for the first few days, but in case of child marriages, as among the *Lolo-p'o*, matrilocality may be of much longer duration, and in *Ssü-chuan* it sometimes continues till some months after the birth of the first child, while among the *Lolo* of Kueichou a woman

¹ Heine-Geldern 1921; 106f.

² Prince Peter 1963; 349, 423.

³ Eberhard 1942; 82, 89f, cf. 95.

⁴ Eberhard 1942; 109, 112, 124, 129, 160, 321.

⁵ Rock 1947; II 391. Colquhoun 1883; II 301, 365. Cf. however, Prunner 1969; 101 ff.

⁶ Cordier 1907; 599. Bonifacy 1908a; 536, 550. Legendre 1909; 420. Legendre 1912; 576. Liu 1945-47; 86f.

⁷ Baber 1882; 67. Colquhoun 1883; II 303. Cordier 1907; 599, 601, 606.

will live for some years with her husband and thereafter spend a few years with her parents.¹ Bride service may occur among the Lolo of Tonkin.²

The organization of the *Yao* of Kuangsi is more doubtful. While one group is certainly patrilineal, both patri- and matrilineality are said to occur in another one,³ but whether this really refers to double descent or only means that descent is reckoned bilaterally is an open question. In any case Eberhard believes that the Yao were originally bilateral and that this accounts for the comparatively high position of the women.⁴ Wist says of the Kuangsi Yao: "Wenn in einer Familie bei Eintritt eines Erbfailes keine erwachsene Söhne vorhanden sind, so erbt die noch nicht verheiratete Tochter den ganzen Besitz. Ist sie aber schon verheiratet, so fällt das Erbe gleichmässig an die Oheime und die jüngeren Söhne. Vielleicht haben wir hier den Rest eines alten Mutterrechtes vor uns."⁵ Matrilocality is, however, common for the first year or until the birth of the first child.⁶ Among the Yao of northern Vietnam — here generally known as *Man* — we likewise find temporary matrilocality, sometimes for three or even six years, instead of bride price.⁷ Exogamous, patrilineal sibs are nevertheless common among the Yao, but Stübel expressly states those of Kuangtung that they "have Chinese family names nowadays . . . That this institution is rather recent is obvious from two facts, (1) different clans [sibs] living in the same village bear the same name, and (2) people of the same family name may freely intermarry among the Yao, whereas when marrying with the Chinese, the Chinese custom of not marrying a person bearing the same name is observed."⁸ Some vague but hardly convincing taboos have been given as proof of totemism, and the most skilful prominent men are elected headmen of the sibs.⁹

The *Miao*, in Indochina *Meo*, have also patrilineal, exogamous

¹ Baber 1882; 68. Vial 1898; 30. Lunet de Lajonquière 1904; 248. Legendre 1909; 423f. Legendre 1912; 576. Clarke 1911; 131f. Liétard 1913; 153f, 160.

² Bonifacy 1908a; 536.

³ Yen & Shang 1930; 390.

⁴ Eberhard 1942; 96f.

⁵ Wist 1938; 104.

⁶ Chin 1937; 22. Stübel 1938; 369. Wist 1938; 112. Eberhard 1942; 212. Leuschner n.d.; 72.

⁷ Lunet de Lajonquière 1904; 188, 211. Abadie 1922; 96, 110, 212.

⁸ Stübel 1937; 365 footnote. Cf. Yen & Shang 1930; 389. Wist 1930; 104. Eberhard 1942; 196, 201, 302, 205, 215, 221. Eberhard 1942b; 124.

⁹ Beauclair 1960; 190.

sibs, and here again totemism is rather doubtful.¹ The *Miao* of Hainan are temporarily matrilocal, and a man is considered belonging to the family of his mother-in-law, while from those of Tonkin there are, a few perhaps somewhat questionable, reports of two years' bride service.²

In the wedding ceremonies of the *Li* tribes, who apparently made up the early population of Hainan before the *Miao* and, of course, also the Chinese immigrants, there may be traces of a former matrilineal system, but in any case inheritance is patrilineal.³ However, Ma Tuan-lin, the Chinese scholar, who in the 13th century wrote a work on the basis of an earlier work from the T'ang Dynasty, speaks of a ruling queen and female succession on the island.⁴ Temporary matrilocality is common among at least some *Li* tribes, and sib organization combined with exogamy occurs but is only slightly developed.⁵

Among the Tonkinese *Laqua* and *Lati*, who like the *Li* belong to the Kadai linguistic stock, we find patrilineal, exogamous sibs but also matrilocality at least until the first pregnancy, and in case of matrilocality at least until the first pregnancy, and in case of matrilocality a *Laqua* man, notwithstanding patrilineal descent, will join his father-in-law's sib.⁶ According to Chinese sources, probably dating from the Han period, some uncertain traces of matrilineality occur among the *Lin-i* in Annam.⁷

From what has been said so far it will appear that apart from the Tibetans and Moso(?) there is only rather slight evidence of the existence of matrilineal descent in southern China. The question has been discussed by Erkes and Koppers in connection with the problem of previous matrilineality in China as a whole. I shall revert to this later and at present confine myself to stating that Eberhard is probably right in emphasizing that there is no absolute proof of its former existence among the *Lolo*, *Miao* or *Li* even though many traits may point in this direction.⁸ On the other hand it should not be forgotten that it is often difficult to identify the

¹ Schotter 1911; VI 321. Eberhard 1942; 274. Beauclair 1960; 184 ff.

² Stübel 1937; 242 f. Eberhard 1942; 270. Lunet de Lajonquière 1904; 237. Cf. Lunet de Lajonquière 1906; 317.

³ Stübel 1937; 286.

⁴ Ma Tuan-lin 1876-83; II 399.

⁵ Stübel 1937; 77 f, 92, 116, 137, 165, 220. Eberhard 1942; 229.

⁶ Bonifacy 1906; 272, 274. Bonifacy 1908 a; 536.

⁷ Eberhard 1942; 357.

⁸ Eberhard 1942; 97 ff.

numerous tribes mentioned in the old Chinese records; secondly that the existence of matrilineal societies was something quite foreign to the Chinese authors from whom our early knowledge of these tribes to a great extent derives, and according to Chinese usage "sibs" always means patrilineal sibs; and finally that the tribes in question have for centuries been subject to Chinese influences. Everything considered the matrilineal traits among the ethnic minorities in southern China may possibly be regarded as survivals of a formerly more widespread matrilineal organization although a definite solution of the problem can hardly be given at the present state of our knowledge.

On Taiwan (Formosa) conditions are more clear than on the Chinese mainland in so far as matrilineal sibs and at least temporary matrilocality are characteristic of the *Ami* and *Puyuma* in the easterly parts of the island, whereas it may be more doubtful if Mabuchi is right in ascribing sib exogamy among the *Ami* to extension of incest taboos between lineages immigrating to foreign villages as a consequence of head hunting and wars of the Puyuma, Schröder tells us that "real" sib exogamy does not exist, whatever the meaning of "real" is meant to be. Wei speaks of a dual organization among the Puyuma, while according to Schröder there are three local sib groups with their own inheritable cult houses in every village, one of them including by far the greatest number of sibs, the two remaining but a single sib, and in addition there is one non-localized sib.¹ Bride service is common in both tribes, and avunculate is reported from the *Ami*.²

In contradistinction to what is the case in southern China but similar to conditions in Central Assam and eastern Taiwan, the existence of matrilineal descent is certain in southern Vietnam and Cambodia among the *Cham* and related tribes who are supposed to belong to the widespread Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) stock. It is true that the northern "*Moi*" — the name used in common for the hill tribes of Vietnam — are patrilineal though in some places with rather doubtful vestiges of matrilineality,³ and both chieftainship and property in general are inherited in the female line among the "*Moi*" of Darlat where the youngest daughter

¹ Davidson 1903; 577, 579. McGovern 1923; 60 ff, 90. Wei 1956; 25 ff. Mabuchi 1960; 133 ff. Schröder 1966; 276 f. Liu 1960; 383 ff.

² Davidson 1903; 577, 579. Liu 1960; 384. Schröder 1966; 277. Wei 1961; 37.

³ Cf. Hoffet 1933; 8 ff, 29 ff.

usually remains in her parents' house unless one of her older sisters prefers to stay.¹ The tribes of *Jarai*, *Rhadeh*, *Noang*, *Röglai*, and *Srê* are definitely matrilineal and matrilocal,² and though now more or less Islamized conditions are similar among the Cham.³ The *Mnong-gar* are organized in matrilineal, exogamous sibs and are normally matrilocal.⁴ A rather questionable totemism is connected with the sibs of the Jarai.⁵

The problem of whether historical connections exist between the matrilineal organizations in Assam, southern China, and Indochina will be discussed later.

In Indonesia there is an area of typical matrilineal sibs and cross-cousin marriage on Sumatra among the *Minangkabau* though probably with traces of earlier double or rather bilateral descent.⁶ Originally the number of sibs was apparently four, between which there was a "circulating connubium", exogamy between the joint families forming the sib being more strictly observed than that between the sibs themselves, but new sibs have originated by immigrations to foreign villages, and to some extent this has caused a derangement of the old order and a certain class distinction. Totemism does not seem to be connected with the sibs, whereas they are combined with a theoretically localized dual organization. Unfortunately the latter is not quite clear. According to Loeb the sibs are divided into moieties, whereas Josselin de Jong says that they are really friendly competing phratries, each of them including two of the four original sibs and having their own customary norms.⁷ In accordance with the matrilineal system we find both matrilocality and avunculate.⁸

It is remarkable that the Menangkabau notwithstanding their

¹ Canivey 1913; 8f. Cf. v. d. Mensbrugghe 1949; 86, 89.

² Lavallée 1901; 304, 309. Brunhes 1925; 348. Maspero 1929; 253. v. d. Mensbrugghe 1949; 88. Dam Bo 1950; 156f. Lebar, Hickey, Musgrave, etc. 1964; 156.

³ v. d. Mensbrugghe 1949; 89. Baudesson n.d.; 249.

⁴ Condominas 1957; 25. Condominas 1960; 18f. Lebar, Hickey, Musgrave, etc. 1964; 155.

⁵ Maspero 1929; 253.

⁶ v. Hasselt 1882; 182, 245. Westenek 1918; 37. Collet 1922-23; 179, 181f. Joustra 1923; 92ff. Loeb 1934; 28, 30. Loeb 1935; 105, 107. Josselin de Jong 1952; 10, 62, 82ff. Junus 1964; 305ff.

⁷ Loeb 1934; 29. Josselin de Jong 1952; 12, 71ff. Cf. Joustra 1923; 95ff.

⁸ v. Hasselt 1882; 246. Collet 1922-23; 185. Cole 1936; 20f. Josselin de Jong 1952; 11.

Islamic faith have adhered to matrilineality. The Islamized state of *Negri Sembilan* on the Malay Peninsula, which in the 14th century was invaded by Minangkabau settlers, has likewise, except in the Royal family, kept up a matrilineal organization even more strictly than the Minangkabau although the avunculate is here less important.¹ There are twelve in principle exogamous sibs with uncertain traces of totemism, but in each district only four, the husband being adopted into the sib of his wife, so that a sib chief, while retaining his position in his own sib, is at the same time a common member of that of his wife.² Besides there are some vestiges of dual organisation. "Most of the *suku* [sibs] of present-day Ramban are divided into two halves . . . This bipartition may well be a continuation of a more ancient phratry dualism . . . Practically the only occasion on which the influence of this dual organization makes itself felt nowadays is the appointment of the Undang [district chief], and it may perhaps be understood as another survival of former dichotomy that the bride's and the groom's sibs — or their joint families in case sib exogamy is not observed — act as rival parties at the wedding ceremonies."³

Matrilineal organization is, however, found in other areas of Sumatra than among the Minangkabau. The primitive Indo-Australian tribe known as *Orang Mamma* in the southeastern regions is said to have adopted their matrilineal, exogamous and non-totemistic sib structure from them⁴ as is also the case with the *Sakai* and *Orang Ulu* in Central Sumatra.⁵ Married couples among the *Orang Mamma* rarely live together but the husband may join the band of his wife.⁶ In eastern Sumatra as a whole, except in the coastal parts, matrilineal descent occurs throughout the river drainages of the Djambi, Indragiri, Kampar, Siak and Rokan, while at the Musi it is found only in the area of Sēmēndo, and in southern Sumatra vestiges of it are said to occur in the customary law.⁷

¹ Evans 1922; 227. de Monbray 1931; 19f. Cole 1936; 21. Winstedt 1947; 46 ff. Josselin de Jong 1952; 11, 136.

² Josselin de Jong 1952; 123 ff, 137f. Cf. Winstedt 1947; 47f.

³ Josselin de Jong 1952; 139. Cf. Winstedt 1947; 48f.

⁴ Speiser 1910; 85, cf. 81. Loeb 1935; 289.

⁵ Loeb 1935; 290, 292, 295.

⁶ Speiser 1910; 85.

⁷ Wilken 1888; 181, 186. Cf. Graafland 1890; 40 ff. de Bruijn Kops in van Eerde n.d.; I 197f.

According to Vaughan-Stevens, who is, to be sure, a rather unreliable author, matrilineal descent characterizes the *Sakai* and *Orang Laut* or "Sea Gypsies" of Malaya, whereas among the Sumatran *Rajat Laut* as well as the inhabitants of *Macassar* and *Bugi* on Celebes descent is reckoned as alternating, the first and third child belonging to the mother, the second and fourth to the father, etc.¹ Matrilineal and non-localized sibs occur, on the other hand, on the small island of *Engano* off the southwestern coast of Sumatra and residence is here almost invariably matrilocal.² Some uncertainty seems to exist as to whether matrilineal or patrilineal descent prevails among the *Badui*, who in the 16th century took refuge from the Islamized Madurese in the mountain fastnesses of western Java. Chieftainship, for instance, may in some way be connected with the female line since a village chief has to give up his office if his wife dies, if this is not simply due to the idea that a chief must be married. A kind of localized dualism exists: the "inner" groups is sacred and ruling, the "outer" is profane and serving and allowed to have intercourse with their Islamic neighbours. Within the former moiety three villages, supposed to be the original ones, have circulating connubium. Residence is temporarily matrilocal.³

On the authority of Mallinckrodt, Loeb and Brook speak of matrilineality among the *Ma'anjan-Siung Dayak* in southeastern Borneo.⁴ What Mallinckrodt describes is not, however, real matrilineality. The tribal structure is based upon a number of non-exogamous, fundamentally localized families (*gestachten*), a principal duty of which is to arrange elaborate death feasts and see that the bones of the departed members are buried in the common bone cist of the family. Residence is mainly though not always matrilocal, and since the children belong to the family in which they are born, they will as a rule be classed with that of their mother, but not so in case of patrilocal residence. The deciding factor is, in other words, the place of birth and not fixed descent rules.

¹ Skeat & Blagden 1906; II 62 ff, 87, 258 f. Wilken 1888; 196 f. Cf. Bertling 1939; 489 f. Schub in v. Eerde n.d.; I 316.

² Loeb 1935; 213 f, 220. Jasper 1964; 111 f.

³ Jacobs & Meyer 1891; 44 ff. Veth 1907; IV 76, 81. Geise 1952; 325 ff, 367, 371, 374.

⁴ Mallinckrodt 1927; 561. Loeb & Brook 1947; 417.

In eastern matrilineal descent and matrilocality are common on the *Sangi Islands* south of Mindanao.¹ Matrilineality occurs together with matrilocal residence and a dual organization in the northwestern parts of *Sumba*, while in eastern *Sumba*, although the sibs are here patrilineal, there seems to be at least vestiges of an earlier matrilineal moiety system, and on the whole maternal descent is not without importance.² It is possible that traces occur also in Endeh on central *Flores*, where for instance children belong to their mother if the bride price has not been paid in full; among the otherwise patrilineal Ngadha in southwestern *Flores* rank is inherited in the female line, and there may likewise be suggestions of matrilineal descent on *Solor* and *Alor*.³ On *Solor* weaving patterns are sib property; a girl will inherit her mother's pattern and before she is taught that of her paternal sib she must make a small sacrifice in order to reconcile her maternal ancestors. The patrilineal sib on *Alor* is referred to as "the old first ancestress." As is the case on eastern *Flores* so also on *Alor* certain privileges and duties rest with the mother's brother, and while matrilocality is usual on *Solor* until the birth of the first or even the second child, it occurs on eastern *Flores* at least as a substitution for bride price, undoubtedly at the same time including bride service.⁴

Matrilineal descent, maybe upon earlier matrilineal moieties, is common, except in the Rajah family, in the Belu district on eastern *Timor*, and besides we are told that "auch in den anderen findet man teilweise Mutterfolge, besonders bei Heirats- und Erb-schaftsregelung, sei es, dass diese Regel von alters bestanden, sei es dass man sie von den Herren in Südbelu übernommen hat".⁵ Bride service and matrilocality are common practice in Belu, but as a temporary custom matrilocal residence occurs in the central parts of *Timor* too.⁶ On *Letti* rank and dignities are inherited by the oldest daughter, and matrilineal descent is not only common here but, like matrilocality, also on other islands of the Southwest

¹ Hickson 1887; 138.

² Kruyt 1922; 499. v. Wouden 1935; 26 ff, 163. Nooteboom 1940; 127 ff, 136. Loeb & Broek 1947; 417. Bühler 1951; 62.

³ v. Suchtelen 1926; 103, 113, 122. v. Wouden 1935; 163. Vatter 1932; 189 f, 258. Arndt 1954; 321.

⁴ Stapel 1914; 170 f. Du Bois 1944; 21. Arndt 1940; 179. Arndt 1945, passim.

⁵ Fiedler 1929; 36. v. Wouden 1935; 26. Loeb & Broek 1947; 417. Vroklage 1952; I 254, 257 f.

⁶ Elbert 1911-12; II 197. Kruyt 1923 b; 367. Fiedler 1929; 41. Vroklage 1952; I 248.

group: *Lakor*, *Sermata*, and *Luang*.¹ Still farther east, on *Babber*, children are again reckoned to the family of their mothers, residence is matrilineal, and rank is inherited in the female line.² It is characteristic of both the Southwest and Southeast Islands, however, that unilineal descent is not absolute, but matrilineal and patrilineal types combined form a kind of double descent so that "ondanks het oogenschijnlijk extreem unilateraal karakter der verwantschapsstelsels toch rekening gehouden wordt zoowel met patrilineale als med matrilineale afstamming", the local group, or *soa*, being patrilineal and the kinship group, *dati*, matrilineal and probably the older of the two.³

Ceram shows both matrilineality and patrilineality according to the tribes in question. Matrilineal, non-exogamous groups with very faint suggestions of totemism are typical of the *Wemale* in the western part of the island even though the first son is supposed to belong to the family of his father, while matrilocality is obligatory at least for some days or until the bridal price is paid in full.⁴ In addition to this classification the *Wemale* distinguish between two mutually antagonistic and to some extent geographically separate groups, *Patasiwa*, or "Nine-People" in the West, and *Patalima* or "Five-People" in the East.⁵ The true character of this dichotomy is not quite clear. Possibly it is based upon an old dual system, but it may also be connected with political rivalry between the Sultanates of Ternate and Tidore in the Moluccas and can, in any case, not be studied properly without regarding similar institutions on the adjacent islands: Amboina and the *Uliassers*, *Kei*, *Aru*, and probably Melanesia as well (cf. p. 67). On the *Kei Islands*, it should be added, matrilineal descent occurs if no bride price is paid.⁶ Likewise on the *Aru Islands*, if no bride price is paid, matrilocality and bride service are the rule, and then daughters are reckoned among their maternal grandparents' kin.⁷

It appears from this survey that matrilineality is or formerly

¹ Riedel 1886; 320, 324, 390. v. Hoëvell 1890a; 213. Loeb & Broek; 417.

² Riedel 1886; 345, 351. Cf. Loeb & Broek 1947; 417.

³ v. Wouden 1935; 163, 165. Josselin de Jong 1937; 12.

⁴ Tauern 1918; 165. de Vries 1927; 106, 126. v. Wouden 1935; 77, 163. Jensen 1948; 20, 59f, 140. Beckering in v. Eerde n.d.; II 130.

⁵ Sachse 1907; 60f. Duyvendak 1926; 81f, 121ff. Martin 1894; I 66. Jensen 1948; 53ff. Downs 1955; 57.

⁶ Riedel 1886; 235.

⁷ Boes in v. Erde n.d.; II 100.

was scattered all over Southeast Asia both on the continent and in the Indonesian archipelago; but it is not the only form of unilineal organization among the backward tribes there. Patrilineality is, indeed, still more widespread. It is outside the scope of this paper to render a full account of patrilineal distribution, but it may be necessary to mention at least the most important examples.

It is common in Assam in the Himalayan foothills North of the Brahmaputra and as far as the Limbu in eastern Nepal. Exogamy, apparently based upon patrilineal sibs, is, for instance, described from the *Mishmi*, *Khamti*, and *Galong*,¹ and patrilineal, exogamous sibs are gully substantiated among the *Abor*, *Apatani*, *Dafla*, *Sulung*, and *Limbu*.² As far as the Dafla are concerned totemism is expressly denied, and while some Limbu sibs have names that may support totemistic ideas, most of their sib names refer to the adventures or characteristics of their common ancestors. If vestiges of totemism exist among the Abor at all they are extremely weak. Among the Apatani sibs there is a sharp difference of rank, some of them being noble and the others consisting of commoners, the latter depending ritually on one or two of the former. "A certain inconsistency," says Fürer-Haimendorf, "is brought into the system of clan-exogamy by the fact that some clans known as 'brother-clans' are debarred from intermarriage, while there are cases of two sub-clans of the same clan . . . practicing intermarriage". The noble class is endogamous and neither wealth, intelligence nor exploits in war can raise a commoner to the status of nobility.

While as formerly mentioned a more or less pronounced matrilineality is characteristic of several Bodo tribes south of the Brahmaputra, patrilineal sibs are found among some other tribes within the same group: *Tippera*, *Chukma*, *Mech*, and *Kachari*.³ The Kachari sibs were most likely exogamous originally, not endogamous as has been maintained, and totemism is present as

¹ Cooper 1873; 146. Dunbar 1916; 55.

² Abor (Hamilton 1912; 15. Dunbar 1916; 9f.). Apatani (Fürer-Haimendorf 1962; 65 ff). Dafla (Fürer-Haimendorf 1962; 7. Shukla 1959; 54f). Sulung (Stonor 1953; 956). Limbu (Risley 1903; 201f).

³ Tippera (Lewin 1870; 197). Chukma (Lewin 1870; 168f). Mech (Endle 1911; 821). Kachari (Endle 1911; 241 ff. Cf. note by Gurdon *ibid.*).

faint traces only. Bride service is found among the Kachari beside bride price, and sometimes matrilocality occurs.¹

The sib organisation of the *Chin* tribes is likewise patrilineal.² Whereas exogamy has almost disappeared in the northern group, perhaps, as suggested by Heine-Geldern, consequent to the wars and general political disturbance in the 18th and early 19th centuries, it still exists in the South. The northern Chin sibs differ according to rank, but by continual marriages with noble women a man may acquire high status and privileges, chieftainship only excepted. Descent is here usually associated with some miraculous event of the sib ancestor or with some animal or plant, but rarely if ever does it amount to a totemistic connection with the species in question, and real totemism is denied by Fürer-Haimendorf. Patrilocality prevails, but matrilocality is usual at the beginning of married life at least among the Strö, one of the southern tribes, and in another one with in this group, the Mru, three years of bride service may substitute for the bride price.³

East of the matrilineal area of central Assam patrilineal sibs are found among the *Mikir*, *Lakher*, *Lushai*, *Old Kuki* tribes and *Meithei* or Manipuri.⁴ Shakespear's assertion that the Lushai and Kuki sibs are endogamous is no doubt misleading, since his "clans", as Das rightly shows, are actually tribes divided into exogamous sibs and sub-sibs with definite rules of intermarriage. The Lakher distinguish between royal, noble, and common sibs, and also among the Purum sibs there is a difference of rank. In the Anal and Aimol tribes, where a moiety system exists in addition to the sib organization, one moiety is of supreme rank and entitled to supply the village chief. Sib totemism is questionable among the Lakher and is expressly stated to be absent among both the Lushai and Kuki.⁵ Bride service and sometimes matrilocality may occur among the Mikir, just as may bride service

¹ Waddell 1901; 45. Endle 1911; 32, 45. Heine-Geldern 1921; 107, 121f.

² Heine-Geldern 1921; 118f. Lehman 1963; 88f, 107f, 116. Fürer-Haimendorf 1942; 333. Cf. Kohler 1886; 194f.

³ Kohler 1886; 190. Heine-Geldern 1921; 127f. Lewin 1870; 234.

⁴ Mikir (Stack 1908; 16f, Waddell 1901; 29). Lakher (Shakespear 1912; 216. Parry 1932; 229f. Löffler 1960; 128). Lushai (Shakespear 1912; 50. Risley 1903; 225). Kuki (Shakespear 1912; 153. Bose 1934; 462. Bose 1934a; 10. Das 1945; 106f. Needham 1958; 77f. Needham 1959; 125. Needham 1963; 223f). Meithei (Hodson 1908; 99f).

⁵ Parry 1932; 233. Fürer-Haimendorf 1932; 333.

and avunculate among the Kuki.¹ Avunculate also occurs among the Lakher, of whom we are told that "it is very difficult to say whether . . . the maternal uncle and his wife, or a person's parents come next in order of respect; some people give preference to the maternal uncle and some to the parents."² Parry believes in former matrilineality among them. Löffler does not go so far, but nevertheless he finds in their kinship terminology traces of matrilineages suggesting an original system of bilateral descent. Needless to say, Leach with his usual contempt for anything like historical research disagrees with such views,³ but as far as I can see without sufficient reason.

Of the *Naga* tribes, too, Hutton thinks that place names, traditions, etc., are "suggestive of sugmerged matrilineal element . . . of Mon-Khmer affinities" and besides that vestiges of a matrilineal kinship system can be pointed out.⁴ Like him, Ruhemann is of opinion that both certain myths and kinship terms disagree with the organization even though her attitude towards former matrilineality among the Naga is justly sceptical; on the other hand, she feels convinced that the present-day sib system has replaced an earlier bilateral organization where marriage between relatives of a certain type was prevalent.⁵ In our time, at any rate, the Naga are divided into patrilineal sibs, aub-sibs, and more or less localized moieties or phratries of different rank.⁶ The phratries of the Rengma and Ao are exogamous, while among the other Naga tribes only sib exogamy obtains, and the Sema have no phratries at all. A tripartite division may be the oldest type of sib system and a dual organization as among the Angami a later form.⁷ In

¹ Stack 1908; 18f. Waddell 1901; 52. Shakespear 1912; 154. Heine-Geldern 1921; 108ff. Das 1945; 113. Needham 1960; 86. Needham 1963; 226.

² Parry 1932; 243.

³ Leach 1963; 237ff.

⁴ Hutton 1965; 19f, 22.

⁵ Ruhemann 1948; 190ff.

⁶ General (Furness 1902; 446ff. Fürer-Haimendorf 1932; 329ff. Hutton 1965; 21). Rengma (Mills 1937; 11ff, 128, 137). Angami (Watt 1889; 361. Woodthorpe 1882; 63. Godden 1897-98; XXVI 23. Waddell 1901; 21. Risley 1903; 207. Hamilton 1912; 142. Hutton 1912; 142. Hutton 1921a; 111f. Fürer-Haimendorf 1932a; 13). Lhota (Mills 1922; 89. Fürer-Haimendorf 1932a; 17). Sema (Godden 1897-98; XXVI 168. Hutton 1921; 121ff. Fürer-Haimendorf 1932a; 25). Ao (Waddell 1901; 26. Mills 1926; 13ff. Mills 1926a; 28. Fürer-Haimendorf 1932a; 27). Sngtam (Kaufmann 1939; 219). Kabui (Bose 1934a; 22). Manipur Naga (Hodson 1911; 74f, Fürer-Haimendorf 1932a; 25). Marring (Bose 1934a; 24f). Kalyo-Kengyu (Fürer-Haimendorf 1937; 881). Konyak (Fürer-Haimendorf 1941; 13ff, 83. Fürer-Haimendorf 1946; passim).

⁷ Fürer-Haimendorf 1932a; 37.

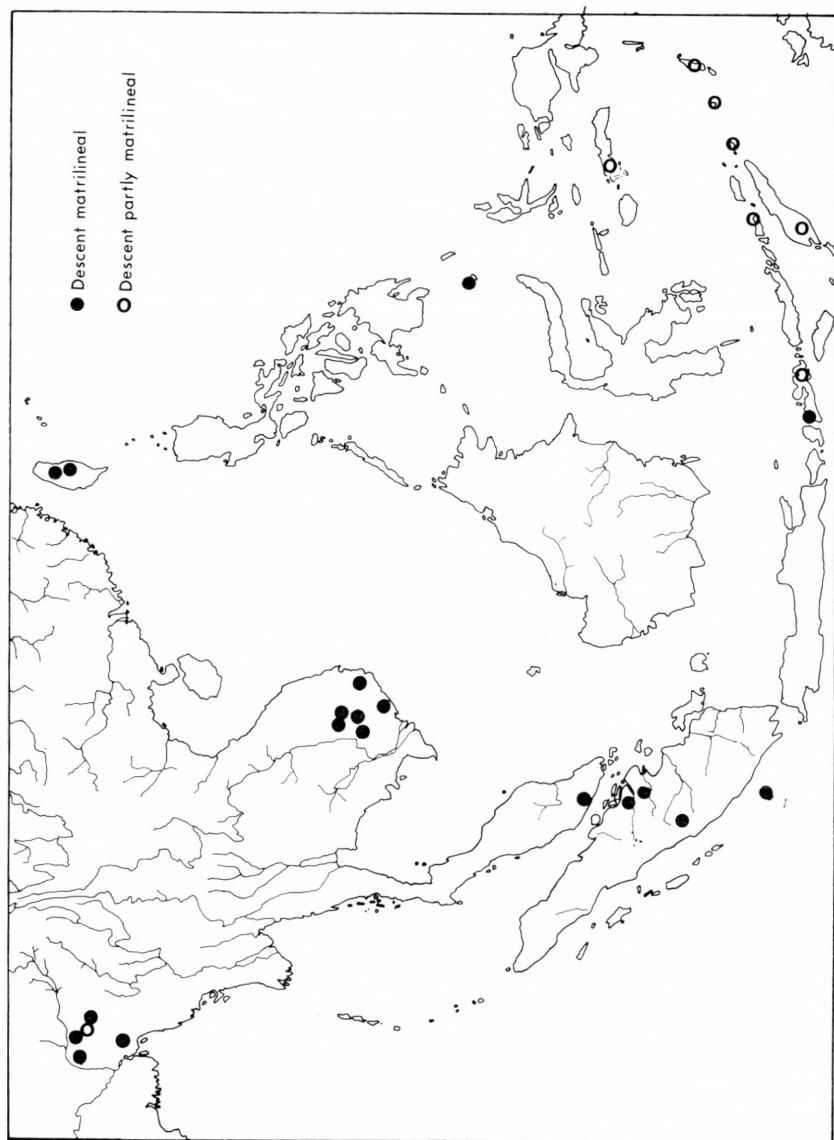


Fig. 2. Matrilineal descent in southeastern Asia.

