

black. [Plate XXII, No. 1.] Several of these were received wrapped in a grass covering as if used for trade.

The necklaces consist of long pieces of bright orange-coloured shell, ground down from the outer lip of the *Cassia cornuta*, and alternating with small fish vertebræ, the whole threaded on the fine string found on other specimens from this island. [Plate XXII, No. 2.]

Now that more light is being thrown on these interesting people, it is to be hoped that further specimens may be found in either museums or private collections, and that while there is yet time some one either in Australia or New Guinea will be able to glean from the islanders themselves an account of their antecedents, so that at no very distant date ethnologists will be able to determine with some degree of certainty their origin and history.

The Būrbūng of the Wiradthuri Tribes.

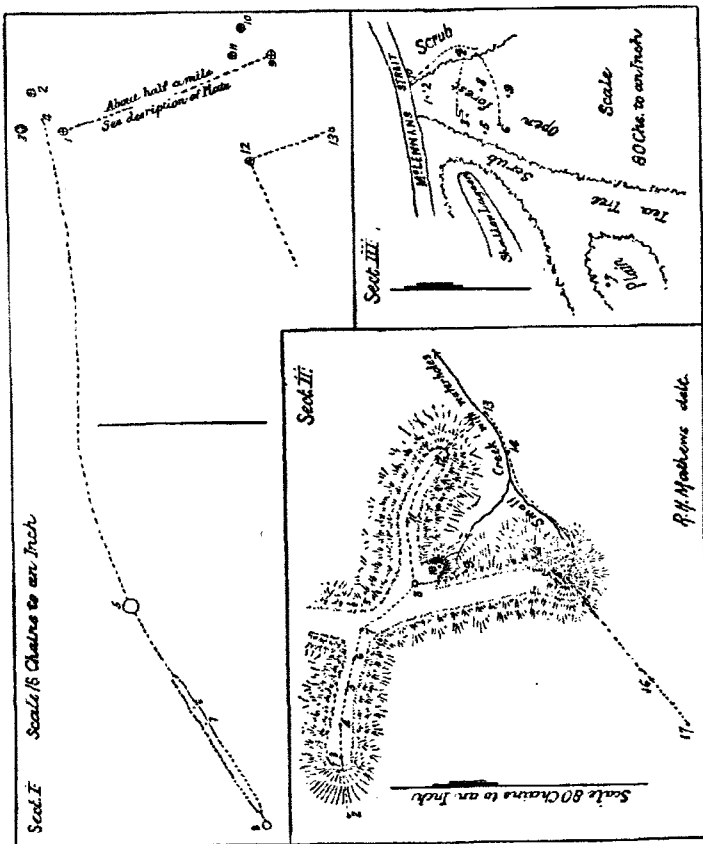
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[WITH PLATES XXV-XXVII.]

THE tribes who attended the Būrbūng described in this paper were some of those belonging to the Wiradthuri community, which in former times was both numerous and important, occupying a wide tract of country in the interior of New South Wales, extending from somewhere about the Murray River northerly nearly to the Barwan river, where they were joined by the great Kamilaroi tribes. In a paper contributed by me to the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, I have dealt with the wide geographical range of the social organisation common to these two powerful communities, and also with the variations in their class systems¹; and in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain," vol. xxiv, pp. 411-427, I have described the Bora, or initiation ceremonies of the Kamilaroi tribes. The Būrbūng is the name of the equivalent ceremonies among the tribes of the Wiradthuri community, a detailed account of which forms the subject of this paper. As this is the first description of the Būrbūng ever published, it is hoped that it may prove of interest to anthropologists and others studying the customs of the Australian races.

In March, 1893, the remnants of the native tribes particularized in subsequent pages, in answer to a summons from the headman of the Macquarie river tribe, commenced to assemble on the Bulgeraga Creek, for the purpose of holding a Būrbūng

¹ "The Kamilaroi Class System of the Australian Aborigines," "Proc Roy. Geog. Soc. Aust.," Q. Rech., X., pp. 18-34, Plate I.



at which a number of boys were to be initiated. It was the end of May before the most distant tribes arrived at the main camp, and the final ceremonies were not concluded till the beginning of July. I did not hear of this gathering in time to be present at it; and for some time afterwards, owing to heavy rains, the rivers in that part of the country were in a state of flood, rendering travelling almost impossible. I had therefore to wait till the country was dry enough, and the rivers fordable, before attempting to visit the locality. This had to be accomplished by means of a long and expensive journey of 327 miles by railway, 78 miles by stage coach, and 22 miles on horseback—427 miles in all. On arriving there, I found the headman of the Macquarie tribe, "Big Jimmy," who is locally known among the white people as the "King," and some old men, besides other tribesmen, women and children, to the number of between twenty-five and thirty persons, camped on Bulgeraga Creek, about two miles lower down than the spot where the Burbung was held. I requested the headman to accompany me to the shade of a tree a short distance from the camp, where we sat down together, and I explained to him the object of my visit. I thought it advisable to let him know that I was acquainted with the Kamilaroi initiation ceremonies, and therefore I detailed some of the most secret parts of them. On seeing that I possessed this knowledge, he threw off all reticence, and entered into the subject without reserve. He called some of the old men to him where we were sitting, and after some further conversation it was arranged that they would endeavour to show me everything. All the natives at this camp spoke fairly good English, having often been employed by the white people on sheep and cattle stations from their youth. Before going amongst them I took the precaution to ask the owner of the run on which they were camped, who knows them all individually, to tell me the names of the natives who were the most truthful and reliable.

I had a tent and camped with these people for several days until I collected all the particulars I required. Accompanied by the "King," and one of the men who had discharged the duty of guardian to one of the boys who had been initiated, I visited the site of the Burbung camp, the sacred ground, and all the places in the bush where the novices were taken during the time they were out with the old men. While standing at these places I asked my guides to explain every detail exactly as it took place. While they were doing this I made copious notes, and also asked such further questions as appeared necessary. In consequence of the numerous particulars to be taken down at each of the various stages of the ceremonies, it is not improbable that omissions have been made, and some errors of detail have

crept in, but I have, I feel sure, succeeded in obtaining a reliable and fairly complete account of what took place. I have abridged the details as much as I considered advisable, in order to keep this memoir within reasonable limits; the most important parts of the ceremonies will be described in a more extended form in a supplementary paper.

At night during my stay in the camp at Bulgeraga, I got one of the men who had acted as a messenger in gathering the tribes, to give me a detailed account of his procedure from the time he left the camp until his return with the contingent to whom he had been sent. An old man, who appeared to be a doctor or wizard (*wooringimba*),¹ told me a number of their principal traditions and legends, which I may reproduce on a future occasion. One of them is, however, so intimately connected with the ceremony I am describing, that I must include it in this paper. It is as follows:—A long time ago there was a gigantic and powerful being, something between a blackfellow and a spirit, called Dhuramoolan, who was one of Baiamai's people. His voice was awe-inspiring and resembled the rumbling of distant thunder. At a certain age the boys of the tribes were handed over to Dhuramoolan, in order that he might take them away into the bush, and instruct them in all the laws, traditions and customs of the community, to qualify them to sit in the councils, and discharge all the duties and obligations devolving upon them as tribesmen. When he brought them back to the camp, it was always observed that each boy had lost one of his upper incisor teeth, as a visible sign that they had been initiated by Dhuramoolan. He pretended to Baiamai that he always killed the boys, cut them up, and burnt them to ashes, that then he formed the ashes into human shape, and restored them to life, new beings, but each with a tooth missing.² On each occasion when Dhuramoolan brought back the boys who had been handed over to him for the purpose of initiation, it was found that some of them were missing, and he always reported that they had died from some ordinary disease. After a time Baiamai became very uneasy at the loss of so many of his young men, and suspecting that something was wrong, he questioned those brought back, but they were too much afraid of Dhuramoolan to tell upon him. On Baiamai compelling them to speak the truth, they told him that Dhuramoolan had feasted on their fellows. They also stated that it was not true about Dhuramoolan burning them and restoring them to life, and that the

¹ *Woor'-in-gim'-ba* (the *g* hard).

