KAJ BIRKET-SMITH

STUDIES IN CIRCUMPACIFIC CULTURE RELATIONS

I. Potlatch and Feasts of Merit

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 42, 3

Kommissionær: Munksgaard
København 1967

DET KONGELIGE DANSKE VIDENSKABERNES SELSKAB udgiver følgende publikationsrækker:

THE ROYAL DANISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND LETTERS *issues the following series of publications:*

	Bibliographical Abbreviation
Oversigt over Selskabets Virksomhed (8°) *(Annual in Danish)*	Overs. Dan. Vid. Selsk.
Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser (8°)	Hist. Filos. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk.
Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter (4°) *(History, Philology, Philosophy, Archeology, Art History)*	Hist. Filos. Skr. Dan. Vid. Selsk.
Matematisk-fysiske Meddelelser (8°)	Mat. Fys. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk.
Matematisk-fysiske Skrifter (4°) *(Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology)*	Mat. Fys. Skr. Dan. Vid. Selsk.
Biologiske Meddelelser (8°)	Biol. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk.
Biologiske Skrifter (4°) *(Botany, Zoology, General Biology)*	Biol. Skr. Dan. Vid. Selsk.

Selskabets sekretariat og postadresse: Dantes Plads 5, København V.

The address of the secretariate of the Academy is:

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab,
Dantes Plads 5, København V, Denmark.

Selskabets kommissionær: MUNKSGAARD's Forlag, Prags Boulevard 47, København S.

The publications are sold by the agent of the Academy:

MUNKSGAARD, *Publishers,*
47 Prags Boulevard, København S, Denmark.

KAJ BIRKET-SMITH

STUDIES IN CIRCUMPACIFIC CULTURE RELATIONS

I. Potlatch and Feasts of Merit

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser **42,** 3

Kommissionær: Munksgaard
København 1967

CONTENTS

PRINTED IN DENMARK
BIANCO LUNOS BOGTRYKKERI A/S

I

INTRODUCTION

One of the most remarkable cultures of aboriginal North America is – or rather until the final decades of last century was – that of the North Pacific coast. Basically it belonged to a great circumpolar continuum, but whereas the cultural development of the Eskimo turned out to be a growing adaptation to the ice of the Polar Sea, and among the Indians in the interior of Alaska and Canada there was an adaptation to the deep winter snows of the boreal forests, the geographical background of the adaptation of the Coast Indians was the deeply indented fjords and inlets, an environment in many respects similar to that of western Norway, while at the same time the country was open to circumpacific influences from eastern Asia. Many of its elements pointed to Old World origins. In fact, ever since the Jesup North Pacific Expedition the relations of the Northwest Coast Indians to the Palæo-Asiatic tribes have been obvious while, on the other hand, Boas thought that there was no proof of any connection between them and the Malayo-Melanesian world.[1]

Later, Kroeber emphasized the isolated position of the Northwest Coast area as compared to other culture areas of North America. He was of opinion that it shared only the most basic elements with the rest of the continent, being originally almost identical with the historic Plateau culture, whereas its characteristics were either developed locally or were imported from the Old World. Still he believed that on closer investigation the Asiatic relations would prove to be weaker than might be expected beforehand.[2]

In his more recent work, however, Kroeber did not hesitate to state that the American Northwest Coast "has been reached to

[1] Boas 1910; 6, 12.
[2] Kroeber 1917; 392. Kroeber 1923; 7ff, 16, 20.

an unusual degree by influences from Asia. Some of these, slat or rod armor and hats, for instance, show distributions as far southwest as the higher civilizational centers of eastern Asia. Many other resemblances are vaguer, or show interrupted distributions, but carry even farther, to Indonesia and Oceania: carving, masks, wealth emphasis."[1]

In the meantime, Gahs had pointed out certain similarities between Indonesian, Palæo-Asiatic, and Northwest Coast cultures, and Koppers had shown mythological parallels between recent East Asiatic and pre-Chinese cultures and those of the North Pacific and other North American Indians.[2] Apart from the attempts of the authors to fit their results into the scheme of the Vienna "historical" school their investigations strengthen, of course, the idea of inter-continental relations. Moreover, numerous authors have, from time to time, called attention to points of resemblance between Northwest Coast art and Chinese art of the Shang and Chou periods.

A detailed analysis of a single Northwest Coast culture with a particularly old-fashioned stamp, viz, that of the Eyak of the Copper River delta, resulted in establishing a considerable number of traits with a decidedly circumpacific distribution, and there could hardly be any doubt that the general direction of the drift had been from Asia, particularly perhaps from the Amur region, to the western hemisphere.[3] The basic culture of the coast appeared to be that of the old circumpolar ice-hunting stage, and thus in a way Kroeber was right in his view of the close affinity of the coast to the plateau culture, which is also founded on ice-hunting elements, but while the introduction of snowshoe elements forms a link between the plateau and the subarctic forests, the coast region is only very superficially affected by the showshoe complex.[4]

To some extent Philip Drucker has arrived at similar ideas, in so far as he called attention to parallels between Eskimo culture, that of the early archæological layers in the lower Fraser

[1] Kroeber 1939; 28.

[2] Gahs 1929; 27f. Koppers 1930; 360ff.

[3] Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 519f. For circumpacific elements among the Chugach Eskimo see Birket-Smith 1953; 209ff. For knot records Birket-Smith 1966.

[4] Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 532.

River region, and the more recent culture of the Wakashan tribes, concluding that they have all sprung from the same root.[1] As to circumpacific influences he observed that "the Pacific regions in which the most numerous cultural resemblances to Northwest Coast patterns occur – Melanesia and parts of Indonesia – are so remote as to make it highly unlikely that materials, much less people, could ever drift to the coasts of North America," and he continued that "it seems far more likely . . . that the Indonesian-Melanesian and the Northwest Coast patterns represent the end products of two separate cultural currents flowing out of East Asia."[2] To this I can fully subscribe.

When speaking of the Northwest Coast as a single culture area it is a matter of course that even if the fundamental characteristics are more or less identical, such as dependence on the sea, the highly developed wood-carver's art, emphasis of prestige based upon wealth and – in a negative sense – lack of agriculture and pottery, it is by no means uniform in every detail.[3] The extremes are represented on the one hand by the Coast Salish at Georgia and Juan de Fuca Straits in the south and, on the other hand, by the Haida and Tlingit in the north. Of the intervening tribes, the Nootka and Kwakiutl are particularly closely connected, showing at the same time some common features with the Bellacoola and Tsimshian, whereas the latter in most other respects share the majority of their characteristics with the Haida and Tlingit. To some degree influenced by the Tlingit and partly also by the Eskimo, Eyak culture seems to represent a rather isolated and old-fashioned phase of the Northwest Coast pattern.[4]

One of the outstanding features of Northwest Coast social life was the importance of wealth as reflected in the so-called potlatch, which, however, occurred not only on the coast but even far inland in British Columbia and Alaska as well as among some Alaskan Eskimo. To be sure, Kroeber recognized in the emphasis on wealth a typical Old World trait, but he added that if it was found, for instance, both among the Yurok of California

[1] Drucker 1955; 71f, 77f. Cf. Drucker 1943; 128.
[2] Drucker 1955; 62f.
[3] Cf. Suttles 1962; 525ff. Also M. W. Smith 1956; 276ff.
[4] Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 523ff.

and the Igorot of the Philippines, it would be absurd to attribute it to specific historic contact.[1]

Now, to some extent the true meaning of the potlatch institution seems to have been misunderstood, and as at the same time it shows many characteristic parallels to certain Old World customs, there is every reason for subjecting the whole problem to closer investigation.[2]

[1] Kroeber 1923; 19f.
[2] For preliminary accounts see Birket-Smith 1964 and Birket-Smith 1965.

II

THE POTLATCH INSTITUTION OF NORTH AMERICA

1. The Social Background

Before delving deeper into the problem it seems expedient, briefly to sketch the social organization of the tribes in question. Among the Eyak, Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian and some northern Kwakiutl (Xaisla) there are matrilineal, exogamous moieties or phratries and sibs, whereas they do not occur among the Bellacoola and southern coastal tribes, where descent is bilateral. Extraordinary conditions prevail among the Kwakiutl proper, who form a link between the northern and southern tribes, but they need not be discussed here. Neither the Aleut nor the Eskimo have any sib organization, and among them descent is primarily bilateral. On the other hand matrilineal sibs occur among several Athapaskan tribes in Alaska and on the plateaux, but while they may be old in Alaska, they are in several cases known to have been copied in rather recent times after the coastal pattern in British Columbia, and they are unknown among the Inland Salish apart from the Lilloet and some Shuswap.

As opposed to the sib organization on the northern coast, the secret or dancing societies mainly belong to the south. Among the southern Coast Salish admission is free to everybody, provided he is summoned by the spirits, even if it requires a distribution of gifts, in some cases in the form of a potlatch. Among the Kwakiutl admission is more limited; not only does it always require a potlatch, but besides it belongs to the privileges which a former member hands over to the son of his daughter. Among the tribes still farther north, i.e. the Tsimshian, Haida, and Tlingit, the right to admission is hereditary and likewise connected with a potlatch, but here the latter is the main thing and admission to the

societies more or less of secondary importance. As. moreover, it can be proved that names and ceremonies connected with the northern societies are taken over, directly or indirectly, from the Kwakiutl, it stands to reason that in their present form at least they originate among these Indians. Incidentally, the same thing is true of the societies of the Coast Salish.

Among the inland tribes of British Columbia and Alaska there are no secret societies, and if they ever occurred among the Eyak they are at any rate now entirely forgotten. On the other hand there are faint traces of such among the Aleut and the Eskimo on the Pacific coast and Nunivak Island. It seems likely that in some way or other they were related to the Indian societies. even though they differed so much that a direct connection is out of the question.

Independent of and, indeed, crossing the sib organization there was among the coastal tribes an elaborate system of rank attached to certain lineages, which at their disposal had a number of hereditary privileges in terms of titles, crests, etc. that might be acquired by members of the lineage.[1] There is no reason for entering into details; it will suffice to quote Drucker's statement: "Actually, the members of each group occupied a series of social positions that were graded in minute steps from high to low. Within each graded series it is impossible to mark off a fixed point separating noble from commoner. Furthermore, despite the avowed rigidity of the system, it was possible for a person to modify his own status slightly for better or for worse and to improve or worsen that of his children (or that of his maternal nephews in the case of the northern matrilineal societies)," and only quite exceptionally could a low-ranking man of particular merits acquire certain prerogatives beyond those to which he was entitled by birth.[2] Only among the Eyak the rank system was so

[1] Here, as well as in the following, the slaves are left out of account as they are, of course, outside the ordinary society.

[2] Drucker 1955; 119f. Cf. Drucker 1939; 57f. For rank distinction cf. further: General (Boas 1890; 830. Sapir 1916; 359). Nootka (Sproat 1868; 113. Boas 1891; 595. Adam 1918; 371ff. Drucker 1951; 243, 245, 247). Kwakiutl (Boas 1897; 338f. Boas 1920; 111ff. Adam 1918; 249, 251. Boas 1924; 330f. Olson 1940; 178, 182. Olson 1954; 220. Codere 1957; 473ff). Bellacoola (McIlwraith 1948; 179). Tsimshian (Jenness 1932; 337. Garfield 1939; 177ff. Garfield, Wingert, Barbeau n. d.; 28). Haida (Murdock 1934; 360. Murdock 1936; 15ff). Tlingit (Holmberg 1856; 294. Krause 1885; 122. Jones 1914; 59f. Swanton 1908; 59f, 173. De Laguna 1952; 6).

to say defective, in so far as a nobility in the proper sense of the word hardly existed, although the relatives of the chiefs had a higher status than other people.[1]

Thus, rank depended mainly on birth but, be it noted, only potentially, for wealth was a necessary qualification or rather, it was indispensable for a man to assert or improve his position by giving one or more potlatches in order to show his contempt for his property by giving it away in a grandiose style.

The importance of birth for a high social status seems to be gradually decreasing towards the south, where wealth alone became more and more dominating. As among the Eyak hereditary nobility was more or less limited to the kindred of the chiefs.[2] An upper class existed among the Makah, Quileute, and the various Coast Salish tribes, but the distinction was nowhere sharp, and independent of the hereditary guardian-spirit concept farther north.[3] Of the Nisqually it is stated that "there was no inherited social stratification. But there was very definite stratification of social position . . . blood was not in itself capable of establishing or preventing high status."[4] A rather well-defined class-distinction, though probably strengthened during the contact period, occurred farther south in Washington and northern Oregon among tribes such as the Lower Chinook and the Wishram, Quinaielt, and Alsea.[5] In southern Oregon and northern California, wealth was apparently more decisive than birth, although the latter was not entirely unessential, and at any rate there was no sharp boundary between nobles and commoners.[6]

Among the tribes of the interior, the general picture resembles in many points what has been sketched above, viz, that social stratification due to hereditary prerogatives primarily belonged to the Northwest Coast proper. True, a hereditary nobility was found in the plateau area among the Chilcotin, Shuswap, Carrier, and Tahltan, but it is expressely stated to have been borrowed from the coast (indirectly in the case of the Shuswap), i.e. from

[1] Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 127.
[2] Lewis 1906; 155.
[3] Benedict 1923; 77.
[4] M. W. Smith 1940; 48.
[5] General (Barnett 1937; 185. Lewis 1906; 155). Chinook (Ray 1938; 48. Ray 1942; 228). Wishram (Spier & Sapir 1930; 211). Quinaielt (Olson 1936; 89). Alsea (Farrand 1901; 242. Drucker 1939a; 92). Cf. Collins 1950; 331 ff.
[6] Spier 1930; 307 ff. Driver 1939; 357. Drucker 1937; 242.

the Bellacoola, Tsimshian, and Tlingit.[1] Otherwise, wealth and relationship to the chiefs, and to some extent also prowess in war, played a greater rôle than birth in general, and this applies both to the more southern tribes[2] and to the northwestern Athapaskans. Neither the Sekani, Kaska, Nabesna, nor probably the Tutchone, can be said to possess a noble class. The Kutchin distinguish only between rich and poor people,[3] and among the Ingalik, too, wealth is the decisive factor for social status,[4] whereas among the Ahtena and Tnaina the relatives of chiefs and the heads of wealthy families constitute a kind of nobility.[5] There are only the faintest traces, if any at all, of a class distinction among the Chugach Eskimo,[6] and among the Eskimo as a whole it is quite unknown, prestige being first and foremost a matter of hunting skill.

2. Distribution and Function of the Potlatch

Potlatch is a word originating in the Chinook jargon, the general trading language of the North Pacific coast, into which it was adopted from a Nootka word meaning "giving away" or "a gift".[7] According to Ray it has "little specific meaning in native speech . . . It seems to refer to any celebration with feasting and gift-giving".[8] In ethnological literature, however, it now signifies feasts, particularly those of the American Northwest Coast, during which the host provides great amounts of presents to the guests in order to assert his social position and raise his rank.

Outside the Northwest Coast, somewhat similar feasts were celebrated by the Aleut and Pacific Eskimo, and their influence can be traced as far north as Point Barrow. They also occurred among the Inland Salish and Athapaskans from the Cœur d'Alêne

[1] General (Jenness 1932; 351, 362, 366, 371). Chilcotin (Teit 1909; 786. Farrand 1899; 646). Chilcotin, Carrier (Morice 1890; 142f). Shuswap (Boas 1891; 637. Teit 1909; 570, 575f). Tahltan (Emmons 1911; 29).

[2] Klikitat, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Lilloet, Thompson, Kutenai, Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne (Ray 1942; 228). Lilloet (Teit 1906; 254). Thompson (Teit 1900; 289).

[3] Hardisty 1867; 312. Osgood 1936; 108.

[4] Osgood 1940; 456.

[5] Allen 1889; 266. Osgood 1937; 131.

[6] Cf. Birket-Smith 1953; 92f.

[7] Handbook; II 293.

[8] Ray 1938; 93.

in northern Idaho, on to the British Columbian plateaux and the interior of Alaska.[1] On account of the enormous expenses often involved in these feasts, they were suppressed by the Canadian government as early as 1895,[2] but then an essential part of the social foundation at least of the coastal tribes was destroyed at the same time.

The term potlatch in its specific meaning derives, as mentioned above, from the Chinook jargon, but actually the feasts are not particularly characteristic of the *Chinook*. Says Ray: "Among the Lower Chinook the complex known as potlatch existed only in the most superficial sense . . . All the signification of the typical potlatch was absent. Presents were distributed but return was in no sense obligatory, to say nothing of return with interest;" often such feasts took place at weddings and puberty.[3]

Very faint traces of potlatch may, perhaps, be found among the *Alsea* farther south on the Oregon coast in so far as bride prices are repaid "in the form of gifts and feasts, though the exact method is not clear. It suggests in certain ways the potlatch system of Vancouver island, for there was an apparent effort on the side of each family to keep the other family in debt to it."[4] Still, a connection with the true potlatch is at best very doubtful, and if we proceed as far south as northern California, every indication of it has disappeared in spite of the excessive influence of property in social life e.g. among the Tolowa and Yurok.[5] The distribution of gifts among the *Wishram* on the lower Columbia River at a boy's first salmon and bear or the first menstruation of a girl[6] may possibly be interpreted as influenced by the potlatch institution, but in any case it is not typical.

It is not, indeed, till we get to the Coast Salish and neighbouring tribes that we find the potlatch in its characteristic form, although it is often here on a somewhat smaller scale than among the tribes still farther north. Generally the ceremonial prerogatives are fewer, and as there is no sib system, the guests are partly

[1] Drucker 1955; 123. Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 475. Birket-Smith 1953; 223.
[2] McClellan 1954; 75.
[3] Ray 1938; 93, 95. Cf. Ray 1942; 231. Drucker 1955; 126.
[4] Farrand 1901; 243.
[5] Drucker 1937; 264, 267. Kroeber 1925; 2, 54.
[6] Spier & Sapir 1930; 262.

inhabitants of the same village as the host, partly also of foreign villages.[1]

Of the *Quinaielt* on the coast of Washington we are told[2] that "traditionally only chiefs gave potlatches. A man of ordinary means might, if he chose, give a minor feast to kinsmen and friends of his own and near-by villages, and small gifts might be distributed to the guests. But pretentious affairs were always given by the rich and well-born. Theirs were not only the right but the obligation to honor themselves and their families by means of the potlatch." The principal cause for such feasts was the adoption of a new name, but they took place likewise at death feasts if suggested by a guardian spirit. Special tally keepers kept accounts of the gifts.

A potlatch was given by the *Makah* at Cape Flattery "whenever an Indian has acquired enough property . . . to make a present to a large number of the tribe," more particularly at the admission to the secret Wolf Society or a year after a funeral "both to appease the spirit of the departed and to give notice that mourning is over."[3] The *Quileute* would give a potlatch for acquiring hereditary honours, for entering new phases of life, and for admission to a secret society; the guests were obliged to return the same number of gifts or even more.[4]

The same kind of feasts occur among the *Chimakum*, *Twana*, and *Klallam*.[5] The Klallam potlatches[6] were connected with spirit singing or initiation to secret societies. Gifts, which did not need to be returned with interest, were given i. a. to a high-ranking guest whose wife or sons took part in dancing and singing. But otherwise interest was obligatory. Thus, a man might try to ruin a rival by giving him more than he could possibly return, even if the man who was challenged in this way called on his relatives for assistance in accumulating enough property to pay back in order to save face. Minor potlatches occurred at life crises, weddings, and deaths, but in such cases the recipients were not bound to repay them with double interest as at a major potlatch,

[1] Drucker 1955; 126. Cf. also Gibbs 1877; 205.
[2] Olson 1936; 124f, 129.
[3] Swan 1870; 13, 67, 85.
[4] Pettitt 1950; 15. Frachtenberg 1920; 322f.
[5] Eells 1889; 657ff.
[6] Gunther 1927; 306ff.

and only village companions and close relatives from other villages took part in them. Eells gives a description of a Klallam potlatch, evidently one of the major ones, where no less than ab. 550 guests were present and gifts for $ 1340 were distributed; on another occasion the value of the gifts amounted to $ 252, and the women gave away ab. 5000 yards of calico.[1]

On the whole we find the potlatch institution everywhere among the Coast Salish at the Straits of Juan de Fuca and Georgia as well as at Puget Sound. A potlatch was here given e.g. at the puberty of a girl, the dimensions of the feast depending of the rank of her family and that of her future husband as well as of the amount of the bride price,[2] but generally speaking a potlatch was occasioned by all life crises, "marked by the use of inherited privileges, or merely transfer of the privileges themselves, as in the bestowal of an ancestral name."[3] At Puget Sound the occasions are specified thus: the acquiring of a new name, the arrival of the first salmon in summer (in case of people possessing a special guardian spirit), at deaths and secondary burial of the corpse, and after a succesful hunt; it is stated, however, that it was a recent introduction among the *Nisqually-Puyallup* and probably also among some other tribes such as the *Snuqualmy* and *Skykomish*,[4] just as among the *Skagit* class distinction and, consequently, the importance of potlatch has grown after contact with white fur dealers was established. It is furthermore said that "each person receiving gifts at such an occasion was under obligation to his host to invite him to his next potlatch and to give him an adequate gift in return . . . Potlatches could be given by the rich men, who vied with each other in giving away large amounts of property and in making even larger return . . . At a potlatch the guests also distributed property among their own friends."[5]

A man possessing "wealth power" among the Puyallup-Nisqually would give a potlatch at assuming a new name or at a death feast in order to raise his prestige, but "each group was bent upon reaffirming its position in the eyes of the host so that,

[1] Eells 1883; 137ff, 147.
[2] Driver 1941; 26.
[3] Suttles 1958; 500.
[4] Haeberlin & Gunther 1930; 60. Collins 1950; 331ff.
[5] Haeberlin & Gunther 1930; 59.

as the latter's prestige was enhanced, its own would not suffer unduly in comparison." Gifts were given to a guest in two turns, first "for his trouble", i.e, as payment for assistance rendered, and second "for himself", but the latter, which were returned later with 100–150 pct. interest, were of small value, and it is added that "although the concept of interest may be said to have been present in their potlatches, the most significant influence upon economic balance seems to have been that the exchange was largely limited on the one hand, to goods which were consumed; on the other, to goods which could be accumulated and stored." Moreover, among the Puyallup-Nisqually increase of prestige occurred only within the coast population and was actually an element belonging to the north.[1]

The potlatches of the Canadian Coast Salish seem to have been even more elaborate than those south of the international border. The occasions for giving them were manifold.[2] "To assume a family name, which carried with it a cluster of rights and prerogatives, to commemorate a change in status, growing out of a life crisis, or to publicize any event having a bearing on social status demanded a public distribution of goods . . . No one could raise a house or a grave post, or be married, or name his child, and expect the matter to be taken seriously if he did not 'call the people' as witnesses. And to be called meant that the invited guest was to receive a gift or at least a portion of food." Potlatches connected with deaths are mentioned from the *Cowichan*, *Pentlatch*, *Comox*, and *Squamish*, and for the erection of totem poles from the Pentlatch and Comox.[3] Even a trifling incident such as dropping of a feather from a dancer's costume, not to speak of a serious accident necessitated a potlatch in order to "save face."

Not only the giving away of property but also destruction of it might take place. In case of some misfortune having befallen him, or if he had been ridiculed by a neighbour, a *Snanaimuq* man "will destroy a certain number of blankets . . . or he will throw the blankets away and his friends will destroy them."[4]

[1] W. M. Smith 1940; 107 ff.
[2] Boas 1891; 570. Barnett 1939; 254, 264, 269. Barnett 1955; 253 ff. Cf. Kane 1863; 168.
[3] Hill-Tout 1900; 478. Barnett 1939; 264, 269.
[4] Boas 1889; 324. Cf. Boas 1890; 835.

Mayne tells as follows of a potlatch among a non-specified Coast Salish tribe: "I was at a feast once when 800 blankets were said to have been destroyed by one man. I saw three sea-otter skins, for one of which 30 blankets had been offered and refused a few days previously, cut up into little bits about the size of two fingers, and distributed among the guests."[1]

The return gifts of the Cowichan, Pentlatch, Comox, and Squamish were expected to be greater, sometimes up to twice as great, as the original ones, and at least among the three first-mentioned tribes there was often competition among the donors.[2]

The potlatch of the *Nootka* on the west coast of Vancouver Island did not differ essentially from that of the Coast Salish. As early as the middle of the last century Sproat was aware that "the principal use made by the Ahts [i.e. Nootka] of the accumulation of personal chattels is to distribute them periodically among invited guests, each of whom is expected to return the compliment by equivalent presents on like occasions."[3] In this way, and even by destroying his own property, the host raised his rank. It was a prerogative of a chief to give a potlatch when his son or another close relative entered the Wolf Society, but otherwise it is said of at least one Nootka tribe, the *Clayoquot*, that anyone might give it provided he had sufficient wealth. On the whole it took place at all important events such as return of debts, assumption of chieftainship or a new name, births, children's first teeth or first game, puberty of girls, marriages, and deaths.[4] Usually, however, there was a distinction between actual gifts and payment for particular services or favours.[5] Here, as among the Kwakiutl, the order of precedence was strictly observed. Not only did the value of the presents depend on the rank of the recipient but "a high ranking guest at another chief's potlatch, when conducted to the wrong seat by ushers, satisfied his honor by giving a single blanket to one of the hosts. In such a situation the host repaid the gift later on during the

[1] Mayne 1862; 263.
[2] Barnett 1939; 269.
[3] Sproat 1868; 111ff. Cf. also Jewitt 1896; 81.
[4] Boas 1891; 585. Sapir 1911; 20. Sapir 1914; 75ff. Koppert 1930; 98ff. Drucker 1950; 231. Drucker 1951; 377.
[5] Koppert 1930; 102.

proceedings." Special tally-keepers had to take care of the accounts.[1]

Nowhere was the potlatch more important and nowhere is it better elucidated, particularly through the investigations of Franz Boas, than among the *Kwakiutl*, i.e. the Kwakiutl proper, on northern Vancouver Island and the opposite coast of the mainland. Boas emphasized the economic aspect of the institution, which he characterized as an interest-bearing investment.[2] Borrowing of property at exorbitant interest therefore played an overwhelming part in connection with the proceedings. A loan of five blankets for a few months had to be repaid with six, or about 25 pct. interest, and for a whole year it required 100 pct. A man might even pawn his name for 30 blankets and take it up after a year for 100. These intricate transactions will still more appear from the following quotation: "When a boy is about to take his third name, he will borrow blankets from the other members of the tribe, who will assist him. He must repay them after a year, or later, with 100 per cent interest. Thus he may have gathered 100 blankets. In June, the time set for this act, the boy will distribute these blankets among his own tribe, giving proportionally to every member of the tribe, but a few more to the chief . . . When after this time any member of the tribe distributes blankets, the boy receives treble the amount he has given . . . Thus he owns 300 blankets, of which, however, he must repay 200 after the lapse of a year. He loans the blankets out among his friends, and thus after the close of the year he may possess 400 blankets. The next June he pays his debts . . . in a festival, at which all the clans from whom he borrowed blankets are present . . . Up to this time he is not allowed to take part in feasts. But now he may distribute property in order to obtain a potlatch name . . . At this time the father gives up his seat . . . in favor of his son . . . and takes his place among the old men . . . The blankets given away at this feast are repaid with 100 per cent interest. In this manner the young man continues to loan and to distribute blankets, and thus is able, with due circumspection

[1] Drucker 1955; 127. Drucker 1951; 379.

