

VI
AMÉRIQUE ET OCEANIE

SPECULATIONS AND HYPOTHESES ON SHAMANISM IN THE DORSET CULTURE OF ARCTIC CANADA

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The work reported here can take as its point of departure Levine's (1957) statement that « We are presented with a rich corpus of art. The missing link is what these early men thought and believed — how they perceived reality, what they valued and what they took as problematic..... if we can make a reasonable case that the idea that a people's art is patterned by the point of view of their culture, if we can suggest the ways in which art exhibits this patterning, we might hope to make a plausible reconstruction of the attitudes and outlook of a prehistoric people ».

In quoting the above passage, Vinnicombe (1972) adds the cogent lines, « By combining a systematic, sensitive study of the art with judicious use of ethnographic parallels, Levine points the way to narrowing down the field of plausible explanations even if patterned demonstration is out of the question ». She continues that the increasing use of objective and quantitative methods of data retrieval will allow future workers to go beyond naive and particularist explanations to explore the realm of structured thought reflected in the data. I agree and wish this paper went on to that more elegant realm but I can manage here only an exploratory account. To this apology one might add that Canadian Eskimo archaeology continues a pioneer field of study and that the art pieces occur rarely in Dorset culture sites; thus it is only very recently that there have been enough such objects available to allow the archaeologist to ask questions.

At that, the earlier comments on Dorset art (Meldgaard 1960; Martijn, 1965) by arctic archaeologists have been generally brief references to shamanism, amulets and sympathetic magic practiced by hungry hunters and anxious parents. Indeed, Canadian arctic archaeology is imperfectly known and its students have been rightly concerned with such first questions as what were the cultures, their make-up, time span and distribution. Perhaps the following speculations and hypotheses on Dorset art and religion are rash but, if so, they might prove sufficiently irritating to provoke a future worker to apply to

the growing body of data those objective and quantitative methods that will inevitably produce a most valuable insight into the intellectual culture, the belief system, thoughts and values of the old, cold Dorset culture. Additionally, studies of Dorset art, as they improve, should aid in dating sites, in determining regional variation, in delineating continuities across space and through time and in perceiving the rates and directions of cultural change or influences. They should also, of course, reflect degrees of cohesion across the vast Dorset occupation area and assist in defining the so-called core area of Dorset culture.

Ethnographic analogy suggests that prehistoric Canadian Eskimos would have, and did have, shamanism as their form of religious expression. The archaeological data support that thought and carry one further if we dare speculate and form hypotheses. My own attempts to do so follow from such ideas as noted above, from a long concern with the tiny Dorset sculptures as art and explanation and from the panache and provocative questioning of an art colleague, Professor George Swinton, University of Manitoba (Taylor and Swinton, 1967). That association with an artist and art historian along with other experience convince me that prehistoric art and religion are too complex and too enlightening a field of study to be left to prehistorians — even ones more experienced in art. May I propose that such matters require, for adequate analyses, the cooperative work of prehistorians with art historians, practising artists, students of the ethnology of primitive religions, psychologists and psychiatrists specialized in art.

Turning to definitions, this Congress holds many reasons warning one not to define religion and magic. If they must be distinguished, then I suppose religion involves the worship or at least the propitiation of the supernatural, as sacred object or concept, while magic refers to the attempt to manipulate or exercise some influence over the supernatural. I do not know, in this context, the distinction between propitiation and manipulation. Whether these are or are not acceptable distinctions I should like to ignore them for the two are well enough mixed in practice — I only hope that shamanism can be classed as religion for if that is not so I am probably attending this conference in gross error. When using the term shamanism I refer to circumpolar shamanism, roughly characterized by a part-time specialist whose kit includes the drum, amulets, seances, spirit possession and flight into the supernatural world to improve the weather and the hunt or for curing. Eskimo shamans may also deal in the less benevolent practices of black magic.

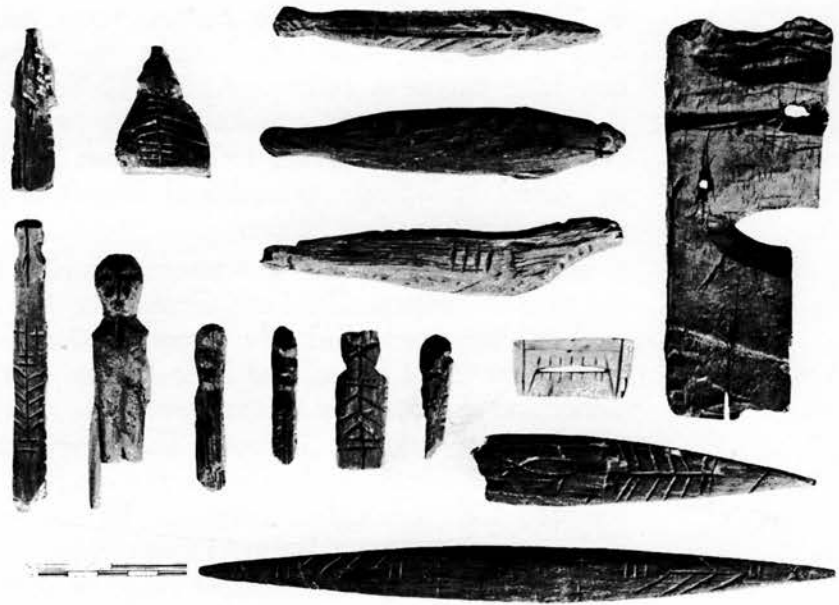
The Dorset culture, dating from about 800 B. C. to A. D. 1300, occupies the middle of three major prehistoric periods of Canadian Eskimo prehistory (Taylor, 1968). The first, Pre-Dorset, dating perhaps from 2500 to 500 B. C., represents small bands of seasonally nomadic hunters who drifted eastward from Alaska across arctic Canada to Greenland and Labrador with a burin and microblade plus biface chipped stone industry and an economy harvesting sea and land mammals, fish and birds. Beginning about 800 B. C., Dorset evolved largely from this first human occupation of arctic Canada and was replaced

by Thule culture, a classic Eskimo form carried east by population drift from north Alaska to Canada and Greenland. The Thule drift may have begun as early as A. D. 700 but it seems more dependable to note that it largely replaced Dorset between A. D. 900 and 1300 (Taylor, 1963-b; McGhee, 1972). These Thule culture people became the direct biological, cultural and linguistic ancestors of the historic and modern Canadian Eskimo.

Before its demise, Dorset culture occurred from Amundsen Gulf in the west to Newfoundland and Greenland. The distance from Newfoundland to Amundsen Gulf about equals that from Valcamonica to Kuwait, some 2400 miles. The little Dorset sites, of a few skin tents in summer and shallow semi-subterranean huts in winter, reflect small bands of seasonally nomadic hunters. They very probably had skin boats, such as the kayak, and tailored fur clothing. They used a range of weapons such as toggling harpoons, knives, lances and fish spears. In addition to soapstone lamps, Dorset chipped stone and ground slate inventories contain a remarkable range of points, knives, scrapers, perforators and abraders with an extensive use of microblades. Dorset hunters had small man-hauled sleds but the evidence for their use of dogs, bows and arrows and the bow-drill remains exceedingly slight. These were a tundra-adapted people and the vast majority of their known sites are in coastal locations from which they hunted a wide range of arctic game but focussing heavily on seal, walrus, caribou and fish. They very probably spoke an Eskimo language variant. The few human skeletal remains identified as Dorset indicate the people were physically Eskimo.

With ethnographic analogy allowing us to suggest that the religion of Dorset culture is some form of circumpolar shamanism, then the art of the culture provides the major means to explore Dorset shamanism further. I would have alluded here to Dorset burial practices but these remain largely unknown (Meldgaard, 1955). Dorset art occurs only rarely, is usually sculptural, sometimes high or low relief and most often of walrus ivory, caribou antler or drift wood. Only in two or three pieces is it in stone and, of the wood, the vast majority of that material in Dorset art has come from one site, Button Point, to be referred to later. As one might expect Dorset sculpture is made on a small scale: the smallest is a bear $3/8$ inches long (Taylor, 1971, Pl. 82) and rarely do pieces exceed four inches. The figurines, echoing a consummate skill with stone tools, are sometimes precisely realistic (Rowley, 1972), sometimes highly abstract, but usually they depict animals, humans, fish, birds or mythical mixtures of subjects. Sometimes a complete specimen represents a part such as a human face, a gull's head, a caribou hoof. Some objects carry an incised line decoration, the so-called skeletal motif; others have overall straight line decoration. Incised crosses and x's also occur frequently on Dorset sculptural art and these might possibly represent joint marks. Unfortunately they occur as well scattered on some small figures of ptarmigan and in those instances might not be joint marks. Among the most unusual finds is a series of more than 50 engravings of masks or human faces on a soapstone outcrop on the south coast of Hudson Strait (Sa-

Fig. 209
Examples of Dorset culture art from the Button Point site, Bylot Island, N. W. T., Canada. All, excepting one walrus ivory specimen, are of driftwood (National Museum of Canada negative J-19179).



ladin d'Anglure, 1963; Taylor, 1963). There are additionally in Dorset collections, decorated fragments but I expect, without proof, that decoration generally means religious content — for example a decorated harpoon head very probably is carrying, not decoration for its own sake, but symbols of religious value. That is to say Dorset art is religious art, the art of the shaman, although I cannot confirm that he himself fashions it all or that he retains it all in his possession. I suggest that at least a good part of the material we call Dorset art is made by the shaman, or shaman-artist to use Swinton's (1967) term, and I presume that much of it remains in his possession as part of his ritual equipment. Other pieces were probably amulets given to clients or patients by the shaman or made on his suggestion. Some Dorset pieces have perhaps been incorrectly identified. For example, the so-called toy harpoon heads more often might have been religious objects since many of them are too small for use as toys and lack the foreshaft socket necessary for their use as heads of miniature harpoons.

I regret that it was not possible, for this paper, to assemble data on all the known Dorset art pieces now stored in museums in Canada, the U.S.A., Britain and Denmark — and some have been away from my own Museum for over a year in an international exhibit of Canadian Eskimo art. Beyond that, a very large percent of the total is yet unpublished. Perhaps 300 to 400 Dorset art pieces have been recovered but for this exploratory review I had access only to 89 specimens in hand to 36 illustrated in the published literature. They are perhaps enough to provide an idea of frequencies and variation. Taking nine simple categories, those 125 pieces gave 151 subject matter classifications (since some specimens incorporate two or more subjects) as follows:

52 specimens - human	- 34%
30 specimens - bear	- 20%
19 specimens - seals	- 12.5%

16 specimens - birds	- 10.6%
15 specimens - walrus	- 10%
6 specimens - caribou	- 4%
4 specimens - fish	- 2.6%
3 specimens - weasel	- 2%
6 specimens - unclassified	- 4%
	99.7%

Clearly, human depictions (34%) and sea mammals (42.5%) predominate, and, excluding the human, bears are pre-eminent. One is inclined to ponder the time depth of circumpolar bear ceremonialism. And certainly I think a polar bear an impressive animal to meet when one has no tree to climb. In this art bears often appear to be floating or flying in space or else diving or swimming — an orientation that leads some observers and me to think of spirit flight of shamans' helping spirits. Many possible subjects, such as insect life, vegetation and structures, seem absent and curved line decoration is exceedingly rare. Further, even in this restricted sample, cultural consistency over the vast Dorset area is well seen. For example, a falcon figurine known from Mill Island, Mansel Island and Igloodik occurs as well in Greenland, some 1100 miles distant: a walrus head without mandible is a motif that occurs near Igloodik and at Port Harrison some 750 miles away. A few tiny carved wood human faces, done in drift wood, occur on Victoria Island and in southern Baffin Island and in Greenland and these are remarkably similar in depiction and decoration to those from Button Point, although the distance between them is a straight line span of 1100 miles.

So-called needle cases, of ivory and characterized by stylized human faces and an interlocking walrus motif, occur from Mansel to Ellesmere Island, although, from other data, I think these things had far less earthy function as shaman utensil boxes or kits to hold the small ritual



Fig. 210
Examples of human facial depictions in Dorset culture art. Materials are driftwood, walrus ivory, caribou antler and soapstone (National Museum of Canada negative J-19180-17).

carvings that probably depicted the shaman's spirit helpers (Taylor, 1971).