² In some tribes this part of the story is varied by stating that Dhuramoolan swallowed the boy, and after a time vomited him up again a young man, possessing all the tribal knowledge, but *minus* a tooth.

extraction of their teeth was performed by his inserting his own lower incisors under the tooth to be extracted, and wrenching it out. At this part of the performance he sometimes bit the entire face off the boy and devoured him. Upon hearing this Baiamai became very angry and destroyed Dhuramoolan, but put his voice into all the trees of the forest and told it to remain in these trees for ever. He then split one of the trees, and made a bull-roarer (*mudthega*) which he fastened to a string and swung round, and it had Dhuramoolan's voice. It could be made out of any tree, because the voice of Dhuramoolan had been put into them all. Baiamai then told his chief men that for the future they must themselves initiate the youths of the tribes, using the *mudthega* (Plate XXVI, Fig. 38) to represent the voice of Dhuramoolan to which they had all been accustomed. Baiamai thought it would be better not to communicate Dhuramoolan's imposition to the women and uninitiated, but to continue to make them believe that he came and took the boys away and burnt and resurrected them as heretofore. He then instituted the ceremonies of the Burbung as it is at present practised, and commanded them to teach it to their sons in order that it might be perpetuated among all the tribes.

Dhuramoolan had a wife named Moonbear who watched over all matters relating to the women of the tribes. At the ceremony of the Burbung, a small bull-roarer, bearing her name, is used in the sacred ground, and is heard at night by the women in the camp, who know its peculiar sound. It has a short string and is fastened to a handle. Plate XXVI, Fig. 39. The large bull-roarer, Plate XXVI, Fig. 38, is known by the several names of *mudthega*, *booboo*, and *dhuramoolan*. It is attached to a long string, and is swung round the head without a handle.

The Camp.—The general encampment was on the left or west bank of Bulgeraga Creek, an ana-branch of the Macquarie River, about a quarter of a mile easterly from Portion No. 11 of 111½ acres, in the parish of Wullamgambone, county of Gregory, New South Wales. The site selected was on some dry level ground in a small patch of open forest, in close proximity to the creek mentioned, from which water was obtained for camp use. This camp consisted of five divisions representing the remnants of the tribes from the following rivers:—the Macquarie, the Castle-reagh, the Bogan, the Barwan, and the tribe from Cobar. Each tribe occupied that side of the main camp which faced the direction of their own country, the camp of the headman who called them together being the datum point. Plate XXV, Figs. 1 to 6. The total number of persons, including a few half-castes, present at this gathering was ninety-eight, viz., sixty-four males, and thirty-four females, these numbers in-

cluding children of both sexes. The Aborigines Protection Board supplied them all with rations during the continuance of the ceremonies. The Cobar tribe had to travel about 120 miles, and one section of the Macquarie tribe about 100 miles to reach the Burbung camp.

The Burbung Ground.—In the central part of the camp, and about 150 yards from the Bulgeraga Creek, was a slightly oval space, measuring in one direction 86 feet, and in the other 77 feet. It was intended to be a circle, but this was as near as the natives could describe its outline. This space was bounded by a small nick or groove¹ cut in the soil about 4 inches wide and 3 inches deep, and from its surface all timber and grass had been thoroughly cleared. In the centre stood a pole, about 8 feet high, with bushes and emu's feathers fastened to the top. On the south-western side of this "circle," as I shall call it for convenience of reference, an opening 4 feet wide had been left, from which ran an uncleared bush track bearing generally about S.S. Westerly, but winding from side to side, for about 368 yards. At the distance of about 150 yards this track entered a thick scrub of belar, sandal-wood, and other brush timber, and 25 yards farther on the carvings in the soil and on the trees commenced. The most interesting of these are shown in Plate XXVI, Figs. 1 to 37. The first object was a hole in the ground, on the left of the track, about 3 feet by 18 inches, and about 18 inches deep, representing a *war-rabun*, or place in which a young woman has to sit during her first menstrual flow. Seven yards farther on the same side, was a figure of Gunnanbuly, wife of Baiamai, 5 feet 6 inches long, and 2 feet 6 inches across the breast, outlined by a groove cut in the soil, about 2 inches deep, and from 2 to 3 inches wide, Plate XXVI, Fig. 36.

On the opposite side of the track, 24 yards further on, was the figure of an emu,² 6 feet 7 inches from the point of the bill to the tail, cut out in the soil in a similar manner, and near it were several emu tracks, as well as gigantic tracks of a man. Fig. 34.

Six yards farther, on the left of the track, was a representation of a bower-bird's "play-house," formed on the ground,

¹ This is the only instance where I have seen the boundary of the circle defined by a nick cut in the ground; it is generally formed by a raised embankment, composed of loose earth. See my paper on "The Bora, or Initiation Ceremonies of the Kamilaroi Tribe," *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxiv, p. 414.

² See "Rock Paintings and Carvings of the Australian Aborigines" in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxv, p. 161, 162, Plate XVI, Figs. 4 and 5, where I have shown two emus carved upon rocks.

near the base of a belar tree, among some grass and salt-bush, with small bones, pieces of broken crockery, glass, &c., in it.¹

Fourteen yards from this, on the same side of the track, was a belar tree from which two spiral strips of bark about 1½ inches wide, and reaching 12 feet high, had been cut with the tomahawk to represent a tree struck by lightning. Alongside the long strips were five zigzag lines indicating the forked lightning. See Plate XXVI, Fig. 13.

In the middle of the track, 233 yards from the circle before described, was a large fire called "Baiaimai's Fire," (*mill'lendee*), which was kept constantly burning. (Plate XXV, No. 11.)

Opposite this fire, on the right hand side of the track, and lying parallel to it, was the horizontal figure of a man, composed entirely of earth heaped up, the feet being towards the circle. The length was 21 feet 8 inches, the width across the body 5 feet 6 inches, and the height of the body above the ground 1 foot 9 inches at the highest part, Fig. 37. He was lying face downwards, with his arms spread out, and close to him were imprints of a gigantic hand in the soil. These were formed by puddling the clay into the consistency of plaster, and then making an impression in it resembling a human hand three or four times life size. They were stated to be the imprint of Baiaimai's hands, when he was falling.

Some of the blacks told me that Baiaimai was hidden in a tree, surrounded by bushes, according to the native custom, waiting near a waterhole for the emu to come and drink. He then speared it with his long spear, *mun'nian*,² and it ran away some distance before it fell. Baiaimai ran after it, and tripped over a log and fell in the position delineated on the ground. In one of the belar trees near the figure of the emu before described were fastened a bunch of bushes, called *wom'merawa'*, representing the place where Baiaimai was concealed in the tree when he threw the spear.

Three and a half yards from Baiaimai's head was a belar tree, containing an imitation of an eagle-hawk's nest, about 22 feet from the ground. On the stem or bole of this tree was a representation of the sun, 12 inches in diameter, made by removing all the bark within the outline. Close above it was a figure of the moon formed in the same way, about four days old, measuring 16 inches between the horns.³ Both these figures were visible to anyone walking along the track. Fig. 4.

Extending from the foot of the tree containing the eagle's nest, in the direction of the *goombo*, described farther on, was a representation of the *wahwee*, a fabulous monster resembling a snake. It lived in a large water hole, and used to kill and eat some of Baiaimai's people. They were unable to kill it. This carving in the soil was 59 feet long, and 12 inches wide across the body. Its tail was represented twisted round a belar sapling. Fig. 30.

On the opposite, or left hand side of the track, was the figure of a man, 6 feet 6 inches high, cut out in the soil. The body was long in proportion to the rest of the figure, like many native paintings which I have seen in caves, and in carvings upon rocks.¹ This my informant said was one of Baiaimai's sons, but he had forgotten his name. Fig. 35.