[2] Boas 1897; 341 ff. Cf. Dawson 1888; 80f. Boas 1891; 609. Boas 1935: 40f, 68. Jenness 1937; 344f. – In his book (Halliday 1935) the author, for many years a teacher and Indian agent among the Kwakiutl, gives a full description of a potlatch, which is admittedly fictitious but is claimed to be othervise correct in every detail.

and foresight, to amass a fortune." No wonder, therefore, that it was deemed necessary to have both public accountants of property on loan and tally keepers at potlatches.[1]

Since nobody could honourably refuse a potlatch gift, the feasts gave rise to keen competition between the chiefs and their sibs. When a considerable number of blankets had been placed before a rival, he was not allowed to accept them until he had put an equal number of blankets on top of the pile, Then he received the whole amount and had to repay them with 100 pct. interest.

Not only blankets but also canoes and "coppers" were highly appreciated valuables. The latter were decorated, shield-like plates of sheet copper and were considered symbols of wealth, the value of which, sometimes up to 5000 or 7500 blankets, depended upon their history and previous price. We find them among all the northern coast tribes except the Eyak, but Locher is apparently wrong when he mentions them from the Nootka, too.[2] Often a Kwakiutl, it is said, "will offer his copper for sale to the rival tribe. If it is not accepted, it is an acknowledgement that nobody in the tribe has money enough to buy it, and the name of the tribe or clan would consequently lose weight. Therefore, if a man is willing to accept the offer, all the members of the tribe must assist him in this undertaking with loans of blankets."[3]

The most spectacular effect of rivalry was, however, the host's destruction of his own property such as the burning of his blankets, breaking of his coppers, or the giving of a "grease feast", when an enormous fire was lighted in the house so that the guests were half scorched and the roof caught fire without anybody than the host being allowed to put it out, and if his rival was unable to accomplish an equivalent deed, his name was thereby, of course, "broken."[4]

Here again there were numerous occasions for giving a potlatch.[5] It was an obligation to arrange it at births and life crises, admission to a secret society and adoption of a new name, house building and erection of totem poles, deaths, "face saving",

[1] Boas 1925; 57. Goddard 1924; 88.
[2] Locher 1932; 76 ff. Cf. Drucker 1951; 111.
[3] Boas 1897; 345.
[4] Boas 1897; 354.
[5] Boas 1897; 341 ff. Goddard 1924; 104, 122. Drucker 1950; 231. Drucker 1955; 126. Codere 1950; 63.

or, in fact, sometimes for no special reason at all but that of acquiring added prestige. It was, of course, given by a single person, but the whole village or at least a house group functioned. In some cases a potlatch might be more or less a pleasantry, but generally it was a serious and extremely expensive affair; in spite of the prohibition, and the risk of two-six months in jail, a potlatch took place as late as 1936 where the value of the gifts amounted to no less than $ 29.000.[1]

It is of importance to note, however, that the great competition potlatches did not prevail till after the erection of Fort Rupert took place in the 1830'es, when the intercourse between the villages increased and the rank of the chiefs according to Indian ideas had to be established. As a consequence, the so-called Eagle institution originated. "An Eagle was a person who had the special right to receive his gift before the highest-ranking chief was presented with his. Investigation has shown that most of these Eagles were not chiefs at all, but were men of intermediate or even common status who through industry and clever trading amassed great quantities of material wealth. Some of them, in addition, were backed by certain chiefs who recognized them as potential tools to assist in the downfall of some high-ranking rival. It is interesting to note that the Eagles made no pretenses at claiming time-hallowed names or crests, but assumed or tried to assume invented names that referred in some way to the privilege that they hoped to acquire—that of precedence in receiving gifts before the real nobles."[2]

The *Bellacoola*, a Salishan tribe north of the Kwakiutl proper, celebrated potlatches similar to the latter, including loans at interest, competition, destruction of property, etc. The reasons for giving them were likewise the same, such as admission to the Sisaok society, the adoption of a new name, "face saving", life crises, death feasts, and the erection of memorial posts. As among the Kwakiutl there was also a legal fiction, necessary for the status of the children, for giving a potlatch of repayment with interest of the bride price.[3] The presents first distributed at a potlatch were actually only recompense for services, even if they

[1] Codere 1950; 86ff. Codere 1956; 342ff.

[2] Drucker 1955; 128f.

[3] Boas 1892; 415. McIlwraith 1948; I 180f, 184ff, 224f, 406ff. Drucker 1950; 232f.

were considered gifts, but afterwards there was repayment of debts and what may be called investment presents.[1] A fundamental trait was the idea of the presence of the spirit of a recently deceased relative of the donor and the rite in which his ancestral myth was displayed.[2] Memorial potlatches for the dead were originally similar to other potlatches but were later, under influence from the Bellabella, kept apart.[3]

Almost cut off from their southern kinsmen by the Bellacoola were the northern Kwakiutl or *Xaisla* and *Heiltsuq*, the latter including the Bellabella, Xaihais, and Owikeno. As usual where a sib organization existed, the sibs functioned as hosts and guests respectively at the potlatches, and the occasions for giving them were likewise very much the same. There were, however, one or two essential differences from the feasts of the southern Kwakiutl.[4] The Xaisla chiefs might return presents on a slightly larger scale than those previously accepted, but loans at interest as an economic investment and actual competition hardly ever occurred, and the same was the case among the Owikeno, who were not even obliged to return a potlatch gift, so that perhaps only one in four of the guests ever reciprocated.

Just as elsewhere on the North Pacific coast, the potlatch institution was of paramount importance in the social life of the *Tsimshian*. As Viola E. Garfield has it: "... the potlatch permeated every aspect of Tsimshian native life. It was the foundation of the economic system; the stimulus for accumulation of goods and one of the sources through which wealth might be acquired," and she continues that "all significant changes in status were validated through distribution of goods. Thus from birth to death, every individual, no matter how poor his relatives were, took some part in potlatching."[5]

Whereas low-ranking people were assisted by their own and closely related lineages only, a chief might expect potlatch contributions from all grown-up members of the tribe, but then he had to distribute his gifts where they would give him most prestige and largest return.[6] In order to accumulate a sufficient amount of

[1] McIlwraith 1948; I 233.
[2] McIlwraith 1948; I 182 ff.
[3] McIlwraith 1948; I 453 ff.
[4] Olson 1940; 173. Olson 1954; 234 ff. Drucker 1950; 231.
[5] Garfield 1939; 216 f.
[6] Garfield 1939; 193.

property, loans at 50 pct. interest were raised beforehand, and it is well worth noticing that the donor's brothers-in-law were among the contributors notwithstanding the fact that according to the unilateral structure of social organization they were not his relatives at all.[1] In addition to the ordinary potlatch gifts, payments for previous services were defrayed at the feast; they were presented to the chiefs of the sibs concerned who would pass them on to those who had actually rendered the services.[2]

At the death of a chief "every member of the tribe was expected to contribute toward expenses of the funeral and the later potlatch at which the successor took office. Members of the dead chief's clan were expected to be especially liberal in their giving; fellow chiefs of the same phratry also contributed. The successor inherited all the possessions of the deceased, and he and his lineage made the largest contributions to expenses. Neighboring tribes or villages were invited to the funeral, which ended with a feast and distribution of gifts by the heir, who announced his intention to take the position at a commemorative inaugural potlatch to be given at a later date." This took place sometimes several years after the death and was initiated with payment of the debts owed by the deceased chief and those incurred in connection with his funeral.[3]

Minor potlatches were generally confined to villages and tribes, but the great intertribal affairs were attended by both Haida and Tlingit guests and often combined with competition and destruction of property.[4] The motives for giving such feasts were almost innumerable. They included not only house building, erection of totem poles, dramatization of lineage crests, and children's first power ceremonies, but they took place, at least in high-ranking families, also at births, naming, piercing of the nasal septum and underlip for the insertion of nose and lip ornaments of boys and girls respectively and were given either by the father or mother's brother. They occurred when a man acquired inherited names, crests and prerogatives and thereby honoured his ancestors, others when entering a secret society or when advancing in its

[1] Niblack 1890; 366. Drucker 1955; 130.
[2] Drucker 1950; 232.
[3] Garfield, Wingert & Barbeau n. d.; 36.
[4] Garfield, Wingert & Barbeau n. d.; 45f. Garfield 1939; 192ff, 260, 303. Drucker 1950; 232.

ranks, and four potlatches during a lifetime were necessary before a person could retire from it with honours. The trading of coppers, the beginning of a war and the restoration of the social position of a former prisoner of war, as well as the disgrace caused by any other "indignity" suffered such as the death of a respected relative or an accident, smaller or greater – all events of this kind required a potlatch, and of course also the humiliation of a rival; but as among the Kwakiutl competition was a comparatively late trait which did not prevail among the Tsimshian till after the establishment of Fort Simpson.[1] Gifts which were not actual payment always entailed a return obligation on a grander scale though no definite rates were stated.[2] In such cases they were considered compensation for officiating at the ceremonies and were therefore given to another sib than that of the donor.

Among the *Haida* on Queen Charlotte Islands a potlatch gift was "in a sense . . . only repayment with interest for goods already advanced" but certainly so that the gifts in some cases were really remuneration for actual work performed, for instance at house building.[3] While common people gave potlatches to their own villages only, those of a chief were on a much more grandiose scale. Every member of his crest was supposed to contribute to his quota, but commoners received nothing, or at least less, in return than they had given, whereas a chief was always certain to have his property restored at a later feast celebrated by a neighbouring colleague.[4]

The Haida distinguish further between two kinds of potlatch gifts: those presented by a chief to his own lineage at house building, adoption of another chief's son, tattooing or piercing of underlip, nasal septum or ears of his sisters children, repayment of loans with interest to members of his wife's moiety, etc., and on the other hand presents given at the erection of a memorial post for a deceased chief by his successor to the opposite moiety, who acted as undertakers at the funeral. However, a potlatch given when a man took the place of his brother or his dead uncle was of much less importance than one given by a chief to

[1] Drucker 1955; 129.
[2] Garfield 1939; 214.
[3] Harrison 1925; 65. Cf. Murdock 1936; 5, 8.
[4] Harrison 1925; 54.

his own moiety for advancing his standing.[1] In such potlatches given to members of one's own crest it was nevertheless not the donor himself but his wife, who of course belonged to the opposite moiety, who was considered the real host, so that in these cases too, the gifts actually went outside the moiety.[2] Coppers might be given away at potlatches but were not actually traded as Swanton stated.[3]

Incidentally, the occasions for potlatching present nothing new compared to those previously mentioned from other tribes: house building and putting up of totem poles (sometimes connected with the killing of a slave), life crises, funerals, etc., for revenge or face-saving in case a man of high standing had been offended by a man of the opposite moiety, or if he stumbled during a dance or his child had fallen and was helped by somebody of another crest. Destruction of property, e.g. the killing of a slave, breaking of coppers, and tearing of blankets, were often parts of such revenge potlatches.[4]

Coming now to the *Tlingit* we find that on the whole the motives for potlatching and the details of the feasts are very much the same as those of the Haida and Tsimshian; yet, according to Murdock feasts at the erection of totem poles made an exception because these poles are not common among the Tlingit, although such feasts are mentioned by both Jones and Swanton.[5] A slave, who must not belong to the deceased, was usually strangled in connection with house building potlatches, but apparently destruction of property and rivalry did not occur to nearly the same extent as farther south.[6]

One or two other facts deserve particular notion, too. By far most important among the Tlingit potlatches were the memorial feasts, and actually all potlatches were given more or less in honour of the dead, even in case of house building, secret society performances, etc.[7] At the death feasts proper "just before food

[1] Swanton 1905; 155f. Swanton 1908; 434f.
[2] Harrison 1925; 67f. Murdock 1936; 4, 12.
[3] Murdock 1936; 11.
[4] Murdock 1936; 3ff, 14f.
[5] Holmberg 1856; 327ff. Krause 1885; 223f, 234f. Niblack 1890; 360, 369, 372f, 375. Swanton 1908; 431ff. Jones 1914; 135ff. Murdock 1936; 20. De Laguna 1952; 5f. McClellan 1954; 77ff. Drucker 1955; 125.
[6] Chase 1893; 51. McClellan 1954; 94. Erman 1870–71; II 380f. citing Veniaminov.
[7] Swanton 1908; 434. Porter 1893; 60. McClellan 1953; 48. Drucker 1955; 125.

was distributed a little was held up, the name of the dead pronounced, and the food put into the fire. Then a great quantity of the same kind of food was believed to pass to the man whose name had been mentioned . . . All the property given away or destroyed at a feast was dedicated to some dead person who then actually received its spiritual counterpart."[1]

Evidently all gifts, including payments for services rendered, were presented to the opposite moiety since "a Tlingit employed his opposites to do everything – to put up his house and pole, pierce the lips and ears of his and his friends' children, initiate them into the secret societies, etc.," and the idea of giving property to one's own moiety "was altogether abhorrent to Tlingit notions of propriety".[2]

Unfortunately, our knowledge of the *Eyak* of the Copper River delta is rather deficient, because they were rapidly disappearing and their original culture was all but lost, when Dr. de Laguna and I visited the tribe in 1933. Here the principal, though not the only reason for giving a potlatch was the feast for the dead, the contributors being members of the moiety of the deceased, even though their assistance was not considered obligatory, and the guests were those of the opposite one. The property of the deceased person, which had not been saved by his relatives beforehand, would be put into the fire by the chief of his moiety, one at a time. If then one of the guests wanted any of these articles, he would ask for it, saying that he received it not for himself but for some dead relative. When a moiety house was built, a potlatch was given for a house warming.[3] The fact that potlatches are not mentioned at all in any Eyak myth may suggest that they were comparatively recent in Eyak culture.[4]

The Eyak are the northernmost Northwest Coast tribe, their western neighbours being the *Chugach Eskimo* in Prince William Sound. At the great death feast that constituted one of the most

[1] Swanton 1908; 431. Cf. Jones 1914; 136. McClellan 1954; 81.

[2] Swanton 1908; 435. As pointed out by Adam (1913; 93f) there is a discrepancy between Swanton and Holmberg (1856; 329f) who states that in contradistinction to other presents, payment for house building and ear piercing was given without regard to moity. The odds are, I believe, that Swanton is right.

[3] Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 169ff.

[4] Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938; 447.

important ceremonies of the Chugach, a distribution of gifts to those present took place, but generally these feasts were so expensive that only rich villages were able to act as hosts. At the feast wealthy people gave presents to the poor, saying: "I give this to you, because So-and-so (naming the deceased person) cannot use it. When you use it, remember him!" Besides, the dead were commemorated in a more direct way. Gifts were put into the fire for the benefit of the deceased, who were thus supposed to receive the objects. Poor people put in a little of what had been given to them. On a smaller scale a prominent hunter would give away presents at a yearly feast that seems to be a somewhat pale reflection of the elaborate Bladder Festival at Bering Strait, but the evidence is fragmentary and probably confused; it is more than doubtful if it had anything at all to do with a potlatch.[1]

Nothing, or next to nothing, is known of the ceremonialism of the Kodiak Eskimo, who were very soon Russianized. The same applies to the *Aleut*, and notwithstanding the fact that a few scattered remarks on their festivals may be found in early works, they are both fragmentary and rather confused, and at any rate the meaning of them remains in the dark. Nevertheless there are strong indications of something like a potlatch, even though it seems to have been mixed up with elements from other ceremonies, particularly from the Alaskan Eskimo Bladder Festival. Anyhow Veniaminov tells us of lavish entertainments given by one village to another, including the presentation of gifts. As stressed by Margaret Lantis "this definitely indicates a potlatch," but she rightly adds that the contact with the Tlingit in the post-Russian period "may have intensified certain elements which were already present in the culture."[2]

The so-called Messenger Feast of the *West* and *North Alaskan Eskimo* has doubtless some elements in common with the potlatch. Margaret Lantis writes of the feast on Nunivak Island: "This was essentially a promotional scheme to help one man (or a few men) maintain his social position or achieve a higher one. The end was attained by giving away a great quantity of goods and by feasting many guests. Although one man might quietly talk up a Messenger Feast and put up the most 'money' for it, actually it was given by

[1] Birket-Smith 1953; 112 f, 114.

[2] Lantis 1947; 76 ff. I regret to say that Veniaminov's work has been unavailable to me, but it is abundantly quoted by Lantis.

the whole village for one or more other villages."[1] Thus also Spencer about the North Alaskan Eskimo: "The basis for the Messenger Feast was the enhancing of individual social status, or specifically, the status of umealit, men who owned boats and headed whaling crews," adding that "there is much in the feast suggesting of the potlatch exchanges of the aboriginal Northwest Coast. It seems most probable that the feast is indeed a rephrasing of the basic potlatch idea. In general, however, the tone of the Northwest Coast culture is lost."[2] Similar feasts are described by other authors.[3] But there is in these cases a very essential difference from the true potlatch, which was suggested by Spencer and particularly stressed by Margaret Lantis: the question is never of real presents but only of a pre-arranged gift exchange, a kind of formalized trading.[4] Therefore we can at most speak of influence of the potlatch pattern in this connection.

The great memorial feasts for the dead offer a somewhat different aspect. They are celebrated at infrequent intervals by all Eskimo from the Kuskokwim north to Kotzebue Sound.[5] On the other hand Knud Rasmussen's description of these feasts from Nunivak Island is, according to Margaret Lantis, due to a misunderstanding in so far as it probably refers to the mainland custom.[6] Several families who have lost relatives since the last feast join in acting as hosts, and not only the souls of the dead but also the inhabitants of the neighbourhood are invited. During the feasting, accompanied by dances and mourning songs, great quantities of goods are distributed among the guests (Jacobsen gives an impressive list of items given away at the feast he witnessed), and even though some small return might be given, it was not considered necessary. The hosts' social standing depended on the success with which they discharged their obligations, and sometimes they might change their names accordingly, in other words typical potlatch features.

This is also admitted by Lantis, but then she adds that "the

[1] Lantis 1946; 188.

[2] Spencer 1959; 210, 227.

[3] Nelson 1899; 358f. Hawkes 1913; 7ff (Norton Sound). Stefánsson 1913; 87ff. Rasmussen 1952; 103ff (North Alaska). Giddings 1956; 37f, 43ff (Kobuk River). Weyer 1932; 197.

[4] Lantis 1947; 68.

[5] Jacobsen 1884; 260ff. Porter 1893; 140. Nelson 1899; 363ff. Stefánsson 1914; 318. Rasmussen 1952; 136f.

[6] Lantis 1946; 224, Lantis 1947; 21. Cf. Rasmussen 1952; 78.

Great Feast was simply an elaboration of the Annual Feast given to feed and clothe the dead shown particularly in the formal inviting of the dead to the feast and the clothing of their namesakes. Entertaining the ghosts is an aspect of these Memorial Feasts that apparently is indigenous and quite apart from the distribution of goods among the living guests, which formed another whole complex in the festival," and this "may easily have come from the Northwest Coast and been grafted onto the the minor local memorial ceremonies".[1] I shall revert to the question later and for the present only remark that I am not certain that this distinction is correct. Still, it should be noted that there seems to be neither rivalry between the donors nor obligation, apart from simple politeness, to return the invitation.

South of the Seward Peninsula wealthy families celebrated feasts connected with a small distribution of gifts at important "first events" in the life of their children, but apart from the first kill of a boy they were not really compulsary, and at any rate the ritual elements such as prayers and offerings to the spirits and honouring of the game, and not the gift-giving, were paramount, and apparently they did not involve any return obligations on the part of the guests.[2]

It need hardly be added that nothing like potlatches occurs among the Asiatic Eskimo[3] nor, of course, among the Eskimo east of Alaska.

Obviously the potlatch institution is far less elaborate and plays a much smaller part in the social life of the Alaskan Eskimo than among the Indians of the Northwest Coast. On the whole the same is true of the Indian tribes on the inland plateaux. Whether potlatch traces may be found among the Wishram remains, as formerly mentioned, at least extremely doubtful. On the other hand we find this institution among the Inland Salish perhaps as far south as the *Cœur d'Alêne* in northern Idaho. Here a person, a family or a whole community might arrange a feast including the giving-away of presents to the guests in expectation of a return feast next year.[4] Among the *Okanagan* there

[1] Lantis 1947; 110.
[2] Cf. Lantis 1947; 7ff.
[3] Cf. Hughes 1959.
[4] Teit 1930; 164.

were "hardly any" feasts of this kind,[1] whereas they occasionally took place among the somewhat more northerly tribes, i.e. the Lilloet, Thompson, and Shuswap, and here a later return was often expected.[2] As representative of his sib a *Lilloet* chief, or other persons, might arrange a potlatch when assuming their dead father's or an ancestor's name, and "in most cases" corresponding or even greater gifts were then to be repaid later.[3] The *Thompson* potlatch was a recent introduction and apparently given for no other reason than prestige and thus not to be confused with the feast given by the Upper Thompson one year after a death, when those who had assisted at the burial were paid,[4] such as incidentally might also be the case among the Lilloet.[5] As far as the *Shuswap* were concerned, certain differences existed between the western and the southern groups, for while among the former potlatches were "generally given by one crest group to another" and the return gifts might be on a somewhat greater scale than the original ones, it is expressly stated of the southern Shuswap that the presents were free gifts not supposed to be returned.[6]

The southernmost Athapaskan-speaking tribe in British Columbia (apart from the small Nicola band that pushed southwards at the end of the 18th century and since then has been practically absorbed by the Thompson) are the *Chilcotin* living west of the Shuswap. They are thus in close contact with the coast people, i.e. the Kwakiutl and Bellacoola, which probably accounts for the fact that potlatches were here essential for the prestige of a man and his sib and were given at least at the funeral feasts, when part or all of the property of the deceased was distributed.[7] A similar strong influence from the coast appeared among the *Carrier*, who frequently intermarried with the Tsimshian of the Skeena River. If a deceased peron was a man of high standing, no less than six death feasts were given by his sib. The most

[1] Teit 1930; 277. According to Cline (in Spier 1938; 151) a distribution of gifts took place at the winter dances of the southern Okanagan, but before the end of the 19th century they consisted of "simple household commodities" only.

[2] Ray 1942; 231.

[3] Teit 1906; 258.

[4] Teit 1900; 297ff, 334f. Cf. Ray 1942; 219.

[5] Hill-Tout 1905; 138.

[6] Teit 1909; 569, 583. Cf. Dawson 1892; 12f, 14. Ray 1942; 219. Jenness 1932; 357.

[7] Farrand 1899; 646. Teit 1909; 786, 788. Jenness 1932; 362.

important of these were the third, when the deceased's sister's son acquired his uncle's rank, and the sixth, when his property was distributed among the guests.[1] In addition there was "a small, impromptu distribution of gifts" at a girl's first menstruation and at a woman's death, given by her husband.[2] The *Sekani*, whose culture is transitional between those of the Plateaux and the Mackenzie area, borrowed the potlatch from the Carrier and Tsimshian (Gitksan), but gave it up – at least at McLeod Lake – "when they discovered that it did not help them under the new conditions of life, and merely produced the scorn of Europeans."[3]

The coast population, i.e. the Tsimshian, likewise exercised a strong influence upon the social organization of the *Tsetsaut*, or western Nahane.[4] Next to nothing is known about them, but it seems permissible to infer that they adopted the potlatch, too. At any rate we find it, though in a somewhat obliterated form, among the *Kaska*, or Nahane proper, who in other respects belong to the Athapaskans of the Mackenzie area.[5] At the Upper Liard River such feasts took place at a girl's puberty, at weddings and as memorial feasts for the dead, or sometimes simply when a person had an extraordinarily full meat cache. Nominally they were given by one moiety to the opposite one, but there was no obligation to return the gifts. Similar potlatches were celebrated by the Dease River Kaska, whereas there is no information from the Tselona and Frances Lake groups. On the whole the Kaska potlatch "appears to have been a much attenuated form of that ceremony as it occurred further westward. In the first place, although the give-away brought honor to a donor, it does not seem basically to have been a social climbing feast. Furthermore, the amount of wealth distributed was limited."[6]

Of the *Tahltan* we know that a potlatch secured the donor "consideration and a position in the tribe" and might be given in order to confer rank to the children or at the conclusion of the mourning period, when members of the opposite moiety were

[1] Morice 1890; 147 ff. Jenness 1943; 513. Ray 1942; 219.
[2] Morice 1890; 162. Jenness 1943; 535.
[3] Jenness 1937; 47, 49.
[4] Jenness 1932; 369.
[5] Honigman 1954; 72 ff, 157.
[6] Honigman 1954; 143.

paid for their services at the cremation of the departed, and finally also for competition, in which case, however, the rival was usually a Tlingit.[1]

Our knowledge of some of the Athapaskan tribes of the Yukon Territory and Alaska is too incomplete to allow any statements of potlatch among them. On the other hand it is well elucidated from several other tribes of the area. It was celebrated by the *Nabesna* (Upper Tanana) as a memorial feast, where the guests principally belonged to another phratry than that of the deceased, even though members of his own sib would get smaller presents.[2] A man was expected to have given at least one potlatch before marriage, and before entering a new match a widow had, assisted by her family and the sib of her future husband, to arrange a similar feast in honour of her dead spouse. All property had to be given away, and the donor was afterwards regarded as being spiritually a new person. Rivalry sometimes took place, but there was no obligation to repay with interest nor, on the whole, to any return at all.

