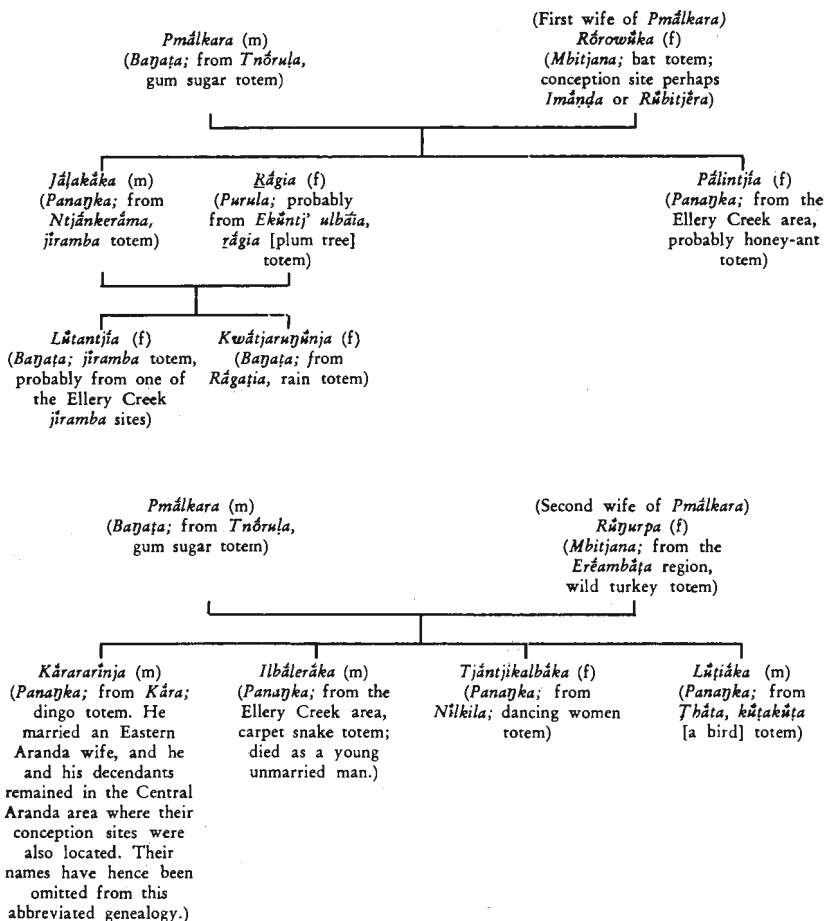


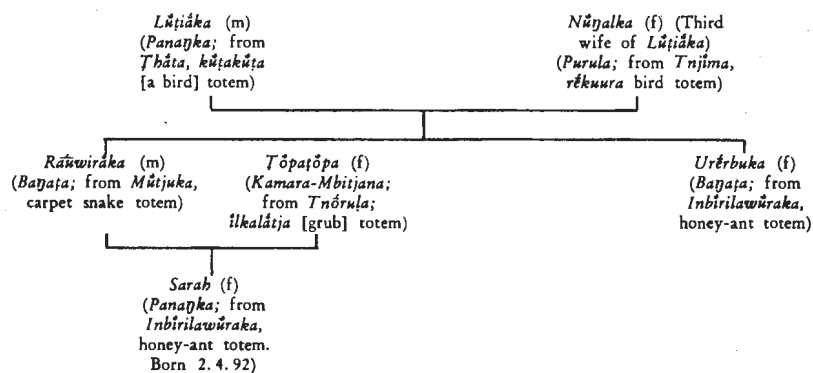
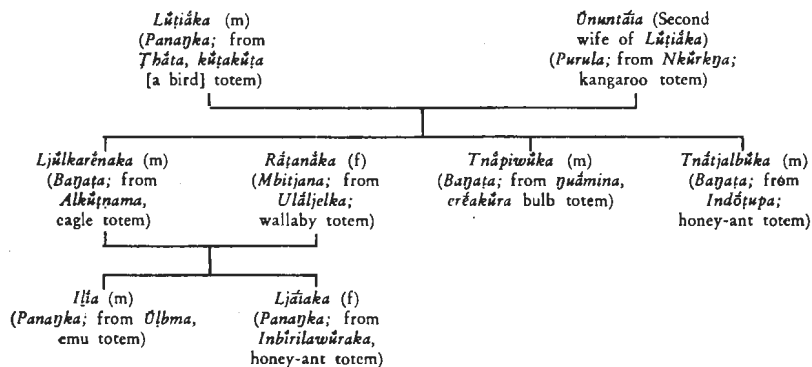
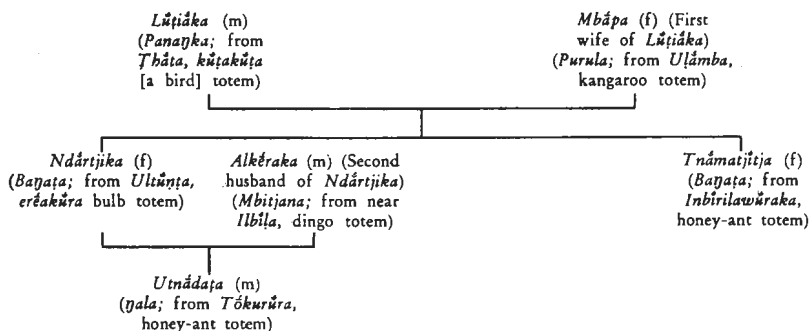
GENEALOGY