Having noted similarities within the Dorset area, one must note that regional variation is to be expected in that million square miles. One distinct variant is that studied by Harp (1964) in Newfoundland where the art, again with a high percentage of bear figurines, is quite distinctive. Nevertheless, one can see in the Newfoundland Dorset sculptures its fundamental association with the Dorset art, and belief system, of Arctic Canada (Harp, 1970). What little I know of the Newfoundland expression suggests a very high incidence of sea mammal depictions (bear, walrus, seal) and a lower frequency of humans, birds and fish in the subject matter¹.

Although Dorset was replaced by Thule culture migration one finds in the ethnographic record of recent Eskimo, descendent from the Thule culture people, some plausible correlates with Dorset art and shamanistic inferences based on it. That suggests either a strong commonality of religious ideas, perhaps because of previously unperceived continuity from Dorset to Thule, or a survival of Dorset religious beliefs through Thule to historic times in some areas (such as Angmagssalik especially) or perhaps to common origins in proto-Eskimo culture of Alaska — or most likely to a combination of these alternate hypotheses.

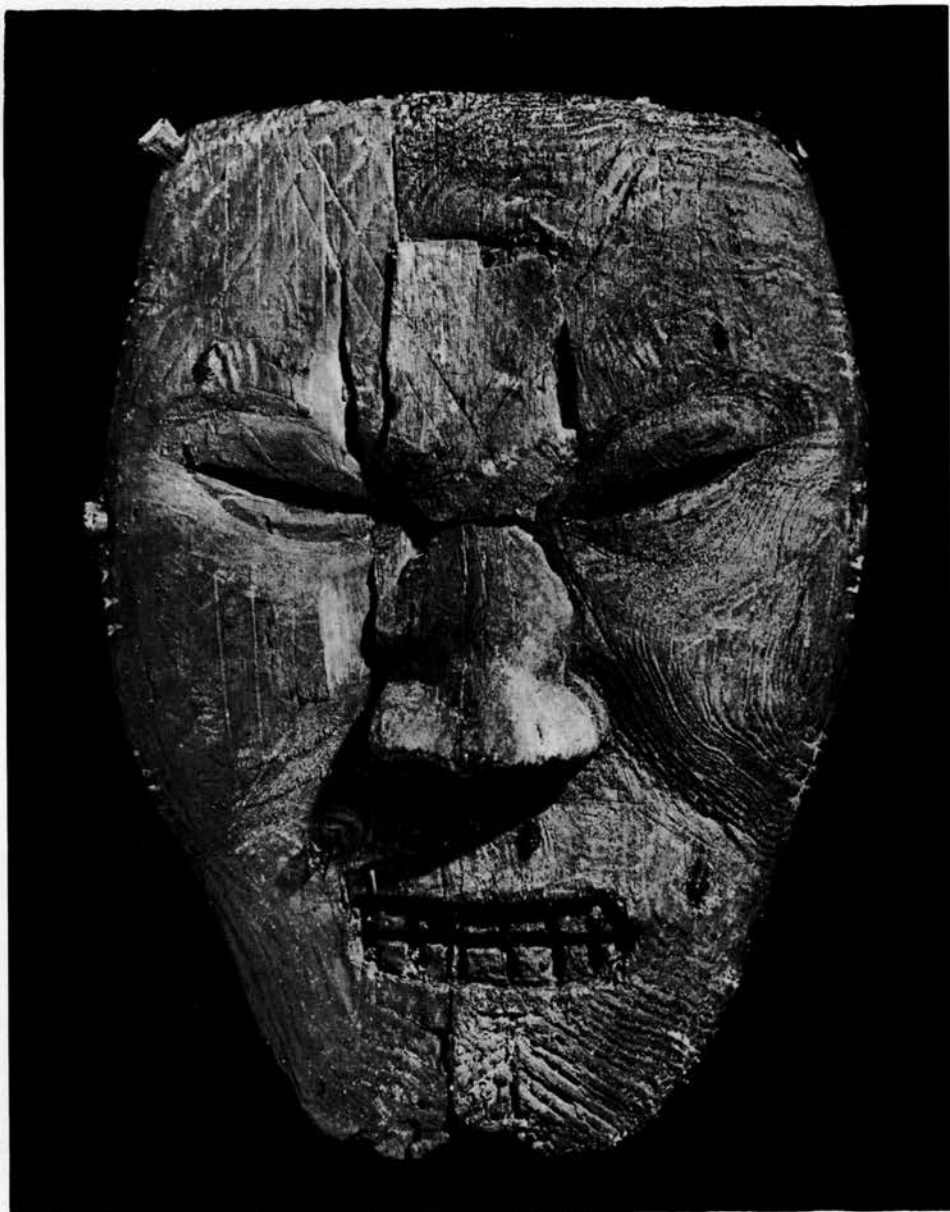
Among the most significant of these ethnographic echoes is one recalling the Dorset skeletal motif for Rasmussen (1929) notes that the Igloodik shaman needed to be able « to see himself as a skeleton » and name each bone in the sacred shaman language. One may wonder if that sacred shaman's language was specially related to the language of the Dorset people. The high percentage of Dorset bears recalls the West Greenland bear figure Tôrnârssuk, « the master of the helping spirits », who gave the shamans power and provided helping spirits to them (Thalbitzer, 1914; Holtved, 1963). In East Greenland one has the mystic bear Tôrnartik as the most prominent helping spirit. Further, Holm (1914) notes for 19th century Angmagssalik that the angakok or shaman bear was recognized in carvings by his *thin* body and *thick* neck which also is typical of Dorset bear figures *but* contrasts to real polar bears which have broad bodies and slender necks (Taylor, 1971, Pl. 1-3). Also, in the Canadian arctic the bear was generally regarded as a particularly strong helping spirit. The falcon played a significant role in east Greenland shamanism and a few such birds occur in Dorset art. In one Canadian Dorset artifact the falcon appears to have a bear's head, an example of the mixture of subjects in Dorset specimens (Taylor, 1969, Fig. 13).

Last, one might present something of the remarkable drift wood art recovered in relative abundance by Therkel Mathiassen (1927) and recently by Father Guy Marie Rousselière (1970; Taylor, 1972) from Button Point just off the north coast of Baffin Island.

Amulets do not seem abundant but what does strike one is the evidence for sympathetic magic for hunt and fertility, black magic and

¹ I am very grateful to Dr. Harp for photographs provided and for the pleasure of examining his collections.

Fig. 211
Dorset Eskimo life sized wooden mask, marginal perforations, nose separately attached; from Button Point site (National Museum of Man).



shamanism. Some carvings of bears and seals have a small slit cut in the upper back and in some the lethal sliver has remained in place (Taylor, 1972, p. 38). There is a composite carving of a man in a sexually aroused state and another of a pregnant woman (Taylor, 1972, p. 41). There are as well decorated figures that may represent kayaks used by the shaman in voyages to the supernatural. Particularly interesting and parallel to ivory or antler bear figures from other Dorset areas is a figurine with a human face on its back (Taylor, 1971, Pl. 4-5). Such pieces may depict the spirit helper carrying the shaman, in spirit perhaps, to the sea bottom to entreat the sea goddess to release game — perhaps a foretaste of the historic period shaman beseeching Sedna. Black magic is seen in several small human figures with a slot in the upper chest and in two of these a sliver of wood remains embedded. Three of these figures show red ochre stain and Meldgaard (1955) has

noted red ochre in Dorset period graves. There are also what are surely wooden frame fragments of small drums very probably used in the shamanistic seance ritual. There are as well a few fragments of life-sized wooden masks, a partial wood mask and one nearly complete wood mask with marginal perforations, probably to attach it to the wearer's head and evidence is that it was fitted with moustache, eyebrows and hair (Rousselière, 1970; Taylor, 1972). The nose was separately attached. These might be burial masks and they do bring to mind the elegant masks of Ipiutak culture of A. D. 300 in Alaska (Larsen and Rainey, 1948). Parenthetically a few other Dorset culture pieces call Ipiutak to mind and one may speculate on an earlier common Alaskan ancestor for the few Dorset-Ipiutak parallels in art and religious beliefs (Taylor and Swinton, 1967). I am inclined to expect that these Dorset masks were worn by the shaman as part of his ritual kit but, if that be so, one might also guess that they were buried with, or on, their owner. No proof of burial exists at Button Point, although the Ipiutak finds were clearly burials, perhaps shaman burials. A large part of the Button Point find came from about a one square meter area suggesting a cache of holy material (Rousselière, personal communication). Conversely, since the find is in an eroding bank, that cache might have been associated with a shaman's grave. As yet nothing quite comparable has been reported from other Dorset sites. And that too underlines the limitations on our knowledge of Dorset art and religion and that these preceding paragraphs are indeed speculative.

RIASSUNTO

La cultura di Capo Dorset, una fase preistorica della civiltà eschimese, è esistita attraverso buona parte della zona artica del Canada, da circa l'800 a. C. fino a poco dopo il 1000 d. C. Le sue origini affondano le radici in genere nella cultura Pre-Dorset, che rappresenta una estensione orientale a partire dall'Alaska della tradizione artica degli strumenti microlitici. A partire dal 900 d. C. circa, la cultura di Dorset fu rimpiazzata da quella di Thule, portata verso Est dall'Alaska da un movimento di popolazione che si estese attraverso il Canada artico fino alla Groenlandia e al Labrador. L' analogia etnografica e i dati archeologici consentono di formulare l'ipotesi che la popolazione della cultura di Dorset praticasse una forma di sciamanismo. Alcune delle piccole incisioni su avorio, corno e legno della cultura di Dorset sembrano spiegabili, in parte, per mezzo di credenze religiose e tradizioni orali degli Eschimesi centrali di epoca storica, che, comunque discendevano culturalmente, fisicamente e linguisticamente dalla cultura preistorica di Thule. Recenti ritrovamenti nelle isole del Canada artico rinforzano l'ipotesi dello sciamanismo nella cultura di Dorset e indicano l'esistenza di una speciale concezione dell'orso nel sistema delle credenze, l'uso del tamburo dello sciamano e della magia simpatica. Analizzando i dati ulteriormente, si può speculare sull'esistenza nella vita religiosa della cultura di Dorset, di un rituale funerario forse associato con la morte degli sciamani.

RÉSUMÉ

La culture du Cap Dorset, phase préhistorique de la civilisation Eskimo, se développa dans la plus grande partie du Canada arctique depuis 800 av. J. - C. jusqu'à 1000 apr. J. - C. D'une manière générale, elle trouve son origine dans la culture Pré-Dorset, extension orientale, à partir de l'Alaska, de la tradition arctique des outils microlithiques. A partir de 900 apr. J. - C. environ, la culture

de Dorset fut remplacée par celle de Thulé, transportée de l'Alaska vers l'Est grâce à un mouvement de population qui traversa le Canada arctique jusqu'au Groenland et au Labrador. L'analogie ethnographique et les données archéologiques permettent de formuler l'hypothèse selon laquelle la population de la culture de Dorset pratiquait une forme de chamanisme. Certaines petites gravures sur ivoire, corne ou bois semblent explicables en partie par les croyances religieuses et les traditions orales des Eskimos du Centre à l'époque historique, qui dérivent, sur le plan culturel, physique et linguistique de la culture préhistorique de Thulé. De récentes découvertes dans les îles du Canada arctique renforcent l'hypothèse du chamanisme dans la culture de Dorset et indiquent une situation particulière de l'ours dans le système des croyances, l'usage du tambour chamanique et de la magie sympathique. En poussant plus loin l'analyse, on peut spéculer sur l'existence, dans la vie religieuse de la culture de Dorset, d'un rituel funéraire peut-être associé à la mort des chamans.

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RELIGIOUS FIGURES ON PETROGLYPHS IN THE UPPER OHIO VALLEY

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Since 1958, I have studied the petroglyphs of the Upper Ohio Valley as one of the archeological programs of Carnegie Museum, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. What we define as the Upper Ohio Valley is the drainage basin of one of the great rivers of the United States, the Ohio, north of New Martinsville, West Virginia. Its boundaries are the limits of any county in which rises a stream that drains into the Allegheny or Monongahela rivers (which unite at Pittsburgh to form the Ohio), or that flow directly into the Ohio, north of New Martinsville.

The region so defined is nearly 250 miles from north to south, nearly 125 miles east to west, at the greatest dimensions in those directions. It covers nearly 23,000 square miles and contains 56 counties in the five states of Maryland, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia.