Potlatches in the form of memorial feasts likewise occurred among the *Ahtena*, *Han*, and *Koyukon*, but no details are available apart from the fact that among the latter all the gifts were supposed to be the property of the deceased, even though some of them might have been procured by his family, and that most of them were simply payments for assistance at the burial.[3] We are a little better informed about the potlatch of the *Kutchin* ("Loucheux").[4] Here it was also exclusively a death feast and probably a rather recent custom, for in the old report of Hardisty we are definitely told that the property of the deceased was either destroyed or given as grave gifts, and only "what of late has been customary" was kept to be finally distributed at the memorial feast, to which all people of the neighbourhood and particularly members of other sibs were invited. The guests were afterwards supposed to return half the value of what they had received or, as among the Peel River Kutchin, even nothing at all.

[1] Callbreath 1889; 198. Emmons 1911; 109f. Jenness 1932; 373.

[2] McKennan 1959; 132, 134 f, 137.

[3] Ahtena (Allen 1889; 265f). Koyukon (Jetté 1907; 407. Jetté 1911; 710, 716). Han (McKennan 1965; 64. Schmitter 1910; 14f).

[4] Hardisty 1867; 317f. Jones 1867; 326. Osgood 1936; 125ff, 137ff. McKennan 1965; 64 f.

The *Tnaina* at Kachemak Bay, Cook Inlet, distinguish between "little" and "big" potlatches.[1] The former were given for getting prestige, etc., and in this case there is no question of repayment. A "big" potlatch was primarily a death feast frequently given by a member of the opposite moiety and thus in honour of the moiety of the departed, for instance arranged by the departed person's son or widow. Only exceptionally does a host seem to have given a potlatch to his own moiety, as when e.g. a widower gave it to his deceased wife's father, but actually the father acted only as a representative of his wife's moiety and consequently of that of his daughter, too. Loans raised on account of a potlatch were repaid at 100 pct. interest, but before the distribution of gifts funerary services were paid. A potlatch was generally returned, but an obligation to do so did not seem to exist. The same distinction between "little" and "big" potlatches also held good among the Tyonek Tnaina.[2] The belongings of the dead person were distributed among the members of his own moiety, whereas the opposite one, that had performed the mortuary rites for him, or had destroyed personal property in his honour at the grave, received both payment and gifts. However, here, as well as at Kenai and Iliamna, the information given by the informants is not quite clear.[3]

The *Ingalik* on the lower Kuskokwim and Yukon have adopted many Eskimo customs including the Messenger Feast and the accompanying gift exchange, but they have also a death feast with typical potlatch features.[4] By the distribution of gifts they not only raised their own reputation, but they showed their respect for the departed and actually supplied him with needed objects in the hereafter. Among the guests there must be at least one coming from a foreign village, and he was considered a representative of the Land of the Dead. The whole feast lasted four days and was concluded with the Lucky Pole or Hot Dance to which everybody brought presents; but this ceremony does not really belong to the potlatch pattern and had been introduced from the "upriver Athapaskans" (Tanana?) for the increase of game.

[1] Osgood 1937; 149 ff.
[2] Osgood 1937; 154 ff.
[3] Osgood 1937; 157 ff.
[4] Osgood 1940; 456 f. Osgood 1958; 138 f.

3. Analysis of the Potlatch

The potlatch institution is so remarkable and characteristic, particularly of the Northwest Coast culture, that it has attracted the attention of both ethnologists and sociologists. The question soon arose how it should be explained, and in the course of time various answers were given, but all of them suffer from taking only the elaborate type of the coastal tribes into consideration and arbitrarily singling out as fundamental the trait that seemed to fit into some preconceived scheme of cultural development. Before tackling the problem on a broader basis it will be most convenient to outline such previous views.

When Boas in the 1890'es gave the first detailed account of this institution from the Kwakiutl,[1] he realized the close connection between property and prestige, but he did not attempt an explanation of its origin, which is, of course, something different from its function. When later Marcel Mauss published his famous "Essai sur le don" he assumed that originally an exchange of gifts took place not between single persons but between social groups and were often combined with feasts; this system he found in its most distinct form as "prestations totales de type antagonistique" in the Northwest Coast potlatch, whereas he regarded Boas' view of potlatch as a system of forced loans as exaggerated.[2] He admitted the presence of an magico-religious element, but on the whole he was of opinion that "ce principe de l'échange-don a dû être celui des sociétés qui ont dépassé la phase de la 'prestation totale' (de clan à clan, et de famille à famille) et qui cependant ne sont pas encore parvenus au contrat individuel pur, au marché où roule l'argent, à la vente proprement dite et surtout à la notion du prix estimé en monnaie pesée et titrée."[3]

Now, Mauss' notion that a gift exchange between social groups is older than between individuals is not only an entirely unproven but even an unlikely hypothesis inconsistent with innumerable facts from primitive peoples. Moreover, he takes it for granted that repayment must be compulsary. We have seen, however, that as a rule the Northwest Coast tribes distinguish between two kinds of potlatch gifts: those which are payment for

[1] Boas 1897; 341 ff.
[2] Mauss 1925; 37 f, 42 footnote, 90 f, 110 ff.
[3] Mauss 1925; 126.

assistance at funerals, house building, erection of totem poles, and the like, and which do not require any return, and on the other hand gifts in the true sense of the word, which are received by the guests solely as an appreciation of their presence and attention of the host's right to acquire a higher social status. Only the latter oblige the receiver if he shall not loose prestige. Besides, the receiver "is not primarily concerned with getting back the amount he has previously given to his host. Receiving less is not prejudicial to his standing, and to insist upon an equivalence is contrary to the code of liberality."[1] Both among the Eskimo and the inland tribes, with a very few exceptions, return is a matter of politeness but not actually necessary. For this reason alone, Mauss' interpretation must be disregarded.[2]

Similar objections can be raised against the views of two other French sociologists who approached the problem about the same time as Mauss. Davy considered the potlatch a kind of contractual obligation between the phratries, combined with exogamous marriage, clan equilibrium and, in a rather obscure way, with transition from matrilineal to patrilineal organization.[3] Marriage, he says – and like Mauss he writes on the assumption that exogamic sibs are the oldest type of social organization – "représente l'équilibre de l'hostilité fondamentale des sexes, et par voie de conséquence de toute autre espèce d'hostilité", whereas the potlatch gives expression to "l'équilibre de l'hostilité des phratries entre lesquelles elle institue une collaboration régulière et obligatoire," and by introducing challenge and rivalry it prepares the way for individual contracts, if not chronologically at least in theory. Among the Tlingit, he goes on, the economic aspect of the potlatch is still subordinate to its ritual character and is therefore the most primitive form, but among the Haida personal inequality is making progress at the expense of the sib organization, while the "prestations totales" of primitive sib communism is disappearing among the Kwakiutl in favour of individual obligations. The whole development proceeds hand in

[1] Barnett 1938; 356.

[2] Fahrenfort (1952; 84 ff) has likewise raised objections against Mauss' interpretation of potlatch as a trading system; he regards it psychologically, simply as a means of gaining prestige.

[3] Davy 1922; passim, particularly 148, 151 ff, 193 f, 213 f, 229 ff. Cf. also Moret & Davy 1923; 106 ff.

hand with the growth of male authority and thus also with the transition from a matrilineal to a patrilineal society. Davy presupposes as a matter of course that matrilineal sibs originally existed among the Kwakiutl, which is a quite unwarranted assumption.

Mauss and Davy were rightly criticized by Lenoir.[1] True, neither of the two authors in question had been blind to certain religious elements in the potlatch, but to Lenoir they were primary and both legal and economic considerations "peut-être secondaires, peut-être même problématiques." In his opinion life depends wholly on the magic power, or *mana* of the totemic sib. However, at the time of the potlatch the ordinary personal rights of possession disappear, while the sib members are identified with their mythical ancestors and thus with the sib as a whole. Since the gifts always contain something of the donor's, i.e. the sib's "power" they will keep the recipients in future dependence if they are not "neutralized" by return gifts. "Ce qui demeure primordial, c'est l'acquisition des moyens mystiques de puissance pour satisfaire la volonté de puissance . . ."[2] Thus Lenoir combines potlatch with totemism, magic power, and the obligation of return, which, as we have already seen, hardly holds good. On the other hand in some respects he seems to be on the right track. We shall return to this presently.

To Locher a potlatch was primarily a sacrifice.[3] The supernatural power is incorporated in the two-headed serpent, which is a deity of wealth and a central figure in the mythology of the Northwest Coast, represented by the well-known "coppers". The giving-away of coppers and the setting free or killing of slaves are to him real offerings, and since the coppers bear the crest of their owner and thus are identical with him, their destruction is even a self-sacrifice and means the donor's rebirth to a new status of wealth and honour. Among the Kwakiutl the potlatch has increasingly become secularized and a means of acquiring personal power and prestige. Rivalry therefore comes to play an essential part of the general pattern. However, as has been formerly mentioned, competition, at least in its extreme form, is a rather recent trait. Moreover, Locher's views of the importance of the two-

[1] Lenoir 1924; 242 ff, 256 ff, 262. Cf. Mauss 1925; 110 ff. Davy 1922; 224.
[2] Lenoir 1924; 246 ff. Lenoir 1924 a; 409.
[3] Locher 1932; 96 ff.

headed serpent may be somewhat exaggerated, and his interpretation of the potlatch as a sacrifice certainly lacks support. Moreover, Keithahn has recently given good evidence that coppers did not appear on the Northwest Coast till after commercial metal became available at the end of the 18th century,[1] so that at least the idea of an original self-sacrifice and rebirth must be definitely abandoned.

Clearly related to Locher's interpretation is that of Werner Müller, who also regards the destruction of property as a rebirth to new life and ascribes the high value of the coppers to an association with the lustre of the sun setting in the sea.[2] To the best of my knowledge this is pure speculation without sufficient basis in the Indian mind, and the same holds good of Josselin de Jong's explanation of the rivalry as an expression of cosmic antagonism.[3] Barnett realizes that competition and face saving are secondary features of potlatching and finds that it "is characterized by certain formal requirements, by an implied equation of social worth with institutionalized liberality, and by its function as a vehicle for publicizing social status,"[4] which is certainly correct as far as it goes, but then he takes only the coastal tribes into consideration.

One or two other recent accounts of the potlatch do not try to explain it but merely stress its social importance, for it can hardly be called an explanation when Olson says of the Kwakiutl custom that it is "more understandable in terms of a temporary mania induced by an attempt to remake a prosaic culture in the pattern of a foreign one – that of the Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian."[5]

Altogether the previous attempts at interpretation seem to be more or less unsatisfactory, and in order to arrive at a solution of the problem it will be necessary (1) to consider not only the elaborate institution of the coastal tribes but also the less spectacular potlatch of the adjacent peoples, and (2) to undertake an analysis of its constituent elements. Overleaf a survey is given in tabular form.

[1] Keithahn 1964; 59ff.
[2] Müller 1955; 31f, 89.
[3] Josselin de Jong 1929; 25ff.
[4] Barnett 1938; 355f, 357.
[5] de Laguna 1952; 5f. Olson 1936; 129.

	Given to foreign sib	Return obligatory	Rivalry	Property destroyed	"Face saving"	Admission to secret society	Erection of house and/or totem pole	New name	Life crises	Death Feast
Quinaielt	–	...	...	...	...	...	...	+	...	+
Chimakum	–	(+)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Quileute	–	+	...	...	...	+	...	+	+	...
Makah	–	...	...	...	...	+	...	...	...	+
Twana	–	(+)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Klallam	–	+	+	...	+	+	...	...	+	+
Coast Salish	–	+	+	+	+	...	+	+	+	+
Nootka	–	...	...	+	...	+	...	+	+	+
Kwakiutl	–	+	+	+	...	+	+	+	+	+
Bellacoola	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	...	+
Xaisla	(+)	...	–	...	...	+	+	+	...	+
Heiltsuq	(+)	–	–	...	...	...	...	...	...	+
Tsimshian	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Haida	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+
Tlingit	+	+	(+)	(+)	+	(+)	+	+	+	+
Eyak	+	...	...	–	–	...	+	...	...	+
Chugach	–	...	–	–	–	–	–	...	...	+
W. Alaskan Eskimo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	...	(+)	+
Shuswap	(+)	(+)	...	–	–	–	–	...	...	+
Lilloet	–	(+)	...	–	–	–	–	...	...	+
Thompson	–	...	...	–	–	–	–	...	...	+
Chilcotin	+	...	...	–	–	–	–	...	...	+
Carrier	+	...	...	–	–	–	–	...	(+)	+
Tahltan	+	...	(+)	–	–	–	–	...	...	+
Kaska	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	...	+	+
Nabesna	+	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	...	...	+
Kutchin	(+)	(+)	...	–	–	–	–	...	...	+
Ahtena	...	...	...	–	–	–	–	...	...	+
Han	...	...	...	–	–	–	–	...	...	+
Koyukon	...	...	...	–	–	–	–	...	...	+
Tnaina	+	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	...	...	+
Ingalik	...	...	...	–	–	–	–	...	...	+

\+ trait present
(+) „ partly present or weakly developed
– „ absent.

Our source material is obviously somewhat insufficient so that the table cannot be considered complete. In more than one case a trait may actually occur even if there is no positive evidence, but nevertheless they seem to be so few that it does not materially influence the conclusions to be drawn from the available facts.

It has previously been pointed out that an obligation to return the potlatch gifts by no means exists everywhere, and rivalry is even more limited. The same applies to "face saving" as well as to potlatches at the building of a new house or the putting up of a totem pole which, of course, take place only where timbered houses and totem poles occur. The same thing may be said of admission to secret societies. Adoption of a new name is closely connected with the title system of the coastal tribes, nor are potlatches at life crises generally found but with one or two insignificant exceptions likewise on the coast only. If any of these traits were fundamental to the general potlatch pattern it would be inexplicable why they were restricted to part of the whole area where the institution occurs. It seems, therefore, that none of them are really essential but later elaborations.

The one reason for giving a potlatch found everywhere – the very few exceptions (Chimakum, Quileute, and Twana) being to all appearance due to lack of information – is the memorial feast for the dead, and it would be strange, indeed, if this did not mean that we have here to do with a fundamental trait. Swanton states that even the Tlingit potlatches for putting up a house or a totem pole and the secret society performances were undertaken for the sake of the dead.[1] It seems probable, therefore, that originally the potlatch institution was connected with the death feasts, and in a way Lenoir was right in stressing its religious character, although in an entirely erroneous manner. The interpretation of the primitive potlatch as a death feast is, incidentally, also why I cannot agree with Margaret Lantis in considering the Alaskan Eskimo death feast a mixture of Northwest Coast and aboriginal Eskimo ceremonies; it *is* simply a potlatch albeit in its primitive form.

By giving a potlatch the host honours both himself and the dead. But how does he benefit the deceased? Why are gifts being distributed? Leonhard Adam thought that if potlatch occurred at

[1] Swanton 1908; 434.

the death feasts the giving away and destruction of property was done in order to avoid the revenge of the dead,[1] but this assumption scarcely holds good. On the contrary the departed souls are actually supposed to profit by the gifts. It appears clearly from the evidence from the Tlingit, Eyak, Chugach, and Ingalik. The fact that the souls are believed to join the feasts both by the West Alaskan Eskimo and the Bellacoola point in the same direction, as does also the Makah idea of appeasing the dead by giving a potlatch.

Mauss' interpretation of the potlatch as an exchange of goods between sibs has already been rejected. On the other hand it is obvious that wherever sibs occur the distribution of property primarily, though not exclusively, takes place from one sib to another. This is, however, quite in keeping with the death feast idea. It is, as Catherine McClellan has it, simply a consequence of "the reversal theme characteristic of the spirit world".[2] In the Land of the Dead everything is opposite to conditions on earth, and just for that reason a member of another sib, and he only, can act as a substitute of the deceased. This is also why at least one of the guests at an Ingalik potlatch must belong to a foreign village and is regarded as coming from the Land of the Dead. But the sib organization is not *in itself* essential to the potlatch institution. It was unknown to a great number of potlatching tribes, not only to Eskimo and Salish but even to the southern Kwakiutl and Nootka where potlatch occurred in what was probably its most excessive forms. Thus also the connection with sibs must be considered secondary.

Potlatch is found over a considerable part of the North American continent, but it is hardly indigenous to the whole area where it occurs. It fits rather badly in with the pattern of life of both the Indians of the British Columbian and Alaskan plateaux and with that of the Eskimo, and there is, indeed, good evidence to show that it was comparatively recently adopted by the Thompson and Kutchin, not to speak of the Sekani. Even on the coast it was a new introduction among the Puyallup-Nisqually and probably also among the Snuqualmy and Skykomish. Possibly the same thing is true of the Eyak.

[1] Adam 1922; 34 f.
[2] McClellan 1954; 83.

Thus everything points to the Northwest Coast in its limited sense as the centre of distribution. A necessary condition is obviously the possibility of collecting property and, consequently, the high regard for wealth. This condition is unquestionably greatest on the coast. With good reason it has been maintained that this area afforded some of, if not *the* best economic potentialities in pre-agricultural America. Regard for wealth alone does not suffice, however. A similar regard, but without potlatch, is found throughout western North America as far south as northern California. In order to make potlatch possible, wealth must be combined with a system of rank such as we find it among the Northwest Coast tribes with their hereditary privileges that can be claimed only if the owner has proved his rights before a number of witnesses. Potlatch is therefore here of fundamental importance to the whole social organization, and just because the prerogatives are hereditary, the claim is naturally connected with the feast of the dead.

This interpretation of the potlatch gives rise to the question whether it is feasible to establish any connection with similar institutions in East Asia and Oceania.

III

FEASTS OF MERIT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND OCEANIA

1. Feasts of Merit in Southeast Asia

Feasts of merit are characteristic of a great number of peoples in southeastern Asia and nowhere more so than among the Naga, a group of Tibeto-Burmese tribes living for the most part in the mountains of Assam south of the Brahmaputra. Apart from the Angami Naga, who grow paddy in terraced fields, they are semi-agriculturists whose principal crop is upland rice, which does not need irrigation. Their domestic animals are chickens, swine, and mithans, a semi-wild species of ox, which is neither milked nor used for work but mostly for sacrifices. The society is organized in exogamic, patrilinear sibs and phratries, but otherwise there are essential political differences between the tribes, ranging from the sacred, almost autocratic chieftainship of the Konyak Naga to the pronounced democracy of the Angami. Important traits are, moreover, head hunting in connection with fertility magic and the setting up of megalithic monuments associated with the feasts of merit.

The details of the latter vary somewhat from one tribe to another, but the principal features are the same almost everywhere. A man's prestige depends upon his wealth or rather on the feasts given to the inhabitants of his own village, sometimes also to other villages. Generally the feasts form a fixed series where the expenses as well as the acquired privileges gradually increase, and it is the ambition of every Naga to get as far in the series as possible. However, the last stages are so expensive that only a very few manage to get there.

The feasts seem to be least typical among the *Konyak Naga*,[1] possibly owing to the extraordinary position of the chiefs. A

[1] Fürer-Haimendorf in Schnitger 1939; 219f. Cf. Kaufmann 1935–44; 231.

chief will here arrange a feast at which some forty mithans are sacrificed, whereas pigs are supposed not to be killed on such occasions although in several respects they are more appreciated. At the feast a forked wooden post is put up, and while carrying it to its place the young men sing the same song as when carrying the coffin of a dead chief. At the same time the donor and his wife are hiding in the house, and the whole procedure may thus suggest his death and rebirth to a new life. Another difference from the central and western Naga is the fact that monoliths are not erected at the feasts but only in connection with head hunting.[1]

The *Kalyo-Kengyu*, another eastern Naga tribe, have feasts of merit but do not put up monoliths and sacrificial posts.[2]

Mills states of the feasts of the *Lhota Naga* that "they increase in costliness and importance till the ceremony at which two stones are dragged is reached. Almost every one of them entitles the doer to wear a distinct cloth. The wealth and consequently the importance of a man is gauged by the number of 'gennas' [feasts of merit] he has done . . . At the first stone dragging ceremony one stone is dragged, and at the second, third and so on two stones are dragged. There is a limit to the number of times the stone-dragging ceremony may be done, which varies in different villages, but it is so rarely reached that it practically exists only in theory."[3] The feasts are given to the whole village and include offerings of chickens and pigs but not till the fourth that of a faultless mithan, the skull of which is placed on the house of the donor, while the stones are put up close to it; in stead of stones forked posts may sometimes be used.[4]

The *Ao Naga* too have a series of feasts of merit culminating in mithan sacrifice by which the host acquires the right to wear certain cloths and ornaments and to decorate his house in a particular way. The skulls of the sacrificed animals are hung in the outer room of the house so as to bring prosperity both to the donor and to his heirs, and not only does he gain honour and the favour of the spirits in this life for himself, his sib and the whole village but also in the next.[5] At the feasts wooden posts, as

[1] Fürer-Haimendorf in Schnitger 1939; 220.
[2] Fürer-Haimendorf 1937; 880.
[3] Mills 1922; 136f.
[4] Mills 1922; 141ff. Fürer-Haimendorf in Schnitger 1939; 218.
[5] Mills 1926; 257, 370ff. Fürer-Haimendorf 1946; 52. Majumder n. d.; 23ff.

a rule forked and sometimes carved to suggest hornbills, are put up, but no monoliths are raised.[1]

The *Sangtam Naga* celebrate in all five feasts with increasing offerings of pigs, buffalos, and mithans which entitle the donor to certain pieces of apparel and house ornaments; he is not allowed to substitute ordinary cattle for buffalos.[2] It is a duty to invite the opposite phratry, but at the first two also the sib of the host is invited, and at the third feast the guests are mainly members of his own phratry. Buffalos and mithans are killed at a forked post, and the pig skulls are placed in the house of the donor. Similar feasts occur among the *Chang* and *Phom*, but while the Phom may put up monoliths as memorials of the event in stead of the ordinary forked posts, it is stated of the Chang that in contradistinction to other Naga tribes the posts here serve the definite purpose of being tethering poles for the sacrificial animals.[3] The *Tankhul Naga* raise monoliths as grave memorials but not at the feasts of merit, at which they will build a stone platform with five carved posts, two of which are forked and intended for the skulls and horns of the animals killed at the feast. The platforms are made in honour of the departed, and on the whole the feasts, besides increasing the prestige of the donor, are supposed to improve the existence of the ancestors in the Land of the Dead.[4]

Feasts of merit are as important for a man's social status among the western Naga as among the central and eastern tribes. Thus the *Rengma Naga* have a prescribed series culminating with mithan sacrifices which apart from their social aspect play a considerable economic part, for "at them wealth, in the form of rice and meat, is distributed and shared by all, even to the very poorest. Sometimes . . . givers of feasts exchange presents of meat even though living in different villages. This is regarded as signifying the strongest possible bond of alliance."[5] Monoliths and domen-like stone seats for both travellers and the souls of the dead are built as memorials of the donor himself, his family or his father at least by the western Rengma though apparently not in direct connection with the feasts while, on the other hand, the

[1] Mills 1926; 260ff. Fürer-Haimendorf in Schnitger 1939; 218.
[2] Kaufmann 1939; 222. Stonor 1950; 2ff.
[3] Kaufmann 1935–44; 319ff. Stonor 1950; 9.
[4] Watt 1887; 367. Hodson 1911; 190. Fürer-Haimendorf in Schnitger 1939; 220f.
[5] Mills 1937; 181ff.

accruing expenses are so great that it is practically a privilege of the rich, and in any case it can be done only after accomplishing the whole series of merit feasts.[1]

A similar series is found among the *Sema Naga*, combined with increasing rights to personal ornaments and decorations of the donor's house. At the first feast pigs only are killed, at the second cattle, at the third a mithan and at the fourth, where the guests also include people from a foreign village, two mithans and numerous pigs. The animals are tethered to forked sacrificial posts, but no megaliths are put up.[2] Among the *Angami Naga* we likewise find a series of feasts with killing of pigs and buffalos but in addition erection of monoliths at the feasts and the building of stone seats which, besides giving the originator added prestige, are connected with the ancestor cult.[3]

Notwithstanding certain differences the general pattern of these feasts is thus the same among all Naga tribes of Assam, whereas to some extent it changes among the *Manipur Naga*.[4] Here feasts of merit in the proper sense of the word do not seem to exist, but at the annual feast of the dead buffalos and cattle are sacrificed. On the seventh day of the feast representatives of the dead are ceremoniously taken to the seat of the deceased and on the following, after being fed by his female relatives, they proceed from house to house collecting great amounts of garments which thus in a way correspond to the potlatch gifts of the Northwest Coast Indians. The presents are, indeed, so many that after appropriating what they want themselves the representatives take the first opportunity to sell the rest. Before their departure the foreign guests also receive gifts. At sundown on the ninth day the feast is brought to an end, and a procession of the representatives, together with warriors, torch bearers, etc., set out for the village boundary in order to accompany the departed souls to the Land of the Dead. Monoliths, dolmen-like seats and other stone monuments are put up in connection with the ancestor worship.[5]

The Naga Hills form a centre of the feasts of merit in this

[1] Mills 1937; 195ff. Fürer-Haimendorf in Schnitger 1939; 218.
[2] Hutton 1921; 227ff. Fürer-Haimendorf in Schnitger 1939; 218.
[3] Woodthorpe 1882; 65. Godden 1897–98; XXVII 33. Risley 1903; 210. Hutton 1921a; 345ff. Hutton 1926; 93ff. Fürer-Haimendorf in Schnitger 1939; 215ff. Fürer-Haimendorf 1946; 21ff.
[4] Hodson 1911; 153ff.
[5] Hodson 1911; 138, 153ff.

part of Asia, but they occur among several other Tibeto-Burmese peoples as well. North of the Brahmaputra they are celebrated by the *Abor* in the Himalayan foothills. A chief is here supposed to give at least two of preferably three such feasts.[1] We also meet them among the *Apatani*, both minor ones with the killing of two or three mithans and distribution of meat to one or two villages of the donor's own group, and affairs on a larger scale when the meat of several mithans is given to all inhabitants of the valley.[2] While neither the Abor nor the Apatani erect megalithic monuments connected with the feasts, it is interesting to find among the latter the same competition and destruction of property as among the Kwakiutl. A wealthy Apatani who thinks his honour at stake will vindicate himself and humiliate his rival by a procedure which "starts by killing one or several of his mithan in front of his opponent's house and leaving the meat for the other villagers to eat. Sometimes he adds to the holocaust valuables, such as Tibetan bells, bronze plates and swords. If his opponent accepts the challenge he must slaughter at least the same number of mithan and destroy property of equal value in front of the challenger's house. The next move is that the latter kills an even greater number of mithan and this number must again be matched by his rival. The competition may go on until both parties are nearly ruined, but in theory the man who can continue longer with his destruction of wealth wins thereby his opponent's entire property in land and movable possessions." As a rule, however, the contest will be settled before by the council of sib representatives. Both paternal and maternal relatives of the contending parties assist in providing the necessary mithans.[3]

The *Dafla*, living west of the Apatani, do not perform this kind of destruction of property.[4] The *Miri* put up stones at their mithan sacrifices[5], but otherwise megaliths do not seem to be erected on such occasions.

