

Primitive High Gods

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PRIMITIVE HIGH GODS

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INTRODUCTION

Man is an animal with a predilection for ethics. If we collect data from all the quarters of the globe we must find, behind an apparent diversity of forms, a marked unity in content. This unity is manifested not only in the universal tendency to classify phenomena, to regard them as good and bad apart from their pleasure or pain content or even reversing that content,¹ but also in an agreement regarding the phenomena to be grouped within these categories. The student of religion will also find that certain attributes or activities of supernatural beings strike him as sublime, while other attributes or aspects of the same beings or creeds the student as a naïve observer would qualify as grotesque or obscene. It is still more surprising to find that our own attitude on this subject roughly corresponds to that of the believers themselves. The Pitchentara regard their sky beings as good obviously because of their nonsexual nature while the "badness" of the demons of the same tribe cannot be separated from their phallic attributes.

As we are about to study the genesis of some primitive "high gods" it is inevitable to begin with a quotation from Andrew Lang, who first introduced this subject into anthropological discussion.

"Where relatively high moral attributes are assigned to a Being, I have called the result 'Religion', where the same being acts like Zeus in Greek fable, plays silly or obscene tricks, is lustful or false, I have spoken of Myth. . . . I am arguing that the two classes of ideas arise from two separate human moods; moods as different and distinct as lust and love. . . . I am arguing that as far as our information goes, the nobler set of ideas is as ancient as the lower." ²

¹ That is, qualifying painful contents as good and pleasurable ones as bad.

² Lang, Andrew: *The Making of Religion*, 1909. Third edition. P. 15.

The group of supernatural beings which attracted the attention first of Andrew Lang and then of Father Schmidt, undoubtedly on account of its similarity to the monotheistic concept of God, might fitly be called the concept of "Our Father in Heaven". The attributes of paternity and of their living in heaven are certainly the outstanding features of these beings.

Thus for instance Munkácsi tells us that the most sublime representative of Vogul religion is Numi-Tarem, the omnipotent primal god who dwells in the sky, is the creator of the world, and the master of life and death. According to the beliefs of the Vogul people we are all his children and he is our "dear father". Other beneficent divine beings are also called *tarem*, but this seems to be a latter extension of the word which originally meant the sky, especially in contrast to the earth. The sky is regarded as male and radiant while the earth is female and black ("black mother earth"). The dual composite form "earth and sky" corresponds to other dual forms such as "wife and husband", "mother and father". But "tarem" also means the weather, the air and finally nature or the world. The identity of Nunu-Tarem with the sky is very close. It is "our father Numi Tarem", himself who "becomes day", or who "opens the day", who changes into spring, summer or autumn, who shapes or makes the seasons. Yet another group of attributes emphasize the aspect of paternity. He is a grey-haired old man, seated in a house and leaning on his golden stick. His house contains the water of life, a family and servants.¹

The association with the sky may perhaps be regarded as the most constant feature in the nature of these beings. Frequently they are also regarded as fathers and creators. The supreme being of the Uitoto is called *moma* (father). He originated without father and mother, as the beginning of

¹ Munkácsi, B.: *Vogul Népköltési Gyűjtemény*. I. Regék és énekek. Pp. 253-313.

things. "In the beginning the word (naikino¹) made the father", the mythical text says. Creation is embodied in the word or rather concept "naino" (illusion, "a thing that seems to exist"). The god is called Moma or Nainuema, that is: "He who is the Nonexistent", or "He who owns the non-existent."² A "nonexistent" thing existed, an illusion was touched by the Father. "The nothing" existed. By means of a dream Father Nainuema held it, immersed in thought. There was no staff to hold it, on a dream-thread he held "the illusion with his breath". The Father touched emptiness with the dream-thread and fixed it to the void with a magical glue. In accordance with his dream he held it with the magical substance "isi"-like ("like tobacco smoke or like a flock of cotton"). Then he descended to the earth he had created by his dream and created a forest by spitting.³

It would be going too far to follow up all the tracks that lead from this myth into the entangled jungles of Mexican mythology. It is sufficient to point out that this mystical and nonexisting substance is really something very real, viz., the penis or the seminal fluid. For one thing, we have the ball-game with its various offerings. The groups of people who bring one kind of fruit or the other always ask about the specific kind of naino (illusion-thing) that gave rise to the fruit they bring and they get the myth as an equivalent for their offering. Thus we see that the ball-game is closely bound up with the idea of the "naino". On the other hand the ball is called "our soul", "the thing by which we live". The game itself is a fertility ceremony,⁴ the coitus meaning of which, in its old Mexican form, has been conclusively shown by A.

¹ The striking analogy to the Logos of Christianity gains in importance if we consider the identity of the Logos with the Holy Ghost and the phallic significance of the latter. Cf. Róheim: *Animism*, p. 159.

² Preuss, K. Th.: *Religion und Mythologie der Uitoto* I, 27, 1921.

³ Preuss: *l.c.* I, 166, 167.

⁴ Preuss: *l.c.* II, 644, 1923.

Bálint.¹ In Cora myth we have something that corresponds to the idea of the unreal of cheating, of illusion in Uitoto cosmogony. Kivana the cheater is "our elder brother", the morning star, and he is a cheat because he could not resist the temptation to "pluck flowers", i.e., to have intercourse.² Finally we have the cosmogony of the Kágaba. They begin things with an All-Mother instead of an All-Father and continue with her four sons. The four sons are called "the priests whom we call Father Kalgwasiza", and the latter is also one of the names given to the All-Mother. The word contains two elements, for kalgwakala means the penis and siza means a thread or rope, or anything that is long and extending.³ The dream-thread would therefore be the penis, the "emptiness" which the father touches means the mother, and the magical glue signifies the seminal fluid. The idea of creation is therefore a substitute for the repressed concept of parental coitus. The denial of parental coitus is represented in the main in two phases. The first phase would be that in which the parental coitus is represented as taking place not in reality but in a dream, while in the second phase the penis is replaced by a thread, the mother by emptiness, the seminal fluid by the magical glue and the whole repressed content, the œdipus conflict and the primal scene, is called a "naino", that is, a non-existent thing. The ambivalent attitude of the child to the father exalts his position into the sublime, at the same time, however, denying his existence, for his name means "He who is an illusion".

Andrew Lang regards the two aspects of religion "as distinct from each other as lust and love". Metaphors are not chosen without a sufficient reason and it is the aim of this book to show that the protective spirits of our imagination really cor-

¹ Bálint, A.: *Die mexikanischen Kriegshieroglyphe. Atl-Tlachinolli*. Imago IX 401.

² Preuss, K. Th.: *Die Nayarit Expedition LXIII*, 1912.

³ Preuss, K. Th.: *Forschungsreise zu den Kágaba Indianern*. Anthropos XIV, XV, 380.

respond to "love", i.e., to narcissism and forepleasure, while the genital act itself ("lust") and orgasm appear under the guise of demons. The two sides of the medal are thus distinct from each other in a way, yet made of the same stuff in a deeper sense. The reasons for this are given partly in the chapters that follow, and partly in another forthcoming publication.¹

¹ *The Riddle of the Sphinx*. International Psychoanalytical Library.

CHAPTER I

THE RELIGION OF THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS

In 1910 Father Schmidt published a book on the problem of the pygmies.¹ His conclusion as a result of his investigation was that the Asiatic and African pygmy tribes were the last survivals of a primeval pygmy race and that this pygmy branch of humanity represented, as indicated by its stature and other features, an infantile phase in the development of mankind. But while the author attempts on one hand to show that the dwarfs are as primitive as possible he also lays great emphasis on their noble moral character and extraordinary intellectual achievements. The result of this double tendency is an ethnological vindication of the "paradise lost" theory. Mankind in general started as good little children and afterwards degenerated and developed into all sorts of vicious creatures.

Naturally we must first consider the opinion of physical anthropology regarding the pygmies.

The starting point for Father Schmidt's theory was Kollmann's view that Haeckel's law of biogenesis might also be applied to stature and that all large races of mankind must have had related but smaller forms as their precursors, so that the dwarf tribes of today would be the last remnants of a plurality of dwarf races. But Kollmann does not hold the view that the ancestors of the leading races of mankind were the exact counterparts of the pygmies as they are found today in Asia and Africa. Since his theory involves the existence of several pygmy races there is no need to assume any greater degree of cultural or psychological unity among these dwarfish races than that found today among the European, Asiatic, African and American branches of mankind.² The ancestors of all civilized or semi-civilized races were then not exactly pygmies

¹ Schmidt, W.: *Die Stellung der Pygmäenvölker*, 1910.

² Kollmann: *Neue Gedanken über das alte Problem von der Abstammung des Menschen*. *Korrespondenzblatt IX*, 1905. *Idem*: *Globus*, 1905, p. 140.

as we find them but pygmies with unknown social and cultural institutions. It is therefore difficult to find any justification for the dictatorial claims put forward by "pygmy-ethnologists" like F. Krause,¹ who declares: "We must demand that only data drawn from primary primitive (pygmy) races should be utilized for similar investigations (origin and psychology of primitive mankind)." ²

Other anthropologists regard pygmy stature as due to degeneration or as a feature of domestication. A very interesting theory has lately been put forward by Fritz Sarasin. He believes that the races of mankind separated at a very early period but evolved for a time on exactly parallel lines. The classification of a human group in the whole system can only take place on the basis of the sum total of "higher" or "lower" anatomical features, meaning by "higher" or progressive features those found among recent races and furthest removed from the Neanderthal man and the anthropoid ape.

A third group he characterizes as "infantile"; that is, based on a retention of infancy in adult age. As most archaic in the sense of phylogenesis, Sarasin regards the Austro-Melanesian group. The New Caledonians show many typically Australian features, and these again are the very peculiarities which form the link between the aborigines of Australia and of Neanderthal man. Following therefore the opinion of other anthropologists he declares: "This Austro-Melanesian branch is undoubtedly very primitive, although some of its constituent elements have attained a high phase of somatic and cultural development. But such a number of primitive features as found among Australians, New Caledonians and some other Melanesian groups can hardly be found together anywhere else. I believe therefore that among all living races this group stands nearest to what the ancestors of the highly evolved races of mankind must have been, though it can not be said to represent them exactly, as the Austro-Melanesian group has developed

¹ Previously an opponent of the culture-area school.

² Krause, F.: *Über primäre und sekundäre Primitivität*. Tagungsberichte, 1926. P. 55.

also on specific lines.”¹ As for the pygmy races, Sarasin classifies them as not only infantile but “*neoteniatic*”—an expression that implies arrested development in consequence of an inadequate function of the secretorial glands.

I believe the material used for implements characterizes the state of things with the greatest accuracy. In their native state the pygmy tribes live in an age of bone, wood and shell, so that they might be classified as far more primitive than the oldest representatives of palæolithic culture in Europe. But they have adopted the use of iron both in Africa and Asia from their more advanced neighbors and even made some advances in handling this material. The verdict then should be that we have here a really primitive branch of mankind, which however has been influenced most profoundly by its neighbors. The fact that among all pygmy tribes only the Andaman Islanders speak a language of their own, while all the others have obsolete dialects of their taller neighbors shows that this influence is of old standing and much deeper than the usual degree of culture-contact. To claim that theories on the origin of human institutions should be based *exclusively* on pygmy data is nearly as bad as trying to provide an accurate ethnological description of the aboriginals of Africa on basis of data obtained from English speaking American negroes!

Our specific reason for discussing the pygmy question lies in the attitude of Schmidt and his followers towards psychoanalysis. Just as the advocates of the English “historical” school regard their “method” as the only path to truth, Gräbner, Schmidt and their followers believe that all ethnological theories—and consequently also the theories of psychoanalysts—must be unscientific and without any value if they are not based on a study of pygmy “Urkultur”. The stress laid on pygmies, Tasmanians and Kurnai by modern ethnologists is extremely overdrawn, especially in view of the fact that we possess information of the most unsatisfactory and meager kind for most of these tribes. Granting, however, for the

¹ Sarasin, F.: *Anthropologie der Neu-Caledonier und Loyalty Insulaner*, 1922.

moment the possibility that our objections may be refuted and their conclusions verified, granting that the pygmy tribes represent the most primitive races of mankind, does this in any way modify the views put forward by psychoanalysis on human origins?

The psychoanalyst cannot be satisfied by a few platitudinous statements, either negative or positive, about High Gods. He must have myths at his disposal and plenty of them to understand the latent content of a religion. Since the Bushmen are classified by Schmidt as having a culture above the pygmy level the only tribe for which we have anything like adequate information are the Andaman Islanders.

We shall start with a fictive case of a patient whose neurosis is associated with the father-complex. This patient when coming to analysis and mentioning his father for the first time states that he loves and respects him. Of course he is telling the truth, or at any rate what he consciously regards as the truth. However, as the analysis proceeds, his dreams, infantile memories or symptoms will reveal the existence of latent conflicts, jealousies and death-wishes or aggression of some sort. Now the ethnologist usually accepts a native's statements regarding his "Heavenly Father" without any further qualifications. If an aboriginal states his belief in the moral or physical superiority, in the omniscience or benevolence of the supreme being, there can of course be no doubt about the existence of such a belief. But it is only by a careful analysis of the myths (=dreams in clinical analysis) that we can hope to lay bare the sources of this belief. It is evident that views on the religion of primitive tribes have absolutely no value unless supported by mythological data and that our hope of a valid explanation increases in a direct ratio with the number of myths and variants.

E. H. Man describes the Puluga of the Andaman Islanders as follows:

1. Though his appearance is like fire, yet he is (nowadays) invisible.
2. He was never born and is immortal.

3. By him the world and all objects animate and inanimate with the exception of the powers of evil were created.

4. He is omniscient while it is day, knowing even the thoughts of their hearts.

5. He is angered by the commission of certain sins, while to those in pain or distress he is pitiful and sometimes deigns to afford relief.

6. He is the judge from whom each soul receives sentence after death and, to some extent, the hope of escape from the torments of jireglar-mugu is said to affect their course of action in the present life.

To these statements Man adds the following note: "It is from regard to the fact that their beliefs on these points approximate so closely to the true faith concerning the deity that I have adopted the English method of spelling all equivalents of 'God' with an initial capital."¹

This sentence shows that in his presentation of Andamanese religion Man was not uninfluenced by his preconceived notions of what the "true faith" ought to be. But of course we do not mean to say that his summary is not based on actual statements made by the natives. E. H. Man is a fairly reliable authority, but it is one thing to repeat the views of the natives about their own supernatural beings and quite another to trace the origin of these ideas. The pivot round which their whole mythology and religious life turns is the idea of certain ritual offenses, and of Puluga's anger for these offenses.

"There is an idea current that if during the first half of the rainy season they eat the *Caryota sobolifera* or pluck and eat the seeds of the *Entada scandens* or gather yams or other edible roots, another deluge will be the consequence; for Puluga is supposed to require these for his own consumption at that period of the year. . . . Another of the offenses visited by Puluga with storms is the burning of beeswax, the smell of which is said to be peculiarly obnoxious to him. . . . Storms

¹ Man, E. H.: *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*. *Journal Anthr.* XII, 157, 158.

are regarded as indications of Puluga's anger; winds are his breath, and are caused to be blown by his will; when it thunders Puluga is said to be growling at something which has annoyed him; and lightning they say is a burning log flung by him at the object of his wrath."¹

According to A. R. Brown there are several ritual offenses that arouse the anger of Biliku (Puluga). But the three principal offenses are:

1. Burning or melting beeswax.
2. Killing a cicada, or making a noise, particularly a noise of cutting or banging wood, during the time that the cicada is singing in the morning and evening.
3. The use of certain articles of food, of which the chief are the seeds of the *Entada scandens*, the pith of the *Caryota sobolifera*, two species of *Dioscorea* (yam) and certain edible roots of which may be mentioned, those called in Aka-Jeru labo, mikulu, ĵi and loĵito.

All the natives of the Great Andaman agree in regarding these actions as causes for the anger of Bilika or Puluga and therefore of bad weather. However, they actually do melt beeswax and use the plants mentioned above. One version is that they will rather submit to bad weather than go without some of their most prized vegetable food. Another explanation is that it is only during the season of storms, called the Kimil season in Aka-Jeru, that it is dangerous to eat these foods, that is, during the months of October and November.²

The cicada "sings" during the short interval between dawn and sunrise and between sunset and darkness, and therefore it is at these times that no noise may be made. In the North Andaman the cicada (mite) is usually called the "child" of Biliku, "Biliku ot-tire".³

However, as in many other cases, a ceremonial prohibition is associated with a rite that involves a "breaking through", a deliberate violation of the taboo. According to the account

¹ Man: *l.c.* Journal, 153, 154.

² Brown, A. R.: *The Andaman Islanders*, 1922. Pp. 152, 153.

³ Brown: *l.c.*, 154.

given of this rite, which is called "killing the cicada", its purpose is to produce fine weather. It takes place in December, at the end of the season, during which they eat the grub. When the time agreed upon for the performance of the ceremony arrives, all the members of the community are careful to be in the camp before sunset. As soon as the sun sets and cicadæ begin their shrill cry all the men, women and children present begin to make as much noise as they possibly can, by banging on the sounding board, striking the ground with bamboos, beating pieces of wood together, or hammering on the sides of canoes. They continue the noise, which entirely drowns out that of the cicada, until darkness has fallen. After the rite the cicada disappears and is not seen or heard and there follow four months of fine weather with little rain.¹

In the North Andaman Islands Biliku is supposed to be angry if anyone kills a *biliku* (spider), a *reo* (a species of insect making a noise like a cicada), or *čatlol* (a species of beetle). There is also a bird called *tōrōi*, which belongs to Biliku and may not be killed.

In the A-Pučikwar tribe two species of fish and a mollusc called *towa* belong to Biliku and are not eaten for that reason. The bird called Bilik-l'ar-dala is also taboo and probably identical with the above mentioned *tōrōi*.

In the Akar-Bale tribe two kinds of wood may not be used for fire-wood as they belong to Puluga. But as in the case of killing the cicada there are two sides to the prohibition. The ritual offenses are sometimes deliberately undertaken with the intention of frightening Biliku and thus stopping a storm. For instance, they will throw the leaves of *Mimusops littoralis* on the fire because these leaves have a way of exploding and making a crackling or popping noise that Biliku dislikes.² If, however, somebody were to burn the leaves when the weather is fine the result would probably be a storm. The most effi-

¹ Brown: *l.c.*, 156.

² Man writes: "The popping sounds are sweet to Puluga's ears and have effect of calming his fury." Man, E. H.: *On Andamanese and Nicobarese Objects*, Journal XI, 289.

caacious means of stopping a storm is to do some of the things that Biliku most dislikes. To burn beeswax or to go into the jungle and damage or destroy the creepers that belong to Biliku are the heroic remedies against Biliku's anger.¹ Yams too belong to Puluga and when the natives dig up yams they take the tuber and replace the "crown" and stem into the ground.²

The greater part of Andamanese mythology deals with these ritual offenses and with the dire consequences which in the past resulted from breaking these taboos. Certain typical features of these myths contain the clue to their latent meaning:

1. In the time of the ancestors, Biliku lived at Ar-kol. One day the people caught a turtle and they asked Biliku whether she would eat some of it. She said "No". They put the meat in the roof of the hut and went away. Then Biliku ate the whole turtle and went to sleep. They discovered what had happened and left Biliku asleep. Biliku saw them hunting for turtle and asked to be taken with them. The people refused, saying: "You ate up all the turtle." Biliku had a round stone and several pearl shells. She threw the shells at the people in the canoe. The first shell did not hit them but came back and fell at her feet and so also with the second. Then Biliku got very angry and threw a third time. The shell struck the canoe and killed all the people in it. The canoe and its occupants became a reef of rocks that is still visible. Biliku attempted to get into another canoe with her stone, they both sank and were transformed into two rocks. "The pearl shells that Biliku throws seem to be lightning and the round stone the one that she rolls about to make thunder."³

2. The ancestors were at enmity with *Maia Porubi* (Sir Frog). They wanted to kill him. They shot him with their arrows, but they could not kill him. *Maia Porubi* caught hold of them all in his arms, and jumped into the sea. He found a big round stone and put the people under it and left them there. All the people turned into stone and may be seen there

¹ Brown: *l.c.*, 156, 157.

² Brown: *l.c.*, 159.

³ Brown: *l.c.*, 197, 198.

now. The next night some more of the people went to hunt turtle near Maia Porubi's place. He heard them shout when they caught a turtle and thought, "They are coming again to kill me." He threw a round stone at them which sunk the canoe and the people and canoe were turned to stone.¹

3. *Ra-gumul Kwokol* went fishing with his bow and arrows in the sea. His bow and arrows and he himself were turned into stone and may be seen there to the present day.

Kwokol is the tree lizard and *ra gumul* means a youth who has just passed through the initiation ceremony or rather through the phase of the initiation ceremony connected with pig-eating. A youth is not permitted to handle a bow for some days after this ceremony.²

4. Certain ancestors (*tomola*) failed to observe the rules laid down for neophytes, they ate the kidney fat of pig which was taboo to them and went to the shore to fish. The body of one was discovered adhering to a large boulder and turned into stone, while the other likewise in a state of petrification was standing erect beside it.³

5. The people of Kwaičo went to Jila to hunt turtle. Their wives made fire in the evening, which is forbidden, and the hunters and their canoes were turned to stone.⁴

The common feature in these five variants is that the breaking of a taboo is punished by petrification. In 1, petrification is brought about by thunder and lightning, and this seems to be the case also in 2, where the round stone wielded by Sir Frog is probably identical with Bilku's thunder-stone. The next variant links up with the others on account of the frog-hero and the connection between the ritual prohibition of melting beeswax and honey.

6. Perjido was the first to eat honey. Sir Frog discovered this and imitated him but he kept it all for himself and brought none home for his children. *Beret* (a smaller species of frog)

¹ Brown: *l.c.*, 222.

² Brown: *l.c.*, 226.

³ Man: *l.c.*, 169, 170.

⁴ Brown: *l.c.*, 226.

was the child of Porubi. One day Beret said to his father: Bring us some honey. The children went with their father and showed him the combs on the trees. Beret pointed out a honeycomb to his father. Porubi went up to get it but Beret cut the creeper which his father had used for climbing and made some sharp stakes of wood which he put round the tree. Porubi jumped from the tree on the stakes and was killed. His son took the honey and ran away.¹

Item 7 is another frog-variant, while it is connected with 6 by the motive honeycomb; and the fall from the tree, the "petrification-thunderstorm" of 1-5, is replaced by an inundation.

7. A woodpecker discovered a black honey-comb in the hollow of a tree. The toad eyed him wistfully from below and finally accepted the invitation to join in the feast. The woodpecker drew him up by means of a creeper, but when he had brought him near the comb he let him fall. This trick so exasperated him that he at once repaired to the streams far and near in the island and drained them. "The success of his revenge so delighted the toad that, to show his satisfaction and to add to the annoyance of his enemies, he thoughtlessly began to dance, whereupon all the water flowed from him and the drought soon terminated."²

8. Bilika lived with his wife Mite. They had a child. The ancestors ate Bilika's food, *loito* and *kata* and other plants. Bilika was very angry. He used to smell their mouths to see if they had eaten his food. When he found a man or woman who had eaten it he would cut his throat. The ancestors were very angry with Bilika because he killed the men and women if they ate his foods. They all came together and killed Bilika and his wife Mite. *Maia Burto* (a species of fish) took Bilika's child away to the northeast.

The plants mentioned above are still regarded as Bilika's food and he is angry when the natives eat them. The child of Bilika is another Bilika, the one who now sends the storms from the northeast. Mite, Bilika's wife, is either the bronze-

¹ Brown: *l.c.*, 221.

² Man: *l.c.*, 173, 174.

winged dove or the cicada, as these two words are very similar to each other.¹

9. In the days of the ancestors, Puluga lived at Jila off the east coast of Henry Lawrence Island and the ancestors lived at "the village of Puluga" just opposite to Jila. Puluga was becoming angry with the ancestors because they dug up yams and ate *cakan* (*Entada scandens*) and *barata* (*Caryota sobolifera*). When he was angry he used to destroy their huts and property. The people, therefore, sent him out of the world, declaring: "We don't want you here. You are always angry with us", and Puluga went away to the northeast.²

The connecting link between the preceding and the following variants is the yam taboo:

10. *Maia Dit* (Sir Prawn) discovered *konmo* (*Dioscorea* sp.). He was very hungry and went to look for something to eat. He found a very large yam but it was only one piece. After having eaten as much as he could he dashed the remainder on a rock and the fragments scattered everywhere and grew into fresh plants. After this there was plenty of *konmo* everywhere.³

11. *Maia Bumroag* struck the creeper belonging to this type of yam with an arrow and after having feasted on the root with his friends he scattered the remains about in different directions, and "this apparent waste so angered his mother that, on pretense of shaving him she split his head open with a flint. After his death it was found that the act for which he had suffered had tended to the spread of the plant which is now plentiful." ⁴

12. The people made a noise in the evening when *Mite* (the cicada) was singing. *Mite* went to see her mother *Biliku*. *Biliku* was angry; there was a big storm and heavy rain. *Biliku* threw her pearl-shells. She went mad. She destroyed the whole world and went up to live in the sky. The earth was

¹ Brown: *l.c.*, 200.

² Brown: *l.c.*, 200, 201.

³ Brown: *l.c.*, 220.

⁴ Man: *l.c.*, 170, 171.

bare. Then Biliku dropped a *Dipterocarpus* seed from the sky and the earth was again covered with forest.¹

13. At first there were no birds in the jungle and no fish in the sea. The ancestors were playing one evening and making a noise while the cicada were singing. Then Biliku got angry and sent a great cyclone. All the people were turned into birds, beasts and fish.²

14. Sir Lizard held a great dancing party. He became so wild at the dance that nobody could hold him, and as he was very strong the people were afraid. When they caught hold of his arm he threw them away so violently that they fell into the sea and became all sorts of fish and turtle or they fell on the islands where they became birds and beasts. At last *Berep* (a small crab) caught hold of Kolwot's arm and stopped him.³

15. At the above-mentioned dancing party, Sir Tree Lizard has a fight with Sir *Karami* (a species of bird). He throws them all into the sea and jungle, where they are transformed into animals. At last *Berep* the crab got hold of his arm. He could not get free and died. The people attacked the crab and threw him into the sea. When *Kwokol's* (Lizard) mother *Kegza* found her son dead she wept for a long time. Then she went into the jungle and cut the plant *tokul* which belongs to Puluga. Puluga was angry because the *tokul* was cut and sent a big storm which killed *Kegza* and all the other women.⁴

16. The women disturb the song of Sir Tree Lizard at a dancing party. He seizes his bow and they all flee in terror in all directions. Some rushed into the sea and were changed into various animals.⁵

17. *Berebi* the crab came to visit Kolwot's (Lizard's) mother *Chana Erep*. When her son appeared *Berebi* bit him. Kolwot died and his friends revenged his death by throwing the crab into the sea. The bereaved mother in her rage

¹ Brown: *l.c.*, 206.

² Brown: *l.c.*, 208.

³ Brown: *l.c.*, 208.

⁴ Brown: *l.c.*, 208, 209.

⁵ Man: *l.c.*, 171.

deliberately did everything that was obnoxious to Puluga. She burnt the beeswax, ground the seed of the *Entada pursoetha*, destroyed the *Caryota sobolifera*, and dug up the yam and other edible roots.