We chose this riverine method of establishing the region for research because we believed that in hilly and mountainous country such as ours the direction and scope of cultural relations among American Indian groups was determined by the drainage pattern. Upstream from New Martinsville, in the 56 counties of our Upper Ohio Valley, nearly all streams feed into the Allegheny or the Monongahela or directly into the Ohio. Downstream from New Martinsville, streams drain into another system, the Kanawha-Elk-New River basin.

Further, my understanding of the results of intensive work by other Carnegie Museum archeologists since 1950 convinced me that there was a prehistoric cultural homogeneity in the Allegheny-Monongahela-Ohio drainage district distinct from that of contiguous areas such as the Kanawha-Elk-New River district to the south or the Juniata-Susquehanna district to the east. I believed that if it were possible to establish a patterning of petroglyph designs and assemblages that could lead to chronological and cultural hypotheses, it would be only in a culturally homogeneous area, and that the Upper Ohio Valley was such an area. Although otherwise not pertinent to this paper, both archeological site work and my petroglyph investigation since 1958 support this attitude.

Twenty-eight different sites have been investigated. Of these, twenty-one are believed to be American Indian. All that are accessible have been studied in the field. Others, no longer accessible because destroyed by the processes of industrialization and urbanization or hidden by the water of dams, were studied from records amassed by others. A complete illustrated report on the petroglyph study, the sites, the designs, and the conclusions, will appear shortly as *Rock art of the Upper Ohio Valley*, a monograph from Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt of Graz, Austria. In this paper, consideration is given only to religious figures appearing on sites and their application to solving the problems of chronology and cultural relations.

When I began, I was pessimistic in regard to reaching sound hypotheses in these matters. As long ago as 1886, Garrick Mallery set the tone for this attitude. His extensive and intensive studies of American Indian pictographs, petroglyphs, and sign languages (Mallery, 1880, 1886, 1893) led him to the conclusion that very few interpretations of signs were possible because most designs were mnemonic records and, essentially, unless one knew what the man who painted or carved a design intended it to mean, one could not interpret it. Few signs were conventionalized. Even fewer were symbolic or emblematic. Most were purely objective. Such techniques as cryptographic analysis were useless. To interpret designs required extensive knowledge of the customs, costumes, traditions, and the like, of the group from which came the artist who created the designs (Mallery), 1886, pp. 215-216). This sort of information is difficult enough to gain from contemporary groups; for groups known only archeologically, it is nearly impossible.

Efforts by numerous people to explain American Indian petroglyphs and pictographs resulted in floods of pure speculation, such as that attending interpretations of the Dighton Rock in Massachusetts, which has been called the creation of Carthaginians, Hebrews, Vikings, and Portuguese, as well as American Indians, each interpretation being advanced as the product of sound scholarly work (Brecher and Brecher, 1958). So much of this work was fantasy that for the most part American anthropologists avoided petroglyph studies as they pursued more conventional lines of research that revealed villages, cemeteries, work shops, and the like, leading to more rapid understanding of cultural content, change, and rate of change.

In recent years, however, American anthropological interest has been directed to American Indian petroglyphs and excellent interpretations and studies of dispersal and cultural impact have resulted. Examples of fine reports on recent work of this nature include Robert F. Heizer and Martin A. Baumhoff on the Great Basin region of Nevada and California (1959, 1962), Polly Schaafsma on the Navajo Reservoir district (1963), David S. Gebhard on rock art in Wyoming and Texas (1951, 1960, 1966), Waldo R. Wedel on shield and spear figures on petroglyphs in central Kansas (1969), and Paul E. Nesbitt on application of analysis of stylistic patterns to association of petroglyphs with ethnographic groups along the Lower Snake River (1968).

These works are concerned with America's plains and western states. *Rock art of the Upper Ohio Valley* will be the first regional report

attempting analysis for the eastern United States since Mallery's work in the late 19th century according to Selwyn Dewdney (1972), although certainly Julian Steward (1936) and Campbell Grant (1967) have done work of this nature.

In the plains and western states, archeologists have at their command archeological and historic records and contemporary Indian peoples, all of which enable them to make reliable explanations of chronology and cultural relations. This is not true in the eastern United States. In the east, chronological and cultural relations must be based on logical interpretation of data, and while logic does not necessarily lead to truth, it is the only tool available to explain data from eastern petroglyph sites.

Respecting chronology, logic requires the petroglyphs must be placed somewhere in the generally accepted prehistoric chronological and cultural framework for the eastern United States:

Paleo-Indian, 8000-3000 B. C.; Archaic, 3000-1000 B. C.; Early Woodland (locally particularly Adena), 1000-100 B. C.; Middle Woodland (locally particularly Hopewell), 100 B. C. - A. D. 900; Late Prehistoric, A. D. 900-1600; and Historic, A. D. 1600-present (Mayer-Oakes, 1955, p. 8).

The rate of deterioration of such a site as the Indian God Rock on the Allegheny River near Franklin, Pennsylvania, is obviously quite rapid. When discovered by a French expedition in 1749, its figures were clear (Bonnécamps, 1750; Céleron de Blainville, 1749). By the 1930s, it was reasonably difficult to see the figures (personal communications by Clifford S. J. Lewis during the 1950s and 1960s). In 1958 they were described by a keen and competent observer as difficult to see (Peterson, 1958). Although I confess I did not find them as so difficult to discern as did Lewis and Peterson, they are, after all, of immediate professional concern to me and both training and practice make it easier for me than for nonprofessionals to see such figures. Nevertheless, and despite some variation because of favorable positioning, our petroglyphs as attested by the God Rock have become noticeably very much dimmer during only the last two centuries.

For this reason, I find it difficult to believe that they were carved during the distant Paleo-Indian or the more recent Archaic periods. This brings us to the Early and Middle Woodland periods, covering the years from about 1000 B. C. to about A. D. 900. Members of our strongest local manifestations of these periods, the Adena and the Hopewell, were accomplished artists. I think it unlikely that they would not put special effort into religious figures, for as we shall see, many of our petroglyph designs are ceremonial religious figures, and produce much finer products than those of our sites where the best work is done with purely naturalistic figures.

There are left only the Late Prehistoric and Historic periods. On our sites there are no designs that we believe were carved by Indians, which indicate European contact. In those instances where such designs as houses, horses, guns, flags, or men with hats occur, they are palpably recent and carved with metal tools. I am confident no American Indian carved a site in the Upper Ohio Valley in which were mingled motifs from both Indian and European sources. This leads me to believe that

our petroglyphs were carved sometime during the period A. D. 900 to about 1750, for European penetration into the Upper Ohio Valley was not significant until about 1750, and the rate of deterioration of figures suggests to me that the petroglyphs were carved later, rather than earlier, during those 850 years, say A. D. 1200 to about 1750.

During the time period, A. D. 1200 to about 1750, the important Late Prehistoric group in our area was the archeologically-known people we call Monongahela Man (see Dragoo, 1970, for discussion of variation and complexity among the groups that have been called Monogahela Man). Characteristic Monongahela Man settlements were not being established as early as A. D. 900 perhaps, but they were founded sometime between A. D. 1200 to 1400, nearly 800 to 600 years ago. Distribution of Monongahela Man villages and petroglyph sites is in some sense the same, but because I have been unable to associate a particular village site with a particular petroglyph site, I cannot in truth say Monongahela Man site distribution proves association between Monongahela Man and the petroglyphs. I believe, however, and I advance the theory that it is likely that our petroglyphs were carved sometime during the period A. D. 1200 to about 1750, by people who were of the group we know as Monongahela Man.

A large number of figures on petroglyph sites in the Upper Ohio Valley are strikingly similar to, or duplicate figures on, birch-bark scrolls used as memory aids in Ojibwa *Midéwiwin* or Grand Medicine Society ceremonies as reported and illustrated by Henry R. Schoolcraft (1853-1868), W. J. Hoffman (1888, 1891), and others. This phenomenon was pointed out long before I began my work (Mallery, 1886; Engberg & Miles 1931; Cadzow, 1934).

This number of parallels between Ojibwa ceremonial religious figures and those of petroglyphs on sites in the Upper Ohio Valley demands explanation. I consider it an inescapable conclusion that those who carved our petroglyphs were somehow associated with Ojibwa. From archeological evidence, Ojibwa folk history, and eighteenth-century records, we know that there have never been significant numbers of Ojibwa in the Upper Ohio Valley. It is not acceptable that there were ever enough of them in the research region to have created the petroglyph sites.

I prefer the hypothesis that the association between those who carved our petroglyphs and the Ojibwa was more remote in time and space. I suggest that the artists of the Upper Ohio Valley petroglyph sites did not share the *midé* concept with Ojibwa but did share an older set of spiritual concepts and a set of symbols to express them with the Ojibwa and other historic tribes that did have the *midé* concept: Fox, Pottawatomie, Sauk, Menominee, and Winnebago (Trowbridge, 1939, p. 36).

These are all Eastern Woodland tribes who share the Algonquian tongue. Believing that mystic concepts and the symbolism to express them travel along linguistic lines, I move to the theory that the petroglyph sites of the Upper Ohio Valley were carved in the period A. D. 1200-1750 by Late Prehistoric Monongahela Man and that Monongahela Man spoke an Algonquian tongue. I now propose to add the last

step to the hypothesis. I suggest that, of the groups speaking an Algonquian tongue, the one most likely to have inhabited the Upper Ohio Valley during the late Prehistoric Period was the Shawnee, and that Monongahela Man was proto-Shawnee.

The suggestion is not entirely original with me and has support from a number of other investigators and from archeology, ethnology, and history. As long ago as 1947 Mary Butler posed the question: « Were the Shawnee the bearers of Monongahela Woodland Culture? » (Butler, 1947, pp. 121, 122). In 1952 James B. Griffin suggested that historic Shawnee might have descended culturally from some of the archeologically identified Fort Ancient groups (Griffin, 1952, p. 364). In 1954 Glenn A. Black and George K. Neumann found Griffin's idea acceptable on physical, archeological, ethnological, and historical grounds (Black and Neumann, 1954, pp. 333, 360). In 1955 William J. Mayer-Oakes emphasized relations between the Clover Complex and Monongahela Man (Mayer-Oakes, 1955, pp. 12, 122, 123, 164, 171, 220, 228). Space dispersion and variation in many aspects of material culture among the Monongahela Man and Fort Ancient archeological groups is consistent with the documented tendency of historic Shawnee and culturally related peoples to split into small groups and wander away from each other (Black and Neumann, 1954, pp. 57, 93).

I cannot bridge the geographical distance between historic Shawnee and such an Algonquian-speaking, Eastern-Woodland, Grand-Medicine-Society-using tribe as historic Ojibwa by producing evidence that they used the same symbols in a shared cult. Indeed, Erminie Voegelin pointed out that the Grand Medicine Society did not exist among the Shawnee (Voegelin, 1939, p. 36). This fact does not adversely affect the use of petroglyph sites as evidence in support of a theory that, at a remote period, those whom we know as Monongahela Man, and whom I call proto-Shawnee, shared a set of mystic concepts, and the symbolism to express them, with the Ojibwa and others who had the *midé* ceremony. I think it strengthens the theory. I suggest that, as the Algonquian tribal groups dispersed from an ancestral center somewhere in the northeastern United States and began moving west and south, most if not all, retained the symbols, but that some groups, such as Monongahela Man, forgot, discarded, or did not develop the *Midéwiwin* application of old religious ideas.

For the Grand Medicine Society may not be ancient. It was in existence prior to the coming of Europeans to the Great Lakes region (Kinietz, 1940, pp. 215-217), but there is thought that it was not very old at that time and did not become a recognizable formal ceremony until « about the turn of the 18th century » (Hickerson, 1962, p. 6). It contains, in such elements as the physical arrangement of its lodge, influences attributable to such European models as Masonic Societies (Sigfus Olafson, 1971).

If so, the application of an ancient symbolism was taking place during the period immediately prior to the advent of Europeans in the Upper Ohio Valley, precisely the years when Monongahela Man lived in the Upper Ohio Valley, and its full development was taking place when there was little contact between the Algonquian-speaking peoples of

the Great Lakes region and the Algonquian-speaking, proto-Shawnee whom I equate with Monongahela Man, for no archeological evidence bespeaks connections. On the basis of this hypothesis, I believe we can now answer Mary Butler's 1947 question with: « Yes, Mary, the Shawnee were the bearers of Monongahela Woodland Culture ».

Although as an archeologist I wish I could present incontestable physical evidence instead of only logic to support the theory, I am gratified that intensive study of the petroglyphs of the region was the catalyst enabling the welding of other archeological, ethnographical, and historical evidence into a foundation enabling us to say « Yes » to Butler.