One hundred and twenty yards beyond Baiaimai's fire, the *goombo* is reached. This is a cleared space, in which are built up four circular mounds of earth about 2 feet high, having a basal diameter of about 3 feet, and 15 inches across the top. These four heaps or mounds formed a square, the sides of which varied from 30 to 33 feet, two of the sides being approximately at right angles to the track which passed through the *goombo*. Several native weapons such as boomerangs, nulla-nullas, bundies, hielamans, &c., were stuck in the sides of these mounds by way of decoration. On each side of the track, about midway between the two outer heaps, was a rustic seat, formed by digging up a sapling by the roots, and chopping the upper part of the stem off and inserting it in the ground with the roots upward. These seats (*woongoveera*) were about 2 feet high, and were stained with human blood in the following manner. A number of men wounded their gums, or the flesh under their tongues, by means of sharp pointed pieces of bone, or steel needles got from the white people, and as the blood flowed into the mouths of the operators, they spat it out upon the wood of the seat, where it was allowed to soak in and dry. It is not necessary that the seat should be made scarlet, it is enough if it is stained over with blood. The natives told me that the *goombo* was used for playing native games, and for various spectacular displays, both during the day and in the night—a fire being kept alight on the northern side of it to give light on these occasions. Plate XXV, Fig. 12, and Diagram 3.

Four yards beyond the *goombo*, a number of bushes were laid

¹ Such places are used only as "play-houses," as they are called by bushmen; the bird builds its nest for breeding purposes in a tree.

² A long heavy spear, made on purpose for killing emus.

³ In my paper on "Aboriginal Rock Paintings and Carvings in N.S.W." published in the "Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria," vii, N.S., pp.

143-156, Plate VIII, Fig. 5, will be found paintings of the sun and moon on the roof of a cave.

¹ Compare with Fig. 2, Plate II, and Figs. 1 and 16, Plate III, "Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc. Aust.," x, pp. 46-70, illustrating my paper on "The Aboriginal Rock Pictures of Australia."

as a fence or screen, about 5 yards long and 4 feet high. This was at the termination of the track and at right angles to it. Behind this screen of boughs a number of natives used to hide on the arrival of a new contingent as described at p. 306.

In the preceding description I have dealt with most of the principal objects in the order in which they occur to a spectator starting from the large circle and going through the whole length of this sylvan temple. A reference to Plate XXVI will further assist the reader in understanding what I have said. I will now endeavour to describe the remainder of the carvings in the soil, and the marked trees, as well as other objects scattered throughout the sacred ground.

The great number of characters (*yam'mun'yamun*)¹ cut upon the surface of the ground at once attracts the notice of the visitor. To obtain an even space to work upon, all small sticks, grass, and loose earth had been scraped off the surface and piled into little heaps around the butts of the trees and saplings, and the earth cut out in carving the outlines was similarly disposed of. There were upwards of thirty of these designs, some being on one side of the track and some on the other, and extending back from it about 10 or 15 feet. The first of these carvings were met with at 182 yards from the circle, and they then continued at irregular intervals for 138 yards in the direction of the *goombo*. Some of these designs were as much as 14 feet long and 8 feet wide, and the smallest about 6 feet by 3 feet. A few of the most representative of these are shown in Plate XXVI, Figs. 19 to 33.

Scattered throughout the distance of 138 yards mentioned in last paragraph, I counted fifty-nine trees marked with the tomahawk, some being on each side of the pathway. Most of them were merely stripes, straight or spiral, of a very simple design, but some were of the usual *yam'mun'yamun* pattern. A few of these are reproduced in Plate XXVI, Figs. 1 to 18. I have also shown some representations of iguanas, fish, a snake, a turtle, and the sun and moon mentioned elsewhere. All these markings were cut through the bark as far as the wood; and within the outlines of the animals named the whole of the bark had been removed. Several of these markings were on saplings, or small scrub trees, and in such case the tops were lopped off at about 7 or 8 feet from the ground. The larger trees containing the best of the markings were not lopped. It was winter time when the Būrbūng was held, and as the scrub was very dense, the saplings may have been lopped to admit more sunshine.

Dispersed along the path, some being on one side and some on

¹ This is a word used by the Kamilaroi and Wiradthuri tribes to designate the figures and devices on the ground and on the trees.

the other, were between two and three dozen representations of birds' nests, fastened to saplings, and to the lopped off scrub-trees above referred to.

Around that part of the sacred ground containing Baiamai and the other figures, and the *yam'mun'yamun* cut in the ground, a bush fence, formed of sapling forks and bushes, had been made by the natives for the purpose of keeping off cattle and sheep, which were running in the vicinity. From the time the preparation of the ground was commenced until the final ceremony held there, two of the able-bodied men kept guard over it day and night, in order to prevent women or the uninitiated from seeing it. They camped at Baiamai's fire, and kept dogs to assist them. All the tribes contributed men to take their turn at this duty.

Among these tribes, it is the custom for that section of the community which called them together, to prepare the ground and get everything ready for the arrival of the various contingents. The locality chosen for the performance of this sacred rite is also situated in the country of the headman who calls the assembly.¹

Mustering the Tribes.—Early in the year 1893 the headman of the native tribe occupying what is called "The Mole" country, on the Macquarie River, after consultation with the headmen of the Castlereagh and Bogan river tribes, decided upon holding a Būrbūng on the Bulgeraga Creek, one of the ana branches of the Macquarie River. Accordingly he sent five messengers to invite the neighbouring tribes who were to participate in the ceremonies. Two of these were sent to the Castlereagh River to muster the sections of that tribe at Coonamble and Galargambone; two were sent to the Bogan river tribe, one of whom went to Cannonba, and the other to Nyngan; and one messenger was sent down the Barwan River to Walgett and other places. Each of these messengers carried a bag containing a bull-roarer wrapped in a piece of skin, and one or more kilts, according to the number of headmen to whom the message was sent. The messengers thus dispatched were of the same class as the headman of the Mole tribe, and were sent to men of the same class in the tribes they were directed to muster.

These messengers generally arrived at the camp to which they were dispatched a little before sundown, because at that time of the day all the men have generally returned from hunting, and are to be found in their own quarters. If the messenger got within a few miles of the place the previous

¹ "The Bora, or Initiation Ceremonies of the Kamilaroi Tribe," "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxiv, p. 413.

evening, but was unable to reach it, then he would camp there for the night, and early the following morning he would travel on, so as to reach his destination before the men had gone away for the day. On his arrival, he sat down a short distance from the camp of the men, within view of them, and on their observing him, one of their number, knowing that he was a messenger, would go over to him, and inquire the nature of his errand. On his stating that he had brought an invitation to attend a Bûrbûng, the man who had spoken to him would communicate this to the headman and elders of the tribe, who all went to where the messenger was sitting. He then stated from whom he had come, and exhibited to them the bull-roarer and the kilt, and delivered all the particulars of his message. The headman took charge of these emblems of his mission, and consulted with the elders who were around him as to whether they were all willing to join in the great gathering. The natives are generally very glad to receive such a message, and are bound to obey the call. On this meeting or council of the old men accepting the invitation, their decision was made known to all the men, who chanted "Birr! Birr! Wah!" and beat the ground with their feet. When the women heard this noise at the men's camp, they knew that a message had been received to attend a Bûrbûng, and they were glad of it, because any of them who had sons of a suitable age would have them made "young men." The men went towards the women's camp, and were met by them. The latter then pulled handfuls of grass, and laid them on the ground, forming a ring into which they invited the men to enter and dance, the women standing round, and beating time with their hands. In a short time they all dispersed, the messenger going into the single men's camp, where he was hospitably treated. In all native camps, the young men, and all visitors who have not their wives with them, always camp together a short distance from the camp of the married people and girls.

The next day, or it might be in a few days' time, the message was sent forward to the next tribe, or section of a tribe, either by the headman dispatching one of his own people bearing the sacred emblems, or by the same messenger who had brought the invitation to the camp. In this way the message was sent from tribe to tribe, or to sections of a tribe, until the farthest-off camp of natives was reached. The messenger then remained with the latter until it was thought time to start for the place of assembly. The journey to the appointed place was performed by easy stages on account of the women, children and aged people having to accompany the men. The route taken by the messenger

on his way out was again followed, in order to pick up other detachments who had been invited. When the most distant tribe or group started for the Bûrbûng, in company with the messenger, some of the active men went to and fro between them, and the next group on ahead, reporting the progress made by the women, &c., so that they might know the time to expect the travellers, and to be ready to join them. The two lots of natives would then travel in company, notice being again sent on ahead to the next camp, reporting progress, as in the previous case, their numbers being increased by a fresh contingent at each of the places along their course. When this mixed concourse camped at night, they sometimes had dances and songs at the camp fire.