Manipur the moieties of the Mao are exogamous, but those of the Marring endogamous and divided into exogamous sibs. Totemism seems "either never fully developed . . . or has become so far submerged that it only appears as a barely recognizable survival." It seems to occur among the Ao, and there may be traces of it among the Sema and Konyak but hardly among the Lhota and none at all among the Angami.¹ Usually Konyak residence is matrilineal until the birth of the first child,² and bride service is carried out by the Lhota till the end of the agricultural season.³ The mother's brother occupies a respected and privileged position among the Konyak, Rengma and Sema.⁴

Patrilineal sibs and lineages of different rank are characteristic of the *Kachin* east of the Naga.⁵ According to Hansen, however, "marriage is allowed only between certain recognized families; but the old rules are more or less disregarded and greater liberties are allowed". The rules mentioned included a regular exchange between "husband giving" and "wife giving" groups so that for instance A must take wives from sib B, the latter from C, and C again from A. The existence of sib totemism is at least doubtful. On the whole, the system seems to some extent to be breaking down. Hansen's views are corroborated by the observations of Leach that there is no "clear distinction between exogamous and non-exogamous levels of segmentation" even though "there is certainly a theory of clan and lineage exogamy and at the lowest levels of lineage segmentation this is rigidly applied." Thus to some extent the whole system seems to be breaking down.

Some account has already been given of the sib organization of the ethnic minorities in southern China. At least at the present time and evidently for centuries back it is patrilineal among the *Lolo*, *Miao*, and *Yao*. Eberhard summarizes the evidence thus; that patrilineal sibs are characteristic of both the ancient Thai and Yao cultures, whereas totemism is rather doubtful.⁶ The *Lisu* have both a dual and a sib organization that is apparently also patrilineal and possibly totemistic.⁷ On *Hainan* patrilineal sibs occur

¹ Hutton 1965; 21. Fürer-Haimendorf 1932; 329 ff.

² Fürer-Haimendorf 1941; 35, 38.

³ Mills 1922; 148 f.

⁴ Hutton 1921; 137. Mills 1937; 137. Fürer-Haimendorf 1941; 48 ff, 69.

⁵ Waddell 1901; 29. Hansen 1913; 180. Gilhodes 1922; 207. Wehrli 1904; 25 ff. Enriquez 1923; 26 f. Carrapiet 1929; 32. Leach 1954; 127.

⁶ Eberhard 1942; 124, 354. Laufer 1917; 415 ff, 421 ff.

⁷ Ch'en 1947; 254 ff.

among some of the Li tribes,¹ and on *Taiwan* we find them in both the northern and central parts of the island, in some cases combined into phratries or moieties.²

In Indochina patrilineal sibs are common not only in northern *Laos* and northern *Vietnam* among the tribes more or less related to those of southern China but likewise, as formerly mentioned, among the northern "Moi" and it will suffice to add that the sibs among some of the so-called White Thai are divided into moieties.³ Sib totemism is recorded from the Lamet and Khmu but is definitely stated to be absent among the Akha and Meau, and the reasons given for its existence among the northern Moi are on the whole extremely weak. Alternating patri- and matrilocality occur in the Thai tribes until pregnancy or, in the case of the wife's sterility, till the end of the third year, and a poor man may indeed be adopted permanently by this father-in-law.⁴ In the Man tribes the husband may establish his home in that of the girl and work for her father, while among the Moi the youngest daughter usually stays at home in order to support her parents provided an older sister does not wish to do so.⁵ In many tribes the husband works for his father-in-law if he is too poor to pay the bride price, or maybe in addition to the bride price.⁶ Sib exogamy is predominant among the *Samrê* in Cambodia, the sib chiefs only excepted "sinon de principe".⁷ Totemism is not, however, strictly hereditary and depends rather more on locality than on birth. If a man lives in the house of his wife he will observe her totem taboos as well as his own, while "les enfants optent généralement pour le totem maternel qui domine la case ou ils sont nés. Toutefois la ligne du chef de clan hérite impérativement le totem paternel." Even though matrilocality is usual, exceptions may occur.

In Indonesia we find patrilineal sibs on *Nias* and *Mentawai*

¹ Stübel 1937; 78, 137.

² Wei 1956; 25f. Mabuchi 1960; 129ff. Beauclair 1960; 188.

³ Nung (Lunet de Lajonquière 1906; 165). Man Coc (Lunet de Lajonquière 1906; 240). La Ti (Bonifacy 1906; 278). Thai (Maspero 1906; 30ff. Maspero 1929; 239f). Akha and Meau (Bernatzik 1947; 30, 212, 223). Lamet and Khmu (Izikowitz 1951; 85). Lawa (Kunstadter 1965; 10f).

⁴ Lunet de Lajonquière 1904; 119f, 152, 160. Lunet de Lajonquière 1906; 154ff, 195, 206f. Cf. Maspero 1929; 240.

⁵ Abadie 1922; 96, 110, 212. v. d. Mensbrugghe 1949; 86.

⁶ Lunet de Lajonquière 1904; 120 and passim. Lunet de Lajonquière 1906; 156, 207, 242. Baudesson n.d.; 57. Diguët 1908; 115, 120. Canivey 1913; 5. Izikowitz 1951; 100f.

⁷ Baradat 1941; 69ff. Baradat 1945; 45.

West of Sumatra. The Nias sibs are exogamous in the northern parts of the island as they were probably previously also in the south, where exogamy now relates to lineages only, while on Mentawai — or at least one of the islands — the sibs are perhaps hardly more than “embryonic”, i.e. exogamous and non-totemistic “enlarged family groups.” Residence is usually “matrilocal in Pageh due to the desire of the men to share the fields of their wives; in Siberut it is patrilocal providing the man is able to pay half of the bride price. Bride service is common during the engagement period.¹

On Sumatra itself patrilineal sibs are to be found in the northern regions, i.e. in *Atjeh*, *Gajo*, and *Alas*, and the *Batak* lands.² The *Lubu*, who are now almost absorbed by the Batak, have undoubtedly adopted their patrilineal system from them, and the settled *Kubu* have likewise taken over the social organization of their neighbours.³ Among the now Islamic Atjehnese there were originally four non-localized sibs, “probably exogamous . . . and all four probably had totemic restrictions,” but apparently the exogamic rules disappeared after the introduction of the new religion, although blood revenge remained a sib affair and did not become a family duty as it is according to Islamic law. Possibly there was also a moiety or phratry system as among the Minangkabau. The Gajo and Alas sibs are localized, and it seems probable that some of them, if not all, were totemistic. Cole contents, as did Heine-Geldern before him, that the Batak sibs originated in the breaking up of exogamous moieties. Some Batak food taboos and descent myths, most obvious among the Karo, less so among the Toba, may be survivals of former totemism. Despite patrilineal descent, matrilocality is common in Atjeh, and it has, indeed, been suggested that the patrilineal rules were introduced together with Islam.⁴ The Gajo are usually patrilocal, though in case of the so-called *angkap*-marriage, when the bride price is only nominal, the

¹ Nias (Rappard 1909; 552, 558. Schröder 1917; I 360. Loeb 1935; 141, 146). Mentawai (Loeb 1935; 159, 180).

² General (Wilken 1888; 182. Collet 1922–23; 177). Atjeh (Loeb 1935; 228 f, 140). Gajo and Alas (Loeb 1935; 221, 228 f, 250, 262. Snouck Hurgronje 1903; 78 f, 268, 328. Cf. Kreemer i v. Eerde n.d., I 94). Batak (Ködding 1888; 78. Joustra 1912; 8 f. Volz 1909–12; I 348 ff. Vergouwen 1933; 17. Loeb 1933; 19, 24 f. Loeb 1933 a; 651. Loeb 1935, 46, 48, 285, 295). Lubu (Loeb 1935; 295). Kubu (Loeb 1935; 28, 284).

⁴ Jacobs 1894; I 13 f. Loeb 1935; 220, 231. Damsté in v. Eerde n.d.; I 59, 64.

husband is adopted into the house of his wife, and among the Batak residence is likewise patrilocal, unless the bride price is too high or the bride's father is old.¹

The *Abung* sibs in southern Sumatra are non-exogamous, and by paying a certain amount it is even possible to be admitted to another sib.² According to tradition the patrilineal and localized sibs in the *Lampung* districts were formerly exogamous, and some vestiges of an antagonistic dual system are said to occur.³ Matrilocality, apparently including bride service, may substitute for bride price and is also common among the Malay in some parts of eastern Sumatra.

Notwithstanding the comparatively primitive stage of their culture, sib exogamy and totemism are unknown among the *Dayak* of Borneo, the *Toradja* of Celebes, the *Yami* of *Botel Tobago*, as well as the *Igorot*, *Manobo* and other backward tribes of the Philippines, not to speak of still more primitive tribes such as the *Punan*, *Topala*, etc.⁴

On the small Sunda Islands and the Moluccas conditions are different. Beside the matrilineal systems previously referred to we find there patrilineal sibs, in many places connected with asymmetrical connubium.⁵ Patrilineality occurs on *Sumbawa*, whereas on *Sumba* it is confined to the eastern districts although there are here, as formerly mentioned, traces of a matrilineal moiety system, and matrilineality as a whole characterizes the western parts.⁶ Residence is matrilocality until the price price has been paid.⁷ It has also been pointed out that we find more or less unquestionable suggestions of matrilineal ideas on central *Flores*, *Solor*, and *Alor* even though the organization is principally patrilineal. In some parts of *Flores* and northern *Alor* the sibs are of different rank and form three exogamous phratries,⁸ and on eastern *Flores*, and *Solor* there is a system of antagonistic moieties connected with head

¹ Ködding 1888; 91. Snouck Hurgronje 1903; 269f. Loeb 1935; 36f, 249, 258.

² Funke 1958; 223ff, and ass.

³ Wilken 1888; 189. Loeb 1935; 269, 276ff. Downs 1955; 68f. Cf. Hissink 1904; 75.

⁴ Vroklage 1936; 148, 196. Kroeber 1919; 83. Kano & Sagawa 1956; 13.

⁵ v. Wouden 1935; 9ff.

⁶ *Sumbawa* (Elbert 1911-12; II 69). *Sumbawa* (Kruyt 1922; 492f, 499. Nootboom 1940; 16ff, 35ff. Bühler 1951; 61).

⁷ Roos 1872; 50. 173, 198ff.

⁸ Arndt 1940; 5. v. Suchtelen 1919-21; 191f. Vatter 1932; 71ff, 149ff, 189, 194, 245, 269.

hunting as an expression of universal dualism.¹ According to Arndt conditions among the Ngdha in southwestern Flores are rather remarkable. Some villages are divided into exogamous moieties, whereas the non-localized sibs and sub-sibs are andogamous and of different rank; descent is basically patrilineal, unless a man is formally admitted to the sib of his wife, in which case the children will assume her totem and taboos.² Patrilocality is customary, but only if the full bride price has been paid, which is indeed rather exceptional, and in some Ngadha districts bride service is actually the rule, while elsewhere in western Flores it is at least temporary for the first few days after marriage, and in eastern Flores it may replace the bride price.³ On Solor and Alor residence is likewise patrilocal in theory.⁴ Certain privileges and duties are due to the maternal uncle among the Hgadha, in eastern Flores and on Solor; among the Ngadha, for instance, the uncle can claim the greater part of the bride price.⁵

Patrilineal sibs localized within the villages characterize the inhabitants of both *Lomblem* and *Pantar*; they are exogamous, and marriage must take place according to fixed rules. A similar organization is found on *Adonare*, where nevertheless sib localization is clear in the central part of the island only; some of the sibs differ in rank, and some, but not all of them, seem to be totemistic.⁶ On *Lomblem* and *Adonare* we meet the same dual system as on *Solor* and *Alor*.⁷ On eastern *Adonare* the sibs previously belonged to either of two groups, known as "above" and "below the wall", and a certain antagonism seems to have prevailed between them in ceremonial combats.⁸ Matrilocality including bride service may replace bride price, and here again avunculate occurs.⁹ On *Rotti* the sib system is connected with exogamous moieties.¹⁰

Like *Sumba*, *Timor* shows both matrilineal and patrilineal organization, nevertheless with matrilineal traces as far as the latter

¹ Downs 1955; 52 ff.

² Arndt 1940; 51 ff. Arndt 1954; 19, 189 ff, 204 ff, 219 f. Bader 1951; 100 ff. Cf. v. Staveren 1915; 119 ff.

³ Kluppel 1873; 39*. Arndt 1940; 179. Du Bois 1944; 21 f, 85 f.

⁴ Bader 1903; 103. Arndt 1940; passim. Arndt 1954; 42.

⁵ Beckering 1911; 172. Vatter 1932; 205, 269. Arndt 1940; 125, 168.

⁶ Downs 1955; 52 ff.

⁷ Beckering 1911; 182. Arndt 1940; 159.

⁸ Arndt 1940; 135 and passim.

⁹ Kruyt 1921; 269 ff. v. Wouden 1935; 65.

¹⁰ Stapel 1914; 170 f. Arndt 1940; 101.

is concerned. The sibs, however, are not exogamous and hardly totemistic, even though certain food taboos must be observed by some of them.¹ This non-exogamous character of the sibs agrees with what is known of the sibs among the Timor immigrants to *Kisar* where exogamy is in force between the lineages within the sibs and not between the sibs themselves. Here there is also a distinction between East and West within the villages, but whether this represents an ancient exogamous dualism is very uncertain; at present there is, if anything, a tendency to endogamy.² In southern Timor itself the division into two states, Amanuban and Amanabun, has been interpreted as a survival of an antagonistic dual organization within a single state.³ Residence is usually patri- or neolocal but matrilocal until the full bride price has been paid.⁴

Doble descent with certain sib taboos, possibly survivals of totemism, are moreover characteristic of the *Southwest* and *South-east Islands*.⁵ On the Kei Islands and at any rate on Tenimber, the sibs form exogamous moieties probably connected with the aforementioned dualism of the Wemale on Ceram.⁶ Matrilocal residence is reported from many islands: Wettar, Letti, Moa, Tenimber, and Lakor.⁷ On Wettar presents are given to the parents-in-law, and afterwards the prospective husband must serve them for two years, and finally an exchange of dowry and gifts will take place, just as on Tenimber bride service is customary during the engagement period.⁸ Here the special position of the mother's brother appears from the fact that he is called by the same word which is used for parents.⁹

Matrilineal descent on *Ceram* has been referred to previously, but patrilineality occurs in other parts of the island as well as on *Amboina* and the *Buru*, *Uliasser*, and *Sula Islands*.¹⁰ Among the

¹ Fiedler 1929; 36 note, 38, 41.

² Josselin de Jong 1937; 5f.

³ v. Wouden 1935; 125ff.

⁴ Capell 1943-44a; 201. v. Wouden 1935; 61. Cf. Kruy 1923b; 367.

⁵ Wettar (Josselin de Jong 1947; 4). Key Islands (Riedel 1886; 216. v. Wouden 1935; 36ff. Vroklage 1936; 412, 415. Nutz 1959; 76ff, 123. Cf. v. Hoëvell 1890a; 124). Tenimber (Drabbe 1941; 148, 188, 389. Nutz 1959; 89f. Cf. Geurtjens n.d. a; 58).

⁶ Riedel 1886; 448. Vroklage 1926; 448.

⁷ Riedel 1886; 390. Briffault 1927; 291.

⁸ Drabbe 1940; 189. Josselin de Jong 1947; 9.

⁹ Drabbe 1940; 150f. Vroklage 1936; 417ff.

¹⁰ Wilken 1875; 3. Riedel 1886; 22. v. Wouden 1935; 71, 83. Vroklage 1935; 355, 405.

Manusela of central Ceram there is a circulating connubium between the *soa*'s, which are said to be originally immigrant groups and at the present time regarded as unities though often of heterogeneous origin.¹ On the *Sula Islands* there are similar localized *soa*'s "waaraan vermoedelijk het familieverband ten grondslag ligt."² Taboos due to descent from, or assistance of various animals have been interpreted as survivals of sib totemism on Amboina, the Buru and Uliasser Islands. A more or less exogamous moiety organization like that of the Wemale and Tenimber is found on southern central Ceram as well as on the Buru and Uliasser Islands and is supposed to be connected with a tripartite system in other parts of Ceram, Amboina, Kei, and *Aru* and formerly also on the *Banda Islands*.³ On Ceram matrilocality is usual, either temporary until the bride price is paid or permanent if there is no bride price at all, and this is the case even among the Islamic inhabitants as well as on the Buru Islands.⁴ On Amboina and the Uliassers the prospective bridegroom moves into the hose of his father-in-law and works for him until the wedding.⁵ In the northern Moluccas, on Halmheira among the *Tobelo*, we again find patrilineal sibs and, perhaps also vestiges of totemism.⁶

This survey of patrilineal structure does not claim to be exhaustive, abut there seems to be no reason for further expatiating upon the subject. One thing is immediately conspicuous, however, viz. that unilineal descent, be it matri- or patrilineal, does not belong to any one linguistic family. Both types are found among tribes of Tibeto-Burman, Austro-Asiatic, Kadai, and Austronesian stock. Another important point is the fact that wherever unilineal organization occurs it does not seem to be the original one. Not only has it evidently been introduced through outside influence among the most primitive tribes on Sumatra, where there are still traces of an earlier bilineal structure, but the same is the case even among the highly civilized Minangkabau, and on the continent

¹ Röder 1948; 26.

² v. Hulstijn 1918; 36f.

³ Riedel 1886; 216, 246. v. Hoëvell 1890; 77, 123. Sachse 1907; 60f. Duyvendak 1926; 121 ff, cf. 81f. Vroklage 1936; 463 ff. Downs 1955; 57. Nutz 1959; 96, 106, 115 ff. Cf. Wirz 1931; 62. Boes in v. Eerde n.d.; I 88.

⁴ Wilken 1875; 18. Tauern 1918; 47, 165, 186.

⁵ Riedel 1886; 67.

⁶ Vroklage 1936; 355, 465.

the kinship terminologies of the Naga and Old Kuki tribes point into the same direction. The fact that unilineal descent is unknown on Borneo, most of Celebes, and most of the Philippines may likewise suggest that it was originally foreign to the Archipelago as a whole. Vroklage has certainly interpreted bilineal organization in Indonesia as the result of a combination of patrilineal and matrilineal systems,¹ but, in my opinion at least, the idea seems to be rather improbable, and it is scarcely supported by any available facts.

The question naturally arises whether connections can be demonstrated between the places where uniliner organizations occur and, if so, whether matri- or patrilineal systems are the older. We are here no doubt entitled to leave out of account the old assertions of the Vienna School that we have to do with a universal spread of a patrilineal and totemistic stratum and a later matrilineal one.² On the other hand it may be safely stated that a whole series of mutual independent origins do not seem very likely in a comparatively limited area where the cultural development has to considerable extent followed the same trends.

On the continent unilineal organization is at present prevalent in the backward areas, the interruptions in the distribution being first and foremost due to the advanced civilizations where Hindu-Buddhist and, to a lesser degree, late Islamic influences dominate, thus suggesting a formerly continuous extension. In the archipelago conditions are similar in so far as unilineal structures are limited to Sumatra including neighbouring islands and the southern island chain as far last as the Moluccas, the principal exceptions being here Java, Bali, and Lombok, in other words again the regions where Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic cultures have left their stamp. Against this it could be argued that Hindu-Buddhist influences are strong among the Minangkabau too, and Loeb does, in fact, ascribe their matrilineal structure to contact with the Dravida, i.e. Nayar, of southern India sometime "between the first and second millennium B.C."³ He founded his hypothesis on an investigation of kinship terminology, but at the same time he admitted that the Minangkabau sib system as such might be older than Dravida

¹ Vroklage 1936; 503.

² Cf. e.g. Schmidt & Koppers n.d.; 83 ff.

³ Loeb 1934; 41. Loeb 1935; 103, 120.

influences. It seems difficult to reconcile these views, and besides there are other facts which are contrary to the idea of the Hindu origin of Minangkabau matrilineality. Why, for instance, do we not find matrilineal traces in the high cultures of Cambodia, southern Sumatra, Java and Bali where Hindu influences were at least just as powerful as among the Minangkabau? And on the other hand, how are we, supposing Loeb be right, to explain matrilineal descent among the primitive inhabitants of Engano, which has always been quite outside the sphere of Dravida and Minangkabau actions?

I am led to believe, therefore, that if there is any connection between Dravida and Minangkabau organizations at all, it can at most be a question of strengthening something already existing and consequently that in ancient times there was an unbroken series of unilineal organizations throughout western and southern Indonesia. In this context I may, with every possible reservation, suggest a possibility of its relation to certain archeological facts. It is well known that one of the most widespread Neolithic types in the Archipelago is the quadrangular adze which entered the area from the continent probably in the 2nd millennium B.C. Unfortunately most of our knowledge of the prehistory of Indonesia, and for that matter of Southeast Asia as a whole, derives from stray surface finds, very few systematic excavations having been carried out so far. It seems, however, that the quadrangular adze has followed at least two main routes, one from southern China and/or Indochina to the Philippines and another one from Malaya to Sumatra and thence eastwards to the Small Sunda Islands.¹ The latter route is exactly where most unilineal structures occur. I do not wish to stress the point, however, but only to draw attention to it.

There still remains the problem of the relative age of the two unilineal systems. Unfortunately the question seems to be extremely difficult if not nearly impossible to answer on the present evidence. It is well known, of course, that matrilineal residence and bride service are generally combined with matrilineal descent, and thus it might be tempting to regard their occurrence in patrilineal societies as vestiges of a former matrilineal stage. We have seen,

¹ Beyer 1948; 35. van Heekeren 1957; 118 ff, cf. map fig. 23.

however, that even in the strictly matrilineal tribes in southeastern Asia matrilineal residence is sometimes but temporary. On the other hand matrilineality is by no means always restricted to matrilineal cultures, and in southeastern Asia it is so common as a temporary custom even among patrilineal tribes that it may almost be said to be the rule. Thus it would undoubtedly be rash to interpret it simply as a matrilineal survival, for very often it is only a kind of security for payment of the full bride price or perhaps the bridegroom's guarantee that the marriage will prove to be fertile.

Accordingly it is no wonder that we also find temporary matrilineality in many places where the former existence of matrilineal structure seems out of the question. On the continent it occurs for instance among the Burmese and Karen and in Thailand,¹ in Indonesia it is found among the Dayak of Borneo,² and on Celebes not only among the Toradja but sometimes also among the Buginese and Macassar, where it is optional, and on the neighbouring island of Buton.³ It is likewise common among the Tenggere of eastern Java.⁴ Furthermore we find more or less temporary matrilineality in some places on the Philippines, particularly on Mindanao, but besides among the Tagbanua of Palawan and the Kalinga of northern Luzon.⁵ It may be added that even though matrilineality is rare among the Yami of Botel Tobago it nevertheless occurs if the bride has no brothers.

Bride service is, of course, closely bound up with matrilineal residence, in Thailand for instance up to five or six years, and very often it enters as a substitute for or at least a regular part of the bride price. Avunculate is rather infrequently mentioned in the available literature, but as it appears from the preceding account it occurs at least among a few patrilineal tribes in Assam

¹ Shway Yoe 1916; 59. Heine-Geldern 1921; 129. Scott 1932; 133. Obayashi 1964; 208. Rishøj Pedersen 1968; 135.

² Dusun (Roth 1896; I 125. Cf. Evans 1922; 122. te Wechsel; 1915 116f.) Iban (St. John 1863; I 172). Land Dayak (St. John 1863; I 172. Roth 1896; I 108f, 124). Kayan (Hose & McDougall 1912; 76). Bajau (Evans 1922; 226). Bahau (Nieuwenhuis 1904; I 85). Ma'anjan (Sundermann 1920; 482). General (Vroklage 1936; 162. Mallinckrodt 1924-25; LXXXI 97).

³ General (Vroklage 1936; 303f). Toradja (Kruyt 1920; 388. Kruyt 1924; 88. Kruyt 1930; 562. Kruyt 1933; 62. Kruyt 1938; III 27). Buton (Elbert 1911-12; I 204).

⁴ Loeb & Broek 1947; 420.

⁵ Manabo (Garvan 1931; 110. Information ambiguous, cf. Garvan 1927; 588). Bila-an (Cole 1913; 144). Mandaya (Cole 1933; 192. Tagbanua (Ventrullo 1907; 530). Kalinga (Barter 1949; 46f).

and adjacent regions as well as on some of the Smaller Sunda Islands. It is expressly stated to be absent among the Toradja of Celebes¹ and is reported from neither Borneo nor the Philippines.

While difference of rank between the sibs as such seems to be rather rare, it nevertheless exists among some Assamese tribes. The distinction between Black and White Bones among the Lolo has likewise been referred to, and *isb* rank has also been mentioned from Sumba, Flores, Alor and Adonare. It is quite probable that similar distinctions between aristocratic and common sibs may be found elsewhere, but apparently noble rank is more often attached to certain families, kinship with the chiefs, and/or wealth and the giving of elaborate feasts and headhunting as e.g. among the Naga and Ogorot.² In the Moluccas there is both an aristocracy originating from Java and other western islands in the archipelago and an older nobility descending from the former chiefs' families.³

On one point matrilineal and patrilineal structures widely agree, viz. as regards sib totemism. For several tribes it is definitely denied, while in very few cases it is mentioned without qualifications. Among nearly all others it is either highly questionable or at least so unimportant as to be practically non-existent.⁴ Rather than considering this as evidence of incipient sib totemism it should be interpreted as a token of general decline of totemistic ideas, in other words that albeit they have survived in some places, they have disappeared more or less or even completely in others.

Under the circumstances it stands to reason that neither matrilocality nor bride service, nor for that matter sib rank and totemism can be taken as evidence of a previously general distribution of matrilineal descent throughout southeastern Asia, and consequently does not prove its greater age as compared to patrilineality. Only on a few of the Smaller Sunda Islands do we find some not too significant suggestions of matrilineality preceding the present patrilineal organization. Taken on the whole, the general impression may perhaps be that matrilineal societies in Indochina belong to rather out-of-the-way regions as is to some extent also the case in Indonesia apart from the Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan. On the other hand matrilineal vestiges in otherwise patrilineal

¹ Kruyt 1923; 93.

² Cf. Birket-Smith 1967; 39 ff.

³ Vroklage 1936; 462.

⁴ For South China cf. Laufer 1917; 415 ff.

societies seem to occur not only on several of the Smaller Sunda Islands but also in Assam and South China, while on the South-west and Southeast Islands descent is double, so that kinship relationship is matrilineal and *soa* relations patrilineal; among the Dimasa of Assam kinship is optimal and among the Bugi and Macassar alternating. If this is so, matrilineality might with some probability be considered older and more or less supplanted by later patrilineal structures, but the conclusion is far from certain. We shall return to the age problem in connection with the discussion of the historical problems (p. 105).

A dual or tripartite organization is sometimes combined with the sib systems, whether matri- or patrilineal, in other cases independent of them. Among the matrilineal tribes of Assam the Garo sibs are distributed in exogamous moieties beside a third group that can marry into either of them, and a similar localized organization seems to prevail among the Puyuma of Taiwan. An antagonistic dual structure is obvious among the Minangkabau; however, it may be connected with the sib system, and the same is the case in Negri Sembilan. Vestiges likewise occur in the matrilineal parts of Sumba and possibly of eastern Timor too.

Passing on to the patrilineal societies, we there again find a more or less unquestionable dichotomy in many places. In Assam we have non-exogamous moieties among the Abor in the Himalayan foot hills and the Ahom in the Brahmaputra Valley,¹ while in central Assam exogamous moieties combined with rank difference and sib structure are common among the Old Kuki tribes, be it in some cases as vestiges only.² The same thing is true of the Naga. "All tribes," wrote Hutton in 1965, "seem to show some traces of a dual organization, though in most cases this is more or less confused by a three-phratry system where one phratry is definitely of inferior status to the other two." Thus it is among the Angami, western Rengma, Lhota, and Manipur Naga, probably also among the Ao and Konyak; among the Sema and Chang only this type of organization seems at present to be absent.³ Everywhere the sections are more or less localized.

¹ Hutton 1921 a; 110 footnote 2. Dunbar 1916; 55.

² Bose 1934 a; 8 ff. Needham 1958; 96 f. Needham 1960; 85. Needham 1963; 223 ff.