RIASSUNTO

Nonostante l'iniziale convincimento dell'Autore che non fosse possibile raggiungere un valido inquadramento cronologico e culturale dei petroglifi indiani americani della Valle Superiore dell'Ohio (Stati Uniti), le figure religiose incise in quei luoghi hanno fornito degli indizi per mezzo dei quali l'Autore è pervenuto alla conclusione che i petroglifi furono incisi tra il 1200 e il 1750 d.C. e che essi sono opera del Gruppo « Woodland » della tarda preistoria, conosciuto anche col nome di Monongahela, il precursore dello Shawnee.

RÉSUMÉ

L'Auteur avait cru impossible de préciser la position chronologique et culturelle des pétroglyphes indiens du cours supérieur de l'Ohio (Etats-Unis). Cependant, des représentations de nature religieuse découvertes dans différents sites l'amènent à conclure que ces pétroglyphes furent gravés entre 1200 et 1750 apr. J. - C., par un groupe du « Late Prehistoric Woodland », connu sous le nom de « Monongahela Man » et que celui-ci était un groupe proto-Shawnee.

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EXPERIENCIAS PSIQUICAS Y CULTOS ESOTERICOS REFLEJADOS EN EL ARTE RUPESTRE SUDAMERICANO

Schobinger, Juan, Mendoza, Argentina.

El objeto de esta comunicación es el de aportar — complementando lo dicho en otra parte (Schobinger, 1972) — algunos elementos a la hipótesis que se halla en elaboración por parte del autor, de que muchos grupos aborígenes americanos han realizado ritos de misterio o de iniciación, y que, de distinto modo, han poseído conocimientos del tipo que llamamos esotérico (o que, al menos, algunos de sus individuos han recibido impresiones o vivencias de tal carácter). Si ello se ha plasmado en las realizaciones arquitectónicas y escultóricas de las grandes culturas « Formativas » de Mesoamérica y de los Andes, por otro lado (y en forma naturalmente más modesta) ello pudo reflejarse en obras y motivos del arte rupestre de las culturas más o menos marginales, en especial en las de nivel agrícola-alfarero relativamente sencillo como las que a partir de comienzos de la era cristiana existieron en el noroeste y oeste de la República Argentina, que representan, junto con las del centro-norte de Chile, el sector meridional de la gran área cultural Andina. Esos ritos podían incluir, tanto prácticas iniciáticas puras (comparables a las técnicas del Oriente asiático para « despertar » la percepción extrasensorial), como también, probablemente con mayor frecuencia, prácticas de magia más o menos « negra », con inhalación de alucinógenos y actos orgiásticos o eventualmente de sodomía. (Hasta qué punto existió un verdadero shamanismo es difícil saberlo, pero por algunos indicios arqueológicos y dada su supervivencia etnográfica en algunas zonas de Sudamérica, es lícito postular su existencia).

La metodología para aproximarse al problema debe ser interdisciplinaria, de acuerdo con la complejidad del mismo. No se trata de una mera « interpretación », más o menos subjetiva, de los datos arqueológicos, sino de su encuadramiento dentro de una tesis histórico-religiosa y psicológica general, que al mismo tiempo tenga en cuenta los datos modernos acerca de aquellas prácticas y de sus efectos, así como los testimonios fidedignos de personas que posean facultades genéricamente llamadas de « videncia ». No desdeñaremos tampoco las descripciones de tipo teosófico, ya que las mismas se basan en tradiciones orientales

muy antiguas que reflejan ideas y vivencias que de algún modo se pueden paralelizar con las de los pueblos americanos. (Es importante hacer constar que su utilización se hace a nivel fenomenológico, es decir que el autor no se pronuncia — desde el punto de vista científico — sobre la realidad objetiva de lo reflejado por dichas ideas y vivencias y sus consiguientes expresiones simbólicas).

La tesis general debe partir de un esquema amplio, que puede ser resumido en una dicotomía básica entre la llamada « mentalidad arcaica » (o « prehistórica ») y la « moderna », entendiendo como tales una polaridad que, aunque susceptible de ser subdividida en fases temporales (como las planteadas por Jean Gebser en 1949) y en variantes espaciales, separe fundamentalmente lo que se inicia en el ámbito eurasiático con las culturas hebrea a partir de los siglos X-VIII a.J.C. y griega clásica a partir del siglo VI a.J.C., de todo lo anterior (y parcialmente paralelo).

He aquí algunas de las oposiciones que — siempre en forma muy esquemática — pueden formularse:

<i>Nivel arcaico</i>	<i>Nivel moderno</i>
Mentalidad de tipo intuitivo	Mentalidad racional
Apertura hacia lo cósmico	Disociación sujeto/objeto
Conciencia colectiva	Conciencia individual
Sentido del tiempo cíclico	Sentido del tiempo lineal
Historia mítica (arquetípica, repetitiva)	Historia narrativa y genética
No necesidad de escritura; expresión simbólica de las vivencias.	Escritura (consencuencia de un proceso de abstracción).
No hay « religión » en nuestro concepto, sino prácticas culturales (inclusive socio-económicas) de « religiosidad inmanente », la que es reforzada por prácticas « proto-iniciáticas ».	Existe « religión » (<i>religio</i>), manifestada en mito, rito y culto externo, que paulatinamente se ve más disociada del resto de la vida. Paralelamente, existen las prácticas iniciáticas, más o menos puras y más o menos ocultas, como un intento de mantener viva (o de restaurar) la mentalidad arcaica.

Partiendo de esta tesis, surge otra, más directamente relacionada con nuestro tema, y es que en el continente americano ha habido — dentro del proceso general de « retardación » ya reconocido para su historia cultural — una conservación tardía de la llamada mentalidad arcaica, forzada en los últimos tiempos ¹ mediante métodos mágicos, incluyendo inhalación de alucinógenos.

Uno de los efectos de las prácticas iniciáticas es el de « percibir » al ser humano como un centro de fuerzas, de ondas que de diverso modo parten de su interior. En este sentido, los indígenas americanos parecen

¹ Precizando: unos dos milenios antes de la Conquista, y también conservada entre algunas tribus en áreas marginales hasta la actualidad.

Fig. 212
El Leoncito (prov. San Juan). Paredón que bordea una antigua senda. Cabezas mascariformes de hasta 50 cm. de diámetro, grabadas en la roca.

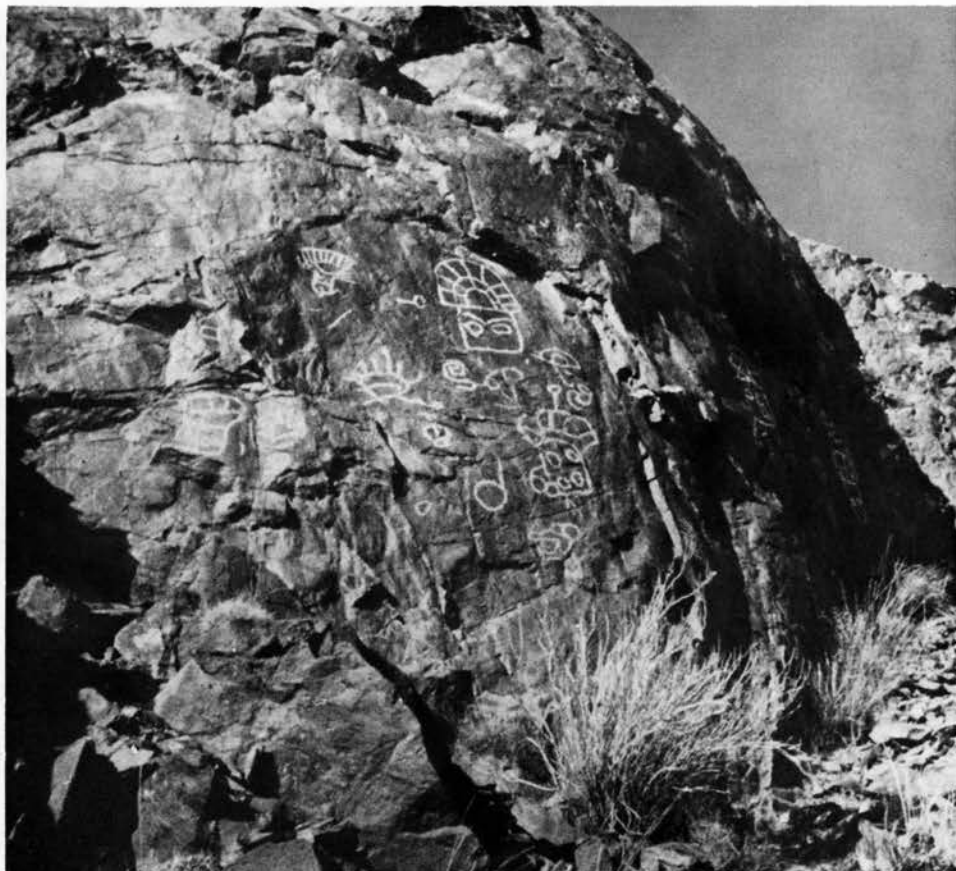
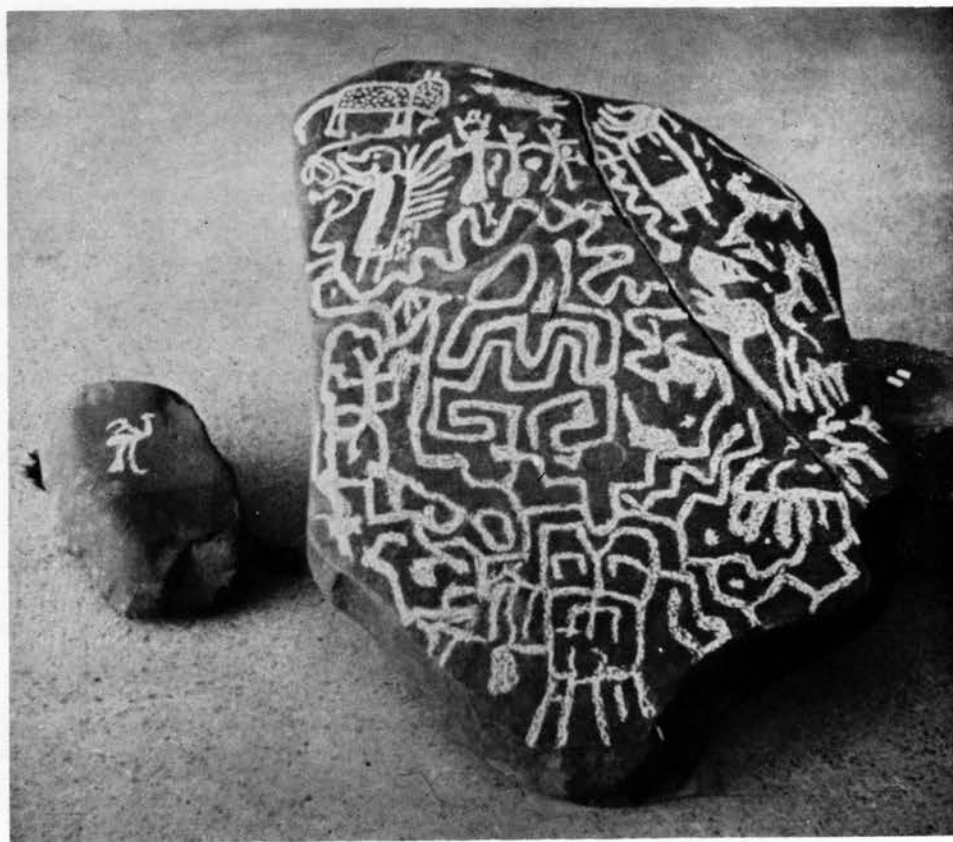


Fig. 213
El Palque de Pachaco. Roca de aprox. 1.20 m. de altura, con un complejo conjunto de grabados. De una cabeza mascariforme parten líneas zigzagueantes y seudolaberínticas; arriba, felino y «enmascarados», uno de ellos con serpiente en la mano. (Actualmente en el Museo Arqueológico de San Juan).



haber desarrollado sobre todo la « vivencia de la cabeza »². (Manifestaciones de ello son las representaciones rupestres que mencionaremos luego, los ricos y variados adornos capitales - con o sin máscaras - y otras manifestaciones artísticas tanto arqueológicas como etnográficas, y como caso especial, la búsqueda de la « cabeza-trofeo », que en algunas culturas llegó a tener características de obsesión).