The result was that Puluga was terribly wroth and sent a flood which destroyed all living things with the exception of two men and two women.¹

18. Originally, it was always day. Sir Monitor Lizard went into the jungle to dig up yams. He also found a cicada. When he came back to the camp he crushed the cicada; the day vanished and it became dark. The ancestors made torches of resin and sang songs to bring back the daylight. Various birds and beetles tried in vain till *Konoro* (a species of ant) sang and the morning returned. Since then it has been day and night alternately.²

19. Da Tezat (perhaps a species of spider) went into the forest and shot his arrow into a yam. He brought the yam, the resin and the cicada back into the camp and then squashed the cicada. The whole world became dark. The torches (resin) lit up the night; the people danced and sang, until the song of Sir Ant brought back the day.³

20. Two women called *Čana Limi* and *Čana Ĵaranud* crushed the caterpillar and a plant called utura. Puluga sent night, but Sir Lizard invented dancing to show that they were not afraid. Day and night began to alternate. The same word is used for caterpillar and night.⁴

21. Puluga forbade the ancestors to make use of a certain tree (the alaba) for fuel when cooking turtle or pigs. The men would have their throats cut if they did this and the women were to be deprived of their breasts, by Mother Sun if it happened at day time and by Sir Moon at night. Once they violated this penalty and the deluge came.⁵

¹ Man: *l.c.*, 167–169.

² Brown: *l.c.*, 213, 214.

³ Brown: *l.c.*, 214, 215.

⁴ Man: *l.c.*, 172.

⁵ Man: *l.c.*, 472, 173.

We may tabulate the contents of these twenty-one versions as follows:

<i>Offense</i>	<i>Committed by</i>	<i>Punished by</i>	<i>Punishment</i>
1. Eating the whole turtle	Biliku		
Admittance to canoe refused	Ancestors	Biliku	Thunderstorm, petrification
2. Attempt to kill Sir Frog, catching turtle	Ancestors	Sir Frog	Thunder, petrification
3. Violating taboo of initiation in handling bow	Sir Tree Lizard		Petrification
4. Violating taboo of initiation, eating kidney fat of pig	Ancestors		Petrification
5. Making fire in the evening during turtle hunt	Ancestors		Petrification
6. Keeping all honey for himself	<i>Perjido</i> Sir Frog	Frog's Son	Creeper cut, fall from tree, father killed
7. Keeping honey, fall from tree	Woodpecker	Toad	Drought, dance, inundation
8. { Eating Bilika's food plants Cuts ancestors' throats	Ancestors	Bilika	Throat cut
	Bilika	Ancestors	Death
9. { Yams and other plants eaten Huts destroyed	Ancestors	Puluga	Destruction of huts, thunder
	Puluga	Ancestors	Death
10. Yam discovered, scattered	Sir Prawn		
11. Yam discovered, scattered	Maia Bumroag	His mother	Head split open
12. Making noise when cicada is singing	Ancestors	Biliku	Thundersorm, cataclysm
13. Noise while cicada is singing	Ancestors	Biliku	Cyclone, animal transformation
14. Dance, rage of Lizard	Lizard	Crab	
	Ancestors (?)		Animal transformation

	<i>Offense</i>	<i>Committed by</i>	<i>Punished by</i>	<i>Punishment</i>
15.	Dance, throws people	Lizard	Crab	Death
	Killing Lizard	Crab	Ancestors	Throwing into sea
	Cuts Puluga's plant	Lizard's mother	Puluga	Storm, cataclysm
16.	Disturb song of Lizard	Women	Lizard	Animal metamorphosis
17.	Death of Lizard	Crab	Ancestors	Thrown into sea
	Violation of all the taboos	Lizard's mother	Puluga	Flood
18.	Yam found, cicada destroyed	Lizard	Puluga (?)	Night, day restored by dance
19.	Yam found, cicada destroyed	Da Tenat	Puluga (?)	Night, day restored by dance
20.	Crushing plant and caterpillar	Two women	Puluga	Night, dance of Lizard brings day
21.	Tabooed wood used for cooking pig and turtle	Ancestors	Puluga, sun, and moon	Throat cut, breast cut off, Deluge

The typical form of all these myths is that the ancestors having violated the taboos of Biliku, i.e., eaten his food or killed the cicada (made a noise, etc.) were punished by thunderstorms, petrification and a great flood. It is clearly a mistake to isolate Andamanese mythology from that of the neighboring islands. Perry has grouped a number of Indonesian myths under the heading of "punishment tales".¹ The general feature of these myths is that the ancestors have been punished in primeval times by supernatural beings. The form of the punishment is exactly the same as on the Andamans: floods, thunderstorms and petrification. The offense, however, seems to be different. In the Indonesian punishment tales the crime committed by the hero is either incest or the quite specific offense of "laughing at animals". A further analysis of the tales, however, shows that "laughing at animals" simply means disregarding the taboo connected with these animals. The

¹ Perry, W. J.: *The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*, 1918. Pp. 124-134. Cf. Róheim, Géza: *Australian Totemism*, 1925. P. 344.

taboo in question is the totemic taboo and it has been clearly demonstrated by psychoanalysis that the cardinal taboos of totemism are symbolic equivalents of the taboos connected with the œdipus complex; not to kill the father (totem animal) and not to wed the mother (woman belonging to the same totem clan).

The point in question is whether the existence of the same latent meaning can be demonstrated for the punishment tales of the Andaman Islanders. The two essential offenses are eating food (yams, etc.) belonging to Puluga and killing the cicada. Applying the experience derived from individual analysis to ethnological data, we can say that idiosyncrasies about food frequently cover some kind of sexual content, and that the tabooed food probably symbolizes tabooed intercourse. Thus, in a case related by Dr. Eisler a neurotic child shortly after protesting violently against meat and vegetables coming into contact with each other on the same plate, cries that his father is not to go near his mother.

In another case, reported by Mrs. Bálint, when told not to touch a thing the child spontaneously declares, "That belongs to father"; this child's universe is divided into two categories, the things belonging to baby and the tabooed objects,—objects belonging to father, foremost among which is the mother. Puluga's food may be taken to mean Puluga's wife. Now Mite, Bilika's wife, is actually said to be either the bronze-winged dove or the cicada.¹

In such cases various but equivalent taboos usually cover the same content, so that "touching Puluga's food" would be equivalent to "touching=killing=having intercourse with Puluga's wife".

The Semang have a Supreme Being who may be regarded as the equivalent of Puluga. His name is Kari, a word meaning "thunder", and the fiery breath ascribed to him is evidently connected with this aspect of his nature.² His messengers are

¹ Brown: *l.c.*, 154, 200.

² Skeat and Blagden: *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* II, 177, 1906. Also, Schmidt: *Stellung der Pygmäenvölker*, 1910. P. 221.

the winds, who bring diseases as punishment for any sins which Kari desires to avenge.¹

Vaughan Stevens and Skeat fail to provide an exact account of the nature of these sins, but the fact that thunderbolts are due to a man "being in the least degree too familiar with his mother-in-law"² seems to show that this is one of the offenses punished by the Thunder-god. However, the latest information we have about these tribes makes matters perfectly clear. Schebesta asked them what were the offenses for which Karei punishes mankind and he obtained the following answer:

"Sexual intercourse of a brother with his sister, of parents with their own children, non-observance of the rules of avoidance regarding the parents-in-law, disrespectful behavior to parents and others. If somebody offends in these respects Karei's thunder is heard and he must be pacified by the blood sacrifice."³

The crime punished by the Thunder-god is incest; this is stated directly by the Semang, and, with a well-known displacement, by their Andamanese relations who symbolize incest by eating "Puluga's food" or "killing the cicada", that is "Puluga's wife".

The Djahai identify Karei sometimes with thunder, sometimes with the sun. The expiatory blood-sacrifice is for Karei. Only a small portion of it is dedicated to his wife Manoid who lives in the earth. But Karei although very powerful is not the creator, not the supreme being.

It is Ta Pedn who made trees, stones, water, and while they call Ta Pedn good, they regard Karei as wicked, for he demands blood from mankind. If near relatives have intercourse with each other Karei waxes angry and begins to thunder.⁴

¹ Skeat and Blagden: *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* I, 421, 1906.

² Skeat: *l.c.*, II, 204.

³ Schebesta, P. P.: *Über die Semang auf Malaka*. *Anthropos* XVIII, XIX, 1904.

⁴ Schebesta, P. P.: *Religiöse Anschauungen der Semang über die Orang hidop*. *Archiv für Rel.* XXIV, 1927. P. 21.

The fundamental unity of all these mythologies can be demonstrated by the new data published by Schebesta. He describes the ceremony of pouring out blood to expiate some offense committed against Karei and then enumerates the cases of "*lawaid Karei*", i.e., "sins against Karei". Schebesta had some monkeys in a cage and used to play with them. But the natives never played with the animals and when asked for the reason the answer received was "*lawaid Karei*". To laugh at a leech writhing in agony is "*lawaid Karei*", to laugh at a dog, monkey or cat is also "*lawaid Karei*", but it is not "*lawaid*" to laugh at a human being. In the punishment tales of Indonesia we find the same juxtaposition of incest and "laughing at animals". In Celebes the offense consists in laughing at a cat, in Borneo at an ape,¹ and these two animals are enumerated among those who must not be laughed at by the Semang because it is "*lawaid Karei*".

According to the Dayaks, if the rain pours down steadily day after day, week after week, and the crops are rotting in the fields somebody has been indulging in fleshly lusts. The elders put their heads together and adjudicate on all cases of incest and bigamy and purify the earth with the blood of pigs.² "Following out the same train of thought, the Toradjas of Central Celebes ingeniously employ the incest of animals as a rain-charm. For they believe that the anger of the gods at incest or bestiality manifests itself in the form of violent storms, heavy rain or long drought. Accordingly they believe it is always in their power to enrage the gods by committing incest and so to procure rain when it is needed. However, they abstain from perpetrating the crime among themselves, first because it would be necessary to put the culprits to death and second because the storms thus raised would be so furious that they would do more harm than good. But they fancy that the incest, real or simulated, of animals is a lighter offense, which by discomposing, without exasperating, the higher powers, will

¹ Perry: *Megalithic Culture*. Pp. 125, 126.

² Frazer, J. G.: *The Magic Art II*, 110, 1911.

disturb the balance of nature just enough to improve the weather.”¹

The Galela of Halmahera state that if it rains too much incest has been committed by someone, and the rain only ceases when the offenders have confessed.²

Portman says: “Pulu-ke means to pour with rain, and there may be some connection between this root and Puluga”, and Sir Richard Temple explains the name Uluga, Öluga (the word for Puluga on the Little Andaman) by reference to “öluge” (thunder).³

In the light of these data it is not difficult to formulate the latent contents of Andamanese mythology. The ancestors tried to kill Biliku or Sir Frog (1, 2), they broke through the initiation taboo (3, 4) or the cicada taboo connected with nightfall (5, 12, 13, 18–20) or ate Biliku’s yam or other plants (9, 10, 11, 15, 17, 18–20); i.e., *they committed incest*, for which Biliku punished them by *thunder-storms* (1, 2, 9, 12, 13, 15), petrification (1–5), floods (7, 17, 21), having their throats cut, head split open, breasts cut off (8, 11, 21), metamorphosis into animals (13, 14, 16), or nightfall (18–20).

But Biliku’s indignation is not of the type that should be qualified as purely moral. For in variant 1 it is Biliku who eats the whole turtle. In 6 it is his son Perjido or Sir Frog (the equivalent of Biliku in 2) who keeps all the honey for himself. In general we are told⁴ that Biliku and her family lived solely on the very same tubers which were taboo to others. If eating loito, etc. means incest, we must acknowledge Biliku as the

¹ Frazer: *l.c.*, 113. Also Kruijt, A. C.: *Reggen lokken en regen verdrijven bij de Toradja van Midden Celebes*. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal Land, en Volkenkunde, 1901.

² Perry: *Megalithic Culture*. P. 125. Also Dijken: *Küsten en Bergfahrten in Halmahera*. Mitt. Geogr. Ges. II, 514.

³ Portman: *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, 1898. P. 270. Also Temple, Sir Richard: *A Grammar of the Andamanese Language*. Census Report of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands 1902. Part I. Chapter IV, 26–44. Both quoted by Schmidt in *Stellung der Pygmäenvölker*, 1910, p. 195.

⁴ Brown: *l.c.*, 199.

equivalent of our Central Australian Alcheringa heroes who lived in permanent totemic incest and always ate their own totem.

We can therefore formulate the latent contents of Andamanese mythology as follows:

In the days of yore there was a jealous sire (Puluga) who attempted to keep all the women of the horde (symbolized by yams¹) for himself. When any one of the brother-horde (ancestors) had relations with these women who were their mothers and sisters, Puluga castrated the culprit (throat cut, head opened, breast cut off 8, 11, 21) till at last the brothers united their strength and killed the tyrant (1 admittance to canoe refused, 2 attempt to kill Sir Frog, 6 Father Frog killed by his son, 8 Biliku killed, 9 same as 8).

The same result can be obtained from Semang mythology. The Djahai tell us that a thunderstorm is the punishment of Karei for incestuous intercourse, but we also know that lightning is regarded by them as the union of Karei with his earth-wife Manoid.² As to the real nature of the relation between Karei and Manoid there is a characteristic difference of opinion among the tribes of the Semang. According to the Djahai, Manoid is the wife of Karei. But the Kenta tell us that Manoid is the grandmother of the three male sky-beings, Karei, Ta Pedn and Begiäg.³ According to a myth of this tribe Grandmother Manoid asked Karei to give her a child. He made a figure of clay and covered it with a mat. Next morning it was transformed into a girl. The experiment was repeated and a boy was fashioned in a similar manner. The two grew up and cohabited with each other. Then they went into the wood and plucked a flower. In the flower there was a stone and the stone was transformed into a girl. Then the same thing is repeated and the stone becomes a boy. These two again married and had children.

¹ Girls have flower names. Brown: *l.c.*, 93. For plant names of Western Semang, see Skeat and Blagden: *l.c.* II, 4.

² Schebesta, P. P.: *Religiöse Anschauungen der Semang*. A. R. W. XXIV, 215.

³ Schebesta: *l.c.*, 226.

"It ought not be overlooked", writes Schebesta, "that Karei and Manoid did not procreate the first human beings but formed them from clay." Nevertheless the Semang regard themselves as grandchildren of Karei and Manoid.¹

There can be no doubt that a miraculous procreation is always a roundabout way of expressing a natural but incestuous procreation.² It is sufficient to point out that while one tribe makes Karei and Manoid husband and wife who have intercourse with each other in the natural way, the other tribe regards them as grandmother and grandchild, but the grandmother wishes to have children from her grandchild and these are begotten in a supernatural way. There is also another reason for supposing that the children are really her children—in the physical sense of the word. Manoid is the earth-woman and the children are made of clay. The Andamanese tell us how Jutpu, the first man, took some clay (*kot*) from the nest of the white ant and moulded it into the shape of a woman who was called *Kot*.³ In the second generation the situation is repeated. Only, in accordance with the mechanism of the return of repressed elements, here the coitus between brother and sister is mentioned first, although the children are still procured in a miraculous way. In the third generation the magical procreation disappears completely and the birth of the child is recognized as due to cohabitation.

Karei's behavior is therefore exactly similar to Puluga's. For the Semang as descendants of Karei there is one thing that is supremely taboo, the great "sin" against Karei, and this is incest. But the great god who punishes incest by thunder and lightning procreates mankind in the same thunder and lightning in which he weds his grandmother or according to one version ⁴ his mother-wife.

This explanation involves the assumption that Puluga is originally a male being. But A. R. Brown holds the opposite

¹ Schebesta: *l.c.*, 230.

² Cf. Róheim: *Australian Totemism*, 1925. P. 143.

³ Brown: *Andamanese*. P. 192.

⁴ Schebesta: *l.c.*, 226.

view. He thinks that Biliku was originally everywhere female and that those groups which represent Puluga as male have changed their belief. There is some evidence for this view. Thus at the two extremities of the island Biliku and Öluga are female. Also in the Puchikwar, Kol and Juwoi groups we seem to get an intermediate stage. An argument on the subject was given to A. R. Brown by a native. "If Biliku were a man he would take up his bow and arrows and not throw fire-brands or pearl shells at people. Those are women's things."¹

Brown summarizes the situation as follows:²

<i>Language</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Sex</i>
Chari	Biliku	Spider	Female
Kora	"	"	"
Bo	"	"	"
Jera	"	"	"
Kede	Bilika	?	"
Juwoi	Bilik	None	Male (?)
Kol	"	"	"
Puchikwar	"	"	"
Bale	Puluga	"	Male
Bea	"	"	Male
Little Andaman	Öluga	Monitor Lizard	Female

The argument drawn from the geographical situation of beliefs (female in the north and south, male in the center) is not always reliable. Father Schmidt rejects it in this case—although it is exactly the kind of argument that the "Kultur-kreis" school employs in most cases—and tries to show that matrilinear influences have been at work both in the north and the south.³ However this may be, the chief difficulty is

¹ Brown, A. R.: *The Religion of the Andaman Islanders*. Folk-Lore XX, 266.

² Brown: *ibid.*, 259.

³ Schmidt, P. W.: *Die religiösen Verhältnisse der Andamanesen-Pygmäen*. Anthropos XVI, XVII, 991.

that we know next to nothing about the mythology of the Little Andamans, so that the value of isolated statements about the female nature of Öluga is much reduced. While the female Biliku of the north is identified with a really female symbol—the spider, Öluga is the Monitor Lizard who, as we shall proceed to show, is the typical male sex-symbol of Andamanese mythology. Moreover, the fact that Puluga's first cousin Kari and thunder-gods in general are male argues strongly against the view of an originally female Puluga. It is in connection with the mythological functions of Sir Monitor Lizard that we hope to discover the psychological explanation of the transition from a male Puluga to a female Biliku.

A glance at the synopsis of our variants will reveal at once that the relation of the Lizard to the Ancestors is in some respects that of the hero to the crowd, the protagonist to the chorus, the scapegoat to the people. In the second column ("Offense committed by"), we find the ancestors in nine cases, and the lizard in four, or rather, as will be seen, the variants with "lizard's mother" as culprit (15, 16, 17) are really only displaced lizard variants in seven cases. Biliku occurs three times in this column and various other mythological beings four times.

There are other reasons for regarding the Lizard as representative of the brother horde. According to an Akar-Bale version, the first man was Sir Monitor Lizard and his wife was Lady Civet-Cat.¹ Usually, however, Tomo is the first of the ancestors and the ancestors in general are the tomola.² The myth of *Tomo* is given in two versions by Man. According to one variant Tomo was out hunting one day. He fell into a creek and was drowned. He was at once transformed into a "*cachalot*" (a sort of cetacean) called *kara duku* by the Andamanese. His wife *Chäna Elewadi* (Mother Crab) was ignorant of the accident that had befallen her husband. She went in a canoe with some of her grandchildren to look for him, but on seeing them he upset the boat, drowning his wife and her com-

¹ Brown: *l.c.*, 196.

² Man: *l.c.*, 164.

panions. She became a small crab and the others iguanas (lizards). Although Tomo is here transformed not as we might expect into a lizard but into a sea-animal it seems that the Andamanese see some connection between the kara-duku (cetacean) and the lizard or *duku*. Another version sheds more light on the situation. Wearied by a day of unsuccessful hunting, Tomo went ashore and found a *chidi* (pinna) shell-fish. While playing with it the shell-fish fastened on him and he was unable to free himself until a *baian* (*Paradoxurus*) seized the *chidi* and liberated him at the expense of one of his members. Shortly after this he saw his wife and one of his children coming after him in a canoe; unwilling that they should become aware of the misfortune that had befallen him, he upset the canoe and drowned both himself and its occupants. He became a kara-duku and the others became a *duku*.¹

The same story about the loss of the penis is also told with the Monitor Lizard as hero by the Aka-Kol.

"When Sir Monitor Lizard was *aka-goi* (unmarried, but having completed the initiation ceremonies) he went into the jungle to hunt pig. He climbed up a *Diptero-carpus* tree and got stuck there." Brown adds in a note that "the lizard was caught some way by his genital organs but I was unable to understand the story completely". *Beyan* (civet-cat) found him there stuck in a tree. She released him and helped him to get down. The two became married and their children were the *tomola* ² (ancestors).

The loss of the genital member³ seems to be equivalent to drowning or to the animal transformation. The shell is one of the most usual symbols of the female genital and there is some reason for suspecting that originally the Lizard-Ancestor was not liberated by the first woman from his uncomfortable position but on the contrary that he suffered castration from her. The fact that the Crab is represented as his wife looks

¹ Man: *l.c.*, 166.

² Brown: *l.c.*, 193.

³ The apparent contradiction of a marriage after the loss of the genital member will be explained below.

rather suspicious. The Crab catches hold of *Kolwot's* (Lizard's) arm when nobody can hold him (13) so that he dies in consequence (14) and he throws the Crab into the sea (17) just as he overturns the boat containing his wife, Crab. We must therefore come to the conclusion that the myth of the primal Lizard Ancestor is really a myth of castration-anxiety. This castration-anxiety is mutual, and while the male fears to lose his genital in the vagina (shell) the female regards her passive rôle, the undergoing of coitus, the transition from the male type of genitality (clitoris eroticism) to the female type, as a loss of the penis, namely, as castration. This is exemplified in the tale of the first ancestor and his wife.

The first of the ancestors (*Tomola*) was *Ta Petie* (Sir Monitor Lizard). He lived at Tomo-la-tog. At first he had no wife. One day when he was out fishing he found a piece of blackwood of the kind called *kolotat* (*Diaspyros* sp). He put it to the fire and the piece of wood turned into a woman. They had a son and lived together at Tomo-la-tog. One day *Ta Petie* went fishing, was drowned in the creek and became a *kara-duku* (crocodile, big lizard).

But another account of this first woman, *Kolotat*, is as follows: "At first there were no women only men. A man called *Kolotat* came to live in the A-Pucikwar country. Sir Monitor Lizard caught him, cut off his genitals and made him into a woman. She became his wife and their children were the tomo-la."¹

This is the sex theory of a three-year-old girl published by Reich. There are two sorts of boys according to this little girl, the good ones who have kept their penis and the bad ones or girls whose penis has been cut off as a punishment for onanism.² At the female initiation ceremonies of the Kili-manjaro the mistress of the ceremonies says: "In ancient days that which now appertains to the men was ours but those possessed of horns came and by force robbed us of our manhood."³

¹ Brown: *l.c.*, 193, 194.

² Reich, W.: *Eine hysterische Psychose*. Int. Ztschr. f. Ps. XI.

³ Dundas, Ch.: *Kilimanjaro and its People*, 1924. P. 219.

The tradition of a former equality of the sexes is frequent. The natives of the Tully River believe that men and women first originated from the local river and were quite equal.¹ In Australian mythology it is usually the lizard who is responsible for the differentiation of the sexes. "A small lizard is supposed to be the originator of the sexes."² "Tarrotarro—a fabulous person who divided the sexes. A species of lizard."³ The Aranda attribute the regulation of marriage, the introduction of fire-making and subincision to Mangarkunjerkunja, the great hero of the Lizard totem.⁴ The sky would fall upon the earth if somebody were to kill this lizard.⁵

The lizard is one of the prominent sex-totems of Australian mythology.

As demonstrated in my book on Australian totemism the sex-totem is always a personification of the libido. But while male sex totems are, as we may add, always phallic beings (the bat, the lizard in Australia), female sex totems are either simply imitations, duplicates of the male (based on the penis envy of women) or they represent the vagina as the organ which castrates the penis.⁶ Australian sex totems are also first ancestors and closely connected with the bull roarer,⁷ the phallic significance of which is now quite certain.⁸ I believe that both the ethnological and the psychoanalytical position that follows from this information must pertain to the Andaman Islanders. If Father Schmidt is correct in attributing sex-totemism to the

¹ Roth: *Superstition, Magic and Medicine*, 1903. P. 16.

² Schürmann, C. W.: *The Aborigines of Port Lincoln in South Australia*, in Woods: *The Native Tribes of South Australia*, 1879, p. 241. Also Angas: *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand* I, 109, 1847. Also Wilhelmi, Ch.: *Manners and Customs of the Australian Aborigines*. R.S.T. 1862.

³ Teichelmann, C. G. and Schürmann, C. A.: *Outlines of a Grammar, Vocabulary and Phraseology of the Aboriginal Languages of S. A.*, 1840. P. 45.

⁴ Strehlow: *Arunta und Loritja* I, 6.

⁵ Planet, W.: *Aranda Grammatik*. Z. f. E., 1907. P. 566.

⁶ Cf. Róheim, Géza: *Australian Totemism*. P. 64. Dhiel and the water-trough.

⁷ Róheim: *l.c.*, 69, 70.

⁸ Cf. Róheim, Géza: *Psycho-Analysis of Primitive Cultural Types*. Int. Journal of Psycho-Analysis XIII. Chapters V and VI.

Semang,¹ it is highly probable that sex-totemism is present among their Andamanese relations. We may conjecture that the Lizard was the male and the Crab or perhaps the Spider (Biliku) or the Dove or Cicada(?) (Mita) the female sex-totem of the Andaman Islanders. On the other hand, it seems quite evident that the lizard means the phallus. This association is quite general in Indonesian art,² and as for Australia, "the large lizard is taboo to the novices, the penalty being an abnormal craving for sexual intercourse."³

Professor Brown writes: "The lizard also seems to be regarded by the Andamanese as a particularly libidinous animal and is therefore regarded as the inventor of sexual intercourse and of procreation. . . . A friend who has observed the monitor lizard in Australia tells me that the animal fully deserves its reputation."⁴

If we regard the Lizard in these myths as a symbol of the penis (sex-totem) we can understand how the Lizard "made" the first woman by coitus (defloration) and how it was "killed" by the Shell or Crab. It would be a matter of indifference whether the myth said that the incest taboo was broken by the ancestors, or that it was broken by the penis as representing the common desire of the brother horde.⁵ This view gains further support if we remember that there is some reason for assuming the identity of the first man not only with the Lizard but also with the Sun.

According to an A-Pucikwar version of the myth it was Tomo the first man who made the world and peopled it with ancestors. He made the moon (*Puhi*), who is his wife. Tomo and his wife invented all the arts of the Andamanese and taught them to the ancestors. After his death Tomo went to live in the sky. It is Tomo who sends the fine weather, while Bilik

¹ Schmidt: *Ursprung der Gottesidee*. Pp. 293.

² Cf. Sarasin: *Reisen in Celebes I*, 218, 244, 277, 1905. Grubauer, A.: *Unter Kopffägern in Central Celebes*, 1913. P. 404.

³ Spencer and Gillen: *Native Tribes*, 471.

⁴ Brown: *l.c.*, 389.

⁵ Cf. the interpretation of the Scapegoat in my book, *Animism, Magic and the Divine King*.

sends the bad weather. In the world where Tomo now lives it is always daylight and always pleasant. When men die their spirits go up to the sky and live with Tomo.¹

"Tomo seems to be to some extent identified with the sun. Thus one informant said that it is Tomo who sends the fine weather and that it is he who sends daylight every day. Where Tomo lives in the sky, it is always day and always fine."² The Aka-Jeru have a similar belief. According to their creed the first living being was Maia Čara. It is he who makes daylight every day.³ The association between the solar and the phallic element is indeed very close and it is easy to bring analogies from areas more or less closely connected with the Andaman Islands.

In northern Australia on the upper reaches of the Victoria River and on the Western shores of the Carpentaria Gulf the following ceremony is performed in connection with the setting sun. The Carpentaria tribes keep their sacred poles akin to the tjuringas of Central Australia not in caves but in special huts constructed on taboo spots. The slabs of wood are up to five feet long and may be either male or female. When the hour of the ceremony arrives they are brought out by the sun-men and stuck in the ground in the full light of the sinking sun. At the same time a fabulous being in the sky is called upon to fecundate certain animals and plants necessary for daily life.⁴ In Dutch New Guinea, among the Marind-Anim, the same connection of solar attributes, fertility-cult and fire-symbolism appears in the mythological hero Aramemb. Brawa seems to have been a center of his activity. Most of his performances are of an obscene nature and all are connected with procuring young girls for the fertility-ceremonies. The natives point out a place at Brawa where Aramemb's club hurled through the air fell down in the shape of a fiery stone. Others attribute this event to the Sun who sent his child, the

¹ Brown, *l.c.*, 195.

² Brown, *l.c.*, 142.

³ Brown, *l.c.*, 144, 193.