On nearing the Bûrbûng camp, which was usually in the afternoon, one of the men went ahead and reported to the principal headman that the combined contingent would shortly arrive. On the approach of the strangers the men already assembled at the general camp stood round inside the circle, each man having two boomerangs, a boomerang and a throwing stick, or the like, which they beat together. The headmen stood among the rest at the side of the ring opposite to that in which the opening is left (Plate XXV, No. 14.) The new arrivals then marched on, in single file, in a serpentine line, each man being painted with red ochre and grease, and carrying a small bough in each hand—the left hand holding the end of a spear in addition to the bough—the other end of the spear pointing upwards over his left shoulder. The hands were brought together, shaking the boughs at each step. The bull-roarer, which was brought to the tribe by the messenger, was carried by the leader of the band. It is carefully wrapped in a skin, and is lashed to the lower end of his spear. From the upper end of the spear is suspended the kilt which accompanied the bull-roarer. The leader, followed by the others, entered in single file into the circle through the opening in its boundary, and marched backwards and forwards across the circle, commencing at one end and going in zigzag lines to the other end. (Plate XXV, Diagram 2.) They then stopped marching, and commenced jumping and shouting, their hosts standing around beating their boomerangs together. When this had lasted for several minutes the headmen gave the order to break up, when all the men—the hosts and their guests—mixed together, and they all danced round the circle a few times. The headmen of the hosts, and also of the new arrivals, then called out the names of a few principal camping grounds, waterholes, or other remarkable places in their respective districts. While this reception was being accorded to the men the women, accompanied by the

boys and children, went into the camping-ground and disencumbered themselves of their burdens, and set to work pitching their gunyahs.

The men of the newly-arrived contingent were next taken¹ along the track to the sacred ground, and shown the figure of Baiamai, the *millendee*, and the *yammunyanun* on the ground, and on the trees, before each of which they stopped and danced. They then went on towards the four heaps of earth (*goombo*). Behind the screen of boughs at the further end of these heaps (Plate XXV, Diagram 3) about a dozen men were concealed, in a stooping posture, having a small bough in each hand, the bush in one hand pointing upwards, whilst that in the other pointed downwards, and the hands were held close together. The headmen of the tribes previously arrived are there standing on the heaps, or sitting on the seats. If there were more headmen than these could accommodate, they stood in the open space between them. All the headmen had their faces in the direction from which the strangers approached. The latter, led by their headman, then formed into line before the *goombo*. The men concealed behind the bough screen then rose and danced out in single file, holding the bushes in their hands—waving them slightly up and down in unison with their steps—and mixed with the new arrivals amidst much glee and merriment on both sides. The bushes were then cast away, and all the men danced round outside the *goombo* at intervals, as long as the performance lasted. The headmen in possession of the heaps changed places, getting off one and walking to the other, and the newly-arrived headmen had an opportunity of running in and standing on them in his turn. Some of the headmen stood or sat on the wooden seats (*woongoweeera*).

At the circle near the camp that night the Mole tribe, in whose country the assemblage took place, painted themselves, and danced a corroboree before the newly-arrived contingent, the women beating time on little bags made of the skin of the padamelon, or any similar animal, tightly filled with pieces of skin, grass, &c., like small pillows. One of these pillows served two women sitting opposite each other and striking it alternately. These festivities would be kept up till 10 or 11 o'clock, and sometimes later, when all hands would retire to their own quarters. It generally happens that the new arrivals have relatives or acquaintances among the other tribes. These search for each other as soon as the tribal formalities are over, and chat round the camp fire long into the night.

The procedure I have described will apply to each of the

¹ If it is too late by the time the reception at the ring is over, this part of it is postponed till the next morning.

contingents, the way the messenger was sent to them, their journey to the Burbung ground, and their reception there.

Preliminary Ceremonies.—From the time of the arrival of the first contingent until the final ceremony there was a preliminary performance at the circle every day. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon all the men and women, accompanied by the boys who were waiting to be initiated, assembled at the circle. The women and boys took up their position round the boundary of it, the relatives of the boys being in the front row. The men, all of them painted and wearing their regalia, then entered the circle and danced round in single file. As they tramped round waving their arms, the women threw handfuls of leaves at them as they passed. When this was concluded, the women and novices dispersed to their quarters in the camp, and all the initiated men went away along the path to the sacred ground, and amused themselves by various performances around Baiamai's fire (*millendee*), and at the four heaps of earth (*goombo*) before described. The headmen and others played games of dancing from heap to heap and seat to seat, laughing and joking with each other the while. Between the *goombo* and *millendee* various sports and ceremonies are carried on. Sometimes the men imitate a lot of dogs running after each other, then a mob of kangaroos, then an emu hunt, &c. The wizards go through various mummeries, pretending to swallow things and bring them up again. The young men who have only been at one Būrbūng previously are shown all the devices, and everything on the sacred ground is fully explained to them, so that they may be able to reproduce them themselves when they are required to do so at future ceremonies.

As before stated, the Mole tribe, being the principal hosts, made a corroboree on the night of the arrival of each tribe. After that, however, each tribe danced corroborees in succession, following the order of their arrival. Thus, if A, B and C are three tribes who have arrived in that order, and D is the tribe acting as host. On the night of the arrival of each of the tribes D dances; the next night A dances; the next night B, and the next C, this series being repeated as long as the Burbung lasts.

Principal Ceremony.—A few days after the arrival of the last contingent—or, if time is no object, it may be two or three weeks, all the visitors wishing to have a fair share of the festivities—the final ceremony at the circle is gone through, the time for this being fixed by the headmen after discussion among themselves. In the Burbung I am describing, the night previous to this, the *mūltheega* and *mūnbeer* were vigorously sounded at the sacred ground, and were heard by the women,

novices and children at the camp. The women were then informed that Dhuramoolan was coming for the boys the following morning. Shortly before daylight the men, women and children assembled within the circle, having entered it through the opening in its boundary, each tribe keeping by themselves on that side of the circle nearest their own district, each group having a small fire to keep themselves warm, because the morning was cold. The novices, who were naked, were placed sitting down on pieces of bark laid on the ground near the back part of the circle, and their eyes cast upon the earth at their feet. Each boy's sister sat behind him, and near her was her husband, who acted as the boy's guardian throughout the ceremonies. These two then painted him all over with red ochre and grease, making a few marks of pipe-clay on the chest, and putting soft swan feathers in his hair. Each boy was then invested with a girdle, to which was attached four kilts, one in front, one at each side, and one behind. Two forehead bands, a wide and a narrow one, completed the dress.

When all was ready the headman sang out "Lie down! here he comes!" (meaning Dhuramoolan). The women and children then lay down, and were securely covered up with blankets and bushes, and a few of the men were appointed to watch them. A blanket was also thrown over the head of each of the novices in such a way that he could only see the ground at his feet. Immediately this was done a number of men approached from the direction of the sacred ground, some sounding bull-roarers, others with strips of bark about 2 feet 6 inches long and 4 or 5 inches wide (Plate XXVI, Fig. 40) in each hand, with which they beat the ground alternately at each step. They tramped round and round inside the circle three or four times, beating the ground, some men outside sounding bull-roarers, and together making a terrific din. Some of the men took up lighted sticks from the fire and threw them near the women and children, where they were covered up, to make them believe Dhuramoolan had tried to burn them. While this frightsome row was going on the guardians caught each his novice above the elbow, and led him noiselessly away along the pathway towards the sacred ground, the men with the bull-roarers following, and the other men shouting as before, for a short distance. As soon as the novices and others who accompanied them were out of sight in the scrub, the covering was taken off the women and children. They looked up, half terrified, and seeing the burning sticks lying near them, were told that Dhuramoolan had done this to try and burn them when he was taking the boys away. The women, and the men who were guarding them, then left the

circle and removed the camp about 300 yards down the Bulgeraga Creek, and on the opposite side of it, where there was some high, dry ground suitable for the purpose.