El arte prehistórico en general, y el arte rupestre en particular, puede ser considerado en gran parte, no como una manifestación estética (lo que recién surge con la segunda gran forma mental), sino como un intento de aprehender lo « visto » en las experiencias suprasensibles, y ello con un doble fin: didáctico o de comunicación (para los miembros de la tribu no iniciados), y de materialización o conjuro, como un intento de garantizar una acción favorable por parte de esas fuerzas — personificadas a veces en seres o espíritus exteriores al hombre — en los mismos sitios en donde instintivamente se los percibiera. De ahí la importancia del *ambiente* en que se hallan las manifestaciones de arte rupestre, y de ahí la importancia de « la presencia activa y abierta del investigador en el sitio y su contorno; algo que podríamos llamar la « vivencia ecológica » de los petroglifos » (Schobinger, 1972, p. 55)³.

Lo dicho anteriormente puede explicar el interés de la representación de lo que llamamos « cabeza mascariforme » en el arte rupestre sudamericano, en especial del área Andina meridional. A lo dicho hace diez años en un artículo dedicado a este motivo, agregaríamos ahora la observación de que no es tanto la representación *abstractamente figurada* de seres o fuerzas cósmicas o de la naturaleza lo allí representado, sino más bien, de aspectos profundos del propio ser humano. Sospechamos que los supuestos « espíritus » o « seres míticos » con que se suelen identificar a muchas representaciones de « máscaras » o « enmascarados » (incluso en nuestro trabajo de 1962 citado) no son sino proyecciones de las fuerzas, « cuerpos » o esferas del ser humano. (Estratos del inconsciente, podría decir un psicólogo).

Por otra parte, cabe recordar que una vivencia fundamental de las prácticas de iniciación es la del « camino del Más Allá ». Así como aquéllas incluyen *pruebas* a veces dolorosas, éste se ve hipostáticamente reproducido en ciertos caminos, sendas con pasos, desfiladeros u otras dificultades, de la realidad geográfica circundante. En otras palabras: los senderos que cruzaban los cordones montañosos eran como símbolos del *camino* que lleva al Más Allá, surcado por monstruos y espíritus (que el iniciando también percibía en sus visiones) con los que el hombre debía familiarizarse. En algunos *sitios claves* se realizarían ritos de propiciación y se esculpirían sus símbolos en la roca. Ello explica la existencia de petroglifos complejos al principio y al fin de un antiguo camino que atraviesa una sierra, o durante el transcurso del mismo en

2 [En el « cuerpo de deseos »] « hay centros de percepción que, cuando están en actividad, parecen vórtices, permaneciendo siempre en la misma posición con relación al cuerpo denso, encontrándose la mayoría de ellos alrededor de la cabeza » (Heindel, 1912, pp. 56-57).

3 Véase en las dos primeras páginas del artículo citado la justificación de la posibilidad de entresacar un aspecto del arte rupestre y realizar especulaciones sobre su función y significado, aun antes de la elucidación de todos los problemas de contexto cultural y cronología absoluta de los sitios considerados.

puntos altos o estrechos. Es probable que en esos mismos sitios se realizaran, no sólo los citados ritos de propiciación, sino también, a veces, de iniciación (al menos, en los momentos de grabar los petroglifos).

Todo lo dicho podría servir de base para un intento de profundizar el estudio del arte rupestre prehistórico en cuanto manifestación de la vida mental de sus autores. Si bien se trata de un aspecto más de la cultura, condicionado por tiempo y espacio, insistimos en que el fin último de su investigación no debe consistir únicamente en lograr el aislamiento de los estilos, ubicarlos contextualmente y establecer hasta donde sea posible su cronología y relaciones, sino que paralelamente pueden realizarse estudios sobre base comparativa e interdisciplinaria, enfocados a la función y significado de dicho arte o de determinados signos o motivos del mismo. Conocer, así, a través del simbolismo, algo de las *vivencias* del hombre prehistórico. No creemos que el carácter hipotético de los resultados signifique dar carácter fantasioso o anticientífico a esta línea de estudios; por el contrario, la misma puede resultar de gran interés histórico-cultural.

Los ejemplos de arte rupestre seleccionados de nuestro archivo de sitios en su mayor parte inéditos, corresponden a las culturas agro-alfareras (nivel Neolítico-Calcolítico de la terminología universal) del oeste de la Argentina (zona Cuyana: provincias de San Juan y Mendoza), habiéndose agregado a título comparativo un sitio de la vecina provincia de Coquimbo en Chile (Valle El Encanto). El ambiente geográfico es, a grandes rasgos, el de una zona montañosa (Cordillera de los Andes y sierras precordilleranas), en cuyos valles algunos ríos y arroyos permiten la irrigación artificial, que contrarresta así parcialmente la aridez general de la zona. Culturalmente, las aun escasas investigaciones sistemáticas realizadas permiten establecer la existencia de cazadores precerámicos (8000-3000 a.J.C.), los que, a lo que sabemos, no han dejado arte rupestre en esta zona; un Precerámico Tardío con poblaciones relacionadas con algunas de la costa norte de Chile (fase o cultura Los Morrillos II, 2500 a.J.C.); uno o dos grupos agro-alfareros muy antiguos para lo que se conoce de la Argentina (en especial, fase Los Morrillos III, entre siglos III a.J.C. y I A.D), con pinturas rupestres abstractas asociadas a ritos funerarios; luego un amplio período Temprano-Medio representado sobre todo por la llamada cultura de Calingasta, relacionada con la de Agrelo (provincias de San Juan y Mendoza, respectivamente), que pueden ubicarse aproximadamente entre el 200 y el 1000 A.D., con supervivencias en el sur de San Juan, mientras que en el norte de esta provincia es sustituida por la cultura de Angualasto, que representa el llamado período Tardío (1000-1550). En todos estos períodos se observan influencias llegadas de más al Norte. Finalmente se manifiesta la llegada de los Incas, que coexisten pacíficamente con los grupos tardíos locales (aprox. 1475-1536). No habiendo mayores evidencias de obras de arte rupestre realizadas por esta última cultura, atribuimos la gran mayoría de las 50 o más localidades con grabados rupestres de San Juan y extremo norte de Mendoza a gentes de las culturas locales antedichas; o sea, cronológicamente, entre los siglos III y XV. (En un caso al menos — la citada Quebrada de Aguas Blancas en el N. W. de

la provincia de San Juan — los complejos motivos antropomorfos nos sugieren relaciones con la artísticamente avanzada cultura de El Molle de la colindante provincia chilena de Coquimbo, aprox. años 200-700. Aquí es donde, precisamente, se da con mayor riqueza el *simbolismo de la cabeza* en sus petroglifos (Ver Ampuero y Rivera, 1971).

La técnica de ejecución de los petroglifos es siempre la del piqueteado o martillado; las variantes de estilo pueden por ahora englobarse dentro de una amplia modalidad de tendencia curvilínea, más o menos acentuada o irregular y con escasa asociación de animales esquematizados (sobre todo auquénidos: guanacos o llamas, en algún caso montadas), dentro de la cual se inserta la amplia gama de figuras humanoides o definitivamente simbólicas.

En el ensayo de interpretación propuesto, los aspectos y motivos del arte rupestre considerados (aú como otros aquí no comentados, por ej. el de los « ojos ») sugieren la expresión — más o menos esquematizada — de reales vivencias o experiencias psíquicas de un tipo similar al de la « clarividencia », hoy admitida por la parapsicología como una facultad real de ciertos individuos. Las cabezas con prolongaciones (en forma de ondas o de rayos) serían, así, lo que algunos denominan el « aura ». Por otra parte, la relación ecológica de muchos de los principales grupos de petroglifos del área Cuyana (por ej. a lo largo de ciertas sendas montañosas), también contribuye a sugerir que constituyen expresión de cultos de tipo esotérico. En esta comunicación nos referimos en general a los casos originales; naturalmente, muchos motivos surgidos de las experiencias psíquicas citadas pudieron ser transmitidos por tradición, estereotipándose y perdiendo sentido inmediato o consciente para las generaciones posteriores.

Nota adicional: Aunque no fue dicho en el Simposio, queremos puntualizar algo que nos parece sociológicamente importante: Se están multiplicando interpretaciones de elementos arqueológicos en general, y de grabados rupestres con figuras humanas provistas del simbolismo de la cabeza en particular, como representaciones de « seres extraterrestres », de « astronautas venidos de otros sistemas planetarios », de cuyo recuerdo habría surgido la idea de los dioses de la Antigüedad... La absurda literatura de moda, sobre la llamada « arqueología espacial », no debe dejar indiferentes a los especialistas, ya que responde a una auténtica ansia de conocer de muchas personas bienintencionadas. Creemos que a la legítima pregunta por el « sentido », la llamada ciencia oficial debe responder con una mayor apertura y profundización. Hacia ello tienden nuestros modestos ensayos. (Ver también Schobinger 1972, nota 14).

RIASSUNTO

Per quanto l'arte rupestre sia un fatto culturale, condizionato dal tempo e dal luogo, la ricerca non deve mirare unicamente a isolare degli stili, a situarli nel loro contesto o a stabilire nella misura del possibile la loro cronologia assoluta o relativa, ma anche ad effettuare degli studi comparativi e interdisciplinari imposti sulla funzione e il significato di questa arte. Condotta rigorosamente, una tale ricerca può fornire dei risultati di grande interesse storico e culturale. In alcune delle cinquanta località della zona centro-occidentale dell'Argentina scoperte dall'autore, che si distribuiscono tra gli inizi della nostra era e la fine del XV secolo, troviamo dei motivi incisi che suggeriscono la visualizzazione delle forze interiori dell'essere umano e soprattutto della testa. In queste rappresentazioni non si tratterebbe di un simbolismo astratto, ma dell'espressione più o meno schematica di vere e proprie esperienze psichiche, quali la chiaroveggenza, oggi

ammessa dalla parapsicologia come una facoltà reale di certi individui. Molte teste provviste di prolungamenti in forma di onde o di raggi, sarebbero quello che alcuni chiamano l'« aura ». L'ambiente ecologico dei principali gruppi di petroglifi viene a confermare l'idea secondo cui essi sarebbero legati a certi riti esoterici o di iniziazione.

RÉSUMÉ

Bien que l'art rupestre soit un fait de culture, conditionné par le temps et le lieu, la recherche ne doit pas viser uniquement à isoler des styles, à les situer dans leur contexte ou à établir dans la mesure du possible leur chronologie absolue ou relative, mais aussi à effectuer des études comparatives et interdisciplinaires centrées sur la fonction et la signification de cet art. Menée rigoureusement, une telle recherche peut fournir des résultats d'un grand intérêt historique et culturel. Dans quelques uns des cinquante sites de la zone centre-ouest de l'Argentine découverts par l'auteur, qui se répartissent entre le début de notre ère et la fin du 15^e siècle, on trouve des motifs gravés qui suggèrent la visualisation des forces internes de l'être humain et surtout de la tête. Il ne s'agirait pas dans ces représentations d'un symbolisme abstrait, mais de l'expression — plus ou moins schématique — de véritables expériences psychiques, telles que la clairvoyance, admise aujourd'hui par la parapsychologie comme une faculté réelle de certains individus. De nombreuses têtes pourvues de prolongements (en forme d'ondes ou de rayons) seraient ainsi ce que d'aucuns appellent l'« aura ». Le milieu écologique des principaux groupes de pétroglyphes appuie l'idée selon laquelle ceux-ci seraient liés à certains rites ésotériques ou d'initiation.

SUMMARY

Although rock art is a cultural fact, conditioned by time and place, research should not concentrate exclusively on isolating styles, placing them in their context or establishing their absolute or relative chronology as precisely as possible. There must also be comparative and interdisciplinary studies based on the function and meaning of this art. If carried out rigorously, such research could produce results of great historical and cultural interest. On some of the fifty sites discovered by the author in Western Central Argentina, which date from between the beginning of our era and the end of the fifteenth century, we find engraved motives suggesting the visual expression of man's inner powers, particularly those relating to the head. It would appear that these are not abstract symbolic representations, but the more or less schematic expression of actual psychic experiences, such as clairvoyance, which is now accepted by parapsychology as a real faculty in certain individuals. Many of the heads with undulating or radiating extensions could then be seen as what some people call the « aura ». The ecological environment of the main groups of petroglyphs supports the idea that these figures are related to certain esoteric or initiation rites.