Not only feasts of merit but also megaliths connected with them occur, on the other hand, both west and south of the Naga. The *Khasi*, who unlike the Naga speak an Austro-Asiatic lan-

[1] Dunbar 1916; 39.
[2] Fürer-Haimendorf 1955; 166ff. Fürer-Haimendorf 1962; 139f.
[3] Fürer-Haimendorf 1962; 110ff.
[4] Fürer-Haimendorf 1962; 118. Cf. Shukla 1959.
[5] Fürer-Haimendorf 1955; 218.

guage, raise upright "male" and horizontal "female" stones in acknowledgment of the help given by their ancestors as well as dolmen-like stone seats as resting places for both wayfarers and departed souls; this is done in connection with a feast, but nothing suggests an increase of rank.[1] At the cremation of their dead the *Garo* sacrifice bulls tied to upright stones, and the *Mikir* will also erect a stone at their cremation feasts when guests from thirty or forty villages may be entertained, but neither in these cases does there seem to be question of increased prestige.[2]

True feasts of merit are, however, well known from the Lushai-Kuki tribes, among whom we find a series of five successive feasts.[3] Among the *Purum*, for instance, one of the so-called "old" Kuki tribes, the host will sacrifice mithans tethered to forked poles and thereby acquire the right to sit on a stone-clad platform with monoliths, and promotion to one of the village offices must be celebrated by distributing great amounts of pork and abundant quantities of rice beer.[4] The *Aimol*, another "old" Kuki tribe, allow only men of the highest ranking moiety to give feasts of merit, after which a stone platform is built; here the series comprises only three feasts, but a man who has made them all – which, indeed, only a few can afford – must in addition pay for a three days' "drum-making" feast, during which the village officials are carried in a sedan chair round the ceremonial plaza.[5]

The *Lakher* use to put up stones at certain sacrifices, but only a single group has a regular series of merit feasts, at which wooden posts are raised for every mithan killed, partly so as to obtain added prestige, partly also "to assist the giver to attain Paradise." The group in question is, however, of Chin origin, and thus the feast seems to be borrowed from them.[6]

Actually, feasts of merit, given to the village and former feast donors, among the northern tribes graded, among the southern of the same general kind, are typical of most Chin.[7] If they donot exist among the *Thado Chin* today, there is nevertheless reason to

[1] Dalton 1872; 55. Godwin-Austen 1872; 126. Clarke 1874; 483. Wadell 1901; 46. Risley 1903: 200, Gurdon 1914: 144ff. Fürer-Haimendorf in Schnitger 1939; 221f. Roy 1963; 522ff.

[2] Playfair 1909; 96f, 109. Stack 1908; 42.

[3] Risley 1903; 226. Shakespear 1912; 87ff, 170ff.

[4] Das 1945; 155f, 176f.

[5] Bose 1934; 7, 23f.

[6] Parry 1932; 368ff. Lehman 1963; 186.

[7] Head 1917; 31ff. Lehman 1963; 90.

suppose that they were known formerly.[1] Among the *Zahau Chin* there is a series of four such feasts with offerings of pigs and mithans, and the host obtains not only social and economic advantages, but in addition the last feast will gain him admittance to the highest heaven. However, only a few will succeed in completing the whole series owing to the great expenditure required.[2] The mithans killed by the *Haka Chin* on such occasions are supposed to go to the Land of the Dead and "there they serve in a special way to validate the status of the performer, his household, and his immediate lineage segment. If one's status is to be permanent, it must be established in the world of the dead . . . but he has also pleased the inhabitants of the afterworld by giving or sending these gifts there." The feasts convey certain prerogatives to the donor and the status potentialities of his descendants, who must nevertheless validate this status themselves.[3]

The northern Chin build stone-clad platforms as resting places for the departed souls, often in combination with rows of monoliths, each stone indicating a mithan sacrificed at the feasts, or the killing of a piece of big game.[4] Feasts are also given by the Chin for "the setting up of carved posts of the compound fence in front of the house,"[5] but whether they have anything to do with feasts of merit remains uncertain.

At the death feasts of the *Kachin* (Chingpaw) great numbers of buffalos and cattle are killed, "the more the better both for the deceased and the family; the greater the sacrifice the greater the blessing."[6] There are, however, other feasts more or less suggesting real feasts of merit as described for the Naga and Chin.[7] They can be given only by chiefs, or wealthy people who have bought the right to perform them, and their main object is to attain riches, blessings, and a large family. The buffalos are tethered to sacrifial poles ornamented with symbols of prosperity, whereas monoliths are but very rarely put up as memorials. "Everything is made afresh on the day of sacrifice; as soon as the sacrifice is over the whole contrivance is allowed to fall into

[1] Shakespear 1912; 207.
[2] Stevenson 1937; 16ff.
[3] Lehman 1963; 144, 179, 181.
[4] Lehman 1963; 192.
[5] Carey & Tuck 1876; 179.
[6] Hanson 1913; 205.
[7] Carrapiett 1929; 59ff. Leach 1954; 118ff.

decay. It is as if anyone might be king for a day, but only the chief rules for ever," as Leach has it.

A faint echo of feasts of merit may still occur in the Burmese coast province of *Arakan* where it is considered an honour to have killed as many heads of cattle as possible at a feast.[1] On the other hand it may, of course, seem natural that a man's prestige will increase in proportion to his expenses in such matters, and at any rate the case remains questionable. On the whole, buffalo offerings are common throughout Indochina among the more backward peoples, but real feasts of merit are apparently unknown. They are certainly mentioned from the Moi, i.e. the hill tribes of Vietnam,[2] but only from the Austro-Asiatic *Mnong* are details available.[3] In order to acquire personal prestige and make ritual alliances people will here undertake buffalo sacrifices for the benefit of numerous guests. A piece of meat is given to each person who has made a present of a corresponding share on a former occasion, or with whom the host intends to start a gift exchange. Other kinds of presents are likewise exchanged, and the prestige must be permanently sustained by renewed feasts. However, there is no evidence of ancestor worship connected with them, nor are megaliths put up in this connection.

Leaving now the continent for the Southeast Asiatic island world we meet with typical feasts of merit on *Nias* west of Sumatra. Especially in the southern part of this island a megalithic culture was still extant right to our own days, not only with paved roads and plazas but also with simple or carved stone pillars erected in honour of both living and deceased persons and sometimes forked like the sacrificial poles on the continent, as well as stone seats for the departed souls, etc. The cultural stage is roughly similar to that of the Naga and other hill tribes of Assam and Indochina. Agriculture, mainly of the slash-and-burn variety, is the principal occupation, pigs are the most important domestic animals, in northern Nias the society is organized in patrilineal, exogamic sibs such as probably also existed farther south in a previous period, and head hunting prevailed right into modern times.

Increase of rank, payment of grandiose feasts, slave offerings,

[1] St. Andrew St. John 1873; 238.
[2] Loofs 1961; 63 f.
[3] Condominas 1957; 28ff, 34, 78.

and the manufacture of certain gold ornaments are here inextricably bound together, and sometimes the feasts cause keen rivalry between the chiefs.[1] Five or six feasts make up a series, and the expenses increase gradually from six or twelve to 200 or 300 pigs or even more, to which the whole village and men whose wives were borne there will contribute on account of the lustre they lend to the society. The first ornaments to be made include a fillet, an ear ring, a necklace and a head covering for a woman and a gold-embroidered man's jacket, a kris and a man's ear ring. Afterwards the man and woman are carried around in a carved wooden sedan chair. At the later stages other ornaments and gold-embroidered garments are made as well as various elaborate stone seats like fantastic animals with one or three heads, and finally the host acquires the highest honours after his death. Moreover, at the feasts certain relatives of the donor – at least his father- and brothers-in-law – receive gifts consisting of pigs and ornaments. Simple monoliths are put up in memory of the feasts to serve as back rests together with stone slabs as resting places for the departed souls, and big stone figures may be erected, forked at the top like the sacrificial poles on the continent and holding a beaker similar to that of certain prehistoric monuments in Central Asia and eastern Europe.[2]

In central and southern Sumatra culture is in many respects on a somewhat higher level than on Nias. Here the *Menangkabau* were the principal people in the ancient medieval kingdom of Malayu under the government of Indian rajahs. At a later period they were islamicized, though admittedly rather superficially, and many old customs have been preserved. Thus they are still, in spite of the religion, organized in matrilineal, exogamic sibs and phratries, and traces of feasts of merit are found in so far as certain non-hereditary titles can be assumed only with the consent of the heads of the lineages after paying for a feast.[3] Another survival may be found in the wedding practice of exchanging presents which are actually of little value but described as "buffalos", "horses" and the like, between the sibs of the newly-

[1] Modigliani 1890; 472 f. Sundermann 1905; 30 ff. Rappard 1909; 546 ff. Schröder 1917; I 274 ff. Loeb 1935; 142. Schnitger 1939; 146 ff.

[2] Rappard 1909; 536 f. Schröder 1917; I 81 ff, 96 ff, 101 ff. Heine-Geldern 1935; 309 ff. Loeb 1935; 138 f. Schnitger 1943; 245 ff.

[3] v. Hasselt 1882; 274.

married couple. This custom, says de Josselin de Jong, "certainly is not appropriate to its rôle as part of the wedding ceremonies, but would refer to the distribution of wealth that is needed to acquire a social rank."[1]

In the Lampong Districts of southernmost Sumatra the feasts of merit are still more conspicuous. There are here among the *Abung*,[2] chiefs of five different ranks, the second-lowest of which is entitled to a back rest, whereas the three highest classes can claim a particular "throne" formerly made of stone like the seats on Nias but in more recent times of wood. Originally it could only be ascended by hereditary rights after paying for an elaborate feast lasting eight days during which as many as thirty buffalos might be killed and money distributed among all the sibs present, not only the inhabitants of the village. The expenses as well as the prerogatives acquired in this way increased for each successive feast. Now the feasts may also be given by people who have bought the right to perform them. This may be a consequence of the fact that ever since the 16th century they were celebrated in order to confirm the titles bestowed on the chiefs by the Sultans of Bantam on Java, and actually Aeckerlin was of opinion that the whole system was introduced from there; however, there can be no doubt – and this is also confirmed by native tradition – that it is really much older and was previously associated with successful head hunting just as the ceremonial seats were with ancestor worship, both of which have, of course, disappeared with the introduction of Islam long ago.[3]

Extensive buffalo offerings take place among many non-Islamic and non-Christian peoples in Indonesia, but we have to go as far as *Tenimber* in order to find what may possibly – and even that is questionable – correspond to feasts of merit, apart perhaps from some rather vague or misunderstood traces on Flores and Timor.[4] On Tenimber the guests at the death feasts

[1] Josselin de Jong 1952; 76f, cf. 65.

[2] Harrebomée 1885; 371ff. Aeckerlin 1894; 1532. Hissink 1904; 90ff. Loeb 1935; 271ff. Schnitger 1939; 196ff. v. d. Hoop 1940; 60ff. Josselin de Jong 1952; 77. Funke 1958–61; I 86, 96ff, II 199, 235ff.

[3] Aeckerlin 1894; 1532. Hissink 1904; 90f. Funke 1958–61; I 231ff, II 199.

[4] The Ngada on Flores put up megaliths in memory of ancestors who have made elaborate feasts (Arndt 1932; 370, cf. 13, 23, 58. Bader 1951; 120f). Cf. also Staveren 1915; 150. v. Suchtelen 1919–21; 193ff. At the death feast of a rajah on Timor his family receives presents and at their departure gifts are given to certain family groups (Vroklage 1952; II 81f).

bring presents of pigs, golden ear-ornaments, etc., and after the burial they themselves receive gifts according to their rank.[1]

Otherwise true feasts of merit are not met with till Luzon in the Philippines and, significantly enough, again combined with megalithic monuments. Here the different Igorot tribes are famous for their elaborate irrigation systems and terraced paddy fields as well as for their head hunting, but there are no exogamic sibs and on the whole, except for the Kalinga, the political organization is rather loose. Generally speaking, a man's social status depends on his property even if his birth is considered too.[2] Among the *Kalinga* wealth is a condition for social importance and every feast is, so to speak, a feast of merit in so far as it results in added prestige.[3] Wealth in itself conveys prestige among the *Ifugao*, but in order to obtain the rank of a true man of property it is necessary to arrange at least two feasts, one of which entitles the donor to a particular carved seat, and in some cases he may even destroy part of his property like the Apatani and Kwakiutl.[4] The *Bontoc Igorot* distinguish between an upper and a lower class. Social status is, to be sure, hereditary, but the boundary between the classes is rather indistinct, and it is the duty of a member of the upper class to pay for public feasts to maintain his position. Some feasts, followed by pig sacrifices, are given only in order to gain prestige. In the low wall around the paved court in front of the men's house there are bigger stones where the skulls from the head-hunting raids are buried, besides serving both as memorials of prominent deceased and as back rests for the living.[5]

To some extent social status depends on birth among the *Kankanai* too, but at the same time on wealth. In order to assert his rank a man has to defray the expenses of feasts really whether he can afford it or not. Feasts are connected with offerings to the ancestors, they are supposed to prevent illness and bad luck besides bringing about a long life, growing wealth, and added prestige.[6] The *Nabaloi* hold similar views. A man of property is

[1] Drabbe 1940; 254ff.
[2] Kroeber 1919; 83.
[3] Barton 1949; 76.
[4] Barton 1922; 418.
[5] Keesing 1949; 594. Aquino 1954; 587. Vanoverbergh & Heine-Geldern 1929; 318f. Birket-Smith 1952; 9, 14.
[6] Moss 1920a; 349, 355.

supposed to give at least five feasts for his village and particularly prominent foreigners. A feast may last a whole month, and pigs, buffalos, etc., are sacrificed in large numbers for the benefit of the dead.[1]

Linguistically and culturally the *Yami* of the small island of Botel Tobago off the east coast of Formosa are closely related to the population of the northern Philippines. After building a house or a boat the owner and his kinsmen will compete with other families by displaying their wealth and thus sustain their social status.[2] Even though they do not go so far as to give away presents, the display is no doubt a survival of former feasts of merit, the more so because two or three monoliths are put up at the houses.

2. Feasts of Merit in Oceania

Feasts of merit are known not only from the Asiatic continent and the East Indian Archipelago but also from several places in Oceania, particularly Melanesia. The social conditions are here so varying that it is next to impossible to give an adequate sketch. Let it suffice to say that exogamic sibs, moieties, and totemism occur almost everywhere but in different stages of combination. As a rule the sibs are connected with either moieties or totemism and often with both. Descent is patrilineal in the greater part of New Guinea, on New Caledonia, and Fiji, matrilineal on the southeastern tip of New Guinea, the Admiralty Islands and the Bismarck Archipelago, while on the Solomons and New Hebrides it is patrilineal in some places and in others matrilineal. There are also examples of transition from one system to the other, of double and of bilateral descent. Very often the initiation of the boys has developed to cult associations and secret societies.

Material culture is generally more homogeneous. Life is based upon the cultivation of taro, yams, sago and coconut palms, mostly perhaps as semi-agriculture but sometimes on terraced and even irrigated fields. Domesticated pigs are highly valued, and almost everywhere economic transactions play an overwhelming part. Feasts as well as any kind of assistance require not only to be returned but preferably also on a somewhat greater scale. Wealth is generally a condition of prestige, and rich persons

[1] Moss 1920; 294.
[2] de Beauclair 1959; 188. Cf. Liu 1960; 137 ff.

know how to increase their property by lending capital of pigs, shell-money, deformed boar tusks, and other valuables at exorbitant interests.

Under the circumstances the soil was, so to speak, prepared for feasts of merit. Since early times the coasts of western New Guinea have been visited by trading vessels from the Moluccas. This has, at least among the *Waropen Papuans* at Geelvink Bay, resulted in conditions to some extent comparable with those of Lampong and the Sultans of Bantam. The traders conferred Moluccan titles on relatives of the chiefs. These titles might later on be acquired by a guest-friend in another village by challenging him to a kind of ceremonial gift exchange including a slave, and after the original owner of the title had returned to his native village a feast was given.[1] In so far this system of rank has been introduced from without, but G. J. Held, to whom we are indebted for the description, is of opinion that it has been superimposed on an older organization. Whether feasts of merit in the proper sense of the word actually did exist in New Guinea is nevertheless a question to which we shall recur later.

If we read that on Manus in the *Admiralty Islands* only the upper class is entitled to pay for certain feasts,[2] it is, perhaps, permissible to ask whether this is not a duty rather than a privilege, which might suggest a connection with real merit feasts.

At least traces of them may likewise occur in the so-called Malanggan feasts of New Ireland. They are given by rich people at the making of the well-known fantastic carvings when as many as sixty pigs may be killed.[3] It is said of the *Lesu* in the central part of the island that while these carvings "are made in honour of the dead, their making bestows prestige on the living. Should a Lesu man not make a *malanggan* for a dead mother or maternal uncle, he would fall very low in prestige, but there would be no effect on the dead person or his ghost. For to the Melanesian native, the *malanggan* represents wealth, and not to have this for the proper ritual uses is indeed a serious matter."[4] At the death feasts of the *Pala*, another central New Ireland tribe, offerings are made to the deceased and presents of meat are distributed to

[1] Held 1947; 79ff.
[2] Mead 1934; 206.
[3] Peekel 1926–27; XXII 30f. Bühler 1933; 252ff.
[4] Powdermaker 1933; 318f.

his creditors, to those who have rendered services during his last illness and at his death, and to some relative, but the latter may refuse the gift since it will oblige him to a return gift on a later occasion. The feasts are made on a grandiose scale, and presents are even given to the guests to forward to non-present persons, for it is up to the host to sustain the honour of the society, although nothing is said of his personal prestige.[1]

On the small *Tabar Islands* off New Ireland there are Malanggan feasts like those of the latter place. As a rule they are celebrated for several deceased at the same time and paid for by their relatives or sib members collectively.[2] Pigs are killed "according to the prestige and wealth of the sponsors," and what is not eaten immediately is given to "certain of the guests, either as reciprocal acts for similar 'gifts' or as gifts entailing reciprocity on the part of the recipients."[3]

On *Tanga*, another small island group north of New Ireland, a ceremonial pig exchange was "part of an important funeral rite organized by a chieftain . . . to commemorate the death of an important member of the clan." The guests came both from friendly and competing sibs, who were obliged to repay the feast with interest so as to enhance their prestige. At one feast as many as 200 pigs, which were formally considered the property of the host although he had actually got assistance from his sib, were either killed and consumed, or exchanged.[4] Shell money spent in buying pigs before funeral feasts were not only payment but also "symbol of a debt of reverence paid to the memory of a dead ancestor."[5]

At the death feasts on the *Duke of York Islands* between New Ireland and New Britain the shell money of the deceased was distributed among the attendants, and even children got their share.[6]

The Melanesian coast population of the *Gazelle Peninsula* on New Britain celebrated elaborate feasts during which not only food but also all kind of weapons, ornaments and the like were given away to the guests on the tacit assumption that they had to

[1] Neuhaus 1962; 330ff.
[2] Bühler 1933; 248.
[3] Groves 1934–35; 350.
[4] Bell 1946–49; XVIII 50ff. Cf. Bell 1936–37; 327.
[5] Bell 1935a; 99.
[6] Danks 1892; 355. Ribbe 1910–12; 322ff.

be rapaid with interest later on. On one occasion, for instance, the host dealt out 300 fathoms of shell money and received 420 fathoms in return.[1] At death feasts the shell money of the deceased was distributed among the mourners. In case of a rich man this took place at a series of feasts which might spread over several years, and only rich persons were supposed to be admitted to the Land of the Dead.[2] In the *Arue District* in the southwestern part of New Britain it is a prerogative – or duty? – of the chiefs to arrange great feasts with offerings of pigs, which serve as food for the departed souls, and thereby raise their own prestige as manifested by the right to boar-tusk ornaments.[3] At the death feasts a gift exchange of pork and gold-lip shells takes place, and "it may be added that the whole cycle is nominally in the charge of some man of rank, usually a close relative of the dead . . . This man arranges the various rites, and supervises the provision of food for the feasts and gift exchanges."[4]

In the cases so far described we may, perhaps, apart from that of southwestern New Britain, question their character of feasts of merit, but it is quite evident on some islands in the Solomons group. It is considered an honour to receive shell money after the death of a chief among the *Buin*, a Papuan tribe on Bougainville, although the amount must be repaid with pigs of an even greater value and requires a display of wealth, which more than the mere possession is a source of prestige.[5] Among the Melanesian-speaking *Siuai* in southern Bougainville feasts of merit are still more typical.[6] Here frequent feast-giving is a condition for social standing, and there are both forced loans to be returned with interest and payments for earlier favours. At the early stages of his social climbing a man is assisted by his kinsmen and friends in procuring the necessary number of pigs, some of which must be tuskers. The feast may be given either as recompense for services rendered, or for putting a rival to shame. In the latter case it can be understood "as an elaborately institutionalized device for gaining renown: (1) by dispensing hospitality (i.e. coercive gifts) to numerous individual guests, who

[1] Parkinson 1907; 91 ff. Cf. Pfeil 1899; 166 f.
[2] Kleintitschen n. d.; 220 ff.
[3] Speiser 1935; 162.
[4] Todd 1934–35; 5, 207 f. Cf. Todd 1935–36; 402 ff.
[5] Thurnwald 1934–35; 129 ff.
[6] Oliver 1955; 364 ff, 386 ff. Cf. Wheeler 1914 a; 84.

repay the host in the currency of renown-making praise; (2) by giving to the guest-of-honor a large competitive gift which, if not repaid, directly enhances the host's renown; and (3) by publicly humiliating the guest-of-honor, a socio-political rival, thereby reducing him to rank below that of the host." The competition may go on for years and end in the bankruptcy of one of the rivals and all of his relatives. In that case his soul will be torn out by the spirit familiar of the winner, whereas the host will improve his own status after his death. On the other hand, unless the mourners at the death feasts are not properly paid with pork, the deceased's soul will be "everlastingly damned."[1]

An unfortunately defective report of a death feast on the *Shortland-Islands* tells of numerous guests, the killing of pigs, and cannibalism, as well as of gifts given to the author, but as he left the feast before it was finished, he did not notice whether the rest of the attendants received presents, too.[2] On *Eddystone Island*, however, both food and gifts were distributed among the guests at the concluding death feasts of chiefs and men of high standing, and on *Ronongo* the male singers were paid with arm rings on similar occasions.[3]

Feast giving is essential for prestige among the *Kaoka* on Guadalcanal.[4] A person who wants to be considered a chief or a man of property must first of all build a big house and arrange a series of increasingly lavish feasts. In so doing he is assisted by his relations, foreign guests likewise contribute their share, and sometimes there is so much food that much of it is left to rot. Both helpers at the house building and the dancers at the feast are paid for their assistance, and the host is obliged to continuously arrange new feasts lest he should loose his prestige. Things donot differ essentially among the neighbouring hill tribes of northeastern Guadalcanal. Here a future man of property must give presents of pork to both his helpers at the erection of his new house and to important men of the villages in the neighbourhood, and sometimes a competition between the hosts takes place.[5]

[1] Oliver 1949; 3, 19.
[2] Ribbe 1903; 84 ff.
[3] Hocart; 1922; 96 ff, 103.
[4] Hogbin 1937–38 a; 292 ff. Hogbin 1964; 64 ff.
[5] Hogbin 1937–38; 73 f.