⁴ Basedow, H.: *The Australian Aboriginal*, 1925. P. 265.

meteor, from the sky.¹ It is Aramemb who makes the fire-ancestor rotate round and round with his penis stuck fast in the girl's vagina till flames and smoke burst forth.²

He has intercourse with a shell (cf. above, the Lizard-Ancessor's penis sticking in the shell) and immediately a naked kangaroo-embryo, the ancestor of the kangaroo-totem, leaps out of the shell.³ This kangaroo-ancestor was called Jano and as he married his mother the hunting-cry of the clan was "*Jāno's mother is his wife*".⁴ We find exactly the same combination of solar and phallic elements with the œdipus motive in the myths of the Alfuru of Northern Celebes. In the beginning, there was a stone and as the waves of the sea washed the stone it began to perspire and gave birth to a crow and then to the first woman whose name was *Lumimuut* (from *lumot*, moss, sea-grass or *lumimuut* "she perspires"). She went to a mountain, Wulur Maatus in the south, and as she stood facing westward she was made pregnant by the west-wind and gave birth to a son whose name was *Toar*. Lumimuut gives her son a staff, measures the staff to the length of her own body, and tells him to use his staff as a measure; for if he finds a woman who is shorter than the staff that cannot be his mother and is therefore the right wife for him. But the staff grows in the meanwhile and when son and mother meet again she is smaller than the staff. So he marries her and they have three times nine children.⁵

The southern wind blew the foam of the sea to the shore and the foam was a woman called *Lewa*, or (in the other version) the foam acquired the shape of an egg and as the sun shone with all its might the egg or woman gave birth to a son. The heat of the south wind had lighted a tree and from this burning tree the boy learnt the advantages of roasting his food.

¹ Wirz, P.: *Die Marind-Anim von Holländisch-Süd-Neu-Guinea* II, 97, 1922.

² Wirz: *l.c.*, 81.

³ Wirz: *l.c.*, II, 94.

⁴ Wirz: *l.c.*, 118.

⁵ Schwartz-Adriani: *Tontemboansche Teksten* II, 389-394, 1907. Quoted by Schmidt: *Grundlinien*, p. 58.

He found a little girl with her navel string attached to a stone and cut the navel string "as is still done at birth". The sun-child called the girl Lumimuut and married her afterwards. The first beings were not procreated in the present fashion but by the miraculous power of *Rarang*, the Sun, who was also the first human being.¹

That there is some sort of connection between the solar and the phallic element is so plain that even a "nature-mythologist" cannot fail to see it, but as usual the explanation given by the latter is that the phallic "proceeding" is "late", "degenerate" and quite secondary as compared to the solar.²

It is unfortunately quite futile to explain to the "nature-mythologist" that there is a difference between a fictive aim and a real one, between what is stated to be the purpose of the ceremony—in consequence of repression and projection—and the real purpose. We may point, however, to Schebesta's view that solar heroes symbolize the generative power.³

Now, what is the meaning of the statement that originally human beings were not procreated after the present fashion but supernaturally by the heat of the sun? The same myth contains an account of a mother who conceives when she turns westward and becomes like Jocasta, her son's wife. In the second version, we have the displacement from mother as original love-object to the daughter; for the girl whose birth the sun-child accomplishes or completes by cutting her navel-string is evidently a representative of the daughter imago. The reason why primitive man should have projected his own incestuous desires to the sun is not far to seek. If we keep in mind the Maori myth of Maui where the western horizon is the vagina of Great-Mother Night (*Hine-nui-te-po*),⁴ we can visualize the descent of the solar hero with his fertilizing rays

¹ Schwartz-Adriani: *l.c.* II, 397, 399, 409. Also Schmidt: *l.c.*, 62.

² Schmidt: *Grundlinien*, 135. Cf. also the coitus festival in honor of Sir-Sun, Wilken: *De Verspreide Geschriften* III, 176, 1912.

³ Schebesta: *Parak-Institution im Bogia-District unter den Sepa*. *Anthropos* XVII, 1055.

⁴ Cf. Tylor, E. B.: *Primitive Culture* I, 335, 1903.

into the vagina of his mother and understand the meaning of *Toar's* "staff" (*Toar* means "to stand erect"). At the first meeting of mother and son the "staff" is too short; it is still in its infantile condition. But when they meet again in adult life the "staff" has grown; the penis is in erection (*Toar*=to stand erect) and the Indonesian *Œdipus* accomplishes the deep-seated desire of humanity.

In variant number 20 of our Andamanese punishment tales, the original crime is attributed to two women. But if we consider another detail of the myth it seems doubtful whether this is not due to projection of the guilt from the male to the female. The tale informs us that the sun one day burnt so fiercely as to cause great distress. Two women . . . became exceedingly irritable, and while in this unhappy state of mind¹ they crushed the caterpillar and the plant. The excessive heat of the sun is the desire of the male, the penis. It is then easy to understand the "irritation" of the women and their breaking through the cardinal taboos set up by the divinity (super ego) to safeguard the ego against the unlimited demands of the id. In variants 15-17, it is Lizard's mother who in her great love and grief for her dead son deliberately disregards the cardinal taboos issued by the Father and thereby brings the catastrophe upon mankind. But if Lizard, First Ancestor, and Sun are one and the same being or force, the sequence of events in this tale can be rearranged and it can be said that originally it is not the Mother who broke the taboo for love of her son but the Son who disregarded the injunctions of the Father through his love of the mother and died or was castrated (world-cataclysm) in consequence.

"The legend regarding the origin of the evil spirits known as Col is as follows: Their ancestor, Maia Col, one day stole a pig which had been captured by Maia Kolwot and climbed up into a gurjon-tree with his prize. Now Maia Kolwot (tree lizard) was remarkable for his great strength and being enraged determined to revenge himself; he thereupon planted a num-

¹ Brown, *l.c.*, 215.

ber of spikes all round the tree in which the thief had taken refuge and then proceeded to force it into the ground." Maia Čol sprang off the tree, was impaled in the spikes and perished miserably.¹

This is the tale given above as No. 6. The selfish person who jumps from the tree and is impaled. But in the former variant the person who suffers this tragic death is the Father, and his murderer is his own son. If Lizard is the son-hero, the representative of the brother-horde, it is easy to see how his love for his mother and his parricide lead to the world-cataclysm, to the breaking up of the horde; and if he is the penis, we can again understand how he breaks through the original taboo and gets stuck on the tree or in the shell, namely, suffers castration in consequence. We can also understand the specific function of the lizard-symbolism in connection with the castration-complex. The lizard is well known on account of its recuperative powers, and a loss of its tail is not fatal to the animal, as it grows a new tail. The lizard penis symbolism is a negation of the castration-complex, just as neurotics frequently symbolize the penis by parts of the body that grow again after having been cut, such as hair and nails.

A patient of mine complains that he feels a sort of octopus, a being with innumerable arms, in his head. It is like a knot in the ganglions of his brain. The meaning of the octopus is revealed by the following dream:

He is a Roman, the son of a senator. The danger of war with Carthage is imminent. The only way to avoid the war is to renounce the claim he has to the love of Helen, the most beautiful woman in the world. The owner of Helen is an Octopus, a sort of Moloch. In the second scene of the dream, he has renounced his claim and consequently avoided the war. But he has also lost caste. Instead of being one of the patricians, he is now a slave. He sees a gang of slave women, some of them in blue (his mother used to wear blue) and thinks he is one of them. The octopus or Moloch is dead but Helen, his widow, is now under a taboo (he uses this

¹ Man: *l.c.*, 173.

word), so that he has gained nothing by the death of the Moloch.

His loss of caste is his neurosis, in consequence of which he who used to be a student of the university is now a common laborer and sometimes a beggar. The turning point of his life is his father's death. After his father's death he became afraid of ghosts, a superstition he acquired from his mother. It was at this period that he desired to be hypnotized, in order to repress incestuous fantasies which appeared quite undisguisedly in his dreams.

There can of course be no doubt of the identity of the octopus (Moloch) with the father. The patient evaded the struggle for life by renouncing not only his love for the mother but a large portion of his heterosexuality, and sank from the upper to the lower classes, that is, lost his virility and became one of the slave women. Several months later he brought to analysis a new fantasy. He is now the octopus and fears nothing, because if you sever one of the arms of this animal it is replaced by the growth of another arm. In the dream he relates at the same hour, he has to pass an examination and the examiner is the manager of the *Hoden*-bank (bank of testicles), a lapsus for *Boden*-bank (agricultural bank). It is apparent, then, that the lizard symbolism of the Andamanese and the octopus-symbolism of this patient are derived from the same source. In both cases the negation of castration anxiety is evident.

The myth of the hero who is stuck fast to a tree recurs among the Batak in connection with their magic wand. A brother married his beautiful sister, and once when they were in the forest he wanted to pick some fruit from a tree. But he stuck fast, and after him the same lot befell his wife, the chameleon, a snake, a frog and a rat. They all climbed to fetch the fruit but none could get free afterwards. This miraculous tree was used for making the magic staff and the events of the myth are represented on that staff.¹

¹ Warneck, J.: *Die Religion der Batak*, 1909. P. 97. Brenner: *Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras*, 1894. P. 227.

Here again the anxiety of not being able to liberate the penis after coition (castration-phobia) is directly related to the œdipus complex. If we consider that this whole series of mythological dramas centers around the First Man or round a being who is regarded as the typical representative of the whole class of ancestors, it is difficult to deny the fundamental importance of the œdipus situation for the mental life of these pygmies.

We may now proceed to explain the meaning and function of some other important features of Andamanese mythology and ritual—Kolwot's dance and the psychological significance of day and night.

There is a general belief in all the tribes of the Great Andaman that Biliku or Puluga will be angry if anybody makes a noise, particularly a noise of chopping, breaking or banging wood, during the time when the cicada is singing. The cicada "sings", as the natives call it, during the short interval between dawn and sunrise and between sunset and darkness. At these times if a man is singing he stops until the cicadas are silent again. "In all the tribes I found that this prohibition was connected in the minds of the natives with Puluga, the reason of the custom being always explained to me by saying that any breach of it would infallibly bring bad weather." In the North Andaman the cicada (mite) is commonly spoken of as the child of Biliku, Biliku, *Biliku-ot-tire*.

Man tells us that Puluga taught this first couple that they could work during but not after sundown; otherwise they would worry the *butu* (cicada) which is under Puluga's special protection. Any noise such as working with an adze would cause the butu's head to ache and that would be a serious matter. During the cold and dry seasons work may be performed day and night, since the cicada is seldom seen then and cannot be disturbed.¹

However, we are also told that these prohibitions are connected with the sun and not with Puluga. Between dawn and sunrise the natives will do no work save what is noiseless, lest

¹ Man: *l.c.*, 165.

the sun should be offended and cause an eclipse, a storm, or lest other misfortune overtake them. If therefore they have occasion to start for a hunting expedition or on a journey at this hour they go as quietly as possible and refrain from the practice observed at other periods of the day of testing the strength of their bow-strings, as the snapping noise caused thereby is one of those to which the sun objects.¹

For the present we shall be content with the conclusion that nightfall or the transition period between day and night is connected with a certain amount of anxiety. But the legends quoted above also show that night is connected with a feeling of guilt, regarded as a punishment for breaking a taboo (killing the cicada), and that the dance of the Lizard Ancestor is regarded as efficacious in restoring the light of the heavenly orb.

The disappearance of the Sun and its restoration by dancing are well known features of a Japanese myth: *Susanowo-no-mikoto*, the Storm-God, had been relegated to the nether world, for he desired to visit his dead mother. But he came once more to visit his sister the Sun-Goddess, *Ama-terasu-oho-mikami*. She stands opposed to him in the garb of a warrior, for she doubts the purity of his intentions and suspects that he has come to rob her of her realm. In order to convince his sister of his peaceful intentions he offers to take an oath, or, more accurately, they are both to take the oath and produce children. This remarkable method of affirming one's innocence is carried through by biting off and crunching pieces of their divine jewelry and arms. Peace being restored between them after this nonsexual procreation, the storm god begins to behave in a disgraceful manner. "He broke down the divisions between the rice-fields belonging to his sister, sowed them over again, defæcated into the hall of his sister's palace, and finally he flayed the piebald colt of heaven with a backward flaying. This sight so alarmed Ama-terasu's ladies who were weaving the garments of heaven that they pricked into their vagina with the shuttle and died in consequence. Hereupon Ama-terasu (the Sun) hides in a cave and plunges the world into darkness.

¹ Man: *l.c.*, 153.

After various attempts to prevail upon the Sun to return, the gods at last succeed through the dance of *Uzume*. *Uzume* denudates her breasts and vagina and the laughter provoked by this gesture shakes the very heavens. Curiosity at the cause of this laughter induces the Sun-Goddess to reappear.¹

Certain conclusions seemed to follow from our analysis of Andamanese mythology. It seemed pretty clear that the Lizard or First Ancestor was also identified with the sun, and he is seen here as the principal protagonist in a ceremony the aim of which is evidently the restoration of solar light. On the other hand, it is also possible to show that the lizard is a representative of the phallus and of castration anxiety connected with incestuous intercourse. The Japanese myth begins with a symbolic incest between brother and sister (miraculous generation of children) and continues with further symbols of the same content (breaking down the divisions of sister's rice-field, sowing into them, defæcation in the hall). The principal crime in this myth is the flaying backwards of the colt of heaven. Its result, a prick into the vagina, shows the meaning of the action. A colt flayed backwards is the threatening penis in erection, and the myth is based upon the female idea of coitus being always an act of violence, a defloration. The ladies of Heaven die in consequence, while their representative, the eternal goddess, merely symbolizes death by retreating into a cave. The light is rekindled by the dance and the libidinal nature of this dance is made obvious by the finishing gesture of denudation. It is only remarkable that the Sun being a goddess, in this case the dance and gesture should be regarded also as female, as the "dance" of the vagina, and not of the penis. But if the myth of the sun-cave is compared to that of the descent of the solar hero *Ninigi* to earth, we find *Uzume* with the same obscene gesture, only this time with more logic in the myth, for the deity to whom *Uzume* shows her genital parts is one of the "road-gods", that is, an avowedly phallic being.²

¹ Florenz, K.: *Die historischen Quellen der Shinto-Religion*, 1915. Pp. 30-40.

² Aston, W. G.: *Shin'ō*, 1905. Pp. 111, 187, 363.

It is therefore probable enough that in our Andaman version of the disappearance of the sun and the dance myth, the lizard's dance had a phallic meaning and that the movements of the Lizard, like the contortions of the eel in an Australian variant,¹ really represent the male genital in the state of coitus.

There is reason to suspect that the myths of the Andaman Islanders represent not only the father-son conflict but are also connected with the relation of the son to the mother. Biliku is regarded as a supernaturally powerful woman in the North, and the spider also called biliku is her representative; therefore the cardinal taboos are in this area under the protection of a female thunder being. We are thus told: 1. That Biliku is a woman, the person who made the sun and moon and discovered fire. Her husband is *Perjido* and her children are Totaimo, Mite (cicada), and *Tarai*. According, however, to a second statement: 2. Biliku had a *husband called Tarai, a son Perjido*, and a daughter Mite. Then again we are told that *Toroi* was her husband while another statement has *Toroi* as the first of the sons. Finally we are told that Biliku was unmarried but that she lived with her son *Perjido*.

This remarkable fluctuation between husband and son admits of only one explanation for the female, Biliku. If we remember that the eating of certain plants has been interpreted as equivalent to incest and that Biliku, while she punishes the consumption of these very plants by storms, herself consumes only these plants, then the only interpretation we can give to this mythical situation is that originally Biliku's husband and her son are one and the same person, or in the language of the myth that "Biliku is unmarried and lives with her son *Perjido*".

There can be no doubt that the stormy season produces certain reactions in the psychic life of the Andamanese pygmies. These aborigines have a hazy equivalent for all these feelings in the word or rather stem—"kimil". With the prefix "ot-or-", it is used to mean "hot", for instance, "T'ot-kimil-bom"

¹ Cf. Róheim: *Australian Totemism*, 1925. P. 452.

("I am hot"). Used by itself the stem "kimil" is the name of the latter part of the rainy season when the weather is not hot but cool. A youth or girl who is passing through the initiation ceremonies is said to be *aka-kimil*. The turtle eating ceremony is *kimil* and when talking Hindustani they call a stormy or rough sea "hot". A person who is ill is said to be hot and getting well is expressed by the phrase "getting cool".¹ The word and idea can be rendered by "crisis"; the state of "kimil" is that of being in a critical situation. In the annual periodicity of nature and mankind this state is represented by the rainy season with its monsoons and storms, but also with its increased fertility and abundance in desirable things.²

"There is absolute agreement in all the tribes as to the belief that Biliku is angry and sends bad weather when beeswax is melted or burnt. The season of honey is the hot season from February to May. During the rainy season scarcely any honey is found and that only of the inferior (black) variety. It is clear therefore that honey belongs to the Biliku portion of the year. During the hot season honey is abundant and large quantities are collected. As the natives make use of the wax and as this is useless before it has been melted, this is the special season of the melting of beeswax. At the beginning of the season the Biliku wind blows clamly from north-north-east. As the season draws to a close the wind becomes variable, uncertain, and in some years violent storms occur ushering in the rains of the south-west monsoon. Year after year the wax-melting season comes to a close in stormy weather. Now stormy weather and the anger of Biliku are for the Andamanese identical; to say then, that the anger of Biliku follows the melting of beeswax is in a sense simply a statement of actual observable fact.

"Among all the foods of the cool and hot seasons only those are intimately connected with Biliku which begin to be available during the Kimil season. Thus for instance the yams and other edible roots are not found at all in the rainy season but

¹ Brown: *op. cit.*, 267.

² Cf. Man: *l.c.*, 347.

the tubers begin to form in the Kimil season October, November, and small quantities of food begin to be available at that time. By the time the cool season has set in the roots become abundant and they continue to be found until well on into the hot season.

"All these roots are regarded as being specially connected with Biliku and are spoken of as her foods. The same thing applies to the *Caryota sobolifera* of which the pith is eaten either raw or cooked. The pith begins to form in the Kimil season and this highly prized food is available right through the cool season. The fruit of the *Cycas* which is another of those belonging to Biliku also begins to ripen at the beginning of the cool weather. As regards the *Entada scandens*, Kurz in his *Burmese Flora* mentions it as seeding in the 'cold season'. Thus it is seen that the vegetable foods associated with Biliku are those that begin to be available for food during the kimil season and are abundant during the cool season. Now the Kimil season which is really the opening of the N.E. or Biliku monsoon is the season at which cyclonic storms are likely to occur. Year after year as these foods begin to ripen and to be eaten the islands are visited with stormy-weather, sometimes of exceptional violence. When the Andaman Islander says that the stormy weather which is the sign of the anger of Biliku follows the digging up of yams and the cutting down of the *Caryota* palm or the gathering of the seeds of the *Cycas* or *Entada*, he is stating what is an actual fact."¹ As for the cicada the grub is eaten at the Kimil season and at no other time of the year and the cicada is not seen or heard during the fine weather (December to March). It probably makes its reappearance just at the period of the stormy weather that ushers in the rainy season. Similarly it does not disappear until after the end of the stormy period of the Kimil season. Thus the cicada is definitely associated with the part of the year including the rainy season at its beginning and end.²

The meteorological theory in Andamanese religion and

¹ Brown: *op. cit.*, 357-359.

² Brown: *op. cit.*, 360, 361.

myth is worked out to its logical conclusion by Professor Brown. No doubt that this view is fully justified. It explains a local religion by local conditions, and if we limit our efforts to the task of explaining the present, the conscious and the functional aspect of myth and religion, we may rest content with this explanation. But if we remember that geographical contiguity and formal agreement prove the connection between Andamanese and other Indonesian punishment tales in which the crime punished by the Thunder-beings is incest, that Kari—the Semang equivalent of Puluga-Biliku—only wields his thunder weapon to punish the crime of incest, that the Lizard who figures as protagonist of the ancestors in these myths is also the hero of the sun-liberation dance on the one hand and the person who sticks to the tree on the other, and that in the nonAndamanese variants (Japanese and Batak) of these myths the point in the story is again incest and its tragic consequences, I think nobody can accuse us of a psychoanalytic *a priori* if we attribute the importance of these food taboos to a displacement of the incest-complex. The substitution of the oral zone for the genital is a universally human type of regression, while the association of certain foodstuffs with the stormy period is a specifically local Andamanese development correctly explained by local circumstances.

“Kimil” means two periods. On the one hand it refers to the stormy or Biliku period of the year and on the other to the “stormy” period of puberty in human life. The puberty ceremonies of the Andamanese are of an extremely simple structure. As in the case of certain tribes of Southeast Australia the rites consist merely in a prolonged fast or rather abstinence from some special kinds of food followed by a liberation ceremony. Now if we consider that the real “liberation” attained by a puberty ritual is always the liberation of sexual life, while, on the other hand, it also involves a break with infantile sexuality and with the trends directed towards the mother, it is not difficult to observe that here again *displacement upwards* is the key to the meaning of the ceremony.

In the case of the girl the ceremony takes place on the

occasion of her first menstrual discharge. Almost as if he had deliberately set out to give an example and provide a proof of what we mean by "displacement upwards", A. R. Brown writes in this connection:

"According to the account given by one informant I gathered that the girl's first menstrual discharge is supposed to be due to sexual intercourse. The man's breath goes into her nose and this produces the discharge.¹

"During the period that a boy or girl is aka-op (in the process of initiation) he or she is required by the customs of the tribe to abstain from eating certain foods. The exact rules in this matter differ from tribe to tribe. More particularly there are important differences between the coast-dwellers on the one hand and the jungle-dwellers on the other. The general principle, however, is in all cases the same. The boy (or girl) must abstain from all the chief foods of the people, and since he could not abstain from them all at one time without starving he takes them in turn ² . . ."

After a certain period of abstention he is permitted to eat the particular food. On each occasion of thus eating a food for the first time after the abstention there are certain ritual customs that must be observed and these customs are more important in some cases (such as pig, turtle and honey) than in others. In the case of some of the foods the only ritual observed is that the food must be given by an older man and that the man must be painted afterwards with clay.³ The same ritual is carried out in a more elaborate manner in connection with the more important articles of diet such as turtle, etc.⁴ Now clay has a definite symbolic meaning in Andamanese thought: a newly born child is given a coating of clay.⁵ A specific type of clay plays an important part in one of their creation myths.

¹ Brown: *l.c.*, 94.

² Brown: *op. cit.*, 95.

³ Brown: *l.c.*, 97.

⁴ Brown: *l.c.*, 97-106.

⁵ Brown: *l.c.*, 90.

According to the Akar-Bo the first man, *Jutpu*, was born inside the joint of a big bamboo, just like a bird in an egg. He was a little child. When he grew bigger he scarified himself (i.e., passed through the initiation ceremonies). But he was lonely and lived all by himself. He took some clay (*kot*) from the nest of the white ants and moulded it into the shape of a woman. She became alive and became his wife. She was called *Kot*. Afterwards *Jutpu* made other people out of clay and these were the ancestors. He taught them how to make canoes and bows and arrows and his wife taught the women how to make baskets and nets and how to use clay for making patterns on the body.¹

The essential point is not only a definite association between clay and the female sex (clay patterns made by woman, first woman is clay, human beings fashioned out of clay), but also the occurrence of the clay-woman at the same period of life (puberty) at which the clay coating is employed today.

The Aka-Jeru have the following version: "The first man came out of the buttress of a *poico* (*Sterculia*) tree and was called *Poicotobut* (*Sterculia* buttress). He had no wife, so he cohabited with an ants'-nest (*kot*) and thus obtained a large number of children." According to a second version told by the same tribe: "Tarai (the south-west monsoon) was the first man. His wife was *Kot* (clay woman). Their children were Sky, Wind, Storm and Foam."²

Initiation ceremonies have a twofold aspect. On the one hand, they separate the initiate from the mother and, on the other, they open the way to the wife. Frequently, however, they offer a symbolic substitute for the mother; for instance, in Australia the tooth or severed foreskin is put into a tree, the tree being a mother-symbol. The substitute given by the Andaman pygmy is clay, for clay is the first woman, the mother, the wife of the First Man or Father who is represented by the old man in the liberation ceremony. It is as if the ceremony began by emphasizing the function of psychic inhibition (*fast*),

¹ Brown: *op. cit.*, 192.

² Brown: *op. cit.*, 192, 193.

and concluded by pointing out the possibility of retaining "the best food", the latent desires in the unconscious in the form of symbols, substitutes or sublimations.

However, the "best food" is regularly brought into connection with Biliku. "It may be noted that these beliefs about Biliku give an expression of the social value of honey and beeswax and of vegetable food such as yams. The Andaman Islands provide few fruits containing natural sugar. Yet the natives are inordinately fond of sweet things, they greatly enjoy the sugar that they now obtain from the Settlement of Port Blair. Honey which was almost their only sweet food in former times was therefore very greatly valued. Apart from the yams and other foods associated with Biliku there are very few productions of the Andamans containing starch in a palatable form. To the native who has been living during the rainy season almost entirely on meat and fish, the starchy foods of the stormy season (yams, Caryota, etc.) are of great value and they are very highly prized. Thus the foods associated with Biliku all have a high value."¹

On the other hand, however, the myths prove the identity of the female Biliku with the mother imago, the first ancestress; for the wife of the first man is the Clay Woman, and the Clay Woman's husband, the first man, is Tarai, who is also regarded as the husband of Biliku. Biliku and the food she eats; Biliku and clay; Biliku, the desired, the danger and the protection against danger,—all go back to one and the same root in the unconscious, namely, to the beloved, powerful, dangerous and protecting mother of infancy.

Mythologically the conclusion we arrive at is that the female thunder-being Biliku owes her existence to a condensation of the Sky-Father Puluga and the Clay-Woman or Mother Earth. The blood sacrifice of the Semang begins by pouring some blood upon the earth. This is for Manod, Karei's wife, the goddess who dwells in the earth with her daughter (cf. Biliku's

¹ Brown: *op. cit.*, 363. As for the association between turtle and Puluga-Biliku, cf. the legends given above. Puluga is offended if a pig is badly quartered. Man: *op. cit.*, 158.

daughter). After this performance the natives cast the blood towards the storm and then to the four winds.¹ (Winds as *Biliks*, children of Biliku.)

The function of Biliku as a mother-goddess also explains the sometimes equal but mostly subordinate rôle played by the other wind and storm being, Terai. Father Schmidt throws some light on the meaning of this name: "I must emphasize the similarity of the word Daria (Tarai, etc.) to the words used for the new Moon: *Bea* (Ógar=moon) *dére-ka-da*, *Bale Ógár-li-daré-ka Puchikwar* Puki (Moon) *tire-da*, *Juwoi*, Pukui (Moon) *t're likile Kol*, *Puki ter-t'reche*." He then adds that "dereka, tire" means "child, baby".² The new moon is called "dula-e-tire", i.e., "baby moon", "e-tire" denoting the young offspring of an animal or a human being.³

This is a remarkable proof for lunar origins. The word for moon is Ogar or Puki, and this has nothing whatever to do with Tarai. The connection is with the adjective, a stem meaning offspring. Now we understand the nature of the divine group consisting of Biliku and Tarai, Mother and Child, and it is of course no surprise for the psychoanalyst to find that Tarai, the Child, is also the Consort of the Mother.

Where sublimation and projection are present there must be ambivalence and conflict. We shall attempt to throw some light on the nature of this conflict by examining the fire-origin myths, especially the part played by Biliku (Puluga) in these myths. According to the Aka-Cari, Biliku had a red stone and a pearl-shell (*be*). She struck them together and made fire, but when she went to sleep Mite, the bronze-winged dove, stole the fire and made one for himself.⁴

In a number of Andamanese fire-myths the pigeon or dove is the bird who steals fire, and like Prometheus takes this valuable gift to humanity from a selfish and grudging deity. Now, a

¹ Schebesta: *Über die Semang auf Malaka*. Anthropos XVIII-XIV, 1004.