³ General (Bose 1934 a; 21 f. Hutton 1965; 20 f). Angami (Hutton 1921 a; 110 ff. Fürer-Haimendorf 1932 a; 12 f). Rengma (Hutton 1921 a; 361). Lhota (Hutton 1921;

In southern China antagonistic and exogamous moieties were apparently characteristic features in the ancient Thai and Yao cultures, combined with cross-cousin marriage and buffalo fights, and according to Chinese sources the previously mentioned Black and White Bone classes of the Lolo were originally a geographical distinction between eastern and western groups and may thus have some connection with localized moieties.¹ A dual system, although exogamy is not described, still prevails here among the Lisu and Shui-t'ien, as well as some Thai tribes in Vietnam.² Exogamous moieties occur among the Ki Li on Hainan while on Taiwan some groups of the Bunun are divided into two and others into three sections.³

It has been stated previously that an exogamous and antagonistic moiety system like that of the Minangkabau seems to have characterized the organizations of Atjeh and the Batak and probably that of the Lampong districts too. What may be a survival of a similar structure is perhaps the distinction between a sacred and ruling "inner" and a profane and serving "outer" group among the Badui of western Java, and possibly traces of it may be found in other parts of Java too.⁴

In eastern Indonesia both dual and tripartite organizations have a wide distribution. Not only in the matrilineal but also in the patrilineal regions of Sumba we find traces of moieties and there, despite the ordinary rules, based upon female descent. Tripartite organizations occur in eastern Floras and northern Alor; and elsewhere on Flores; on Solor, Adonare, Lomblem and Rotti there are exogamous and antagonistic moieties. On the whole exogamy and antagonism are characteristic of the dual divisions throughout eastern Indonesia. Among the Belu of Timor there is said to be traces both of an older, matrilineal and exogamous dichotomy and a later one rooted in the existence of two states, Amanuban and Amanabun, which perhaps in their turn were originally moieties within one political body.⁵ Among the Timor

111, 366). Ao (Hutton 1921 a; 372. Smith 1925; 50 f). (Manipur Hodson 1911; 74 f). Konyak (Fürer-Haimendorf 1941; 74). Sema and Chang (Hutton 1921 a; 358, 379).

¹ Eberhard 1942; 167 ff, 173. Cordier 1907; 615, 623.

² Ch'en 1947; 254 ff. Enriques 1923; 140 f. Maspero 1929; 239 f.

³ Wei 1956; 25 f. Stübel 1937; 137.

⁴ Jacobs & Meyer 1891; 44 ff. Geise 1952; 325 ff. Ossenbruggen 1918; 27 ff.

⁵ v. Wouden 1935; 125 ff. Vroklagen 1952; I 257 f.

immigrants in Kisar there is a distinction, possibly originally exogamous, between the eastern and western halves of a village, and exogamous moieties occur on Tenimber too.¹ Altogether political antagonism connected with the clash of interests of the two sultanates of Ternate and Tidore in the Moluccas seems to have mixed with an earlier social system in the eastern islands. On this basis the present, more or less vanishing organization of "Fivers" and "Niners" in Ceram seems to have developed. That the political aspects are secondary is in a way corroborated by the fact that a third group, the "Sevensers" are added to the other two on Amboina, Kei, Aru and probably formerly on the Banda and Uliasser Islands.² The Yami villagers of Botel Tobago are divided into two patrilocalized groups, said to descend from Trees and Stones respectively,³ but their character is not clear.

Thus it is evident that throughout Southeast Asia, on the continent as well as in the archipelago, localized antagonism is the leading feature of the moieties. This may issue not only in actual combats but also, as among the ancient Thai and the Miao, in buffalo fights.⁴ The buffalo fights of the Minangkabau and Atjehnese were probably results of the same duality, and survivals of it may form the original basis of the buffalo fights that used to take place for instance in Burma, Malaya, Java, Madura, Sumbawa and the Sulu Islands.⁵ It is more questionable, perhaps, whether it may have any connection with the sham combats between masked dancers in the cult dramas of the Ngadju Dayak as suggested by Schärer.⁶

At all events it seems more than doubtful that moieties and sibs are of the same origin. Fürer-Haimendorf is probably right in maintaining that among the Naga they belong to two different complexes,⁷ and his view probably holds good all over the area. Indonesian dualism seems everywhere to revolve around a "religiously sanctioned confrontation of opposites."⁸ How the tripartite

¹ Josselin de Jong 1937; 6. Vroklage 1952; I 257f.

² Riedel 1886; 246. v. Hoëvell 1890; 77. v. Hoëvell 1890a; 123. Vroklage 1936; 463ff. Nutz 1959; 96, 106.

³ Kano & Sagawa 1956; 15.

⁴ Eberhard 1942; 169ff. Wu Tzu-lin in Mickey 1947; 78.

⁵ Shway Yoe 1916; 381f. Kreemer 1956; 84f. Veth 1907; IV 382f. Powell 1921; 21ff.

⁶ Schärer 1946; 154.

⁷ Fürer-Haimendorf 1932a; 37.

⁸ v. d. Kroef 1954; 847. Cf. v. Wouden 1935; 165.

structure is to be explained, in particular if the afore-mentioned interpretation of Lévi-Strauss be correct, must be left an open question. In any case it seems to be more closely connected with the moiety than with the sib organization.

3. Oceania

Compared to Southeast Asia the matrilineal complex occupies a far more continuous area in Oceania, being limited to the greater part of Micronesia and if not the greater then at least a very considerable part of Melanesia.

First Melanesia: farthest to the west, on the small island of *Aua* in the *Matty Group*, the "common people" reckon descent in the female line and matrilocality is usual.¹ Matrilineality seems to have prevailed on the *Admiralty Group* too until rather recent times. Says Nevermann: "Die Mutterfolge scheint auf den Admiraltätsinseln das Ursprüngliche gewesen zu sein. Im Laufe der letzten Jahrzehnte wurde sie jedoch von der Vaterfolge verdrängt. Um die Jahrhundertwende scheint sich die Totemzugehörigkeit noch allgemein von der Mutter auf die Kinder vererbt zu haben."² This statement agrees with the fact that Parkinson, evidently writing of conditions in the 19th century, spoke of matrilineal descent without qualifications, whereas Margaret Mead in her more recent description of the island of *Manus* mentions patrilineal sibs only.³ The sibs are exogamous and partly localized, and on *Manus*, according to Mead, non-totemistic, whereas totemism is mentioned by both Meier and Nevermann.⁴ Matrilocality may occur even though patrilocality seems to be more usual, and on *Manus* at least certain duties must be observed not only towards the mother's brother but to other relatives too.⁵

Female descent is common on most islands of the *Bismarck Archipelago*. The sibs in the *St. Matthias group* are thus matrilineal, exogamous and probably totemistic,⁶ and so are they on *New Ireland* and the neighbouring *Tabar*, *Tanga* and *Duke of York*

¹ Pitt-Rivers 1924; 429f.

² Nevermann 1934; 316 ff. Cf. Schlesier 1958; 271.

³ Parkinson 1907; 392. Mead 1934; 196.

⁴ Meier 1919-20; 532. Nevermann 1934; 318.

⁵ Parkinson 1907; 394. Nevermann 1934; 316. Mead 1934; 198, 227.

⁶ Nevermann 1933; 181 f, 185 ff. Meier 1919-20; 532.

Islands.¹ In New Ireland and the Duke of York Islands there are also exogamous and combined with totemistic moieties with mutual obligations. Peekel is certainly of opinion that they are absent in northern New Ireland, but this is denied by Powdermaker. Bell tells us of Tanga that "although it is possible to divide these clans into two intermarrying sections, the natives themselves have no conception of a dual division of their society," and moiety totemism is questionable in so far as no blood ties are recognized between the section members. In the Tabar Islands, however, moiety totemism is obvious, whereas exogamy is disappearing since marriages within the moiety are possible provided the partners do not belong to the same locality. Both matri- and patrilocality occur in New Ireland, and on Tabar residence is matrilocal, whereas on Tanga, although avunculocality may occur, "the invariable rule of residence is that the wife goes to live with her husband's people."² A kind of avunculate is found in central New Ireland in so far as a chief is assisted by his sister's sons.³

Conditions are perhaps a little more complicated in New Britain than in New Ireland. Information is most ample and adequate from the Gazelle Peninsula, i.e. the northern part of the island. Here matrilineality is common among the Melanesian speaking tribes, who at least for the greater part have immigrated from New Ireland.⁴ This holds good in connection with sibs as well as moieties, which are not only exogamous but as a rule also totemistic, although totemism in some cases is problematic or even said to be absent. In spite of descent rules residence is either patrilocal, or it may depend on the free will of a newly married couple whether they wish to join the family of the husband or his wife, but nevertheless avunculate is common.⁵

¹ New Ireland (Danks 1889; 281 ff. Parkinson 1907; 652f. Stephan & Graebner 1907; 106f, 159. Hahl 1907; 311, 313. Peekel 1926-27; XXI 811. Powdermaker 1933; 33 ff. Girard 1954; 258. Neuhaus 1962; 138, 146 ff. Schlaginhausen 1959; 152f. Schlesier 1958; 272). Tabar (Bühler 1935-36; 260 ff. Bell 1935-36; 315. Groves 1934-35 a; 236 ff. Schlesier 1958; 272). Tanga (Bell 1933-34; 294. Bell 1934-35; 254. Bell 1935; 97, 311. Schlesier 1958; 272). Duke of York Islands (Ribbe 1910-12; 312, 364 ff. Rivers 1914; II 600. Schlesier 1958; 272).

² Bell 1933-34; 299 ff. Bell 1935; 311. Bell 1935-36; 163. Groves 1934-35; 328. Neuhaus 1962; 139, 316. Girard 1954; 258.

³ Hahl 1907; 313.

⁴ Pfeil 1899; 27f. Parkinson 1907; 67, 612. Burger 1913; 24 ff. Burger 1923; 106. Kleintitschen n.d.; 190, 197. Trevitt 1939-20; 352. Laufer 1950; 631. Schlesier 1958; 272. Rivers 1914; II 500. Valentine in Lawrence & Meggitt 1965; 176f).

⁵ Danks 1889; 289. Parkinson 1907; 64f. Kleintitschen n.d.; 190 ff, 230.

Save for two sections of the tribe where two, respectively three localized, matrilineal and totemistic sibs are found, this type of organization is unknown among the Papuan Baining in the interior of the Gazelle Peninsula, and there patrilineal descent is said to prevail,¹ while the equally Papuan Sulka south of the peninsula are divided into both matrilineal sibs and moieties, and bride service is usual, even if residence is generally patri- or neolocal.² In southwestern New Britain there are no sibs in the proper sense of the word but both patri- and matrilineal, non-exogamous and "quasi-totemistic" lineages beside a totemistic and perhaps originally exogamous dual system.³ All the same "a sister's son also prestige and rank from his mother's brother," whereas there are no specific residence rules.

In the *Solomon Archipelago* descent reckoning varies. Roughly speaking matrilineal systems predominate in the North and patrilineal systems farther south, while both types occur for instance on islands like Guadalcanal, Malaita, and San Cristobal.⁴ However, here a somewhat more detailed account is deemed advisable.

Social organization on Buka, Bougainville, and the near-by Shortland Islands is based upon matrilineal, totemistic and mostly exogamous sibs.⁵ Still, sib exogamy is hardly obligatory among the non-Melanesian, i.e. Papuan tribe of Buin in southern Bougainville, since Hilde Thurnwald expressly states that "the institution of matrilineal totems does not in any way affect the selection of a consort," which may be connected with the fact that the sibs are not supposed to descend from their totem. Another remarkable thing is that wealth such as pigs is exclusively men's property and is therefore inherited in the male line. The question of tribal dichotomy is more problematic. True, both in Buka and northern Bougainville there are but two great sibs. "They are not, however, to be regarded as moieties indicating a dual organization, at any rate at the present time," Beatrice Blackwood says, "because in some villages there are also other clans, and even where only the

¹ Burger 1913; 57. Laufer 1946-49a; 513. Schlesier 1958; 170, 272.

² Parkinson 1907; 177f. Rascher 1904; 210f. Burger 1913; 4. Schlesier 1958; 272.

³ Frederici 1912; 93. Todd 1934-35; 89 ff, 96.

⁴ Codrington 1891; 22. Parkinson 1899; 6.

⁵ Parkinson 1907; 481, 660f. Ribbe 1903; 142. Frizzi 1914; 17f. Rivers 1914; II 75 ff. Thurnwald 1910; 124. Thurnwald 1912; 48. Thurnwald 1934-35; 127. H. Thurnwald 1934-35; 146. Burger 1923; 192. Blackwood 1935; 41f. Wheeler 1912; 25, 41. Oliver 1949; 4, 12. Oliver 1955; 81, 102 ff. Schlesier 1958; 272.

two above mentioned were represented at the time of my inquiry, it was stated that there had been others which might be introduced at any time by marriage."¹ Parkinson, on the other hand, speaks of matrilineal and possibly totemistic moieties in the northern Solomons as a whole,² but this sweeping statement should, perhaps, be taken with some reserve.

Notwithstanding matrilineal descent residence seems to be parilocal if any fixed rules are observed at all,³ and among the Nasioi of southern Bougainville bride service may occur.⁴ Aviculate is mentioned both from Buka Passage and the Siuai in southern Bougainville.⁵

On Choiseul and the New Georgia Islands including Vella Lavella descent is apparently patrilineal even though according to Rivers sibs are said to be absent on the New Georgias, while on the other hand Williamson mentions matrilineal and exogamous moieties; at all events residence is as a rule, if not invariably patrilocal.⁶

Matrilineality is, however, met with again on Santa Isabel, where there are three or, in one district, only two exogamous and totemistic sibs, as well as on the small islands Florida and Savo.⁷ Of the six Florida sibs, two seem to have immigrated, and two others to have originated in the splitting up of the two original ones. On the other hand, both types of descent occur on Guadalcanal, patrilineality being, however, restricted to the east coast at Marau Sound where according to tradition the inhabitants immigrated long ago from Malaita.⁸ In the rest of the island sibs are matrilineal and exogamous, but totemism seems to be lacking among the hill tribes in the Northeast, where the sib names, although referring to certain birds, appear to "serve merely as "a sort of badge."⁹ As a rule the number of sibs within a tribe varies

¹ Blackwood 1935; 33f.

² Parkinson 1899; 6.

³ Parkinson 1899; 7. Thurnwald 1910; 122. Thurnwald 1912; 13f. Burger 1923; 192. Oliver 1955; 163.

⁴ Frizzi 1914; 19.

⁵ Blackwood 1935; 32. Oliver 1955; 257.

⁶ Thurnwald 1912; 16, 43, 161. Williamson 1914; 60f. Rivers 1914; I 251. Capell 1943-44; 22f.

⁷ Codrington 1891; 30ff. Rivers 1914; I 245f. Bogesi 1947-48; 213ff, 341. Schlesier 1958; 273. Ivens 1927; 463.

⁸ Hogbin 1964; 16.

⁹ Woodford 1890; 40f. Rivers 1914; I 243. Paravicini 1931; 102. Hogbin 1933-34; 237f. Hogbin 1937-38; 67. Hogbin 1937-38b; 399. Hogbin 1964; 4f, 16f.

between three and five. A dual system is found only on the south coast and in the interior of the island, the hill tribes for instance being divided into two exogamous, non-totemistic and non-localized moieties.¹ Here a newly married couple will usually start their matrimonial life with the husband's family, but may later on move to that of the wife, and the mother's brother is considered "most important of the relatives." As a rule patrilocality seems to be usual in spite of the descent rules.²

Patrilineality is predominant on Malaita, matrilineality being at most "an exception" if indeed it exists at all, but rank may be inherited from the mother.³ In the Fataleka tribe there are localized and previously exogamous sibs, while in another Malaita tribe, the To'ambaita, descent is bilateral.⁴ On Ulawa there are probably exogamous sibs with matrilineal descent, excepting the chief's sib, which is patrilineal and in most cases endogamous, and on Sa'a there are both matrilineal aibs and among the common people several, among the chiefs only two non-exogamous groups differing in duties and ceremonies.⁵ On Malaita as well as Ulawa and Sa'a patrilocality is usual, and at least in the two latter places "the mother's brother and sister's son relationship has a very small place in the social organization."⁶

In San Cristobal there are again matrilineal as well as patrilineal, exogamous and totemistic sibs, the former in the eastern part of the island, i.e. the Arosi and the coastal region of the Bauro districts.⁷ In the interior of Bauro, however, there is a non-totemic, matrilineal dual system, originally antagonistic and, like the Arosi sibs, localized within the village, and a similar organization occurs in the Kahua district.⁸ Moieties combined with difference of rank are supposed to be fundamental in Bauro society. The presence of sib organization within the coast group is "likely to be due to the occasional purchase of wives from a distance," and on the whole Fox believes that the dual system is older than sibs all over

¹ Hogbin 1937-38b; 398f. Hogbin 1937-38; 66ff. Hogbin 1964; 16f.

² Codrington 1891; 34. Paravicini 1931; 73. Hogbin 1937-38; 67.

³ Hopkins 1928; 77, cf. 164. Ivens 1930; 80. Hogbin 1933-34; 254. Russell 1950-51; 2ff.

⁴ Hogbin 1963; 33f.

⁵ Fox & Drew 1915; 133. Fox 1924; 344f. Ivens 1927; 60, 68f, 462f, cf. 469.

⁶ Ivens 1927; 62, 72, 74. Ivens 1930; 97, 100.

⁷ Rivers 1914; I 217ff. Fox & Drew 1915; 132. Fox 1924; 66, 274f, 298, 301, 338. Ivens 1927; 463. Schlesier 1958; 273.

⁸ Fox 1919; 146. Fox 1924; 33ff. Schlesier 1958; 273.

the island.¹ Residence is normally patrilocal, but in addition to the bride price a man must as a rule serve her parents for two or three months, and the mother's brother "stands in very close relationship to his sister's children."²

Exogamous and totemistic sibs with matrilineal descent and regular interchange of women, as well as avunculate, occur on Owa Raha, whereas on Santa Ana, another small island near San Cristobal, both moieties and sibs are patrilineal.³

In the *Santa Cruz* group matrilineal sibs are found on one island only, the others being patrilineal although bride price and avunculate seem to be common.⁴ In the *Torres* and *Banks* groups, on the other hand, societies are wholly matrilineal with clear avunculate; on Banks property is, for instance, inherited by the sister's children.⁵ Codrington mentions exogamous moieties from both island groups, but actually they have been established on Banks only, and even there with the exception of one of the islands, whereas on Torres there are three exogamous groups, the smallest of them, Rivers certainly suggests, having originated through separation from one of the bigger ones.⁶

As in the Solomons so likewise in the *New Hebrides* proper we find both matri- and patrilineal societies. In the northern part of the island group matrilineal structure and exogamous moieties are substantiated on Aomba (Lepers' Island), northern Pentecost (Raga), Espiritu Santo, and the neighbouring islands of Aurora (Maewo), Futuna, Malo, and Efate, but on Aomba there is also a tripartite division.⁷ As regards Aurora, Deacon adds, however, that "the dual organization and a three clan organization are the two systems present . . . ; of their distribution I am uncertain. It seems that the moieties have their totemic animals concerning

¹ Fox 1919; 97, 120 ff. Fox 1924; 41, 353.

² Fox 1919; 117, 144. Fox 1924; 29, 63, 204 ff. Cf. Codrington 1891; 50 footnote.

³ Fox 1919; 150 ff, 168. Fox 1924; 350, cf. 71 ff. Bernatzik 1936; 98, 104 ff, 214. Schlesier 1958; 273.

⁴ Graebner 1909b; 139f. Rivers 1909; 164 ff. Rivers 1914; I 217 ff, 225, 230. Schlesier 1958; 273. Davenport 1964; 56, 78f, 74.

⁵ Codrington 1889; 306, 309. Rivers 1914; I 37f, 182. Deacon 1934; 698f. Durrad 1939-41; XI 75. Davenport 1964; 72, 74, 78.

⁶ Codrington 1889; 306f. Codrington 1891; 24f, 63. Rivers 1914; I 20 ff, 176f, 184. Hocart 1929; 235. Deacon 1934; 699. Schlesier 1958; 273. Davenport 1964; 77.

⁷ Somerville 1893; 3. Combe 1911; 12. Rivers 1914; I 189f. Deacon 1927; 327. Deacon 1929; 472 ff, 496. Deacon 1934; 648, 699. Humphreys 1926; 114. Harrison 1937; 382. Corlette 1934-36; V 474. Speiser 1934; 187. Layard 1951; 355. Guiart 1958; 152.

which they observe taboos.”¹ In the Ranau District of Ambrym the matrilineal moiety system is combined with three patrilineal sibs, while in the Balap District the three sibs are divided into halves.²

On Espiritu Santo residence may, according to personal choice, be either matri-, avuncu-, or patrilocal, and mother’s brothers and sister’s sons “ne doivent rien se refuser l’un à l’autre.”³ On Pentecost and Aomba too there is typical avunculate.⁴

Deacon mentions patrilineal descent and local exogamy from southern Pentecost, Malekula, Poama, and Epi.⁵ On the so-called Small Islands northeast of Malekula patrilineal descent is, however, said to be rather recent, and there are here, besides three patrilineal sibs, also a system of matrilineal antagonistic moieties. Regarding Malekula itself Deacon states that it is clear that in spite of patrilineal and exogamous sibs the significance of the mother’s sib is never lost sight of throughout the northern part of the island.⁶ In southern Pentecost, as on the Small Islands, there is even, crossing the patrilineal sibs, a system of matrilineal and exogamous moieties.⁷ In northern Malekula the society is likewise divided into moieties, but in addition there is a third group with only a few rites, without prestige and supposed to have existed “always” before the first people originated.⁸ Traces of a dual organization may occur in the Big Nambas district, where the chiefs are believed to descend supernaturally from two brothers, which necessitates “considérer les chefferies par couples et non individuellement.”⁹

It is worth noticing that notwithstanding patrilineality and patrilocal residence avunculate is characteristic of both the Small Islands and Malekula. On the first mentioned the mother’s brother is regarded as a “male mother”, he provides wives for his sister’s sons, is paid at their birth and their initiation to the secret societies, and he receives offerings as a representative of the ancestors,

¹ Deacon 1929; 296.

² Deacon 1927; 329, 333. Cf. R. & B. Lane 1958; 133f.

³ Guiart 1958; 152, 154.

⁴ Codrington 1891; 67. Combe 1911; 26. Rivers 1914; I 225.

⁵ Deacon 1934; 698f. Cf. Tattevin 1928; 448ff.

⁶ Deacon 1934; 52ff, 110, 132. Layard 1942; 97ff, 164ff, 589ff. Dietschy 1951; 367ff, 391.

⁷ Speiser 1913; 215. Tattevin 1928; 463.

⁸ Harrison 1937; 20.

⁹ Guiart 1952; 186f.

etc.¹ True, Guiart says that in northern Malekula his importance is "beaucoup moins qu'ailleurs en Mélanésie;" nevertheless, however, a man has not only "a certain deference" for his maternal uncle, but a certain mutual helpfulness prevails, and the mother's brother plays a considerable part in the early ritual life of the child, at his initiation, etc.²

Rivers asserts that Ambrym society is patrilineal, not matrilineal as formerly assumed, and besides that moieties are unknown on the island, and according to Guiart totemism is absent in its northern parts.³ Actually, however, conditions seem to be more complicated. Corlette is certainly right in his opinion that the social structure shows a compromise between matrilineal and patrilineal organization.⁴ In the Balap district there are three patrilineal sibs with regular wife exchange, each sib being divided into moieties with patrilineal descent, whereas in the Ranon district there are indeed also three patrilineal sibs, but here they are combined with a matrilineal dual system which is apparently older than the sibs.⁵ Certain mutual obligations exist between a man and his sister's sons, and in northern Ambrym at least, residence is patrilocal.⁶

The southern New Hebrides are patrilineal. Totemism is said to be absent on Erromango and Tanna, although in the latter case with some vestiges of sib symbolism, and on Aniwa the local groups are to-day nothing but patrilineal extended families, whereas formerly antagonistic moieties occurred.⁷

New Caledonia is patrilineal, too. As Speiser states, however: "Die wirkliche Descendenz geht in der agnatischen Linie und doch ist das eigentliche Familiengefühl fest an die kognatische Linie gebunden," as it is reflected for instance in the mock fightings at the mortuary feasts.⁸ Sibs are certainly patrilineal, exogamous, and localized, but the mother's totem is inherited as well as the father's and is of even more importance; moreover great respect

¹ Layard 1942; 100, 116, 178, 295.

² Deacon 1934; 81f, 100f, 104, 107. Guiart 1952; 161.

³ Rivers 1915; 230. Guiart 1951; 31 ff.

⁴ Corlette 1934-36; V 481.

⁵ Deacon 1927; 329, 333f. Cf. R. & B. Lane 1958; 133f.

⁶ Rivers 1915; 231. Guiart 1951; 15, 32.

⁷ Humphreys 1926; 14f, 129. Cf. Speiser 1934; 187. Schlesier 1958; 274. Guiart 1961-62; 35f.

⁸ Speiser 1934; 183.

is shown towards the mother's brother, who may even exert certain rights over his nephew's property.¹ Patrilineal sibs occur likewise on the *Loyalty Islands*.²

On the whole patrilineal descent and exogamous totemic sibs are common throughout the *Fiji Islands* but still with some exceptions.³ Incidentally the sibs have here different functions and can thus almost be considered incipient castes. The totems seem to be to some extent localized and to determine the sib regardless of descent, comprising both primary totems that are absolutely taboo and secondary ones that may be eaten under certain conditions, but unfortunately the totem system is not clear.

Patrilineal descent is not universal in the Fiji Group, however. Matrilineality is said to occur in some places, and Thomson believes there are traces of it in Vanua Levu where for instance the mother's rank is of vital importance.⁴ At all events there are here in the western part of the island as well as in other places of the eastern islands matrilineal moieties which are not in themselves exogamous so that their members may intermarry provided that they have different sib totems. The moieties have now partly disintegrated consequent to influences from Viti Levu, but it seems likely that a dual system, without any demonstrable connection with the sib organization, formerly occurred all over the islands.⁵

Thomson finds vestiges of matrilineal rules also in the so-called *tauvu* institution. According to this a tribe is free to raid another tribe, "eun riot in its village, slaughter its animals, and ravage its plantations, while the inhabitants sit smiling by, for the spoilers are its brothers, and worship their common ancestor, and are therefore entitled in the fullest sense to the 'freedom of the city.'" In several instances Thomson traced back the bond of *tauvu* to its origin, the marriage of the sister of some high chief with the head of a distant clan. Her rank was so transcendent that she brought into her husband's family a measure of the godhead of her ancestors, and her descendants have thenceforth reverenced

¹ Lambert 1900; 115f. Sarasin 1929; 241, 247. Leenhardt 1930; 56 ff, 79 ff, 202. Speiser 1938; 187. Schlesier 1958; 274.

² Nevermann 1936; 220.

³ Fison 1885; 15. de Marzan 1907; 403f. Rivers 1909; 158. Hocart 1914; 737 ff. Hocart 1915; 5 ff. Brewster 1922; 70f, 105 ff. Capell & Lester 1940-42; XI 318.

⁴ Codrington 1891; 22 footnote by L. Fison. Thomson 1908; 192.

⁵ Capell & Lester 1944-46; XV 175f. Cf. Hocart 1915; 5 ff. Hocart 1929; 235.

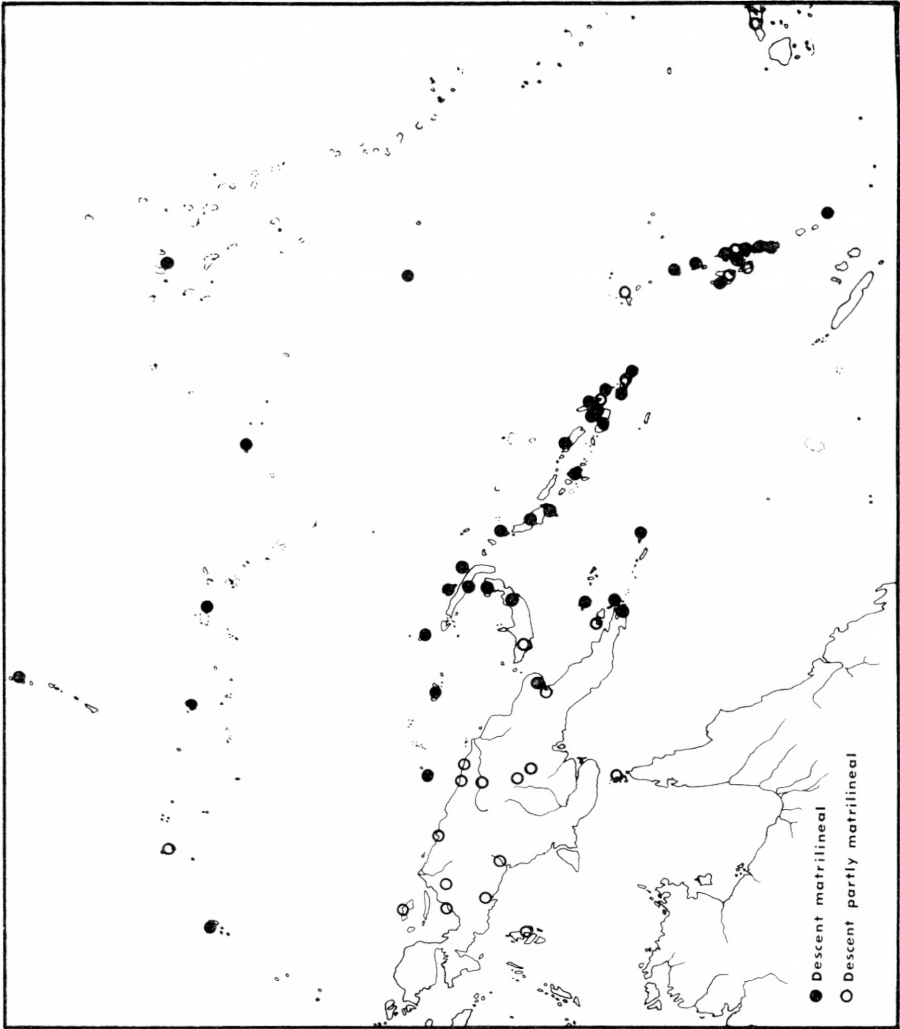


Fig. 3. Matrilineal descent in Oceania,

her forefathers in preference to those of her husband.”¹ Be it noted, however — and this is important — that the right of looting is not one-sided but reciprocal, and the raid may therefore be repaid at any time. Hocart objects to Thomson’s interpretation. “*Tauvu*,” he says, “is based on exogamy; two tribes that use to intermarry are *tauvu* to one another; the same rules govern the behaviour of *tauvu* and cross-cousins because both are cognatic relationships,” and at the same time he suggests a connection with an old dual system.² It is this latter point of view I wish to emphasize. The whole institution is indeed quite in keeping with the idea of matrilineal, antagonistic moieties and in itself independent of sib exogamy.