On *Malaita*, too, "wealth is the measure of a chief's power. After a death the successor has to distribute the bulk of the tribal property to secure his position." The death feasts, of which the final one is the most expensive, cover several years, and not till then is the new chief "established in office" and the soul of the deceased at peace.[1] Feasts, always requiring some adequate return, are given by a chief on the small islands of *Sa'a* and *Ulawa* off Malaita for ennobling his son or daughter, or simply on account of the people's desire to increase the prestige of their chief and the village.[2]

A certain kind of feast is celebrated on *San Cristoval* for guests from foreign villages, the chiefs of which bind themselves to sustain peace, pay debts, etc., at the same time accepting the responsibility of making the next feast.[3] It is accompanied by pig offerings, dances, etc., and in front of a new-built shrine a tree is raised with strings of shell money and with ornaments like those of a man belonging to the chieftain's sib. Each of the foreign chiefs is told to fetch the money assigned to him, and if he takes the garland and crown of red-dyed grass with which the tree is decorated together with the strings of red shell-money he is thereby obliged not only to give the next feast but also to outdo the present.

On the islands south of the Solomons, i.e. the small groups of Torres and Banks as well as on the New Hebrides, feasts of merit are mainly, though not exclusively, associated with the widespread, graduated and more or less secret societies such as the Sukwe, Tamate, etc. Forced loans, to be discharged with double return, likewise occur.[4] On *Torres Islands* the Sukwe society comprised seven grades, on *Banks* there are no less than eighteen, each of them characterized by special badges and prerogatives, and not only an entrance fee of shell-money must be paid, but in order to enter a higher grade it is necessary to pay still higher fees for every grade, and elaborate feasts must always be given.[5] Consequently, most people only attain a medium rank,

[1] Hopkins 1928; 113 f. Ivens 1930; 210 ff.
[2] Ivens 1927; 160.
[3] Fox 1924; 323.
[4] Codrington 1891; 326. Rivers 1914; I 64 f.
[5] Codrington 1891; 80, 84, 103 ff. Coombe 1911; 78 f. Rivers 1914; I 64 ff, 98, 140.

and many do not even get that far. The initiate has to be introduced by an earlier member of the society, usually a person belonging to the same moiety and very often his mother's brother. The financial transactions are not quite clear, but at all events what is given away is expected to be returned with interest later on. Thus, every initiation into a rank of the societies "is part of a process whereby money passes not only from the new member to those already initiated but from his relatives and from certain members already initiated, such as the introducer, to other persons. Further . . . the contributions made towards the price of initiation are largely if not altogether in return for previous gifts or payment."[1] On Banks Islands even the women have a graded society.[2]

Apparently, however, there are on Banks also ordinary feasts of merit, for instance at the erection of a new house, when pigs are given to people from other villages either by a man for himself or for his nephew, and even if a man has reached the highest grade within the Sukwe he can still raise his prestige by giving them. Anybody with sufficient means is at liberty to arrange such feasts, but still there may exist some sort of connection with the societies, since some part of the ceremonial can be performed only by persons who have attained a certain rank within them.[3]

Monoliths, stone platforms, and human figures of wood and fern-tree are put up in commemoration of the feasts.[4] The main thing is, however, that here as well as in the northern New Hebrides pig killing and pig transactions at the feasts are really offerings by which the host acquires both prestige and supernatural power as well as a better existence after his death.[5] It may be added that on the Torres Islands presents are exchanged at the death feasts for very important persons,[6] probably for similar reasons.

We find the same kind of graded societies throughout the New Hebrides. In some parts of the islands the highest grades are

[1] Rivers 1914; I 140.
[2] Coombe 1911; 80f.
[3] Codrington 1891; 110f. Cf. Rivers 1914; I 130ff.
[4] Speiser 1923; 389. Riesenfeld 1950; 12.
[5] Speiser 1923; 278.
[6] Coombe 1911; 137.

open to chiefs' families only, but usually a boy starts with the rank of his father. Besides, however, there are really secret, but non-obligatory associations, although sometimes more or less mixed with the graded societies.[1]

In the interior of *Espiritu Santo* the latter are divided into two grades only, but elsewhere in the island there are as many as nine or even seventeen grades. Admission to the lowest one costs one hundred pigs, and for each step upwards corresponding expenses must be defrayed, while at the same time the ceremonial gets more complicated, at least for the highest ranks, and dolmen-like stone platforms are put up.[2] On *Aomba* (Lepers' Island), after a boy had been admitted to the Hukwe or Hungwe society, "his father gave him a pig, with which a feast was made in his name, and each person who took a piece of the pig gave a mat in return; the man who took the head gave a mat a hundred fathoms long. Of these mats the boy gave his father fifty in return for the pig."[3] Ceremonial pig transactions took place also later on at the initiation to higher grades, and even after having attained the highest rank a man might assume new titles by giving feasts.[4]

The most detailed information derives from *Malekula*. Here, as on Banks, the women also form graduated associations, obviously copied according to the pattern of the male societies, though much simpler.[5] Membership of the latter is, on the other hand, so important that a man who has squandered his fortune in buying a high rank is held in higher esteem than a more wealthy person in a lower grade,[6] and evidently admission to the societies is again connected with ideas of a future life, for while the initiator confers a new name upon the novice, the women, who are all daubed in funeral black, are wailing as if for a dead person.[7] Moreover stone platforms and monoliths are erected, not for the host only but also "for those ancestors who have performed it before him, and whose ghosts, together with his own

[1] Corlette 1934–36; VI 50ff.
[2] Speiser 1923; 407f. Deacon 1929; 417, 466ff, 487. Guiart 1958; 1958ff.
[3] Codrington 1891; 114.
[4] Codrington 1891; 133. Speiser 1923; 409. Cf. Deacon 1929; 497. Coombe 1911; 24f. Nevermann 1960; 193ff.
[5] Harrison 1937; 44. Deacon 1934; 478ff.
[6] Deacon 1934; 199.
[7] Corlette 1934–36; VI 59.

after death, hover near them and are commemorated by them".[1] In northern Malekula the megalithic monuments include both monoliths and dolmen-like stone platforms for the pig sacrifices; in southwestern Malekula a wooden figure is put up at admission to the lower grades, afterwards a wooden post is erected within a circle of stones, and finally a large monolith which, as far as the highest grades are concerned, is carved.[2]

The Nimangki society in the so-called Small Nambas district on northwestern Malekula has three grades only, and admission to each class is paid for with a hundred pigs of increasing value. Each village contributes its share and receives a corresponding number of less value in return, but then full compensation is expected at the next feast.[3] The Nimangki society is, however, more or less in a state of disintegration, so that at present only a number of saleable titles and badges are left, and in contradistinction to the southern parts of the island, the highest grades are reserved for certain lineages. In the Lambumbu and Lagalog districts there is, however, beside the Nimangki another graded society of a more secret character, the members of which act at the death ceremonies.[4]

In the Big Nambas district we find a series of six ranks, and in general the ceremonial seems to be somewhat more elaborate, particularly when there is question of a feast given by a chief for himself or his oldest son. Besides, it combines commemoration of the ancestors as well as agricultural rites and is often appointed a whole year in advance so that sufficient provisions may be procured. The number of pigs to be provided by each sib is stipulated. Guests from other villages, first of all the traditional "partner" village, are invited and entertained, each group bringing yams and a tusker boar. When the principal rites are to take place the chief first takes possession of the pigs to be given to him and at the same time he announces his new title. Next day pigs are given away ceremonially to the guests; theoretically, they are supposed to be killed, but actually many of them are simply taken away. "D'un point de vue sociologique, il faudrait analyser le rituel ainsi décrit en prestations dont au début les unes font

[1] Layard 1942; 147.
[2] Layard 1942; 12 f. Deacon 1934; 273, 354. Riesenfeld 1950; 37 f.
[3] Guiart 1952; 195 ff.
[4] Deacon 1934; 341, 346 f, 436, 446, 456 ff.

sous peu de jours l'objet d'une contreprestation, alors que les autres ne seront rendues qu'à l'occasion d'une autre série ceremonielle offerte par un des villages invités. L'initiative même du rituel est l'occasion d'une rivalité entre les deux chefferies partenaires, les autres groupes n'étant là que spectateurs, et ne recevant d'ailleurs qu'en proportion de ce rôle secondaire . . . Le rituel est ni acheté ni vendu, il n'est pas une affaire personelle, mais interesse directement le prestige de la collectivité tout entière, representée par la personne de son chef. C'est dans la mesure où celui-ci s'identifie au groupe que le rituel s'éclaire et prend toute sa valeur."[1] Nevertheless it seems to me that Guiart's assertion that the ritual is not "une affaire personelle" is really an instance, like that of many sociologists, of mistaking "so that" for "in order to". Obviously the primary cause of the feasts is the increase of rank of the chief, whose prestige is then reflected in the whole village.

In southwestern Malekula presents of pigs are given at the funerals to relatives of the deceased, to notable persons from other villages, and to members of the secret societies,[2] but here as farther North the elaborate distribution of gifts is particularly connected with the latter. The local Nalawan society resembles in many ways the Nimangki but has a stronger touch of religion and connection with the disposal of the dead.[3] Again, we find here a series of grades obtainable only by making appropriate payment of live pigs to the introducer, who must previously have obtained a similar rank himself. "The central point of each ceremony is the erection of a wooden image, monolith, dolmen, or stone platform, or certain of these combined, at which a pig, the property of the introducer, is sacrificed by the novice," but to the latter the introduction, even to the lowest grades, entails considerable expenses, for besides paying the introducer he must also reward those who assist in the manufacture of the various "properties" and display both hospitality and generosity to all the assembled guests, and the higher he climbs the social ladder the more his expenses increase.[4] The rank system, comprising no less than 32 grades, is, on the whole, rather intricate and is

[1] Guiart 1952; 187 ff. Cf. Laroche & Drilhon 1956; 228 ff.
[2] Deacon 1934; 536.
[3] Deacon 1934; 384 ff, 432. Cf. Guiart 1956; 221.
[4] Layard 1928; 142 ff. Deacon 1934; 287 ff.

apparently due to some of them being introduced from the northern part of the island or, as suggested by Layard, the blending of an earlier and a later system.[1] Thus, among the Seniang there seems to have been only four grades originally.[2]

According to Layard, the secret societies on the so-called *Small Islands* off Malekula have only one grade which "is led up to by a series of ceremonies lasting over a minimum period of thirty years, during which thousands of valuable pigs are killed and endless provender consumed," but those who participate for a second time take supernumerary titles.[3] There is, however, also a kindred rite which "in its component sub-rites includes the ritual payment of debts to a great number of living relatives, chief among whom are the mother's brother and the wife's father. Coupled with this is the effort to achieve immortality . . ." The ritual lasts fifteen years, and two hundred or more valuable pigs are sacrificed on a single day on the dolmens and stone platforms.[4]

On *Pentecost Island* (Raga), *Aurora Island* (Maewo), *Epi*, and *Ambrym* there are also graded societies, and at least on the latter stone platforms are built for the sacrifices.[5] Guiart states, however, that on Ambrym it is unnecessary to join the society, and admission conveys neither rank nor power even if it adds to a man's prestige: "L'acquisition des grades est sur un plan entièrement économique; le rituel, extrêmement sécularisé, a perdu la justification mythique pour ne garder que celle du prestige, sa complexité même n'étant plus qu'affaire d'ostentation."[6]

In the old days, return feasts were common on *Erromango*. Each of them lasted for several days or even weeks, and guests from foreign villages were obliged to provide a number of pigs at the return feast equal to that given to them.[7] It seems, however, that there is no question of a regular increase of rank, nor does

[1] Deacon 1934; 272, 278 ff. Layard 1928; 201.
[2] Dietschy 1951; 372 f.
[3] Layard 1928; 144. Cf. Speiser 1913; 67. Speiser 1923; 398 ff.
[4] Layard 1942; 13 f.
[5] Codrington 1891; 115. Coombe 1911; 8, 33 f. Rivers 1914; I 210 f. Deacon 1929; 503 ff. Layard 1928; 147. Guiart 1951; 30 f, 57, pass. Speiser 1923; 408. Nevermann 1933; 146. Riesenfeld 1950; 65.
[6] Guiart 1951; 95 f. Cf. Guiart 1956; 221.
[7] Humphreys 1926; 180 f.

anything like feasts of merit exist on *Tanna* and *Aneityum*, the southernmost of the New Hebrides.

This applies to *New Caledonia* as well. Feasts with a distribution of gifts are, indeed, given at the end of the mourning period and at the initiation. Their purpose is to reconcile the ancestors on the maternal side, but they have nothing to do with an increase of rank.[1] Ceremonial feasts to which the whole district was invited occur on Fiji,[2] but again unconnected with the rank of the host and consideration for his future life or for the dead as a whole, no more than what is the case at the ceremonial gift exchanges in Polynesia, and the feasts connected with the graded Areoi society on the Society Islands, which are only of a secondary nature, the primary condition of admittance and subsequent promotion being possession by the god Tu and participation in certain rites.[3]

On the other hand we meet with true feasts of merit in Micronesia on Yap and perhaps also on Ponapé in the eastern Carolines. At the beginning and the end of the yams harvest the inhabitants of *Ponapé* bring great supplies of food to the district chief, who gives a feast and bestows a rank, within the limits fixed by the sib, to the winner in a competition as to who has provided the biggest yam, the oldest pit breadfruit, most pork and most kava as well as the boar with the biggest tusks.[4] On *Yap* conditions are more complicated because here rank is combined with both age classes and residence. Admission to a new age class must be paid for either by the father of the novice or by himself and his relatives by giving a feast and distribution of money to his associates-to-be, who present him with a smaller amount in return. Besides, nearly every feast is part of the ancestor cult and funeral ceremonies in a wider sense. Guests from other villages are invited to the memorial feasts, money, to which the host village jointly contributes, is distributed among them according to their rank, and thereby the host himself enhances his prestige.[5]

[1] Leenhardt 1930; 143 ff. Cf. de Vaux 1883; 345 ff. Leenhardt 1922; 225 ff. Sarasin 1929; 218 ff.
[2] Williams 1858; 146 ff.
[3] Hogbin 1932–33; 13 ff. Mühlmann 1955.
[4] Bascon 1948; 211 ff.
[5] Müller 1917; 247 f, 257 ff.

3. Ceremonial Exchange Feasts in New Guinea

Unmistakable feasts of merit as well a more or less questionable traces of them do thus occur in several places scattered over the western Pacific. Now, the importance of economic transactions and wealth in Melanesia has previously been mentioned. Trade in itself involves prestige, and moreover it gives rise to feasts where the whole village or the sib acts as hosts to visitors from foreign villages. This is the case e.g. in the Admiralty Islands, New Ireland, Bougainville, and Malekula, but particularly, perhaps, on New Guinea.[1] There may be reason, therefore, to submit the latter to closer investigation.

A peculiar form of transactions occurs among the *Mejprat* on the Bird's Head Peninsula in connection with imported Indonesian textiles or *bo*, which are supposed to possess magical power. "When I 'give a *bo*' to someone," says Elmberg, "it is only as a temporary loan. The receiver must in time give back another *bo* that is bigger or more valuable . . . The receiver is not only my debtor. He gives 'my' *bo* to somebody else and I naturally have an interest in this new transaction, so I try to help him to get it back on as favorable conditions as possible; he becomes virtually my partner."[2] In time there will be a whole group of mutual creditors and debtors whose accounts are settled at a series of feasts. A man who has given an exchange feast "is not only a big creditor but also a big debtor," and the whole cycle "consists of four exchange feasts spread some six months apart."[3] Actually it is an extremely complicated affair in which certain aspects of leadership and exchange are really foreign to original Mejprat culture, thus being "an acculturated form of the feasts of the traditional life cycle," i.e. of initiation, marriage, and death.[4] To some extent we may, perhaps, have to do with something parallel to the gift exchanges of the Waropen Papuans, and at any rate it seems doubtful if the increase of rank enters as a primary constituent of the feasts.

Except for the exchange of textiles there is also some resemblance to the feasts given by a chief of the *Nimboran* Papuans west of Lake Sentani in order to be acknowleged; numerous

[1] Odermann 1955; 484 ff. Cf. Lenoir 1924a; 387 ff.
[2] Elmberg 1955; 33 f.
[3] Elmberg 1955; 76, 85.
[4] Elmberg 1965; 6, 140.

guests as well as ancestral spirits are invited, but on the whole little is known of the ceremonies.[1] Among the Papuans of *Tor* there are feasts attended by visitors from foreign tribes, the host often trying to outdo them in offering as much food as possible and thus gaining prestige.[2]

Widespread in southwestern New Guinea and other parts of the island, especially in the mountains of the interior, we find the so-called pig feasts, at which pig markets, exchange of valuables as well as various rites and ceremonies take place, often in combination with initiation of the youths. They are known from the *Mimika* district, where the principle of reciprocity is very pronounced.[3] The *Jaqai* on the Mappi River arrange pig feasts at initiation and after a series of successful head-hunting raids. Pork is distributed, in particular among the foreign guests, and it seems that only the first pig is paid for. At their departure the visitors take along presents for those who stayed at home, and they are obliged to return the feast later on. Mourners also have to pay those who have relieved them of the mourning taboos on this occassion.[4] Pig feasts likewise occur among the Papuans in the *Digul* area,[5] the *Kanum-irebe*,[6] and the *Marind-anim*.[7] At the Digul they are part of a definite exchange system involving pigs, shell-money, and women and are sometimes held at the final disposal of the bones of the dead. Among the Marind they are likewise connected with the newly deceased and denote a new period of social life and are as a rule given in return for previous feasts.

Feasts together with pig markets and the building of dancing houses occur among the *Kapauku* Papuans in the western mountains of the interior.[8] "One not only sells meat and earns money, has fun in dancing and singing, gains prestige from the success of the event and from one's generosity, and performs what we may call a 'patriotic and moral' deed, but it also undermines the popularity of political rivals as well as shames the traditional

[1] Kouwenhoven 1956; 31 ff. Cf. also Galis 1954; 29 ff, 34 ff.
[2] Oosterwal 1961; 28.
[3] Wollaston 1912; 134 ff. Pouwer 1955; 161, 275.
[4] Boelars n. d.; 65, 104 ff.
[5] Nevermann 1937; 30. Den Haan 1955; 93 f, 181 f.
[6] Nevermann 1940; 10, 25 f.
[7] Wirz 1922–25; IV 22 ff. v. Baal 1934; 231 ff. Geurtjens n. d.; 146 ff.
[8] Pospisil 1958; 47 ff.

enemy—the people from another political confederacy." The host is assisted by his relatives in accumulating sufficient supplies, pork is distributed among the guests, and the final feast is attended by people coming from afar and bringing pigs for sale.

Rather similar feasts are celebrated in the mountains farther east. Both mong the *Ekari* and *Moni* Papuans the sib elders will arrange pig feasts, often with more than a hundred guests from foreign villages and sibs, at the building of a men's house or at initiation of the youths. At the distribution of meat and fat certain pieces are reserved for relatives of the organizers while the rest is sold, the transactions being in reality part of a regular circulation of shell-money.[1] Among the *Muyu* the pig feasts also enter in an established network of trading connections.[2] The *Ndani* and *Siana* hold pig feasts at intervals of two or three years in connection with initiation, the termination of mourning periods, etc.[3]

The *Nondugl* Papuans in the western highlands likewise combine pig feasts with initiation and the erection of cult houses and thus also with ancestor worship and fertility magic.[4] The pig feasts of the *Kandep* are, on the other hand, said to be purely commercial. "The main point of the gathering seems to be that visitors exchange axes, pearl shell and valuables for hosts' pork."[5] Among the *Gahuku-Gana* and other tribes of the central highlands the pig feasts again form the climax of the initiation.[6] "They are related to individual and group prestige and are reciprocal. They are initiated in the first instance to discharge a community debt incurred in warfare but the recipients of the pigs are also bound to return the pig at a future date . . . each sub-tribe, indeed, is the central link in a mesh of these reciprocal duties." This obligation generally gives rise to keen competition.

Wealth, measured by the number of wives, feather and shell ornaments, and pigs, among the *Kuma* means "that the owner is able, if he wants to, to press claims and meet commitments . . . But the principle in owning pigs and pig wealth is not to store them nor put them to recurrent display: it is to use them. The

[1] Le Roux 1948–50; II 586 ff, 603.
[2] Schoorl n. d.; 88 ff. Boelars 1953; 131 ff.
[3] Bromley 1960; 239 f. Salisbury 1956; 3.
[4] Luzbetak 1954; 61 ff, 103 ff, 113 ff.
[5] Meggitt 1956–57; 133.
[6] Read 1952–53; 16 ff. Cf. Read 1954; 18.

aggregate effect is a vast circulatory flow of pigs, plumes, and shells. The motive force of the flow is the reputation men can gain from ostentatious participation in it. Just as a prosperous clan enhances its reputation by presenting food to others, so a prosperous person enhances his reputation by disposing his valuables. What is more, disposal by presentation means that more wealth becomes available to him when reciprocal obligations are fulfilled."[1] At the pig feasts each owner will first sacrifice a "spirit" pig to his ancestors who are supposed to eat its shadow, and afterwards other pigs are killed for members of foreign sibs who have contributed plumes and shell ornaments in expectation of return.

The principal feature of the *Chimbu* pig feasts in the eastern highlands is a massive pig killing and distribution of cooked pork, the quantity of which is a measure of the donors' prestige. "Each tribe and individual invites as many guests as possible," and the distribution includes individual creditors, kin, affines and friends as well as outside visitors.[2]

Pig feasts also occur among the *Mbowamb* in the Hagen Mountains and the *Gende* farther east. The Gende celebrate them as usual in connection with initiation,[3] whereas a Mbowamb man will give them in honour of his maternal uncle who first at some previous period has presented him with pork and finally with a whole pig which he has sacrificed to the ancestors. At the feast other pigs are repaid with 100 per cent interest and sacrificial pigs exchanged. Such feasts bring about prestige and strengthen both social and religious solidarity.[4]

Besides, a ceremonial gift exchange, called Moka, takes place in the Hagen Mountains both among the *Mbowamb* and *Kyoka* (eastern Enga). Among the latter the feasts, which must be returned with interest and conveys prestige, are given i.a. in case of sickness.[5] The Moka system of the Mbowamb is, however, somewhat different according to the detailed description of Vicedom and Tischner.[6] It is here a primitive credit system. "Es handelt sich dabei um die Verleihung einer bestimmten Anzahl von

[1] Reay 1959; 96ff.
[2] Brown & Brookfield 1959–60; 46ff.
[3] Aufenanger & Höltker 1940; 29, 82f.
[4] Strauss & Tischner 1962; 348ff.
[5] Wirz 1952; 42ff. Bulmer 1960–61; 6ff.
[6] Vicedom & Tischner 1942–48; II 251ff, 452ff.

Perlmuscheln mit anderen Wertstücken und Schweinen. Nicht irgendeine Verleihung kann als Moka angesprochen werden, sondern nur wenn es sich dabei entweder um 8, 10 oder 16 Perlmuscheln handelt, die in einem öffentlichen Zeremoniell verliehen werden. Gegen diese Wertstücke hat der Empfänger eine Anzahl Schweine als Bürgschaft zu stellen, die er bei Zurückbezahlen des Moka wieder zurückbekommt. Diese Verleihungen können wieder an andere Männer weitergegeben werden, bewegen sich aber immer innerhalv eines bestimmten Freundeskreises. Sie gehen nach einer bestimmten Zeit an den Gläubiger zurück, worauf sie dieser einem anderen Kreis nutzbar macht . . . Ein Zins wird dabei nicht genommen." The Moka system is said to have been introduced by an immigrant population, but in spite of some resemblance to the ceremonial Kula trade on the Trobriands the authors find the closest parallel in the graded societies of the New Hebrides, for although the prestige acquired by the Moka is not combined with a society nor with a definite rank, it is nevertheless associated with ancestor worship: "Durch die Opfer, die er [i.e. the donor] den Verstorbenen der Sippe bringt, hilft er diesen Geistern und verschaft sich selbst zugleich Kraft, Erfolg in seinem Leben zu haben . . . Je höher er in seinem Rang im Leben steigt, desto besser, denn einen solchen Rang wird er auch im Jenseits einnehmen."

A ceremonial trading system, Te, is also found in the central highlands among the *Wabaga* and (western) *Enga*. Here, stone axes and other commodities circulate from west to east, and pigs, goldlip shells, etc., travel in the opposite direction covering great distances by means of middlemen – the more of the latter are involved, the greater is the prestige acquired. "The Te is a time and occasion for settling differences, paying off debts, making compensation [e.g. for persons killed in wars] and cementing friendships through gifts ceremoniously handed out at the Te."[1]

Ceremonial pig trading seems mainly to be limited to the western and interior parts of New Guinea apart from the *Kai* and the region of *Huon Gulf*. Thus, pig markets are held at Finschhafen together with initiations,[2] whereas the pig feasts of the *Komba* on the Huon Peninsula present a somewhat different

[1] Elkin 1952–53; 177ff, 199. Bus 1951; 813ff.
[2] Hagen 1899; 238. Keysser in Neuhauss 1911; III 54f.

aspect.[1] They are given by a sib to related bilateral groups, who are obliged to return them. The souls of the deceased are supposed to partake in the feast that may be an offshoot of cannibalism.