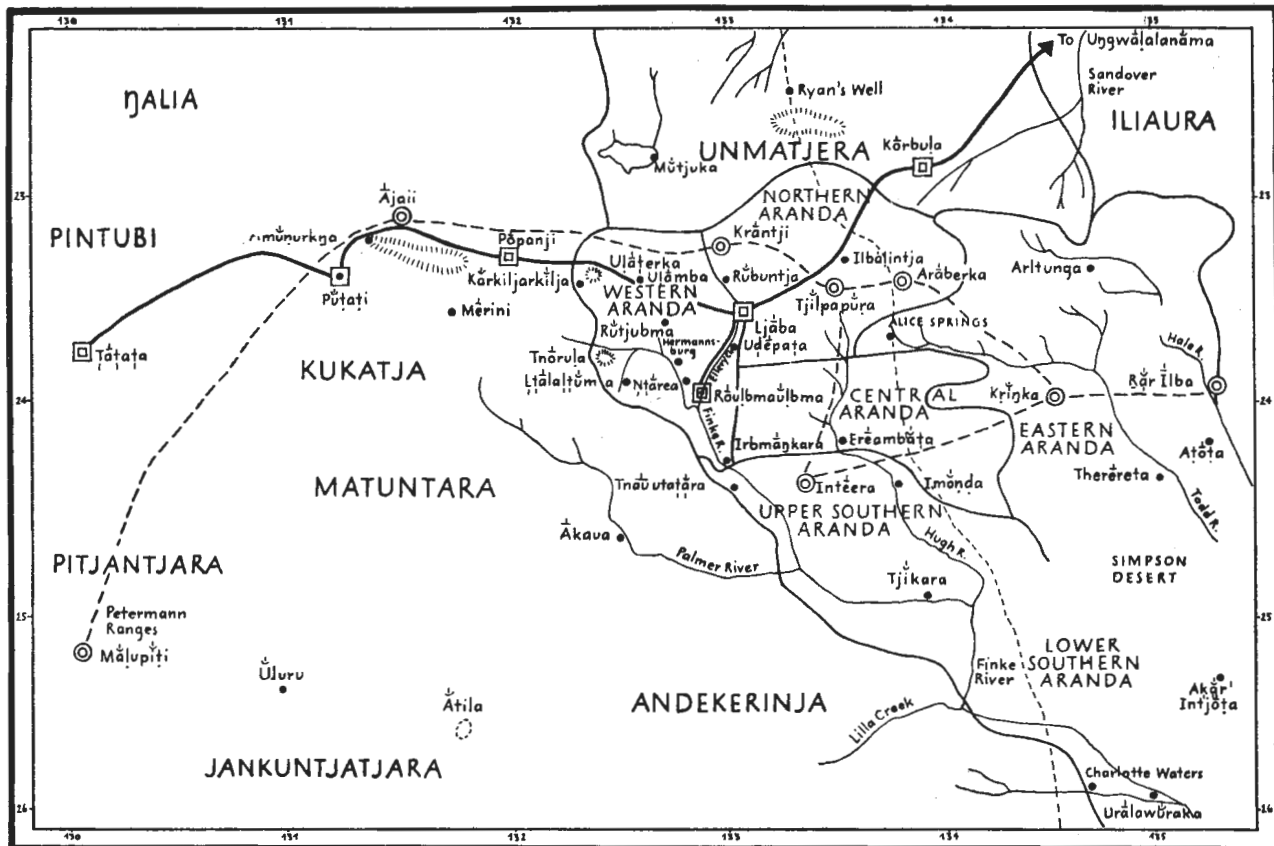
EXTRACT FROM AN ELLERY CREEK GENEALOGY

(Family Tree I, 8)



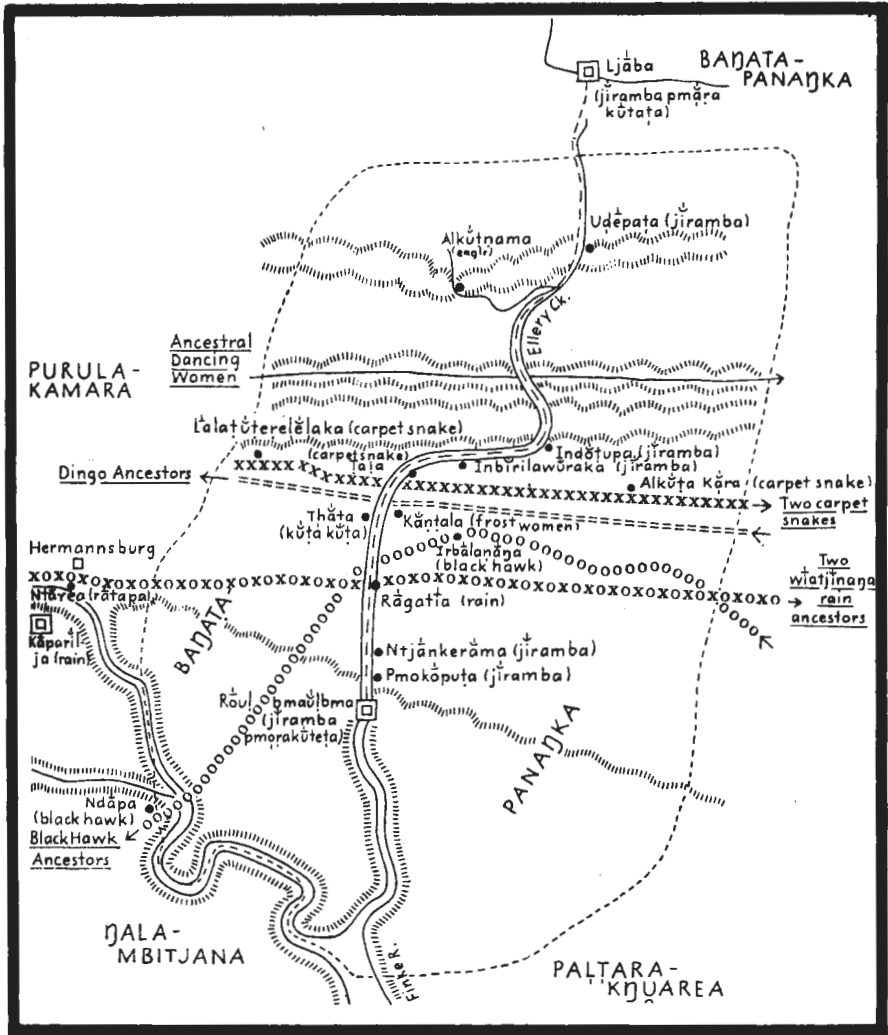
Remarks: This is an abbreviated and simplified version of one of the genealogies from the Ellery Creek *Baŋaŋa-Panaŋka njinaŋa* section. The wives of the Ellery Creek *Baŋaŋa-Panaŋka* men have been put in only when they had children; and the wife of *Kárararinja* — an Eastern Aranda woman — was not put in, because *Kárararinja* left the Ellery Creek *njinaŋa* section area and took up permanent residence in the Central Aranda area. Hence, though *Kárararinja* was born into an Ellery Creek family, all his descendants had their conception sites in the Central Aranda area, and came to be regarded as Central Aranda men and women. The husbands of the Ellery Creek *Baŋaŋa-Panaŋka* women have been left off this abbreviated genealogy: they all came from outside the Ellery Creek *njinaŋa* section area, and their children belonged to the *njinaŋa* section areas of their fathers. The one exception is the second husband of *Ndártjika*. He has been listed, since his son (*Utmádaŋa*) had his conception site in his mother's area, and was hence — exceptionally — a member by totem and conception site of the honey-ant clan of *Róulbmaŋlbma*.