² Schmidt: *Puluga, the Supreme Being of the Andamanese*; Man: 1910, 5. Idem: *Pygmäenvölker*, 208.

³ Brown: *op. cit.*, 143.

⁴ Brown: *op. cit.*, 201.

species of pigeon is also believed to be responsible for the birth of babies, bringing their souls from the sacred fig tree.¹ In the Aka-Kol version of Portman, it is *Kolotat* (ebony, the first woman) and Kingfisher who steal the fire from the sleeping Bilik. "Kolotat broke up the charred fire wood and made fire again. They (the people present) became alive. Owing to the fire they became alive."²

If then fire is life, it is comprehensible why the fire-bringer is here as in Aryan mythology also the child-bringer. Then of course the act of producing fire is the act of generation, and it is characteristic of the infantile attitude of these natives that they cannot produce fire themselves but regard the lightning hurled by Father Puluga or Mother Biliku from above as the only source of the fire, which is life.

It is well known to psychoanalysts that the life-giving act is connected with a specific anxiety in human beings. We have not far to go to find traces of this castration anxiety in our fire-origin myths.

"In the days of the ancestors they had no fire. Sir Kingfisher stole the fire while Biliku slept. Biliku hurled the pearl-shell at him and the shell cut his head off. Fire came out of his neck and he became a bird."³

In another version the pearl shell cuts off the bird's wings and tail.⁴ Naturally the nonpsychoanalytic reader may again complain that we are simply applying a ready-made scheme to the Andaman Islanders when we interpret the severed tail, head and wings as the penis. However, we have just quoted the myth in which fire is brought to humanity by Kingfisher and Kolotat. According to an A'Pucikwar legend a man called Kolotat came to live in the A'Pucikwar country. Sir Monitor Lizard caught him and cut off his genitals and made him into a woman. She became his wife and their children were the ancestors.⁵

¹ Brown: *op. cit.*, 91.

² Brown: *op. cit.*, 203.

³ Brown: *l.c.*, 201.

⁴ Brown: *l.c.*, 202.

⁵ Brown: *l.c.*, 194.

Now Kingfisher became a man according to the myth by the loss of his wings¹ and Kolotat a woman by the loss of the penis. Kingfisher and Kolotat are parallel actors in the scene of fire-stealing. There is nothing left for us to say except "Quod erat demonstrandum"!

However, we have already shown in connection with the Lizard myth that the castration-complex of the male is primarily connected with the shell as representing the female genital organ. The pearl shell (Biliku's weapon) and the pinna shell (the one that occurs in the Lizard-castration myth) were the materials used by the Andaman Islanders for manufacturing all sorts of implements.²

"The explanation of lightning as a shell depends not only upon the pearly luster of this kind of shell but also on other features of it. The shell in question is used by women alone and its use is confined to slicing yams and other vegetables in preparing them for food. Its association with Biliku therefore follows from the view of Biliku as female and as being especially associated with yams and other vegetable foods. Granting this fundamental connection, then the brightness of the shell, its keen edge and the way it can be made to skim through the air will explain the statement that lightning is just such a shell thrown by Biliku. In the South Andaman, where Puluga is regarded as male, this belief about the pearl shell would be out of harmony with the rest of the myth and, as we should expect, it is not found. However, the Aka-Bea word for lightning (be-ina; ina is a suffix) suggests that they may have had a similar belief in the past."³

All this shows the strength of the association between the cutting implement, the shell in which the penis gets stuck and the Mother Goddess. In clinical analysis it is found that the castration complex and the anxiety of the boy may be connected either with the father or with the mother. If it is connected with the father the formula would be: "I desire to possess my mother but my father might punish me by

¹ Brown: *l.c.*, 203.

² Brown: *l.c.*, 447.

³ Brown: *op. cit.*, 368.

cutting off my penis." In the other case, the attitude might be described as follows: "I desire my mother, but her penis has been cut off (Kolotat), she has a wound where I have my penis or a shell that cuts, and by having intercourse with her I might suffer a grave loss." In cases where the male appears as castrator the father becomes introjected into the ego and develops into a superego, the representative of all that is powerful and good, in short a high-god in the sense of modern ethnology. But in cases where the castration threat comes from the mother, she may develop into a superego, a goddess of the Biliku type. Now it is pretty evident that in the first case we have the normal or positive œdipus complex, while in the second case, if carried out to its logical consequences, we should have an inverted or negative œdipus complex, that is, an instance of homosexuality. That the negative œdipus complex must be comparatively strong among these pygmy tribes is shown not only by the irascible nature of the Mother-Goddess.¹ The Semang, the continental cousins of the Andaman Islanders, have a seemingly purely male thunder-god, Kari, mentioned above in connection with the punishment tales. Nevertheless, we are told that the posture of the mother at birth is said to be imitated from that of Kari and the sloping tree is the tree against which he leans. The cutting of the notches signalizes the arrival on earth of a new human being, since it is thus that Kari registers the souls that he has sent forth.²

It is evident that the father god of these tribes is also a mother and gives birth to the soul instead of procreating it. But even here it would be a mistake to overestimate the strength of the negative œdipus complex or even to give it equal weight with the positive complex. Even among the tribes where Biliku the goddess occupies a very important position she is never regarded as the equal of Puluga, the god. She is an irascible being who, like the mother, provides them

¹ Cf. the vaginal castration symbolism of the net, the hole and the spider in connection with Biliku. Brown: *op. cit.*, 373.

² Vaughan Stevens: *l.c.*, 113; Skeat and Blagden: *l.c.* II, 4.

with good food but is of a fickle and dangerous female temperament. Puluga in the south is, as the father should be, a true creator god, an ego ideal, a representative of sublimation. Yet even the fact that he lives with a couple of wives and a large family, all except the eldest¹ being girls,² shows that he is a lineal descendant of the polygamous father or the jealous sire of the cyclopean family and that his moral qualities are merely compensations of the feeling of guilt that remained in his children, the ancestors, after having killed him and exalted him into a celestial being.

Some psychoanalysts incline to the view that in the life of the individual the castration complex is first connected with the mother and only then with the father. It seems, therefore, that in this case there is a difference between phylo- and ontogenesis, meaning by phylogenesis only the development of the human race.³ If we can rely on Father Schmidt's argument for the primitiveness of the South Andamans and on our own comparison of the central mythological episode with the punishment tales, the conclusion is inevitable, that the original starting point of a pygmy high-god is the sublimation of the œdipal conflict as it was fought out in the primal horde.

The North Andamans, with their storm-goddess and their divine hierarchy consisting of mother and her child, represent an attempt to evade the real problem or to counterbalance the tragic strain of the positive œdipal conflict by psychic forces derived from the negative œdipus attitude. Whether this is due to foreign influence, as Father Schmidt supposes, is another question. At any rate the birth posture of the Semang father-god Kari shows that this foreign influence can have been super-

¹ A representative of the rebellious brother horde.

² Man: *op. cit.*, 158.

³ This view and Haeckel's law may still be both valid if we suppose that in phylogenesis the castration anxiety was connected with the female at an even earlier (prehuman) phase of development and that it is this phase that corresponds to the maternal castration in the individual. The Southern Slavs tell the story of a boy who always desired to have intercourse with his aunt. She put the head of a pike into her vagina and squeezed his penis so hard that after this he did not dare to approach his wife. Krauss: *Anthropophyteia* I, 250.

added to preëxisting elements only in the unconscious of these pygmies.

Father Schmidt has presented certain ideas about the psyche of these dwarf races, and though his picture is exaggerated, it would be going too far to regard it as nothing more than mere fantasy. There must be something in the nature of these pygmy tribes which lends itself readily to idealization of a certain type, and which distinguishes them, in a certain measure, from other primitive tribes, such as the Australians. For instance all those who have come into personal touch with these tribes mention their monogamous sexual life.

The Wambutti on the Iture are scandalized at the idea of one man having several wives.¹ Nevill wrote about the Veddas in 1887: "The Væddas marry young and are strict monogamists. Consequently the husband and wife are watchfully jealous, each of the other, and love intrigues are few and far between. Nothing short of murder would content the injured party."²

"The Semang are, as far as I could learn, habitually monogamists and I failed to obtain any sort of evidence in favor of the statement that has been more than once advanced, viz., their women were in common like other property. This idea of the laxity of the marriage-tie among the Negritos may possibly arise from the great antenuptial freedom which appears to be allowed but there is every reason to believe that when once married the Semang of both sexes are in the highest degree faithful to each other and that cases of unfaithfulness are exceedingly rare."³ Their marriages seem to be very good marriages, and the attachment between husband and wife is very strong.⁴ The family, that is, the permanent union of one man to one woman, is of fundamental importance in the social organization of the Andamanese.⁵ Man probably exag-

¹ David: *Globus* LXXXVI, 1904. P. 196.

² Nevill: *Tapronabian* I, 178, 1887. Quoted by Seligman: *The Veddas*, 1911. P. 96.

³ Skeat and Blagden: *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* II, 56, 1906.

⁴ Schebesta: *Über die Semang auf Malakka*. *Anthropos* XVIII-XX, 1909.

⁵ Brown: *l.c.*, 70.

gerates the morality of these islanders a little when he tells us that "marriage is not regarded as a merely temporary arrangement, to be set aside at the will of either party. No incompatibility of temper or other cause is allowed to dissolve the union; and while bigamy, polygamy, polyandry, and divorce are unknown, conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception but the rule".¹ The exaggeration seems to lie in the great stress laid on absolute conjugal fidelity. "One piece of evidence in this matter is that the spread of syphilis, when it was first introduced among them, seems to have been very rapid, and yet this was before many of the tribes had been affected by the Settlement".²

In any endeavor to understand the unconscious significance of an institution it is usually the shortest cut to examine its ceremonial aspects. The outstanding feature of marriage ceremonies among all races, and practically the only feature among the pygmies, is commensality, the eating together of man and wife. A Kubu marriage ceremony consists in eating rice together. The girl stuffs a few mouthfuls into the mouth of her bridegroom and then the man does the same to her.³ Among the Sakais the betrothed parties eat rice together out of the same dish and the little finger of the right hand of the man is joined to that of the left hand of the woman. Malays and Burmese have the same custom.⁴ Among the Northern Baining marriage becomes valid when the betel-nut has been distributed⁵ and frequently the marriage ceremony consists in breaking a coconut over the heads of the pair and pouring the milk over them.⁶ In Ceram the bride eats a male opossum and the bridegroom a female.⁷

We take it for granted that our ceremonies are based on our individual experience. Now there is one prototype in the

¹ Man: *op. cit.*, *Journ.* XII, 135.

² Brown: *l.c.*, 71.

³ Hagen, B.: *Die Orang Kubu auf Sumatra*. Veröffentl. A. Städt. Völker museums Frankfurt am Main II, 131, 1908.

⁴ Skeat and Blagden: *l.c.*, II, 62.

⁵ Burger, F.: *Die Küsten und Bergvölker der Gazellehalbinsel*, 1913. P. 55.

⁶ Cf. Crawley: *The Mystic Rose*, 1902. P. 378.

⁷ Crawley: *l.c.*, 379.

life-history of every human being to the relation with a woman through the medium of food, and this is the nursing period when the infant derives his nourishment from the mother's breast. It seems therefore that the key to the institution of monogamy is the infantile fixation on one woman, the mother, and that the eating ritual emphasizes the function of the wife as a second mother.

The Bánaro have the same word for mother and wife. Besides this, they have the institution of "spirit-husbands". A woman has intercourse with her "spirit-husband" before she is handed over to her real human husband. The part of the spirit used to be acted by the father-in-law, and therefore a young man regularly married a woman who had first had intercourse with his own father.¹ That such a woman must be regarded as a sort of second mother is quite evident, especially if we consider that at Santa Cruz a man and a woman who may marry address each other by terms which mean child and mother.² In Isabel, the maternal function of the woman who gives food to a man is still nearer to the level of consciousness, for accepting food from a woman constitutes a marriage prohibition.³ If eating with a woman means the revival of the infantile love to the mother, it is easy to understand why in Brittany a newly married girl makes an incision under her left breast and the bridegroom applies his lips to the incision and sucks her blood.⁴

We therefore hold the view that the prevalence of monogamy is due to the strength of the mother fixation, and the notion of a man who loves one woman is based on the attitude of the child to his mother. This interpretation is fully borne out by observations on the higher mammals. Male and female remain close to each other till the young are completely weaned from the care of the mother.⁵ In his second infancy the male

¹ Thurnwald: *Bánaro*. P. 96.

² Rivers: *History I*, 223.

³ Rivers: *History I*, 256.

⁴ Conybeare, F. C.: *A Brittany Marriage Custom*. Folk-Lore XVIII, 448.

⁵ Hesse-Doflein: *Tierbau und Tierleben II*, 470, 692, 1914. Alverdes: *Tiersoziologie*, 1925. P. 42.

identifies himself psychically with his own progeny; and while in some species the ferocious father attacks his own children, in these cases he protects them, provides for them and behaves like a good father. In the durable monogamous union we have a revival of the infantile trinity—father, mother, child. It is a trinity and a unity. First there is the fixation of the male to his wife through the identification with his son, for by means of this identification the wife becomes a copy of the original object, a second mother. Then there is the identification of the mother with the daughter, her maternal function in her relation to the son and to her husband, and finally the recovery of her father-object in her son and in her husband. From the son's point of view the unity consists in the trend of the libido towards the mother and the origin of the ego-ideal from the father. This aspect of the family as a trinity has been duly emphasized by Radcliffe-Brown in a recent paper.

Lyons points out that the ritual of Murua suggests that the natives of that island regard "the incidence of childbirth as being something in the nature of a welding of personalities—in other words a trinity of father, mother, child. . . . The Murua ritual shows that there, as in many other societies—as, for example, in the Andaman Islands—the family does not really exist as a properly constituted group until the birth of the first child. The relationship between husband and wife is one that is not simply created by marriage but does not exist in its complete form until a child has been born, and is an indirect relationship through the child or children. This conception is illustrated by the custom of teknonymy, by which one of the spouses addresses the other spouse only as 'mother of' or 'father of' the child. . . . It is only the first child who counts. First because as soon as one child is born the trinity is complete. Secondly because the children of one family are conceived in primitive societies as being as it were multiples of a single personality differentiated only by sex and the order of birth. . . . It has not been sufficiently noted, I think, that this conception of the family as a trinity exists even among polygynous people. There are two ways

in which the institution of polygyny is reconciled with this conception of the family. One is to regard the wives of the same husband as being merely multiples of one personality. This is of course much easier if they are sisters and we here see the function of the sororate in the Australian form where a man marries two or more sisters—where in fact marriage with the eldest of a number of sisters gives him the right to marry all the others.” . . . The other method is to separate the polygynous households into a number of units (houses) each with a wife and her children, the units being held together by having a husband in common.¹ We therefore believe that the prolonged infancy of the human species is connected with a strong mother fixation² and that it explains some specific features in human evolution.

We have been trying to explain the nature of monogamy as an institution and have found that the infantile situation is the key to the solution. Is there any evidence in the behavior of our pygmies to show that this is the real meaning of their monogamous habits and conjugal fidelity? Among the Andaman Islanders “a marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth of a child. Man states that the survivor of a childless couple is not looked upon as the chief mourner. A father who has been away from home greets his wife first on his return and then greets his other relatives; but if no child has been born to him, a husband first greets his blood-relatives and only after that does he visit his wife”.³

While this indicates the importance of the child in completing the couple, a feature which, according to our explanation, is due to the tendency of the male to identify himself with his child and invest the wife with the attributes of his own mother,

¹ Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.: *Father, Mother, Child*. Man, 1926. Pp. 103.

² Cf. partly the same arguments in my paper *Urformen und Wandlungen der Ehe*, in Marcuse: *Die Ehe*, 1927. Pp. 36–38. The Southern Slavs relate the story of the young husband who was so inexperienced that he could not find the vagina. When he finds it his first impulse is to do the same thing with his mother. Here we have prolonged infancy and the œdipus complex. Krauss, F. S.: *Anthropolyteia* I, 240.

³ Brown: *l.c.*, 71.

the marriage ceremony contains direct evidence for the distinctly infantile attitude of the husband towards his wife.

"One of the older and more respected men addresses the bride, telling her that she must make a good wife, must provide for her husband such things as it is the duty of a wife to obtain or make, must see that he does not run after other women and must herself remain faithful to him. He then addresses the bridegroom to the same effect and taking him by the hand or arm leads him to where the bride is seated and makes him sit down beside her. The shyness of the young man is such that he often attempts to run away but he is caught by his friends who are prepared for such an attempt. After some minutes the officiating elder takes the arms of the bride and bridegroom and places them around each other's necks. After a further interval he again approaches and makes *the bridegroom sit on the bride's lap*. When a husband and wife greet one another the man sits on the lap of the wife." ¹

If therefore we can really rely on Father Schmidt's opinion, which makes monogamy the form of marriage characteristic of the pygmies as a race, we might regard this a symptom of their general psychical infantilism, a result that tallies well with anthropological observations on their physical status.

¹ Brown: *l.c.*, 74.

CHAPTER II

THE EMU-FOOTED ALTJIRA AND OTHER SKY BEINGS IN CENTRAL AUSTRALIA

The first chapter of this paper was written before I had done any field work and was delivered as a paper at the International Psychoanalytical Congress at Innsbruck (1927). Since that time I have made the acquaintance of various peoples and of some so-called "high-gods". But it is not my intention to deal with them all at present. We will limit ourselves to the beliefs of the most primitive representatives of mankind. I know very well that many anthropologists, especially in Germany and Austria, would not regard the Central Australians as primitive in the same sense that they use this adjective in connection with the pygmy tribes. I do not wish to discuss this question here but I hope that even my probable critics will admit that these tribes are primitive as compared to agricultural people and also that after the work of Spencer, Gillen, Strehlow and my own work in this area we know much more about them than about any other nonagricultural tribe. We shall therefore be able to examine these supernatural beings in their cultural setting, in connection with the general psychology of the people who believe in them.

Another difference between the first and the second chapter lies in the changed point of view I have adopted following my field work. While the greater part of psychoanalytical anthropology, Freud's own work, as well as that of his followers, including my own, was concerned with prehistoric speculations (primal horde), my field work has demonstrated for me the predominant importance of ontogenesis, to such an extent that I now hold that practically all the actually functioning forms of social organization, belief or custom have their root in the infantile situation and ought to be first considered in connection with the personal experiences, desires and

anxieties of the people who conform to them, believe in them, or practise them.

It is necessary, therefore, to begin with a consideration of the child-parent relation as revealed by recent analytical work. I shall begin with some clinical material of my own. The patient whose dreams we shall analyze is a young man of exceptional intelligence who is suffering from various forms of anxiety.

1. "I am a little boy and I am sitting between two old people. They are either both men or both women, I don't know which. They are both blind, with a lot of grey hair. I am telling them stories."

The grey hair is a recurring feature of the last few hours. It appears as a vision, and also in several dreams. The patient associates it with the beard of a goat, with the fluffy white hair of a spaniel, and then he sees it growing on a woman's face. The vision takes another shape; that of a solemn old monkey with a grey beard. This reminds him of a picture in a magazine, an old monkey rocking on a branch and calmly taking a banana out of the hands of a young monkey. Then another picture of the old monkey hugging the female and turning the head of the young monkey away. The attitude of the old monkey reminds him of my attitude in analysis, for he looks at the young monkey with a kind of stolid indifference. "The child is telling stories" is equivalent to the patient's own infantile reminiscences in analysis. Then he goes back to the white hair. It reminds him of a couple of dogs whom he saw copulating at a fair. The theme of "eyes" leads to spectacles (the spectacles of the analyst and of the mother), and then to the penetrating gaze of the mother and of the father. The dream symbolizes analysis itself as the retelling of an old tale, the narrative of infancy, of what the primal scene situation meant for the child.

2. (a) "My mother is dying. A 'Reizwort' (stimulus-word) is pronounced by someone, and now she really begins to die. She is agonizing, her eyes bulge out, and her aquiline nose stands out in a sharp profile. She makes a peculiar noise."

(b) "I am in a room with a little child. There is a tiger in the room and we both flee to the top of a book-shelf. The room is full of water, and in the water there are all sorts of people like islands. I swim out between them and I am rescued."

The islands remind him of the Pacific Ocean, and of the expedition recently undertaken by myself. People lying about suggest to him a photo in a magazine, about an Australian initiation ceremony. The image of the agonizing mother reminds him of an old woman whom he met in the street; she had a sort of eagle-beak for a nose; she stared at him, and he was frightened because he thought she was a witch. Then he talks about a friend of his, who was making love to a girl because she looked like the analyst's wife. (The friend is also being analyzed.) He caught sight of my wife the other day, and her nose is a bit like the nose of his mother and of the witch. He quotes a saying of Michael Angelo: "How it is that nature has made the genital organs so ugly?" He had the feeling that the two scenes of the dream are in very close connection, that is, he would not have been afraid of the tiger if it had not been for the death-scene. The tiger reminds him of the satirical description of a member of the French Academy in one of the Anatole France's novels. This professor may be called an anthropologist, and he therefore represents myself (the analyst). The satire is a defense against the anxiety which would transform me into a tiger. The peculiar noise made by the mother resembles coitus, the death-scene which one must have witnessed to be a man (initiation) is the primal scene, and the tiger is the analyst-father in the primal scene. The top of the book shelf reminds him of the chamber pot. We can now surmise that the way the infant escaped from the strain imposed on him by the primal scene was through urination.

In both cases, animal symbolism represents not only the parents but actually the parents in coitus. In connection with Michael Angelo's remark about the ugliness of the genitalia he begins to dissect the German word "*hässlich*". It really means "worthy of hate" and only in a secondary sense "ugly". Those who perform coitus (the parents) are "*hässlich*", they are sexual,

wicked, and ugly. In several other dreams and visions of the same patient, animals always signify intercourse. The recurring dream-image of cattle is sometimes put together, as a fusion of two distinct elements in the dream. One of these, the nostrils, is, as shown by the associations, the vagina, while the horn indicates the penis. We have here the union of the two parents in the primal scene or the combined-parent concept elaborated by Ernest Jones.¹ Another patient, a girl of twenty-eight has the fantasy of a woman who exists only from head to waist. Another image is that of a woman with a spider's body; and while the first vision stands for the angels, the second represents the sexual and the wicked. All this throws new light on the concept of ambivalence, the fundamental character of which has always been recognized in psychoanalysis. The moral dualism of good and evil seems somehow to be translatable as the normal and the sexual.

Melanie Klein has recently published the summary of her results in child analysis. Her work and the work of her followers have shed new light on the starting points of ontogenesis. It seems that the child starts in life with an aggressive impulse directed against the mother's body, which, however, either through actually witnessing the parental coitus or through anything that may be interpreted as such, soon comes to mean both father and mother or more specifically "the penis of the father in the mother's body". The penis may of course also mean a child in the womb or faeces, milk, etc., in the mother. Aggression conditions anxiety, the fear of a similar aggression. It is in the light of this anxiety that the parents appear as formidable beings whom the child dreads in proportion to his own aggressiveness, the main anxiety being that the parents will penetrate into the child's body (child into the parents), that they will destroy the body, open it, rob it of its contents, and so on. As this is incompatible with the protective aspect of the parental imagos and with the bond of love between

¹ Jones, Ernest: *The Phallic Phase*. J. Ps-A. XIV, 1933. P. 21.

parents and children, the result is a series of imaginary beings, themselves derivatives, or distorted parental imagos and projective representatives of this anxiety. At a very early phase these parental imagos are more genitalia or other parts of the body than full-fledged personalities (penis, vagina, excrements, etc.), so that, on the one hand, the anxiety objects are what might be termed "impersonal persons" and, on the other hand, their dynamic quality is also independent of personal experience. Their aggressiveness is merely the inverse picture of the child's innate trends. This does not mean that individual experiences (traumata) do not play a dynamically decisive rôle in the development of every specific neurosis, each individual case and every possible form of human culture; but it gives us additional and important information on what may be regarded as the fundamental question, viz., how we became human. The world may become full of symbols of these anxiety objects or libido-cathected objects. The result will be an inhibited, especially a play-inhibited, child; and the work of the child analyst consists essentially in dispelling this anxiety by his interpretations and in restoring or strengthening the belief in "good" objects. In this world of concepts "bad" is essentially identical with destructive and destructible or corrupt, while "good" means hale, indestructible, beautiful, normal, eternal.

How far can we apply these results to our anthropological data? If the results are correct it seems *a priori* probable that they should be applicable to all races, for they refer to a pre-individual and therefore precultural phase of our existence. We have two methods at our disposal, two paths both leading to the same goal. On the one hand, we can demonstrate, through the contrasting function of "good" and "bad" objects, the very results we should expect to get if these infantile mechanisms were also valid for "savage" communities. The other is more direct and more convincing; it is through analytical work with savage children.

I have given some of the results of this work and described the conditions of the work elsewhere. We are among the

Aranda and Ngatatara children at Hermannsburg. The children are too shy to come to me individually and therefore I must be content to work a small group of two boys and two girls. Another difficulty lies in the nature of the primitive child. It is rather uncertain whether the same "patients" will appear for each hour and if one of them is missing they will probably bring another boy or girl instead. Moreover, as I am only an observer and not an analyst in the therapeutic sense of the word, I think it safer to refrain from giving interpretations. But an account of the proceedings will speak for itself.

In the first hour, Nyiki relates an anxiety dream. He was frightened by an erintja (demon) and by a ltana (ghost). His mother threatens him with the erintja. Last night before going to sleep he was angry with his mother and called her a "para takia" (penis erect). The erintja is supposed to carry bad children away and the drawing represents it with an erected penis and a *tana*, the wooden vessel used only by women, and used among other things also for carrying children. In connection with the ghost dream, he mentions that his father died recently.

After this I bring the toys: monkey, goat, snake, trumpet, and mirror. They are all treated as sexual symbols of some kind, playing male and female rôles. Finally a definitely female rôle is assigned to the monkey and a definitely male rôle to the snake. The climax of the game is the snake (Depitarinja) having intercourse with the monkey. The snake is represented by Depitarinja, the monkey by an old woman, his grandmother, who takes care of him instead of his mother, as she is absent. Depitarinja has also dreamt about an erintja, and he stole the old woman's food yesterday. The other children mention a grown-up woman in camp who is Depitarinja's noa (marriageable) and they say he loves her and likes to play with her pretending that he is an erintja who frightens her. They play at poking the monkey's (old woman's) eyes out.

It is clear that the demon represents the dangerous libidinal object. Depitarinja robs the old woman of food (that is, pene-

trates into her body) and takes something out of her inside (cf. poking out the monkey's eyes). She therefore appears as a demon, an object threatening with similar retaliation. This is borne out by Depitarinja "playing the devil" with his lady love. Another time when the subject of Depitarinja's cleptomania is mentioned, the monkey, as representing an erintja woman, steals a girl out of a hut, while at the same time the snake-penis bites a child. In the next scene, it is again the snake who has intercourse with the child (in the womb). The snake bites the monkey because it wants "to take the child away", and finally the monkey is explained as a pregnant woman. The fantasy of a mother (monkey) stealing or marrying a girl who is in an enclosure keeps turning up again, this time in connection with Nyiki's dream in which he saw a couple of erintjas with short legs.

One of the toys I used was a transparent celluloid globe with a toy lizard, fish and other objects moving about within the globe. The play reactions on the 22nd of April, 1929, sufficiently show the underlying idea of penetrating into the mother's body and robbing it of its contents. The first diagnosis regarding the globe is that it is a witchetty-grub, that is, the greatest delicacy in their eyes. The globe, the grandmother (i.e., Depitarinja's grandmother) and the monkey are identified. Nyiki, as the representative of the snake, tries to go into the monkey. A little piece of bark is placed beside the grandmother-monkey; it is a tana (pitchi) in which she carries food (represented by sand). Then the tana is placed under her rectum, and she is defæcating into it. The game culminates in the effort made by all the children to use the snake as a tool by which they can penetrate into the globe or into the monkey.