Even if abundant quantities of pork are part of the treat it is not always that pigs enter in the ceremonial transactions. In the Kula system of the *Trobriand Islands*, famous through the investigations of Malinowski, there is a regular circulation of necklaces of red shell travelling clockwise and armlets of white Conus shell counter-clockwise. The temporary possession of these valuables gives prestige. They are, however, not actually sold but given away as presents of equal value. At the great feast at the end of the mourning period, when numerous guests are present and great amounts of food are distributed, the Kula gifts are handed over to partners. However, this has nothing to do with the soul of the dead, who has "settled definitely in another world, entirely oblivious of what happens in the village and especially of what is done in memory of his former existence."[2] At the memorial feast for a prominent person, the oldest man present receives gifts of food, to which he himself adds about half of the contents of his store house, the food being afterwards given ceremoniously to people "in a definite social relationship" to the deceased, in particular to his children and their kin.[3] The Kula system also includes the *d'Entrecasteaux Islands*.[4]

The annual trading expeditions to the Gulf of Papua by the *Motu* and *Koita* on the southeastern coast of New Guinea, though accompanied by certain ceremonies and taboos, seem, in contrast to the Kula system, to be purely commercial.[5] On the other hand the Koita have a series of feasts "brought about by the deliberate rivalry of two men, each of such importance as to be able to secure the unqualified assistance of every man in his *iduhu* [sib] and so perhaps each of the two men is necessarily an *iduhu rotu* [sib chief]."[6] One of more sibs may also arrange feasts with abundant pig killing and display of food for neigh-

[1] Schmitz 1960; 293ff.
[2] Malinowski 1932; 490, 211 and passim.
[3] Malinowski 1935; 27.
[4] Bromilow 1929; 128f.
[5] Seligmann 1910; 96ff.
[6] Seligmann 1910; 144.

bouring villages, as is also the case in the southern *Massim* district, but apparently there is here no actual rivalry.[1] Nevertheless a competitive element may be present, for according to Armstong they suggest a kind of feasts on *Rossel Island* in the Louisiades that are started by one man challenging another man who in return will suggest that the challenger buy a pig and make a feast at which the pig is killed and the meat ceremonially distributed.[2]

Among the *Koita* there are also feasts with great amounts of pork and other food put on display on a ceremonial platform and afterwards distributed among the guests, most of the pigs killed having been borrowed previously from friends and relatives in other villages.[3] At the corresponding feasts of the *Mailu* practically all the pigs come through marriage connections, and probably the feast "as a rule coincides, or, rather, is identical with" the great mortuary feast.[4]

At the upper *Markham River* the man who contributes most pork for the Yam Harvest Feast gains prestige, and a ceremonial post is put up at his house.[5] The so-called Big Feasts of the *Mafulu* in the mountains of eastern Papua[6] are likewise characterized by a display of yams, pig killing and distribution of food according to the prestige of the guests. They seem to have some association with ancestor worship and the erection of men's houses but apparently neither with trading nor increase of rank.

A combination of feasts for the dead, competition, and acquisition of prestige is found on *Kolepom*, formerly known as Frederik Hendrik Island.[7] They are primarily a series of mortuary feasts but sometimes result from an accusation of laziness, theft, adultery, and the like. At the first feast in the series a man of the same age as the deceased will, as his representative, exchange food with another village section. Gradually the exchange increases, and at the same time the number of persons taking part in it grows until it finally includes the entire village section. The exchange is a consequence of the idea that a man is not allowed to eat his

[1] Seligmann 1910; 589 ff.
[2] Armstrong 1928; 83.
[3] Seligmann 1910; 145 ff.
[4] Malinowski 1915; 664 ff.
[5] Read 1946–47; 112.
[6] Williamson 1912; 125 ff. Williamson 1914; 244 ff.
[7] Serpenti 1965; 203 ff, 234 ff.

own garden produce, at least as far as exceptionally large yam and taro tubers are concerned, and the competition is limited, because only an exact return is given. It is the initiative to the exchange alone that conveys prestige. In some villages food is exchanged only at the concluding mortuary feast, whereas otherwise it is only put on display.[1]

Among the *Kiwai* Papuans a leader is expected to arrange feasts, but at the so-called Ceremony of the Fertility Tree he is assisted in accumulating sufficient provisions both by his own sib and most of the village.[2] The feast culminates in the putting up of the "fertility tree" with a display of an enermous amount of garden produce which is afterwards distributed, the donor of the feast being "richly awarded by the great honour accruing to him." Often the feasts give rise to rivalry between the donors. In the *Elema* district there is a similar food display and ceremonial gift exchange between hereditary friends, or rather their men's houses, and between relatives, for instance a man and his maternal uncle or his wife's brothers.[3]

Of course there are in New Guinea many feasts with extensive pig killings that are neither connected with trade and gift exchange nor are strictly competitive. Thus, numerous pigs are sacrificed at the *Swart River* in order to expel the demons of sickness and death.[4] On the small island of *Tumleo*, the *Rai Coast* and at *Goodenough Bay* food and pigs are distributed among the guests at the mortuary feasts.[5] Similar feasts, with a distribution of food, also take place at initiation and on other occasions among the *Wewak-Boikin* Papuans west of the Sepik mouth and among the *Arapesh*.[6]

If finally we compare the New Guinea feasts as described above with the Melanesian feasts of merit proper, we will find that most often there is a question of regular trading, sometimes, as in case of the Bo, Te, Moka and Kula systems, as links of comprehensive ceremonial cycles. Incidentally we may ask if all the "Pig Feasts" really constitute a unit or whether the word is not

[1] Serpenti 1965; 251.
[2] Landtman 1927; 382 ff.
[3] Williams 1940; 60 ff, 71 ff.
[4] Wirz 1924; 55 ff, cf. 85.
[5] Erdweg 1902; 299. Schmitz 1959; 39. Newton 1914; 134 ff.
[6] Gerstner 1953; 422 f, cf. 801. Mead 1947; 225 f.

just a convenient common denomination for gatherings where an exchange of pigs plays a prominent part but are otherwise of different origin. The feasts involve added prestige in a general way but only quite exceptionally definite prerogatives – if, for instance, the erection of a memorial post at the upper Markham can be called so – and real competition, apart from what may be characterized as a "natural" one, is likewise an exception.

Most often, perhaps, the feasts are celebrated in connection with the initiation of the youths. Initiation means first and foremost admission to the cult community, and as religion is mainly concentrated around ancestor worship there is an indirect connection between the feasts and the dead. The departed souls are said to be present at the feasts of the Nimboram, a "spirit pig" is sacrificed at the feasts of the Kuma, the dead are also supposed to benefit in a general way by the Moka trade of the Mbowamb, and there may be some connection between the Big Feast of the Mafulu and the ancestors. Direct combination of mortuary feasts and competitive food distribution is reported only from Kolepom and, possibly, from the Mailu, Marind-anim, and Nondugl Papuans too, but it is by no means typical.

There is no denying that at least some of the feasts in question are suggestive of true feasts of merit in several respects, and moreover it should be taken into consideration that in many cases the available information is obviously rather defective. As it is, however, a connection between them and the feasts of merit proper must remain a possibility, but cannot be taken for granted. Feasts, exchange of pigs – in particular as pork – and general prestige but hardly definite prerogatives are so inextricably interwoven that is impossible to decide whether the feasts are the result of the trade or vice versa, or if both originate in the death cult.

4. Feasts of Merit and Megaliths

Both the increase of rank among the Waropen Papuans and the "Bo" system are more or less influenced from Indonesia, but apart from that, how are the relations between the East Asiatic feasts of merit and the corresponding ones of Oceania to be understood? That there is a historic connection between them can hardly be denied. Not only have parallels in the culture e.g.

between Assam, Indonesia, and Melanesia often been pointed out,[1] but on the whole the points of resemblance between the backward tribes of Southeast Asia and Oceania are far too numerous to be accidental. If the same elements at present often appear wide apart, it is largely due to two facts: for one thing we deal with scattered islands both in Indonesia and Oceania, which in itself admits of a sporadic distribution, and secondly it must not be forgotten that on the continent as well as in Indonesia earlier cultures have to a considerable extent been obliterated by later Chinese, Hindu-Buddhist, and Islamic influences.

Disregarding such cases where only traces of feasts of merit occur, or where the accounts seem to be defective, the uniform character of the feasts is obvious. Everywhere we find a more or less fixed series combined with an increase not only of general prestige but also of definite rank with certain prerogatives such as the right to certain ornaments, admission to higher standing in the secret societies, etc., and with a very few exceptions which may very well be due to lacking information the feasts are moreover supposed to honour and benefit not only the host but also the ancestors. In some cases we find rivalry among the donors (southern Bougainville, Guadalcanal, Malekula), and among the Apatani and Ifugao even destruction of property may take place as among the Northwest Coast Indians, but these features can only be considered local excrecenses and not integral parts of the original pattern.

One feature is, however, common to many feasts of merit and should therefore be examined somewhat closer, viz. the putting up of megalithic monuments. We have seen that among numerous peoples in Southeast Asia, on the continent as well as in the archipelago, megaliths in the shape of menhirs, dolmen-like stone seats or stone platforms are erected in connection with the feasts, while more rarely a sacrificial pole takes the place of a monolith. In Melanesia feasts and megaliths belong together on Banks and the New Hebrides, perhaps also on the Torres Islands.

On the other hand there are several instances where the erection of megaliths seems to be independent of existing feasts of

[1] Fürer-Haimendorf 1929; 1100ff. Kaufmann 1935–44a; 466ff. Hutton 1937; 161ff. Speiser 1939; 480f. Hutton 1965; 35f.

merit, at least as far as immediate connection is concerned. In Southeast Asia it is the case among the Konyak Naga, Kalyo-Kengyu (?), Abor, Apatani, Khasi, Garo, Mikir, Miri, the Igorot tribes of Luzon, and the Yami of Botel Tobago. The wooden "bench" put up by the partly Hinduized Paharia in Sikkim at the end of the mourning period is clearly a substitute for a dolmen.[1] In Melanesia, no more than in Southeast Asia, can a connection between feasts of merit and megaliths be pointed out in New Britain and the Solomons.

Moreover, it is a well-known fact that the distribution of megaliths by far exceeds that of feasts of merit. Menhirs, cromlechs and dolmen-like stone monuments occur in northern Thailand, Laos, Vietnam and Malaya in regions where feasts of merit are unknown at least at the present day.[2] Carved sacrificial poles are common among most primitive tribes of this area and are probably connected with the megalithic complex.[3] In Indonesia there are prehistoric and modern monoliths, etc., not only in southern Sumatra but also on the Batu Islands between Nias and Mentawei, on Java and Bali, Borneo, Celebes and several of the Small Sunda Islands.[4]

There can be no doubt that the modern megaliths in Southeast Asia are a direct continuation of the prehistoric ones, which may, for instance, account for the fact that whereas most of the prehistoric monoliths and stone circles on the continent apparently date from the Late Neolithic, others belong to the Iron Age.[5] In Indonesia, too, the Neolithic origin of most megaliths seem to be well established. There is, of course, every reason for dejecting the fantastic idea of Perry that they were introduced by gold-seeking immigrants together with metal-working, sun worship,

[1] Hosten 1909; 677 ff.

[2] Colani 1935; I 29 ff. Hutchinson 1954; 79 ff. Loofs 1961; 46 f. Harrison 1962; 376 ff. Izikowitz 1951; 106 f.

[3] Lavallé 1901; 297. Maître 1912; 52. Heine-Geldern 1928; 283. Steinmann & Sanidh Rangsit 1940; 165. Izikowitz 1951; 108. 328.

[4] Heine-Geldern 1928; 277. Vroklage 1936; 322. Heine-Geldern 1935; 313 ff. v. d. Hoop n. d.; 156 f. v. Heekeren 1958; 46 ff. Funke 1958; I 216 ff, 79 ff. Loeb 1935; 158. Kruyt 1923; 148. Kruyt 1938; I 331 ff. Kaudern 1938; 129 ff. Kruyt 1922; 483 ff. Arndt 1940; fig. 9. Harrison 1958; 395 ff. Harrison 1962; 377 ff. Harrison 1962a; 386 ff. Elbert 1911–12; II 189. Keers 1938; 929 f. v. Bekkum 1955; 264 ff. Pennings 1902; 373 ff. Pleyte 1909; 495 ff. Here may also mentioned the apparently misunderstood statement of Cook (1773; III 694 f) that the rajahs of Sawu in memory of their reign put up big stones which serve as "tables" at their death feast.

[5] Colani 1935; I 29 ff, II 123. Loofs 1961; 46.

and other elements of a superior culture, nor does Schnitger's view that the megaliths in southern Sumatra are the result of intercourse with the Red Sea inspire much confidence.[1] Far more plausible is the hypothesis of Heine-Geldern, who included both simple megaliths and feasts of merit in a late Neolithic complex characterized by the quadrangular axe, which probably spread from South China over Malaya to Indonesia and as far as New Guinea, carried by a wave of Austronesians who centuries later also populated Micronesia and Polynesia; the period of the migration to Indonesia should probably be dated to the latter part of the 2nd millennium B.C. However, it also appeared that it is necesssary to distinguish between two different megalithic waves. In addition to the older and by far most vigorous one associated with the quadrangular axe, there is evidently a much later megalithic influence from the Bronze-Iron Age Dông-so'n Culture in Indochina, characterized i.a. by stone cists with relief decorations, ancestor figures of stone, etc.[2]

Whereas Vroklage on the whole rather adopts Heine-Geldern's dating,[3] it is obviously the Dông-so'n influence only which van der Hoop has in mind when he refers the megaliths of southern Sumatra to the beginning of our era.[4] Dr. van Heekeren likewise realizes the Dông-so'n influence but considers a connection between the earlier megalithic complex and the quadrangular axe rather doubtful.[5] Nevertheless its Late Neolithic character seems to be generally acknowledged.

The megalith problem in Oceania is a more complicated question. Riesenfeld speaks of a single wave, in which he indiscriminately includes any use of big stones whether they are the most humble sacred boulders or extensive harbour installations such as those in Micronesia and some of the Solomons.[6] Schmitz, on the other hand, carries things to the opposite extreme. He flatly denies the existence of a megalithic complex in Oceania at all and considers the megalithic monuments "intensifications" of

[1] Perry 1918; 180f. Schnitger 1943; 220.

[2] Heine-Geldern 1932; 566ff, 594ff. Hoine-Geldern 1934; 5ff. Heine-Geldern 1935; 315.

[3] Vroklage 1936a; 504. Vroklage 1936b; 753f.

[4] v. d. Hoop n. d.; 158, 164f.

[5] v. Heekeren 1958; 44f. Beyer (1948; 55) ascribes the rice terraces of Luzon to influence from the Dông-so'n area ab. 800 B. C. but does not mention other megalithic remains.

[6] Riesenfeld 1950; 666 and passim.

older elements,[1] which, in view of their Indonesian distribution, certainly seems to be going too far.[2]

In Melanesia, however, we find exactly as in Southeast Asia that simple megaliths are more widespread than feasts of merit. Monoliths and/or dolmen-like structures are reported from many parts of New Guinea (Sepik, Wahgi, Massim, Bartle Bay, Wogeo, Sentani, etc.), the d'Entrecasteaux Archipelago, Rossel Island, Umboi, French Islands, the western Solomons, San Cristoval, and northern New Caledonia.[3] On the other hand it is extremely doubtful if the wooden stools in the Sepik area are really derived from stone seats, and if the forked carvings at the entrance to the men's houses on the Admiralty Islands, New Ireland and the neighbouring small islands are identical with the Asiatic sacrificial poles as suggested by Speiser and Willitsch respectively.[4]

The age of the Melanesian megaliths obviously depends on that of Southeast Asia, although in this case the chronology is only relative, not absolute. However, Rivers, Layard, Speiser. Heine-Geldern, Vroklage and Riesenfeld all agree in considering them comparatively late elements, even if their opinions otherwise differ in many respects,[5] and the same applies to Deacon when speaking of Malekula.[6] Even Schmitz, who believes that they resulted from contact between Indonesians and the earlier population in stead of being introduced, arrives at similar conclusions.[7]

The same discrepancy between the distribution of megaliths and feasts of merit occurs in other parts of the world, too. It is outside the scope of this paper to give a detailed account but a few examples may be mentioned. The elaborate stone terraces, stone walls, statues, etc., in Micronesia and Polynesia do not, of

[1] Schmitz 1961; 235ff. Cf. Schmitz 1960; 342ff.

[2] Cf. Speiser 1934; 184ff. Speiser 1935; 176. Speiser 1939; 480f. Speiser 1946; 67. Vroklage 1936a. Vroklage 1936b. Layard 1942; 19f, 712f. Willitsch 1935; 340. Heine-Geldern opp. citt.

[3] Wirz 1928; 304ff. Speiser 1946; 67. Hocart 1922; 92. Riesenfeld 1950; 136f, 202f, 218, 303, 320, 376, 386, 408, 413f, 420, 432.

[4] Speiser 1946; 67. Willitsch 1935; 341.

[5] Rivers 1914; II 427ff. Layard 1942; 19f, 912f. Speiser 1935; 162f, 177. Speiser 1939; 480f. Speiser 1946; 67. Heine-Geldern 1959; 152f. Vroklage 1936a. Riesenfeld 1950; 665, 680f.

[6] Deacon 1934; 705ff.

[7] Schmitz 1961; 243ff. Cf. Schmitz 1960. Schmitz 1961a; 109, 117f.

course, come into consideration. On the other hand the simple menhirs on the Marianas cannot be ignored.[1] There is no evidence of merit feasts here, and while it is true that on the whole the culture is only imperfectly known they would, at any rate, fit badly into the highly aristocratic social pattern.

It has been stated that traces of "potlatch" occurred in the Vedic period of India but only in its – obviously misunderstood – character of rivalry and at any rate without connection with megaliths.[2] It is more probable that the elaborate and costly horse sacrifice, Aśvamedha, at the Vedic king's ascension may contain elements of a feast of merit which disappeared because it was inconsistent with the caste system.[3] Whether the fundamental idea of an increase of rank has been taken over from the pre-Aryan population, as Koppers seems to suggest, must be left to the decision of indologists in the light of other Aryan peoples, e.g. the Kafirs of Hindukush, who celebrate typical merit feasts.

In India grave dolmens date back at least to the early Iron Age in the last millennium B.C. and are probably of Dravidian origin.[4] The erection of simple menhirs is most likely far older than grave dolmens. Several primitive Dravidian tribes such as the Muria and Maria Ghond as well as the Austro-Asiatic Munda still put up menhirs and dolmen-like "ghost seats" at their mortuary ceremonies, while the Korku and the (now) Aryan-speaking Bhil erect both carved wooden and stone monuments, the latter often with representations of horsemen which are probably due to Rajput influence; but if traces of feasts of merit enter into the ceremonies at all they are at least extremely weak.[5]

On the other hand there are real feasts of merit among the Kafirs of the Hindukush.[6] They form a distinct series, entitle the host to certain privileges such as the right to sit upon a carved chair in the open air, thus suggesting the stone thrones on Nias, and are also of importance to the status of the soul after death. Wooden statues and menhirs are put up as memorials.

[1] Thompson 1932; 8.
[2] Held 1935; 243ff. Kuiper 1960; 222ff.
[3] Koppers 1942; 201f. Cf. Koppers 1939; 210.
[4] Fürer-Haimendorf 1955; 162ff. Heine-Geldern 1959; 167. Heine-Geldern 1964; 187ff.
[5] Elwin 1947; 158ff. Elwin 1950; 166f, 219ff. Grigson 1949; passim. Izikowitz 1960; 509ff. Koppers 1942; 148ff, 166ff, 184ff.
[6] Robertson 1896; 449ff, 639ff. Snoy 1962; 180ff.

Both feasts of merit and megaliths occur in several places in Northeast Africa, e.g. among the Nuba of Kordofan, the Bongo, etc.[1], and the Bongo believe that the final death ceremonies and the putting up of a memorial secure the rank of the soul in the Land of the Dead. Menhirs, in part as memorials of the deceased, are common also in southern Ethiopia but have only partly connection with feasts of merit, even though the latter occur coupled with a complicated age-class system and, as among the Bongo, with the killing of enemies and big game.[2] In Africa, however, we again find that the boundaries of the megalith area by far exceed those of the feasts of merit and include, for instance, Madagascar, parts of East Africa and the Sudan.

Both North and South of the Mediterranean, in Transjordania and adjacent regions, and in western Europe as far as southern Scandinavia the dolmens are primarily graves, while menhirs are characteristic of France, western Germany, and Great Britain; both types date from the closing Neolithic and the beginning of the Bronze Age.[3] Links with the Scandinavian Bauta-stones are problematic though not impossible since, as emphasized by Röder and Heine-Geldern, the European menhirs like their Southeast Asiatic counterparts may be "monumentalized" wooden sacrificial poles that have disappeared long ago.[4]

It stands to reason that we know nothing of feasts of merit in prehistoric Europe, but what may be a survival still exists in Southeast Europe: in the northeastern parts of Yugoslavia an old man or his family will arrange a burial feast, in which he does not himself take part, and there give away great amounts of presents such as furniture and textiles to the guests.[5]

This rapid survey clearly shows that the distributions of feasts of merit and megaliths do not always coincide, in particular, but no exclusively, because the area of the latter is far greater than that of the feasts. Whether a connection between them can nevertheless be established depends on the question if they spring from the same general ideas. Obviously they are both

[1] Nadel 1947; 67, 140f. Kronenberg 1964; 229.
[2] Jensen 1936; 441ff. Jensen 1959; 233, 305, 334, 345, 388. Haberland 1957; 326ff.
[3] Serner 1938; 37ff.
[4] Röder 1949; 78. Heine-Geldern 1959; 179.
[5] Gavazzi 1964; 131.

based upon considerations of the welfare and prestige of the deceased and – in the cases where historical evidence is available – also that of the living. Heine-Geldern thinks the fundamental view is a kind of primitive "genealogical" philosophy linking the living with all preceeding generations right back to the beginning of the world.[1]

If we assume that merit feasts and megaliths originally belong together, the difference in distribution must be due to a disintegration of the complex during its spread, as was doubtless the case in many instances in Asia and Oceania. It should also be borne in mind that we are ignorant of rites and ceremonies connected with the erection of the prehistoric megaliths, and likewise that the concept of feasts of merit was apparently unknown to some writers describing modern feasts. On the other hand there is a possibility that the connection is secondary and came into being just because they derive from cognate ideas. At present I should prefer to pass the verdict of "non liquet".

[1] Heine-Geldern 1957. Cf. Röder 1949; 47.

IV

CONCLUSIONS: POTLATCH AS A FEAST OF MERIT

The potlatch institution of the American Northwest Coast is so remarkable that several authors have tried to demonstrate parallels in other parts of the world. For instance, on his own assumptions of its character Mauss found it in the Solomons, Banks Islands, New Caledonia, and Fiji.[1] Lenoir considered what he called potlatch in Melanesia "une institution issue directement de la guerre, dont elle n'est qu'une forme atténuée, destinée à assurer entre les groupes une hiérarchie politique qui confirment des obligations et des prestations réciproques d'ordre religieux, artistiques, techniques, assurant le fonctionnement des modes de la vie humaine," and he cited the Kula transactions on the Trobriands as an example.[2] Schmidt and Koppers were of opinion that both the North American potlatch and similar Melanesian institutions resulted from the contact between patrilineal and totemistic hunters and matrilineal agriculturists.[3] The "close resemblances" of the formerly described feasts on Frederik Hendrik Island to potlatch were emphasized by Serpenti,[4] and a similar view concerning certain customs of Vedic India has just been mentioned.

I have tried to show that such parallels without exception are due to a misconception of the fundamental ideas of potlatch. In the original type of potlatch the parallels should be looked for in the feasts of merit, and the question therefore arises whether a historical connection between these institutions can be established. The main features are admittedly the same, i.e. an increase of rank and better conditions for the host, in most cases also for his ancestors, in the Land of the Dead, often combined with raising

[1] Mauss 1920; 396f.
[2] Lenoir 1924a; 387ff.
[3] Schmidt & Koppers n. d.; 569f.
[4] Serpenti 1964; 36.

expenses and direct distribution of gifts to the guests. It is worth examining this problem more closely.

Both linguistically and culturally the greater part of the ethnic minorities in southern China are related to the peoples farther south. Thus, the *Yao* in the provinces of Kuangtung and Kuangsi are practically identical with the Man in northern Vietnam. If a rich person among the Yao arranges extensive feasts with abundant quantities of pork, rice, and rice beer in order to facilitate his admission to the hereafter, and in addition builds sacrificial stone tables and stone seats at the grave,[1] it is clearly admissable to consider it a survival of real feasts of merit.

What is probably a still more obvious survival is found among the *Pai-i*, a Thai tribe in Yünnan near the Burmese border. They are now Buddhists, but in order to gain admittance to Heaven a man must pay for a series of feasts and give presents to the village temple, after which the abbot bestows an honorary title on him. "No individual, however wealthy or politically powerful, can compete in the local people's estimation with an old man who spent all he had to perform the Great Pai [i.e. this kind of feast] twelve times and has nothing left to live on." Even the abbots themselves have to arrange such feasts and obtain titles in order to enter the heavenly abodes.[2]

Granet used to speak of potlatches in ancient *China*. "Les Chinois paraissent avoir pratiqué les différentes formes du *potlatch*," for instance as an exchange of gifts in combination with bride purchase. "L'usage de demander des cadeaux s'accompagne d'une obligation à rendre les présents et à les rendre avec usure."[3] Moreover, he adds, "il se peut qu'elles aient joué un grand rôle pendant leur saison liturgique d'hiver." Both at the spring and harvest festivals there was a competitive gift exchange and "la morte-saison est le moment des joutes par lesquelles des groupes opposés rivalisent de prestige."[4] However, Granet evidently understood potlatch in the same way as the French sociologists and considered rivalry the distinctive trait of the institution. As I have tried to show, this interpretation is erroneous.

On the other hand, feasts of merit no doubt did exist in

[1] Wist 1938; 131. Eberhard 1942 a; 199.
[2] T'ien 1949; 46 ff.
[3] Granet 1926; II 611, 613.
[4] Granet 1929; 196 f, 254.