MAP I.

The circles, linked by broken lines, denote kangaroo pmära kütäta, linked by myths.
 The squares, linked by fat lines, denote honey-ant pmära kütäta, linked by myths.



MAP II.

Totemic Map of the Bajata-Panayka Njijapa Section Area.

The trails of wandering totemic ancestors are shown by special signs:
 dancing women ———, carpet snakes xxx, dingos ===, rain oxoxo,
 black hawk ooo, honey ant ---.
 Their directions are indicated by arrows.
 Totems of all centres appear in brackets after the place names.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Vol.I, pp.821-2. Green - who in his footnote on p.821 mistakenly claims that the word "God" had been adopted by the early Hermannsburg missionaries (actually it was the word "altjira" that they had adopted) - unfortunately repeats here the untrue sneer - which goes back to Spencer (The Arunta, Vol.I, Preface p.ix) - that the whole of C. Strehlow's material "had to be obtained orally from some of the old men who were christianized members of the Mission". It is only fair to point out that C.Strehlow's main Western Aranda informant was *Lóatjira* (born about 1846), a medicine man of exceptionally keen intellect, whose prestige as an authority on the old beliefs extended far beyond the Western Aranda area. *Lóatjira* remained an inflexible champion of the old order throughout the years of C. Strehlow's stay at Hermannsburg. He accepted baptism only as an old and broken man in November, 1923, a year after C. Strehlow's death. *Lóatjira* died less than twelve months later, on 4th October, 1924. C. Strehlow's second main Western Aranda informant, *Pmála*, was a man of forty at the time of his baptism in 1900. *ǃálku*, the main "Loritja" informant, a man born about 1867, gave C. Strehlow his splendid Kukatja material out of gratitude for being nursed back to health after he had suffered serious bullet wounds from a police tracker's rifle in the ranges twenty-five miles west of Hermannsburg. *ǃálku* died at Hermannsburg in 1941, still true to the pagan faith of his fathers. He was, incidentally, the father-in-law of Albert Namatjira. C. Strehlow's fourth main informant - a Western Aranda man called *ǃǃákkabóta*, born about 1873 - was the only young convert in the group. *ǃǃákkabóta* was a man with an amazing memory for oral historical traditions and aboriginal genealogies.
- 2 Report on the Work of the Horn Scientific Expedition, Pt.IV, p.183.
- 3 The passage in the original myth is as follows:
The pair spoke: "You miserable death-doomed wretches, all of you must die now! You may never return from the earth while you are living, and you may never return after you are dead". With these words they (i.e. the Brothers) thrust them down into death.
- 4 An interesting parallel may be found in the Japanese prime sky god ("der allereste Himmels-gott") Amenominakanushi, who had begotten himself and who was likewise completely otiose. He, too, was not honoured in any myths or ritual. (Numazawa, Die Weltanfänge in der japanischen Mythologie, pp.120-1).
- 5 Even modern sceptics who believe that their thinking has become completely emancipated from the superstitious attitudes which they so readily discover in all religious systems seem to be conscious of a necessity for establishing some links between their own thought-systems and eternal verities, beyond the reach of all doubts. Agnostics at different periods of history have believed in the final victory of Reason over all religions and over human stupidity in general. Many intelligent and sceptical empire builders, both ancient and modern, have believed that all of their acts, even those of a highly dubious