Besides Hocart calls attention to the agreement of the *tauvu* institution with the *vasu* privileges of Fiji, which are actually avunculate carried to the extreme. With a few exceptions such as wives and land, the sister’s son, or *vasu*, of a chief is entitled to appropriate whatever he takes a fancy to not only of his uncle’s belongings but of his retainers’ property too — unless, which may happen, they prefer to join in plundering the people and dividing the spoils.³ In western Viti Levu only, where divine kingdom is unknown, *vasu* rights are limited to ceremonial food exchange.⁴

In the southern *Lau Island* there are five exogamous phratries divided into a great number of patrilineal and patrilocal sibs of different rank.⁵ This phratry organization is closely connected with that of Fiji, being “to some extent also a racial, a ceremonial, and an occupational classification. It serves as a broad basis for the ranking system.” The original Lau phratry, which at the same time stands lowest in order of precedence, is the “land phratry” while that of the chiefs and probably that of the chiefs’ carpenters too have immigrated from northeastern Viti Levu; common carpenters on the other hand from Samoa, and the “sea phratry” from Mbau. In agreement with these historical facts there are apparently two totemic systems, one non-exogamous and a later exogamous one introduced from without. The Fijian *vasu* institu-

¹ Thomson 1908; 5, 77.

² Hocart 1913; 101 ff.

³ Erskine 1853; 215. Williams 1858; 34 ff. Thomson 1908; 75 ff, 192 ff. Rivers 1914; I 290 ff.

⁴ Capell & Lester 1944–46; XV 182.

⁵ Thompson 1940; 32 ff. Thompson 1946–47; 215 ff.

tion is commonly acknowledged, and on the whole there can be no doubt that its occurrence in western Polynesia, e.g. in Tonga, is due to diffusion from Fiji.¹

One area within Melanesia with matrilineal descent still remains to be taken into consideration, viz. *New Guinea* where, however, patrilineal or bilateral descent rules occur over by far the greater part of the island. Unquestionable matrilineality is, indeed, mostly restricted to the Papuo-Melanesian population of the Massim District, i.e. the tribes of the southeastern tip of New Guinea, and to the adjacent archipelagos: *Trobriand*, *D'Entrecasteaux*, and the *Louisiades*.² In southern *Massim* descent is combined with exogamous sibs and "linked" totems, but a certain respect is shown for the father's totem too, and at Goodenough Bay a man may even, if he so wishes, change to the paternal sib. As far west as the Huon Peninsula, where the population is otherwise patrilineal, matrilineal descent occurs in the *Jabim* tribe.³ Matrilineal and exogamous sibs are common throughout the *Trobriands*,⁴ and so are they likewise on Dobu in the *D'Entrecasteaux* group,⁵ whereas in the northern *D'Entrecasteaux* neither sibs nor exogamy are met with although totems — as a rule patrilineally inherited — occur,⁶ except matrilineal sibs and lineages on Normanby Island.⁷ On Rossel Island in the *Louisiades* there are again exogamous, matrilineal sibs with linked totems.⁸

In southern *Massim* matrilocality is common through certainly not inevitable, but at any rate a man has to make his first garden on his wife's land, and at least temporary matrilocality occurs on both the *Trobriands* and the *Louisiades* as well as on Dobu, while on the other hand it is infrequent in the northern *D'Entrecasteaux*.⁹ Bride service is found at Goodenough Bay in so far as a man must

¹ Hocart 1929; 36, 40f. Capell & Lester 1944-46; XVI 243. Cf. Thompson 1938; 185.

² Seligmann 1910; 9ff, 435ff, 447, 506f, 741. Malinowski 1932; 37. Newton 1914; 164.

³ Schlesier 1958; 75. Cf. Koch 1939.

⁴ Seligmann 1910; 677, 683. Malinowski 1932; 55. Malinowski 1935; 36.

⁵ Fortune 1932; 30, 69ff, 95. Malinowski 1932; 41. Brown 1910; 31.

⁶ Jenness & Ballantyne 1920; 63ff.

⁷ Schlesier 1970; 41ff.

⁸ Armstrong 1928; 38f.

⁹ Seligmann 1910; 508f, 708f, 737. Fortune 1932; 3. Newton 1914; 200. Jenness & Ballantyne 1920; 39, 63. Cf. however Malinowski 1935; 36.

lay out a garden for his future father-in-law,¹ and in southern Massim he is obliged not only to assist his mother's brother but is besides entitled to inherit his land and most of his other belongings.²

Even though the matrilineal complex is now restricted to a small part of New Guinea there are nevertheless indications of a far wider distribution in previous times. Traces of it exist among the patrilineal western Papuo-Melanesians on the coast east of Papua Bay and are most numerous among the *Mekeo*.³ Among the *Kworafi* at Cape Nelson the sibs are not exogamous, and not only the father's but also the mother's totem is taboo,⁴ and in the *Baniara* district "children have the totem of both father and mother, but for war they rank with the father's tribe, if the two should happen to be at war."⁵ A child among the *Orokaiva* will always mention his mother's sib emblem as subsidiary to that of his father. "In short, where the child, who certainly belongs indisputably to its father's clan, is still on such friendly and intimate footing with its mother's, that the system we might say, although patrilineal in theory was almost bilateral in effect," and as to avunculate the maternal uncle has certainly "no real authority over the child, and his ceremonial obligations towards it are somewhat vague. However, there exists a cordial relationship between the two," and although generally patrilocal there are many exceptions to the rule.⁶

If the *Bukawa* at Huon Gulf do not distinguish sharply between maternal and paternal kinship — or, as Lehner writes, "es gibt viele Beispiele, dass sowohl der Verband der Mutter als der des Vaters Ansprüche auf das Kind erhebt" — it may possibly be a suggestion of former matrilineality,⁷ as is perhaps likewise the fact that among the *Komba* in the same area "jede Kernfamilie muss . . . im Laufe ihrer Existenz ein Kind an die Patrifamilie der Mutter zurückgeben . . . In der Regel ist es das vierte Kind, welches zurückgegeben werden muss . . . Ist nur ein Kind vorhanden . . . dann muss die Entschädigung durch Geldgaben oder Arbeitslei-

¹ Newton 1914; 202.

² Seligmann 1910; 483f, 521. Cf. Fortune 1932; 3ff.

³ Seligmann 1910; 16 footnote. Cf. Williams 1913; 271ff. Williams 1914; 114f. Malinowski 1915; 517ff. Saville 1926; 34f.

⁴ Pöch 1907; 389. Pöch 1908; 29f.

⁵ Liston-Blyth 1923; 471.

⁶ Williams 1930; 94, 131.

⁷ Lehner 1935; 243.

stung erfolgen," for it is the general belief that "ein Kind gehört durch die Mutter zur Schöpfungskraft ihrer Patri-Sippe und durch den Geschlechtsakt zur Schöpfungskraft der Patri-Sippe des Vaters."¹ In fact the myths tend to show a former matrilineal system now disorganized by wars and political unrest. Moreover it is the maternal uncle who is in charge of a boy's initiation.² Among the *Selepet* avunculate is clearly underlined,³ and it seems that in the *Ngaing* tribe on the Rai Coast "unter dem System patrilinearer Gruppen auch noch ein matrilineares System von Totemgruppen liegen soll, so dass wir bei den Ngaing wohl mit doppelter Abstammungsrechnung zu tun haben."⁴

At *Astrolabe Bay* descent is said to be matrilineal with patrilineal trends, and among the *Tangu* "generally, kin affiliation . . . receives a matrilineal emphasis", while among the *Wewak-Boikin Papuans*, who have a dual organization, if there is but one daughter of a marriage her youngest son belongs to her moiety because it lost one person when she married, and the maternal uncle must be paid at the death of his nephew, even if he has to arrange a feast for the father's relatives afterwards.⁵

The *Wogeo Islanders* and the *Kire-Puir* on the lower Ramu River have, crossing their patrilineal structures also matrilineal, exogamous and probably totemic dual organizations.⁶ Of the *Mbowamb* in the Hagen Mountains we are told that "das Mutterrecht bildet heute noch die Grundlage der Familie und des Verwandtschaftssystems, während das Vaterrecht die soziale Struktur des Blutverbandes bestimmt," and it is indeed a rule¹ that "jedes Kind muss durch ein Geburtsmahl von der Sippe der Mutter losgekauft werden, dann gehört es erst rechtlich zur Vatersippe," although close relations between a man and his sister's children still remain.⁷ Among the *Enga* in the highlands farther west solidarity with the mother is emphasized by the fact that a man has to pay compensations to her family if his child is taken ill,⁸ while among the Papuans at

¹ Schmitz 1960; 157, 169 ff. Cf. Schmitz 1959; 32.

² Schmitz 1960; 208.

³ McElhanon 1968; 302.

⁴ Schmitz 1959; 33. Lawrence in Lawrence & Meggitt 1965; 200f.

⁵ Hagen 1899; 225 f. Gerstner 1953; 419, 449 f. Burridge 1957-58; 61. Schlesier 1958; 50.

⁶ Höltker 1962; 94 f. Hogbin 1934-35; 315 f, 320.

⁷ Vicedom & Tischner 1943-48; II 73, 79. Strauss & Tischner 1962; 50, 79.

⁸ Bjerre 1963; 71.

Lake Kutubu the exogamic rules comprise not only the father's but also the mother's sib, and a certain respect is shown towards the maternal uncle.¹ The *Mundugumor*, at one of the Sepik tributaries, have no sibs but a kind of alternating descent, a man's daughters, daughters' sons and daughters' sons' daughters belonging to his so-called "rope", and a woman's sons, sons' daughters and daughters' sons to her "rope."²

In western New Guinea too, vestiges of matrilineality may perhaps still be discernible. Thus at *Humboldt Bay* "the appearance of matrilineal influences, which are important not structurally but individually, as in the section of mutual aid, in the right to use the totem insignia of the mother's group, in the food taboos with respect to these totems, etc., is noteworthy. Nevertheless patrilineality and patrilocality are dominant," though in particular the mother's brother occupies an exceptional position.³ There is here indeed as far west as the Mamberamo instead of ordinary sibs a non-exogamous, more or less totemistic grouping, hereditary in the female line but really of no practical importance,⁴ and on the *Schouten Islands* in Geelvink Bay there exists, as Jens puts it "een overgang van het matriarchaat naar het patriarchaat."⁵ But no particulars are given.

The kinship system of the *Mimika* on the southwest coast of New Guinea is bilateral, or rather double-unilateral, and there are here two kinds of matrilineal groups, one of which is mainly, though under certain circumstances not exogamous and at all events non-totemistic. Matrilocality is usual, and both brothers- and sons-in-law "have a very important function, which is bound up with considerations of prestige, in economic, social and religious matters. They are inferior to their wives' relatives, and therefore required, before and after marriage, to perform various services for the latter."⁶

According to Wirz not only the typical avunculate of the *Swart River Papuans* — so that for instance sister's sons or mother's brothers hold inheritance rights before sons — points to former

¹ Williams 1940-42; XI 262, 269, 280f.

² Mead 1935; 176.

³ Galis n.d.; 29, 52, 236f. Cf. Wirz 1931; 88 ff.

⁴ Wirz 1923; 10, 12. Wirz 1928; 272f. Wirz 1931; 92f.

⁵ Jens 1916; 406.

⁶ Pouwer 1955; 273f. v. d. Leeden 1960; 131.

matrilineality, but likewise the fact that marriage prohibitions are not limited to the agnatic line.¹ Kinship among the *Jaqai* on the Mappi River is bilateral or double-unilateral; they are divided into non-exogamous, mainly consanguineous groups, and when grown-up, a man will decide whether he wants to join his father's or his mother's family.² The *Asmat* are certainly patrilineal but with matrilineal exceptions and essentially patrilocal,³ and among the likewise patrilineal *Mawata* near the Fly delta a person pays respect to the totems of both parents.⁴ On *Jarvis Island* in western Torres Strait the women take the initiative for marriage, and although the paternal totems, both principal and additional, are most important those of the mother are inherited too; the sibs are non-exogamous however, and residence is usually matrilocal.⁵

It is true that when it comes to the point not all instances mentioned above can with any degree of certainty be interpreted as vestiges of previous matrilineality. In western New Guinea in particular they may simply be due to more or less pronounced bilateral descent. Van der Leeden, however, maintains that these structures are really double-unilateral, "patrilineality functions within the local groups; matrilineal relations exist between one another by marriages," and consequently "the matrilineal ties do not counteract, but cross the patrilocal organization."⁶ Be this as it may, van der Leeden is here at variance with Pouwer. At least in eastern New Guinea the matrilineal traits are more likely to be explained as true survivals of matrilineal rules, for instance in the Huon Gulf area where patrilineality seems to be rather recently introduced from the west.⁷

In this context, however, there may be reason for a few remarks on two other matters which may have relation to matrilineality, viz. matrilocality and avunculate. As might be expected, patrilocal or neolocal residence are by far the most common types of establishment outside the matrilineal regions, even though theory and practice do not always coincide. Still, matrilocality is not rare at the *Purari* and *Wanigela Rivers* in Papua Gulf, it is said to make

¹ Wirz 1924; 68f.

² Boelars n.d.; 32, 34, 118, 121. Cf. v. d. Leeden 1960; 125, 131.

³ Zegwaard & Boelars n.d.; 68f.

⁴ Beaver 1920; 72f.

⁵ Haddon 1890; 492, 496, 394. Haddon 1901; 132ff.

⁶ v. d. Leeden 1960; 131.

⁷ Schlesier 1958; 75, 78. Schmitz 1960; 169ff.

progress among the *Auju* in the southwest, and both matri- and avunculocality may occur among the *Mejprat* of the Bird's Head Peninsula.¹

Avunculate has a far wider distribution in the patrilineal and bilateral parts of New Guinea than mentioned above. It has actually been observed so frequently that it may almost be said to be general.² Very often the mother's brother plays an important rôle at the boys' initiation, when they are separated from their mothers' care and admitted to the community of the grown-up men and thus to the tribal cult; since the women are, as a rule, excluded from the latter it is only natural that their brothers as their nearest kin take over their parts. It is significant that at the initiation of the Iatmül "the child is apparently ritually born from the belly of his mother's brother," and "in fact, the mother's brother is in a very real sense a male mother." Of the Arapesh, Margaret Mead says that the mother's brother tie is based on their conception of "blood". "All the child's blood comes from the mother; his father contributes semen and sometimes a soul, but not blood . . . When the child is born, the father buys the child from the mother's brother, he pays for the 'blood'". As formerly mentioned, similar beliefs prevail among the Komba. At all events it seems evident that not all cases of avunculate can be taken as certain vestiges of previous matrilineality.

At last we come to the consideration of dual organization in New Guinea, which is often more or less connected with sib structure and exogamy. At Milne Bay and Bartle Bay in southern *Massim* there is a dual and exogamous grouping of the sibs, whereas it is apparently absent in the *Louisiades* and probably in the *Trobriands* and *D'Entrecasteaux* as well.³ Among the patrilineal tribes east of the Papua Gulf, such as the *Motu*, *Koita*, and *Sinanglo*,

¹ Williams 1924; 54. Cf. Guise 1899; 209. Boelars & Vriens n.d.; 29. Elmberg 1959; 74.

² Trans-Fly region (Williams 1936; 114f). Kiwai (Landtman 1927; 176f). Papua Gulf (Wirz 1934; 60). Elema (Williams 1940; 61ff). Torres Strait (Haddon 1890; 413. Haddon, Rivers, etc.; 1904; 146). Purari Delta (Williams 1924; 59f). Watut (Fischer 1963; 85f). Banaro (Thurnwald 1920-21; XXXVIII 386ff, XXXIX 74). Arapesh (Mead 1935; 25. Mead 1948; 195). Mundugumor (Mead 1935; 189). Iatmül (Bateson 1931-32; 269). Kwoma (Whitin & Read 1938-39; 203). Humboldt Bay (Galis n.d.; 29, 52). Tor River (Oosterwal 1961; 176). Samarokena and Mukrara (v. d. Leeden 1956; 75j). Waropen (Held 1947; passim). Mejprat (Elmberg 1955; 27f). Swart River (Wirz 1924; 68). Casuarina Coast (v. Kessel 1961; 286). Marindanim (Wirz 1922; I 35, 46. v. Baal 1934; 45f). Kolepom (Serpenti 1965; 140).

³ Seligmann 1910; 10, 435, 737.

the sibs comprise "right" and "left" halves of a leastways partly ceremonial character,¹ and for similar purposes the men's houses of both the *Roro* and *Elema* as far as the Purari Delta are divided into "right" and "left" ides.² At least among the *Elema* the dual division is independent of sibs, in so far as members of the same "side" are allowed to intermarry whereas the sibs are otherwise exogamous. In the *Mekeo* tribes the exogamous sibs include a "first born" and a "subsequently born" sub-group, each sib, or in some cases each sub-group, standing in ceremonial relationship to certain other sibs or sub-groups; this relationship is described by a word referring to two sides of the village, thus suggesting the distinction between "right" and "left" sides of the men's houses of other tribes.³

The *Banaro* sibs are again divided into "right" and "left" sides, but in contradiction to the sibs the "sides" are here endogamous.⁴ It is quite clear whether a dual organization exists among the *Mbowamp*. It is nevertheless suggested by the fact that the sibs are always enumerated two by two so that "die Zusammenhang zweier Gruppen von Menschen erfolgt auf Grund einer ursprünglichen geheimnisvollen Beziehung, die zwischen ihnen besteht oder jedenfalls einmal bestand,"⁵ just as among the *Gahuku-Gama* the sibs are "mostly grouped in two or multiples of two."⁶ In all probability it may have some connection with the fact that some sibs within the *Kuma* phratries are traditionally hostile and some friendly towards one another.⁷ The sibs of the *Mae* are, on the other hand, actually divided into ceremonial loieties.⁸ Otherwise a dual structure is said to be absent in the eastern highlands,⁹ whereas among the *Karintu* in the western highlands the sibs are grouped in two phratries.¹⁰ Whether they should be understood as tribal moieties may be doubtful, and the organization of the *Mundugumor* is equally obscure. Even though a dual structure as an

¹ Seligmann 1910; 28. Seligmann 1927; 180.

² Seligmann 1910; 28 footnote, 216. Williams 1924; 97 ff. Williams 1940; 25 ff, 34f. Cf. Wirz 1934; 53. Schlesier 1958; 157.

³ Seligmann 1910; 336 ff, 352. Cf. Haddon 1901; 270.

⁴ Thurnwald 1920-21; XXXVIII 377, 380, XXXIX 76 ff. Cf. Schlesier 1958; 54.

⁵ Strauss & Tischner 1962; 15, 17, cf. 41f.

⁶ Read 1952-53; 3f.

⁷ Reay 1959; 26.

⁸ Goodenough 1953; 35.

⁹ Berndt 1954-55; 27.

¹⁰ Meggitt 1956-57; 119 ff.

institution is missing among them. Margaret Mead remarks that "what was virtually a system of unnamed moieties resulted from the operation of the system of ceremonial friendship with extensive exogamy provisions."¹

The moieties of the *Wewak-Boikin*, *Wogeo* and *Kire-Puir Papuans* have been referred to above, and non-exogamous, ceremonial moieties occur, in addition to patrilineal sibs, on the coast of the *Manadated Territory* west of the Sepik estuary.² They are described as "older" and "younger", respectively and occupy different sides of the cult houses, and even though membership as a rule is hereditary in the paternal line a moiety whose members for some reason or other are considered too few may freely adopt new members from the other group. Among the *Arapesh* there are actually two dual systems, which, it is true, show tendencies to mix, one of them hereditary matrilineally and possibly introduced from without, both virtually functionless, although one is vaguely associated with feasting and the other one with initiation.³ In the Sepik area the *Iatmul* have exogamous, patrilineal and ceremonial moieties, localized within the village and divided into totemic sibs,⁴ but at the same time there seems to exist, as among the *Arapesh*, another dual system cross-cutting the former, for initiatory ceremonial purposes, and even though the sibs are exogamous by preference, the two 'logically' incompatible marriage systems result in many irregular marriages. For purposes of initiation and ceremonial exchange of pigs and yams the *Abelam* are divided into non-totemic and non-exogamous, competing moieties, often but not invariably hereditary in the paternal line.⁵ The *Tchambuli* moieties are in theory exogamous, but often the barrier between them cuts through the sibs,⁶ whereas they are divided into exogamous sibs among the *Due*.⁷

It is conceivable but far from certain that vestiges of a dual structure may occur at *Humboldt Bay*. Galis, though admittedly with great reserve, refers to the possibility of dichotomy expressed in a sea or outer-bay and a land of inner-bay group, each of them

¹ Mead 1937; I 168.

² Meyer 1943; 144 ff. Cf. Schlesier 1958; 44 ff.

³ Mead 1937; I 168. Mead 1948; 184.

⁴ Bateson 1931-32; 256f, 279. Bateson 1958; 310. Schlesier 1958; 251.

⁵ Kaberry 1940-41; 239, 256.

⁶ Mead 1935; 247.

⁷ Kirschbaum 1926; 275.

comprising eight or four patrilineal sibs and characterized by traditional rivalry in keeping with the belief in cosmic dualism,¹ and even though rivalry or the like is not mentioned, it may, perhaps, be a question of terminology if Oosterwal speaks of a "two-sib", patrilineal and exogamous but otherwise mainly ceremonial system and not of moieties among the *Naidjebeedj* of the Tor.² Be this as it may, at any rate the Papuans of *Waropen* and the *Schouten Islands* in Geelvink Bay are divided into two or more non-exogamous groups of exogamous lineages, each group like those of Humboldt Bay is connected with sea or land, respectively with male or female, and resulting in both rivalry and co-operation.³ Somewhat similar ideas of cosmic opposites are reflected in *Mejprat* society, on the one side male, death, West, and down, on the other female, birth, East, and up, and although institutionalized moieties do not seem to exist, they are nevertheless apparent for practical purposes on occasions like initiation, feasts of gift exchange, etc.⁴

Among the *Kapauku* Papuans, who are neither strictly matrilineal nor patrilineal, a definite antagonism is prevalent in their dual organization. Nearly half of the sibs "are subdivided into two groups, which are identified by special names, always occupy separate settlements, do not cooperate at all, and are mutually very hostile."⁵ Exogamous and non-localized moieties including partly localized sibs characterize *Dani* society,⁶ but tribal dichotomy seems to be more or less absent in the west-central highlands, nor does it occur on the Digul River.⁷ On the other hand, there may be suggestions of dichotomy among the *Jai*,⁸ and among the *Swart River* Papuans we find patrilineal and patrilocal, totemic and partly antagonistic moieties divided into patrilineal sibs,⁹ while the houses of the unmarried youths among the *Asmat* comprise two non-exogamous groups each with a common ancestor.¹⁰

The organization of the *Marind-anim* presents a so far unsolved

¹ Galis n.d.; 237, cf. 242 ff.

² Oosterwal 1961; 187.

³ Held 1947; 46 ff, 53 ff.

⁴ Elmberg 1965; 132 ff.

⁵ Pospisil 1958; 63 ff, 75.

⁶ Bromley 1960; 241.

⁷ Nevermann 1937; 17. Le Roux 1948-50; II 674 f.

⁸ Cf. Boelars 1953; 58 ff.

⁹ Wirz 1924; 46 ff.

¹⁰ Zegwaard & Boelars n.d.; 18, 72.

problem, or at least the interpretations differ. It was first studied by Wirz, who described exogamous moieties known as Gab-zé and Sami-rek respectively, adding: "Während aber die Gab-zé einen geschlossenen Verband für sich bilden, zerfallen die Sami-rek in mehrere sehr locker exogame Gruppen, welche zweckmäßig Totemgenossenschaften genannt werden sollen . . . Die Totemgenossenschaft zefällt wiederum in engere Verbände, Totemverbände."¹ The latter, occur in the Gab-zé group too, they are likewise exogamous and may often include several sibs with the same main totem. Wirz explains this complicated system as a result of migrations and displacements. Schlesier, however, points out that only the Gab-zé group is exogamous in itself and draws attention to the fact that it has chiefly plant totems, while those of the Sami-rek are mostly animals.² Unlike Wirz, Jab van Baal thinks that we have actually to do with a tripartite organization reflecting cosmic totality (or middle world), upper, and underworld, nevertheless adding that here may be a question of another dual system than that described by Wirz, totality and upper world being merged into one.³ At any rate the result would in that case be the same.

The Papuans in the region of the Fly River delta — *Keraki*, *Gambadi*, *Samaraji*, *Wiram*, and *Masingle* — are divided into sibs and patrilineal, exogamous moieties, one of which, as far as the three first-named tribes are concerned, includes two sections, whereas the five exogamous *Mawata* sibs are grouped into three ceremonial units.⁴ The *Gogodara* organization shows some resemblance to that of the Marind-anim with exogamous moieties including both smaller sections and sibs, and the *Gabgab* on the middle Fly have likewise exogamous moieties with two sibs each.⁵

On *Kolepom* (Frederik Hendrik Island) practically all villages are divided into ceremonial and antagonistic sectors which in two villages are crossed by another dichotomous system, while in one village there is a division into six groups or rather three groups each of them including two sub-groups.⁶ In the western islands of *Torres Strait* the sibs form two groups, each occupying its own side

¹ Wirz 1922-25; I 29f, II 162ff. Cf. van Baal 1940 a; 569 ff.

² Schlesier 1958; 149.

³ van Baal 1934; 32 ff, cf. 64 ff, 117 ff.

⁴ Landtman 1927; 189 ff. Williams 1936; 33 f, 57 ff, 106, 123 f. Wirz 1934; 402. Cf. Schlesier 1958; 219.

⁵ Lyons 1926; 333. Wirz 1934; 376, 399. v. Baal 1940; 4 ff.

⁶ Serpenti 1965; 95 ff.

of the village.¹ Since the relations between dual and tripartite organizations are far from clear it should be added here that a more or less exogamous three-phratry system is found in the highlands where a true moiety organization does not occur.²

In the rest of Oceania social conditions are generally simpler than in Melanesia. In *Polynesia*, including the Polynesian outliers in the Solomons such as Tikopia, Rennell Island and Bellona, Lord Howe and Tasman Islands, etc., descent is everywhere patrilineal or rather bilateral with patrilineal emphasis, while throughout *Micronesia* it is chiefly matrilineal outside the Gilbert Islands.

The matrilineal structure of the society of the *Marianas* was noted as early as the 17th century.³ On *Palau* the sibs, with vestiges of totemism, are likewise matrilineal and furthermore make up two exogamous groups with strictly exogamous sub-sibs, although residence is usually patrilocal.⁴ The organization of *Yap* is certainly patrilineal according to Senfft, but double descent would probably be a more correct term, since in reality there are two inheritance rules, totems being inherited from the mother, whereas other kinds of inheritance are normally taken possession of in the paternal line. Residence is ordinarily patrilocal, and matrilocality is predominant only in case of marriage with a lower-ranked person, which is possible, for although the free-born class is endogamous in relation to the serfs, it includes five different steps.⁵

Matrilineal, more or less totemic sibs characterize the organization of the *Carolines*. This is the case in both the western and central islands,⁶ and so it is in the eastern parts of the archipelago too.⁷ It is a remarkable trait that on Ponapé several sibs have a common totem, and in that case exogamy depends on the sib and

¹ Haddon 1901; 132, 171. Haddon, Rivers, etc.: 1904; 172 ff. Landtman 1927; 190.

² Nondugl (Luzbetak 1954; 60). Waka and Aruni (Meggitt 1956-57; 103, 124 f).

³ Le Gobien 1701; 50. Cf. Thompson 1945; 11. Stillfried 1953; 64.

⁴ Krämer 1926; 280, 287 ff. Stillfried 1953; 21 f, 42.

⁵ Senfft 1907; 141. Müller 1917; 216 ff. Stillfried 1953; 9 ff.

⁶ General (Stillfried 1953; 64). Lamotrek (Krämer 1937; 107). Ku, Lemarafat, Namonuito, Pollap-Tamatam (Krämer 1935; 79 f, 183 f, 229, 268 f). Truk and adjacent islands (Bollig 1927; 79. Krämer 1932; 255 f. Damm 1935; 146, 155. Murdock & Goodenough 1947; 331). Namoluk (Girschner 1912; 160).

⁷ General (Stillfried 1953; 66). Likinor (Kubary 1880; 245). Saipan (Spoehr 1954; 333 f). Ponapé (Christian 1899; 74. Hambruch & Eilers 1936; 25 f, 70 f). Mokil (Eilers 1934; 379). Kusae (Sarfert 1919-20; II 326 ff).

not on the totem. In the central Carolines residence is most often matrilineal, nor is temporary matrilocality rare on Ponapé, but otherwise it is usually neo- or patrilineal on the eastern islands.¹ Bride service occurs here as well as on several of the other Carolines — as, incidentally, it does in many other parts of Micronesia² and avunculate is reported from both Namoluk and Ponapé.³ A dual organization seems to be but slightly developed. However, there are, at any rate on Truk, two competing local groups connected with mythological concepts and sibs.⁴

Matrilineal organization occurs on the *Marshal Islands* too, manifested in the existence of exogamous, perhaps totemic, non-localized sibs.⁵ Housekeeping is said to be non-matrilineal, which seems to indicate that the same thing applies to residence in general.⁶

Whereas the Gilbert Islands are patrilineal, the small island of *Nauru* still belongs to the matrilineal area.⁷ The sibs are exogamous, but traces of totemism are rather slight, and rank is generally inherited in the paternal line. Under certain circumstances exceptions may nevertheless occur. There are four classes of rank besides the serfs, and if a woman of the highest class marries a man of lower rank, her eldest daughter will keep the standing of her mother provided no sons are born beforehand. Avunculate is said not to occur at all.⁸ Although descent is chiefly patrilineal on the Polynesian outliers *Lord Howe* and *Tasman Islands* (Ontong Java and Nukumanu), it is stated that “die Familienverhältnisse erscheinen vielfach stark mütterrechtlich gerichtet”, matrilocality and avunculate for instance being common.⁹ Brown maintained that an exogamous dual system existed on Lord Howe, and Damm was of opinion that Brown might be right, even if Sarfert found no evidence of it; actually, however, it seems

¹ Krämer 1932; 252. Hambruch & Eilers 1936; 74. Murdock & Goodenough 1947; 333. Stillfried 1953; 55, 66. Krämer 1937; 359.