Chinese antiquity. Now it is necessary, as emphasized by Karlgren, to distinguish between Chinese sources before the Ch'in Dynasty and the later, systematized literature,[1] or – as another sinologist more drastically puts it – we must realize that Confucianism has for ever made ethnological research in China impossible. However, in the *Li Chi*, or Record of Rites, which at least partly dates from the Chou Dynasty, we read of the burial ceremonies: "The clothes for a ruler consisted of one hundred suits . . . those for a great officer were fifty suits . . . those for a common officer were thirty suits." The clothes were put ceremoniously on display and apparently given away afterwards, for it is stated that "all who set forth the clothes took them from the chests in which they had been deposited; and those who received the clothes brought as contributions placed them in similar chests."[2] This suggests vividly the presents of garments formerly mentioned from the Manipur Naga and thus also the feasts of merit. It may not even be a coincidence that the description in the *Li Chi* seems to date from the same period from which for instance Chinese art motifs reached the American Northwest Coast.

Megalithic monuments in the form of dolmens and menhirs are more or less common in China and are, at least in Ssŭ-chuan, supposed to belong to the aeneolithic period ab. 1200–700 B.C.[3] Dolmens also occur in Transbaikalia, Manchuria and Korea. The Manchurian megaliths have been referred to a much earlier period, the 3rd and 2nd millennium B. C., but this dating seems to be uncertain.[4] The Korean dolmens are said to be most common in the northern parts of the country and are therefore supposed to have been introduced from Manchuria.[5] Nothing is really known of their age. "In the complete absence of inscriptions it is not easy to determine whether they date from prehistoric times or from the first centuries of our era. The discovery of stone implements in them points to

[1] Karlgren 1946.

[2] Legge 1885; 186f. There may be a possibility, though not very probable, that we find an echo of this custom in the modern festival of Sending the Winter Dress, where paper costumes are burnt for the ancestors. Cf. Eberhard 1952.

[3] Eberhard 1942 a; 116, 413. Chang 1959; 91. Chêng 1957; xiv. Chêng 1963; 10f, 47, 123, 147, 181f.

[4] Chêng 1963; 11, 140f.

[5] Baelz 1910; 776ff. On the other hand Eberhard (1942 a; 413) groups them with those in Shantung. Perhaps this is why Chêng (1963; 140f) distinguishes between a northern and a southern type.

the Stone Age."[1] A suggestion that at least the southern type may be in some way connected with those of Assam may appear from the fact that they are supposed to be resting places for the ancestral souls.[2] In Japan menhirs and cromlechs are very rare and dolmens are late, belonging to the protohistoric period about the middle of the 1st millennium A. D.[3] In Hokkaidô and northern Honshu there are prehistoric stone circles surrounding a menhir or a pile of stones, which have been ascribed to the ancestors of the present-day Ainu, but this is denied by the Ainu themselves,[4] and at any rate there is nothing suggesting feasts of merit among them now. On the whole, a connection between such feasts and the megalithic remains in East Asia cannot be shown.

If we are right in the assumption that feasts of merit formerly existed in China, it would be of importance to prove their occurrence in Asia north of China in order to establish a direct connection with the North American potlatch. Unfortunately this is possible only to an extremely slight extent. Very faint traces are perhaps to be found among the *Goldi*, who invite numerous guests both from their own and other villages to the final mortuary feast and not only provide food during the festival itself but also give away food presents.[5] Still more questionable is the connection with the *Gilyak* bear sacrifice celebrated in memory of a sib companion, whereas it is otherwise more like the bear feast of the Ainu.[6] As to the Kamchadal we are in the unfortunate position that their original culture has disappeared long ago and is known chiefly from one or two unsatisfactory descriptions from the 18th century. That feasts of merit do not occur among the Lamut, Koryak, and Chukchi is not surprising since their culture is basically circumpolar.

If nevertheless there is some reason for supposing a connection between potlatch and feasts of merit, it is on account of the similarity both of their common features and not least of their fundamental ideas, and also because so many other elements of North Pacific Indian culture, material as well as social, seem to be due to circumpacific influences.

[1] Eckardt 1929; 42.
[2] Verbal information from Kai Kalbak, M.D.
[3] Kobayashi 1957; 175 ff.
[4] Gusinde 1963; 404 ff.
[5] Lopatin 1960; 160 ff.
[6] Sternberg 1905; 260 ff, 458.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Abbreviations

A: Anthropos. Mödling. Freiburg.
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.

2. List of Works

Adam, Leonhard: Stammesorganisation und Häutplingtum der Tlingitindianer Nordwestamerikas. ZR. XXIX. 1915.
— Stammesorganisation und Häuptlingtum der Wakashstämme. ZR. XXXV. 1918.
— Potlatch. Festschrift Eduard Seler. Stuttgart 1922.
Aeckerlin, J. A.: De pangkat papadon in de Lampongsche Districten. De Indische Gids. XVI, 2. Amsterdam 1894.
Allen, Henry T.: Atnatanas: Natives of Copper River, Alaska. SI-AR 1886, I. 1889.
Aquino, Simeon: Life in Payco Bontok, Mt. Province. Journal of East Asiatic Studies. III, 4. Manila 1954.
Armstrong, W. E.: Rossel Island. Cambridge 1928.

ARNDT, Paul: Die Megalithenkultur der Ṅad'a (Flores). A. XXVII. 1932.

AUFENANGER, H. & HÖLTKER, G.: Die Gende in Zentralneuguinea. Mödling 1940.

BAAL, JAB VAN: Godsdienst en samenleving in Nederlandsch-Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea. Amsterdam 1934.

BADER, HERMANN: Die Reifefeiern bei den Ngada (Mittelflores, Indonesien). Mödling 1951.

BAELZ, E.: Dolmen und alte Königsgräber in Korea. ZE. XLII. 1910.

BARBEAU, M., see GARFIELD, V. E.

BARNETT, H. G.: Culture Element Distributions: VII. Oregon Coast. UC-AR. I, 3. 1937.

— The Nature of the Potlatch. AA, n. s. XL. 1938.

— Culture Element Distributions: Gulf of Georgia Salish. UC-AR. I, 5. 1939.

— The Coast Salish of British Columbia. University of Oregon Monographs. Studies in Anthropology No. 4. Eugene, Oregon 1955.

BARTON, R. F.: Ifugao Economics. UC-PAAE. XV, 5. 1922.

— The Kalingas. Chicago 1949.

BASCOM, WILLIAM R.: Ponapean Prestige Economy. SWJA. IV. 1948.

BEAUCLAIR, INEZ DE: Display of Wealth, Gift Exchange and Food Distribution on Botel Tobago. Academia Sinica. Bulletins of the Institute of Ethnology. VIII. Nankang, Taipei 1959.

BEKKUM, W. VAN: Megalithkultur in der Manggarai (West-Flores, Indonesien). Actes du IV^{e} Congrès Internationale des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques 1952. II, 1. Wien 1955.

BELL, F. L. S.: Sokapana: A Melanesian Secret Society. JRAI. XLV. 1935.

— Death in Tanga. O. VII. 1936–37.

— The Place of Food in the Social Life of the Tanga. O. XVII–XIX. 1946–49.

BENEDICT, RUTH: The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America. AAA-M. XXIX. 1923.

BEYER, H. OTLEY: Philippine and East Asian Archaeology, and Its Relation to the Origin of the Pacific Population. National Research Council of the Philippines. Bulletin XXIX. Quezon City 1948.

BIRKET-SMITH, KAJ: The Rice Cultivation and Rice-Harvest Feast of the Bontoc Igorot. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-Filologiske Meddelelser. XXXII, 8. København 1952.

— The Chugach Eskimo. Nationalmuseets Skrifter. Etnografisk Række. VI. København 1953.

— An Analysis of the Potlatch Institution of North America. F. VI. 1964.

— Feasts of Merit in East Asia and Oceania. F. VII. 1965.

— The Circumpacific Distribution of Knot Records. F. VIII. 1966.

— & LAGUNA, FREDERICA DE: The Eyak Indians of the Copper River Delta, Alaska. København 1938.

Boas, Franz: Notes on the Snanaimuq. AA. II. 1889.
— First General Report on the Indians of British Columbia. BAAS-R. LIX. 1890.
— Second General Report on the Indians of British Columbia. BAAS-R. LX. 1891.
— Third General Report on the Indians of British Columbia. BAAS-R. LXI. 1892.
— The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians. USNM-R. 1895. 1897.
— Die Resultate der Jesup-Expedition. Verhandlungen des XVI Internationalen Amerikanisten-Kongresses in Wien 1908. I. Wien & Leipzig 1910.
— The Social Organization of the Kwakiutl. AA, n. s. XXII. 1920.
— The Social Organization of the Tribes of the North Pacific Coast. AA, n. s. XXVI. 1924.
— Contributions to the Ethnology of the Kwakiutl. CU-CA. III. 1925.
— Kwakiutl Culture as Reflected in Mythology. Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society. XXVIII. New York 1935.
Boelars, J. H. M. C.: Papoea's aan de Mappi. Utrecht & Antwerpen n. d.
— De sociale structuur van de Jaqai-stam. (Mimeogr.) N. d. (1953).
Bose, J. K.: Social Organisation of the Aimol Kukis. University of Calcutta. Journal of the Department of Letters. XXV. Calcutta 1934.
Bromilow, William E.: Twenty Years among Primitive Papuans. London 1929.
Bromley, M.: A Preliminary Report on Law among the Grand Valley Dani of Netherlands New Guinea. Nieuw Guinea Studiën. IV. Den Haag 1960.
Brookfield, H. C., see Brown, P.
Brown, Paula & Brookfield, H. C.: Chimbu Land and Society. O. XXX. 1959–60.
Bühler, Alfred: Totenfeste in Nord-Neuirland. Verhandlungen der Schweizerischen Naturforschenden Gesellschaft. Aarau 1933.
Bulmer, Ralph: Political Aspects of the Moka Ceremonial Exchange System among the Kyoka People of the Western Highlands of New Guinea. O. XXXI. 1960–61.
Bus, G. A. M.: The *Te* Festival or Gift Exchange in Enga (Central Highlands of New Guinea). A. XLVI. 1951.
Callbreath, J. C.: Notes on the Tahl-tan Indians. Annual Report of the Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada, n. s. III, 1. Montreal 1889.
Carey, Bertram S. & Tuck, H. N.: The Chin Hills. I. Rangoon 1896.
Carrapiett, W. J. S.: The Kachin Tribes of Burma. Rangoon 1929.
Chang, Kuang-chih: A Working Hypothesis for the Early Cultural History of South China. Academia Sinica. Bulletins of the Institute of Ethnology. VII. Nankang, Taipei 1959.

Chase, Walter G.: Notes from Alaska. Journal of American Folk-Lore. VI. Boston & New York 1893.
Chêng, Tê-k'un: Archaeological Studies in Szechuan. Cambridge 1957.
— Archaeology in China. III. Cambridge 1963.
Clarke, C. B.: The Stone Monuments of the Khasi Hills. JAI. III. 1874.
Codere, Helen: Fighting with Property. AES-M. XVIII. 1950.
— The Amiable Side of Kwakiutl Life: The Potlatch and the Play Potlatch. AA, n. s. LVIII. 1956.
— Kwakiutl Society. Rank without Class. AA. LIX. 1957.
Codrington, R. H.: The Melanesians. Oxford 1891.
Colani, Madeleine: Mégalithes du Haut-Laos (Hua Pan, Tran Ninh). ÉFEO-P. XXV–XXVI. 1935.
Collins, June McCormick: Growth of Class Distribution and Political Authority among the Skagit Indians during the Contact Period. AA, n. s. LII. 1950.
Condominas, Georges: Nous avons mangé la forêt. Paris 1957.
Cook, James: An Account of a Voyage Round the World. 1768–71. (= Hawkesworth, John: An Account of the Voyages undertaken . . . for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere. II–III). London 1773.
Coombe, Florence: Islands of Enchantment. London 1911.
Corlette, Ewan A. C.: Notes on the Natives of the New Hebrides. O. V–VI. 1934–36.
Dalton, Edward Tuite: Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal. Calcutta 1872.
Danks, B.: Burial Customs of New Britain. JAI. XXI. 1892.
Das, Tarakchandra: The Puruma. Calcutta 1945.
Davy, Georges: La foi jurée. Paris 1922.
— see Moret, A.
Dawson, George M.: Notes and Observations on the Kwakiool People of the Northern Part of Vancouver Island and Adjacent Coasts. Royal Society of Canada. Proceedings and Transactions. V, 2. Montreal 1888.
Deacon, A. Bernard: Notes on Some Islands of the New Hebrides. JRAI. LIX. 1929.
— Malekula. London 1934.
Dietschy, H.: Verwandtschaft und Freundschaft. Analytische Bemerkungen zur Sozialstuktur der Melanesier von Südwest-Malekula. Südseestudien. Gedenkschrift zur Erinnerung an Felix Speiser. Basel 1951.
Drabbe, P.: Het leven van den Tanémbares. IAE. XXXVIII, Suppl. 1940.
Drilhon, F. see Laroche, M. C.
Driver, H. E.: Culture Element Distributions: X. Northwest California. UC-AR. I, 6. 1939.
— Culture Elements Distributions: XVI. Girl's Puberty Rites in Western North America. UC-AR. VI, 2. 1941.

Drucker, Ph.: The Tolowa and Their Southwest Oregon Kin. UC-PAAE. XXXVI, 4. 1937.
— Rank, Wealth, and Kinship in Northwest Coast Society. AA, n. s. XLI. 1939.
— Contributions to Alsea Ethnography. UC-PAAE. XXXV, 7. 1939a.
— Archeological Survey of the Northern Northwest Coast. BAE-B. 133. 1943.
— Culture Element Distributions: XXVI. Northwest Coast. UC-AR. IX, 3. 1950.
— The Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes. BAE-B. 144.1951.
— Indians of the Northwest Coast. AMNH-H. 10. 1955.
Dunbar, George D-S.: Abors and Galongs. Asiatic Society of Bengal. Memoirs. V, Extra nr. Calcutta 1916.
Eberhard, Wolfram: Lokalkulturen im alten China, I. Die Lokalkulturen des Nordens und Westens. TP. XXXVII, Suppl. 1942.
— Lokalkulturen im alten China, II. Die Lokalkulturen des Südens und Ostens. MS-M. III. 1942a.
— Chinese Festivals. New York 1952.
Eckardt, Andreas: A History of Korean Art. London & Leipzig 1929.
Eells, M.: The Potlatches of Puget Sound. American Antiquarian. V. Chicago 1883.
— The Twana, Chemakum, and Klallam Indians of Washington Territory. SI-AR 1887, I. 1889.
Elbert, Johannes: Die Sunda-Expedition des Vereins für Geographie und Statistik zu Frankfurt am Main. I–II. Frankfurt am Main 1911–12.
Elkin, A. P.: Delayed Exchange in Wabag Sub-District, Central Highlands of New Guinea. O. XIII. 1952–53.
Elmberg, John-Erik: Field Notes on the Mejbrat People in the Ajamaru District of the Bird's Head (Vogelkop), Western New Guinea. E. XX. 1955.
— The Popot Feast Cycle. E. XXX, Suppl. 1965.
Elwin, Verrier: The Muria and Their Ghotul. Oxford 1947.
— Bondo Highlander. Oxford 1950.
Emmons, G. T.: The Tahltan Indians. UP-AP. IV, 1. 1911.
Erdweg, Mathias Josef: Die Bewohner der Insel Tumleo, Berlinhafen, Deutsch-Neu-Guinea. AGW-M. XXXII. 1902.
Erman, A.: Ethnographische Wahrnehmungen und Erfahrungen an den Küsten des Berings-Meeres. ZE. II–III. 1870–71.
Fahrenfort, J. J.: De verwerving van distinctie door wegschenken en verkwisting. Sociologisch Jaarbook. VI. Leiden 1952.
Farrand, Livingston: The Chilcotin. BAAS-R. LXVIII. 1899.
— Notes on the Alsea Indians of Oregon. AA, n. s. III. 1901.
Fox, C. E.: The Threshold of the Pacific. London 1924.
Frachtenberg, Leo J.: The Ceremonial Societies of the Quileute Indians. AA, n. s. XXIII. 1920.
Funke, Friedrich W.: Orang Abung. I–II. Leiden 1958, 1961.

Fürer-Haimendorf, Christoph von: Zur Frage der Kulturbeziehungen zwischen Assam und Südsee. A. XXIV. 1929.
— Bericht über eine Expedition zu den Kalyo-Kengyu Naga, Assam. A. XXXII. 1937.
— The Naked Nagas. Calcutta 1946.
— Himalayan Barbary. London 1955.
— The Apa Tanis and Their Neighbours. London 1962.
— see Schnitger, F. M. 1939.
Gahs, Alexander: Kult lunariziranoga praoca kod istočnih paleosibirica. Godišnjaka Sveučilišta 1924/25–1928/29. Zagreb 1929.
Galis, K. W.: Het Eramfeest te Bonggrang. BTLV. CX. 1954.
Garfield, Viola E.: Tsimshian Clan and Society. UW-PA. VII, 3. 1939.
— Wingert, Paul S., Barbeau, M.: The Tsimshian: Their Arts and Music. AES-P. XVIII. n. d.
Gavazzi, Milovan: Zum Megalithentum Südosteuropas. P. X. 1964.
Gerstner, Andreas: Aus dem Gemeinschaftsleben der Wewäk-Boikin-Leute, Nordost-Neuguinea. A. XLVIII. 1953.
Geurtjens, H.: Onder de Kaja-Kaja's van Zuid Nieuw Guinea. Roermond-Maeseyck. n. d.
Gibbs, George: Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon. Contributions to North American Ethnology. I. Washington 1877.
Giddings, J. L.: Forest Eskimos. University Museum Bulletin. XX. Philadelphia 1956.
Goddard, P. E.: Indians of the Northwest Coast. AMNH-H. X. 1924.
Godden, Gertrude M.: Nágá and Other Frontier Tribes of North-East India. JAI. XXVI–XXVII. 1897–98.
Godwin-Austen, H. H.: On the Stone Monuments of the Khasi Hill Tribes, and on Some of the Peculiar Rites and Customs of the People. JAI. I. 1872.
Granet, Marcel: Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne. I–II. Paris 1926.
— La civilisation chinoise. Paris 1929.
Grigson, Wilfrid: The Maria Gonds of Bastar. Oxford 1949.
Groves, William: Tabar to-day. O. V. 1934–35.
Guiart, Jean: Sociétés, rituels et mythes du Nord Ambrym (Nouvelles Hébrides). SO-J. VII. 1951.
— L'Organisation sociale et politique du Nord Malekula. SO-J. VIII. 1952.
— Unité culturelle et variations locales dans le centre nord des Nouvelles-Hébrides. SO-J. XII. 1956.
— Espiritu Santo (Nouvelles-Hébrides). Paris 1958.
Gunther, Erna: Klallam Ethnography. UW-PA. I, 5. 1927.
— see Haeberlin, H.
Gusinde, Martin: Megalithische Steinkreise im nördlichen Japan. Actes du VI[e] Congrès Internationale des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques 1960. II. Paris 1963.

Haan, R. den: Het varkensfeest zoals het plaats vindt in het gebiet van de rivieren Kao, Muju en Mandobo (Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea). BTLV. CXI. 1955.
Haberland, Eike: Verdienstfeste in Süd-Äthiopien. P. VI. 1957.
Haeberlin, Hermann & Gunther, Erna: The Indians of Puget Sound. UW-PA. IV, 1. 1930.
Hagen, B.: Unter den Papua's. Wiesbaden 1899.
Halliday, W. M.: Potlatch and Totem. London & Toronto 1935.
Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, ed. F. W. Hodge. I–II. BAE-B. 30. 1912.
Hanson, O.: The Kachins. Rangoon 1913.
Hardisty, William L.: The Loucheux Indians. SI-AR. 1866. 1867.
Harrebomée, G. J.: Eene bijdrage over den feitelijken toestand der bevolking in de Lampongsche Districten. BTLV. 4th ser. X. 1885.
Harrison, Ch.: Ancient Warriors of the North Pacific. London 1925.
Harrison, Tom: Savage Civilisation. London 1937.
— Megaliths of Central and West Borneo. SM-J. VIII. 1958.
— Megaliths of Central Borneo and Western Malaya, compared. SM-J. X. 1962.
— A Dying Megalithic of North Borneo. SM-J. X. 1962a.
Hasselt, A. L. van: Volksbeschrijving van Midden-Sumatra. Leiden 1882 (= Veth, P. J.: Midden-Sumatra, III, 1).
Hawkes, Ernest William: The "Inviting-in" Feast of the Alaskan Eskimo. Canada, Geological Survey, Anthropological Series. III. Ottawa 1913.
Hawkesworth, J. see Cook, J.
Head, W. R.: Handbook on the Haka Chin Customs. Rangoon 1917.
Heekeren, H. R. van: The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut vor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. XXII. 's-Gravenhage 1958.
Heine-Geldern, Robert von: Die Megalithen Südostasiens und ihre Bedeutung für die Klärung der Megalithenfrage in Europa und Polynesien. A. XXIII. 1928.
— Urheimat und früheste Wanderungen der Austronesier. A. XXVII. 1932.
— Vorgeschichtliche Grundlagen der kolonialindischen Kunst. Wien. Beitr. z. Kunst- u. Kulturgesch. Asiens. VIII. Wien 1934.
— The Archaeology and Art of Sumatra. WBKL. III. 1935.
— Das Megalithenproblem. Beiträge Oesterreichs zur Erforschung der Vergangenheit und Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit. Horn 1959.
— see Vanoverbergh, M.
Held, G. J.: The Mahābhārata. London & Amsterdam 1935.
— Papoea's van Waropen. Leiden 1947.
Hill-Tout, C.: Notes on the Sk·qō′mic of British Columbia. BAAS-R. LXX. 1900.
— Report on the Ethnology of the Stlatlum of British Columbia. JRAI. XXXV. 1905.

Hissink, J. H.: Het papadon-wezen en zijne attributen . . . der Lampongsche districten. TITLV. XLVII. 1904.
Hocart, A. M.: The Cult of the Dead in Eddystone of the Solomons. JRAI. LII. 1922.
Hodson, T. C.: The Nāga Tribes of Manipur. London 1911.
Hogbin, H. Ian: The Hill People of North-Eastern Guadalcanal. O. VIII. 1937–38.
— Polynesian Ceremonial Gift Exchange. O. III. 1932–33.
— Social Advancement in Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands. O. VIII. 1937–38a.
— A Guadalcanal Society: the Kaoka Speakers. New York, etc. 1964.
Holmberg, H. J.: Ethnographische Skizzen über die Völker des Russischen Amerika. Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ. IV. Helsingfors 1856.
Höltker, G. see Aufenanger, H.
Honigmann, John J.: The Kaska Indians: An Ethnographic Reconstruction. YU-PA. LI. 1954.
Hoop, A. N. J. Th. à Th. van der: Megalithic Remains in South Sumatra. Zutphen n. d.
— De megalithische hoofdenzetel oorsprong van den Lampongschen pepadon? TITLV. LXXX. 1940.
Hopkins, A. J.: In the Isles of King Solomon. London 1928.
Hosten, Fr. H.: Paharia Burial-Customs (British Sikkim). A. IV. 1909.
Hughes, Charles Campbell: Translation of I. K. Voblov's "Eskimo Ceremonies". UA-AP. VII, 2. 1959.
Humphreys, C. B.: The Southern New Hebrides. Cambridge 1920.
Hutchinson, E. W.: Megaliths in Bayab. Siam Society 50th Anniversary Commemoration Publication. II. Bangkok 1954.
Hutton, J. H.: The Sema Nagas. London 1921.
— The Angami Nagas. London 1921a.
— The Use of Stone in the Naga Hills. JRAI. LVI. 1926.
— Assam Origins in Relation to Oceania. BAAS-R. 1937.
— The Mixed Culture of the Naga Tribes. JRAI. XCV. 1965.
Ivens, W. G.: Melanesians of the South-East Solomon Islands. London 1927.
— The Island Builders of the Pacific. London 1930.
Izikowitz, K. G.: Lamet, Hill Peasants in French Indochina. Etnologiska Studier. XVII. Göteborg 1951.
— The Gotr Ceremony of the Boro Gadaba. Culture in History. Essays in Honor of Paul Radin. New York 1960.
Jacobsen: Capitain . . .'s Reise an den Nordwestküste Amerikas. Ed. A. Woldt. Leipzig 1884.
Jenness, D.: The Indians of Canada. NMC-B. LXV. 1932.
— The Sekani Indians of British Columbia. CNM-AS. XX. 1937.
— The Carrier Indians of the Bulkley River. Their Social and Religious Life. BAE-B. 133. 1943.
Jensen, Ad. E. (ed.): Im Lande des Gada. Stuttgart 1936.
— (ed.): Altvölker Süd-Äthiopiens. Stuttgart 1959.