nature, would be fully justified by the eternity of the empires which they had helped to establish. Similarly, probably most dedicated Communists today believe, not only that Communism will inevitably conquer the world, but that it will remain for all times the most perfect economic, social, and political philosophy ever devised by man, and that its spread over the whole globe will inaugurate an eternal era of peace and brotherhood for all mankind. Even the most rationalistic form of philosophical thought will probably be found to harbour the eternity motif at some point of its cold, logical reasoning. For is it possible to formulate a satisfactory system of philosophy at all, except by founding it on some final form of "Weltanschauung", - some all-embracing view of the world which is expected to have full validity for all times?

- 6 See, for instance, C. Strehlow, Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stämme, Part I, pp.2-8.
- 7 See the tradition of the *Ntjikantja* Brothers above, also Aranda Traditions, pp.42-5.
- 8 For details of the conception and reincarnation beliefs, see Aranda Traditions, pp.86-96. The account given there is necessary for a full comprehension of this section of my present paper.
- 9 My only printed statement on "the twin souls" occurs in an article called *La gémellité de l'âme humaine*, published in *La Tour Saint-Jacques*, Nos.11-12, 1957, pp.14-23.
- 10 It was, however, possible for girl babies to be regarded as reincarnations of male totemic ancestors, and for boy babies to be regarded as reincarnations of totemic ancestresses (Aranda Traditions, pp.92-3). Similarly, the fact that every Aranda infant had its class determined by the class of its human father (not by the class of the totemic ancestor as whose reincarnation it was regarded, see Aranda Traditions, pp.126-31) points to the strong physical and social links between a child and its father.
- 11 C. Strehlow's statement that among the Western Aranda all "unborn children" ("Kinderkeime, ungeborene Kinder") entering the bodies of their future mothers were called "ratapa" was undoubtedly due to the special circumstances found among the native child population of Hermannsburg, where practically all children belonged to the *ratapa* totem. His main informant *Lóatjra*, also belonged to the *ratapa* totem of *Ntjára*.
- 12 It was this belief that made impossible any differentiation in point of social status between children on the grounds of their human parentage. No stigma was attached to children whose parents had broken any of the marriage regulations: the concept of "illegitimate children" could not arise in a Central Australian community. Even the lighter colours of the half-caste children who were born after the arrival of the white settlers - this lighter colour was explained as having been caused by the white flour eaten by their mothers - did not debar them from full acceptance into the religious and social life of the dark communities from which they had sprung. Both