In the meantime, the novices had been taken to a place 48 yards S. 10° W. from the goombo (Plate XXV, No. 13), and were placed sitting in a row on sheets of bark laid upon the ground, the blankets being still kept over their heads and shoulders, and one or two men sounding bull-roarers occasionally a short distance off. On their way here, the novices were not taken through the sacred ground, but through the scrub several yards on the western side of it, along the track shown on the Plate from No. 1 to No. 13. This was done so that they might not even catch a glimpse of the carvings in the soil or other devices. They were kept here for a short time, during which their guardians and the old men who were with them gave them advice as to their future conduct, and also instructions as to their behaviour during the remainder of the ceremonies. After this they were taken to a camp 3 or 4 miles distant, and the blankets taken off their heads, when they joined the men in hunting during the rest of the day. At night their guardians remained with them, the other men camping close by. It was a Tuesday morning on which they were taken away from the circle, and were kept in this camp till the following Friday. During the nights which they remained at this camp two or three of the men would go away unobserved into the adjacent scrub in different directions and swing their bull-roarers. Some of the men would rush out round the novices' camp, rattling their boomerangs together and making hideous noises, yelling and shouting in their own language "Go away! Go away!" pretending that they were beating off Dhuramoolan, who was trying to come and burn the boys.

On the Friday afternoon two or three of the men returned to the new camp, where the women and children had removed to, and reported that Dhuramoolan would show them the boys that night a few hours after dark at a place which they described, about 15 chains from the camp, where they had formed a bough yard (*tharrawonga*) resembling a horse shoe in shape, 42 feet across the open end, and 24 feet deep. The wall was 6 or 7 feet high, and the open end faced the direction of the place to which the boys had been taken during their stay in the bush. Within this yard, near the back wall, a kind of platform, about 15 or 18 inches high, was made by laying sheets of bark on the top of short logs taken there for the purpose. About dusk the female relatives and friends of the novices went to the bough yard and made a fire outside of the curved end, at which they remained awaiting the arrival of the

boys. They also lit a fire in front of the yard to give light during the ceremony which was shortly to take place. About 9 o'clock at night the guardians with their novices, followed by a number of the men, emerged from a thick scrub facing the open end of the yard and about 50 or 60 yards distant. Behind these a couple of men were loudly sounding bull-roarers to make the women and novices believe that Dhuramoolan was present. Advancing across an open space which was naturally clear, the guardians and their novices entered the yard. As soon as the last of the men got out of the scrub referred to into the open ground, the sound of the bull-roarers ceased. The guardians sat down on the platform, and the boys got on top of their shoulders, their legs hanging down in front, and were held in the hands of the guardians. The novices now extended their arms horizontally, and kept their eyes closed. At a signal from the men the sisters of the boys entered the yard, and walking up close to them squirted pipe-clay out of their mouths into their faces. The women then retired, and went away to their own camp. None of the boys had mothers in the camp, otherwise they would have attended on this occasion. While this ceremony was going on the men who were there as spectators stood near the entrance to the yard and facing the boys. The boys were now let down from the shoulders of their guardians, and, accompanied by them, camped in the yard all night.

The following morning the boys were again taken away into the bush for three or four days more, to be further instructed in the tribal ordinances. During this time they were taught certain songs and dances, which the women and uninitiated know nothing about. There are dances, as well as songs, which it is unlawful to teach anywhere than at the Burbung ceremonies and are only seen and heard there.

A new name is given to each of the boys, which is known only to themselves and the initiated men of the tribe. Every animal has a general name by which it is known to all, including the women and children, and a secret name which is known only to the initiated. The novices are made familiar with all these names during their stay with the old men. At the time New South Wales was first settled by Europeans, before the knocking out of a front tooth fell into disuse, that ceremony also was performed during the time the boys were out in the bush with the old men.

One day there was a sham fight. A section of the men had caught some game, say, a kangaroo or emu, and ate it all themselves. The others said to them, "Why did you not give us some of that?—we are with you, and you ought to have shared with us!" Both sides then pretended to get very

angry, and challenged each other to combat, making the novices believe they were in earnest. Weapons were thrown about in apparent reality for a short time, after which they all made friends again.

During the whole of the time the novices were out in the bush with the chief initiator and the band of men who accompanied him, numerous ceremonial and pantomimic performances were enacted, which space will not permit me to describe at present.

On the afternoon of the last day of this period, the heads of the boys were again covered with blankets, as at the first. A fire was lighted about 50 yards off, and when the crackling of the wood and roaring of the flame became audible, several old men suddenly commenced to sound bull-roarers, whilst others beat the ground with pieces of bark in each hand, similar to those used at the circle. The old men told the boys they were going to be burnt by Dhuramoolan. When it was thought that the novices had been sufficiently impressed, at a given signal the guardians lifted the blankets off their heads, and the principal headman, pointing to the men with the bull-roarers, said, "There he is! that is Dhuramoolan," and proceeded to explain to the boys how the noise was made at the circle the morning they were taken away, and at all other places where they had heard it, by sounding bull-roarers and beating the ground with pieces of bark, similar to those now before them. The story of Dhuramoolan, and the origin of the *mudhega* was then detailed to them, and they were told that they must hand down this custom to the boys of the tribe. They were cautioned against revealing anything connected with the secret ceremonies to the women or uninitiated on pain of death. They were also instructed in the sacred traditions respecting Baiamai, and in the ancestral beliefs generally. The bull-roarers were then handed to the novices and they were invited to examine and whirl them round, to make themselves fully acquainted with their form and use. The *moonibear* was also shown to the novices and its use explained to them. They were, however, strictly forbidden to make either of these sacred instruments except at the Burbung. An hour or two after this, the bull-roarers were destroyed by splitting them in pieces, and driving them into the ground out of sight. Sometimes, instead of doing this, they are burnt.

That night, about an hour after sun-down, the boys were taken to a place in a scrub, near the new camp, and perhaps 10 chains distant from it, where there was the trunk of a fallen tree, lying on the ground, a few yards from one side of which fires were lit to give light. The novices stood on top of the

log, with their guardians standing a little way behind them. Their female relations, who were waiting there when they arrived, walked in front, and after putting their hands upon them, stepped back a few paces and stood there. By burning green bushes on the ground under the log, a great smoke was made, which ascended up around the boys. This was continued for a short time, the women being on the other side of the smoke. The boys were then taken away to the quarters provided for them near the new camp, where they remained for the night, the women returning to the camp from which they had come.

The following morning the Castlereagh river tribe started homewards, and the other natives went with them as far as the Marthaguy Creek, about 10 miles distant. Here the novices were again passed through the smoke ordeal before described, which was the concluding scene of the Būrbūng. Each tribe then started away on their return journey to their respective districts.

General Remarks.—There were four boys initiated at this Būrbūng, three blacks and a half caste. There were also present about half a dozen young men who had been initiated at the Būrbūngs held on the Castlereagh and Bogan Rivers some two or three years before, and who attended this one for the purpose of seeing the devices on Baiamai's Ground, and being further instructed in the traditions of the tribes. The extraction of a front tooth, or the eating of human ordure¹ was not enforced, although both these rites were practised by the natives of these districts in the early days of European settlement, but have been discontinued for several years. Neither was the hair of the novices cut off, as in the Kamilaroi Bora described by me.²

Three dialects were spoken by the natives who attended this gathering, but were mutually understood by all. The people from the Castlereagh, the Mole and the Barwan spoke *Wailwan*, those from the Bogan and Cobar spoke *Wonghibon*, and those from the upper Macquarie, the *Wiradthuri* dialect. All of these tribes have the same class system and all belong to the Wiradthuri community, one of the branches of the great Kamilaroi organisation, which I have described in my paper to the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, before referred to.

Other Initiation Grounds.—It seems to me very desirable that we should have an opportunity of observing the resemblances and dissimilarities not only in the details of the ceremonies themselves, but also in the form of the grounds—the natural temples—in which these ceremonies are carried out. This

¹ "Aboriginal Bora held at Gundabloui in 1894" published in "Journ. Roy. Soc. N.S. Wales," xxviii, pp. 103-4.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 98-129.

remark applies with greater force to tribes more or less diverse in their modes of celebrating this sacred rite, and occupying tracts of country widely separated from each other.