Jetté, Jules: L'Organisation sociale des Ten'as. Actes du Congrès International des Américanistes. XV^e session 1906. I. Québec 1907.
— On the Supestitions of the Ten'a Indians. A. VI. 1911.
Jewitt, J.: The Adventures of . . . Ed. R. Brown. London 1896.
Jones, Livingston F.: A Study of the Thlingets of Alaska. New York, etc. 1914.
Josselin de Jong, J. P. B. de: De oorsprong van den goddelijken bedrieger. Mededeelingen der Koninklijken Akademie der Wetenschapen. Afd. Letterkunde. LXVIII, B 1. Amsterdam 1929.
Josselin de Jong, P. E. de: Minangkabau and Negri-Sembilan. Socio-Political Structure in Indonesia. Leiden 1952.
Kane, Paul: En Kunstners Vandringer . . . i Nordamerika. Kjøbenhavn 1863.
Karlgren, Bernhard: Legends and Cults in Ancient China. Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. Bulletin XVIII. Stockholm 1946.
Kaudern, W.: Ethnographical Studies in Celebes. V. Göteborg 1938.
Kaufmann, H. E.: Deutsche Naga-Hills Expedition. Ethnologischer Anzeiger. IV. Stuttgart 1935–44.
— Die Naga-Kultur und Melanesien. Ethnologischer Anzeiger. IV. Stuttgart 1935–44a.
— Kurze Ethnographie der nördlichen Sangtam-Naga (Lophomi), Assam. A. XXXIV. 1939.
Keers, W. C.: Indrukken van het megalithische tijdperk van West-Soemba. Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap. 2. ser. LV. Leiden 1938.
Keesing, Felix M.: Some Notes on Bontok Social Organization, Northern Philippines. AA, ns. LI. 1949.
Keithahn, E. L.: Origin of the "Chief's Copper" or "Tinneh." UA-AP. XII. 1964.
Kleintitschen, P. A.: Die Küstenbewohner der Gazellehalbinsel. Hiltrup n. d.
Kobayashi, Yukio: La culture préhistorique du Japon. Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale. IV. Neuchâtel 1957.
Koppers, Wilhelm: Tungusen und Miao. AGW-M. LX. 1930.
— The Mundas and the Sidoli Feast of the Korkoos. The New Review. Calcutta 1939.
— Monuments to the Dead of the Bhils and Other Primitive Tribes in Central India. AL. VI. 1942.
— see Schmidt, W.
Koppert, Vincent A.: Contributions to Clayoquot Ethnology. Catholic University, American Anthopological Series. I. Washington 1930.
Kouwenhoven, Willem Jan Hendrik: Nimboran. 1956.
Krause, Aurel: Die Tlinkit-Indianer. Jena 1885.
Kroeber, A. L.: The Tribes of the Pacific Coast of North America. Proceedings of the 19th International Congress of Americanists 1915. Washington 1917.
— Kinship in the Philippines. AMNH-AP. XIX, 3. 1919.

Kroeber, A. L.: American Culture and the Northwest Coast. AA, n. s. XXV. 1923.
— Handbook of the Indians of California. BAE-B. LXXVIII. 1925.
— Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America. UC-PAAE. XXXVIII. 1939.
Kronenberg, Andreas: Verdienstfeste und Grabmonumente in der Bahr-el-Ghazal Provinz. Actes du VI[e] Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques. II, 2. Paris 1964.
Kruyt, Alb. C.: De Soembaneezen. BTLV. LXXVIII. 1922.
— De Toradja's van de Sa'dan-, Masoepoe- en Mamasa-Rivieren. TITLV. LXIII. 1923.
— De West-Toradjas op Midden-Celebes. I–IV. Verhandelingen der Koninklijk Nederlandsch Akademie van Wetenschapen. Afd. Letterkunde. N. s. XL. Amsterdam 1938.
Kuiper, F. B. J.: The Ancient Aryan Verbal Contest. Indo-Iranian Journal. IV. 's-Gravenhage 1960.
Laguna, Frederica de: Some Dynamic Forces in Tlingit Society. SWJA. VIII. 1952.
— see Birket-Smith, Kaj.
Landtman, Gunnar: The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea. London 1927.
Lantis, Margaret: The Social Culture of the Nunivak Eskimo. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. N. s. XXXV, 3. Philadelphia 1946.
— Alaskan Eskimo Ceremonialism. AES-M. XI. 1947.
Laroche, M. Ch. & Drilhon, F.: Notes sur une cérémonie de grades chez les Big Nambas. SO-J. XII. 1956.
Lavallée, A.: Notes ethnographiques sur diverses tribus du Sud-Est de l'Indo-Chine. ÉFEO-B. I. 1901.
Layard, J. W.: Degree-Taking in South-West Bay, Malekula. JRAP. LVIII. 1928.
— Stone Men of Malekula. London 1942.
Leach, E. R.: Political Systems of Highland Burma. London 1954.
Leenhardt, Maurice: La fête du Pilou en Nouvelle-Calédonie. L'A. XXXII. 1922.
— Notes d'ethnologie néo-calédonienne. Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie. VIII. Paris 1930.
Legge, James: The Sacred Books of China. The Texts of Confucianism. IV. Oxford 1885.
Lehman, F. K.: The Structure of Chin Society. Illinois Studies in Anthropology. III. University of Illinois Press 1963.
Lenoir, R.: Sur l'institution du Potlatch. Revue Philosophique. XCVII. Paris 1924.
— Les expéditions maritimes, institution sociale, en Mélanésie occidentale. L'A. XXXIV. 1924a.
LeRoux, C. C. F. M.: De Bergpapoea's van Nieuw-Guinea en hun woongebied. I–III. Leiden 1948–50.

Lewis, A. R.: Tribes of the Columbia Valley and the Coast of Washington and Oregon. AAA-M. I. 1906.
Liu, Pin-hsiung: Matrilocal Marriage of the Vata'an Ami. Academia Sinica. Bulletins of the Institute of Ethnology. IX. Nankang, Taipei 1960.
Locher, G. W.: The Serpent in Kwakiutl Religion. Leiden 1932.
Loeb, Edwin M.: Sumatra, its History and People. WBKL. III. 1935.
Loofs, Helmut: Zur Frage des Megalithentums im südöstlichen Hinterindien. A. LVI. 1961.
Lopatin, Ivan A.: The Cult of the Dead among the Natives of the Amur Basin. Central Asiatic Studies. VI. 's-Gravenhage 1960.
Luzbetak, Louis J.: The Socio-Religious Significance of a New Guinea Pig Festival. Anthropological Quarterly. N. s. II. Washington 1954.
McClellan, Catharine: The Inland Tlingit. Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. IX. Salt Lake City 1953.
— The Interrelations of Social Structure with Northern Tlingit Ceremonialism. SWJA. X. 1954.
McIlwraith, T. F.: The Bella Coola Indians. I–II. Toronto 1948.
McKennan, Robert A.: The Upper Tanana Indians. YU-PA. LV. 1959.
— The Chandalar Kutchin. Arctic Institute of North America. Technical Papers. XVII. 1965.
Maître, H.: Les jungles Moï. Paris 1912.
Majumder, Surendra Nath: Ao Nagas. Calcutta n. d.
Malinowski, Bronislaw: The Natives of Mailu. Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of South Australia. XXXIX. Adelaide 1915.
— Argonauts of the Western Pacific. London 1932.
— Coral Gardens and Their Magic. London 1935.
Mauss, M.: L'Extension du potlatch en Mélanésie. L'A. XXX. 1920.
— Essai sur le don. L'Année sociologique 1923–24. N. s. I. Paris 1925.
Mayne, R. C.: Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island. London 1862.
Mead, M.: Kinship in the Admiralty Islands. AMNH-AP. XXXIV, 2. 1934.
— The Mountain Arapesh. III. AMNH-AP. XL. 1947.
Meggitt, M. J.: The Valleys of the Upper Waga and Lai Rivers, Western Highlands, New Guinea. O. XXVII. 1956–57.
Mills, J. P.: The Lhota Nagas. London 1922.
— The Ao Nagas. London 1926.
— The Rengma Nagas. London 1937.
Modigliani, Elio: Un viaggio a Nías. Milano 1890.
Moret, A. & Davy, G.: Des clans aux empires. L'évolution de l'humanité. VI. Paris 1923.
Morice, A. G.: The Western Dénés, Their Manners and Customs. Proceedings of the Canadian Institute. 3rd ser. VII. Toronto 1890.
Moss, C. R.: Nabaloi Law and Ritual. UC-PAAE. XV, 3. 1920.
— Kankanay Ceremonies. UC-PAAE. XV, 4. 1920a.

Mühlmann, Wilhelm Emil: Arioi und Mamaia. SK. XIV. 1955.
Müller, Werner: Weltbild und Kult der Kwakiutl-Indianer. SK. XV. 1955.
Müller, Wilhelm: Yap. Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908–10. II B, 2. Hamburg 1917.
Murdock, George Peter: Kinship and Social Behavior among the Haida. AA. n. s. XXXVI. 1934.
— Rank and Potlatch among the Haida. YU-PA. XIII. 1936.
Nadel, S. F.: The Nuba. London, etc. 1947.
Nelson, Edward William: The Eskimo about Bering Strait, BAE-AR. XVIII, 1. 1899.
Neuhaus, K.: Beiträge zur Ethnographie der Pala, Mittel Neu Irland. Kölner Ethnologische Mitteilungen. II. Köln 1962.
Neuhauss, R.: Deutsch Neuginea. I–III. Berlin 1911.
Nevermann, H.: Masken und Geheimbünde in Melanesien. Berlin 1933.
— Recht und Sitte der Digulstämme in Niederländisch-Neuguinea. ZR. XLII. 1937.
— Die Kanum-irebe und ihre Nachbarn. ZE. LXXI. 1940.
Newton, Henry: In Far New Guinea. London 1914.
Niblack, A. P.: The Coast Indians of Southern Alaska and Northern British Columbia. USNM-R. 1888. 1890.
Odermann, Gisela: Der Eingeborenenhandel in der Südsee. AL. XVIII. 1953.
Oliver, Douglas L.: Studies in the Anthropology of Bougainville, Solomon Islands. PM-PAAE. XXIX. 1949.
— A Solomon Island Society. Cambridge, Mass. 1955.
Olson, R. L.: The Quinault Indians. UW-PA. VI, 1. 1936.
— The Social Organization of the Haisla of British Columbia. UC-AR. II, 5. 1940.
— Social Life of the Owikeno Kwakiutl. UC-AR. XIV, 3. 1954.
Oosterwal, G.: People of the Tor. Assen 1961.
Osgood, Cornelius: Contributions to the Ethnography of the Kutchin. YU-PA. XIV. 1936.
— The Ethnography of the Tanaina. YU-PA. XVI. 1937.
— Ingalik Material Culture. YU-PA. XXII. 1940.
— Ingalik Social Culture. YU-PA. LIII. 1958.
Parkinson, R.: Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee. Stuttgart 1907.
Parry, N. E.: The Lakhers. London 1932.
Peekel, Gerh.: Die Ahnenbilder von Nord-Neu-Mecklenburg. A. XXI–XXII. 1926–27.
Pennings, Ant. A.: De Badoewi's in verband met enkele oudheden in de residentie Bantam. TITLV. XLV. 1902.
Perry, W. J.: The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia. Publications of the University of Manchester. Ethnological Series. III. Manchester & London 1918.
Pettitt, George A.: The Quileute of La Push 1775–1945. UC-AR. XIV, 1. 1950.

Pleyte, C. M.: Artja Domas, het zielenland der Badoej's. TITLV. LI. 1909.
Pfeil, J. Graf: Studien und Beobachtungen aus der Südsee. Braunschweig 1899.
Playfair, A.: The Garos. London 1909.
Porter, Robert P.: Report on the Population and Resources of Alaska at the Eleventh Census: 1890. Washington 1893.
Pospisil, L.: Kapauku Papuans and Their Law. YU-PA. LIV. 1958.
Pouwer, J.: Enkele aspecten van de Mimika-cultuur. 's-Gravenhage 1955.
Powdermaker, Hortense: Life in Lesu. London 1933.
Rangsit, Sanidh see Steinmann, A.
Rappard, Th. C.: Het eiland Nias en zijne bewonen. BTLV. LXII. 1909.
Rasmussen, Knud: The Alaskan Eskimos. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition. X, 3. Copenhagen 1952.
Ray, V. F.: Lower Chinook Ethnographical Notes. UW-PA. VII, 2. 1938.
— Culture Element Distributions: XXII. Plateau. UC-AR. VIII, 2. 1942.
Read, K. E.: Social Organization in the Markham Valley, New Guinea. O. XVII. 1946–47.
— Nama Cult of the Central Highlands, New Guinea. O. XXIII. 1952–53.
— Cultures of the Central Highlands, New Guinea. SWJA. X. 1954.
Reay, Marie: The Kuma. Melbourne 1959.
Ribbe, Carl: Zwei Jahre unter den Kannibalen der Salomo-Inseln. Dresden-Blasewitz 1903.
— Ein Sammelaufenhalt in Neu-Lauenburg. Mitteilungen des Vereins für Erdkunde. II. Dresden 1910–12.
Riesenfeld, Alphonse: The Megalithic Culture of Melanesia. Leiden 1950.
Risley, H. H.: India, Ethnographic Appendices. Census of India. 1901. I. Calcutta 1903.
Rivers, W. H. R.: The History of Melanesian Society. I–II. Cambridge 1914.
Robertson, George Scott: The Káfirs of the Hindu-Kush. London 1896.
Röder, J.: Pfahl und Menhir. Studien zur westeuropäischen Altertumskunde. I. Neuwied 1949.
Roy, David: The Megalithic Culture of the Khasis. A. LVIII. 1963.
St. Andrew-St. John, R. F.: A Short Account of the Hill Tribes of North Assam. JAI. II. 1873.
Salisbury, R. F.: Unilineal Descent Groups in the New Guinea Highlands. Man. LVI. London 1956.
Sapir, Edward: A Girl's Puberty Ceremony among the Nootka Indians. Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada. Ser. 3, VII. Ottawa 1914.
— The Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes. Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada. Ser. 3, IX. Ottawa 1916.
— see Spier, L.

Sarasin, Fritz: Ethnologie der Neu-Caledonier und Loyalty-Insulaner. München 1929.
Schmidt, Wilhelm & Koppers, Wilhelm: Völker und Kulturen. I. Regensburg n. d.
Schmitter, Ferdinand: Upper Yukon Native Customs and Folk-Lore. SI-MC. LVI, 4. 1910.
Schmitz, Carl A.: Zur Ethnologie der Rai-Küste in Neuguinea. A. LIV. 1959.
— Historische Probleme in Nordost-Neuguinea. SK. XVI. 1960.
— Gibt es eine "Megalith-Kultur" in Ozeanien? ZE. LXXXVI. 1961.
— Das Problem der austro-melaniden Kultur. Acta Tropica. XVIII. Basel 1961.
Schnitger, F. M.: Forgotten Kingdoms in Sumatra. Leiden 1939.
— Megalithen vom Batakland und Nias. IPEK. XV–XVI. Berlin 1943.
Schoorl, J. W.: Kultuur en kultuurveranderingen in het Moejoe-gebied. Den Haag n. d.
Schröder, E. E. W. G.: Nias. I–II. Leiden 1917.
Seligmann, C. G.: The Melanesians of British New Guinea. Cambridge 1910.
Serner, Arvid: On "Dyss" Burial and Beliefs about the Dead during the Stone Age. Lund 1938.
Serpenti, L. M.: Ethnographic Study of Frederik Hendrik Island. Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Research in New Guinea. Report for 1961–April 1964. 1964.
— Cultivators in the Swamps. Assen 1965.
Shakespear, J.: The Lushei Kuki Clans. London 1912.
Shukla, Bramha Kumar: The Daflas of the Subansiri Region. Shillong 1959.
Smith, Marian W.: The Puyallup-Nisqually. CU-CA. XXXII. 1940.
— The Cultural Development of the Northwest Coast. SWJA. XII. 1956.
Snoy, Peter: Die Kafiren. Frankfurt a. M. 1962.
Speiser, Felix: Südsee, Urwald, Kannibalen. Leipzig 1913.
— Ethnographische Materialien aus den Neuen Hebriden und den Banks-Inseln. Berlin 1923.
— Versuch einer Kulturanalyse von Neukaledonien. ZE. LXV. 1934.
— Versuch einer Kulturanalyse der zentralen Neuen Hebriden. ZE. LXVI. 1935.
— Melanesien und Indonesien. ZE. LXX. 1939.
— Versuch einer Siedlungsgeschichte der Südsee. Denkschriften der Schweizerischen Naturforschenden Gesellschaft. LXXVII. Zürich 1946.
Spencer, Robert F.: The North Alaskan Eskimo. BAE-B. CLXXI. 1959.
Spier, L.: Klamath Ethnography. UC-PAAE. XXX. 1930.
— & Sapir, E.: Wishram Ethnography. UW-PA. III, 3. 1930.

Sproat, Gilbert Malcolm: Scenes and Studies of Savage Life. London 1868.
Stack, Edward: The Mikirs. London 1908.
Staveren, J. A. van: De Rokka's van Midden-Flores. TITLV. LVII. 1915.
Stefánsson, Vilhjálmur: My Life with the Eskimo. New York 1913.
— The Stefánsson-Anderson Arctic Expedition of the American Museum: Preliminary Ethnological Report. AMNH-AP. XIV, 1. 1914.
Steinmann, Alfred & Rangsit, Sanidh: Denkmalformen und Opferstätten der Lawa. ZE. LXXI. 1940.
Sternberg, L.: Die Religion der Giljaken. AR. VIII. 1905.
Stevenson, H. N. C.: Feasting and Meat Division among the Zahau Chins of Burma. JRAI. LXVII. 1937.
Stonor, C. R.: The Sulung Tribe of the Assam Himalayas. A. XLVII. 1952.
Strauss, Hermann & Tischner, Herbert: Die Mi-Kultur der Hagenberg-Stämme im östlichen Zentral-Neuguinea. MV. III. 1962.
Suchtelen, B. C. M. M. van: Een offerfeest bij den Nagehstam op Flores. TITLV. LIX. 1919–21.
Sundermann, H.: Die Insel Nias. Barmen 1905.
Suttles, Wayne: Private Knowledge, Morality, and Social Classes among the Coast Salish. AA. N. s. LX. 1958.
— Variation in Habitat and Culture on the Northwest Coast. Akten des 34. Internationalen Amerikanisten-Kongresses. 1960. Horn-Wien 1962.
Swan, J. G.: The Indians of Cape Flattery. SI-CK. XVI. 1870.
Swanton, J. R.: Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida. AMNH-M. V, 1. 1905.
— Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians. BAE-AR. XXVI. 1908.
Teit, J.: The Thompson Indians of British Columbia. AMNH-M. II, 4. 1900.
— The Lillooet Indians. AMNH-M. II, 5. 1906.
— The Shuswap. AMNH-M. II, 7. 1909.
— The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus. BAE-AR. XLV. 1930.
Thompson, Laura Maud: Archaeology of the Marianas Islands. Bernice P. Bishop Museum. Bulletin C. Honolulu 1932.
Thurnwald, Hilde: Woman's Status in Buin Society. O. V. 1934–35.
T'ien, Ju-k'ang: Pai Cults and Social Age in the Tai Tribes of the Yunnan Burma Frontier. AA. N. s. LI. 1949.
Tischner, H. see Strauss, H.
— see Vicedom, G. F.
Todd, J. A.: Report on Research Work in South-West New Britain, Territory of New Guinea. O. V. 1934–35.
Tuck, H. M. see Carey, B. S.
Vanoverbergh, Morice & Heine-Geldern, R.: Der Megalithenkomplex auf der Philippinen-Insel Luzon. A. XXIV. 1929.

Vaux, L. de: Les canaques de la Nouvelle-Calédonie. Revue d'Ethnographie. II. Paris 1883.
Veth, R. J. see Hasselt, A. L. van.
Vicedom, Georg F. & Tischner, Herbert: Die Mbowamb. MV. I, 1–3. 1943–48.
Voblov, I. K. see Hughes, C. C.
Vroklage, B. A. G.: Die sozialen Verhältnisse Indonesiens. I, Borneo, Celebes und Molukken. Anthropos-Bibliothek. IV, 1. Münster 1936.
— Die Megalithkultur in Neuguinea. ZE. LXVII. 1936a.
— Das Schiff in den Megalithkulturen Südost-Asiens und der Südsee. A. XXXI. 1936b.
— Ethnographie der Belu in Zentral-Timor. I–III. Leiden 1952.
Waddell, L. A.: The Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. LXIX. Calcutta 1901.
Watt, George: The Aboriginal Tribes of Manipur. JAI. XVI. 1887.
Weyer, Edward Moffet: The Eskimos. New Haven 1932.
Wheeler, Gerald Camden: An Account of the Death Rites and Eschatology of the People of the Bougainville Strait (Western Solomon Islands). AR. XVII. 1914.
Williams, F. E.: Drama of Orokolo. Oxford 1940.
Williams, Thomas: Fiji and the Fijians. I. London 1858.
Williamson, R. W.: The Mafulu Mountain People of British New Guinea. London 1912.
— The Ways of the South Sea Savage. London 1914.
Willitsch, Gottfried: Betrachtungen über die Kunst Melanesiens und daraus sich ergebende Folgerungen für die Ethnologie. ZE. LXVI. 1935.
Winger, P. S. see Garfield, V. E.
Wirz, P.: Anthropologische und ethnographische Ergebnisse der Central Neu-Guinea Expedition 1921–22. NG. XVI. 1924.
— Die Marind-anim von Holländisch-Süd-Neu-Guinea. I–II. Hamburgische Universität. Abhandlungen der Auslandskunde. Reihe B, VI, IX. Hamburg 1922, 1925.
— Beitrag zur Ethnologie der Sentanier (Holländisch Neuguinea). NG. XVI. 1928.
— Die Eŋa. ZE. LXXVII. 1952.
Wist, Hans: Die Yao in Südchina. Baessler-Archiv. XXI. Berlin 1932.
Woldt, A. see Jacobsen.
Wollaston, A. F. R.: Pygmies and Papuans. London 1912.
Woodthorpe, R. G.: Notes on the Wild Tribes inhabiting the so-called Naga Hills. JAI. XI. 1882.

Indleveret til Selskabet den 7. november 1966.
Færdig fra trykkeriet den 23. februar 1967.

Acknowledgment

The author wishes to express his sincere gratitude to the Carlsberg Foundation for financial support during his work.

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab

Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser

(Hist. Filos. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk.)

Bind **38** (kr. 70,00)

kr. ø.

1. BLINKENBERG, ANDREAS: Le problème de la transitivité en français moderne. Essai syntacto-sémantique. 1960 40,00
2. DIDERICHSEN, PAUL: Rasmus Rask og den grammatiske tradition. Studier over vendepunktet i sprogvidenskabens historie. Med tillæg fra Rasks og N. M. Petersens papirer. Mit einer deutschen Zusammenfassung. 1960 30,00

Bind **39** (kr. 97,00)

1. NEUGEBAUER, O.: A New Greek Astronomical Table (P. Heid. Inv. 4144 + P. Mich 151). 1960 3,00
2. ASMUSSEN, JES PETER: The Khotanese Bhadracaryādeśanā. Text, Translation, and Glossary, together with the Buddhist Sanskrit Original. 1961 18,00
3. HJELHOLT, HOLGER: On the Authenticity of F. F. Tillisch' Report of November 24th, 1849, Concerning Conditions in Slesvig under the Administrative Commission. 1961 3,00
4. JOHANSEN, K. FRIIS: Ajas und Hektor. Ein vorhomerisches Heldenlied? 1961 11,00
5. JØRGENSEN, SVEN-AAGE: Johann Georg Hamann »Fünf Hirtenbriefe das Schuldrama betreffend«. Einführung und Kommentar. 1962 26,00
6. HAMMERICH, L. L.: Zwei kleine Goethestudien. I. Der frühe West-östliche Divan. – II. Grossherzogin Louise von Sachsen-Weimar – eine politische, keine schöne Seele. 1962 9,00
7. HOLT-HANSEN, KRISTIAN: Oscillation Experienced in the Perception of Figures. 1962 9,00
8. SØRENSEN, HANS CHRISTIAN: Ein russisches handschriftliches Gesprächbuch aus dem 17. Jahrhundert. Mit Kommentar. 1962 18,00

Bind **40** (kr. 99,00)

1. HANNESTAD, KNUD: L'évolution des ressources agricoles de l'Italie du 4ème au 6ème siècle de notre ère. 1962 18,00
2. BRØNDUM-NIELSEN, JOHS.: Viggo Stuckenberg–Sophus Claussen. En Brevvexling. Med Indledning og Noter. 1963 16,00
3. MØRKHOLM, OTTO: Studies in the Coinage of Antiochus IV of Syria. 1963 20,00
4. BECH, GUNNAR: Die Entstehung des schwachen Präteritums. 1963 8,00
5. RIIS, P. J.: Temple, Church and Mosque. 1965 22,00
6. GERLACH-NIELSEN, MERETE: Stendhal théoricien et romancier de l'amour. 1965 15,00

Bind 41 (kr. 96,00)

kr. ø.

1. HJELHOLT, HOLGER: British Mediation in the Danish-German Conflict 1848–1850. Part One. From the March Revolution to the November Government. 1965 40,00
2. BUKDAHL, ELSE MARIE: Diderot est-il l'auteur du «Salon» de 1771? 1966 30,00
3. JONES, SCHUYLER: An Annotated Bibliography of Nuristan (Kafiristan) and the Kalash Kafirs of Chitral. Part One. With a Map by LENNART EDELBERG. 1966 18,00
4. HAMMERICH, L. L.: An Ancient Misunderstanding (Phil. 2,6 'robbery'). 1966 8,00

Bind 42

(uafsluttet/in preparation)

1. HJELHOLT, HOLGER: British Mediation in the Danish-German Conflict 1848–1850. Part Two. From the November Cabinet until the Peace with Prussia and the London Protocol (the 2nd of July and the 2nd of August 1850). 1966 40,00
2. In preparation.
3. BIRKET-SMITH, KAJ: Studies in Circumpacific Culture Relations. I. Potlach and Feasts of Merit. 1967 18,00

From Vol. 37, No. 1, 1957 the designation *Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser* is changed into *Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser*. The numbering of the volumes will continue regardless of the change of name. The publications will besides the subjects treated up till 1957, include papers on Philosophy, Archeology, and Art History.

On direct application to the agent of the Academy, MUNKSGAARD, Publishers, 47 Prags Boulevard, Kōbenhavn S., a subscription may be taken out for the series of *Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser*. This subscription automatically includes the *Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter* in 4to as well, since the *Meddelelser* and the *Skrifter* differ only in size, not in subject matter. Papers with large formulae, tables, plates, etc., will as a rule be published in the *Skrifter*, in 4to.

For subscribers or others who wish to receive only those publications which deal with a single group of subjects, a special arrangement may be made with the agent of the Academy to obtain the published papers included under the head: *Archeology and Art History*, only.

Printed in Denmark.
Bianco Lunos Bogtrykkeri A/S.