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BURIAL RITES IN PREHISTORIC NEW SOUTH WALES

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In considering the topic for the paper, my provisional title was 'Disposal of the Dead in Prehistoric New South Wales'. In many ways this is a more satisfactory title than the present one, for several of the sites considered involve procedures of cremation or surface disposition of the body of the dead, not its placement in an excavated grave. So 'burial' is used very loosely, in a generalized, but admittedly inaccurate way, to denote the disposal of the dead. To refer to 'rites' is perhaps also unsatisfactory, as it begs questions about the activities and procedures associated with disposal of the dead and their part in the religious or ritual life of prehistoric Aboriginal society. Yet it does stress that the concern here is not only with the definition of procedures and practices associated with death, but also with the relationship they may have with the beliefs about death held by the group concerned, and the connection these in turn may have with religious ideas and concepts as a whole.

Discussions of beliefs in the supernatural in prehistoric societies often give much attention to evidence relating to disposal of the dead. However, one could ask whether this reflects some vital link between beliefs and the activities associated with the dead, or merely the paucity of evidence which may definitely be associated with beliefs and the problems of reconstructing these intangible aspects of a society's life. Is it a valid assumption that burial customs will reflect religious rather than social values? The prehistorian who studies societies of the recent past may find some answer to these questions in a careful comparison of recent archaeological evidence and the ethnographic record, especially for areas such as Australia where we have the opportunity of using both sources of evidence. The use of ethnographic evidence, of course, raises problems of its own, and extreme care must be exercised (cf. Ucko, 1969). For the Australian prehistorian such ethnographic parallels offer challenges of a different kind. They are not merely a pool from which one may select a range of possible explanations for data observed in excavation. With direct cultural continuity from the prehistoric past to the ethnographic present, the challenge lies in tracing the antiquity of

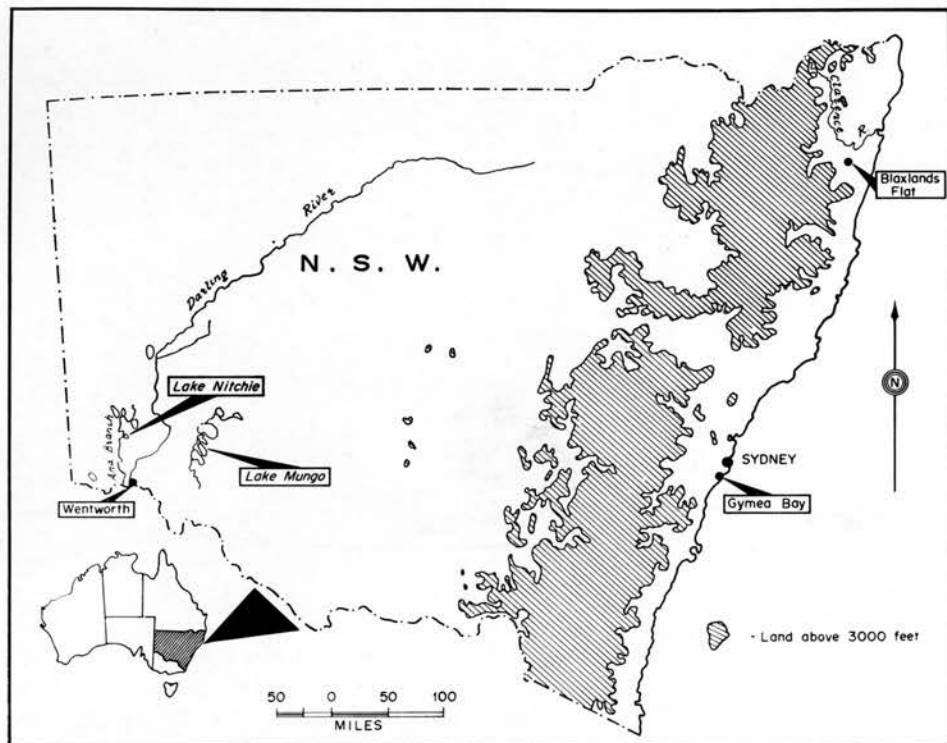
practices recorded, in documenting change, and in looking for evidence of origins.

In the ethnographic record of methods of disposing of the dead among Aboriginal groups we find great variety and complexity. There is a range from simple procedures such as burial, cremation, disposition (whether on the surface, in caves, in hollow logs, in trees or waterholes), and cannibalism, to multi-stage or compound procedures which may involve combinations of these spread over varying lengths of time (Meehan, 1971). In studying the archaeological evidence on burial customs in the prehistoric period, one cannot ignore this evidence from the recent past. Yet there still remains the question of whether it may validly be invoked to explain the distant past. To illustrate these general problems, I should like to look at the evidence from a number of archaeological sites in New South Wales, with a wide span in time and space, and to compare this with the information given by the ethnography for these particular regions. The four sites I have chosen are Lake Mungo, Lake Nitchie, Gymea Bay and Blaxland's Flat. (See map. fig. 214).

The Lake Mungo site has produced the earliest human remains yet excavated in Australia; it was investigated in 1968-1969 by Bowler, Allen, Jones, and Thorne (1970; Thorne, 1971). Lake Mungo is one of a series of dry lake basins known as the Willandra Lakes system in the arid plains of south-western New South Wales. These lakes probably last held water about 15,000 years ago; they are all characterised by low degraded cliffs about eighty feet high on their western margin and by high sand dunes (lunettes) to the east. In the lunette bordering Lake Mungo, Bowler's geomorphological studies have defined three distinct stratigraphic units. The human remains at the site were exposed on the surface, but could be associated with one of these, the Mungo formation, dated to between 25,000 and 30,000 B. P... The remains consisted of the cremated and smashed bones of a young woman, buried in a shallow depression, 16-20 centimetres deep and 75 centimetres in diameter. It seems that after the pyre cooled the bones were broken, gathered up with the ash, and buried. The physical features of the individual, in spite of its considerable antiquity, are gracile, and close to those of the modern population while still retaining some archaic characteristics. Further cremated bones were found nearby.

The procedures represented at Mungo, of simple cremation followed by the smashing of the bones before burial, have ethnographic parallels from both Tasmania and the mainland, in spite of their antiquity. The Tasmanian parallels are striking, and come from both archaeological deposits of some age and from the recent ethnographic record. At West Point on the north-west coast, Jones has excavated shallow pits containing cremated bones and unburnt grave goods dated to 1800 years ago, and also to more recent times, while Robinson has left us descriptions of cremation practices in the 1830s which exactly match the archaeological remains. Peron's description of his visit to a site on Maria Island at which cremated bones had been placed in shallow pits, covered with plant material, and the whole sheltered by a bark construction, also parallels the evidence of these remains, and supplements them by indicating surface structures above the burial pit (B. Hiatt, 1969).

Fig. 214
 Map of New-South Wales
 showing the location of
 sites discussed in the text.

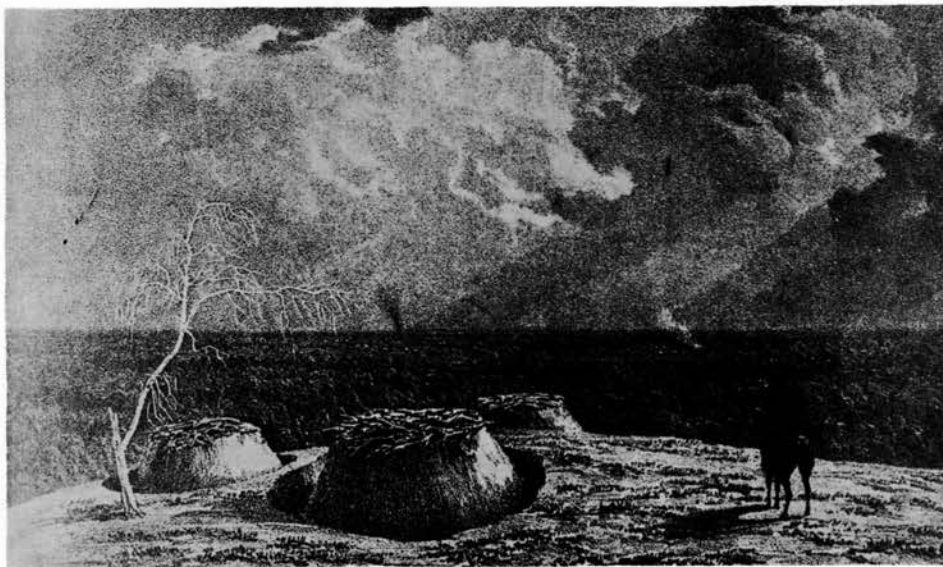


The Lake Mungo site and its Tasmanian parallels raise several questions. It proves conclusively that Davidson's belief in the long antiquity of cremation rites (1948, p. 95) in Australia was warranted, yet there remains the problem of the continuity of the practice and of the beliefs it may reflect. If the rites were part of an original culture shared by both the mainland and Tasmanian Aborigines in the Pleistocene, did they remain in use on the island after its isolation, while other rites developed on the mainland? Were the beliefs associated with these similar practices also similar? Certainly the cremation disposal represented at Lake Mungo was not practised in the Darling basin in the recent past recorded in the ethnographic literature. The most usual practice seems to have been burial, the grave marked by a low mound, often surmounted by brushwood and marked by balls of kopai (a gypsum compound). Sometimes huts were built over the grave (Bonney, 1883; Curr, 1886, II, pp. 182 - 183; Officer, 1901; Dunbar, 1943; Mitchell, 1839, I, p. 262 and pl. 16).

Another prehistoric burial site from this western area which may have considerable antiquity is that at Lake Nitchie, on the Anabranch of the Darling River. Like Lake Mungo, Lake Nitchie is a Pleistocene lake basin; it is filled now only when the Darling floods. It also has a lunette formation on its eastern shoreline. The burial site is at the northern end of the lake and was excavated by Macintosh, Smith and Bailey (1970) and Bowler (1970). The rite represented is inhumation. The grave was basin-shaped, dug into a hard calcareous earth, with a niche in one wall to accommodate the feet of the extremely tall man buried. The fill was soft sand. Some charcoal found in the grave suggested that a fire had been lit in the hole before the interment. The body was flexed, and

Fig. 215

A burial site near the Darling River recorded by the explorer Mitchell in 1835 (cf. T. L. Mitchell, 1839: Three Expeditions into the interior of Eastern Australia).



in a semi-recumbent position, but had still been forced into the confines of the grave, a process which dislocated the neck and shoulder joints. That this was possible suggested to Macintosh that the man had been dead at least a week. Was this, then, a delayed burial, a compound rather than a simple disposal? The only grave goods with the body were 159 pierced teeth of *Sarcophilus* species (the Tasmanian Devil), probably the remains of a single strand necklace. The Tasmanian Devil has been extinct on the Australian mainland for about 3000 years. The burial was of a man, aged about 37, of tall build. There was no indication of the cause of death. The central incisors of the maxilla had been removed, giving an indication of the antiquity of tooth-evulsion, part of initiation rites in the recent past in eastern Australia. Estimates of the age of this burial, based on the presence of the *Sarcophilus* teeth and the geological context of the site, varied from 5,000 to 16,000 years. However, radio-carbon dates for the charcoal in the grave, and for the bone of the skeleton itself, suggest an age between 5000 and 6000 years. The excavator considers that the necklace may be considerably older than the burial, that it may have been a sacred object of totemic significance, and that its burial was itself a ritual act (Macintosh 1971). Certainly the necklace is a unique item. We cannot match it in the ethnographic record, but the burial of a reed necklace, and a 'sorcerer's bag' with a deceased medicine man is recorded (Smyth, 1878, I, pp. 99 - 106; Howitt, 1904, pp. 461 - 465). The shape of the grave, the position of the body (though not its mutilation), the cutting of a niche in the side of the grave, and the lighting of fires before the body was placed in the grave are all features found in the records of the ethnographic present.