Carefully prepared plans, showing the ground occupied during the various stages of the ceremonies will, in my opinion, be found of great assistance in elucidating the written details, and impressing them upon the mind of the student, as well as affording greater facilities for comparison of the initiation grounds used by different tribes.

In my paper on the "Bora, or Initiation Ceremonies of the Kamilaroi Tribe," published in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain," vol. xxiv, pp. 411-427, I gave an account of the initiation ceremonies of a section of the Kamilaroi community, with a plate showing the devices marked upon the trees and on the turf, with other information. I have since regretted that I did not add another Plate showing the general encampment and its surroundings, the position of Baiamai's image, the new camp, &c. It has therefore occurred to me that it would add to the value of the present paper if I were to include in it a Plate giving the particulars indicated. In accordance with this view I have prepared Plate XXVII, Sect. I, an explanation of which is included in my descriptions of the Plates.

A short time since I wrote to my friend and fellow worker, Mr. A. W. Howitt, F.G.S., asking if he would kindly furnish me with sketches for publication of the ground showing the position of the various stages of the Kūringal of the Murring tribe, described by him in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain," vol. xiii, pp. 432-459, and also of the locality showing the ground on which the Jeraeil of the Kurnai tribe took place, detailed by him in vol. xiv, pp. 301-325, of the Journal mentioned. Mr. Howitt willingly acceded to my request, and from the information I have been able to prepare Sections II and III of Plates XXVII with short explanatory descriptions.

I wish it to be understood that I do not hold myself responsible for the accuracy of the statements made in the descriptions of Sections II and III of Plate XXVII. I have merely collated the details from the "Journals of the Anthropological Institute" in which they originally appeared, assisted by Mr. Howitt's further notes and sketches supplied direct to me. I have, however, exercised the greatest care, and have done my best with the information at my disposal.

It will be seen that, in addition to the account of the Wiradthuri Būrbūng, I have introduced into this paper original plans and descriptions of the initiation grounds of the Kamilaroi Bora—the Murring Kūringal,—and the Kurnai Jeraeil, representing

the initiation ceremonies of four separate communities, all differing more or less in detail, both as regards the particulars of the ceremonies, and in the form of the several grounds. They are, moreover, separated from each other by long distances. From McLennan's Strait in Victoria, where the Jeraeil took place, to the site of the Bora, near the northern boundary of New South Wales, is a distance of over 600 miles in a direct line.

It is not my intention at present to draw attention to the points of resemblance, or the differences, in the manner of the celebration of these ceremonies among the tribes mentioned, because I do not think the examples within our reach are sufficient to enable us to attempt a work of this kind. There is a very wide field of unbroken ground yet before us in regard to the initiation ceremonies of the Australian aborigines.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES XXV-XXVII.

Plate XXV.

This plate shows the Burbung ground of the Wiradthuri tribe, as described in this paper.

No. 1 is the oval space 86 feet by 77 feet, where the reception of contingents and other ceremonies were held. This circle is shown on a large scale in Diagram 2. No. 2 is the site of the camp of the Macquarie river tribe, who are the hosts, because the gathering took place in their country. No. 3 is the Castle-reagh tribe. No. 4 the Barwan tribe. Nos. 5 and 6 the Bogan and Cobar tribes respectively. Nos. 7 and 8 are two native ovens, or large holes in the ground, in which animals were cooked. No. 9 is the location of the figure of Gunnanbeely (Fig. 36, Plate XXVI). Nos. 10 and 11 are the sites of the figure of Baiamai, and his fire respectively. No. 12 is the goombo of which an enlargement showing detail is given in Diagram 3. No. 13 is the place 48 yards from the goombo where the boys were first halted on the morning they were taken from the circle, No. 1, by their guardians. The dotted line from 1 to 13 represents their line of march. No. 14 is the spot within the circle where the headman stood when welcoming the various contingents, and also on the morning of the final ceremony. No. 15 represents the wavy or sinuous line in which contingents marched when arriving at the circle. This plate also shows the tharrawonga where the women blew pipe-clay in the faces of the novices, whilst held on their guardians' shoulders—the place where the smoky fire was made between the novices and their female relatives—and the position of the new camp. For full particulars the reader is referred to the text.

Plate XXVI.

The most important of the *yammunjamun* marked upon the ground and upon trees, &c., at the Wiradthuri Burbung are delineated on this plate.

Figs. 1 to 18 show some of the best of the markings on the trees. In Fig. 1 are represented two fishes, one of which is 2 feet 10 inches long, and is going up the tree, the other is 1 foot 8 inches long, and is coming down. There are a few crooked lines as well as the fish. Fig. 4 shows the sun and moon, the latter about four days old; this is the tree in which the eagle-hawk's nest is built. Fig. 5 represents a snake about 6 feet long twisted round a tree. Fig. 9 is intended for a turtle and is over 3 feet long. Fig. 13 represents a tree struck by lightning. Figs. 11, 14, 17 and 18 are delineations of iguanas, the largest of which is 6 feet, and the smallest 4 feet 6 inches in length.¹

Figs. 19 to 33 are devices of various patterns cut upon the surface of the ground, the most interesting of which is the wahwee, Fig. 30. Figs. 34, 35 and 36 represent respectively an emu, one of Baiamai's sons, and Gunnanbeely delineated upon the ground by means of a nick or groove cut in the soil. Fig. 37 is a representation of Baiamai lying face downwards on the ground. It is 21 feet 8 inches long, and is built up of loose earth. Figs. 38 and 39 represent the *mudthege* and *moonabear* respectively, the large and small bull-roarer used at the initiation ceremonies, with the string attached to them. Fig. 40 represents one of the strips of bark used in beating the ground; it is 2 feet 6 inches long and 4½ inches broad at the widest part. One of these pieces of bark, and also a bull-roarer, used at the ceremonies, were presented to me by the headman, and are now in my possession. Most of the Figs. on this Plate are more particularly referred to in the text of this paper.

PLATE XXVII.

(Section I.)

*** The pages refer to "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xxiv.

This shows the Bora ground of the Kamilaroi tribes.

No. 1. Camp of Jack Bagot, with the local tribe from Mogil Mogil, Collarendabri and Walgett; No. 2, the Mungindi, Kuno-

¹ Aboriginal drawings of snakes, iguanas, the sun and moon, fish, &c., painted on the walls of caves, or carved upon smooth rocks, have been described by me in other publications. See "Australian Rock Pictures" in "The American Anthropologist." (Washington), viii, pp. 268-278; also "Aboriginal Rock Paintings and Carvings in N.S. Wales," in the "Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria," vii, N.S., pp. 148-156.

pia and Welltown contingent; No. 3, the Moonie and St. George tribe, p. 413. No. 4 is the place where the various contingents danced corroborees at night during the Bora, pp. 419-420.

No. 5. The large circle 70 feet in diameter, surrounded by a raised earthen wall about a foot high, p. 414. Here the preliminary ceremonies were held at which the women, novices and children were present, p. 418. From here the boys were taken away by their guardians, p. 421.

No. 6. Baiamai's Fire, p. 418, and No. 7, the image of Baiamai 15 feet long, formed of raised earth and logs. Opposite to him was Gunnanbeely, his wife, pp. 415-416.

No. 8. The smaller circle, 45 feet in diameter, in which were two seats (*waddengahlee*) about 5 feet high. From the Bora ground the novices were taken to Mungaroo, about 6 miles distant, where a semi-circular yard was made in which they camped, p. 422.

Nos. 9, 10 and 11 shows the new camp, No. 9 being the camp of the local tribe, the others being arranged in the same order as at the first place. The distance from No. 1 to No. 9 is about half a mile, but on the plate it scales only half that distance, owing to want of space. The new camp, the bough-yard and the novices' camp are here shown in their correct relative positions.

No. 12. Bough-yard near the new camp where the novices were shown to their female relatives at a smoky fire, pp. 424-425.

No. 13. The camp to which the novices were taken after passing through the smoke ordeal, p. 425.

Section II.

* * * The pages refer to "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," vol. xiii.