² Christian 1899; 74. Krämer 1932; 251. Stillfried 1953; 88.

³ Girschner 1912; 160. Hambruch & Eilers 1936; 71.

⁴ Bollig 1927; 111.

⁵ Krämer 1906; 431. Erdland 1914; 99. Krämer & Nevermann 1938; 181. Wedgwood 1942–43; 2. Spoehr 1949; 155. Stillfried 1953; 70.

⁶ Spoehr 1949; 155. Stillfried 1953; 70.

⁷ Krämer 1906; 449. Brandeis 1907; 76. Hambruch 1914; 183 ff., 239. Wedgwood 1935–37; VI 372 ff. Kayser 1917–18; 329. Stillfried 1953; 77 f., 84.

⁸ Wedgwood 1935–37; VI 380.

⁹ Sarfert & Damm 1931; 255 ff.

highly questionable, since in a detailed description of the social organization Hogbin does not mention it either.¹

On *Kapiramangi* (Greenwich Island), another Polynesian outlier, descent is likewise patrilineal, but residence is matri- or patri-local according to wish.² The fact that the population is divided into a sacred and a non-sacred class tracing their ancestors back to two brothers has probably no connections with true moieties.³ Real sib totemism does not exist anywhere in Polynesia.⁴

As already emphasized, it plainly appears from this survey, that the Oceanic distribution of the matrilineal complex is practically speaking unbroken. It seems that in former times it has been even more extensive than at present, for instance in the parts of eastern New Guinea and some of the New Hebrides where patrilineal rules are now prevailing. The question therefore naturally arises how a change like that is possible. Reorganizations of social structures must always meet with difficulties, and for many reasons a shift from patrilineality to matrilineality is hardly conceivable,⁵ whereas a change in the opposite direction may certainly take place. In northwestern America there was no question of replacement of unilineal systems: there the matrilineal complex superseded an older bilateral structure, and in Southeast Asia patrilineality in many societies is evidently due to strong direct or indirect Chinese, Hindu or Islamic influences, although in other cases the problem of seniority has to be left open. In Oceania there are no superior civilizations, but generally speaking there are here as in most matrilineal societies certain tendencies towards patrilineality, such as have been shown for instance by Schlesier.² Thus in the case of matrilocality a man will more or less always remain a foreigner in his wife's village, his gardens will be elsewhere, and sometimes he must even leave both the village and his own children at her death.⁶

Now it can scarcely be assumed that all cases of patrilineal descent in Oceania are due to local interval development, since

¹ Brown 1910; 415. Sarfert & Damm 1931; 258. Hogbin 1930-31.

² Eilers 1934; 63.

³ Emory 1965; 92.

⁴ Handy 1968; 55. Cf. Firth 1920-31; 194f.

⁵ Lowie 1934; 324. Murdock 1949; 190. Cf. Rivers 1914; II 101 ff. Olson 1933; 409f.

⁶ Schlesier 1956; 329.

matrilineal and patrilineal types of organization separately occupy rather well defined areas. The people is, however, complicated by the fact that there are both multiple sib and dual (or tripartite) systems which cannot always be clearly separated, i.e. because the latter in some places, e.g. on Bougainville, seem simply to be the result of a reduction of the number of sibs, whereas in other cases they are really independent systems.

Where both sibs and moieties occur within the same society the descent rules are of course usually the same in both, but it is not always so. Notwithstanding the patrilineal sib system, matrilineal moieties are found in some of the New Hebrides (southern Pentecost, the Small Islands off Malekula, part of Ambrym), in western Vanua Levu and certain parts of northern New Guinea (Wogeo, Kire-Puir, the coastal tribes between Humboldt Bay and Mamberamo, possibly also the Arapesh and Iatmül). On the other hand there are both matrilineal moieties without sib structure and matrilineal sibs without dual systems. We seem to find the former type of organization among some Baining on New Britain and probably also in some of the Solomons and New Hebrides, although here it is not always possible to distinguish between two-sib and real dual structures in the proper sense of the word. More widespread are matrilineal sibs without moieties: the Admiralty Islands in former times, St. Matthias and a few other small islands near New Ireland, in all probability also in some of the Solomons, at any rate the islands off the southeast coast of New Guinea (the Trobriands, the D'Entrecasteaux and the Luisiades), and the whole of Micronesia with the exception of one or two of the Carolines where dichotomy may occur.

Thus it cannot be denied that the picture seems rather confusing. One thing should, however, be emphasized: even though patrilineal moieties may occur in combination with patrilineal sibs, there are *no examples of patrilineal moieties combined with matrilineal sibs, nor of patrilineal moieties without a sib organization*. Therefore there may be some reason to believe that at least the dual systems in Oceania were originally in some way connected with matrilineal descent. As early a writer as Rivers arrived at the same conclusion, as did also Deacon in regard to the New Hebrides.¹ It might be objected that the existence of moieties has

¹ Rivers 1914; I 91. Deacon 1934; 704 ff.

been suggested in a few places in Polynesia, where matrilineal descent is of course unknown. Handy mentions the Marquesas Islands, Rarotonga, Niue, Hawaii and Easter Island as possibilities,¹ but in all these cases, perhaps with the sole exception of Easter Island — and even this seems questionable — the alleged dichotomy is rather a result of different immigrations.

This does not solve the matrilineal problem, however. Conditions on the Australian continent seem to corroborate the hypothesis of an original agreement between social dichotomy and female descent.² Throughout Australia the basic type of organization is the local group, which in accordance with the hunting economy pattern is patrilocal as well as patrilineal, though certainly not *per se* but as a consequence of the obligation to marry certain relatives and the belief that the souls of the unborn children existed within the territory of the group before their birth. This simple structure is, however, predominant only in a few remote places in northernmost Arnhem Land and near the south and west coasts of the continent, whereas among most tribes it is more or less hidden by other and apparently later systems. The vast area covering the greater part of southwestern Queensland, western New South Wales, Victoria and from South Australia probably in unbroken continuation as far as southern West Australia is occupied by tribes divided into moieties functioning chiefly at initiation, burials, and certain games, and on such occasions they will often camp separately. The fundamental idea is probably a belief in cosmic dualism, and apart from the patrilineal Kulin in Victoria, the dichotomy is everywhere characterized by female descent, but again owing to the marriage rules only. East and North of this moiety area, dual structure is replaced by an organization into four sections or, in the central parts, into eight sub-sections. Descent is here indirect and should probably be understood as a combination of a matrilineal and a patrilineal system, the latter being, for reasons that do not concern us here, divided into two in the sub-section structure. The main thing is that apart from a few marginal places we find all over the continent, either alone or in combination, matrilineal descent as an integral part

¹ Handy 1923; 25. Cf. Loeb 1926; 23. Métraux 1940; 124f.

² Cf. Davidson 1928; 100 ff. Falkenberg 1948; 104 ff. Petri 1951; 189 ff. Elkin 1954; 80 ff.

of the dual and compound organizations, and moreover that its primary function is ceremonial and *not* to control marriage.

Both Davidson and Petri are of opinion that moieties combined with matrilineality spread to Australia from Melanesia,¹ and in fact here their ceremonial and/or antagonistic character reappears in many places, for instance in New Ireland, some of the Solomons and the New Hebrides in Melanesia, and particularly among many New Guinea tribes, on Kolepom (Frederik Hendrik Island) and the islands in Torres Straits as well as on Truk in the Carolines. It is, indeed, not at all impossible, that a similar attitude may occur even in places where it has not been definitely reported. A more or less consistent localization of the moieties is likewise common, either in the tribal district in the village or in the men's houses, where a distinction is often made between the right and left sides.

It was noted that in Australia exogamy was so to say incidental, not only in the sib-less regions but also where dual or compound organizations prevail. In Melanesia we likewise find suggestions that the moieties were primarily independent of descent. Thus they are non-exogamous both in Fiji and among many Papuans of western New Guinea.

This agrees with the fact that matrilineal, exogamous sibs occur in several places where moieties are unknown. A number of such cases, including the whole of Micronesia except the Palau Island and perhaps one or two of the Carolines, have been referred to previously. On the other hand, the existence of dual structures without exogamous sib organization is more doubtful apart from some of the northern New Hebrides. Until the true character of Oceanic exogamy has been elucidated along lines similar to those of Australia, the question of its relations to the dual organization must be left open. The same thing applies to connections between moieties and totemism, the latter being expressly stated to be absent in the dual systems of some tribes in Guadalcanal and San Cristobal as well as the systems of several Papuans of western New Guinea.

As to other culture elements supposed to belong to the matrilineal complex, information is too scanty to allow conclusions.

¹ Davidson 1928; 117f. Petri 1951; 199. For Melanesian elements in aboriginal Australian culture cf. McCarthy 1953; 253 ff.

Matrimonial residence is, for instance, very often optimal, while avunculate is common both in patrilineal and bilateral societies.

To summarize the evidence from Oceania, so much seems to be fairly certain: (1) That the matrilineal complex here includes both dual and exogamous sib systems. (2) That where both systems may occur within the same society, the sibs are usually considered sections of the moieties, particularly in the patrilineal tribes, whereas a bipartition within the sibs is less frequent. (3) That the dichotomy is primarily ceremonial-antagonistic, while dependence on descent is secondary. That may probably be why it has been able to spread to many non-matrilineal tribes, and why we may find some matrilineal societies without moieties.

We need not discuss the historical position of matrilineality in Oceania. It has been pointed out that most, though certainly not all, Melanesian speaking tribes are matrilineal,¹ and of course this agrees with conditions in Micronesia. On the other hand, Schmidz is of opinion that it is older in New Guinea than the introduction of Austronesian languages.² In this context the existence of matrilineality on the Australian continent must not, of course, be disregarded. It would, however, take us too far away to pursue this question, and instead we shall turn to the problem of possible relations between the matrilineal complexes in the three areas which are the proper subject of our investigation.

Oceanic totemism is apparently complex and still insufficiently investigated. It is probably related to totemism in Australia, where it exists in several different forms, connected with social groups (sibs, moieties, sections and sub-sections) with individuals, and with sex, with cult organizations characterized by increase magic, etc. In several parts of Melanesia sib and moiety totemism seems to be absent, e.g. among the Baining, in some of the Solomons and the southern New Hebrides, as well as among several tribes in New Guinea, and it is doubtful if Koch is right in maintaining that sib totemism here "in einer vaterrechtlichen Kultur wenigstens teilweise wurzelte."³ In Australia, at least, social totemism "is nearly always, perhaps always, connected with matrilineal descent."⁴ Cult totemism, more or less reminiscent of similar Australian in-

¹ Capell & Lester 1944-46; XVI 192.

² Schmitz 1960. Schmitz 1961; 108.

³ Koch 1940; 384.

⁴ Elkin 1954; 141.

stitutions, and connected with mythological ideas and totem centres occurs in several parts of New Guinea, on Tabar, Malekula and southern Pentecost with increase rites but no totem centres, while on New Caledonia both rites and centres are absent.¹ Cult totemism on Malekula has most resemblance to that of Australia and it is possibly that from which the other forms in southeastern Melanesia derives.²

4. Historical Suggestions

The connections between Oceania and Southeast Asia have been demonstrated so often from both linguistic and archaeological quarters that it cannot be surprising if similar relations hold good in the social field, too. We have seen that in Oceania there seems to exist an old connection between matrilineal descent and dual systems. The same thing cannot be shown as far as Southeast Asia is concerned. Here association with descent depends on the prevailing inheritance rules, whether matrilineal or patrilineal, to a still greater extent than in Melanesia. In eastern Sumba only there seem to be indications of matrilineal moieties in spite of otherwise patrilineal rules. A certain agreement in the distribution of unilineal structures and the quadrangular adze in Indonesia was likewise pointed out, but in Oceania there is apparently no such accordance.

On the other hand southeast Asiatic moieties agree with those of Oceania in being as a rule more or less localised and antagonistic. An important point in assuming historical relations to exist between matrilineal descent in the two areas in question is, however, that its principal occurrence is in the eastern parts of Indonesia where there has been contact with Oceania ever since prehistoric times. On the whole the idea of a series of mutually independent developments within a comparatively restricted area seems far more inconceivable than historical facts.

What has been said of Indonesia applies even more to the continent. The cultural dependence of the archipelago on the mainland is obvious, and the gaps in the distribution of matrilineal organization may to a great extent be ascribed to later influence of advanced cultures.

¹ Milke 1939; 223 ff.

² Milke 1939; 225.

In the attempt to solve the problem of historical relations between the matrilineal complexes of Southeast Asia and northwestern North America the real crux of the matter is, of course, how to explain the enormous break in the distribution separating them.

The evidence of matrilineality in ancient China has been the subject of controversial opinions. We have seen that even though patrilineal descent is general among most of the minorities of southern China, there are nevertheless a few instances of matrilineality and numerous indications of its far wider distribution in previous times. In support of his hypothesis of a matrilineal stage of the Chinese proper Erkes refers to popular traditions which are not the result of later, learned Chinese speculations, to certain traces in inheritance rules and cult, as well as to survivals in the script, e.g. the use of the character for "female" in ancient sib names.¹ Traces of matrilineality have also been supposed to exist in Taoism.² Father Koppers refers principally to matrilineality among the marginal tribes of China concluding that "Prä-China offenkundig seitgehend mutterrechtlich orientiert war."³ Both Erkes and Koppers were heavily criticized by Eberhard, who i.e. maintained that the arguments of Erkes were based upon late speculations, while other matrilineal traits were the result of Tibetan and Yao influences in the Shang and Chou periods.⁴ Schmitt likewise asserts that the theory of early Chinese matrilineality is unfounded,⁵ even though a man may be adopted by his father-in-law so that he can perform the proper sacrifices to the ancestors. The noble sibs were certainly patrilineal at least in early Chou times, but Maspero thinks that they may have been matrilineal originally,⁶ and while Shang and Chou kingship was certainly inherited in the male line "le rituel de transmission gardait encore quelques traces de succession d'un ordre de succession plus ancien, où l'héritage se transmittant en ligne féminine, ce n'étant pas le fils qui était normalement l'héritier, mais le frère ou le fils de la sœur, en sorte qu'il fallait, pour passer du père au fils, l'intermédiaire d'un ministre à qui le premier cédait le pouvoir pour qu'il

¹ Erkes 1933; 167 ff.

² Quistorp 1916; 54 ff.

³ Koppers 1930a; 982 ff, 998.

⁴ Eberhard 1942; 97 ff.

⁵ Schmitt 1927; 27 f, 151 ff.

⁶ Maspero 1927; 120. Cf. Chêng 1960; 216.

le remit a au second.”¹ Although his views in general cannot be accepted, Huang may nevertheless be right in ascribing an essential share of the responsibility for the disintegration of the supposed matrilineal complex in early China to the rise of Chou feudalism.² On the other hand, the alleged archeological evidence for matriarchal and totemic sibs in Neolithic China, e.g. features of subsistence, based upon excavation of the Pan P’o site, burial customs, and pottery fish designs,³ is unsatisfactory.

In historical times the Chinese sibs were patrilineal and exogamous with preference for cross-cousin marriage, and “une vieille tradition prétend qu’entre l’habitat et le nom devait exister une espèce de consonance.”⁴ thus suggesting originally localized sibs; but sib totemism is leastways doubtful.⁵ Marriage is, of course, normally patrilocal, although matrilocality occurs in Kuangtung until the birth of the first child and on the whole in the case of bride service instead of bride price.⁶

Everything considered, the existence of previous matrilineality in China remains an unsolved problem in spite of numerous suggestions.⁷ For a non-sinologist it is next to impossible to distinguish between survivals from pre-Chinese cultures, influences from early neighbouring peoples, and late speculations of Chinese scholars.

As previously mentioned, exogamous and antagonistic moieties have been described from ancient Thai and Yao cultures, but Granet finds evidence of an organization like that of the Australian section and sub-section system among the Chinese in the arrangement of the ancestral tablets in two rows, *chao* and *nu*.⁸ The existence of a social system like the very peculiar Australian organization, as suggested by him, seems to be extremely doubtful, however, and perhaps it may be more relevant to refer to the antagonism expressed in the dragon-boat feasts of southern and Central China, corresponding to the bull fights of the southern local cultures, and with survivals in the New Year festivals.⁹

¹ Maspero 1927; 153.

² Huang 1963; 139 ff.

³ A Neolithic Village.

⁴ Granet 1929a; 184 ff.

⁵ Laufer 1917; 42f. Cf. Erkes 1929; 99 ff.

⁶ Koppers 1930a; 989 ff. Eberhard 1942; 91 f.

⁷ Fêng 1967; 34.

⁸ Granet 1939; 1 ff.

⁹ Eberhard 1942b; 421 ff. Eberhard 1958; 76 ff.

It was likewise mentioned previously that matrilineality seems to have prevailed not only among the Tibetan tribes in the South and West, but also in the North of China among the "Tung-hu" and "Hsiung-nu." Whereas descent among both *Tungus* and *Manchu* always has been patrilineal in historical times, their kinship terminology is said to intimate a former matrilineal organization.¹ Matrilocality is reported from the Wu-huan, one of the "Tung-hu" tribes in the Han period,² and among the Manchu the mother's brother has both certain duties and privileges, and bride service may substitute for the ordinary bride price.³

In *Korea* the patrilineal and exogamous sib organization may possibly date from prehistoric times, but it was probably accentuated through Chinese influences in the Silla period in the first half of the first millennium A.D.⁴

On the *Ryûkyû Islands* we find patrilineages and in addition to them a more comprehensive grouping which in many respects resembles a weak, patriclan.⁵ Simon's assertion that kinship was originally based upon group marriage and matrilineal rules rests upon such slight foundation⁶ that further discussion seems unnecessary. The system was, however, originally bilateral but is now rather complex, probably as a result of Chinese influences.⁶ Patrilocality is usual, although the curious custom is reported that a bride will remain in her parents' home the first night, while her husband will spend it in a brothel.⁷

The basic unit of *Japanese* society is the *ie*, corresponding rather closely to a patrilineal family,⁸ but ancient sources do not seem to refer to anything like sib exogamy.⁹ It has been asserted that in the proto-historic Yamato period there were "distinct signs of a matriarchate," but it is doubtful if these "signs" amount to more than the facts that "in rural districts a small piece of land was occasionally set apart for inheritance in the male line," and

¹ Parker 1895; 121. Eberhard 1942; 37, 51. Although the "Tung-hu" cannot simply be identified with the present Tungus, at least one "Tung-hu" tribe, the Hsien-pi, is described as matrilineal. (Schreiber 1941; 150).

² Shirokogoroff 1929; 16, 242 ff.

³ Shirokogoroff 1924; 75, 154.

⁴ Eberhard 1942; 18. Osgood 1951; 242.

⁵ A. H. Smith 1960; 157.

⁶ Simon 1912; 92 ff. Newman & Eng 1948; 393. Ethnol in Japan 1968; 44 f.

⁷ Simon 1912; 97.

⁸ Ethnol. in Japan 1968; 38.

⁹ Kojiki, introduction; xxxviii.

that the wife sometimes remains in her father's house and has an establishment apart from her husband."¹ There is a kind of dual organization "which is not related to marriage regulations and is more a form of regional (local) dualism of the society."²

Among numerous elements of *Ainu* culture showing affinities to Indonesia, Sternberg mentioned matrilineal descent.³ Actually it is more correct to say, as does Montandon: "Il ne faut pas exagérer en prétendant que le matriarcat régne chez les Aïnou, mais on sera dans le vrai en affirmant que les éléments de matriarcat y sont plus manifestes que dans toute autre culture arctique,"⁴ referring to the high standing of the women, their frequent initiative in matrimonial affairs, lack of bride price, matrilocality, avunculate, etc. His views have been rejected by Seligman.⁵ On the other hand it would be equally incorrect to describe the *Ainu* simply as patrilineal. Actually there are both patrilineages, *ekashi ikir*, claiming a common male ancestor, and matrilineages, *huchi ikir*, the latter characterized by a common belt which protects not only the women but also their husbands and children. Women are not allowed to marry men whose mothers have the same belt type as themselves. "Es bedeutet, dass innerhalb des Bereiches des *huchi ikir* Frauen and Männer, die dergleichen Unter gürtel-Linie angehören, unter einander nicht heiraten dürfen."⁶

Information regarding residence is mutually contradictory. Some authors assert that it is usually patrilocal, until a married couple has established a household of its own,⁷ whereas Sternberg says that the husband enters the family of his wife.⁸ Bride service as well as a certain degree of avunculate prevails, the mother's brother having certain rights in selecting his niece's husband, although neither duties nor privileges obtain between him and his nephews, and a woman's children will inherit from her brother.⁹

Totemism can hardly be said to exist among the *Ainu*. True, Batchelor mentions it now and again as an important part of *Ainu*

¹ Munro 1911; 585, 590f, 692.

² Ethnol. in Japan 1968; 33.

³ Sternberg 1939; 789f.

⁴ Montandon 1937; 136. Cf. Czaplicka 1914; 104f.

⁵ Seligmann in Munro 1962; 145 footnote.

⁶ Oka 1955; 208f.

⁷ v. Siebold 1881; 31. Montandon 1937; 136. Oka 1955; 268.

⁸ Sternberg 1929; 789.

⁹ Batchelor 1901; 229f. Czaplicka 1914; 102.

¹⁰ Seligman in Munro 1962; 146. Sternberg 1929; 789.

religion, but his ideas are so vague and at the same time so comprehensive that they include anything ever so slightly connected with plant and animal worship. Montandon is therefore sceptical in regard to the matter,¹ and with good reason.

Gilyak society is divided into three patrilineal and exogamous sibs with circulating connubium, but there is no totemism in the ordinary sense of the word,² Residence is usually patrilocal at least for some time.³ Patrilineal sib organization is likewise characteristic of the widespread *Tungus* tribes,⁴ but bride service may sometimes replace the ordinary bride price at least among the Tungus proper (Evenki), the Orok, and Ulchi,⁵ and avunculate occurs among the Goldi.⁶ There are vestiges of exogamous, antagonistic moieties at the feasts of the Gilyak and Amur Tungus.⁷

As so often it must again be regretted that we have so little information about the *Itelmen* (Kamchadal) who form one of the most important links between Asia and Northwest America. In the 18th century, from which our principal knowledge of Itelmen culture dates, viz. the works of Steller and Krasheninnikov, matrilineal organization was, of course, mainly known to scholars through the description of the ancient Lykians by Herodotus, but it was scarcely likely to be expected from a remote people of more recent date, an still less a kind of double descent such as that of the Ainu. Actually we know little definite of the Itelmen rules of descent. Sib organization was apparently absent, but there are some suggestions of matrilineality. Thus, not only did the women exert a considerable influence in the choice of husbands, but matrilocality was general at least temporarily.⁸ Bride service likewise occurred, and it seems doubtful whether bride service was really, as asserted by Dobell, a custom borrowed from the Koryak.⁹ Krasheninnikov states, it is true, that children inherited in the male

¹ Montandon 1937; 139, 244. Cf. Oka 1955; 209.

² Sternberg 1955; 257f. Czaplicka 1914; 99. Levin & Potapov (eds.) 1964; 775.

³ v. Schrenk 1881-95; 637.

⁴ General (Czaplicka 1914; 51f. Orochi (Albert 1956; 157, cf. 148, Levin & Potapov (eds.) 756). Orok, Goldi, Negidal, Ulchi, Udehe (Levin & Potapov eds.); 694, 708, 727, 742, 764).

⁵ Levin & Potapov (eds.) 1964; 730, 647, 764.

⁶ Levin & Potapov (eds.) 1964; 768.

⁷ Zolotarev 1937; 128 ff.

⁸ Steller 1774; 346. Kacheninnikov 1770; 170.

⁹ Steller 1774; 343. Dobell 1830; I 82. Kotzebue 1830; II 9. Czaplicka 1914; 60, 89. Levin & Potapov 1964; 879.

line, but at the same time he says that a dead person's belongings were destroyed.¹

What in modern times has been called "clans" of the northern Palæo-siberians are purely arbitrary groups introduced by Russian administration with a view to the payment of tributes. If a sib organization ever existed among the *Koryak* it has, in any case, left only few and dubious traces.² So also among the *Chukchi*. Besides the ordinary families, there are here, however, groups of kindred families which "may, perhaps, be called an embryo of a clan" but are possibly rather a decadent relic of a former more regular sib organization.³ Anyhow, descent is patrilineal, and bride service is usual in both tribes.⁴

Information about the *Yukagir* is a little more precise. Not only do we find bride service as among the two just-mentioned tribes,⁵ but formerly there seems to have existed a real patrilineal, non-totemic and non-exogamous sib organization; we are furthermore told that "according to archive data, Yukagir marriages in the 18th century were as a rule between representatives of different clans, "so at that time a certain exogamy may have prevailed, and according to legends a special order existed in the past . . . under this order the older son and daughter belonged to the mother's clan, while the subsequent children belonged to the father's clan."⁶

After having thus examined the matrilineal complex west of the Pacific we are at last prepared to approach the problem of its possible relation to that of the North American Northwest. In this context we may leave out such elements as matrilocality and avunculate which are so widespread that they cannot be taken as survivals of true matrilineality. The same applies to sib totemism. In Northwest America it seems to have developed independently on the basis of the belief in personal guardian spirits, whereas in Oceania its nature is often quite different, while in East Asia it is either on the way out or said to be completely absent or, as among the Samrê in Cambodia, dependant on the place of birth. The question thus boils down to that of matrilineal descent.

¹ Kracheninnikow 1770; 190, 179.

² Levin & Potapov (eds.) 1964; 866.

³ Bogoras 1904-09; 541 ff. Czaplicka 1914; 28.

⁴ Jochelson 1908; 73 ff. Bush 1891; 387. Bogoras 1904-09; 599f, 609.

⁵ Jochelson 1926; 87, 93.

⁶ Jochelson 1926; 115 ff. Levin & Potapov (eds.) 1964; 866.

It can scarcely be denied that there are rather numerous indications of its existence in China in pre-Chou times, while it certainly enters, together with patrilineality, in the double structure of Ainu society. There are possibly vestiges of it among the Itelmen. Whether this is the case among the Ykagir, too, is perhaps more questionable. At any rate it does not seem unlikely that once there has been an unbroken line of matrilineality from the Old World to northwestern America, later interrupted in Asia by the advance of patrilineal tribes from the West. The most probable route to Northwest America seems to be from Kamchatka via the Aleutians.

It still remains to consider the question whether matrilineal descent originally belonged to sibs or moieties. It has previously been emphasized that in the American Northwest sib organization is more fundamental, widespread and probably older than moieties. In Oceania we find the same thing. Sibs are based upon ideas of (fictitious) kinship, and descent is therefore fundamental. In the dual organization, on the other hand, the decisive factor is primarily an idea of opposites, reflected in antagonism (games, rivalry or ceremonial) and sometimes even in actual hostility, and is often connected with different localities, whereas kinship is here primarily of secondary importance. Both the distribution and the basic ideas therefore go to show that the matrilineal idea from the outset belonged to the sib organization. On the other hand it is obvious that in spreading the moieties have shown a strong tendency to incorporation into the existing sib systems, either as phratries or, more rarely, as sub-groups within the sibs. A very different matter, of course, are the so-to-say "false" moieties, resulting from a reduction of the original number of sibs, as in the Buka district in the northern Solomons. If dual organization throughout the circumpacific area seems to be primarily connected with matrilineality the reason may, perhaps, be that matrilineal descent here is the first form of unilineal organization.

The combination of two different social structures may possibly provide one explanation of tripartite organizations. The conjecture of Lévi-Strauss, viz. that dual structure is actually tripartite, has previously been referred to. As pointed out by Maybury-Lewis it seems far more natural, however, to "think in opposites."¹ This applies to games, ceremonial and the like. A tripartite division

¹ Maybury-Lewis 1960.

of society may be original in the case of the true sibs, or, if true moieties are concerned, it may possibly be the result of a still incomplete adoption of the dual system as among the Tlingit on the Northwest Coast, the Garo in Assam, the Bunum on Taiwan, and the Melanesians of North Malekula, where besides the two main groups there is a smaller and rather insignificant one. The introduction of foreign tribal elements or political considerations may also interfere with the original social pattern (Northwest Coast, eastern Indonesia).

In any case there seem to be reasons for believing, though no absolute proof:

(1) That matrilineal descent was introduced to northwestern America from East Asia and thus indirectly related to corresponding systems in Oceania, too.

(2) That from the beginning matrilineal descent was connected with sibs but later more or less overlaid by and mixed with an antagonistic moiety system, which however, just because it was fundamentally independent of descent, was able to spread also to tribes with patrilineal organization.

III SLAVERY

I. Northwestern North America

Slavery had a rather limited distribution in aboriginal America. In the Amazon area young women and children might certainly be kidnapped, while male prisoners of war were usually killed or adopted into the tribe.¹ Among the Chibcha of Colombia and Aymar  in the Central Andes prisoners of war might on the other hand be taken as slaves,² but on the whole actual slave-raiding was a post-Columbian phenomenon for the purpose of selling the victims to the Whites, e.g. the notorious raids of the mixed population of S o Paulo, the dreaded *mamelucos*, who did not even shrink from attacking and looting the Jesuit missions in Paraguay.³ Real slavery was unknown among the Taino of the West Indies.⁴ In Mexico and Central America slaves were likewise prisoners of war – that is, provided they were not, as generally among the Aztec, sacrificed to the gods – or they might be criminals or poor people who had pawned themselves or their children.⁵

In eastern North America matters were very much like those in South America. Prisoners of war were either killed or adopted into the tribe, and even runaway Negro slaves were treated as tribal members, whereas there is no certain evidence of pre-Columbian slavery.⁶ Actual slave raiding and traffic in both Indian and Negro slaves was carried on by French, Dutch, and British.⁷ In western North America only slavery was a permanent institu-

¹ Steward (ed.) 1946–50; II 113, 526, V 386, 399.

² Steward (ed.) 1946–50; II 56, 541.

³ Friederici 1925–36; II 150f. Steward (ed.) 1946–50; III 78.