The remaining two examples I wish to discuss come from the well-watered east coast, and both date to late in the first millennium A. D. Their cultural and environmental context is therefore quite different from that of the first two examples. At Gynea Bay south of Sydney, Megaw (1966, pp. 26 and 43; L. R. Hiatt, 1966) uncovered two skele-

tons in his excavation of midden deposits within a rock shelter on the shore of the bay. Both of these were of young adult women, both lying on the left side, with the lower limbs flexed. Stratigraphic evidence suggested that both bodies had been deposited on the surface of the midden, rather than buried within it. However the fact that both had flexed limbs, and the consistent positioning of the body, together with the evidence for the tying of one body, does seem to indicate that this was deliberate and careful, rather than merely the abandonment of the corpse. There is ethnographic documentation both for surface deposition and for the abandonment of the bodies of those killed in revenge or suffering from disease. The procedure adopted at this site, and the fact that it is also an occupation site, mark it off from the other examples we have looked at. The ethnographic record also stresses the unwillingness of the group to remain camped near the grave of a dead member, which is compatible with the stratigraphic position of skeleton 1 at the site, but makes one wonder why the shelter was chosen as a camp site when the remains of skeleton 2, now at the base of the occupation deposits, could have been visible? The radio-carbon date for skeleton 2 is c. 1220 B. P. Further excavations by Megaw in the south Sydney district have revealed additional archaeological parallels for this form of deposition, for example at Curracurrang. The ethnographic literature for the area in the late eighteenth century indicates the coexistence of cremation and burial sites, but gives no record of such simple depositions (Collins, 1798, pp. 601-608; White, 1790, p. 257; Hunter, 1793, p. 412).

In contrast, the site at Blaxland's Flat, in the foothills of the New England range in the Clarence valley, represents a distinct burial site. Here a number of bodies were deposited in a small shelter in a cliff face on the crest of a steep ridge. These depositions were probably not all made at the same time. The radio-carbon dates for the site are in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. The site was excavated by the writer in 1964 (McBryde, 1965). The remains of nine individuals are represented on the site, including four adults, three infants and one foetus; all but one were female. The bodies, wrapped in bark sheets, had evidently been placed in an extended position, in the southern corner of the shelter, then covered with sandstone blocks (see fig. 216). No grave goods were found. Unfortunately, the site had suffered considerable disturbance in the past, making interpretation of the procedures represented difficult. Only one skeleton seemed undisturbed; it lay on its back, extended on a sheet of bark, with the head to the north-west. The deposit in the shelter at the time of excavation was so shallow that it is probably wisest to interpret these remains as depositions. If they were inhumations the excavation involved was minimal. The fragmented, cremated remains of an adult female were also recovered, dispersed throughout the deposit. One skull (of a female about 33 years old) had an oval hole, clearly bevelled. This was likely to be pre-mortem, but apparently not caused by either a blow on the head or disease. The features of this hole are consistent with trepanning. As yet there is neither archaeological nor ethnographic parallel from Australia for this find.

Comparing the evidence from this site with that of the ethnographic record would suggest some change in customs of disposal of the dead on the north coast of New South Wales within the last millennium. The historical and ethnographic evidence for the region expressly denies the custom of cave burial or deposition 'Aboriginals were never known here to lay their dead in caves or caverns' (Hewitt, 1902). The practice seems to have been rare for New South Wales as a whole. Yet several sites of this kind are known in the area, for example at Kyogle and Dyraaba. The Blaxland's Flat site is not an aberrant, isolated example. The ethnographic record for northern New South Wales is consistent in its stress on contracted inhumation as the usual rite, men and women often being buried separately. The dead were usually placed in a sitting position. In the coastal river valleys the burial was marked by a mound or a cairn of stones, while on the Tablelands and western slopes, trees near the burial mound were often carved with linear designs, as at Keera, Booralong, and Barraba (Breton, 1833, p. 179; Angas 1847, II, p. 280; Rankin, 1901; Gardner, 1854, II, p. 654; Anon., p. 83; Howitt, 1904, pp. 464, 466-467; Thomas, 1906, pp. 198-199; Oxley, 1820, pp. 138-141 and pl. opp. p. 139; Sturt, 1833, Frontisp. and p. 14).

In these ethnographic records there is ample documentation for the wrapping of the body in sheets of bark, for tying, and for lining the grave with bark or leaves, all minor practices found at Blaxland's Flat. Covering the grave with a mound of stones or earth may not be an exact parallel to the packing of large stone blocks over the corpses. This could be interpreted as evidence either for fear of the spirits of the dead or as a wish to protect the bodies from interference by animals. For both of these there is good ethnographic parallel. In view of the inaccessibility of the site I might favour the former. There is no ethnographic evidence as far as I know for cremation in this area.

When we look at these four examples of prehistoric burial sites we see that, in spite of their wide range in time and cultural context, they



Fig. 216
The Blaxland's Flat site, showing the human remains deposited in the southern part of the rock shelter, wrapped in bark sheets and covered with sandstone blocks. Unfortunately animals had seriously disturbed these finds before archaeological investigation took place (Photograph: W. Webster).

each represent a form of disposal of the dead which can be documented in the recent past. The two older examples show both burial and cremation as rites of considerable antiquity, yet both have recent ethnographic parallels. As yet, we cannot point to any exclusively ancient practice, everywhere discontinued. The variety which characterises the ethnographic record is also found in that of archaeology, though admittedly our sample is as yet small. We also have indications, in our four examples, of changes in practices from the prehistoric past to the recent past. Do these changes in burial practice reflect changes in belief? All the examples discussed are simple rather than compound disposals, if one discounts the delay in the burial of the Lake Nitchie man, and the possibility that two stages of disposal are represented in the cremated remains at Blaxland's Flat.

As in the ethnographic present, careful disposal of the dead would seem to have been important in the life of the group in prehistoric times. The sites here demonstrate a continuity in practice, and a long antiquity for some rites. However, there still remains the question of the relationship between these mortuary practices and the beliefs and religion of the group. In spite of the great variety in methods adopted to dispose of the dead among Aboriginal societies, there is a basic similarity in the belief held by all in the continuance of life after death and in the separate nature of the spirit as distinct from the body. It leaves the body on death (or at least is denied re-entry, for there is even some belief that it can leave the body during life). The spirit may linger near the grave or the camp site for some time, but eventually finds its way to a spirit land where it is re-absorbed into the traditional world of the eternal Dreaming. So the beliefs concerning death are related to the totemic beliefs which also govern the activities of the living. The belief in the continued life of the spirits of the dead may be seen reflected in such burial customs as the tying of the corpse, the lighting of fires, and the leaving of food to comfort it, even the building of huts over the graves. It is also reflected in the unwillingness to mention the dead by name or to remain at the same camp site after a death. It seems that the dead are regarded with fear as well as affection. The rituals of disposal of the corpses are important both to assist the dead in the transition to a new status and to comfort the tribal group distressed at the parting (Berndt, 1964, pp. 217 - 250; Howitt, 1904, pp. 426 - 508; Elkin, 1937).

The practices observed in the archaeological record as associated with the dead may all be explained in terms of the beliefs outlined above, derived from the ethnographic record. We can also document a long antiquity for certain rites and the continuity of diversity in practice and procedure. It is tempting to see this as evidence for a long antiquity of the beliefs documented in the ethnographic record, but the hypothesis would be hard to prove unless one assumed that similarity of practices betoken similarity of belief. Perhaps the prehistorian should be content to document the practices and procedures associated with the disposal of the dead; the ultimate significance of these rituals may elude him even with the aid of ethnography.

RIASSUNTO

L'autore prende in esame alcune località funerarie preistoriche, venute alla luce nel Nuovo Galles del Sud, le quali forniscono una serie di testimonianze sulle pratiche rituali e sulle credenze relative alla morte. Le scoperte in questione coprono un ampio periodo della preistoria dell'Australia orientale ed offrono un differente scenario culturale ed ambientale. La sepoltura a cremazione trovata sulle coste del lago Mungo, nelle aride pianure occidentali del Nuovo Galles del Sud, viene datata a circa 25.000 anni fa e rappresenta quindi la più antica sepoltura conosciuta su tutto il continente australiano. Sempre nel territorio occidentale vi sono due sepolture a inumazione, da Mossiel e dal lago Nitchie, entrambe di età olocenica. Quella del lago Nitchie ha rivelato una collana di denti di *Sarcophilus* (il Demone Tasmaniano), da lungo tempo estinto sul continente. Al primo millennio d. C. appartengono le scoperte della grotta sepolcrale di Blaxland's Flat, con parecchie inumazioni avvolte nella corteccia d'albero, e di Gynea Bay, dove è venuta alla luce una inumazione dentro gli strati di un insediamento. Poiché in Australia vi è continuità tra passato preistorico e presente etnografico, nell'esame delle testimonianze sul rituale e sulle credenze funerarie, non possiamo ignorare la documentazione etnografica fornita in proposito dai gruppi tribali di queste regioni. L'Autore discute queste testimonianze ed anche i problemi connessi alla loro utilizzazione per illuminare il remoto passato preistorico.

RÉSUMÉ

L'Auteur examine quelques sépultures préhistoriques qui témoignent de rites funéraires et de croyances relatives à la mort. Les sites envisagés sont répartis sur une longue période de la préhistoire de la Nouvelle-Galles du Sud et diffèrent tant par leur appartenance culturelle que par leur écologie. Ceux-ci comprennent:

1. La tombe à incinération du lac Mungo: la plus ancienne tombe connue sur le continent (elle remonte à 25.000 ans), située dans l'aride plaine occidentale de la Nouvelle-Galles du Sud, sur la rive d'un lac pléistocène aujourd'hui asséché.

2. Les tombes à inhumation de Mossiel et du lac Nitchie, toutes deux post-pléistocènes. La dernière contenant un collier de dents de *Sarcophilus* (ou Démon Tasmanien), espèce éteinte depuis longtemps sur le continent.

3. Les deux sites côtiers de Blaxland's Flat et de Gynea Bay, appartenant au 1er millénaire de notre ère. Le premier consiste en une grotte sépulchrale contenant plusieurs corps inhumés recouverts de feuilles d'écorce, l'autre comprend une inhumation dans un « living site ».

L'Australie ne connaît pas de rupture entre la préhistoire et le présent ethnographique, et qui veut étudier les rites et les croyances antiques ne peut ignorer les groupes tribaux qui habitèrent cette région dans un passé récent.

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RELIGIOUS CHANGE IN ANCIENT EASTERN POLYNESIA

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Attempts to analyse Polynesian religions and to find some common interpretation of the different phenomena known in this area have not been very fortunate. One reason for this is probably the regional diversity of religions in different island groups. In brief, it seems that a highly developed religious system, almost Olympian in character, was known in Eastern Polynesia. It seems to have been very rich and active at the time of the arrival of the first Europeans. This type is, however, relatively unknown in Western Polynesia, where a type of secularisation occurred in the form of an emphasis on the political and social values of life (Koskinen, 1963, pp. 93 - 95; 1967, pp. 58, 94). In the Polynesian Outliers (within Micronesia and Melanesia), certain features are seen which are common to the eastern religions as well, but unknown in the Tonga-Samoa area. If, as seems more than plausible, there once existed a stratum of common cultural contacts (linguistically known as the Proto-Polynesian phase), perhaps within an area, where connections between different groups were possible (Pawley-Green, 1971, pp. 14-31), one cannot make any postulation other than that of different religious development in different areas. Our interest is concentrated on the development in Eastern Polynesia as far as it is possible to find this change manifested in the elements of culture and language up to the present day.

It is necessary to start with the basic statement that in this paper the change found in ancient Eastern Polynesia is not explained on the basis of outside influence (from South America, for example) or any other diffusive factors. An attempt is made to explain the evolution as a local phenomenon.

To this day there is no explanation at our disposal which could safely state the nature of the settlement of Eastern Polynesia. The results of fine archaeological methods have given some grounds for speculation: the dating seems to be that some eastern island groups, especially the Marquesas Islands, were settled before the middle of the first millennium A.D., and Easter Island and Mangareva probably soon after that.

During the following centuries neighbouring and distant island groups were occupied by early Polynesians so that the whole of Eastern Polynesia became for the most part both culturally and linguistically very homogeneous. If an expedition had come to these islands from the East, i. e. from America (cf. Heyerdhal, 1952, *passim*), it is probable that regional differences would not be so insignificant as they seem to be (cf. Emory, 1972, pp. 57-69). For us it is of the greatest interest to find that in religious matters Eastern Polynesia has quite a number of features in common from Hawaii to Easter Island and to New Zealand. The Olympian systems of deities are very similar, and highly developed in many respects; although deities like Makemake of Easter Island seem quite local, they often have qualities characteristic of certain other divine personages in other island groups (Métraux, 1941, pp. 104-107). Ritual life was also highly developed (which apparently was not characteristic of pre-contact Western Polynesia). A type of open air ritual place was common to all communities in the East although not under the same name. Ritual experts had great social and political influence in the island communities; and the chiefs apparently had many religious functions as well.