The Kūringal¹ of the Murring tribe took place in the hills about five miles easterly from the junction of the Bega and Brogo rivers in the county of Auckland, New South Wales.

No. 1, the main camp, is not shown on the plate, owing to want of space. Here the women were covered up, and the novices taken charge of by their *Kabos* or guardians, p. 442.

No. 2. The place where the novices were rubbed with red ochre and fat, and shrouded in blankets and instructed by the *Kabos*, about 3 or 4 miles from the main camp at No. 1, pp. 442-3.

Nos. 3 to 7. Stopping places on the way out where dances were performed by the wizards, pp. 444-5. At No. 7, a low arch of bent saplings had been made underneath which the novices had to crawl.

¹ The Kuringal—also called Koolyadoo and Kutja among some tribes—is a short or abridged form of the initiation ceremonies, and is only used when there is no time, or it is otherwise inconvenient, to hold the complete ceremony, which is called the Bunan.—R. H. M.

No. 8. A circular space, say from 50 feet to 60 feet in diameter, carefully cleared of everything, but not surrounded by a raised border of any kind. In the centre was a large fire (*talmarū*), and outside of this space were the camps of the men of the several tribes each in the direction of their own country. All the novices with their *Kabos* camped by themselves, p. 445.

No. 9. A small cleared space in which the tooth was knocked out. It was about a quarter of a mile down the ridge along a rocky cattle track leading to the creek, and was about 200 feet lower than the camp at No. 8. The figure of Daramulun was cut on a tree facing this spot, but was obliterated after the ceremonies, pp. 446-7. From here the boys were taken back to No. 8, where they were invested with the belt, kilt, and other insignia of manhood, p. 449.

No. 10. Small rocky hill where the bull-roarer was concealed when not in use by the messenger who had arrived with the most distant contingent.

No. 11. Earthen image, life-size, of Daramūlūn lying on the ground, p. 452.

No. 12. Grave where one of the wizards was buried and then resurrected by the other wizards by means of chants and dances around the grave, p. 453.

No. 13. Waterhole in a small creek where the men washed off the charcoal powder with which they had been smeared and splashed water over the novices, p. 454.

No. 14. Place where the novices were halted to be finally instructed. Here the bull-roarers were shown them, and secrecy enjoined, p. 454.

No. 15. High peak overlooking the low country where the novices were decked with their newly acquired men's attire, and painted after the manner customary in the tribe p. 455.

No. 16. Place where the *Kabos* took the novices on their shoulders, and marched to the new camp surrounded by the men bearing boughs, p. 455.

No. 17. The new camp where the novices were momentarily shown to their mothers at a hut where there was a smoky fire, before being sent into the bush by themselves during a period of probation, p. 455.

Section III.

* * * The pages refer to "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," vol. xiv.

This illustrates the Jeracil¹ ground of the Kurnai tribe.

No. 1. The main camp was about 3 chains southerly from the southern bank of McLennan's Strait, near the old crossing place

¹ After the publication of all the papers on which I am engaged respecting the initiation ceremonies of different tribes, it is probable that they will suggest

of the now disused Port Albert Road. This Strait connects Lake Wellington and Lake Victoria. The people camped on either side of the headman, in the direction in which they had come ; No. 2 being the young men's camp. This place was a favourite old Jeraeil ground of the Kurnai tribe. It is flat sandy land very little elevated above the level of the sea. It is in the county of Buln-Buln, in the colony of Victoria.

No. 3. The Jeraeil ground is an open space about a quarter of a mile from the camp, all the little bushes were chopped up, and the ground cleared of sticks and rubbish, p. 304. Here sat the novices with their Krauun behind them, p. 305.

No. 4. The place where the men disguised themselves, and with their headman ran forward along the dotted line to the front of the novices at No. 3, p. 305.

No. 5. The semi-circular enclosure of boughs, p. 306, where the novices were put to sleep, p. 308, and after awakening were invested with the belt, kilt, &c.

No. 6. The camp where the novices were kept and instructed by their bullawangs, pp. 311 and 315.

No. 7. Place at the edge of a dense scrub of tea-tree, with a little open plain of some 50 acres in front, where the novices were shown the bull-roarers and afterwards played the opossum game, pp. 312-314.

No. 8. The place where the girls (Krauun) offered food to the novices, p. 315.

No. 9. Place where the "ghosts" provided meat for the novices, p. 318.

No. 10. The dotted line from No. 6 to No. 10 is where the novices, at night, sounded the bull-roarers to frighten the women—Tündün being supposed to be leaving the camp—and ceased the noise at No. 10 on the bank of the Strait, p. 315.

The BūRBŪNG of the WIRADTHURI TRIBES. (Part II.)

By R. H. MATHEWS, L.S.

In a former communication¹ to the Anthropological Institute, I described the Būrbūng of the tribes belonging to the Wiradthuri community occupying that part of New South Wales watered by the lower portions of the Macquarie, Castlereagh, and Bogan rivers, with their affluents and branches. As I had to abridge that article in order to keep it within reasonable limits, I stated that on a future occasion I would prepare a supplementary paper describing the most important parts of the ceremonies in a more extended form.² In fulfilment of that promise, the present article has been prepared, in which I shall deal with the Wiradthuri tribes spread over the upper portions of the rivers above mentioned, extending southerly to the dividing range between the Lachlan and Murrumbidgee rivers, including within that area the tribes resident on the upper part of the former river and its numerous tributaries.

In my original communication, the manner of summoning the several tribes to attend the Būrbūng,³ and their arrival at the main camp⁴ was explained, the Būrbūng ground with its imagery and surroundings was carefully described,⁵ the preliminary daily performances at the ring were particularly detailed.⁶ It will be unnecessary, therefore, to include any further information respecting these parts of the ceremonies in the present paper. In the following pages I shall endeavour to more fully describe the manner of removing the novices from the main camp, and to supply comprehensive details of the important secret ceremonies in the bush, these divisions of the subject having been rather briefly defined in my former memoir.

Taking away the boys.—During the night preceding the taking away of the novices,⁷ considerable sexual license is allowed between the men and women, whether married or single. This liberty is accorded only to those parties who would be permitted to marry each other in conformity with the tribal laws, but would not be extended to the novices. The next morning all

¹ "The Būrbūng of the Wiradthuri Tribes," *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxv, 295-318.

² "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxv, 297.

³ *Loc. cit.*, 303-305.

⁴ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxv, 305-307.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 299-303.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 307.

⁷ As stated in my former paper, the time for taking the novices away from the camp is fixed by the headmen, after the arrival of all the tribes who are expected to be present at the ceremony. "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxv, 307.

the men commence shouting before daylight, and as soon as it is clear enough, every one in the entire camp shift up close to the ring.¹ Some men cut bushes and bring them alongside for use in covering the women presently, and rugs and blankets are also gathered out of the camp for the same purpose. Every novice had a guardian² assigned him by the headmen, such guardian being selected from among the initiated men of the class and totem with which the novice was entitled to intermarry. These guardians did not act openly, because the women were present, and they did not wish the latter to know that they were taking a prominent part in the proceedings, but got some of their brothers, who may be called their assistants, to act for them until the women were covered up. Each assistant took his novice in charge and invested him with all the articles comprising the dress of a man of the tribe. This dress consisted of a girdle round the waist, under which were inserted four kilts or tails (*burran*), one of these tails hanging down in front, one behind, and one on each side. A net band was fastened round the forehead, and a somewhat similar band around each of the upper arms. Coloured feathers of the cockatoo and other birds were inserted in the boys' hair.³

The sisters of the novice and those of the guardian now painted him red all over his body and limbs, after which a brother of the guardian led him into the ring and placed him sitting down on some bark close to the embankment forming its boundary. The novices belonging to each tribe were kept in a group by themselves, all having their heads bowed down, on the side of the ring nearest to their own *ngoorambang* or country.⁴ The mothers of the novices are now brought up and are placed sitting down in a row just outside the embankment bounding the ring,⁵ each mother being immediately behind her son. She sits in such a position that she can hold in her hand the tail which is attached to the left side of her son's girdle.