The collective representatives of these primary infantile trends appear in the lore of demons and magic. As I have pointed out in other works,¹ totemism is not the only nor

¹ Cf. Róheim, Géza: *Psycho-Analysis of Primitive Cultural Types*. International Journal of Psycho-Analysis XIII, 1932; and *A csurunga népe (The People of the Churunga)*, 1932.

probably the most primitive form of religion in Central Australia. The cult of the totemic ancestors is esoteric; that is, it is limited to the adult male part of the tribe. Also it is only efficient from time to time when the scattered groups meet in larger numbers for a ceremonial gathering. But the religion of everyday life and of the whole tribe is the belief in demons, and the active agent in this religion is not the totemic *inkata* (chief) but the medicine man.

Let us begin our visit in demon-land with a glance at the outward shape, at the external appearance of the representatives of the underworld. They either appear in the guise of animals; or if human, there is some monstrosity, something abnormal in their appearance. The *patiri* (Ngatatara) is a demon with long teeth. It goes into the baby with the mother's milk and bites the child from the inside. It steals the child from the mother and the mother cries in vain. The *patiri* looks like a *lukurinja*, an ordinary European cat run wild, and this proves that it is a recent addition to the host of Satan. It is evidently a representative of the mechanisms we are now studying. The child wishes to penetrate into the mother's body through the nipple and it fears retaliation, it fears an agent that destroys its insides through the same medium.

Another cat-demon is the *kukurpa* with long ears, long hair and a body like sand. Therefore it is also called *mantalurpa* (sand-like). There are males, females and babies. The *kukurpa* bites itself right through the human body till it gets into the stomach. A direct representative of infantile aggression is called *tjitji-ngangarpa* (baby-like). It has big eyes, a big nose and a head like a white smooth rock.

Then again we have the reversal of the original position in the demon who feeds on demons. This being is called *mangukurata* (demon-eater) (Pindupi). It eats *kukurpa* demons and babies. It is very thin, shaped like a pole, and it has no anus. Long and thin face, fingers and genital organs are the characteristic features of this being.

Another demon easily demonstrates the libidinal nature of

this aggression against the integrity of the body. It is called *mangu waltalangu* (demon from a friend). A real man grows wings like an eaglehawk and then flies away like a regular devil. But this devil does not penetrate into any body without discrimination; he bites into females only. First he eats the fat part above the vagina, then the vagina itself, and then the whole woman, without paying any attention to forbidden degrees of relationship.

A demon called *tiltilta* (hawk) opens the sleeper's throat, pulls the tongue out and eats it. The *nungari* (lizard) devil bites through the sleeper's navel, pulls the guts out and eats them. Another devil called *mamu walpa kujata* (devil from a bad wind) is a dog that goes into the human body and bites people from the inside. The *mamu tjitjinguampa* (child like devil) does the same. My Matuntara informant (Ikitampi) tells me that he saw a medicine man suck this demon out of a woman and it looked exactly like a child with head, nose and eyes.

The Pitchentara believe in a kind of demon called *mamu nyunguru* (devil evil magic). If a man does not get the woman who has been promised to him and she goes with other men, he cuts his beard and hair and makes a string of it. Then he calls the string by the name of the man or woman whom he wishes to injure. He passes the string to another man then, again to another, to a third. They carry it gliding along on their knees far west to the *mamu piti* (devil hole). Then the last man puts the string into the hole. The string now turns into a dog devil. It goes in through the anus of the sender and comes out again through his mouth. Then the dog devil runs away to a "papa kunpuli", i.e., dog-urinating-place. The dog devil asks the place, where is so and so? The place replies, "There she is a long way off". The dog runs on until it finds a water-hole in the rock where dogs go to drink and urinate. The water tells him, "there he is", and thus he follows the man or the woman for a long way. Finally, he finds the man or the woman, runs straight at him, and bites and kills him or her. In other variants of the same belief reported

by Strehlow this string-demon goes right into the inside of the victim who is to be destroyed by it.

I mention this last representative of the demon tribe as a particularly clear instance of what I am trying to demonstrate, viz., that the demon is the original aggressive-libidinal impulse of the child, the primary phallic attitude, the desire to penetrate into the mother's body. Here a direct genital striving, when balked, reverts to its original oral-sadistic form. Our whole argument becomes still more convincing by a glance at the activity of the medicine man. He is called half a demon or a real demon himself, if he is one of the truly great medicine men, and there are two aspects to his profession. One of them is to project certain substances into the body of people and make them sick. The other is to project these substances into the body with the intention of healing, or to suck them out of the body if projected into it by hostile wizards. There are two main representatives of these magical substances, the pointing bone and the *nankara-stone*. The pointing bone is projected into the victim in a peculiar way. It emerges from the part of the body between the rectum and the penis. The wizard first takes some semen from his penis and throws it into the air. It is transformed into a cloud of sand behind which the wizard hides his identity. Then he takes excrements from the rectum and the same thing happens again. A dangerous object that penetrates into the body coming from between the penis and the rectum, and is introduced by semen and excrements, may therefore well be qualified as an *anal penis*. The invisible *nankara stone* as shown clearly by the dreams of Pukutiwara and the initiation of Pitchentara medicine men is a testicle. These objects are projected into the body either by hostile wizards or demons and removed by means of suction by the *nankara men* of the tribe. We see therefore that the situation of the medicine man corresponds exactly to the infantile situation as described by Melanie Klein and as found by myself among the children of these tribes. It is the oral aggression of the infant trying to penetrate into the mother's body through the nipples with the intention of find-

ing there and destroying the content of the body, a content which corresponds in the unconscious to the father's penis, to the infant in the womb, to *fæces* and milk. The dangerous penis in the mother's body which has to be destroyed may reappear in a sublimated form as the child's own "good" penis, the destructive being then sublimated into a healing impulse.

But this is only by way of introduction. The point to be stressed now is the very archaic or early origin of the concept of good and bad in mankind, the original association of the latter with the sexual sphere and finally the explanation of this association in certain aspects of the infantile situation.

Although sexual life is not regarded as so "bad" among the naked sons and daughters of the desert as it is in civilized society yet the existence of this attitude is undeniable. Words denoting a Don Juan (*tnaputa*) are terms of opprobrium, though of course also of admiration. To talk about another man having a very large penis is a joke, but also an accusation which is indignantly denied. Boys are always talking about the sexual adventures of their friends as if it were something to be ashamed of. A young boy before he is initiated is called a *malpakara*, by which they mean a person always bent on coitus and useless for any other purposes. Moreover, the devils who are really devils in the sense of being destructive agencies, cannibals, the arch enemies of mankind, have always very large genitalia and their sexual appetite is somehow on the same level with their hankering after human flesh. The content of the folk-tale is always the struggle of the hero who is represented as *mara* (*indota*), a word that means just normal, all right, but in its contrast aspect, when compared with the distorted creatures of fantasy, the man-eating demons can also be translated as good or beautiful. If we remember that in this culture area the parents actually do eat their children we can hardly avoid noticing the close association between these gigantic beings of the folk-tale and the infantile anxiety of retribution for the cannibalistic propensities of the child.

Whenever I had been told a dream by one of my informants and I requested him in the manner prescribed by analytic

technique to tell me something about the person occurring in the dream, the typical answer I received in most cases was that the person was "good" (mara) and that he (or she) was always ready to share his or her food with the dreamer. The assumption that all tribe-fellows, in fact all persons they know are good, seems to be the psychological basis of the whole system. One of the important functions of the system of food distribution is to convince each other of this goodness, to assuage the anxiety resulting from the infantile sadistic tendencies. In order to make life with the real parents bearable, they must be divested of their anxiety attributes, and fictive beings must be created as the representatives of these tendencies. Demons exist as a negation of the unconscious tendency to regard human beings (the parents) as cannibals, as beings who desire to penetrate into the human body and there destroy its contents. No human being wishes to do this, only devils. It is probable, as I have shown elsewhere, that the representatives of anxiety are the oldest denizens of the spirit world because their function is to make life and reality bearable. The people whom we know are all good, but there are others, not human beings but alien enemies; and they, on the other hand, are uniformly bad, destructive in their tendencies, and distorted in their outward appearance.

All this is merely by way of introduction to prepare the ground for a psychological understanding of Australian high-gods. It is many years since Andrew Lang first shocked the world of orthodox anthropology by talking of Mungana ngaua Duramulun, Baiamai and other mythical beings as primitive high-gods and attributing a quasi-monotheistic religion to stone-age mankind.¹ The available data on these mythical beings are collected and very elaborately discussed by Father Schmidt. Among those whom he would qualify as primitive high-gods we also find the Altjira iliinka of the Aranda.² Although in accordance with the general *Kulturkreis* scheme

¹ Lang, A.: *The Making of Religion*, 1909. P. 178. Idem: *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, 1906. P. 9.

² Schmidt, W.: *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, 1912. Pp. 124, 398.

of classifying anthropological data, Altjira iliinka can occupy only a subordinate position in comparison to Mungan ngaua and other representatives of the high nobility, Central Australian data being of course "late" in comparison with South Australian, I hope it will be admitted even by Father Schmidt that one can only study these beliefs among the living and not among the dead. The believers in Mungan ngaua are gone and the Aranda are about to follow him, but the Luritja equivalents of these sky beings whose acquaintance we are about to make will long continue to live in the beliefs of the desert tribes. Moreover, I regard the data at my disposal as, after all, differing greatly in quality, quantity and reliability from information gathered from early settlers.

This is what Strehlow tells us about the "high god" of the Aranda: "The Aranda have a supreme good (mara) being called Altjira. He is eternal (ngambakala) and looks like a big, strong, red-skinned man with long fair hair. His feet are like the feet of an emu and therefore his name is altjira iliinka—the emu-footed altjira. He has a white forehead band (tjilara), a necklet (matara) and arm-band (kultja), a girdle made of hair (tjipa) and a pubic tassel (worrapakana). He has many wives, the tneera (beautiful ones). They have dog's feet and are red-skinned. He is surrounded by his sons and daughters, who are all pretty men and women, the former with emu feet and the latter with dog-feet. He lives in the sky (alkira) where he has always been (ngambakala). This is another earth, with a big river (ulpaira, The Milky Way), with tall trees, permanent fresh-water springs, and plenty of fruit and berries. Innumerable birds, kangaroos, and wild cats dwell in the hunting grounds of Altjira. He goes about chasing kargaroos and other game, and his wives gather latjia and other roots. There is plenty of everything in all seasons. The stars are his camp fires.

"Altjira is the good god of the Aranda who is known not only to the men but also to the women. His realm does not go beyond the sky world; he has neither created mankind nor does he care about their welfare. There are no tjurungas

connected with Altjira. They are not afraid of him and they do not love him. Their only anxiety is that the sky might fall down and kill them all." ¹

This description given by Strehlow and afterwards retold to me nearly verbatim by old Renana ² represents the belief of the Finke Aranda, especially at Ndaria.

Tunga, a Henbury Aranda, whose data on other matters (incarnation) are also different from the usual Aranda type, has a slightly different story to tell about Altjira iliinka. He is like a man but with feet like an emu. His wives and daughters have feet like dogs. He went up to the top of a mountain; there he made plenty of grass and water, and then he went up into the sky. The dead go up to him.

When we come to Alice Springs, to the Aranda Tjoritja, represented in this case by Yirramba banga, we hear a very different story. When asked about Altjira iliinka his first remark is that altjira iliinka is very kona (wicked). Then he goes on to tell me that Altjira iliinka lives in an ilta knarra (big house) in the western sky, and that the stars are the campfires of his son. He is an *atua ndurpa* (person real), but has emu feet. His sons are ilia kurka (little emus). His daughters are knulja inka (dog footed). When asked *iwuna knana kala?* (where did he originate?) the answer is *antjua* (nest, i.e., emu's nest), and that therefore the emu's nest is his *knanindja* (origin or totem). But the chief feature about him is his Itapara (obsolete word for tjimbilli), that bunch of pointing sticks which he carries under his elbow. He has no tjurunga only arunkulta (evil magic). Then again he contradicts himself and says that Altjira iliinka has many stone tjurunga. He is the greatest of ngankara men and has more ngankara stones than anybody else. Altjira iliinka kills people whom he does not like with the pointing bone. He makes men "crazy", takes them away, makes them lie down and then sticks their body full of nankara stones; that is, he initiates them as medi-

¹ Strehlow: *Die Aranda und Loritjastämme* I, 1, 2, 1907.

² Renana, Wapiti, Moses, with whom I used to discuss matters, were Strehlow's informants.

cine men. He made a lot of talkara, churunga (stone churunga) chimbili and patta arunkulta (stones full of poison or evil magic). The patta arunkulta are explained by Yirramba as being like the chimbili only made of stone and he says that the Ilpirra (northern neighbors of the Aranda) have this kind of magical implement. He put arunkulta into the tnyelinga-bush and also into the aranguia-bush. These two are regarded as great arunkulta. He is not regarded as immortal; old Yirramba thought Altjira iliinka might die some day like everybody else, if somebody killed him with a pointing bone. He is essentially "aknara", i.e., "cheeky", "wild", and certainly not good. When he had finished his stay on earth he sat down in a cave and went up into the sky in the shape of smoke. In the sky he goes about like a ruba-ruba (whirlwind). He sometimes comes down, but nobody can see him. Nobody knows where he knanakala (originated). He went up with his wives and children.

If we are trying to write from a psychological point of view about primitive concepts, we must first learn to "think black"; that is, in this case to listen to Aranda words with an Aranda ear. The fact that according to the western Aranda, Altjira iliinka is *mara* (good, pretty, normal) does not make him a morally good being in the monotheistic or civilized sense of that term. He belongs to the same category as others who are also *mara*, that is, all tribes-fellows and especially all folk-tale heroes. The latter are all *mara*, and their wives, exactly like the wives of our sky-beings, are *tneera*. The whole description is just that of an idealized Aranda and even the fair hair cannot be regarded as a solar attribute, for fair hair is not infrequent among the natives of Central Australia and is sometimes attributed to their supernatural beings.

"Mara" is not "good" in the Christian sense nor is "ngambakala" endowed with the mystic halo we feel when confronted with a word like eternal. It is not metaphysical, it can be applied to a demon as well as to anything else, and it simply means something or somebody for whom there is no

origin legend. The tendency to form such a legend is already visible in connection with the emu-feet of this being; his children are little emus and he sprung from an emu's nest. But the essential thing in the whole description is that he is a normal undeformed, nondemoniac being.

The demon and the medicine man are birds of a feather. We have good reason to be puzzled if we compare the essentially mara (good) Altjira iliinka of the western Aranda to the essentially erintja or aknara (demon or evil, destructive) being of the Tchoritcha Aranda. The reference to the magic implement of the Ilpirra indicates that this is also the creed of the northern section of the tribe and of their Ilpirra neighbors. In his eastern aspect Altjira iliinka looks very much like certain sky-beings of the Binbinga, Anula and Mara on the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria. "The Bimbinga believe that the sky is inhabited by two spirits called Mundagadji, who are ill-disposed towards the natives. Their bodies are covered with fine white down and instead of arms they have knives. They are always anxious to come down and kill and eat some black fellow, but are constantly prevented from doing so by a friendly spirit called Ulurkura, who lives in the woods and watches for the coming of the Mundagadji and stops them. When a man dies the Mundagadji can always be heard singing up in the sky and all three spirits can be seen by the medicine men.

"The Mara have a very similar belief in two unfriendly spirits called Minungara who live in the sky. It is they who make doctors, but at the same time, if a man falls ill, they are always anxious to come down and kill him but are prevented from doing so by a friendly spirit called Mumpani, who lives in the woods and prevents the unfriendly ones from doing harm. The Minungara, like the Mundagadji of the Binbinga, have knives instead of arms. The Anula have sky spirits called Gnabaia but these are regarded as originating at a certain spot on earth on the Robinson River. They try to kill people but there is a third Gnabaia in the woods and he tries to prevent

them from doing this. The medicine man can see the Gnabaia.”¹

How can we reconcile this contrast? For one thing we must point out that both the evil and the good spiritual beings belong to the “folk-tale, demon, medicine-man” cycle, and as such must be distinguished from the ancestral cycle. All evil beings are of abnormal, deformed appearance, whether they have knives instead of arms or emu feet instead of human feet. Therefore the original “mara” quality of Altjira iliinka is open to doubt and the fact that these sky-beings have emu and dog feet reminds us significantly of the prominence of the emu and the dog in the demon world and as bogies of the desert nursery.²

Passing on to the western neighbors of the Aranda we find that the figure of this emu-footed sky-being gains considerably in importance and interest. The Ngatatara have not got the belief in the form reported by Strehlow.³ But among the Apata ngurara (from Apata place or Merino people) we find this sky-being in the position of the God of the Mysteries and

¹ Spencer and Gillen: *The Northwest Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904. Pp. 501, 502.

² The projection of civilized monotheistic concepts into primitive beliefs is sometimes difficult to avoid. One is inclined to find what one expects. Basedow writes: “The Supreme Being is called by the Arundta Altjerra. The benign Altjerra roams about the sky and keeps a watchful eye on the doings of the tribes beneath him. The natives are so convinced of his ubiquitous presence that the Arundta, for instance, have a favorite exclamation when committing themselves on oath in the form of ‘Altjerrim arrum’, meaning something like ‘Altjerra hear it’, that is an appeal made to Altjerra as witness to what is said, much after the way a school child endeavors to convince one of the truth of an utterance by exclaiming ‘God strike me dead if I tell a lie.’” (Basedow: *The Australian Aboriginal*, 1925. P. 295.) The saying quoted by Basedow is known only to Mission natives, and is due to the direct influence of the Mission school. What Basedow regards as a parallel is really the original form of the saying. The Altjera in question is not the Altjirra iliinka of old mythology, but the Altjirra or God of the Aranda Bible. Altjirra iliinka is certainly neither omniscient nor ubiquitous, nor does he care about the doings of the natives.

³ The data about Tukura are translations into Luritja of Aranda beliefs. Cf. Strehlow: *l.c.*, II, 2, 3, 1908. Their Luritja character was denied by my best informants, some of whom (Wapiti, Moses) were also Strehlow’s sources of information.

in general with much more "divinity" about him than in any of the Aranda subgroups. His myth is closely linked up with the Milky Way. The Mirrawari (Milky Way) is a very big kuntanka (churunga, but in this case in a more generalized way, any mysterious object). It is ngallunga (supreme mystery of initiation) for everybody. This is part of the esoteric creed or in the words of my informant, "they tell this at the rukuta camp": "Very many maliara went up to the sky and the stars of the Mirrawari are their girls. The Milky Way is the ngurra puntu of these maliara. Up there there is a kutu manta (eternal earth) were maliara tuta ankungaringu (maliara all asleep) katura (the father) nyinangu (sat down) ngurra (place) palurunu tunka (his) tina (old man), paluru (he) talilkatingu (lifted up), punapiti (big water-vessel) kapitara (with the water), paluru (he), kulpajanu (takes it), ngurra puntu (place big), nakula (he sees), puna (water vessel), paluna (this one) ngaratunu (he puts down), puna (pitchi), paluna (this), taro-waningu (he turns over), warutani (fire stick), mantjinu (he has), jankula kalanu (he goes and lights it), kalara (having lit it), ngalakulpangu (he comes back), nuranka (there), nyinakatingu (he sits down). Maliara tuta (many maliara), ankuta (asleep), pakaranangu (they awake and see it), waru (fire), pujungarantala (smoking up), tana (they), warata (in a row), kulpangu (go), nguranka (at the place), nyinakatingu (they remain), kuta (always)."

My informants insisted that I should write this tradition verbatim, because of its supreme importance. The story itself is simple enough. It is an explanation of the Milky Way. There were many maliara up there and they had a father called Ulparalkirilkiri (toes feet rough). He took a huge pitchi full of water and turned it over. He also had a fire-stick which he lit and the smoke went up. The novices awoke, saw this, and there they remained always with their father. Ulparalkirilkiri is a tukurpa like all others but he and his maliara originated up there on the eternal earth and out of their own anangu (body) they did not kuntankaringu (turn into churunga) but remain always the same. He is a real kuninjatu (beautiful

man) like the folk-tale heroes, and so are his maliara. At the camp of the initiates they sing the following song:

Yalnakuna	kantura
<i>They go away</i>	<i>stamping on the ground</i>
Kirilkiri	kantura
<i>Rough foot</i>	<i>stamping on the ground</i>
Tukalpa	kuleringina
<i>Wooden Trough</i>	<i>moving about</i>

The song is esoteric, unknown to women and they only sing it at the amboanta (initiation ground) for the tatata (neophytes). Ulparalkirilkiri is known to the women also. My informants who were acquainted with Mission ways, said this song was "like singing to God". We can trace the same supernatural being to the Yumu, Pindupi and pitchentara. The Yumu and Pindupi call him Tjina papanguampa or Tjina papanpirimpa (Foot Dog Like). He lives up there with his sons the maliara who are also Tjina papanguampa. He has a tjilara (head band), a mulalkiri (nose-bone) and in general the appearance of a native but he is very beautiful with fair hair. His wife has also fair hair and he has a big pitchi. These sky-beings are better than the people living on earth. They come down to help the hunter and to give him a spear when he needs one. There is no song and no myth about them, which means that they stand apart from the ancestral and churunga cult. Tjina papanpirimpa first had both feet like a man, then he broke them and dog's feet came out. He is always showing his foot and shaking it. There is a big crowd of Tjina papanpirimpa up there, and all shook their feet off and put them away and now they have dog's feet. There are women and men and children. Their beard grows only on one side of the face. On the other side they have no hair. Also they have no eyebrows and no eyelid, only the eye. The women have pubic hair only on one side, only one breast and nothing on the other side. Both the men and the women have whitish skin. The men have only one testicle. They all have very long kuntankas. Now comes a surprising statement, although considering the deformity of these beings it is perhaps not so

surprising. Uran-tukutu, although he just said that they were very good or beautiful, declares they are mamus (devils) up there.

The Pitchentara representative of this species lives at the ngurra lalalta (sky place) and is called Tukutita tjinampara (tukutita foot body). He is a man with a beautiful body and feet like an emu. First there were two Tukutita tjinampara, now there is an old man and many sons. There is no woman up there. They call them mamu (devils) because they have big hair and we fight. There is water and green food for the animals and everything in plenty. They have eternal stone mandagi (bull-roarers) up there, while we have only perishable objects made of wood. We are too many here like mamu. If a kuruna (soul) goes up there and pulls the Milky Way kuntanka the sky falls down because that is what holds it. Another name for the Tukutita tjinampara is tangara and this means bankalanga (demon). He is a *bankalanga entuta*, that is, a *contradictio in adjecto*.

This is the myth of the Tukutita tjinampara: Two men lived with one blind woman. They killed many emus and gave her emu's flesh at Untalkalta. Later on, when they had killed nearly all the emu, they followed one emu. They had given the old woman only thin emu's flesh on earth. So she was angry with them and said: "You stop up there altogether". The emu went up into the Milky Way and they followed it. These two are the Tukutita tjinampara. There were two of them first and then they had sons. From their kunti (stick wady) their sons came out.

If we attempt to summarize the various aspects of these sky-dwellers we find that the contrast-element is the most essential feature in their mental and bodily makeup. They are beautiful, fair-haired and yet deformed, good or very wicked, helpful or destructive, demons or beings in comparison to which we ourselves are demons, in fact, they are as I have said before a *contradictio in adjecto*, viz., "good bankalanga".

Perhaps their permanent association with the Milky Way will help us to a better understanding of their nature. Pukutiwara relates the following myth: The tukutita (ancestors) came

from Murkanti (bull-roarer). They were kangaroo people and they went to Purkunta-purkunta (Rubbing-rubbing), i.e., the fire westward. Then they went to a place called Wipuwara (Tail-long; esoteric name Wipu-pungu=tail hits). The kangaroo tail hit the ground there. Then they came to Alarku (Open). They opened their veins and made a ngallunga there. Then they went to Wipin palka (Tail long¹). After this they came to a place called Tanpinku (Tanpi=Resin). There the willy-wagtail closed a rock-hole with resin. The next place was Kutuntari and here they found a kuntara (=muta, small marsupial) quite alone. He ran away from the kangaroo people. Then they came to Murku (inside part of the tail fat of the kangaroo). After this they arrived at Warupi (thick part of the kangaroo tail). They sang one of their own *men's* (the technical term *enitunkunta*²) warupi evil magic and they all parkaringu (became tired) and kuntankaringu there.

The myth as recorded in prose is only a mere skeleton. For a full understanding we need the song with the commentaries on the text.

Pupipupi	mapunpa
<i>Bull-roarer</i>	<i>whirl it</i>
Mawalpa	tanti-manu
<i>Wind</i>	<i>sings</i>
Jauwaparapari	jajulumpa
<i>Many standing</i>	<i>lime-tree</i>
Tilkimanu	tutinpā
<i>Cracks</i>	<i>the short stick</i>
Katara	walkararu
<i>Cut it</i>	<i>come round</i>
Wankaja	wankaja
<i>Talking</i>	<i>talking</i>
Mata tanitani	tjininpana
<i>Women those</i>	<i>embrace each other</i>
Purala puralal	
<i>Purala grass</i>	

¹ Palka=wara=long.

² Eni=name.

Ngalta	winawinali
<i>Ngalta tree</i>	<i>its skin (bark)</i> ¹
Julku	ngarangu
<i>Penis</i>	<i>in erection</i>
Monopiraja	kataalkatalta
<i>Changing moon</i>	<i>shining shining</i>
Piraja	watijano
<i>Moon</i>	<i>walking about (the animals)</i>
Pujukuli	kulpana
<i>Smoke</i>	<i>rising</i>
Nyimura	nyimura
<i>Sit down</i>	<i>sit down</i>
Wawiri	mulakunki
<i>Kangaroo</i>	<i>nose-mark</i>
Latitati	wakanu
<i>Ear</i>	<i>spear it</i>
Wawiri	tilparuru
<i>Kangaroo</i>	<i>blue (greyish)</i>
Patu	wakanu
<i>Man</i>	<i>spear it</i>
Jeli	ngayrulu
<i>Fig-tree</i>	<i>fig tree!</i>
Nankar	pungama
<i>Subincision slit</i>	<i>they cut</i>
Witarka	tjukutjuku
<i>Fig tree</i>	<i>small</i>
Kundani ²	piwalkupungu
<i>They cut</i>	<i>knock it down (the kangaroo)</i>
Tururuwani	tjeila
<i>Kill it</i>	<i>porcupine</i> ³
Nalkula	nalkula
<i>Eats</i>	<i>eats</i>

¹ The bark of the ngalta tree is symbolical for the foreskin. Hence the cracking of the short stick must also refer to the crack made by cutting the foreskin.

² "Pungama" is northern Luritja, "kundani" is Pitchentara. Hence the young or small fig tree is another symbol of the penis.

³ They see a spiny ant-eater eating ants.

Wankani	talilpungu
<i>Alive</i>	<i>leave it</i> (refers to the porcupine)
Kuru	pulatarana
<i>Eyes</i>	<i>with ticks</i> ¹
Tanirirpirirpi	tapiltupungu
<i>Sticking</i>	<i>thickly</i>
Minamkampalu	watitin pilinpi
<i>Arm opens</i>	<i>man he calls himself</i> ²
Tjilki waranu ³	waputu
<i>It flies out</i>	<i>sweet grass</i>
Tajanu	tajanu
<i>Sweet grass</i>	<i>sweet grass</i>
Kanti	patala palala
<i>White stone</i>	<i>chip it chip it</i>
Pila	nyindir nyindir
<i>Foreskin</i>	<i>cut it cut it</i>
Pila	julkuri julkuta
<i>Fore-skin</i>	<i>flows out running down</i> ⁴
Pila	kanyira jano
<i>Foreskin</i>	<i>hold it</i> ⁵
Pujari	pujarila
<i>Urethral pipe</i>	<i>urethral pipe</i>
Kantita [stone	rililingu
<i>From the white</i>	<i>shining white</i> ⁶
watuti	watuti
<i>Gets hold of</i>	<i>gets hold of</i> ⁷

¹ They see a parentio lizard with tics in its eye.