- coloured and white children who had their conception sites in Central Australia were regarded as reincarnations of the totemic beings. For the same reason, of course, no persons, dark or white, could be *adopted* into the Central Australian totems, if they had not been "conceived" there. The protestations of white anthropologists to the contrary (e.g. The Arunta, Preface, p.ix) are merely amusing.
- 13 This explanation supplies the reason why only human blood could be used in Central Australian sacred ritual. The vicarious animal and human sacrifices found in non-Australian religious rites were impossible in Australia: only human totemites carried the "life" of the supernatural beings in their blood. Because of the sacred nature of the blood used in totemic ritual, men who had given their blood in sacred ceremonies were not permitted to go back to the camp of the women and children until their cuts had closed up completely. Had a cut made to draw off blood for ritual purposes opened up again and started bleeding in the sight of women and children, the man to whom such an accident had happened would have been killed on a charge of sacrilege. This penalty is a further pointer to what may be termed the "sacramental" nature of blood when used in Central Australian sacred ritual.
 - 14 The young men who had been brought to the so-called *in^kura* grounds on which such cycles were staged, were normally sent away hunting during the day (when the more important acts used to be performed). They were made to take part, however, in special night acts (Aranda Traditions, pp.100-12; see also Spencer and Gillen's description of the *Imanda* cycle).
 15. The original words are. . . "Daß nur eine streng an Denken, Psyche und Sprachweise der Naturmenschen sich anlehrende Untersuchung ihre uns so fremde Kultur erschließen kann" (Mythos und Kult der Steinzeit, p.31).
 16. Winthuis's attempts to find a hidden sexual significance in every mythical incident and in every place name found in the sacred traditions, and in almost every noun and verb used in the sacred songs, have been described by some of his opponents, not without justification, as an exaggerated form of pan-sexualism. In this Winthuis resembles Röheim in his more exuberant moments. This is the case particularly in passages where falsified translations and etymologically impossible derivations of certain common Aranda words and terms are given. The Central Australian tribes, in their hard struggle for existence and survival in an often arid environment, did not have the same amount of leisure as either the New Guinea folk known to both authors or the well cared-for modern Europeans for giving themselves up to purely sexual fantasies. Had men like Winthuis and Röheim ever had to endure even one drought year by themselves in Central Australia, they would have reached much saner views on the many-sidedness of aboriginal religious thought. They would have appreciated the importance of the survival and eternity motifs for themselves. Again, it is not true that C. Strehlow's informants wilfully misled him. He was given his information on religious

matters in the same way in which they used to be handed down to all adult Aranda totemites (Aranda Traditions, pp.145-8). This preserved many of the secrets hidden in sacred myth, song, and ritual from becoming known to any persons except the ceremonial chiefs of the individual totemic clans. So carefully were these secrets guarded that any uninvited man who had accidentally come upon a group of men performing one of their particularly sacred acts would have been killed on the spot and buried in the centre of the desecrated ceremonial ground. Finally, while many of Winthuis's remarks about "picture language" and "metaphors" may be accepted, he is in serious error when he claims (Mythos und Kult, pp.108-9): ". . . It cannot be stressed too strongly once and for all that not only do *all* adult aborigines understand the creations of their own minds, but the children as well. That is the reason why the myths and ceremonial songs are kept secret from the uninitiated, the women and the children, since the latter would understand them immediately, if they were recited to them. That, moreover, even the children are guided from their tenderest years into the sexual conception which the adults have about the beings of nature and other things, but more especially about the bisexual Supreme Being, will be shown later, in the section on the goddess alknarintja." Here it must be objected that the Central Australians did not give any religious instruction to their children in our sense of this term, nor did they talk even among themselves about their most sacred matters in the open (and in their view, effusive) manner of the Europeans. Any conversation (and any detailed instruction) of this kind would have seemed to them like sacrilegious chatter and prattle. Even to adult initiates only a minimum of verbal explanation was given by their elders, and the younger men were deliberately kept in comparative ignorance for as long as possible. For instance, after thirty years of close observation there is no doubt in my mind that all the younger men who looked at the four types of sacred objects that symbolized the male and female "principles" on the Aranda ceremonial grounds were unaware of their true nature. Full knowledge of the final mysteries of religion had to be earned by all adult males through a lifetime of hard endeavour: by assiduously learning myths and songs, by donating blood generously for the performance of ceremonies, by liberal gifts of meat to the aged guardians of the religious secrets, and by dutiful submission to the norms of behaviour controlling the community.