⁴ Lov n 1935; 499.

⁵ Joyce 1916; 13. Joyce 1920; 132f, 383. Vaillant 1948; 118f.

⁶ Hodge (ed.) 1912; II 599f.

⁷ Friederici 1925–36; II 490ff, III 19f, 490ff.

tion from northwestern California and on farther north to the Bering Straits.

A list of tribes and localities where slavery occurred has previously been given,¹ viz. *Eyak, Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Kwakiutl, Nootka, Makah, Squamish, Puget Sound, Klallam, Songish, Washington* and *Oregon, Chinook, Tillamook, Alsea, Yurok, and Hupa*; among the Eskimo and nearby Athapaskans, i.e.: *Aleut, Kodiak, Chugach, Bering Strait Eskimo, Tnaina, Peel River, Kutchin*, and among the plateau tribes: *Tahltan, Carrier, Chilcotin, Shuswap, Lilloet, Thompson, Okanagan, Flathead, Nez Percé, Kutenai, Wishram, Takelma, Klamath, and Shasta*. This general picture has not been materially changed by later additions.² It has been expressly stated that slavery did not occur among the Ingalik, Crow River Kutchin, Sanpoil, and Kalispel.³ Of the Nunivak Eskimo, Lantis says: "Certainly they did not keep slaves, but they did occasionally bring home young girls."⁴ Among the Bering Strait Eskimo, too, it was usually women who were abducted.⁴

Slaves were often prisoners of war, but sometimes regular slave hunting took place, and there was a trade in slaves from the southern northwest coast tribes to those farther north. Apart from the inland tribes, children of slaves remained on the same standing as their parents; it was exceptional that they were considered free as we are told of the Puyallup-Nisually. Heavy debts might also result in slavery.

Among the Tsimshian and probably other northern coast tribes

¹ Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 451 with references.

² Xaisla and Owikeno Kwakiutl (Lison 1940; 183. Olson 1954; 222). Bellacoola (Mc Ilwraith 1948; I 158 ff. Drucker 1950; 221). Northern Coast Salish (Barnett 1938a; 132. Barnett 1955: 249). Puyallup-Nisqually (M. W. Smith 1940; 47, 52). Quinault (Olson 1936; 9)7. Quileute (Pettitt 1950; 13). Tolowa and Chilula (Drucker 1937; 250. Driver 1939; 357). Tsetaut (cf. Boas 1893; 558f). Cœur d'Alène, Pend d'Oreille and Upper Liard River Kaska (Teit 1930; 158, 380. Honigmann 1954; 86).

³ Mc Kennan 1959; 138. Ray 1943; 228. Osgood 1946; 109, 124. Osgood 1937; 131. Klikitat, Umatilla, Kittikas, Sanpoil, Chinook, Cœur d'Alène (Ray 1942; 228).

⁴ Lantis 1946; 169, cf. 256. Oregon coast (Barnett 1937; 155).

⁵ Nelson 1899; 328.

⁶ Lower Chinook (Ray 1938; 267). Quileute (Pettitt 1950; 13). Cowichan, Pentlatch, Squamish, and Comox (Barnett 1932; 267).

⁷ General (Drucker 1950; 221). Haida (Harrison 1925; 69f. Murdock 1937; 17). Tsimshian (Garfield, Wingert & Barbeau n.d.; 29). Kwakiutl (Boas 1897; 338. Adam 1918; 253). Canadian Coast Salish (Barnett 1953; 249). Nootka (Sproat 1868; 91f. Drucker 1951; 242). Clallam (Gunther 1927; 263). Quinault (Olson 1936; 97). Lower Chinook (Ray 1938; 51). Chugach (Birket-Smith 1953; 93). Kutchin (Jenness 1932; 403). Cœur d'Alène (Teit 1920; 158).

as well; high-ranking prisoners of war were made slaves in order to humiliate them. Only if they were ransomed by their kin, could they wipe out the disgrace and regain their former rank by giving a potlatch; female slaves and slave children might, on the other hand, be adopted by the tribe.¹ Slaves had of course to work for their owners, but since everybody worked, they were "wealth" only like any other kind of property, and even though they might be set free at potlatches, they also ran the risk of being killed – both proceedings evidently expressions of the same idea, viz. ostensible contempt of wealth just as setting one's house on fire or breaking one's canoe or "coppers". In some cases, however, slave killing was a sacrifice, for instance at the burial of prominent people, apparently so that they might serve their owners after death. Among the Tlingit, at least, slaves were killed and buried under the house posts, and the Kwakiutl killed slaves to be eaten by the members of the Cannibal Society.²

As just mentioned the economic importance of northwestern slavery was really nil. Nieboer sees the explanation of its origin here in the abundant food supply, fixed settlement, trade, and the general respect for wealth.³ This, of course, only applies to the coastal tribes and may certainly have prepared the way for its *introduction*, but it does not account for its *origin*. There is, indeed, more reason to believe that it derives from societies where the economic aspect is virtually basic, i.e. from Asia.⁴ Besides MacLeod has drawn attention to the fact that the Tlingit killed their slaves by pressing their throats between two horizontal logs as did the Ainu, and we may add the Olcha too, when killing a bear at their bear festivals.⁵ Here we may therefore investigate the question a little closer.

2. Eastern Asia

We need only cross the Bering Strait to the Asiatic side in order to find tribes where slavery was practised. To some degree it occurred there among all the Paleo-Asiatic peoples: *Chukchi*,

¹ Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 129, 166, 452 with references. MacLeod 1929; 126.

² Goddard 1924; 86.

³ Nieboer 1910; 203 ff.

⁴ Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 519. Birket-Smith 1953; 214. MacLeod 1929; 106 f.

⁵ MacLeod 1929; 109 ff. Zolotarev 1937; 125.

Yukagir, *Koryak*, *Kamchadal*, *Itelmen*, *Gilyak*, and *Ainu*.¹ The *Tungus Goldi* (Nanai) likewise had slaves,² which also agrees with the fact that Gilyak slaves were always foreigners, i.e. most often Ainu or Goldi. Those of the Yukagir and Koryak were employed in house-work, and hardly anywhere among these tribes did slavery mean an economic asset of importance to the owner. That was the case first when we arrive at the more advanced civilizations of East Asia.

In *Japan* slavery is mentioned from the proto-historic period in the ancient chronicles, *Kojiki* (compiled A.D. 712) and *Nihongi* (compiled A.D. 720)³ In the early Middle Ages of Japan there were both private and public slaves, many of them war captives or their descendants, while others were criminals or children sold by poor or insolvent parents. However, as a result of the heavy taxation it was as early as the 10th century scarcely possible to distinguish between slaves and free people of the lowest class.⁴

In *Korea* both rice cultivation and slavery flourished in the tribal federations of Mahan and Chinhan in the early part of the first millenium A.D., following influences from the North, originating from China, and slavery remained till after several futile attempts it was finally abolished as late as in 1886.⁵

In *China* prisoners of war were kept as slaves ever since the Shang period and probably earlier.⁶ At least in later times debt slavery, slave traffic and even slave raids took place, and while serious criminals were executed, their families were degraded to slavery. It seems to have culminated in the early Han period, and as late as during the T'ang dynasty Arab traders imported Negro slaves. Most slaves were probably buffoons and jugglers, house servants or concubines. Slavery was also known among the *Lolo* in Ssü-chuan⁷ and is likewise mentioned in Han sources from the *Liao*, another southern marginal tribe.⁸

¹ Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 451 (with references). Deniker (1883) does not refer to Gilyak slaves, but they are mentioned by both v. Schrenck (1881-95; 646) and Levin & Potapov (1964; 778).

² Levin & Potapov 1964; 710. Kamchadal (Kracheninnikow 1770; 81).

³ *Kojiki*; 133. *Nihongi*; passim.

⁴ Sansom 1946; 220f.

⁵ Osgood 1951; 228, 241. Cf. Eberhard 1942; 18.

⁶ Creel 1936; 76, 129. Wilbur 1943; 687. Latourette 1943; 240f.

⁷ Baber 1882; 67. Legendre 1909; 434f. Liétard 1913; 19. Legendre; 1912 754. Liu 1945-47; 89f. Rock 1947; II 421, 432.

⁸ Eberhard 1942; 240. (Lu-tzū, Lolo) Lebar, Hickey, Musgrave, etc. 1964; 5, 23.

It is generally found among the tribes of the *Himalayan foothills* as well as among many tribes of *Assam* and *Upper Burma*¹ and among the hill tribes of *Arakan*.² As usual slaves were mostly prisoners of war and their descendants or people in heavy debt, actual slave raids are also mentioned, for instance from the *Lushai*. Slaves were said to be few among the western *Rengma Naga* and did not occur among the eastern Rengma at all, nor were they found among the *Sema Naga* and *Purum*, while among the Rengma there is a class of serfs, as according to Shakespear is the case among the *Lushai* too, although Lewin mentions not only slaves but even slave raids.³ Besides there were among them people who gave themselves into voluntary bondage.⁴

Prisoners of war were likewise kept as slaves by several mountain tribes in what was formerly *French Indochina*, there were likewise debtor slaves.⁴ Actual slave raids might also take place, e.g. among the *Moi* and *Pnong*.⁵

That slavery, not only of prisoners of war, but likewise of debtors, criminals, etc., occurred among the more advanced nations of the Indochinese Peninsula, too, is scarcely surprising.⁶

Apart from the most primitive tribes, the greater part of the peoples of the Southeast Asiatic Archipelago owned slaves. They

¹ Mishmi (Cooper 1873; 207). Khamti (Cooper 1873; 150). Apatani (Führer-Haimendorf 1962; 75, 81). Abor and Galong (Dunbar 1916; 39, 60. Dunbar 1938; 277 ff. Cf. Dalton 1872; 24). Jyntia and Kasia (Dalton 1872; 57). Dafla (Dalton 1872; 36. Shukla 1959; 86 f). Garo (Dalton 1872; 58). Ahom (Wadell 1901; 19). Dalton 1872; 36. Chingpaw (Wadell 1901; 41). Lhota Naga (Mills 1922; 111). Ao Naga (Godden 1897-98; XXVI 184. Wadell 1901; 28. Risley 1903; 213. Smith 1925; 54. Hamilton 1912; 143. Mills 1926; 210 f). Rengma Naga (Mills 1937; 162). Manipur Naga (Hodson 1911; 92). Kachin (Colquhoun 1885; 65, 69. Hansen 1913; 71 f. Enriquez 1923; 241. Leach 1954; 160). Meithei (Dalton 1872; 51). Kumi, Meru, Shendoo (Lewin 1870; 230, 235, 284). Chin (Lehman 1963; 111. Carey & Tuck 1896; 203). Lakher (Parry 1932; 223 ff. Shakespear 1912; 216).

² Lewin 1870; 85. Colquhoun 1885; 40, 65, 69.

³ Sema Naga (Hutton 1921; 134). Lushai (Shakespear 1912; 46 ff). Purum (Das 1945; 113).

⁴ Wehrli 1904; 36 f.

⁵ Meau (Bernatzik 1947; I 36 f). Moi (Besnard 1907; 70 f. Cnivey 1913; 18. Vassal 1910; 236. Rosset 1907; 70 f. Baudisson n.d.; 77 ff). Mnong Gar (Condominas 1957; passim). Pnong (Leclerc 1898; 161, 194). Sedang (Lavallée 1901; 308). Benong (Rosset 1896; 133, 136. Ba-knar (Dourisboure 1873; 200).

⁶ Thailand, Laos, Cambodia (Cupet 1900; 336, 353). Burma (Shway Yoi 1910; 427 ff). Thailand (Graham 1914; I 237 ff). Laos (Bock 1884; 137 f. Le Bar & Suddard (ed.) 1967; I 170). Shan (Colquhoun 1885; 54). Karen (MacMahon 1876; 421 & passim. Marshall 1922; 141). Malay (Winstedt 1947; 43 f).

were common on *Sumatra*¹ and *Nias*.² As to Batak debtor slavery Loeb tells us that "the custom of pawnship was borrowed from the Malays," and besides he believes that slavery was originally unknown among the Minangkabau and introduced among them through Hindu influence. It seems doubtful if Veth is right in stating that on *Java* slavery did not occur in pre-Islamic times.³ Many Dayak of *Borneo* had slaves.⁴ The Iban distinguished between "outdoor" and "indoor" slaves with different rights and duties.

From *Celebes* there are records of slavery from the Minahasa and Bugi as well as from the more backward Toradja and other tribes, and from the small neighbouring *Buton* and *Muna* islands, too.⁵ Originally the To Seko of Central Celebes seem to have had no slaves, and even in later times slaves were but few and usually acquired by purchase. Regular slave raids nevertheless occurred in the Poso region.

On the *Small Sunda Islands* slavery was widespread.⁶ The same applies to the *Southwest* and *Southeast Islands*⁷ as well as the *Kei*

¹ General (Encyclopædie; III 801). Atjeh (Jacobs 1894; I 24. Loeb 1935; 230). Batak (Bastian 1884-89; III 21. Joustra 1912; 53f. Volz 1909-12; I 34. Loeb 1933; 20. Loeb 1933a; 651. Loeb 1935; 40ff). Menangkabau (Loeb 1933a; 654. Loeb 1935; 108). C. Sumatra (v. Hasselt 1882; 190f). Abung (Funke 1958; 221, 277).

² Rosenberg 1878; 160. Modigliani 1890; 507. Raap 1903; 174. Sundermann 1905; 30. Schröder 1917; I 347ff. Rappard 1909; 598ff. Loeb 1935; 142f).

³ Veth 1907; IV 410.

⁴ General (Encyclopædie; III 801. Bock 1883; 177f. Vroklage 1936; 182). Iban, Land Dayak, Kayan, Murut (Ling Roth 1896; II 209f). Murut, Dusun (Rutter 1929; 74). Iban (Low 1892-93; XXII 32ff). Kayan, Kenyah (Kükenthal 1896; 276. Nieuwenhuis 1904; I 58, 65. Hose 1926; 50). South Borneo (Mallinckrodt 1924-25; LXXX 411). Pasir (Nusselein 1905; 541f).

⁵ General (Vroklage 1936; 316). Bugi (P. & Fr. Sarasin 1905; II 62. Elbert 1911-12; I 163). Northern Celebes (P. & Fr. Sarasin 1905; I 172f). Central Celebes (P. & Fr. Sarasin 1905; II 110f. Grubauer 1913; 426). Western Toradja (Kruyt 1938; I 512). To Seko (Kruyt 1920a; 405). Bare'e Toradja (Adriani & Kruyt 1950-51; I 137). To Wana (Kruyt 1930; 561). Mori (Kruyt 1924; 70). Buton, Mori (Elbert 1911-12; 174).

⁶ General (Jacobsen 1896; 112. Encyclopædie; III 801). Lombok (v. Eck 1875; 356). Flores (Roos 1877; 489, 494ff. v. Wouden 1935; 541f. Vatter 1932; 76. Arndt 1940; 99ff). v. Suchtelen 1921; 103. Arndt 1929-31; 853. Arndt 1954; 466f. v. Staveren 1915; 122). Solor (cf. Arndt 1940; 281). Alor (Vatter 1940; 246). Wetar (Riedel 1886; 434). Sumba (Roos 1872; 5ff. Nootboom 1940; 31). Sumbawa (Elbert 1911-12; I 170). Savu (Cook 1773; III 694. v. d. Wetering 1926; 401f). Rotti (Kruyt 1921; 374). Timor (Fiedler 1929; 37. Capell 1943-44a; 196. Vroklage 1952; I 548ff). Timor immigrants to Kisar (Cf. de Josselin de Jong 1937; 11). Kisar (Riedel 1886; 406).

⁷ Letti, Moa, Lakor, Damma, and Luang-Sermate (Riedel 1886; 320, 346, 463). Tenimber and Timorlaut (v. Hoëvell 1890b; 174. Nutz 1959; 97. Drabbe 1940; 179f). Babbar (Riedel 1886; 346. Nutz 1959; 97).

Islands.¹ In the latter place slaves were often Papuans imported from New Guinea. In addition slavery is reported from the *Aru Islands*,² from the *Buru Islands*,³ the *Moluccas*,⁴ and *Sangi Islands*.⁵

Since the earliest times of the Spanish occupation there are numerous references to slaves on the *Philippines*,⁶ e.g. from the "Moros" in the region of Manila, by which is obviously meant the Tagalog; children of free-born people and slaves were considered "half" or "quarter" slaves. Slavery is likewise mentioned from the Visaya and the Sulu Islands. We have also records from the Tagbanua of Palawan as well as from several of the backward tribes of Mindanao,⁷ although among the Bagobo the slaves "so quickly merged into the tribe that the lines between them and free-born people cannot be closely drawn." While slavery occurred among the Ifugao of northern Luzon, the Igorot tribes, e.g. the Kalinga, had servants only, but no slaves.⁸

As formerly mentioned slavery was absent in Southeast Asia among all non-agricultural tribes. It was, in other words, limited to the more advanced societies where the economic and social patterns created possibilities for the institution. In a few cases it is said that the right to own slaves was a privilege of chiefs and rajahs, and it is indeed supposed to be due to Hindu and Islamic influences both among the Minangkabau and on the islands of the Sulu Sea. That outside influence strengthened slavery is quite possible, but it seems less probable that it brought about its appearance. It was, for instance, hardly of great importance in ancient India, for although enslaved prisoners of war and insolvent debtor slaves existed in Vedic times, and although Megasthenes (ab. 300 B.C.) describes how King Chandragupta was surrounded by slave girls, he nevertheless maintains that slavery was unknown.⁹

¹ Riedel 1886; 228. Vroklage 1936; 414. Burger 1923; 59. Nutz 1959; 11.

² Rosenberg 1878; 338.

³ Riedel 1886; 16, 18f.

⁴ General (Encyclopædie; III 801). Galala and Tobelo (Riedel 1885; 65f. Vroklage 1936; 468). Ceram Ceramlaut, Gorong an Watubela Is (Riedel 1886; 154, 101f, 194).

⁵ Hickson 1887; 141.

⁶ Loarca 1582; 151, 143. Quirino & Garcia 1590; 414f, 426. Plasencia 1903; 174, 176. San Antonio 1906; 351 ff. de Morga 1609; 122f. Colin 86 Forest 1779; 330.

⁷ Tagbanua (Venturello 1907; 531). Bagobo, Kulaman, Mandaya (Cole 1913; 96, 153, 170, 182). Manobo (Garvan 1931; 152, 184 ff. Garvan 1927; 581).

⁸ Ifugao (Barton 1919; 34f. Barton 1922; 419). Kalinga (Barton 1949; 65).

⁹ Rawlinson 1948; 38, 67, 75.

Raids for providing slaves and slave traffic can, of course, exist only provided slavery is already a well established institution. The same applies to slave pawnship. Now, if slavery is foreign to the most primitive tribes and is not the result of outside influences, there seems reason to assume that it originated in societies where it had a real economic value, i.e. in tribes at an agricultural stage. Nieboer is right, of course, in asserting the agriculture does not necessarily lead to slavery, and besides that slavery is the more frequent the more advanced the type of agriculture.¹ The wide distribution in Southeast Asia seems to indicate, however, that here it belongs to a semi-agricultural level, certainly not because it is a natural consequence, of it, but because the heavy work of clearing the forests made slave labour more or less desirable, while planting, weeding and harvesting rested with the women.

The question whether there are historical connections between the instances of slavery in Southeast Asia is more difficult to answer. In many cases it may be the result of a spreading of the idea, but it does not seem improbable that in other cases it may have originated independently as a result of wars and a demand for labour.

3. Oceania

In Oceania the distribution of slavery was both restricted and sporadic. We have seen that slave hunters from the Kei Islands extended their raids as far as western *New Guinea*, and it is not improbable that their activities may have caused or at least contributed to slavery among the Papuans of this region.² Slaves were found on Numfoor Island in Geelvink Bay and at least as far as the Sentani region,³ whereas in the Waropen district prisoners of war were either ransomed or gradually merged into the tribe.⁴ Schmitz believes that a slave class existed in the Huon Peninsula as a result of Austronesian intrusion,⁵ but otherwise real slaves hardly occurred in eastern New Guinea at all. We are certainly told of the Mbowamb that "er Junggeselle bleibt, wird Sklave," but generally it is a question of bodily or mentally handicapped

¹ Nieboer 1910; 294.

² MacCluer Gulf (Strauch 1879; 30). Mejbrat (Elmberg 1953; 37).

³ v. Hasselt 1876; 200. Held 1947; 66. Wirz 1923; 8f. Rosenberg 1878; 132.

⁴ Held 1947; 66.

⁵ Schmitz 1960; 191 ff.

persons only who are not allowed to vote in the village council,¹ and they can scarcely be characterized as slaves in the true sense of the word.

From the *Admiralty Islands* Nevermann speaks of "Hörige" only, i.e. prisoners of war or "angeworbene Freie, die sich gegen eine Muschelgeldzahlung zum Häuptlingsdienst bereit finden."²

In the *Bismarck Archipelago* as a whole slavery was originally unknown. On the Gazelle Peninsula among the coast tribes "it was previously confined to an occasional captive of war, although in some few cases female children were purchased from the bush natives". It is said to be a result of the invasion from New Ireland, although slavery did not occur there either.³ On the other hand it is mentioned from the Duke of York Islands between New Britain and New Ireland.⁴

Slaves were likewise found in several of the northern and central *Solomons*.⁵ Among the Buin and Siuai in southern Bougainville the chiefs only had serfs or slaves, i.e. prisoners of war. Of course, they had to work for their masters, but a principal motive for keeping slaves was to have them available whenever a ceremony required a head or a victim for a human sacrifice.

Neither from the *Santa Cruz* and *Banks Islands* nor from the *New Hebrides* do we have reliable records of slavery. Glaumont certainly mentioned it from *New Caledonia*, but he is directly contradicted by such a trustworthy author as Sarasin.⁶

In spite of suggestions by some early authors it seems likewise open to doubt whether real slavery existed in *Fiji*.⁷

In *Micronesia* slavery was absent almost everywhere.⁸ Nevertheless it occurred on the Gilbert Islands⁹ and Nauru,¹⁰ but here slaves were few, and besides prisoners of war there was a class of serfs, partly people who had lost their gardens, and partly

¹ Vicedom & Tischner 1943-48; II 48.

² Nevermann 1934; 328.

³ Brown 1910; 3 ff. Cf. Burger 1913; 38 footnote.

⁴ Riedel 1910-12; 296 f. Kleintitschen n.d.; 347.

⁵ General (Guppy 1887; 32 f. Parkinson 1899; 13). Bougainville (Ribbe 1903; 100. Lawry 1855; 117. Thurnwald 1912; 48. Oliver 1953; 419). New Georgia (Somerville 1899; 403). Shortland Islands (Parkinson 1899; 13. Ribbe 1903; 138 f). San Cristobal (Verguet 1885; 205).

⁶ Glaumont 1889; 74. Sarasin 1929; 243 f.

⁷ Wilkes 1844; III 81. Erskine 1853; 243. Cf. Niebor 1910; 91 f.

⁸ Niebor 1910; 102 ff.

⁹ Krämer 1906; 333.

¹⁰ Krämer 1906; 450. Brandeis 1907; 75. Hambruch 1914; 184, 186.

people who had voluntarily given themselves into bondage in order to avoid blood revenge.

With a few exceptions slavery in the ordinary sense of the word seems to have been doubtful in *Polynesia*. Nevertheless its existence in New Zealand is a well established fact.¹ There slaves had to perform all kinds of drudgery and so far were of some economic value, but if they married women of their master's tribe, their children were free. On the other hand they might be sacrificed at the burial of a chief, and an enslaved chief could never regain his rank and sacredness, even if he succeeded in returning to his own tribe. In the Society Islands prisoners of war, if spared, formed a separate slave class,² whereas on Hawaii they were usually sacrificed.³ Slavery did not exist, or is at least highly questionable, in other Polynesian islands groups: Tonga, Samoa, Cook Islands, Marquesas, etc.⁴ On Rennell Island, one of the Polynesian outliers in Melanesia, there was a class of servants who were handed over to chiefs or noble families in childhood by their parents and had to work for their masters, but they were not slaves and were free to leave the service on marriage.⁵

In Oceania as in Indonesia slavery existed among the agricultural tribes only, but just as obviously it was not an integral part of the agricultural system, nor was it inevitably connected with head hunting as for instance in the Solomons. On the whole it seems doubtful whether any historical connections existed between the scattered occurrences of slavery in Oceania. We arrived at a similar result as far as Southeast Asia was concerned.

Quite different is the problem in regard to northeastern Asia and the American Northwest. Here it is principally a matter of prestige more than a factor in the economic life, and we seem justified perhaps in assuming a diffusion of the institution from the more southern societies in East Asia.

¹ Best 1924; II 299. Firth 1919; 201 ff. Te Rangi Hiroa 1950; 370, 429.

² Ellis 1832; III 95.

³ Ellis 1832; IV 160 f.

⁴ Cf. Nieboer 1910; 102.

⁵ Birket-Smith 1956; 44 f.

IV SECRET SOCIETIES

Northwestern America

Associations of a more or less esoteric character are common in many parts of the world. As a rule they have a more or less religious background, and membership is usually, though by far not always, restricted to the males, admission being obtained only after the novices have been subjected to certain rites, very often symbolizing their death and resurrection to a new life. The purpose of such societies are manyfold, but usually beneficial, the terroristic societies constituting a minority. In its simplest form the *Kuksu* cult of the Pomo and Miwok in Central California seems to show us a first step towards this kind of society, tooted in the puberty rites; in spite of the weak organization, it has as its principal purpose a long life and the sustaining of the regular world order by means of magical dances. The esoteric character of the cult appears from the fact that the members have to undergo a special initiation, and although masks are unknown, they have their identity concealed in various ways, thus representing spirits or deities.¹ Since all men are included in the cult, we can speak of a cult association, but not a society in the proper meaning.

Among the Pueblo dwellers² the associations were perhaps originally connected with the social organization, since certain of their high offices were reserved for special phratries and belonged to especially trained priests, but in later times at least all sibs were represented among the members, and in some associations even women were admitted. Among the purposes we again meet the promotion of the fertility of the crops, success in warfare and hunting, as well as healing of the sick.

¹ Kroeber 1955; 364 ff.

² Cf. Goddard 1925; 101 ff. Krause 1906; 97 ff.

It is, however, impossible to keep the various purposes apart. The Katchina and Kotikili associations of the Hopi and Zuñi respectively, provide rain and fertility and include all adult males, some of whom appear masked as supernatural beings visiting the pueblo during the ceremonies.

In the eastern woodlands¹ the Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibwa, which was open to both sexes, recognized four grades of members, and required the payment of fees for admission. The Iroquois had likewise several societies, e.g. the "False Faces" who drove away the demons causing disease . . .

The associations of the Plains tribes² were principally though not exclusively military. In some associations the religious element was stronger than in others, though it was never entirely lacking. It was most pronounced among the Iowa, Omaha, Ponca and Kansa. A special development had occurred among the Hidatsa, Arapaho, Atsina and Blackfoot. Not only was the military character dominant, but the societies were arranged in a fixed order, not in accordance with rank but with age, the members moving from one to another. Admission took place by the members of one society as a whole buying the right to enter the next one.

This system appears to have come into existence among the Hidatsa and Mandan as a result of putting the older co-ordinate societies into order of age and passing the system to the Arapaho, Atsina, etc.

The secret societies of the North Pacific Indians differed in most points from those of the Plains tribes, and in spite of some points of resemblance with the associations in the Pueblo region, a connection with them is leastways doubtful. The fundamental and most detailed work on the Northwest Coast societies is Franz Boas's account of the *Kwakiutl*³. They were closely integrated with the whole social structure, the basic idea being that the sib lineages were supposed to have contact with various spirits whom their ancestors had encountered in the past and who had given them certain desirable abilities such as invulnerability, the power of flying or raising the dead, etc. These spirits were supposed to

¹ Jenness 1932; 280, 299 ff.

² Lowie 1963; 105 ff. Wissler 1916; 97 ff.

³ Boas 1890. Boas 1897. For a general survey cf. Goddard 1924; 121 ff.

⁴ Drucker 1955; 151.

visit the villages every winter, when they possessed the initiated, who, wearing grotesque masks representing the spirits, illustrated the adventures of the ancestors, and thus, after their proper purification, were the novices initiated into the mysteries. The initiates are supposed to be taken away by the spirits to their distant homes. The coming of the spirits was announced by the sound of whistles or flutes, understood to be their voices. After their return and possession, the novices must be restored to their normal state. Since the novice represents the ancestor, admittance can only take place if a former member gives up his membership. As signs of their changed personalities they are given new names that must be used during the ceremonies.

There are, however, in agreement with their origin, several societies within the tribes, among the Kwakiutl six, such as Bears, Wolves and Eaters.

They are arranged in two groups, between which there is much competition: one of the groups comprising, the less important societies subdivided according to sex and age. In the other group the highest ranking society of all is, that of the Cannibals or Hamatsa. Here the novice is taken away by the Cannibal, Spirit to his home in the Far North where he is instructed in eating human flesh. Drucker certainly thinks it highly improbable that corpses were actually used during the ceremonies, but the carcass of a small black bear fitted with a carved head.¹

From their legendary history it thus appears that the right to be admitted is a sib privilege. No entrance fee in the proper sense of the word has to be paid, but the initiation was accompanied by a potlatch where the assembly was not as usual seated according to sib and kin group but according to societies and their rank. This potlatch was originally (but probably incorrectly) interpreted by Boas as a vestige of former matrilineality.

Since the dramatic dances were the principal activities of the societies Drucker prefers the name Dancing Societies.² Olson joins him in this view in saying that the only secrets are those which involves a magical trick as one feature of the dances. Nevertheless they were secret in so far that the Dog Eating dancers, who had been initiated into this group only, could not enter a house in

¹ Drucker 1955; 151.