² The opening of the arm really means the opening of the penis (subincision) after which the boy calls himself a man.

³ The expression usually refers to the spear ejected from the spear thrower. Here it signifies the blood spurting forth from the subincision wound.

⁴ Refers to the blood.

⁵ I.e., hold the penis near the fire, then the wound will heal after the circumcision.

⁶ The sore after the cut is shining white.

⁷ Refers to the central episode of the whole myth. The father-in-law has circumcized the boy and sent the women away. But the boy was sleeping on his back after the circumcision and a woman came, took hold of his penis and put it into her vagina. It is taboo for the boy to sleep on his back after the circumcision, for his penis would get crooked.

Pulina,	pulina,	
<i>It hurts,</i>	<i>it hurts!</i>	
Mimi	tjalinpi	
<i>Penis</i>	<i>crooked</i>	
Kalu	ngalarara, ¹	
<i>Tail</i>	<i>drag it!</i>	
Wilkulku	pungu	
<i>Running</i>	<i>goes in</i>	
Tjapija	nyili raranu	
<i>Joint</i>	<i>bent</i> ²	
Kulikunkuru	mamu	alkunyina
<i>Pine tree</i>	<i>big</i>	<i>stands</i>
Waruwata	mungatu	nangankarijano
<i>Old fire</i> ³	<i>from old time</i>	<i>here and go away</i>
Yalumpa	raurau	
<i>Lime wood</i>	<i>many</i>	
Likarindji	wankangu	
<i>Bark</i>	<i>shining white</i>	
Tjintjiri	waluwano	
<i>Easily</i>	<i>sulcus coronarius penis</i> ⁴	
Pikali	jaulangu	
<i>Foreskin</i>	<i>hang down</i>	
Ngaruluntu	pakuta	
<i>Gully</i>	<i>white leaved mulga</i>	
Karukaru		
<i>Creek</i> ⁵		
Karurili	janakatati	
<i>Soft creek</i>	<i>bank</i> ⁶	

¹ In this case "kalu", although usually meaning the penis, refers to the real tail. The kangaroos are in a hurry, to "go in" to Jalukunya. ("Going in" is the end of the story. The metamorphosis into tjurunga or death.)

² The joint of the kangaroo tail is bent when the animal runs along.

³ "Old fire" means "old camp".

⁴ The part of the song referring to the bark of the tree is intended as an incantation, the foreskin comes off the penis as easily as the bark comes off the tree. The waluwano or tjurinu (A.; *lendja*) becomes visible after circumcision.

⁵ "Creek" is the literal meaning. Technically, in the song it signifies running backwards for the ngallunga.

⁶ This time the song means the real creek with its banks and soft sandy bed. This is where the running backwards takes place.

Purkururkuri	karultjingu
<i>Smouldering fire</i>	<i>charcoal</i>
Raliti	taltatalta
<i>Cassia bush</i>	<i>young bush</i>
Manawarilowarilo	
<i>Mallee tree</i>	
Rilintji wajura	wajura
<i>Ilindji grass</i> ¹ <i>thick</i>	<i>thick</i>
Rilintji	mulutunanyi
<i>Ilindji grass</i>	<i>finished</i>
Tjilka	kurata
<i>Prickle</i>	<i>bad</i>
Mintjil mintjilka	nyinakatingu
<i>Crying with pain</i>	<i>sits down</i>
Walkiri	ngoan-goan pana
<i>Night hawk</i>	<i>"like a ghost"</i> ²
Ngungu unkitjiri	
<i>Talks ng! ng!</i>	<i>(at night)</i>
Puntaru	puntaru
<i>Puntaru bird</i>	<i>puntaru bird</i>
Palkuru	palkuru
<i>Waniga</i>	<i>waniga</i> ³
Nyinangu	minyurutanta
<i>Sits down</i>	<i>waniga on top</i>
Witjintimbani	kapa
<i>Cork wood</i>	<i>on the sides</i>
Kujalpa	kalintu
<i>Bad</i>	<i>crooked</i>
Ngara	jalata
<i>Stands</i>	<i>past</i>
Lurkalurka	narkalta
<i>Bean tree</i> ⁴	<i>lying about</i>

¹ A kind of prickly grass.

² Name of another small bird.

³ A waniga is a ceremonial object like the churunga. It consists of a pole with a cross bar and hair-string attached so as to form a rectangulum.

⁴ *Erythrina vespertilio* Bertham.

Kutitchi	matumatu
<i>Shield</i>	<i>mark</i>
Taraja	puiawani
<i>Scraping</i>	<i>ready</i>
Jamalu	kurulpa
<i>The kangaroo</i>	<i>backbone</i> ¹
Itjititjiti	japal kuruwani
<i>I. bird</i>	<i>red mulga tree</i>
Jurtjanjurtjanta	jurtjanpaluna
<i>I. bush</i>	<i>"making" the jurtjan bush</i> ²
Jaurupuntja pilti	jaurupuntja pilti
<i>Half dry</i>	<i>half dry</i>
Tjitji kutara ³	malatarina
<i>One child</i>	<i>too late</i>
kunaku	jiramangu
<i>messengers</i>	<i>go away</i>
wanmala	katukatu
<i>Magpie</i>	<i>nose up</i>
Mirara	poajanu
<i>Shout</i>	<i>shout</i>
Malu	tjururu
<i>kangaroo</i>	<i>kill him</i>
Litampitampi	malu
<i>On all fours</i>	<i>kangaroo</i>
Tjururu	tampiwalkani
<i>Kill him</i>	<i>playing about</i>

¹ The wandering ancestors see somebody making a shield and the back of a kangaroo.

² "Making", i.e., magically. The jurtjanjurtjanta is the bush that spears are made of.

³ When in the field I overlooked the obvious contradiction that tjitji kutara, meaning "two children", should be explained as "one child". Perhaps the traditional song text refers to a different version of the myth; that is, "tjitji kutu tari" (with one child) modified by the rhythm of the song. This line refers to the following episode: The wind blew the old kangaroo man's "matati" (pubic tassel) away and it became a child. However his brother found the child eating kapalja lizard and took him away, so the first kangaroo man came too late. The brother who took this boy was the father of the newly circumcized boy and the one who lost his matati was the initiator. (Therefore

Tjuntatjipiri	tjuntaja	
<i>Thigh</i>	<i>leg</i>	
Manmanmanu	katchiwalala	
<i>Closing closing</i> ¹	<i>spear clean</i> ²	
walala	pijini	wakawakara
<i>clean</i>	<i>wet</i>	<i>clean it</i>
kumpunka	kuralpunganu	
<i>urine</i>	<i>make bad</i> ³	
Ngaltangu	pinyeri	
<i>Ngalta trees</i>	<i>many</i>	
Tanankurpungu	papula	
<i>They rub against</i> <i>each other</i>	<i>look out</i> ⁴	
Warilangu	jaltarpa	
<i>Moving</i>	<i>mallee Tree</i>	
Kanintara	walukurkurtjunu	
<i>Inside</i>	<i>the dry bark in the wind</i>	
Pina	ngaritjuna nanganka	
<i>Foreskin</i>	<i>put him down</i> ⁵ <i>this</i>	
Ngaiuku	kutitji	
<i>Mine</i>	<i>shield</i>	

perhaps tjitji kutara refers to these two boys.) The kangaroos who camped apart were angry because they had wanted to initiate the boy who originated from the matati. As they could not do this, they killed all the people by their evil magic.

¹ Opening and closing the legs in the characteristic ceremony of running backwards or ngallunga (karukaruril). It is significant that the informant here calls the ngallunga an alknantama.

² After performing the ngallunga the ancestors urinated on the ground and used the moist earth for cleaning their spears—thus showing the unconscious connection between the spurting forth of the blood and the urinary competitions of boys.

³ Expresses a disapproval of the proceeding, viz., of using urine to clean the spear.

⁴ The trees rub each other when blown by the wind and the ancestors see this. Again we notice the symbolical nature of the picture: just as the bark peels off, the foreskin comes off.

⁵ "Ngaritjuna" refers to the boy.

Kurpalangaranyi	weinpa
<i>Full standing</i> ¹	<i>lightning</i> ²
Tjutitjutinu	piraulkurungu
<i>Pouring down</i>	<i>shining like the moon</i>
Katikatingu	pinpinpa
<i>Up up</i>	<i>splashing</i>
Walkurvinu	piraulkurungu
<i>Splashing</i>	<i>shining like the moon</i> ³
Katikatingu	pinpinpa ⁴
<i>Up up</i>	<i>splashing</i>
Walkurpinu	makutituma
<i>Splashing</i>	<i>grass eat it</i>
Parapandi pandi	tituma
<i>Smell it</i>	<i>eat it</i> ⁵

On the firmament, what we call the Milky Way is a woman hanging there stuck together with the kangaroo boy *in coitu*. Here again there is a contradiction between the commentary and the text of the story. According to the explanation given, after we had taken down the whole song text, the boy up there is the one who sprang from the matati. But this is impossible since the point of the whole story is the punishment for the breach of an initiation taboo and, on the other hand, the matati-boy disappears before the circumcision. At least this is the explanation given for the rage of the other two kangaroos.

Probably the original duality of the heroes explains these apparent contradictions. In any case, we are told that the woman took the boy up into the sky just before all the other kangaroos were sung with arunkulta (evil magic) by the two old

¹ With the blood they get from the veins.

² The blood spurts forth like lightning. Cf. the lightning that encircles the head of the man who performs love magic.

³ When they run and jump backwards they throw the penis up and the subincision hole shines like the moon.

⁴ The blood from the subincision wound splashes into their face as they jump.

⁵ The kangaroo ancestors eating grass.

kangaroo men. When the two old kangaroos had killed all the others they went back to their camp and were transformed into kuntanka. "The boy and the woman kuntankaringu up there and are still alive."

The Yumu and Pindupi relate the same myth. The boy belongs to the ant totem and the story is localized at Lingakura (ant). The Milky Way itself (yumu: tukalpa, pindupi: atarali) consists of two big kuntanka standing crosswise. At Lingakura a boy of the ant totem had been circumcised. The women were untingu (ceremonial dancing=Aranda, ndaperama) for the boy, but a kunka mamu (devil woman) had been hiding behind a windbreak. When the men had left the boy alone the mamu woman came up and pulled his penis into her vagina and there she held it fast with the labia. In this position they ascended to the sky hanging to each other, the boy being above. Some other men were looking for the boy and then they said: "There they are above." Then they threw mapanu (invisible magical stones) at them but could not hit them because they were too high. The Milky Way or the woman and the boy they call also *ngantanuta* which would be *manerindja* or *erukurindja* in Aranda and *ngamira-punguta* in Ngatatara—that is, stuck together in coitus. There is another earth up there and the woman and the boy live there alone.

The third piece of the tradition is contained in the exoteric name given by the Pitchentara to the Milky Way. When speaking to the women they call it Ngaltarara that is "with the mother" and say it is a kangaroo mother with her son. They also call it Warapulena-pulena (O hurts, hurts), because the boy had a sore after the circumcision and he exclaims "hurts, hurts" when she sits on his penis. She played the active or male part in cohabitation.

The fear of the *penis captivus*, of the small vagina out of which it would be difficult to extricate the penis, is well known and quite conscious among the natives of Central Australia. The myth in its psychological structure is similar to well-known legends of European folklore (the man in the moon,

the Wild Huntsman¹), the leading idea of which is that somebody who had committed an offense (coitus) was now to be punished for that offense by eternal repetition. But considering that what we have here is the repetition of fundamental pleasure, we really have a supreme wish fulfilment under the guise of a punishment. Pleasure is endless, and *aphanisis* (Jones), the fear of losing pleasure, is eliminated. Supreme pleasure is for those and for those alone who can break through the supreme taboo, who after having been circumcised can nevertheless have intercourse with the mother. For the person who is called a "woman" in one version and a "devil woman" in another is called the mother of the boy in the third. The manifest aim of the initiation ritual is to separate the boy from the mother, the latent wish fulfilment symbolized by the Milky Way as the supreme mystery of the initiate, is permanent reunion. The dual hero of the story is the typical Australian way of representing a multitude. It has its parallel in the two kangaroo men as initiators and in the two old men kangaroos who kill the whole crowd for the offense of the hero of the Milky Way. Another significant fact is the active part taken by the woman, the fantasy of the woman lying above the man; in short, what I have called the *alknarintja* situation, the typical infantile trauma of this culture area. The same story is also told by the Dieri.

Two mura-mura youths (the equivalent of the *altjiranga mitjina* or *tukutita*) called *Kadri-pariwil-pa-ulu* ("River-Sky-Both", i.e., "Milky Way") were hunting pelicans at Lake Perigundi. They threw the boomerang with such strength that in returning, it cut a tree stem in two. One of the young men dived for the boomerang which was stuck in the bottom and had become sharpened and pointed by its flight through the air. Thus it circumcised him, and on rising out of the water he saw to his great joy that he had now become a perfected man. He secretly informed his companion of what had happened to him; and the latter also diving for the boomerang

¹ Cf. Róheim: *Mondmythologie und Mondreligion*. Imago, 1927. Idem: *Die wilde Jagd*. Imago, 1926.

was likewise circumcised. Both boys said to each other: "What has happened to us, for we are now no longer boys but men?" Then they thought of their father who, while they had become men, still remained a mere boy. So they got a piece of flint, crept up to him and circumcised him. The great loss of blood weakened him and as he, notwithstanding the unhealed wound, continued to cohabit with his wife he developed an inflammation and died. After circumcising many others with the stone knife, the two heroes ascended skywards in a mist shouting "Kadri-pariwilpa-ulu" (i.e., Milky Way).¹

The heroes of circumcision reside in the Milky Way. In its Dieri form, the myth is an account of the coitus of the father with the mother and the punishment he suffers for it (circumcision and death, i.e., castration). The association of the Milky Way and initiation reaches far down to the coast tribes such as the Yerkla Mining. They ask the boy, "Can you see the two black spots?" (of the Milky Way) and then they tell him the following legend:

A very long time ago a great bird came and devoured all the people except three men and one woman. These were one Budera,² one Kura, one Wenung and a Kura woman. The men fought the bird and killed it, but only two spears were found in the body, one belonging to the Kura and one belonging to the Wenung man. Then they went up to the Milky Way, and the name given to the two black spots to which they went was "the far away men".³ If we compare these two myths we can see the validity of the psychoanalytic explanation which would substitute the father imago for the great bird; for in one version we have the victory over the great bird who devours the people, in the other—the death of the father for having had intercourse with the mother.

Intercourse appears in two forms in these myths. In the Lurittya variants collected by myself it is the coitus of the son

¹ Howitt, A. W.: *Native Tribes of South East Australia*, 1904. Pp. 645, 646. Cf. Gregory, I. W.: *The Dead Heart of Australia*, 1906. P. 229.

² Names of marriage classes.

³ Howitt: *l.c.*, 666.

with the mother, and the father does not appear on the scene, or at least, he is not prominent.¹ In the Dieri myth we find that the fatal coitus is between father and mother, though at the same time also between the initiate and the mother. The social significance of the ritual is to punish the œdipal wishes of the sons, but the latent content, the reason of their existence, is the aggressiveness of the son directed against the father in his sexual relations to the mother. The Milky Way vision must therefore be interpreted as a primal scene, only modified as the son takes the place of the father. Now it has been shown that the primal scene in the vision of the couple of dogs sticking together in coitus is the central element of Central Australian demon-beliefs. Also, I have tried to prove that demons and anxiety must have preceded ritual superego formation and totemism in the mental development of the Central Australians.² The peculiar character of all these sky-dwellers is that they seem to stand on the point of transition between the two systems. On the one hand, they have bull-roarers, and are connected with ancestral mythology and with the central mystery of the initiation; still, on the other hand, they are called demons and they appear in the characteristic primal scene situation of demons. Moreover, the Milky Way as the place to which the medicinemen fly in their dream is an essential element of the demon-medicineman cycle. I have published the account of Pukutiwara's dreams with the half-beings as personifications of his own semi-castrated state visiting him from sky-land and the notion of the second or invisible Milky Way which is like a kuntunka but also as nice and smooth as the subincision hole. This is where he walks in his dream, and the kurunpa will become stuck in this subincision hole if it happens not to be smooth enough; the soul cannot get back, it is stuck in the opening. Only the soul of a man whose one testicle has been cut out can go up to the Milky Way.³

These data of Pukuti-wara contain the phallic interpretation

¹ Represented by the two old kangaroos.

² Cf. my forthcoming book, *The Riddle of the Sphinx*.

³ Cf. Róheim, G.: *Animism and Religion*. THE PSYCHOANALYTIC QUARTERLY I,

of the Milky Way and the same anxiety wish fulfilment of "getting stuck" as the myths quoted above. Only in this case we have the same concept at a lower, more infantile, level. Instead of father and mother, or boy and mother permanently united in coitus, we have that of penis and vagina, of the soul and the Milky Way. The soul in this case is the penis in erection. According to the explanation given by Pukuti-wara, the soul goes up to the "tjukal" by first going under the earth. The hole in the earth is made by the penis which becomes very long, and it is through this elongated or erect penis that the soul emerges from the body. On the other hand, as the nankar (aralta), the slit made on the penis, is called a vagina in the ceremonial songs we may well say that the notion of the soul becoming stuck in the Milky Way represents the wish fulfilment (and anxiety) of a permanent coitus. The operation of subincision itself amounts to the same thing, for after this the men have always got a vagina on their penis. The Aranda myth of the Milky Way, as told by old Yirramba, also shows the same ambisexual symbol formation.

The ulpaia or mewara (creek=Milky Way) is tjurunga ingupundja or knanindja ingupundja (belonging to the night). Night and Day originated (knanakala) at one place but Night was the chief. Many iwuta (nail-tailed wallaby) men sat down at Ingupundja (Night place) in the dark. Intjimanja (Dawn) was sitting on the daylight, Mewara (Milky Way) was there too. Actually, however, he was identical with an urpula (black pole) which was a sort of kauaua (ceremonial pole). The iwuta men caught hold of him and stretched him out very far (erection) exclaiming: "We are tmoara-rinja", that is belonging to the womb.¹ On the other hand, it is also important to note that the idea of permanent coitus, of the soul that is stuck in the Milky Way, also means death.

We have noted the belief of the southern Aranda where the dead go up skyward to Altjira iliinka. Something similar occurs among the Nambutji where we also find a more

¹ Tmoara=apmoara=ilpa mara (Uterus good).

repressed variant of the Milky Way myth as compared to the one found among Pindupi and Pitchentara.

Many wati tukutita (men ancestors) came out at Eripilangu (Big Water-hole). They went to Ngitchi (fire) and lit a fire. There is a big sandhill where the smoke went up. Then they went to Antjilpiri (Waterhole) and sat around the hole. They decorated one man with mani¹ and everything else and sent him out to fetch more string and men for the ceremonies. He brought a group of Waringari men. The boy who was going to be initiated was lying down and they were hitting him with a shield. The women were also present and they were *wintimi* (ndaperama A=dancing for the boy). They put the boy on a shield, gave him a belt and tied his pukuti (head-dress). They carried him on their backs a long way west to Altawaritchi (Charcoal). Here they circumcised the boy. Then they all grew eaglehawk feathers, men, women and children. The men and the boys had waninga on their heads. Then they stuck very many waningas together and sat on them. There they are always (Kutu nyinanyi tukutita). The structure looks like this \perp , which implies that the whole Milky Way is regarded as one waninga. The cross piece is visible in the Milky Way and is called julparari (fence) but it is really a *waninga kuntan*, and fence is only the exoteric expression. The Southern Cross (Wara-tjipi-tjipi=Tied round round) is also a waninga.

In the myths quoted above, or at least in one version, the boy and the woman are sticking together crosswise like the wooden part of the waninga and like the Milky Way itself under the southern sky. In the Nambutchi version the coitus episode has disappeared and what remains in the manifest text is only the idea of "sticking together". The ascent to this double genital symbol consists in an eaglehawk metamorphosis. In Pitchentara demonology a man transforms himself into an eaglehawk by performing the alknantama, the ceremonial quivering, which is a symbolic coitus. On the other hand, the eaglehawk transformation takes place in a dream of flying.

² =alpita (Aranda), white tail of a kind of rat.

which is of course an erection dream.¹ Therefore the idea of death taking place in the shape of an eaglehawk transformation or sky ascent would be the equivalent of the medicine man's anxiety (death through soul sticking to the subincision opening of the Milky Way) and falls into the wider category of the coitus symbolism of death.² According to the Nambutchi the soul of the first man who died made the sky. On the other side of the sky there is another earth and there all the souls sit in the *taljireri* (hole bedded with leaves) cross-legged. From the eastern scrub the soul goes up to the sky; it flies up like an eaglehawk. The souls up there are always rubbing their nails against each other and the *nankara* men can hear this noise.

It is apparent, therefore, that the sky world and the Milky Way, although not prominent either in the daily life or in the typical ceremonies of these tribes, are nevertheless projection points or representatives of very fundamental attitudes. It is either the primal scene, father and mother *in coitu*, or the same thing again regarded from the point of view of partial objects, with the penis representing the father and the vagina standing for the mother. In the dream and vision of one of my patients a curious combination of penis- and vagina-symbols was very prominent for a time. He would dream of a bull with wide open nostrils where the bull of course meant the male, the father, while the wide open nostrils were linked up, through a series of events in the history of his life, with the open vagina. The vision might be that of a fish with its jaw or eyes wide open, of a fox with a long snout (penis) encircled by an iron ring (vagina), and so on. Analysis could show the *pars pro toto* or primal scene significance of these images. In the Milky Way myth the stress is laid on the permanency or eternity of this coitus, appropriately symbolized by the unchanging firmament. But only a man with one testicle can reach this paradise, and the beings we find up there are actually characterized as half-beings with one testicle.

¹ Cf. Róheim: *Animism and Religion*. THE PSYCHOANALYTIC QUARTERLY I, 68, 1932.

² Cf. Róheim: *Animism Magic and the Divine King*, 1930.

Thus the conclusion seems obvious that the *permanent coitus* is conditioned by or overlays a castration anxiety or, to use a term coined by Dr. Jones which fits in very well in this connection, the *anxiety of aphanisis*. Loss of pleasure means loss of life, and life eternal is eternal pleasure. *The functional value of an eternal god lies in the fact that the concept is a refuge, an asylum from the haunting specter of aphanisis.* Now Australian sky-beings have one thing in common: there is something irregular about their feet. In the joking connected with the totemic ceremonies one man exclaims "foot long" and the other replies "penis long", thus showing that the familiar significance of the foot holds good also for Central Australia. When sky-beings have a human shape but an animal-shaped foot (like the devil of European folk-lore) we may regard the first quality of their anatomy as a denial and the second quality as an affirmation of their phallic nature.

In order to see the significance of this explanation we must remember, on the one hand, that *altjira* ancestors who procreate supernaturally are human and beautiful of appearance, while demons, characterized by their large genital organs, are misshapen or appear under the guise of animals; also that the possession of a big penis is regarded as an accusation and anybody who is more than normally addicted to sexual indulgence may be called a devil. The sky-beings who call us devils because we are hairy (another universal symptom of sexuality) and because we fight, that is, because of our libidinal and aggressive trends, may well be regarded as typical representatives of sublimation. But the fact that they too are called demons, although good demons, the animal-shaped foot, the association *via* the Milky Way with the primal scene, demonstrate their phallic origin. Indeed it cannot well be otherwise, for sublimation involves something which it is necessary to sublimate. The shaking of the feet which is the characteristic custom of the *Pitchentara* sky-beings reminds us of the mythical texts in which *Malpunga* is always shaking his penis, while the detail that originally it was a human foot that broke off and an animal foot that grew instead emphasizes the break-

ing and the deformity of the foot, in other words the castration complex.

Opinions may differ regarding details, sequence, order and mechanisms but one thing is absolutely certain—*the origin of supernatural beings from infantile anxiety*. With regard to the origin of this infantile anxiety we have two seemingly opposite views. One of these, supported by the authority of Ferenczi, regards the anxiety of the child as derived from traumata of a libidinal nature. In a postscript Dr. Ferenczi presents the reason why the sexual advances of its elders should act upon the child in a traumatic fashion. Because these acts are colored by feelings of guilt or, in other words, because of its elders' inherent sado-masochism, they must appear to the child who is in the pre-ambivalent phase of sexual development in the light of a new and terrifying experience.¹ In a certain sense this view appears to be a regression to the pre-psycho-analytical standpoint, for the ultimate innocence of the child, if not of libidinal, at least of aggressive strivings is thereby reestablished. Melanie Klein views the situation from the opposite angle. Here the child is regarded as the aggressor, the destructive trends themselves as congenital and the images of "evil" parents as independent of what the real parents may or may not do.² In my book, *The Riddle of the Sphinx*, I offer a third solution which is compatible with both these theories.

According to this explanation the process of becoming human in phylogenesis is identified with the same process in ontogenesis. Man developed from prehuman ancestors as every individual develops from the child, through the defense mechanism originally erected by the ego as a bulwark against infantile libidinal traumata. The traumatic nature of these infantile experiences is due to the undeveloped condition of the infantile ego; in other words, to our prolonged infancy. Coitus is terrifying because the child is only prepared for fore-

¹ Ferenczi, S.: *Sprachverwirrung zwischen den Erwachsenen und dem Kind*. Int. Ztsch. f. Ps. XIX, 15.

² Klein, M.: *Die Psychoanalyse des Kindes*, 1932.

pleasure and not for orgasm. It is also terrifying because of the gigantic aspect of the beings who perform it; that is, because of the hopelessness of the child's desires. How can the boy aspire to conquer the father and to satisfy the mother with his small penis? This, nevertheless, is exactly whither his wishes take him, and hence arises the very early and very human attitude which brands our desires as "bad", i.e., destructive and dangerous. This view includes both Ferenczi's theory, by accepting the decisive importance of traumata, and M. Klein's views, for the phylogenetically determined aggressive impulse in the child must appear as a danger, because the primary identification with these beings makes the child dread a corresponding aggression against its own body. No theory of human origins can be adequate if it is not specific, if it does not explain features we do not share with our animal brethren by conditions in which we differ from them. Bolk and other biologists have commented upon the fact that man is slower of growth than all other animals and called this the *law of retardation*.¹

The further we ascend in the scale of life from primitive animal forms to civilization the longer the period we call childhood becomes, the more durable the connection between one generation and another. In this prolonged period of helplessness when an immature ego has to cope with the tasks of a relatively advanced id the mechanisms of defense are evolved. Our mental development begins by a partial insanity (Ferenczi), by the denial of the infantile traumata by the universally human and infantile theory of parents as nonsexual beings. Reality, that is, the primal scene in which the parents are doing something dangerous and wicked, is now repressed but soon reappears again in the projective form of the demons whose phallic nature and cannibalistic activities are but slightly distorted representations of the primal scene. The imago of the parents has undergone a fission. The functional value of this

¹ Cf. Bolk, L.: *Das Problem der Menschwerdung*, 1926. Róheim: *A primitív ember*. (*Primitive Man*.) Lélekelemzési Tanulmányok (Psychoanalytical Studies), 1933.

demon belief for the origins of human society can scarcely be overestimated. The parents can now be "good" because the demons are "bad" instead of them. If there were no anxiety there would be no reason for repression and hence no projection and no symbol-formation. *Primus in orbe deos fecit timor*—and this anxiety is rooted in the infantile situation. Originally only human beings are "good" because all the "badness" is taken out of them by non-human beings; that is, by supernatural beings or the members of other tribes. But as supernatural beings are nothing else than magnified parents, the protective aspect of the latter is subsequently mirrored in the spectres created by our anxieties and imagination. Probably the process of creating supernatural beings is identical with the mechanism of phobia; that is, it operates by extension. The fundamental problem is what are we to do with the libidinal traumata that are due to the law of retardation, to the fact of a prolonged infancy? The first step is to repress the link that connects this experience with the parents, thereby making it possible for the latter to remain "good". The denial is a radical one from the infantile point of view. The position unconsciously taken up is not merely that the parents do not do such things, but that this is not done by human beings (tribe-fellows); those who do it must be strangers, either to the tribal boundaries or even to the species *Homo* itself. Phallic man-eaters are animal-shaped, disproportionate or composite nonhuman beings. But the stuff they are made of, the material used by the sculptor, is still the same old familiar stock of infantile experiences, and the identity of the demons with the parents gives rise to a new and more harmonious generation of supernatural beings.