- 17 The Religious Situation, published by Meridian Books, Inc. New York, p.176.
- 18 The views expressed here on the nature of Death are those once held by the Western, Northern, and Central Aranda, and the two Southern Aranda subgroups. There were some local groups, however, in the Eastern Aranda area that had a slightly different tradition. On this point my recent stay (in August, 1964) with a small group of Eastern Aranda men who came from the euro totemic country around *Ulĕĕjapōja* (fifty-five miles north-east of Alice Springs) enables me to offer

some comments which throw light on Spencer and Gillen's account of the "iruntarinia and arumburinga, or spirit individuals" as set forth in the Native Tribes of Central Australia, chapter XV. (The later expanded version, given as Chapter XVI, on "Spirit Beliefs", in The Arunta, vol. II, contains much confusing and inaccurate matter, which was added by Spencer's 1927 informant *Réralautñulaka*, who came from Owen Springs in the Central Aranda area). According to my Eastern Aranda euro clansmen, the term *arāmbaraña* corresponded to the Western Aranda *ātua njältja*. An Eastern Aranda man in this area hence spoke about his own *arāmbaraña*, also that of his father, or those of any other persons whom he had known or heard of. These *arāmbaraña* were the immortal "spirit-doubles" of living persons or of deceased persons whose names were still remembered. The term *eriñtarinja*, on the other hand was applied to the *arāmbaraña* of long-dead persons whose names had been forgotten. If the term *arāmbaraña* could be regarded as a compound of "arumba" + "ruña", and if "arumba" could be taken to mean "elder sibling" rather than "elder sister" (just as "tija" means "younger sibling"), then *arāmbaraña* could be explained as meaning "older sibling indivisibly linked with me". "Eriñtarinja" could be explained as meaning "cold wind people". The *arāmbaraña*, like the *ātua njältja*, could sometimes be seen accompanying their living human reincarnations, but only from a distance and only "hazily" (*irkäirkäia*). They vanished at close quarters, and did not leave any footprints behind. The interesting difference between the spirit traditions of this Eastern Aranda local group and those described in the rest of my paper lies in the belief that the *arāmbaraña* of deceased persons, and all *eriñtarinja*, were still wandering about in the area in which their conception-sites had been situated. They flocked together from all quarters of a local group area when totemic rites and increase ritual were being performed at any site within it. At such times they stood, invisible to human eyes, and watched these performances from close proximity. After nightfall they made an even closer investigation of the objects left at the ceremonial site; and men who were sleeping near their camp fires could then hear coughs, footsteps, or rattles coming from the ceremonial ground. On several mornings my own informants, who were sleeping about a hundred yards from the decorating site (where the ground-painting and the painted shields lay covered up with bushes for the night), claimed that they had heard and been alarmed by the sound of loud coughs and footsteps. Of course, no footprints could be found in the mornings. As is mentioned later in this paper, during ceremonial festivals held elsewhere in the Aranda-speaking area the "other bodies" of living and deceased men and women were believed to be present, in the form of the stone and wooden tjurunga invariably assembled at all Aranda ceremonial sites on such occasions, but the Eastern Aranda local groups mentioned here believed in addition that the "spirit doubles" of the dead were mingling freely with the living performers.

Additional details, as they were given to Spencer and Gillen in 1896, may be found in The Native Tribes of Central Australia.

This account, without doubt, came from members of the now extinct Alice Springs local group. I may add that the small group of *Ulietjapōta* euro clansmen with whom I stayed in 1964 was the first Aranda group during my thirty-two years of research in the Aranda-speaking area that corroborated Spencer and Gillen's account, though I had even previously held the latter to be substantially correct. Unlike the Western Aranda, the Northern Aranda, the Central Aranda, and the two Southern Aranda sub-groups, the Eastern Aranda folk appear to have had no site in their own area to which a myth was attached explaining how Death had come into the world. Hence it was possible for these Eastern groups (at least in the northern part of the Eastern Aranda area, for the Hale River and *Therēreta* groups were well acquainted with the Lower Southern Aranda myth of *Akār'Intjōta*) to believe that the *arambarāna* and *eriñtarinja* of all dead men still roamed about in their homeland, immortal and eternal.