² Drucker 1940; 234.

which the Shamans' Society ritual was going on. But the uninitiated were only the very young and a very few of the adults. These we allowed to witness the final night's dance, by far the most spectacular.¹

There can be no doubt that Boas was right in ascribing, on both linguistic and traditional evidence, a principal share in the growth and spreading of the Northwest Coast secret societies to the Kwakiutl tribes.²

The *Nootka*, the western neighbours of the Kwakiutl on Vancouver Island, had societies of the same type as the latter from whom they were obviously introduced, and the initiation into the Wolf Society and probably others as well was combined with a potlatch.³ The *Kowichan*, part of which tribe also lives on Vancouver Island, but unlike the Wakashan Nootka speak a Salish language, had societies to which admission was free to everyone except slaves, the only requirement being that the sponsor of the initiate must give a potlatch.⁴ Among the *Nanaimo*, also on Vancouver Island, conditions were the same.³ On the other hand Hill-Tout thinks that the existence of secret societies among the *Songish* is open to doubt.

According to J. R. Swanton, however, there are two societies, both obtained from the Nootka. In one of them, admittance is open to everybody, depending only on the calling of a guardian spirit.⁵

The *Makah* on the mainland in the vicinity of Cape Flattery had at least a Wolf Society, the initiation into which required a potlatch.⁶

The *Chinook* had apparently only a single society with admission for both sexes, depending on social status and the possession of a guardian spirit and evidently introduced by marriages with the Makah and Quileute.⁷

¹ Olson 1954; 234.

² Boas 1897; 661.

³ Drucker 1951; 226 passim. Adam 1918; 381. Sapir 1911; 25. Cf. Sproat 1869; 71.

⁴ Olson 1940; 176f.

⁵ Hill-Tout 1900; 76. Swanton in Handbook ed. Hodge (1912; II 497). Cf. Gunther 1927; 181.

⁶ Swan 1870; 6ff.

⁷ Elmendorf 1948; 631. Pettitt 1950; 15.

Among the *Quileute* admission to the society of masked dancers likewise depended on the calling of a guardian spirit, the sound of flutes supposed to be its voice.

The *tribes of the Oregon coast* have likewise societies transmitted from the North and connected with spirit songs.¹

Returning to Washington, we are told of the *Twana* societies that they are secret to the extent only of excluding non-initiates from certain of their functions, and the ritual of initiating new members was the only occasion on which the members acted in concert. The ritual was set in a potlatch framework with the ordinary features, i.e. sponsorship by an individual or group of individuals of the same community who must have one class of guardian spirit. The ceremony was transmitted from the Nootka.² Although our information is obviously incomplete, conditions were apparently the same among the *Klallam*³ as well as the *Comox* and *Squamish*.⁴

On the preceding pages a few remarks have been set forth regarding societies among the *Coast Salish*, but on the whole our information is very meagre, and Jenness says that their secret society was only a pale reflection of the Kwakiutl society, at the same time stressing the importance of having acquired a guardian spirit.⁴

Before proceeding to the societies of the coastal tribes north of the Kwakiutl, it seems expedient to quote Drucker's summary after his careful study of Kwakiutl societies: "Instead of the single winter ceremonial of the southern Kwakiutl which Boas describes, the northern [Kwakiutl] tribes have two or three ceremonial systems . . . The general system of all the rituals was the same. The principal function was that of initiating new members, the ceremonial was a dramatic enactment of the legendary encounter of the ancestor with the spirit and a display of the gifts (names, songs, dances and other privileges) bestowed by the supernatural benefactors . . . All the Kwakiutl societies were cut of the same cloth."⁵

¹ Ray 1938; 8f.

² Elmendorf 1948; 25 ff. Eells 1889; 363f.

³ Comox and Squamish (cf. Barnett 1955; 37).

⁴ Jenness 1932; 348.

⁵ Drucker 1940; 27, passim.

His study points definitely to the northern Kwakiutl, i.e. the *Xaisla*, *Xaixais* and *Owikeno*, as the centre from which the elaborate cycles of ranked dances diffused.

Here it will therefore suffice to give a few additional references¹ to the *Bellabella Bellacoola*, *Haida*, *Tsimshian* and *Tlingit*. In consideration of the very few, poor and more or less Americanized survivors of the tribe, it is no wonder that we have no information of secret societies among the *Eyak* of the Copper River delta. Masked persons certainly performed dramatic dances at the potlatch,² but this fact is of course insufficient evidence of the existence of secret societies.

If we turn from the Pacific coast to the plateaux of British Columbia, Teit tells us of societies of the *Shuswap*: that any man could become a member of any of these groups after a short train- and fasting a few days in the woods, and at initiation he had to dress and act like the protector of the group he had chosen to enter. However, a son generally became a member of the group to which his father belonged, in preference to others. These societies were introduced from the *Chilcotin*, *Carrier* and *Lilloet*, who had adopted them from the coast.³

Among the *Kutenai* the societies apparently differed from those of the coast and originated from the northern Plains Indians with whom they had contact during their annual bison hunts east of the Rocky Mountains.⁴ A society name such as The Crazy Gogs, which likewise occurred among the Blackfoot, is in itself suggestive. Unfortunately we know nothing of the conditions for admission.

Secret societies are unknown among the Eskimo as a whole. The question of their existence on *Kodiak*, *Nunivak* and perhaps farther north in Alaska, as well as on the *Aleutian Islands*, was originally raised by Margaret Lantis and indeed the information obtained by early writers such as Davydov and Veniaminov can hardly be explained without assuming that there was some sort of such society the members of which appeared carrying masks and performed secret rites.⁵

¹ Garfield 1939; 96, 214. Garfield, Wingert & Barbeau s.a.; 88 ff. McIlwraith 1948; II 56. Swinton 1908; 136.

² Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 372f.

³ Teit 1909; 577, 81.

⁴ Turney-High 1951; 581.

⁵ Lantis 1947; 27 ff.

Our investigations among the *Chugach* in Prince William Sound seem to confirm Dr. Lantis's view.¹ Certain men who on account of their swift appearance were called The Winds used to enter the houses after dark, dressed in sealskin and grass cloaks and wearing masks representing the spirits by which they were possessed. They would beat and torment and sometimes even kill the inhabitants except those sitting crouching at the fire putting up their thumbs like dog ears, for they never bothered dogs or people behaving like dogs. Unfortunately it was impossible to get more precise information, for instance of the purpose and conditions of membership. On the *Aleutians* men clad in grass suits would kidnap one of the other men, and a woman had to be given for a ransom; the man (initiate?) feigned to be dead, but was restored to life, after which the woman was allowed to return.

The preceding survey leaves no doubt of the truth of Boass's and Drucker's subsequent demonstration of the share of the Kwakiutl in the diffusion of secret societies on the North Pacific Coast not only among the northern tribes: Bellabella, Bellacoola, Tsimshian, Haida and Tlingit. Here admission is an inherited right, a privilege inherited from the ancestor. This is possibly the case among the Cowichan, Nanaimo and Songish, too. This right agrees with the potlatch given at initiation; for, as I have tried to show, a potlatch in its simplest form is given for the benefit of the dead more than to the living.² Among many of the southern tribes (Quileute and Coast Salish, the Chinook and perhaps the tribes of the Oregon coast as well), admission to the society depended on the good-will of the guardian spirit, and this may apply to the plateau tribes, too. Teit certainly said of the Shuswap that a man generally joined the society of his father, but apparently this is no privilege, nor is the guardian spirit mentioned. Since the Chilcotin, Lilloet and Carrier are considered intermediaries in the diffusion of secret societies to the plateaux, and they are here as well as among several tribes farther south generally connected with the guardian spirits, they cannot here be simple copies of the coastal societies, but if anything they are rather the result of

¹ Birket-Smith 1953; 84f.

² Birket-Smith 1967; 64 ff.

stimulus diffusion. If an initiation potlatch occurs here, it is probably taken over direct from the Kwakiutl complex. Actually the potlatch does not fit in very well with the guardian spirit concept. The guardian spirit is certainly among the Kwakiutl part of the sib heritage, but in other tribes it is generally not inherited and appears in a dream or as result of a vision quest. On the other hand, the difference between inherited rights and spirit calling may be less fundamental than it appears at first sight, for as formerly mentioned there is a tendency towards inherited guardian spirits.

In one respect there is, however, an important difference between the North Pacific societies and those of other tribes. Their activities are not a benefit to the community as a whole in securing an abundant food supply or success in warfare, but they mean principally a personal advantage to the members only.

Here a few words about the ritual death and subsequent resurrection of the initiate may be added. Among the Kwakiutl, as formerly mentioned, he is supposed to be taken away and possessed by the spirits who afterwards are to be driven away. The Bella-coola believe that he has lost his soul, when the spirit enters him. Among the Nootka he is kept concealed behind mats for four days, during which he is supposed to live in the forest and is sometimes said to be dead.¹ The Pentlatch and Songish believe that the novice is killed by those previously initiated, and a similar belief seems to occur in the neighbouring tribes.² The Kowichan and Nanaimo even maltreat the novice till unconsciousness when he is supposed to enter the Land of the Dead. The Nisqually initiate is said to travel all over the World, to be killed and brought back to life.³ The ritual death and revival must not be confused with the revival which in Locher's quite unfounded opinion was a fundamental trait of the potlatch.⁴

All over the North Pacific coast carved *masks* were used by shamans, and during the performances of the secret societies, so that the members not only as regards their souls but in appearance too were identical with the possessing spirits. It is, indeed, quite exceptional that the Nisqually are said to wear salmon skin

¹ Drucker 1951; 85.

² Bennett 1948a; 77ff.

³ M. W. Smith 1940; 93, 117.

⁴ Cf. Birket-Smith 1967; 33f.

masks in order to frighten children.¹ We may probably also ignore Dall's old statement that masks were used by the Aleut as a protection against the spirits.² It may be questionable, too, whether Koppert is right in telling us of the Clayoquot that it is very doubtful whether the masks "have any significance beyond for use in entertaining."

Among the northern Athapaskans masks were rare. Their occurrence among the Tahltan is said to be a loan from the Tlingit.³ The Ingalik, on the other hand, probably obtained their masks from the Eskimo; their purpose was to allure game.⁴

Eskimo masks are known from East Greenland as far as the Bering Straits and Prince William Sound. It is highly regrettable that next to nothing is known of their use. On a former occasion I have distinguished between the more realistic types from Greenland and the central tribes and the grotesque and elaborate types from Alaska. In Greenland their significance has been forgotten long ago. On special occasions a mask was worn by a Netsilik and Copper Eskimo shaman, in which case it represented his spirit helper that takes up its abode in him, and gives him superhuman power.⁵ Among the Alaskan Eskimo most masks are probably shaman masks.

Of course we need not consider grave masks which certainly originate from entirely different ideas. The complete ceremonial costume of which we know absolutely nothing, as well as the grass "suits" for ceremonial use of the Pacific Eskimo and Aleut have been compared to the use of shredded cedar bark for women's skirts and ceremonial neck rings of the Northwestern tribes.⁶ It must be admitted that such parallels rest on a very slight foundation.

The sound of flutes or whistles understood as the voices of the spirits is very widespread in the Northwest. Just a single example:⁷ during their dancing feasts the Kodiak Eskimo had whistles hanging from the nose.

¹ Dall 1881-82; 371.

² Koppert 1930; 97.

³ Emmons 1911; 109f. Chapman 1907; 15 ff.

⁴ Isgood 1958; 81 f.

⁵ Birket-Smith 1945; 127.

⁶ Drucker 1955; 74f.

⁷ Kwakiutl, Bellacoola, Tsimshian, Haida (Garfield 1939; 97f. McIlwraith 1948; II 28). Bennett 1955; 263. Pettitt 1950; 15.

As regards the alleged cannibalism of the Hamatsa Society it is the sound of which was understood as the sound of spirits, rather unimportant whether human flesh was actually eaten or substituted by that of a young bear, as has been suggested. Cannibalism occurred in most culture areas of North America, even though it nowhere reached such peaks as in the Amazon area and Colombia. On the Antilles and in Mexico. Among the Eskimo it might occasionally occur in cases of extreme starvation, and it is generally acknowledged that a murderer must swallow a mouthful of his victim's liver. Among the North Pacific tribes cannibalism seems to have been formerly associated with war,¹ and there is hardly any reason to doubt that Hamatsa cannibalism was rooted in this custom. Indeed Boas thought that the North Pacific secret societies had their origin in warrior associations.¹ Cannibalism seems to have spread rather late to the southern Kwakiutl from the Heiltdug and northwards to the Tsimshian and Haida; originally slave seems to have been killed and eaten.²

In summing up the evidence of the Northwest Pacific secret societies it is obvious that for the greater part they are mutually related. Quite apart are only the societies of the Kutenai which are evidently related to those of the northern plains. In his reference to the Northwest American Secret Societies Swanton took their connection as a matter of course and traced their diffusion among the northwestern tribes without trying to explain their origin.³ Joseph Haekel, on the hand, understands them as a combination of several components,⁴ such as descent rules, the guardian spirit belief, the guardian spirit quest originating in the Columbia River and Frazer River regions,⁵ and further the ritual death and resurrection of the initiate as well as shamanism. As far as the latter is concerned, he assumes Asiatic affiliations, even though in some respects it is linked with shamanism in California and the Great Basin.⁵ It does not follow, however, that the combination of the components took place on American soil. The basic idea, viz. that of secret societies, may very well be an introduction,

¹ Boas 1897; 664.

² Boas 1897; 430, 463. Sapir 1911; 114. Drucker 1951; 230.

³ Swanton 1904; 84f.

⁴ Haekel 1954-55;

⁵ Park 1938; 248 ff.

i.e. a result of stimulus diffusion. I admit that I have formerly suggested connections between Eskimo and Northwest American secret societies,¹ but now I am far from sure that this view is correct. At any rate it would be rash to reject the possibilities of Ole World relations in advance.

2. Eastern Asia

On the western side of the Pacific we find no secret societies anywhere in North Asia.

Japanese investigations on the *Izu Peninsula* of southern Hondo go to show that in the Middle Jômon period of the Neolithic, about 2600–200 B.C., masked persons dressed in grass cloaks, evidently members of a secret society or cult association, and representing the dead and various deities appeared in the villages in order to secure a rich harvest of yam and taro and perform the initiation of the boys and sometimes of the girls, too.²

In prehistoric *China* the change of seasons, when the influence of the universal male and female powers changed and "au cours de l'hivernage, dans les maisons communes les laboureurs à force de joutes, de dépenses, d'orgies, prenaient confiance dans les vertus virilies."³ At the winter festivals there were masked dancers.⁴ There is certainly nothing definitely suggesting secret societies. Still Granet thinks they existed together with men's houses, human and animal sacrifices.

There is no reason for discussing the secret societies that have played such an important part in Chinese history right from antiquity down to modern times. They have usually a tinge of taoism or buddhism,⁵ but their purposes are either political or personal gain, and they can hardly be offshoots of primitive institutions. A fee must be paid by the initiates, who are supposed to visit the Island of the dead in the ocean, and an additional fee for obtaining higher rank.⁶

Neither in Indochina nor on the Philippines do secret societies occur among the more backward tribes. In Indonesia we do not

¹ Birket-Smith 1953; 222.

² Birket-Smith 1953; 222. Slawik 1936; 17 ff. Slawik 1961; 251. Slawik 1936, passim.

³ Granet 1935; 74. Granet 1926; II 106 ff.

⁴ Morgan 1960; 53f, 98.

⁵ Ward & Stirling 1925–26; II 53 ff.

find any till among the Wemale on the distant island of *Ceram*. Here the Kakihan Society is primarily a cult association. It is connected with the formerly mentioned tribal dichotomy of "Niners" and "Fivers" (cf. p. 75) comprising at least theoretically all adult "Niners", but not the far fewer "Fivers."¹ Among the members are numerous priests and one high-priest.² The members meet in a sequestered pile building accessible only through an opening in the floor; the room below is considered to be the underworld. The novices are boys at the age of puberty who at admittance are tattooed and assume the grown-ups' breech-cloth. Not till after their initiation are they considered true human beings.³ The ritual reflects the myth of the primeval age, when a girl was killed and dismembered, thus giving rise to all useful plants and fruits that sprouted from her body, and bringing the power of procreation into the world. There was probably once a human sacrifice connected with the rites. A society like that of the Wemale occurs among other tribes on *Ceram*, too.³

Admittance to the Chinese societies is apparently free to anybody provided the entrance fee be paid, and as far as the Japanese society is concerned, nothing tends to show that the right to admittance was an inherited privilege.

Conditions of admittance to the Kakihan Society are uncertain in so far as most, but probably not all "Niners" belonged to it. Probably they were the remnants of an old moiety system, but the relation to the sib organization is not definitely unravelled, and for the present the question of admittance depends on whether it is an initiation into an exclusive society or just an ordinary youth initiation. In favour of the latter interpretation may be mentioned the assumption of the breech-cloth and the tattooing. Actually the two types of initiation seem to have been mixed up. The rites require that the initiates and their sponsors jump through the hole in the floor, which is understood to be the mouth of a crocodile or a man-eating serpent,⁴ and are thus swallowed up by the monsters and enter the Land of the Dead where they meet the spirits of the deceased of other sibs who try to detain them, but they are rescued by their own dead sib mates, and after nine (?)

¹ Jensen 1948; 50.

² Jensen 1948; 87f, 113f.

³ Jensen 1948; 50.

⁴ Jensen 1948; 98.

days' struggle they are restored to life. The name of the moiety may possibly refer to the number of days. Bamboo trumpets express the voices of the spirits, but no masks seem to be used.

The symbolic death and resurrection of the novice likewise enter into the initiation rites of the societies in China.¹

Masks are widely diffused in Asia. Carved masks are used by the Tungus and Tatar shamans and by the Yukagir at their whaling feasts, in former times probably by the Orok.²

Of course the Lamaistic as well as the theatre masks in China, too, Japan, Java and Bali, etc., can be ignored here.³ Masks representing the deceased occurred in Korea and in the ancient Tai cultures of South China.⁴ A masked dancer appears at the Three Generations Festival of the Man Trang in Tonkin.⁵ Carved masks were used at the death feasts of the Timur Batak.⁶ They were used by several Dayak tribes during their agricultural feasts as well as by the Toradja of Celebes.⁷ Carved masks, unfortunately without specification of their use, are reported from the Kei Islands.⁸

In former times cannibalism occurred in many places in South-east Asia, but obviously nowhere connected with secret societies. It may have taken place during the winter ceremonies of ancient China,⁹ and in later periods it is said to have occurred among the Li of Hainan.¹⁰ Cannibalism in combination with capital punishment for very grave crimes among the Batak with the exception of the Karo is well known,¹¹ whereas it is very uncertain among the Gajo.¹² Several Dayak tribes have been accused of cannibalism in former times,¹³ but evidently wrongly. It is said to have occurred in connection with war on the Uliasser Islands, and there may be

¹ Morgan 1951; 12 ff.

² Birket-Smith 1929; II 366. Yukagir (Jochelson 1908; 75). Kurile Islands (Torii 1919; 204). Orok (Eberhard 1942a; 32).

³ Eberhard 1942b; 341). Korea (Osgood 1951; 150).

⁴ Bonifacy 1925; 89.

⁵ Loeb 1935; 74.

⁶ Ling Roth 1896; I 43, 57. Nieuwenhuis 1904; I 67, 25 ff.

⁷ P. & F. Sarasin 1905; I 231.

⁸ Jacobsen 1896; 231.

⁹ Granet 1929; 238, 255 f.

¹⁰ Stübel 1937; 287.

¹¹ Ködding 1888; 91. Rosenberg 1888; 34 f. Volz 1909-12; I 327, II 401. Loeb 1935; 34 f.

¹² Volz 1909-12; II 401. Ling Roth 1896; II 17 ff, 60 f. Low 1892-94, XII 60 f. Riedel 1886; 52.

¹³ Vroklage 1936; 52, 36, 468. Schröder 1907; I 22.

vestiges of it in Nias, among some Toradja, Minahassa, Ceram and Tenimber.¹ the Bagobo of Mindanao were not exactly cannibals, but when a great warrior was killed the killer would eat his liver in order to acquire his qualities.²

In summarizing our information of the secret societies in eastern Asia we are obliged to admit that it is deplorably defective. Neither the use of masks nor cannibalism belong to their prerogatives, and the only thing that may suggest a relationship to north-western America is the grass costume used in ancient Japan. The relations to the sib and moiety organization are pretty obscure. The right to admission is neither an inherited privilege connected with the adventures of an ancestor, nor is it a consequence of a guardian spirit's calling or a guardian spirit quest. The ritual death and resurrection of the initiate occur in China and on Ceram.

Historical connections between the Kakihan Society and the societies in Melanesia were suggested by Rivers³ and later emphasized by Jensen, who, however, thinks that the societies of Ceram were not derived from those of Melanesia, but rather that the latter were introduced from Indonesia.⁴ Haekel refers to Melanesia as one of the possible sources of the Northwest Pacific societies.⁴

Under the circumstances it may be time to pay attention to conditions in Oceania.

3. Oceania

A survey of the secret societies in Oceania may appropriately start with the *Mejprat* in the interior of the Bird's Head Peninsula of New Guinea, which is nearest to Ceram and Indonesia as a whole. The Uon Society of the *Mejprat*, which is said not to function anymore, had as its main purpose the increase of the taro harvest and a prolific progeny by means of magical spells.⁵ It was exclusively a male association, a special house was built for the initiation, and a canoe was rigged up in a tree in the canoe the ancestral souls were supposed to arrive. A ceremonial exchange feast took place in combination with the initiation ceremonies

¹ Rivers 1925; 42 ff, 361.

² Benedict 1916; 170.

³ Jensen 1944; 2 ff.

⁴ Haekel 1954-55; 186.

⁵ Elmberg 1966; 43 ff.

during which the initiates were given magical instruction. Members of the Tochemi Society¹ had the ghosts of deceased members to give them supernatural powers; the initiates were circumcised, had the septum of their noses pierced, and some months after initiation, when they returned to normal life, they were so filled by the magical powers donated by their ancestors that they did not recognize their own relatives and were given new names, and certain food taboos were abolished.

As emphasized by Elmberg, it is, however, a question whether we can speak of true secret societies among the Mejprat, even though both the Tochemi and Uom initiations had some ceremonies secret to non-members.² We seem, indeed, rather to have to do with ordinary youth initiations.³ Obviously admittance was open to anybody; though supernatural powers were obtained from ghosts of former members, descent was scarcely a necessary condition of initiation. There may certainly be some connection between the so-called societies and the sib organization, but it seems only to be a result of conflicts within the tribe.⁴ Besides, defloration of the young girls was performed as part of the initiation ceremonies.⁴

Cannibalism occurred when an enemy had been killed but was not a society privilege.⁴

No masked persons impersonated the ancestors.

The true secret societies so far treated are characterized not only by their secret rites, but also by admittance being an inherited right, spirit calling or payment of a fee. Secret societies in this meaning do not seem to occur in New Guinea at all. On the other hand, there are almost everywhere esoteric cult associations including all all male persons after their youth initiation. As early an author as Hutton Webster mentions such initiations from the Miklucho Maclay Coast between Astrolabe Bay and Huon Gulf and from several tribes on the coast of the territory of Papua.⁴

Far more complete and detailed than this short survey is that given by Ad. E. Jensen.⁵ At *Lake Sentani* and *Humboldt Bay* the boys, after their incision at about six years of age, are admitted

¹ Elmberg 1955; 50 ff.

² Elmberg 1955; 98, 122.

³ Elmberg 1955; 102f, 52.

⁴ Webster 1908; 97 ff (with references).

⁵ Jensen 1933; 80 ff (with references). Cf. also Speiser 1929.

to the spirit house which they are not allowed to leave except by special permission of the men; they dare not eat pork and must avoid all intercourse with the women. When the final ceremonies start they are brought to the spirit house amidst the sound of trumpets and much noise, said to announce the presence of the spirit, who has entered the house and insists on having boys to eat. The boys are taught the blowing of the sacred trumpets. They can now move freely in the village and take part in the pig hunts. During the concluding feast everybody gormandizes in pork, and there are general sexual excesses.

Similar initiation elements as at Lake Sentani occur among the *Marind-anim* in the South of what was formerly Dutch New Guinea, with stressing of the sexual aspects of the cult including pederastic customs, and finally a young kidnapped girl is first abused and afterwards

On the small *Karesau Island* near the mouth of the Sepik River we again meet masked persons and flute playing at the initiations, but at the *Sepik* itself the swallowing monster is believed to be the spirit house itself.

On *Rook Island* (Umboi) between New Guinea and New Britain the initiates are circumcised and likewise supposed to be eaten by a spirit. Afterwards they have to crawl between the legs of masked men, probably a symbol of their rebirth.

Somewhat similar rites occur both at *Huon Gulf* and among tribes in its vicinity, *Jabim*, *Bukaua*, etc., here again including circumcision. The initiates are supposed to be eaten by a gigantic spirit without feeling it. Masked persons represent spirits, and the women are kept away by the buzzing of bullroarers. Initiation ceremonies seem to be absent on the island groups off the eastern tip of New Guinea, whereas the *Mailu* on the south coast combine initiation with successful head hunting raids. The *Kabiri* on the west coast of Papua Gulf say that the initiate is said to be eaten by a crocodile. Masked persons attend the ceremony when the initiate is taken from the jaws of a wooden crocodile figure. Among the *Kiwai* in the Fly River delta initiation is closely connected with fertility rites and ancestor worship, the masks in use mainly representing those who have died during the preceding year.

On the islands in *Torres Strait* the initiates are first isolated for some months, and on the eastern islands at least the concluding

ceremonies are combined with feasts for the dead and include dancing of masked persons and the buzzing of bullroarers. Until their initiation the boys are reckoned among the women.

On *Frederik Hendrik Island* (Kolepom) admission to the men's house "is regarded as a ritual death, after which the boy is born again, renevived and invigorated."¹

A few additions will suffice to the above survey of youth initiation in New Guinea and adjacent islands.

The cult association of the *Nor Papuans* includes several classes, and promoting to the next one requires several ceremonies but no fee has to be paid.² The cult association of the *Kwoma* has three classes, admission to the lowest of which depends on ordinary youth initiation only, whereas the highest one is reserved for head hunters.³ The *Kuma* in the central highlands do not consider a boy a sib member till after his initiation; initiations take place together sith blowing of bamboo flutes and pig feasts, celebrated at several years' interval.⁴ The *Nondugl Papuans* in the western highlands likewise combine initiation with pig feasts, which should not, however, be interpreted as a condition.⁵ Among the *Koiki* in the Purari delta the initiation is again connected with head hunting, and the initiate gives a pig as a payment.⁶

As pointed out before, there are essential differences between cult associations and the secret societies. All boys are entitled to be admitted to the former and no fee has to be paid. Even if in some cases a so-called pig feast is given, this can hardly be considered a payment, but the initiation, when the boys become grown-up men, is of course a welcome opportunity for a feast. Pig feasts are far from being limited to initiations. They are often part of a purely trading and ceremonial exchange system.⁷ If among the *Mawai* on the Waria River a pig is presented by a mother at the initiation of her son, it is really no payment but an attempt at bribing the spirit so that her son may escape death.⁸

¹ Serpenti 1965; 164.

² Nevermann 1933 a; 29 ff.

³ Whiting 1951; 31.

⁴ Reay 1959; 170 ff.

⁵ Luzbetak 1954; 13 ff.

⁶ Williams 1922; 51 ff.

⁷ Cf. Birket-Smith 1967; 62 ff.

⁸ Wirz 1928; 153.

The belief in the death and subsequent revival of the initiate is widespread, whether he is supposed to be eaten by a cannibal spirit, a crocodile or other monster, or is kidnapped by the dead. The *Kiwai* certainly do not think that the initiate dies, but they frighten boys and girls by telling them that they are killed by a spirit dressed like a woman.¹ The initiates' crawling between the legs of naked men among the *Kire-Puir* is evidently a symbol of their rebirth, and the same thing applies to the crawling through a tunnel made of branches by the *Nondugl* and *Mumbo* initiates.²

The ritual death and revival is not only connected with initiation but also with certain cults such as the Dema, Parak and Soson cults.³ It seems, however, to be absent among the *Kiwai*, whereas it occurred among the *Asmat* and the *Wendu* west of Merauke.⁴

More or less grotesque masks of wood or basketry, representing spirits or the dead, sometimes in combination with complete grass costumes, occur in the majority of tribes in New Guinea and are used in the cult and at initiations.⁵ The list of references does not claim to be complete. The *Orokaiva* have no real masks, but at the end of the mourning period they are concealed by a head-dress of croton leaves.⁶

During the ceremonies, sacred flutes or bull-roarers, that are taboo to women and other uninitiated persons, announce the presence of the spirits. In southern New Guinea the bull-roarer is most common, both instruments are found at Huon Gulf, while flutes predominate in the North.⁷

At least in former times cannibalism occurred throughout most of New Guinea, although it is said to have been absent or doubtful

¹ Landtman 1927; 411. Höltker 1962; 83.

² Luzbetak 1954; 119. Vormann 1915-16; 171.

³ Jensen 1938; 80f. Schlesier 1958; 23ff. Speiser 1929; 118, 202. Bodrogi 1953; 116.

⁴ Boelars 1953; 83. Zeegward 1959; 1027.

⁵ Schouten Islands (Wedgwood 1933-34; 99f). Waropen, no masks (Held 1947; 208). Karesau (Schmidt 1907; 1033). Sentani (Wirz 1928; 401). Rai Coast (Schmitz 1954; 139). Dallmann Harbour (Finsch 1888; pl xiv). Huon Peninsula (Schmitz 60; 208). Sepik mouth (Schmidt 1933; 63ff). Iatmul (Schlesier 1958; 21f). Spik (Schultze-Jena 1914; 48). Nor Papua (Schmidt 1926; 40). Tehambuli (Mead 1951; 55f). Monumbo (Vormann 1915-16; 171). Banaro (Thurnwald 1940-41; xxxviii 29). Mundugunor (Mead 1935; 181). Mount Hagen (Bjerre 1963; 57). Rechambul, (Mead 1945; 55f). Marind-anim (Wirz 1925; II 33). Csuarina Coast (Hassel 1961; 83). Western Highlands (Leeden 1956; 14f). Boikin (Gestner 1952; 204ff). Siana (Salisbury 1956; 956). NW. New Guinea (v. d. Sande 1907; 14f).

⁶ Whiting 1951; 31.