The attitude of the infant towards both parents is ambivalent. Besides the derivation of this ambivalence from the oedipus attitude proper, we may also see its roots in a broader aspect of the family constellation from what may be called the *infantile situation*. Two kinds of libidinal stimuli go from parent to child. Besides traumata that are too much for the infant there are other libidinal stimuli which are adequate to

its constitution; viz., those of a tender nature—everything that falls under the category of forepleasure and of narcissism. These feelings, combined with the ego trends, with the feeling of safety that lies in the protective aspect of parenthood, form one half of the picture, the half we ordinarily find in consciousness. The repression and projection of the other, destructive and orgastic half, is due to anxiety and gives rise to the demon world. But it lies in the nature of anxiety, that once allayed at one point, it will crop up at another. Protection against the world of demons and against the stranger is soon sought and found in the extended parental group, in society. But this intangible, endopsychical anxiety is not overcome completely by reality. Fiction is met by fiction of a similar origin. Thus the phobia which first produced demons, in order that children should cease fearing their parents, now produces, as we have said before, a second and more harmonious series of parents to protect mankind against these demons. In Central Australia the representatives of this process are the *ngantja* or hidden ones of the Aranda and the *ngaiulu nguampa* or doubles of the Luritja speaking tribes.

According to old Yirramba, when the *altjiranga mitjina* throws his *tjurunga* at the woman a third person arises who is neither the ancestor nor the real man. This being is called *ngantja*, the hidden one, and is just the same as the ancestor and as the real man. It is the *ngantja* that shows visions and dreams to its living double, and it is in these dreams that human beings learn new forms of the non-sacred dances (*ltata*, *wuljankura*). The *ngantja* lives in the ancestral cave and it is here that he is visited by the *kuruna* or soul in a dream. There is evidently here some sort of differentiation between the *altjira* and the *ngantja*, for whereas the soul visits the double (*ngantja*) in the cave, the *altjira* comes to the sleeper's camp-fire in the dream. But although Yirramba has explained conception as a process in which one being, the *altjira* gives rise to two new ones, the *ngantja* (hidden one) and the *rellanurpa* (real person), he nevertheless declares that the one seen by the woman in her pregnancy dream is the *ngantja*.

According to Aldinga, the *ngantja* is always in the cave. Yet the living man meets him on his wanderings and he follows the man about. His appearance corresponds exactly to that of the living man whom he represents in the supernatural world—that is of the living man when he *indotilitjika*, when he has decorated himself for a ceremony. In his dreams the man gets *jelindja* (songs) *andatta tjurunga* (totemic ceremonies) *ltata* (men's dances) or *wuljankura* (woman's dances) from his double. He denies the active part taken by the ancestor in reincarnation or supernatural-procreation, for the *altjiran-gamitjina* is *borkeraka* (tired, i.e., dead). The *ngantja* and the *rella ndurpa* (person real) come out of the *tjurunga*. Human beings are mortal, but the *ngantja* lives on in the cave for ever. Tnyetika as representing the views of the Central Aranda *taka*¹ says that the child *alckerama* (=gets eyes, is born, originates) from the *namatuna* (bull-roarer). The *ngantja* of a living man whirls it and the woman sees it in a dream. She goes to the man who has sung her with an *ilpindja* and when they are married she has another dream. Again she sees the *ngantja* whirling the *namatuna* and this time the result is that she has a child. Or sometimes a woman may see a man's *kuruna* in her dream. She will run to him even though he is another woman's husband. They have intercourse and she has a child.

Having got so far, it seemed to me that he was identifying the *kuruna* (soul) and the *ngantja* (double). In reply to my question whether the two were identical he said: "The *kuruna* is a double that walks with a man, the *ngantja* a double that comes from the *arknanaua* (ancestral cave). All three (double, soul, real person) look the same."

When the *ngantja*, the doubles of the individuals, appear as a group they are called *iwupita* or *arambaranga* by the Western Aranda, while in the East the usual term seems to be *iruntarinia*. Old Moses explained the meaning of these words. *Ngantja*, he said, was really *era* (he), *ngeera* (like), because a

¹ *Taka*=big. "Because they use big words"=an open mouthed pronunciation.

man would hide (*laulinja*) his own likeness or second self. This etymology is certainly correct, because it is confirmed by the *Luritja* word. *Iwupita* he explains by reference to the *iwupa*, in which all supernatural beings travel like a white man in a coat. *Eruntarinia* are the people who belong to the cold (from *erinta*. *A. Choritcha* for *tana*=very cold. *Rinja*=belonging to), because they have no fires of their own and when they walk about at night they will come to the fire of human beings to warm themselves. *Arambaranga* is *ara* (*ragata*) *mbaranga* that is mouth clean ("mara"—good, beautiful), without beard like the young people. It is significant that here again as in the case of sky-beings "goodness" (*mara*) is coupled with lack of hair which as we have seen above indicates the opposite of sensuality.

The account given by Spencer differs in minor details but not more than the account of one of our informants from the other. The whole group of supernaturals starts in his account with the *kuruna* (souls) which were associated with the original *tjurunga* and gave rise to the *altjira* men after going into an *altjira* woman. After the death of the ancestors the original *kuruna* split into two. One half persisted as a new *kuruna* or spirit that could undergo reincarnation and the other gave rise to the *arumburinga* (=aramba ranga) or everlasting double. The *arumburinga* watches over the individual and the *arumburingas* of men closely allied to each other—for example, children of the same father—will take a special interest in all of them. They spend most of their time in the totemic cave but often they will accompany their human representative or keep watch over the woman into whom the *kuruna* has entered before the child is born. After birth a person's *arumburinga* is not supposed to watch over him or her continuously but only in a sort of general way. For example if a man, out hunting, with his eye fixed on his prey, apparently without any cause suddenly looks down and sees a snake, just where he was about to tread, he knows at once that his *arumburinga* is with him and prompted him to look down suddenly. However, the *arumburinga* is also responsible for

people losing their way in the bush, in which case they will conceal their heads in large bags made by social caterpillars that are often seen hanging on gum trees and acacias, follow him up and make him "silly". If, however, friendly arumburingas find him they will lead him back to his camp.

The arumburinga travels long distances easily and often visits its human representative who is far away. The word *iruntarinia* is more impersonally used of the spirits as a group rather than in their relation to individuals. They wander about during the summer time, as they do not like the cold of the winter nights. During the winter they spend most of their time in underground caves, where there are streams of running water and of sunshine. Each local group has its group of *iruntarinia* who are supposed to be associated with that special locality and its inhabitants. They also bear the name of the *altjira* people with whom they are associated just like the members of the living tribe. Close to Alice Springs is an ancient hollow tree which is supposed to form a favorite entrance of the *iruntarinia* of that district to the caves, which, according to native belief, stretch out for many miles underground.

In addition to the medicine men, children who are born with open eyes have the power of seeing the spirits when they arrive at maturity. But this is connected with a certain type of character development. Only sedate and serious people can see the spirits, for the *iruntarinia* dislike scoffers, frivolous people and chattering men and women.

In general appearance the *iruntarinia* are supposed to resemble human beings, but they always look youthful, their faces are without hair and their bodies are thin and shadowy. They like to decorate themselves with *andatta* (down), of which they have unlimited supplies and which they sometimes give to their favorites. At night time they prowl about and although dogs have a gift of seeing them they steal hair and fur, string and other material which after a time is as mysteriously returned to its owner as it disappeared. A man looks round for tracks and finds none; it must have been the

iruntarinia. He must not be angry or he would offend them, and besides he feels that his own arumburinga who has most likely taken the string needed it for some special purpose and will return it safely when done with it.

The spirits kill and eat all kinds of game but always uncooked, for they are not supposed to have any fires, and not seldom they steal game which has been wounded but not killed on the spot by men. A kangaroo which has been speared but not killed will run away out of the sight of the hunter who tracks it up for some time and then loses all trace of it, and when this is so he knows that the iruntarinia have taken it. A woman who wanders away from camp after dark is in danger of being seized by the iruntarinia and carried to their caves. At Andulja a woman strayed from her husband's camp and he was only just in time when attracted by her cries to prevent the iruntarinia who had seized her and were about to drag her away. Sometimes they fight with living natives in an open battle, but more frequently the relations are peaceful and they give tjurungas and ceremonies to mortal men.

A characteristic iruntarinia ceremony was shown to a medicine man of the witchetty grub totem by the iruntarinia of the Hakea tree totem. The important feature of the ceremony consisted in a cross, each of the two arms of which was about six feet in length. There were three performers and each of them wore in his headdress two pointing sticks or *ullinka* arranged as if they were horns projecting in front. The cross is called umbalingara and when the spirit whose totem was the same as that of the medicine man's mother showed it to the man, he told him to tell the people that no medicine man however clever could possibly extract the cross if once the iruntarinia had placed it in the body of a man. At first only one of the performers sat beside the cross and moved about quivering in the usual way, then the other two approached while the onlookers sang of how the iruntarinia walked about and kept hiding out of sight, just as the two performers pretended to do. They performed all kinds of antics and amused the audience considerably.

The iruntarinia inform the inkatas (chiefs) of the local groups in dreams of the right time to perform the mbatjalkatiuma ceremonies and they themselves perform similar ceremonies. If a plentiful supply of witchetty grub or emu appears without the performance of ceremonies by the members of these totems then it is the iruntarinia or rather the ceremonies performed by them that have caused the welcome increase of food supplies.

"To the native the iruntarinia is a very real personage, who, as a general rule, is a beneficent being; though at times capable of great cruelty, he is in fact a man of the altjera,¹ endowed with all the powers possessed by such an one. If he be offended then he may place in the body of the offender one of his pointing sticks, or ullinka, which as a general rule is a barbed stick a few inches in length and attached to a string the malicious pulling of which causes severe pain and the stick can only be removed by the aid of a very skilled medicine man.

"There is always the feeling that it is well to be careful not to offend the iruntarinia or to tempt them by going out too much after dusk when there is almost sure to be an odd spirit or two in search of lonely wanderers on whom they may at least play some unpleasant prank. On the other hand, the arumburinga is supposed to keep a general watch over his human representative, and though he does not personally do the latter any harm—quite the reverse, in fact—yet he cannot always shield him from the capricious malice of some other spirit, who may be able to elude his vigilance."²

The data collected by Spencer and what was told me by my own informants explain each other mutually. For instance the story told by old Yirramba at the beginning of my field work seems difficult to understand.

He is telling me about a kwalpa knanindja (wallaby totem place). There is a big rock and many ilumba (*Eucalyptus* spec. lime-wood) trees grow there near the waterhole. If somebody were to stand on the rock or if he should attempt to

¹ I.e., an altjiranga mitjina.

² Spencer and Gillen: *The Arunta* II, 421–428, 1927.

cut one of the trees, something might kill him. This something is the arambaranga, a being like a kuruna (soul). The arambaranga comes from the rock and warns us of any impending danger. So far there is nothing remarkable in the narrative. But now he goes on as if the arambaranga were identical with the altjira, although according to the usual theological view they are identical in essence with the altjira but they differ in time from them. The Arambaranga come from the sea—a statement frequently made among the Western Aranda with reference to the altjirangamitjina. The qualpa Arambaranga sat down near a waterhole and made a big *inkura* (initiation ceremony). He saw a gum tree near the water with plenty of leaves and he made a nest on the tree. Then he made a hole, sat down in it and hung tjurunga all round. He was an old man Arambaranga. The old man had a big stick standing out of the hole and the hole was full of water. The young ones, the knurrentora arambaranga, went out and then they came back again to the water, to their father. He pulled the kau-aua out and hung it full of tjurunga. The young ones left the kau-aua and the tjurunga and went eastward to Lapanyunga (catch bush). The old man got ready for the ceremony. He put charcoal all over his body and tjurunga on his head. There was another man sitting down beside him whose body was all red and his name was Whirl-wind-man (Urupurupa). The young people came back and they made a big track in the water. There they sat down. Another kwalpa Arambaranga was sitting near by. He went to another large flat stone and sat down there all day. Then he came back. One tjurunga was sticking up from the top of his head, the others were hanging down all round. He held the kauwuwa, the maliara (young men) held him and he made alknantama (quivering). They all went down into the big water covered with tjurunga and white andatta (down). The white trees are still visible near the water.

The whole account might have been told of the altjira. However, it seems from the data given by Spencer that there are arambaranga in the mythical period just as there are

erintja (devils). But old Yirramba himself, the chief expert on such matters, is not consistent in his accounts. For this time he says that the Itana (ghost) joins the arambaranga in their caves and that the altjira were kuruna (souls) while the arambaranga were mborka (bodies). Also that the arambaranga stops at the rock while the kuruna or the altjira goes into the woman.

Urantukutu as representing the views of the Yuma tells me that when a man walks about, the paluru-nguampa (him-like) watches him and protects him against his enemies. Two beings arise from the mandagi (bull-roarer) or rather one being which subsequently splits into two halves. One of these is the real man who goes into the woman, the other is the paluru nguampa who goes into the ngalkilta (sacred cave). In these caves the kuntanka are on the ground and the nugampa dwell under these kuntanka. Some of them are ngurra kututu (place always), that is, *genii loci* not connected with human beings. Some of them come out at night, take the soul (kurunpa) away in the dream and show him dances or love magic in the cave. He dreamt that his soul went into the cave and there he saw two nguampa running after each other with kuntanka. He was lying on his back and they decorated him with wamulu (ceremonial white down). One of them looked like himself, the other like his younger brother Tatana.

In Lelil-tukutu's Pindupi version the paluru-nguampa appear more in the light of fairy folk. They live near the Pando, the great lake in the Pindupi country. When they see a man walking about they are frightened and run back. They have bodies like human beings. When a tjitji comes out of the kuntanka and goes into the mother the paluru nguampa goes into the lake. They live all round the water. That is, to be more exact, they sit on the shores of the lake forming an inner circle between the water and the giant serpent (*wannampi*) which lies right round the lake, like the Midgard serpent which encircles the universe in Norse mythology. Not all the paluru-nguampa live there, only those of the kapi patu (water men). They have huge dogs (tantu) and they go about

there digging for jalka (yams). Many paluru-nguampa live under the roots of the tea-tree bush. He remembers something that happened with a real person in connection with these paluru-nguampa. A man saw two meri (dead)¹ women with alpita round their heads. One of them was digging for jalka, the other was playing the oracle-game with the milpa-tunkunta (stick-hits, meaning the crooked sticks or mani). A dead man came up; he caught their arms mbanja (for marriage) and wanted to drag them along but they bit his hand and ran away "nanpingu" (dancing with triumph). They ran to the water and the man ran after them. But another paluru nguampa stopped him. After this the living man could not see anything, as a hand came from somewhere and covered his eyes. When he opened his eyes again he was standing on the shore of the lake, terribly frightened. Many paluru-nguampa came up from the lake with tomahawks threatening him. Then they took him down into the hole, gave him some emu meat and let him go.—But this refers only to the doubles of the water totem; others live in their own totemic caves.

The Pitchentara and Mularatara call the double *ngaiulu nguampa* (like me) when speaking of the doubles of other people. Two little iti-iti (children) emerge from the kuntanka. They play about together and throw their little sticks at anything they catch sight of. When they notice the father coming along, one of them, the real baby, sits on his shoulder and the other walks about. This is the paluru-nguampa. Just as the real child grows in the womb the paluru-nguampa grows in the cave. They grow together. When the boy goes hunting his likeness goes with him, but it remains invisible excepting for the nankara man. When a wanapa (blood avenger A. leltja) is approaching the double creeps to the man's back, makes him shiver and feel the danger.

If a little baby dies, the same process is repeated. The nguampa of the child will then sit on the father's shoulder, just as the real child did, and then pass on through the father into

¹ Here he identifies the paluru-nguampa with the dead, or they may be the doubles of dead people.

the mother and the same child is born again. In this case another nguampa will split off from the kuntanka. If a man dies, the double joins the double of the brother, and the latter has two nguampas to take care of him. The nguampa always follow the real person but when it gets near to the camp it disappears. For instance while Kanakana is asleep Pukuti-wara may see his nguampa sitting at the fire.¹ He sees it with his "forehead" or with the "inner eyes", not with the real eyes. When a man goes to sleep the kurunpa (the soul) leaves the body in the dream. But the double stays near the body to protect it, for somebody might hurt it during the absence of the soul and then the soul could not come back. The nguampa has many kurunpas to dispose of, so that when a man loses his he gets another from the nguampa. The nguampa does not feel the loss because it is like a *puli* (rock), stock full of kurunpas.

Ikitampa, a Matuntara of Tempe Downs, said that when a man walks about, the ngaiulu nguampa walks with him and warns him of the approach of enemies. If a man sees himself (the nguampa), it means danger. The man and the double walk *malpa* (in company). He comes to the camp as a visitor just to drink water but when a man approaches he disappears. In fact he visited the camp like this the day before I had my talk with Ikitanpa. If he comes like this it does not signify danger; his appearance is regarded as a warning only when he comes from behind. The first time Ikitanpa saw the nguampa was at Aniltinki. He saw him here because this is the place where he was incarnated and in this cave the nguampa dwells with the kuntanka. The nguampa looks just like him. First he saw him in his dream and when he woke up the nguampa was sitting at his fire. He was frightened and looked for his spear but the nguampa disappeared.

In trying to understand the basic components of these beings we at once notice two outstanding features. One of these is the identity of double and father imago. This is manifested

¹ Kanakana and Pukuti-wara are the two men who are giving me this account.

in the peculiar identification of the double with the ancestor. Although the ancestor is the *altjiranga mitjina* "the eternal one of the dream", a personage of the mythical past whose death is the typical ending of the myth, yet this death is canceled by the fact that the ancestor survives in the form of the double. Besides, double and ancestor alternate in the typically paternal rôle of supernatural procreator. On the other hand, although the reason why we have found it necessary here to discuss the doubles was the partly different origin of protective supernatural beings, yet, on examining these beings somewhat closer, we find here and there links that connect the *erintja* and the *ngantja*, the demon and the double. For one thing the cross-like implement used by the doubles as a pointing bone in the account of Spencer and Gillen puts them into the sphere of demons and hostile medicine men. The disappearance of game that has been wounded is also attributed to the demons (*nananana*), just as it is regarded as the work of the doubles. The women do not know of the existence of the double, or at least they do not know it officially, since the double is linked with *tjurungas* and ceremonies and is therefore part and parcel of the esoteric doctrine. But they say that every man exists really in three copies, the real person, the demon person and the ancestor person. If a woman dreams of a man chasing her then what she has seen is the *mamu ngurra kututu* ("demon place eternal"), that is, the local demon who represents Aldinga, Merilkna or whoever the man may be. This is really what the men call *ngantja*, but the women whom they are always "chasing"¹ identify them with the phallic *erintja* (*mamu*). Then again if a woman sees a dream or a vision of the same man, but the man disappears into the ground, and the dream is connected with the well-known symptoms of pregnancy then it was not Aldinga the real man, or Aldinga the demon, but the ancestral Aldinga who appeared to her. Demons have a large penis, doubles have *tjurungas*. The female version, the demon with the phallus, represents libido distorted by anxiety; in the male version, double and *tjurunga*

¹ I.e., trying to cohabit with them.

stand for sublimated libido. It is instructive to observe that when a woman does see the sublimated form, the male version (ancestor), the dream in its manifest text means motherhood and coitus only in a symbolical way. In other words, orgasm and anxiety go together.

The problem of narcissism or of the libidinal cathexis of the ego can be discussed from many points of view. The basic layer of the whole structure is probably the perception of the life impulse itself, the libidinal aspect of the process of life, the attachment of one cell to another. This universal libido cathexis of the body constitutes primary narcissism as the great reservoir of all libido cathexis. This reservoir is drained by the genitopetal current of the libido and refilled by the genitofugal trend. Again we observe the close connection between intercourse, orgasm and anxiety. The anxiety connected with orgasm has to be dealt with somehow either through projection in the demons or through a secondary re-investment of the original narcissistic cathexis. This secondary narcissism is represented by the ngantja or nguampa. Hairiness, the great phallus and destruction go together (the demon), while eternal youth, tjurungas and ceremonies characterize the "clean mouthed ones" (ara-mbaranga). But both represent specific aspects of the infantile situation, for the inadequate stimuli, the "too much" given by the parents, is transformed into anxiety (or provokes anxiety). Its representatives are nonhuman, deformed, destructive, ugly and phallic. But there is also the narcissistic, the forepleasure, the play aspect of the infantile situation, the mechanism of keeping pleasure on the same level by repressing the genital aim; and thus the representatives of sublimation are ceremonial instead of sexual, beautiful instead of deformed, eternal and protective instead of destructive.

The ngantja also represents the superego. If any kangaroo man has been "spoiling" the kangaroo by killing too many or by throwing the meat away, his waltara comes and tells him: "Don't spoil it. Eat it all if you have killed it. Smash the bones and tail, but do not throw them away. Don't bite the

tail, cut it with the knife and eat it afterwards. This is waltanka (your own).” The meaning of all this was further explained by the following parallel sentences in Aranda and Ngatatarā:

Altjera	knaninja	ikura (A)
Tukurpa	waltara	palumpa (Ng)
<i>Ancestor</i>	<i>totem</i>	<i>his.</i>

That is, the double who appears to the man in the dream or vision is the ancestral spirit of his own totem. The English translation I give renders the words *knaninja* and *waltara* by totem, but *knaninja* really means “origin”, *waltara* “his own”.¹ The point is the identity of the mythical ancestor, the double, the totem animal and the human member of the totem clan. The man who “spoils” the kangaroo is spoiling himself and the totemic spirit. The double is therefore a projected or personified inhibition of aggression; it is, technically, a representative of the superego.

The narrow radius in which this superego exercises its activity characterizes the difference between primitive and civilized man. Depressive states of self-abasement (melancholia) in which the ego is completely overpowered by a masterful superego are unthinkable in a Pitchentara society; man is narcissistic enough to know that the supernaturals are also “his own”, the narcissistic reflections of his personality. It is completely natural for the Central Australian native to say that he is “mara” (good, beautiful) or to refer to a “beautiful” person seen in the dream as “like myself”. Psychoanalytical studies on the subject of “*Weltentfremdung*” or the loss of the feeling of reality regarding environment show that the loss of cathexis of environment is really based on the loss of a narcissistic ego-cathexis (Federn). Our natives show the healthy opposite of this morbid picture; they are thoroughly in harmony with their environment because they are safe in the protection of their well-balanced narcissism.

The infantile problem of the primal scene plays a significant

¹ In Aranda: *altja-ikura* (portion—his).

part in the dreams and memories of the adult. The care bestowed on the child by the parent, the tender emotions of the latter, based as they are on narcissistic identification, are responded to by a similar sentiment of narcissistic identification in the child. The limitations of infancy, the fact that the parent can do many things which are above the power of the child, transforms this identification into an ideal-formation. The crucial problem of infancy is how to separate the ideal from the sexual parents, and various means may be adopted to attain this aim. One of these was the infantile theory of a patient of mine according to which the parents cohabited only when it was their intention to procreate a child. As she had two sisters this was equivalent to saying that the parents had had intercourse only three times, which was as far as she could get in denying parental intercourse, considering that the connection between intercourse and conception was known to her. In the Aranda case this connection is denied, as far as the father is concerned, and he is replaced by an idealized parent, the ancestor-double. We might also say that the exoteric doctrine, the female version, was true enough, for really man exists in three copies: 1. reality, 2. the devil, 3. the ancestor; that is, by the process of fission a real being can give rise to two others—to a god by sublimation and to a demon by a projection of anxiety.

The sky-being of the Central Australians stands on the borderline of these two processes. He is very beautiful, yet he has a deformed, animal-shaped foot. Sometimes he is helpful, sometimes harmful. He is a demon and at the same time an *altjira*. Although in one aspect he is known to the uninitiated, he is at the same time regarded as the great mystery of the initiation cult. His asexual nature is emphasized, but we can clearly distinguish the original libidinal elements (primal scene, *œdipus* complex, castration-anxiety) out of which this picture has been evolved by the process of repression and sublimation. He is truly a *bankalanga entuta*, "a good demon". His psychological history is therefore not quite simple. As a starting point we have the infantile traumata

followed by anxiety. Then the projection of this anxiety in the person of the demon. One of these demons is then subjected to another psychical process, which must be regarded as a second attempt to deal with anxiety. This second attempt, also represented by the ngantja or hidden doubles, amounts to an acknowledgment of the repudiated, but on an aim-inhibited, sublimated level. The demon has now become human, even appearing in the likeness of human beings, but its great phallus is replaced by a tjurunga, and instead of being a representative of destructive sexuality it stands for eternity, for narcissism.

We can only offer conjectures to explain why this process should be connected with the sky. The two outstanding features of sky-beings are their eternity and their fatherhood. The firmament is actually about the most unchanging element in the environment, and is therefore a suitable representative of the narcissistic (genitofugal) trend of the libido in its function as a protective mechanism against genital (genitopetal) libido plus anxiety, or, in other words, against the fear of aphanisis. If we take an even broader view of these phenomena, we may regard them all as representing the *law of retardation*, the slowing down of the life process which in itself is life, evolution and civilization. On the other hand, the sky also stands for the ontogenetic representative of the destructive and libidinal forces, viz., the primal scene, because Father Sky and Mother Earth are the parents in the act of cohabitation.

CHAPTER III

CONCLUSIONS

There is one feature in the life of these immortals which has not received due consideration—their death. For it seems quite evident that apotheosis is death, and that the sky abode of these beings is merely a euphemistic way of expressing their annihilation.

According to the legend of the Akarkede tribe, the ancestors were very angry with Bilika because he killed the men and women when they ate his food. They all came together and killed Bilika and his wife Mite.¹ The Akar Bale version relates how Puluga destroyed the people's huts because they ate his food and how finally they sent him out of the world, saying, "We do not want you here. You are always angry with us". And he went away to the northeast.²

It is quite evident that the second myth is a slightly euphemistic version of the first. A child is incapable of drawing a hard and fast line between death and a journey or "going away". A "long journey" usually means death in the symbolic language of the dream. But it is not even necessary to call in the aid of clinical material to support this interpretation, for the Andamanese tell us that the spirits of dead medicine men live apart from the spirits of ordinary men and women and are called not "Lau" but "Bilik". Boico a great medicine man became a Bilik after his death and appears in dreams to his successors. It is these Bilik who control the weather in the A'Pucikwar tribe,³ just as the one Biliku rules wind and weather in the other tribes.

The journey to heaven is also the end of Kari's exploits on earth and the beginning of his apotheosis. Kari and his younger brother, Tapern, who also has white hair covering on

¹ Brown: *l.c.*, 200.

² Brown: *l.c.*, 201.

³ Brown, *l.c.*, 169.

his body, went up to the sky. They were magicians and before they ascended there was no thunder.¹ Then again among the Kenta, where Tapern is the principal god, his ascent to heaven is regarded as an escape from the war between the Siamang and the Mawas.²

In our Central Australian data we have one version of this sky ascent myth. This is the story of the two Tukutita tjinampara who lived with one blind woman at Untalkata and as they gave her only thin emu's flesh, they were cursed by her to follow an emu up into the sky and to stay there for ever. A variant of the story refers to the two Intjinkinja, beings who are likewise located in the sky and who may, originally, have been identical with the tjinampara. The stars called Indjikanja (fangs of the Snake) are situated to the right and the left of the Milky Way and this is another indication of an original identity with the owner or owners of the sky camp. This is the story as told by old Yirramba:

Two Indijkandja men lived at Iliupma (Emu Feather). They ate some emus there. An emu woman, a big (i.e., old) woman, their wuna (aunt) was living with them. They came home very late and they gave her some emu meat for the night. They also gave her some of the leg bone. They always used to keep this part for themselves and when the old woman tasted it for the first time she said: "O this is very good, they never gave it to me". She blew the bone out and very many emus that had been "quiet" (i.e., easy to catch) before and had lived under the ground now all ran away in a fright. A big wind came and took the two Snake-Fang men up to the top of a hill at night. "Now we had better go to that *patta inka* (high rock)", they said. They were kneeling on the high rock, the younger one kneeling before the elder one (this is called: tapunkiwaraka). They were both covered with andatta (eaglehawk down). "We shall disappear altogether", they said. Their feathers had become smoky and they squatted down (tatnaka). The little brother asked the big one, looking back,

¹ Schebesta: *l.c.*, 222.