No one can tell what the religious systems of the Proto-Polynesians were like before dispersal. Differences in the three regions of the Outliers, Western and Eastern Polynesia are so great that one cannot claim that the eastern system, as such, reflects the common ancestral religion. If the Proto-Polynesians knew the deities of Eastern Polynesia, how can one explain that Tangaloa is almost the only one of them known later in the West (Burrows, 1938, p. 66)? One cannot easily deny the explanation that many Eastern divinities with their important roles in the fate of the universe and in the lives of human beings were developed locally in the East, probably during the first phases of life there.

It is unlikely that only organised expeditions left for Eastern Polynesia. At least the first contacts of the dispersal area (linguistically considered Samoic, not Tongic, *cf.* Pawley - Green, 1971, pp. 26-29) with the eastern islands were gained through driftings. If later on some « expeditions » were organized, the dispersal of Polynesian cultures was seemingly final; this is the only stipulation one can make on the basis of archaeological (Green, 1968, p. 105) and linguistic data (Elbert 1953, p. 158). Remnants of one generation settlements on certain desert islands near the equator are at least a proof of the fact that canoes manned only by males came to the islands, and the new communities lasted until the death of the last male (Emory, 1934, *passim*). If, as it seems, quite flourishing connections once existed between Samoa proper and the outer Samoan (Samoic) islands (eastern Futuna, possibly eastern 'Uvea, the Ellice, and the Tokelau Islands), canoes travelling over the ocean from one island to another were always in great danger of being carried by storms and currents to the open ocean in the East. Canoes, which probably often carried female travellers as well, were well equipped for shorter journeys, and had various important cultured plants among the cargo. If not lost in the storms, the crews of the

drifting canoes could be lucky enough to find new islands, which were settled by the survivors.

It is characteristic of all the languages of Eastern Polynesia that one very common term to denote « tribe » or « clan » was *vaka* (*waka*), or « canoe » (Koskinen, 1963, pp. 22-27). Another group of terms applied to « tribal groups » are those which refer to female genitals, especially to the womb (Koskinen, 1963, p. 89 *hapu*), or to the underpart of the belly (Koskinen, Ms. 1). It seems to emphasise the quite extraordinary importance attached to females among the settlers under the new circumstances: only through the female could life continue to the next generation. The emphasis is not exactly of a sexual character, although sexuality was much more positive to the easterners than to those living in the sophisticated communities of Western Polynesia where the avoidance of sexual references and the importance of euphemisms in respectable speech became quite marked (Milner, 1961, pp. 296-294). The importance of the female in generation increased references to the symbolic connection between childbirth and nature fertility (Koskinen, Ms. 1). Fertility cults, although not marked and not always understood as rites, were more discernible in the East than in the West. One may also find that in Eastern Polynesia certain rite complexes referred to early forms of cultivation (Koskinen, 1967, pp. 88-93). This feature, together with the evaluation of the power of the female to continue life through generations, gives us liberty to think that life under new circumstances caused new systems of values in which many practical but vitally important matters were ritualized.

In general, the vegetation on the eastern islands is not so abundant as for example in Samoa. In the East the soil was not so fertile as in the « lost paradise » home which has many names: Savaiki, Vava'u, etc. The fertile earth, often called *lepo* or *repo*, became important to the islanders as we can see by the fact that the term was applied to many matters linked with life, welfare, prosperity, and also to human fertility and kindred (Hanson, 1970, p. 41, Koskinen, Ms. 2).

Without doubt, the early settlers did not feel themselves safe, but surrounded by dangers. Many reasons caused a continuing situation of insecurity, and in such conditions the poor humans were obliged to feel how dependent they were on the favour of superhuman powers; there seemed to be no possibility of life in the future without divine help. This dependence was probably the reason why new religious views came into existence, often probably as the rebirth of some old, almost forgotten views. A kind of concentration of thoughts caused the belief that different aspects of life were under the control of different superhuman beings, termed '*atua*' here, as elsewhere in Polynesia (the alternative term '*aitu*' in eastern languages was mainly attached to things which were fatal and evil, cf. Koskinen, 1967, pp. 16, 47). For reason unknown to us, the early settlers of Eastern Polynesia accepted new terms to describe ghost-type spirits. The term *va(e)rua* was commonly used of certain spirits and also of the soul of living people (Koskinen, 1960, p. 106); perhaps the name was old, being related to certain

Indonesian forms (Koskinen, 1968, p. 83). Surprisingly, its use was probably preceded by another, quite local term, *kubane*, which was retained only in the most archaic Eastern Polynesian languages (Fischer, 1965, pp. 342-343; Koskinen, 1967, pp. 16, 21). One possible interpretation may be linked with the idea that after death most of the spirits of the deceased left for the lost home country across the ocean (over a special jumping place or *reinga*); quite a confusing « theological » problem arose from the belief that somehow other spirits stayed in new island settlements. The belief in local ghosts is still very strong in Eastern Polynesia.

Throughout Polynesia, ghost-type spirits were often considered evil and dangerous. Elaborate rites were needed for the Polynesians' complicated attempts to satisfy the fancied demands of angry spirits. In the eastern islands, a new type of ritual experts, often termed *tafunga* (Koskinen, 1968, pp. 34-37), were organised into a new type of hierarchy.

In comparison with Western Polynesia and also with the Outliers, the ritual places changed in form and function after the islanders were taken to the East. In the Outlier communities special sacred « god house » - temples (*fale 'atua*) were often the places where rites were performed, but in the East open places were commonly used for rites. It seems that this ritual plaza was first termed *afu*, which in fact contains the idea of heaped earth (Koskinen, 1967, pp. 44, 97), and is possibly connected with certain attempts at cultivation. Such a « heap » seemed to become an open altar for the visits of the deities (whose presence at the rites was necessary, *cf.* Koskinen, 1967, pp. 65, 83).

Later on, the religious yard was renamed, using an old word, *mala'e*, which known almost throughout Polynesia: only in Western Polynesia and among the Maori (who are distinctively East Polynesians) did the term mean a public area within a village commonly used for other than religious ceremonies. The fact that the Maori did not take the idea of the religious *marae* from their « original home » near Tahiti with them to New Zealand, gives us some reason to suppose that the renaissance of the eastern *marae* as a ritual centre occurred only after the Maori had left. In Hawaii, settled about 1000 A. D., the term *malae* is even less known: instead, the local term *heiau* was used (according to Emory's personal information perhaps a variant of *afu*). In structure and function the *heiau* of Hawaii was very similar to the eastern *marae*. It therefore seems that the outer form of the religious centre was established even before that. It may be possible that the emphasis in the use of the *marae* coincided with the special period when the famous *marae* of Taputapuatea of Opoa, in Ra'iatea, became the most important sanctuary of the whole of Eastern Polynesia (*cf.* Koskinen, 1967, p. 149 n.).

In a way, the difference between the eastern *marae* and the earlier « god house » of the western islands reminds us of the difference between the Greek Acropolis temple plazas and later Christian closed churches. One may wonder whether in the East this may have been

designed so that all the islanders could attend the rites performed for their common benefit.

The dread commonly felt was manifested in attempts to look into the future. Curiously enough, no other Polynesian folk knew so many omens as did the Maori. Many divinatory systems developed in the East, but also in the Outliers: perhaps many old methods were remembered in these distant areas and taken into account.

The eastern islanders found it reasonable to consider the universe as a system where everything was somehow under spiritual guidance and rule. Human life was considered to be in strict coincidence with nature. All phases of human life were dependent on divine favour, and all aspects of life were soon considered to be under the dominance of certain divinities. These gods were mostly named so early that their names are known in all parts of Eastern Polynesia, and their place in the eastern Olympian order was very similar everywhere.

It seems that in many respects the rapid and dynamic change occurred very soon after the first settlers arrived in the eastern island especially as far as the « Olympian » system of gods was concerned. The open air sanctuary was probably adopted for the performance of rites very early too, but the final development of the eastern sanctuary termed *marae* occurred only during a later phase, perhaps only during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A. D.

RIASSUNTO

Nella Polinesia Orientale si era sviluppato un complesso sistema religioso pressochè di carattere olimpico. Questa evoluzione religiosa è spiegabile come un fenomeno puramente locale, indipendente da ogni influenza proveniente da altre aree. E' dunque interessante notare un'omogeneità di idee religiose, che va dalle Hawaii all'isola di Pasqua e alla Nuova Zelanda. Ci si pone quindi il problema della nascita e della dispersione di quest'ideologia religiosa nella Polinesia orientale. I primi colonizzatori di queste isole non poterono sentirsi sicuri in una natura ostile. In simili condizioni di insicurezza si creò un sistema religioso in cui avvenimenti umani e naturali erano strettamente sottoposti alla volontà divina; conseguenza di questo fu un rituale molto complesso per tentare di placare le divinità e gli spiriti. Si creò persino una classe di esperti in riti che era organizzata secondo una gerarchia. L'Autore esamina anche gli aspetti linguistici che possono portare ad un'interpretazione di questo problema.

RÉSUMÉ

En Polynésie Orientale s'était développé, avant l'arrivée des Européens, un système religieux complexe de caractère olympien. Cette évolution religieuse originale s'explique comme un phénomène purement local, indépendant de toute influence extérieure. A ce propos il est intéressant de constater l'homogénéité des idées religieuses de Hawaii à l'Ile de Pâque et à la Nouvelle Zélande, et de poser la question de la naissance et de la diffusion de ces idées en Polynésie Orientale. Les premiers colonisateurs de ces îles ne pouvaient se sentir en sécurité dans une nature hostile. Dans de telles conditions se développa un système religieux dans lequel les événements naturels et humains étaient étroitement soumis à la volonté divine. La conséquence en fut la formation d'un rituel très complexe qui avait pour but de propitier les divinités et les esprits. Il se créa donc une classe de spécialistes du rituel, organisée hiérarchiquement. L'Auteur examine également les aspects linguistiques qui peuvent conduire à une interprétation de ce problème.

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DEBAT SUR LES AUTRES CONTINENTS

- VAN BERG: Je voudrais demander à Mr. Schobinger comment il envisage sur le plan méthodologique la poursuite de son étude sur les forces qui émanent de la tête.
- SCHOBINGER: Je pense faire appel à toutes les disciplines qui sont à ma disposition: l'ethnologie surtout, et aussi la psychologie et l'histoire des religions. La méthode se dégagera au fur et à mesure des progrès de la recherche.
- GOMEZ-TABANERA: On trouve les mêmes lignes formant une couronne autour de la tête sur des figures américaines et sur certaines idoles d'Espagne.
- SCHOBINGER: A mon avis, ces couronnes sont l'expression d'une expérience directe des forces de la tête. En Amérique, il s'agit d'une véritable expérience psychologique, vécue lors de certaines circonstances. Il existe de nombreux parallèles à ces couronnes, comme par exemple l'auréole dans l'iconographie chrétienne.
- GOMEZ-TABANERA: Credo che sia una caratteristica universale di ogni religione, portare il sacro nelle rappresentazioni.
- BELTRAN: Je voudrais féliciter Mr. Schobinger pour la documentation qu'il nous a apportée. Sur le plan méthodologique, il est important de dégager les rapports entre les figures naturalistes et les figures abstraites, simples ou complexes, par l'intermédiaire des figures semi-naturalistes. Il serait également nécessaire de déterminer les rapports chronologiques entre les différents sites.
- SCHOBINGER: Ces questions sont à l'étude. L'établissement des différents styles et de leur chronologie relative est terminé pour la Patagonie, et en cours pour les autres régions. Il est intéressant de noter que les animaux sont souvent en relation avec les figurations abstraites, symboliques. Il n'existe pas, à proprement parler, de vrai style naturaliste.
- DIETERLEN: Je voudrais apporter quelques éléments du domaine de l'ethnologie et de l'histoire des religions au problème de la liaison entre figures abstraites et naturalistes. Pour les peuples qui peignent — et qui expliquent leurs peintures — chaque objet, chaque être vivant, peut être représenté par trois ou quatre signes différents, qui expriment successivement une étape différente de l'évolution de cet être à partir de sa création jusqu'à son achèvement. Sur les auvents d'initiation, on trouve en même temps les trois ou quatre types de figuration, soit l'abstrait qui connote la création de l'être et le réaliste qui connote son achèvement. Généralement, les figures abstraites, qui sont les plus importantes, ne se font pas dans des endroits d'accès facile, mais en des lieux cachés, ou particuliers.