⁷ Wirz 1928; 83.

at Lake Sentani and on the upper Memberamo and a few other places. Otherwise it took place after wars and head-hunting raids, but besides it entered into certain rites.¹ Among the *Marind-anim* cannibalism was certainly connected with headhunting, but human flesh was reserved for medicine-men;² however, on the whole cannibalism was not a privilege of a particular class.

We may now turn our attention to secret societies in Oceania outside New Guinea.

From the small *Aua Island* in the Matty Group farthest to the West, Pitt-Rivers gave the following unfortunately very scanty information: "The Apura form a secret society of feast organizers, song composers, attendants at royal funerals and keepers of the regalia or opercula shell-chains."³ Of conditions for being admitted to the society and its organization we are told nothing.

On the *Admiralty Islands* and St. Matthias secret societies apparently do not exist, but on the other hand they are of great importance in the *Bismarck Archipelago*. Of *New Ireland* it is stated that "noch ziemlich deutlich sind Spuren des Dukduk und des Iniet."⁴ Of these societies, more below under the reference to New Britain. In agreement with the above statement we are told that secret societies exist among the Pala.⁵ On New Ireland they are on the whole connected with ancestor worship.⁶ New Ireland is famous for its fantastic masks and cervings (malangan) connected with both ancestor worship and fertility ceremonies.⁷ Masks are used at the so-called malangan-feasts when as many as sixty pigs may be killed in honour of the dead.⁸

On the small *Tanga Islands* north of New Ireland an offshoot of the Tamberan Society was introduced from New Ireland about the time of World War I. "Its meetings are always held in conjunction with some important social event, more especially with

¹ Galis n.d.; 29. Chinnery & Beaver 1915; 96. Pospisil 1958; 43. Eechoud 1962; 70. Zeegward 1959; 1027. v. Baal 1934; 235. Williams 1923; 385 ff. Williams 1924; 107.

² Wirz 1928; 238 f. Verstentzen 1942; 43.

³ Pitt-Rivers 1924; 435.

⁴ Gräbner 1907; 120. Hehl 1907; 315.

⁵ Neuhaus 1962; 344 f, 353.

⁶ Parkinson 1907; 641.

⁷ Parkinson 1907; 653.

⁸ Bühler 1933; 53 f. Powdermaker 1933; 318. Peekel 1926-27, XXII 33 ff. Girard 1954; 54 ff.

commemoration of the ancestors of a particular clan [sib], fundamentally with the belief... that the participants in the mysteries make contact with the ghosts of the dead. It is a final leave-taking of the dead."¹ Just as in the mother society masks are used, and admission requires the payment of a fee.² The initiates are baited with gruesome tales of how the iniet [ancestral spirits] will eat them and vomit them forth.³

Similar feasts for the dead we celebrated on the *Tabar Islands*, another small group near New Ireland, likewise with performances of masked persons.⁴

Associations, probably related to those of New Ireland, e.g. the Dukduk Society, formerly existed on the *Duke of York Islands* between New Ireland and New Britain,⁵ and both the use of masks and the idea of the ritual death of the initiate are reported.⁶ One association, hardly secret (?) is connected with ordinary youth initiation.⁶

To Parkinson, who spent many years in the Bismarck Archipelago, and to several other authors we are indebted for information about the just mentioned Dukduk and Iniet Societies among the Melanesians of *New Britain*, particularly the Gazelle Peninsula, as e.g. the Subutanu near Rabaul.⁷ In southwestern New Britain there are at least traces of the Dukduk Society.⁸

On the other hand no secret societies seem to exist among the non-Melanesian Baining in the mountains of the Gazelle Peninsula, nor among the non-Melanesian Sulka farther to the South.

The Dukduk Society includes males only, and admission is free to any half-grown boy some years after his circumcision, provided that he or his relatives are able to defray the considerable expenses required. The Dukduk are sea spirits who always appear together with the Tubuan, who is considered female and whose position is either bought or inherited.⁹ The Tubuan is im-

¹ Bell 1935; 213f, 315, 323.

² Bell 1935; 319.

³ Bell 1935; 307.

⁴ Bühler 1933; 250f.

⁵ Powell 1884; 62 ff. Ribbe 1910-12; 366 ff, 391 ff. Laufer 1962; 72.

⁶ Börnstein 1916; 246.

⁷ Parkinson 1907; 77f, 639. Pfeil 1899; 56 ff. Burger 1913; 11 ff. Kleintitschen n.d.; 55 ff. Trevitt 1939-40; 357.

⁸ Todd 1935-36; 26 ff.

⁹ Parkinson 1907; 578.

mortal or is continually revived and gives birth to the Dukduk. The Dukduk visit the villages several times during the year. Their coming is announced by the old men, when a new moon is visible for the first time. During the following month everybody is busy storing up food for the exacting visitors. The morning when the new moon is again visible, all inhabitants of the village assemble on the beach, except the women, who stay concealed in the houses. From the sea canoes are seen approaching amidst singing and drumming, filed with masked figures. The Dukduk wear tall conical and grotesquely painted head-dresses, their bodies being hidden by *Dracæna* leaves as far down as their knees. They always appear to be exceedingly well aware of everything that has happened in the village in the previous month and have the right to punish all shortcomings and infringements of the social order. And woe betide the unfortunate woman who sees or touches, even accidentally, a Dukduk. She runs the risk of being clubbed immediately, for the society are undisputed masters of life and death. At night the Dukduk assemble at a remote place in the woods where a small house has been erected for them. After a copious meal to which all villagers have contributed, the initiates are subjected to a severe flogging. Repeated floggings take place the following nights.

After a month's stay in the village the Dukduk suddenly disappear. The masks and the house are destroyed, and the villagers are left alone, struck with terror and often deprived of a good deal of their property.

As to ritual death of the Dukduk initiates and their revival information is far from clear. As mentioned before the Tubuan spirits are supposed to give birth to the Dukduk, and this has indeed been interpreted as their rebirth in analogy with what is told of the giant cassowary in northern New Guinea, even though we know nothing of their previous death.¹

Among the Subutanu near Rabaul the Dukduk Society has displaced an older association that was not, however, a real secret society but included both sexes and obviously belonged to the sibs and functioned at their ceremonies such as the festivals for the dead.² Among the Subutanu there is a mask representing a python

¹ Rivers 1914; II 511. Wirz 1928; 44 ff.

² Laufer 1962; 63, 59 ff.

which devours the initiates and restores them to a new life.¹ Unfortunately there seems to be some confusion concerning the names of the various associations.²

Almost as widespread in the Bismarck Archipelago as the Dukduk Society, but of a quite different type, is the Iniet Society. It has nothing of the terroristic tinge that characterizes the former. Its main purpose is to teach magical charms to members and to associate with the spirits, probably the sib ancestors.³ Well known from the Gazelle Peninsula are the characteristic masks made partly of a human skull.⁴

A fee must be paid for admittance, by which the initiate acquires a new name.⁵ The Iniet do not use masks, but instead they make use of a secret language in the presence of un-initiated persons.

Even though no secret societies occur among the Baining and Sulka, they have nevertheless masks of painted bark cloth stretched over frames of cane and used at certain ceremonies. Some of the masks terminate in a kind of speaking tube, and the rumbling sounds that issued through them are supposed to be the voices of the spirits.⁶

Cannibalism was common in former years after wars in some but not all of the Admiralty Islands.⁷ In New Britain, and New Ireland cannibalism entered in the Iniet rites at least as the drinking of human blood.⁸ In New Ireland it occurred after wars,⁸ as was likewise the case in the Duke of York Islands.⁹ It should be noted, however, that possibly apart from the cannibalism of the Iniet rites, cannibalism was nowhere in the archipelago a secret society privilege.

A survey of secret societies in the long double chain of islands composing the *Solomon Islands*, if any society of this kind can be said to exist there at all, may appropriately start at the *Buka Passage* where we are told that "Geheimbunde scheinen bei den Upi-

¹ Laufer 1962; 63.

² Laufer 1962; 69.

³ Girard 1954; 54 ff.

⁴ Powell 1884; 68, 144.

⁵ Parkinson 1907; 97. Kleintitschen n.d.; 36. Kroll 1938; 204.

⁶ Parkinson 1907; 615 f. Burger 1913; 12. Bateson 1931-32a; 35.

⁷ Reeke 1913; 360. Nevermann 1934; 363 f.

⁸ Neuhaus 1963; 202 f. Hahl 1907; 213. Powdermaker 1933; 85 f.

⁹ Powell 1884; 60.

und Kukaleuten ziemlich klar hervorzutreten. Die Upi nehmen in denselben junge Burschen von etwa 10–12 Jahren auf.¹ Probably, however, there is here no question of true secret societies but of ordinary youth initiation. There are no real masks, only wooden figures representing ancestral spirits used at boys initiations.²

Speaking of the Shortland Islands, Ribbe is evidently guilty of confusing secret societies and totemistic cult associations.³ A similar mistake may probably account for the report of a secret society on Florida Island.⁴ Nor do we have any evidence of their existence elsewhere in the Solomons group.

At Buka Passage the initiate at the ordinary youth initiation is said to be killed and is smeared with some blood-like substance and covered with banana leaves. The uninitiated believe that he is really dead and restored to life.⁵

Masks are used in several places in the Solomons, probably at the youth initiations, and in Bougainville they are not regarded with particular respect.⁶ Among the non-Melanesian Siuai they are connected with the death rites.⁷ Shortland Islands masks represent ancestor spirits as well as those on San Cristoval.⁶ On the island of Nissan masks are used in connection with harvest feasts.⁸

The existence of secret societies is expressly denied on the small island of Owa Raha, but there are here masks representing the aboriginal inhabitants and their meeting with the present population.⁹

From the preceding account it appears that there is no certain evidence of secret societies in the Solomons even though Rivers thought they existed, and they might be suggested by some elements of the youth initiation.¹⁰

Under the circumstances it goes without saying that the eating of human flesh cannot be a society prerogative, nor is it reserved

¹ Frizzi 1914; 18.

² Blackwood 1935; 214.

³ Ribbe 1903; 10f.

⁴ Penny 1887; 70.

⁵ Blackwood 1935; 210. Cf. Thomas 1931–32; 230.

⁶ Parkinson 1907; 656.

⁷ Krause 1907; 49 ff.

⁸ Oliver 1955; 370.

⁹ Bernatzik 1936; 114, 122f.

¹⁰ Rivers 1927; 471 ff. Cf. Paravicini 1931; 133. Ribbe 1903; 140f.

for a particular class. Cannibalism occurred at the Buka Passage but scarcely in southern Bougainville.¹ It is more or less questionable as far as the Georgia Islands are concerned, but is known from interior of Malaita and is said to have been imported to the island of Sa'a from Santa Isabel.²

No more than from the Solomons is there evidence of secret societies from the *Santa Cruz Islands*.

On the *Torres Islands*, however, we find the widespread Sukwe and Tamate Societies, including seven grades of rank, each characterized by a particular type of mask.³

On the *Banks Islands* the just-mentioned Sukwe and Tamate Societies are as fully developed as any societies in Melanesia.

Both the Sukwe and Tamate societies, which are probably related though there is no proof of a connection, were probably introduced to Banks as well as to the New Hebrides.⁴ Of the Sukwe we read: "The institution consists of a series of grades, by which a man rises in rank, and membership comprises the entire male population. The novice must in every case be introduced into his new rank by one who has previously taken it, to whom he makes appropriate payment. The actual point of each ceremony [at least on Malekula] is the erection of a wooden image, a dolmen or a stone platform or certain of these combined . . ." ⁵ A pig is sacrificed by the novice, whereupon the latter adopts a new name and a new fire and is given the insignia of his new rank. On the Banks Islands the ceremonies are not public, and there is no fixed number of grades, but there is no age limit for admission.⁶ The expenses connected with the rising in rank, are, however, so heavy that most people never attain the higher grades.⁷

The adopting of a new name may be explained as assuming a new personality. It is clear that ideas concerning death are closely connected with these societies. Not only does the word *tamate* mean 'ghost' or 'dead', but in the ceremony of initiation there is evidence of the representation of death and return to life.

¹ Hocart 1931; 306. Frizzi 1914; 21. Somerville 1897; 382. Penny 1887; 53. Verguet 1885; 212. Hopkins 1928; 201.

² Ivens 1903; 15. Combe 1911; 347.

³ Codrington 1891; 105. Combe 1911; 52 ff. Durrad 1939-41; XI 90 f.

⁴ Codrington 1891; 70. Ivens 1934; 53.

⁵ Codrington 1891; 70. Ivens 1934; 53.

⁶ Layard 1928; 42 f.

⁷ Codrington 1891; 70, 103.

Thus the beating of the novice and the destruction of his house during his initiation is very suggestive of a ceremonial death, and so is the wailing of his female relatives when he leaves them.¹

Each Sukwe grade has its own mask,² and most Tamate societies possess objects either worn as "hats" or masks or carried in the hand. These often bear the shape of the animal or other object from which the society has its name. There are both male and female masks. Consequently the masks for which the societies are named may be regarded as definitely sacred. What seems, however, to be clear is that the use of such an animal as food or otherwise is not only forbidden to those who do not belong to the society, but the prohibition ceases after initiation. There is, however, one definite sign of respect for the animals. The members of a society will not utter the name of the fish connected with it.³

From the Banks we may now proceed to the numerous and mostly rather small islands, known collectively as the *New Hebrides*.

On Epi Island as well as on Aomba or Lepers' Island northeast of Malekula there are graded societies, probably similar to those of Banks.⁴ On other of the Small Islands northeast of Malekula there is a kind of individual introduction to sexual life, unlike collective initiation. The initiate is covered with mats or the like representing his mother's womb and is then brought forth with various humiliations.⁵ However there seems to be no question of previous death and thus of a return to life. Nevertheless Layard understands the ceremony as a resurrection, and at least it must be admitted that it is closely connected with admission into the Nangki Society and the taking of a new name.⁶ Every step upwards in grades is combined with sacrifices of pigs with valuable deformed pig tusks.⁷

The graded society of Aomba, there called the Hungwe, is probably the same as the Sukwe.⁸ Besides it is stated that the secret society of the "Small Islands" has one grade only including

¹ Rivers 1914; II 208.

² Codrington 1891; 85f. Rivers 1914; 81, 100.

³ Combe 1911; 80, 103.

⁴ Deacon 1929; 503ff.

⁵ Layard 1951; 53ff.

⁶ Layard 1942; 12.

⁷ Speiser 1923; 398ff. Speiser 1913; 67.

⁸ Nevermann 1960; 93ff.

all the male members of the village, who are admitted at the same time by a series of ceremonies during a period of thirty years in which thousands of pigs are killed and all assume the title of Nal, while those who assist a second time take a supernumary title.¹

On the whole, however, it seems that on the small islands lying off the coast of Malekula the secret society ceremonies have become in certain ways mixed with the graded society.²

Admission to the Nangki Society, says Layard, shows the ritual death of which the outward visible signs are the taking of a new name and making a new fire and a rank, during the period immediately following imitating the customs connected with a birth.³

In the interior of Espiritu Santo the society has two grades, and promotion to the upper one is connected with additional costs.⁴

The society of Pentecost Island or Raga is similar to if not identical with the Sukwe, and every step upwards requires additional payment. "Dadurch erlangt man Mana und nimmt nicht nur auf Erden an Ansehen zu, sondern auch in der Seelenwelt und wird daher nach seinem Tode ein angenehmes Leben in der Jenseits führen."⁵

On Ambrym and Epi there are graded societies, on Ambrym connected with masks and sacred instruments.⁶

Speiser's statement concerning the purpose of the Pentecost society agrees with that of Layard of the Small Islands. The purpose, he says, "is an effort to achieve immortality implicit with the attempt to ward off the activities of the Guardian Ghost who is an earthbound creature in the cave through which the ghost of the dead man must pass on his way to the Land of the Dead and who will devour him if not duly initiated by the lifelong performances of these rites supported by sacrifices of the dead man's kin . . ."⁷

It is extremely difficult not to say impossible to give a satisfactory account of the secret societies of Malekula and the New

¹ Layard 1942; 144.

² Layard 1934-36; VI 59.

³ Layard 1942; 02.

⁴ Codrington 1891; 15. Combe 1911; 8.

⁵ Combe 1911; 52 ff. Speiser 1923; 97.

⁶ Guiart 1958; 158 ff.

⁷ Deacon 1929; 503 ff. Guiart 1951; 58 f.

⁸ Layard 1942; 13.

Hebrides as a whole. Even though information may seem to be ample, it is nevertheless insufficient on essential points. For one thing conditions vary according to locality, and besides apparently related societies may appear under different names.

All along the coasts of Malekula there is a graded society with increasing payments.¹ In southwestern Malekula the society includes practically all male persons and has no less than thirty-two grades with different badges or masks. Each step upwards must be paid and is accompanied by the erection of wooden figures, a stone circle and finally a megalithic monument.² The novice must be introduced by one who has already obtained the grade concerned. The society is similar to the Nangki Society and has a religious stamp.² In southwestern Malekula there are really two reciprocally exclusive and antagonistic societies, connected with localized sibs and moieties,³ (for social organization see above). In southwestern Malekula there is a special society for women, much simpler than that of the men.³ In western Malekula the performances of the secret society have the character of a cult drama, and the destruction of spirit figures and the making of new ones is interpreted as death and resurrection.⁴ In northern Malekula the Nangki Society is in disintegration and in central Malekula it does not occur at all. In northern Malekula admission to the highest grades is a privilege of certain sibs and families.⁵

Cannibalism is often mentioned from the New Hebrides, e.g. from the island of Tanna by as early a traveller as Captain James Cook, and his statement is corroborated by several later authors not only about Tanna but also about other southern islands in the New Hebrides.⁶

On Aomba cannibalism reached the highest degree of development and women were there especially fattened for eating.⁷ On the small islands particularly the northern ones, it was part of human sacrifices.⁷ From the Nambas region of Malekula canni-

¹ Dietschy 1951; 372f. Layard 1928; 42.

² Deacon 1934; 436f.

³ Deacon 1934; 98ff. Harrison 1937; 44.

⁴ Deacon 1934; 348.

⁵ Deacon 1934; 71f.

⁶ Cook 1779; 60. Turner 1861; 83. Erskine 1853; 60. Somerville 1893a; 382. Speiser 1934; 189.

⁷ Deacon 1934-36; V 485. Speiser 1913; 94. Harrison 1937; 40, 266.

balism is mentioned by Speiser,¹ whereas it is said to be absent in northern Malekula, as it was on the Banks Islands, too.²

The existence of secret societies on *New Caledonia* is highly questionable. Boys are certainly incised,³ and this may possibly mean initiation into a society, but at any rate it is extremely doubtful.³ On the other hand masks have been known from New Caledonia for nearly two centuries, but unfortunately almost nothing is known about them, except that they do not represent ancestors and that according to tradition their use was introduced from across the sea.² Cannibalism was common after wars,³ just as it was on the Loyalty Islands, too.⁴

J. de Marzan certainly speaks of no less than four secret societies on the *Fiji Islands*, but actually they seem to be neither secret nor societies in the proper sense of the words.⁵ Probably this applies likewise to the one or two minor secret societies mentioned by Capell and Lester.⁶

According to tradition, the Nanga or Nabaki Society was introduced from the West among some tribes of Viti Levu.⁷ Women are strictly excluded, and it consists of three classes, viz. for initiates, adults and old men respectively. Initiation takes place yearly in a consecrated, rectangular place surrounded by stones and is combined with circumcision or incision. Those previously initiated lie motionless in the most sacred western part of the enclosure, smeared with blood and entrails of pigs killed in honour of the occasion. They are said to be the ancestors who have returned from the Land of the Dead. The novices must crawl over them and are then treated with a ritual meal of yams and pork, followed by sexual licence, considered a fertility magic. The initiation is really an admittance to ancestor worship and thus to the ordinary cult association and not to a secret society.

The Fijians have in former days been notorious as some of the

¹ Sarasin 1929; 240. Turner 1861; 427. de Vaux 1863; 351. Lambert 1930; 93f. Lombardt 1945; 30. Hagen & Pineau 1889; 324ff.

² Labillardière a.n. viii; II 241. Lambert 1945; 30, 34f.

³ Turner 1861; 427. Hadfield 1920; 168f. de Vaux 1883; 351. Sarasin 1929; 211. Sarasin 1929; 240. Turner 1861; 427. Lambert 1930; 93f.

⁴ Ray 1917; 261. Sarasin 1929; 217f.

⁵ de Marzan 1908; 18ff.

⁶ Capell & Lester 1940-42; XII 42.

⁷ Thomson 1908; 50. Joske 1889; 254ff. Fison 1885; 50ff.

worst cannibals in the Pacific.¹ The eating of human flesh was probably a male privilege but not a prerogative of any society.

In connection with war there was cannibalism on the *Lau Islands*, too.² The Nanga cult is said to have existed here formerly.³

Secret societies seem to be unknown everywhere in Micronesia, except possibly on the Marianas (see below). On *Palau* there was a system of male age classes, comprising members, as far as possible, of all sibs and sub-sibs and possessing their own club houses.⁴ Besides there were corresponding minor associations for the women.

In Polynesia, on the other hand, the Arioi Society had all the characteristics of a true secret society.⁵ It belonged mainly to the *Society Islands*, but similar associations occurred on the *Marquesas*, *Mangarewa* and *Hawai*, although there somewhat changed. It may be doubtful whether it occurred on the Marianas, too, as suggested by Mühlmann, for there the aboriginal culture disappeared centuries ago.

Admission to the Arioi Society was combined with certain rites, but the one necessary requirement was the falling into a trance, when Oro, the divine institutor and protector of the society, possessed the initiate.⁶ The society included several grades, and promotion to a higher grade required a feast, paid by the relatives of the initiate. During their regular visits to other islands of the archipelago, when they performed their ritual dances, the Arioi were received as highly honoured and exacting guests and were allowed the most unlimited sexual licence. The issue of such occasional intercourse was inevitably killed, as were all children of the Arioi.

In her paper on the nature and function of secret societies Camilla H. Wedgwood has distinguished between their ostensible and latent functions.⁶ The former are those which are known and acknowledged by all members of the society, while the latter do not appear till it is disintegrating. The purposes of the societies

¹ Wilkes 1844; III 107. Erskine 1853; 256 ff, 438. Lawry 1850; 40 ff.

² Thompson 1940; 104.

³ Thompson 1940; 117.

⁴ Stillfried 1952; 43 ff.

⁵ Mühlmann 1955. Mühlmann 1934.

⁶ Wedgwood 1940-41; 130 ff.

are manifold. They may include the possession of magical secrets, they may be medical, revolutionary, etc. Among the latent functions we have the strengthening of the solidarity between different villages and sibs by arranging feasts and common meetings. Although Camilla Wedgwood takes nearly all examples from Oceania, the relations between them and other institutions are obviously outside the scope of the paper.

Schlesier has discussed the esoteric cults in Melanesia, not only of the societies proper, but also the cult associations combined with ancestors, fertility, Dema and stone cults, etc.¹ The cult associations, however, are certainly esoteric but only in the sense that admission requires a certain age, whereas, like the Californian Kuksucult, it is otherwise open to all initiated sib members, in other words to the entire population. Such cult associations are, as we have seen, common in New Guinea, and even the so-called secret societies of the Mejprat may belong to them. There is no reason to enter into details regarding these associations, since they have been discussed fully by Schlesier, for instance the seclusion of the initiated and the abolishment of food taboos, the use of sacred trumpets, particularly in northern New Guinea, the ritual death of the initiates and their intercourse with the ancestral spirits. The latter elements as well as the absence of payment for admission and of rank grades are considered pre-Austronesian.²

In his pioneer but now long abandoned attempt to establish chronological stratification in Melanesian culture Graebner classed secret societies among his east-Papuan elements.³ With good reason Schlesier rejects the idea of a particular "Geheimbundschicht" in Melanesia, while on the other hand he thinks that the societies in southern and central Melanesia have a double origin, i.e. a pre-Austronesian basis, influenced by Austronesian ideas.⁴ This may perhaps account for the graduation of the societies there. It agrees with the graduation of the Arioi Society, where admission depends not on the calling of a personal guardian spirit, but on the initiate being possessed by the tutelary god of the society.

There is no evidence of admission or cannibalism being sib or society prerogatives.

¹ Schlesier 1958; 10 ff.

² Schlesier 1958; II 30, 2 ff.

³ Graebner 1905; 32.

⁴ Schlesier 1958; II 50 ff.

4. The Problem of Circumpacific Relations of Northwest American Secret Societies

It was previously mentioned that Graebner reckoned secret societies among the elements of his East-Papuan culture stratum, which is identical with what the hearty supporters of his school, Schmidt and Koppers, later have called the exogamous-matrilineal stratum.¹ Thus they link them with matrilineality, saying "Man geht wohl nicht fehl [in considering them] "eine Äusserung der oppositionellen Bestrebungen zu erblicken, von den Frauen sich frei zu machen."² They mention, indeed, the northwest American secret societies in connection with the matrilineal cultures.³ It is clear, however, that they occur outside matrilineal cultures, too, and it is certainly no matter of course that they belong to a culture stratum originally established in Melanesia.

If Schlesier is right in considering the graded societies in Melanesia a result of Austronesian influences, this certainly points to East Asia, but they cannot be copies of any particular prototypes, since primitive graded societies are unknown in east Asia and rather, as he himself says, suggest Indonesian ideas in general.

In one case only is there a possibility of connecting Melanesian associations with Indonesia, viz. the so-called Kakihan Society of Ceram if, indeed, this is a society and not a cult association, to which admission depends on an ordinary youth initiation. In this case Jensen probably correctly spoke of Melanesian influence in Ceram instead of Indonesian influences in Melanesia as suggested by Rivers.

On the whole relations between Oceania and Asiatic secret societies are very doubtful. The revolutionary societies of China may probably be left entirely out of consideration. The only possibility seems to be the briefly described society from the Japanese Jômon period, combined with youth initiation, masked persons in grass cloaks and the cultivation of tropical tubers as taro and yams. This may certainly suggest connections with tropical Oceania, perhaps rather with the cult associations than with the secret societies proper. There may be other southern elements in the Jômon culture, too.⁴

¹ Schmidt & Koppers n.d.; 26.

² Schmidt & Koppers n.d.; 77, cf. 82, 307.

³ Schmidt & Koppers n.d.; 78.

⁴ Cf. Groot 1951; 54 ff.

Relations between the secret societies of Northwestern America and those of the Old World are still more doubtful. It has been mentioned that most Northwest American societies are clearly related themselves except that of the Kutenai and possibly the somewhat questionable societies of the Pacific Eskimo and Aleut, of which next to nothing is known.

The difference between the northern coastal tribes, where admission depends on sibs and lineages, and the southern tribes dependent on guardian spirit calling, is perhaps more apparent than essential, since the guardian spirits at least among the Kwakiutl and probably other tribes, too, are inherited. There are certainly no graded in Melanesia, but a difference of rank between them which probably has reference to the rank of sibs and lineages. The abduction of the initiates by the spirits and the adoption of a new name are no doubt tokens of ritual death and resurrection, while the cannibalism of the Hamatsa may be a survival from the time when the societies were, as Boas thought, warrior associations. The use of masks is too widespread to suggest any relations.

The grass costumes (cloaks?) of the Aleut and Pacific Eskimo societies seem very un-Eskimo and may suggest connections with the Japanese Neolithic, but the evidence is admittedly very slight. On the whole it seems extremely questionable whether the Northwest American societies are rooted in the Old World, whereas their elements may have been combined to form them in the American Northwest as a result of stimulus diffusion. If we ask if they are due to circumpacific culture relations, the answer must at present be neither yes nor no, but the somewhat unsatisfactory oldday verdict: *Non liquet*.

V

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AA: American Anthropologist. Washington. New Series. New York.
Lancaster. Menasha.
AAA-M: Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association. Lancaster. Menasha.
AES-M: Monographs of the American Ethnological Society. New York.
-P: Publications of the American Ethnological Society. New York.
AGW-M: Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft. Wien.
AL: Annali Lateranensi. Città del Vaticano.
AMNH-: American Museum of Natural History. New York.
-AP: Anthropological Papers.
-M: Memoirs.
-H: Handbook Series.
AR: Archiv für Religionswissenschaft. Leipzig.
BAAS-R: Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. London.
BAE-: Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington.
-AR: Annual Report.
-B: Bulletin.
BTLV: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië. 's-Gravenhage.
CU-CA: Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology. New York.
E: Ethnos. Stockholm.
EA: Ethnologischer Anzeiger. Stuttgart.
ÉFEO-: École Française d'Extrême-Orient. Hanoi. Paris.
-B: Bulletin.
-P: Publications.
F: Folk. København.
IAE: Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie. Leiden.
J(R)AI: Journal of the (Royal) Anthropological Institute. London.
L'A: L'Anthropologie. Paris.
MS-M: Monumenta Serica. Monographs. Peking.
MV: Monographien zur Völkerkunde. Hamburg.

- NG: Nova Guinea. Leiden.
 NMC-: National Museum of Canada. Ottawa.
 -AS: Anthropological Series.
 -B: Bulletin.
 O: Oceania. Melbourne. Sydney.
 P: Paideuma. Wiesbaden.
 PM-PAAE: Peabody Museum Papers in American Archeology and
 Ethnology. Cambridge, Mass.
 SI-: Smithsonian Institution. Washington.
 -AR: Annual Report.
 -CK: Contributions to Knowledge.
 -MC: Miscellaneous Collections.
 SK: Studien zur Kulturkunde. Wiesbaden.
 SM-J: The Sarawak Museum Journal. Kuching.
 SO-J: Journal de la Société des Océanistes. Paris.
 SWJA: Southwestern Journal of Anthropology. Albuquerque.
 TITLV: Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
 Batavia & 's-Hage.
 TP: T'oung Pao. Leiden.
 UA-AP: Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska. College,
 Alaska.
 UC-: University of California. Berkeley.
 -AR: Anthropological Records.
 -PAAE: Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.
 UP-AP: Anthropological Publications of the University of Pennsylvania.
 Philadelphia.
 USNM-R: Report of the U. S. National Museum. Washington.
 UW-PA: University of Washington. Publications in Anthropology.
 Seattle.
 WBKL: Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik. Wien.
 YU-PA: Yale University. Publications in Anthropology. New Haven.
 ZE: Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Berlin.
 ZR: Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft. Stuttgart.

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