- 19 The death-charms sung in Central Australia were believed to have been composed by the totemic ancestors of certain important sites.
- 20 Although the European theological concept of "free will" formed no part of the overtly formulated Central Australian religious beliefs, nevertheless it was freely admitted that human beings could act contrary to the "divine" element in their twin personality.
- 21 Because the survivors of the massacre firmly protested their innocence, some of their Western Aranda friends set out on a counter-raid into the Southern Aranda and Matuntara territories, and avenged their slaughtered kinsfolk. In spite of the counter-raid on this occasion there was, however, general agreement among all parties concerned that the Southern Aranda and Matuntara men would have had the right of punishing the Irbmānkara men, had the charge of sacrilege been true; for men from all totemic centres linked by myths had the *obligation* to guard the "sanctity" of the various centres linked in this manner.
- 22 The status of women in the Central Australian religious sphere could not be depressed beyond the level of regulated non-participation in most of the male sacred ceremonies. The high honour in which the mythical ancestresses were held undoubtedly helped the status of Central Australian women very considerably. For the mythical ancestresses were not regarded as personages inferior to the male ancestors. Some important *pmāra kūtata* - for instance, *Urumūna* (honeysuckle totem), *Urālbminja* (women totem) *Pōt'Arugūtja* (*ntjūa* grass seed totem) - were the mythical homes of ancestresses only. The mythical travels of the Dancing Women of *Amūñurkña* took them without male escorts from west to east, through the whole tribal areas of the Kukatja, the Western Aranda, and the Eastern Aranda.
- 23 Every totemite would be a priest in the sense that he gives his own blood in the increase ceremony of his totem, so that other members of his community, who do not belong to his totem, eat

- the animals and plants resulting from this increase ceremony. The aboriginal Central Australians did not, except in times of distress, eat the animals and plants of their own totems (Aranda Traditions, p.13).
- 24 Neither this abbreviated list nor the original full genealogy includes *all* the children born into this extended family group: the names of children who died before the age of eight were rarely, if ever, given out by the persons responsible for passing on these old genealogies; and I can remember no instances of infants who had names given to them before weaning (at about two years of age or even later) or who had their births mentioned in any of the aboriginal family traditions if they had died while they were still being suckled.
 - 25 One of these *ḡramba* men – *Utnádaṭa* – belonged to this Ellery Creek *Baṇaṭa-Panaṇka* group only by reason of his conception site: he was a *ṇala* man, who had been reincarnated in his mother's *nḡṇana* section area.
 - 26 "Brothers", in classificatory kinship terminology, always included parallel male cousins as well.
 - 27 Such as *Kōrḡbuḷa*, *Pōpanḡi*, and the rest; see Map I.
 - 28 Some of them had probably been decimated by imported animal diseases.
 - 29 It has been assumed far too often that aboriginal Australian religion emanated from the puerile phantasies of Stone Age men with immature children's minds, – of men who could not perceive the physical differences between themselves and animals, of men who were ignorant of physiological paternity, and so on. Such views merely reveal the haughty European blindness of those that put them forward. The aboriginal Central Australian intimately knew the habits of all the animals and the characteristics of all the plants in his environment: his survival in the severest droughts, in a country in which most of his European critics would have perished for want of food even in normal seasons, gives clear proof of his detailed knowledge of natural history. It is far more reasonable to suppose that it was his full awareness of the harshness and insecurity of his existence which forced him to seek spiritual communion with the immutable things of his own experience, and to identify his mortal Time-bound self with what he believed to be unlimited and eternal in the unchanging landscape of his country. Again, the kind of religion that was finally evolved in Central Australia has all the marks of a system of beliefs carefully built up over many centuries. It has clearly received its final shape from the minds of thoughtful men who had been living in undisturbed and loving association with their home soil for so many centuries that they had come to regard themselves as autochthonous in the original meaning of this word: the aboriginal Central Australians had not been forced by recent migrations to transfer their earth-born supernatural beings into the sky, in order to continue to enjoy the protection of these sky dwellers after moving into new areas.
 - 30 Letter to the Hebrews, 11, 1.

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