² Schebesta: *l.c.*, 227.

"What shall we be? Eaglehawk?", "M.M.", (no, no!), the other replied: "Irkala-bird?", "No, no!" "Crow?", "No, no!" "The best thing will be if we are turned into indjikandja." "O yes!", the other brother answered, "when we go up there we shall always kill everybody!" Then they flew up but nobody saw them, for they were covered with eaglehawk-down. "If anybody is sick on earth, these two pull out his tongue and heart and he dies. This is how they kill people coming down like a wind."

In another Aranda variant the myth is located at Tjikara and the two poisonous serpent men become immortal and go up into the sky after killing a serpent.¹ A third variant of the "two men and their aunt" theme places the story at Umbangi (urine place) and has two indatoa (beautiful) men and a blind aunt, who gives eyesight to the blind emus because she has been cheated out of her share of the meat.² A fourth variant has the same plot as a kangaroo totem myth. In ancient times when all the kangaroos and wallabys were blind, two Grey-Kangaroo men lived in the Northern Mac Donnell Ranges with an old blind "goddess" who was their aunt. They lived on the kangaroos they killed, but they only gave their aunt one bit of flesh from the ribs and a very little fat. One day the younger brother gave her some of the caul-fat; she smelt it and whilst the men were asleep, smeared it all over her face. This gave her eyesight, and she began to blow and spit all over the kangaroo bones that were lying about in the camp, with the result that they all became alive again and could see to run away. When the men heard all the kangaroos jumping away they knew what had happened and decided to kill their aunt. But next day she had intercourse with her two nephews, who gave her spears, and she showed them how to use them so that they could kill kangaroos although these could see now. Next night there was a hurricane that robbed the men of their senses, so that they ran about on the top of the hill and howled like the storm. Their aunt ran after them and bound them

¹ Strehlow: *Aranda I*, 23, 24.

² Strehlow: *l.c.*, 30, 31.

together with a cord, whereupon all three were turned to stone.¹

When a child is born the Aranda say "alkneraka", that is literally, "it has got eyes". Now in its manifest sense the story relates a difficulty, something that made things worse, but nevertheless it states that the emus or kangaroos began to "jump about" when the old woman had eaten the fat previously withheld from her. This is exactly what happens, or rather what is supposed to take place, after a totemic multiplication ritual. Kangaroo men or emu men live with an emu woman, that is, they have intercourse with her and thereby multiply the species, magical fertilization being, as I have shown, a veiled representation of incest.² Just as the first part of the myth is a veiled representation of incest, the sky ascent is but an euphemistic version of death. The superego is at work and wish fulfilments appear as punishment. It is evident that the superego or the feeling of guilt is connected with death in general, hence the rôle ascribed to the two Indjikandja at every death. Spencer says:

"There are supposed to be two brothers called Inchinkinja, an older and a younger one, living in the form of stars up in the sky, who are hostile to men and always anxious to make it quite certain that a native, when seriously ill, shall die. . . . When it is evident that death is near at hand they come down to earth and pinch the throat of the dying man with their fingers. Besides the two Inchinkinja, a spirit called Eruncha oknirra urupurra is also on the look-out to harm the dying and the dead. The dead man tries to rise from the grave but the Eruncha puts its foot on the man's neck and spears him, thereby killing him altogether."³ The two Indjikandja men fly up to the sky and we know that flight in a dream means an erection. Also when going up, their bodies are covered with eaglehawk down, the symbol of the totemic coitus ceremony.⁴

¹ Strehlow: *l.c.*, I, 29, 30. Róheim: *Australian Totemism*. Pp. 101, 102.

² Róheim: *Australian Totemism*. P. 102.

³ Spencer and Gillen: *The Arunta* II, 429, 430, 1927.

⁴ Cf. Int. J. Ps.-A. XIII, 57—"Totemic Ritual".

We can also judge their nature by the name of their ally. For Eruncha oknirra urupurra (not translated by Spencer) means "devil big fire-penis", showing both the demonic and the phallic nature of all these beings. But there is another feature of these myths which we cannot fail to observe, although it is far more prominent in the Andaman data than in Central Australia. I am referring to the fact that the plot is projected into the distant past and that the protagonists of the drama are one superhuman individual on the one side and the group on the other. In other words there are elements of the story which cannot be explained satisfactorily by reference to the individual œdipus complex but seem to point back to a pre-human state of things such as conjectured by Freud in his "primal horde" theory.

In a forthcoming book, I have reëxamined the evidence for and against this view of human origins. The results of my field work made me feel that it was necessary to reconsider this theory, for I began to look upon the "savage" not as an abstract quasi-mythological being but as an individual to be studied like our clinical patients in Europe. As an individual he is no more actuated by "primal horde" considerations than a bank-director who is suffering from an obsessional neurosis. The savage's group reactions are also conditioned by certain typical infantile situations prevalent in a given human group. I have also found that totemism and other forms of religion and social organization can be explained very well on the basis of family conditions as known to us today.¹ Must we then conclude that there is no evidence to be found for the "primal horde" theory? There still remain innumerable myths, similar to those discussed above, which appear to warrant Freud's conclusions. Moreover, we have in addition to the myths reliable accounts of the behavior of apes and monkeys² demonstrating that something strongly resembling the

¹ Cf. the conclusions of Brenda Z. Seligman in *The Incest Barrier*, British Journal of Psychology XXII, 1932.

² Cf. for a psychoanalytical discussion of the evidence Hermann, I: *Zum Triebleben der Primaten*. Imago XIX, 1933. P. 113.

Freudian "primal horde" actually exists among our animal kinsfolk.

These contradictions can only be solved by a new view of human origins. If the fate of an individual in later life depends on the specific events of his infancy, if human groups develop their culture as a reaction-formation or sublimation of certain infantile traumata or situations which have become habitual in those human groups, we may well ask whether the same principle might not be applied to mankind at large and whether we cannot find a specific feature in the infancy of human individuals which might explain their rise from an animal to a human level? As a matter of fact such a distinctive feature can be found. This is the *long duration of human infancy, the infantilism of mankind*. In another book I have set forth what I regard as the psychological consequence of this law of retardation. The long period in which the immature human infant is subjected to a series of libidinal traumata for which it is not prepared biologically would explain the necessity and origin of psychical defense mechanisms. These mechanisms give rise to all our conquests over nature but also to all our troubles. If Bolk is correct in regarding this phenomenon of retardation as a biochemical process that progresses gradually from generation to generation through untold ages, we should have to regard this same process as directly responsible both for the origin and for the increase of "civilization", that is, for repression plus reaction- or substitute-formations.

If we regard human origin from this point of view, it becomes possible to make the assumption that the primal horde really existed, without at the same time making it responsible for the human psyche in general. The œdipus complex is not a "survival" of the primal horde but on the contrary the primal horde itself is to be regarded as an early form of social organization arising from the eternally human œdipus complex. Of course the question may be raised why, if man had this form of social organization (viz., the primal horde) in common with other primates and its disappearance explains the rise of

humanity, should this state have survived among the anthropoid apes and not given rise to civilization or humanization? Evidently the same phenomenon acted as a trauma in one case and not in the other, the difference lying in the degree of maturity of the recipient, the human infant, in the one case, and the simian infant, in the other.

We therefore assume that mankind evolved through the repression and sublimation of infantile traumata—the primal scene, attempts of the mature animals to have intercourse with the young, fights between the mature members of the horde in which the young were involved (i.e., the primal horde), etc. In other words, mankind probably passed through a primal horde phase, but this is not the true explanation of our mental constitution. If we follow the usual psychoanalytical theory a difficulty of considerable importance arises in trying to explain not the origin but the transmission of these primal horde myths. We may roughly distinguish three kinds of transmission from one generation to another. The first, generally known and admitted, is organic inheritance, the fact that we have lungs and limbs because our parents and their parents had the same organs. Nor is there any doubt about the importance of transmission by tradition; we can read and write because we have been taught these arts by our elders. But between these two kinds of transmission lies the hazy realm of unconscious inheritance. We are born not only with organs but also with certain fundamental psychical trends (aggressive, libidinal) that form the basis of our unconscious. The transmission of “primal horde” traditions has not yet been explicitly discussed in psychoanalysis, but if mankind evolved through a “repression” of the primal horde, we must regard these traditions as unconsciously transmitted. Obviously if the primal horde is the origin of all culture, it cannot be transmitted by tradition, as traditional transmission can occur only in a cultural environment. Since, however, an unconscious inheritance of this “primal drama” has never been demonstrated in any analysis, we have no justification in assuming it.¹ Matters become far

¹ Cf. the criticism of Goldenweiser and Malinowski.

simpler if we regard these myths in the light of historical traditions. If the primal horde is not the *fons et origo* of all that is human but simply a very distinctive feature of the ancient pre-history of mankind there is no reason why the periodical killing of the tribal leader should not have survived perhaps in some modified form in human conditions, as we actually find something of the kind in highly advanced African monarchies.¹ In that case, it would be easy to understand the oral transmission of these myths and also their survival value or social function as projecting the œdipus desires of the rising generation into bygone ages. The unconscious desires of the rising generation were justified by the recital of similar deeds of their ancestors, and thus history arises as the record of the eternal repetition of the past in the future.

Another important feature upon which I have commented more than once is the “*diagnostic*” significance of animal and human symbolism and the *polarization* in the nature of supernatural beings.

In his introduction to the tales of the Thompson River Indians, Professor Boas writes: “At last the culture hero appeared, and transformed some of the beings of those times into animals, others into men. He taught the latter how to kill animals, how to make fire and how to clothe themselves. But the same culture hero appears in other tales as a sly trickster, who vaingloriously thinks himself superior to all other beings, whom he tries to deceive in all sorts of ways and who is often punished for his presumption by the superior powers of his proposed victims. . . . I am rather inclined to believe that we have to deal here with a most important characteristic of all primitive religion.”² The supreme being of the Black-feet is “Old Man”, “whose contradictory qualities are difficult to understand or reconcile”.³ Writing on Crow

¹ Cf. Róheim: *Animism, Magic and the Divine King*. For a somewhat different view on the transmission of Primal Horde myths see my forthcoming book, *The Riddle of the Sphinx*. The two views are not mutually exclusive.

² F. Boas in James Teit's *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia*, 1898, pp. 4, 5.

³ McClintock: *The Old North Trail*, 1910, p. 337.

religion, Professor Lowie observes: "The Sun, to be sure, means more to a greater number of persons than any other spirit; he approaches more nearly than any other our notion of a Supreme Being. Yet what astonishing conceptions cluster about him, and in what chaos is Crow theology concerning the most elementary definition of his identity! The most trustworthy witnesses cannot agree as to whether he is identical with Old Man Coyote, the hero of Crow folk lore; nay, in a single cosmogonic myth there is constant vacillation on this point. Now Old Man Coyote is in many episodes of his cycle a typical trickster, wallowing in grossness and buffoonery. Consequently the fact that the identification is not spurned is in itself significant."¹

Similar phenomena are to be found in the religion of some Paläo-Asiatic tribes. Big Raven or Big Grandfather is looked upon by the Koryak as the creator of the world, while the Chukchee make a distinction between Raven and Creator. The former appears as a companion and assistant of Creator when creating the world. In one of the Chukchee myths Creator himself turns into a raven, and in shamanistic incantations Raven is sometimes called "the outer garment of creator".

In Koryak mythology Raven is the first man, the father and protector of the Koryak. But in some of the myths we meet, together with Big Raven who turns into a raven only when putting on a raven's coat, the real raven as a representative of birds of that species—a droll and contemptible personage who feeds on the carcasses of dogs and excrement, and has nothing in common with the cult.²

Nevertheless it is evident that the sublime and the ridiculous, the more-than-human and the bestial are but two aspects of the same picture. Big Raven and his wife play all sorts of indecent tricks merely for their amusement. They turn their sexual organs into dogs and people and then set them back

¹ Lowie, Robert H.: *Primitive Religion*, 1924. P. 21.

² Jochelson, W.: *The Koryak*. Jesup North Pacific Expedition VI, Part 1, pp. 17-19, 1905.

again in their places. Miti (his wife) takes her anus and puts it in place of her vulva and vice versa. He and his sons eat their own excrement, in other words they act very much like an ordinary raven would.¹

It is my belief that the contrast-relationship that unites and separates the human All-Father and his animal-shaped counterpart is of the greatest importance in the psychological history of mankind. In analyzing the totemic ceremonies of the Central Australians we have found that what seems to be an imitation of the everyday life of animals is really an unconscious repetition of the primal scene. It may also be asked why animal taboos and coitus taboos should always go together. This refers not only to tribes possessing what is ordinarily called a totemic form of social organization. Going back to the Andaman Islanders and other Asiatic pygmies we find a constant association between animal and coitus taboos.

According to the Sabubn tribe, Kari, the greatest of the immortals, has a body covered with long white hair like the Siamang (*Symphalangus syndactylus*).² Now the neighboring tribes have some origin myths connected with these apes, just as Kari is the ancestor of the Semang. The Mantra believe that they were descended from two white siamang apes, who after having reared their young ones, sent them out on the plains, and there they perfected themselves so well that both they and their descendants became men whereas others who returned to the mountains (still) remained apes.³ The Sakai believe that the soul of a dead chief took refuge in this white monkey.⁴ Morality, the idea of guilt, all those "sentiments" we summarize as the superego, are intimately connected with the existence of this ancestral ape. The chief *hmoidn Kaiei* (sins against Kaiei) of the Sabubn are: 1. laughing at captive animals such as monkeys, stags, etc.; 2. torturing certain animals; 3. certain animals may not be killed—the tabugn (a black

¹ Jochelson: *l.c.*, 19, 20.

² Schebesta: *Religiöse Anschauungen der Semang*. A.R.W. XXIV, 222.

³ Skeat and Blagden: *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* II, 189.

⁴ *l.c.*, II, 190.

wasp with a dangerous sting), the pelop (a leech), the two birds, sangid and cuch; 4. coitus is not permissible by daylight; 5. a father must not go to sleep in close contact with his daughter, nor a mother with her son; 6. avoidance between father-in-law and daughter-in-law, mother-in-law and son-in-law must be observed.¹

The Kenta have a more detailed list of taboos all connected with Kaei, punishable by thunder and expiated by the sacrifice of blood: 1. adultery; 2. killing the bird kasa or talking when the bird makes a noise; 3. killing the Pa'ceg (*Tragulus rarus*); 4. talking when the Kase (*Polychimas cinereus*) makes a noise; 5. killing the Kawau Saguogn (*Anthacocerus malayanus*) or talking when the bird makes a noise; 6. killing the black wasp. This part of the taboo-list is of special interest as showing the antiquity of these taboos. The identification of killing a small flying animal and of making a noise when the animal "sings" is a peculiar feature paralleled only by the Andaman Islanders. Here it is forbidden to make a noise when the cicada sings, and the ritual of "killing the cicada" consists in making a terrific noise by banging the sounding boards.

According to the Andaman Islanders the cicada is the child (or wife) of the creator god Biliku. The Semang have two creator gods, and in some tribes it is Ta Pönn and not Kari who occupies the chief place. Ta Pönn has four children, two male and two female, and when you hear the noise of the riang-riang (cicada or knife-grinder insect) in the jungle that is the voice of Pönn's children.²

This part of Negrito religion must therefore have originated before the separation of the Semang and the Andaman Islanders. Just as the Semang explain the taboo against killing an animal by calling it a friend of Kari, the animal taboos of the Andaman Islanders are mostly connected with Biliku. In the North Andaman, Biliku is supposed to be angry if anyone kills a biliku (spider), a reo (a species of insect making a noise

¹ Schebesta: *l.c.*, 224, 225.

² Skeat and Blagden: *Races* II, 210.

like the cicada, or a catlo (a species of beetle). A bird called toroi also belongs to Biliku and may not be killed.

These Biliku-taboos vary with the tribes. In the A'Pucikwar tribe, two species of fish called unakoro and liwat, a mollusc and a bird belong to Biliku and may not be killed. In the Akar-Bale tribe two kinds of wood must not be used for fire-wood for fear of offending Puluga to whom they belong.¹

Continuing the list of the taboos of the Kenta, we find: 7. The following animals should not be laughed at or mocked—the leech, a species of serpent, butterflies, monkeys; 8. it is not permitted to look at dogs performing coitus; 9. to wear a comb during a storm or seven days after the death of a man is forbidden; 10. to play with birds' eggs is taboo; 11. sexual intercourse in the daytime is *telaïd teböu* (great sin), as others might see it.

Another group of "sins against Karei" is not connected with thunder and the blood sacrifice. The punishment for these "telaidn" is a disease called *céman*, consisting of pains in the kidney and ending in death. These sins are: 12. if a father-in-law has anything to do with his daughter-in-law, or a mother-in-law with her son-in-law, the call of the bird called *saguogn* is heard near the camp; 13. if parents sleep with their adult children of the opposite sex.²

Reviewing the list of these taboos we find that, excepting the one connected with wearing a comb,³ they are either animal taboos or taboos connected with coitus. Moreover, the bird *saguogn* (*Anthacoceros malayanus*), one of the taboo-animals, is the bird that warns them of the dangers of incest by its call and thus appears as a sort of personified conscience. On the whole, the inference seems fairly obvious that, just as in the case of the punishment tales, the animal taboo originates from a displacement of the coitus taboo, especially the incest taboo; that is, through the mechanism to which Freud attributed the origin of totemism.

¹ Brown: *l.c.*, 156.

² Schebesta: *Religiöse Anschauungen der Semang*. A.R.W., 1927. Pp. 233.

³ And two other taboos (water, bull roarer) not mentioned above.

But why should the incest taboo be symbolized by animals more than by anything else? We find that the sky-being of the Andaman Islanders is assimilated to a lizard (penis) or to a spider (vagina) and that the sky-dwellers of Central Australia have feet shaped like a dog or an emu, the dog and the emu being the typical shape assumed by bogeys and demons. Why should the All-Father Zeus, otherwise quite human in his appearances, don the outward semblance of bull, serpent or swan when bent on amorous conquest? And why should we have a human creator among the Koryak who does all the decent things and an animal-shaped raven for everything that is indecent? I refer to the clinical material quoted above, according to which the animal in a dream represents not merely the parent pure and simple but specifically the parent in the act of cohabitation. I strongly suspect that the same solution applies not only to totemism and to divine or demoniac beings under an animal guise but also to the animal metamorphosis of sorcerers. Marie Bonaparte writes about the symbolic meaning of the cat. "The cat is the classical symbol of the female genital organ. We know the famous song:

*Mon père m'a donné un mari,
Mon Dieu! quel homme, quel petit homme!
Le chat l'a pris pour une souris.*

"The sexual symbolism is transparent even for the non-analyst. The '*petit homme*' evidently represents the penis of the husband. It is compared to a mouse, and we know that the mouse is a phallic symbol in the very frequent mouse phobias of women. On the other hand, the cat that wants to kill the mouse represents the female organ where the penis disappears, is eaten.

"The cat has several attributes which it really shares with the female organ, such as '*le poil fourni, chaud, voluptueux et irritant à toucher: la femme a un chat là même où l'homme a un penis*'. . . . Legend follows this universally male symbol formation by attributing to sorceresses of all kinds the cat as their companion."¹ The connection between the witch and

¹ Bonaparte, M.: *Edgar Poe* II, 579, 580, 1933.

the cat in European folklore is highly instructive. The point is always that the transformation is linked up with something that is done at night time, something that will not bear the light of day and which, generally speaking, should not be done at all. In a book entitled *Dialogus de nobilitate et rusticitate*, written between 1444 and 1450, we find the following account of these transformations: "*Et constat quod tempore Martini pape de anno 1420 quædam mulier Strega residens trans Tiberim sese transformaverat in cattum et actus humano ritui raros immo impossibiles et solis cattis applicabiles et pure cattivos exercuit. Et inter cetera pueros in cunabulis iacentes maleficiis infecit, quos ex post sanando, dum converteretur in hominem, mercedem usurpavit.*"¹

Something absolutely inhuman is being done; the infant in the cradle suffers from it and is cured by the suggestion of an old woman. Witches like to transform themselves into cats, "because cats climb up the roof, creep into rooms and closets, make magic and steal children".² The transformation is frequently connected with the aerial flight, the erotic meaning of which is quite obvious from flight dreams, with the nightmare or even with directly sexual experiences as for instance when the lover appears as a tom-cat.³ The Lady of Florimont, after having tried in vain to stop her husband from building a certain mill, haunts the mill at night in the shape of a black cat and kills five millers, till the sixth one cuts her feet off when she jumps on his neck. The apparitions that haunt a castle or a mill at night are evidently connected with the night terrors of childhood (primal scene), while the witch who kills all the men, that is, who does her best to stop the working of the mill is the female as castrator. The charm is broken when her foot is cut off, that is, when she is castrated, deprived of her penis and transformed into a real female.⁴

¹ Hansen, I.: *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter*, 1901. P. 110.

² Soldan-Heppe: *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse* I, 289, 1911.

³ *Ibid.* I, 510.

⁴ For further references to the witch in the shape of a cat, and the cat as a symbol of the vagina see Róheim's *Adalékok a magyar néphithez*. (Contributions to Hungarian Folk-Lore), 1920, pp. 73, 74, and F. S. Krauss' *Anthro-*

According to the Slovaks in Gömör (Northern Hungary), if somebody wishes to see the witches of the village he can do so at Christmas night. He must begin to carve a stool on the day of St. Lucia (December 13), and work a little at the stool every day till Christmas Eve. Everybody else must go to the mass, following which the man who wants to see the witches must take off all his clothes. When he lights the fire, the witches come in through the chimney in the shape of cats. He cuts their heads off and then he recognizes the women under the skin.¹ A man who tried the same thing in the Hungarian village of Csiz was caught by the witches and they flew about with him all night.² The witches are always recognized by their peculiar headdress. Sometimes they have the milk pail on their head, sometimes cows' horns. And it is advisable for the man who has intruded into their secrets to run for his life. If they catch him before he reaches his own threshold they will tear him to pieces. But he has provided himself with the means to prevent this. He has millet in his pocket which he strews behind his back as he runs. Every grain is a fresh obstacle, for the witch or witches must pick the grains up before they can follow him.

The data published in my Hungarian book on this subject demonstrate beyond doubt that the witch with the horns is the phallic mother. Witch and cow are closely connected throughout the middle ages as aggressor and victim. The cow stands for the nourishing mother while the witch, who is held responsible for the bleeding udders of the cow and the sexual impotency of man and is herself always accused of sexual orgies and frequently also of incestuous intercourse, represents the mother-imago as distorted by anxiety. In Duau (New Guinea) I was told that anybody who went about at night was either on the look-out for love affairs or else was a sorcerer or a witch.

pophyteia I, 184. For other animal transformations, see M. A. Murray's *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe*, 1921. P. 230.

¹ Tajovsky: *Z povier a obicaj v Pohorelej*. Slovenské Pohľady, 1897. P. 440.

² Manuscript data collected by Z. Solyom and quoted by Róheim in *Adalékok a magyar néphitther*, 1920, p. 50.

At the basis of the anxiety connected with the mother lies the repressed content, her sexual activity. If the horns on the head of our Southern German, Hungarian and Slav witches represent the penis, the milk pail is an equally comprehensible substitute for the vagina. Moreover, there is a widespread parallel to the custom of observing witches on Christmas Eve. In this case the man catches sight of the women when they are using their unguents or saying the incantation that takes them through the air, and must pay for his temerity by flying with them and by being knocked about very badly. Flying as in all other cases means coitus, for what the son is prying upon is the primal scene. The story represents the wish fulfilment of the son under the guise of a punishment, for it is just because he wants to "fly" with the witch that he intrudes upon her privacy. Similarly we can see through the closing episode of the story. In the latent content it is not running away from the witch but rather rushing toward her, for millet is a well known fertility symbol and throwing the millet is ejaculation.

The animal symbolization of the mother is therefore based on the repressed fantasies of the son as a would-be participant in the primal scene. The essential element is the non-acknowledgment of the primal scene, the first falsification of reality. When the Pindupi or Pitchentara relate their stories about human beings turning into animals they use the expression "ramaringanyi", i.e., "to get mad", and the same phrase means also to be "in a state of sexual excitement". From the infantile point of view the doings of the adults are qualified as non-human or abnormal, as a transformation into an animal or as pure madness. We are forcibly reminded of the findings of Ferenczi, regarding the relation between the infant and its adult environment: "*Die Angst vor den hemmungslosen, also gleichsam verrückten Erwachsenen macht das Kind sozusagen zum Psychiater, und um das zu werden und sich vor den Gefahren seitens Personen ohne Selbstkontrolle zu schützen, muss es sich mit ihnen zunächst vollkommen zu identifizieren wissen.*"¹

¹ Ferenczi, S.: *Sprachverwirrung zwischen dem Erwachsenen und dem Kind*. Int. Ztschr. f. Ps. XIX, 13.

It is because our infancy lasts longer than that of other animals that we need the supernatural beings. If we had developed harmoniously, if there were not a fatal discrepancy between what we desire and what we can bear, between the id and the ego, we should not have become human. Mankind spells disharmony. The primal scene is a trauma because the child must deny its own desires. Desires are fraught with anxiety, grown-ups are dangerous. But the same beings who from time to time undergo this miraculous transformation and appear to do something "beastly" are, nevertheless, at other times, loving and tender parents. The "evil" done by them is separated from their person and gives rise to the phallic ogres, the terrors of the night that haunt childish humanity. *Primus in orbe deos fecit timor*. It is necessary for primitive human societies to believe in strange, evil and inhuman beings in order that they themselves should be capable of remaining "good". The ever increasing quantities of anxiety cannot long be successfully dealt with by projection alone. A second series of supernatural beings represents narcissistic identification with the parental imagos and an incipient sublimation. At this point it is the reality principle which leads to the fission of the image from the prototype of the supernatural, from the human. In other words, demons originate because the parents are not as evil as they appear to the child in the light of the primal scene, and doubles and benevolent spirits originate because the parents are not as good as sublimation would have them. The first step denied reality, the second accepted it. The personality of the sky-being, which because of certain obvious implications has of late attracted so much interest in anthropology, is a mixture of these two origins. In some representatives of this type we can discover the projection of a fully developed superego. These are beings who are very good because they are really very wicked, or who are entirely asexual because in their origin they are purely phallic. Here and there we find the germs of this evolution in Central Australian sky-beings. But essentially they are "good devils", half-way between the monster and the idealized human being.

The sky-dwellers of the Semang and Andamanese are far more concerned with human behavior¹ than their Central Australian colleagues. The main function of Karei or Puluga is to punish the infringement of the incest taboo either in its direct or in its symbolical forms. But, like the superego which they represent, these beings can be bribed by sacrifices, by the symbolical equivalents of castration. I must confess, however, that in attempting to show the psychological background of these beings I cannot claim the same accuracy as I would fain believe I have attained in explaining Tukutita Tjinampara or Altjira iliinka, for I knew Pukuti-wara and Yirramba personally and it is through the believer that a god is really known.

¹ It is noteworthy that the process by which some anthropologists have explained the specific features of the pygmies is the same, which we have regarded as responsible for the transformation of the animal into a human being. Also that ethically "the pygmies are more civilized" than other human beings.