To make the position of the boys and their mothers more clearly understood, we will suppose that the tribe from Cowra, on the Lachlan river, are present. All the Cowra novices would be placed sitting in a row within the embankment, on the side of the ring nearest Cowra. The mothers of the novices would be just outside the ring; their female relatives would be just behind the mothers, and all the other Cowra women and

¹ See Plates XXV and XXVI, of my first paper, and the descriptions of them. "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxv, 299-303 and 314-315.

² "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxv, 308.

³ *Loc. cit.*, 308.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, 308.

⁵ The boundary of the circle is generally formed by a raised earthen embankment. *Loc. cit.*, 299, note 1.

children would be farther back. The novices belonging to each of the other tribes present, and their female relations, would be similarly placed in groups by themselves at different places around the circle.

All the women and children are now directed to lie down, with their faces turned away from the ring, and a number of the men proceed to cover them over with the rugs and bushes which they have in readiness. These men, with spears in their hands, then watch the women to see that the covering is not interfered with.¹ Little children, who cannot speak, are not covered up, but are allowed to remain standing or sitting among the women, because they are not able to report anything which they may see.

When all these preliminaries had been satisfactorily arranged, the headmen gave the signal, and two men commenced vigorously sounding bull-roarers close at hand, in the direction of the goombo; and several men came along the track from the same direction, each man carrying in one hand a piece of bark, called *munga*, previously described.² These men entered the ring through the opening³ in the bank, and ran round, hitting the ground heavily with the pieces of bark referred to, but not uttering any exclamation, and then withdrew. The other men standing about the ring shouted, and during the combined noise of the bull-roarers, the shouting, and the beating of the ground, each guardian came forward, and caught his novice by the arm⁴ and led him with downcast eyes out of the circle and along the track. The headmen, and most of the young fellows officiating in the ceremonies at the ring, also went with them.

During the din and clamour produced at the ring while the novices are being taken away, some of the men pick up a few articles belonging to the women, such as dilly-bags, yamsticks, or the like, and scatter them about.⁵ Fire-sticks are also thrown close to where the women are lying, to impress them with the prejudice which Dhurramoolun is said to have against womankind. Some of the men who are standing around take up some of the little children, who are not old enough to talk—and cannot therefore report anything to their mothers—and mark their bodies with a few spots or stripes of paint, the women being led to believe that the evil spirit did this when he was taking the novices out of the ring.

When the guardians and novices are out of sight, the men take the covering off the women and children, who then get up

¹ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxv, 308.

² *Loc. cit.*, 308, Plate XXVI, Fig. 40.

³ *Ibid.*, 299.

⁴ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxv, 308.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, 308.

and look around.¹ They all feel more or less awe-struck, particularly the young women and children who have never been to a Burbung previously. The scene before them—the deserted ring, the burning sticks, and their own effects scattered about, has a very depressing effect upon their feelings, which usually finds vent in cries and lamentations, especially among the mothers and sisters of the novices.

As the novices rise to their feet at the time they were taken away from the circle, the tails (*burran*) which were held in their mothers' hands, as before stated, separated from their girdles. These tails were taken possession of by the mothers, and will be returned to their sons later on.

When the excitement has subsided, all the women and children belonging to the different tribes present in the main encampment, pack up their effects, and with the help of a few of the men of each tribe who have been left with them, they start away and form another camp at some place which has been determined by the headmen, where they take up their respective quarters in accordance with their usual custom of each tribe occupying the side nearest their own country.² This new camping ground may be only a short distance off, or it may be several miles, according to the requirements and conveniences of all the tribes present at the ceremonies.

Ceremonies in the Bush.—As before stated, the guardians have taken the novices out of sight along the track leading to the sacred ground. They march on past the image of Dhurramoolun, the marked trees, and the goombo, the novices not being allowed to see anything, but are obliged to keep their eyes cast upon the ground at their feet. When they get a little way beyond the goombo,³ the novices are placed lying down on their sides on the ground, and a rug thrown over each of them, where they are kept for a short time, perhaps a quarter, or half an hour. This stoppage is made for the purpose of allowing the *kooringal*⁴ and other men who intend going into the bush with the boys, to collect their weapons and other things, and get ready generally. Every man of the *kooringal* paints himself with powdered charcoal, or burnt grass, mixed with grease, which gives their bodies a shiny black appearance.

When the men overtake the boys at this halting place, a number of the *kooringal* go a few paces away, and sitting down,

¹ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxv, 308.

² *Loc. cit.*, 308, 309.

³ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxv, 309, Plate XXV, No. 13.

⁴ The *kooringal* are a band of warriors and athletes who accompany the guardians into the bush, and assist the chief men to carry out all the formalities of initiation. "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxv, 328.

commence hitting the ground with the palms of their open hands. They have small twigs and long grass fastened in their hair, to give them a ludicrous appearance. The novices are then helped to their feet, and the rug adjusted on the head of each in such a way that a small opening is left at the face to allow of the boy seeing the ground at his feet as he walks along with his head bent down; he could also see anything he was directed to look at. The guardians explain to the novices that they will not be permitted to speak, or to laugh at anything that may be shown them in the bush; that they must pay great attention to everything that is said or done, and not be afraid. Their faces are now turned towards the men who are beating the ground, and they are directed to raise their heads and look at them for a few minutes.

The guardians now bend down the heads of the novices, and conduct them into the bush to a place which had previously been agreed upon by the headmen.¹ Such a camp would be in the proximity of a creek or waterhole, and where there was plenty of wood for fuel. On arriving at the appointed place, a camp is selected for the novices, and they are placed lying on the ground, the rugs remaining on their heads. The men camp close to them, and prepare a corroboree ground by removing all loose rubbish from the surface of a level spot near the camp.

That night, shortly after dark, the *kooringal* muster on the cleared space referred to, on the other side of the fire at the men's camp, and play the wood-duck. The boys are brought out of their own camp, and are placed sitting in a row on the other side of the fire. The *kooringal* walk past the fire flapping their hands on their hips, and imitating the quacking of the wood-duck. When they have all passed into the darkness, they return past the fire in the same manner into the darkness on the other side. This is repeated for some time, when the novices are again taken back to their own quarters by their guardians, who camped with them, and everyone retired to rest for the night.

An hour or two before daylight next morning, all hands are roused by the headmen. All the people are now divided into little mobs or groups, each of which proceed in different directions, going about a hundred yards from the camp where they had been all night,—which, for convenience of reference, may be called "No. 1 camp." The distance which each group goes from the camp need not be equal, but is regulated by the suitability of the ground. The novices, each having his guardian with him, are taken away in these mobs,—some going

¹ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxv, 309.

with one group, and some with another.¹ Some of the groups would perhaps have no novices with them. Each of these groups light a fire at the place where they halt, and remain there till about daylight or sunrise, and have breakfast there.

All these little mobs then re-unite, and clear another corroboree ground a little way from the one they prepared the previous evening at "No. 1." On this new corroboree ground the *kooringal* play the porcupine, imitating that animal before the boys, who are ranged on one side, and are directed to look at the performance. The guardians then take the novices back to the little camps they had severally come from, and remain there with them. During the day the painting on the bodies of the novices is carefully renewed. As the novices are not permitted to speak, if they require anything they must make signs to their guardians. If a boy wants to attend to any necessity of nature he is taken about ten paces away from the camp, where the guardian digs a hole for the purpose, which he again fills up with earth after it has been used.

The *kooringal* and other men who may be accompanying them then go out hunting to obtain food for the novices and their guardians. On returning late in the afternoon with the game caught during the day, some of it is cooked by the *kooringal* for the novices. The bones and sinews are taken out of the meat which is prepared for them, and is taken to them by their guardians. Some of the old men go round to see that the novices' food is dressed and cooked according to rule. When the groups of men and boys have partaken of the evening repast, they are all mustered together again, and go to "No. 1 camp," that is to say, the same place where they camped the previous night, the novices and their guardians going into their own quarters as before.

Some time after dark, the novices are brought out to one side of the camp fire, and several of the *kooringal* men climb up a tree growing close by, some going into one branch and come into another. They then imitate the noise made by opossums, and urinate down out of the tree, representing a habit of that animal when it first goes out of its hole on to a branch of a tree. The men then come down out of the branches and run along on their hands and feet past the camp fire, which finishes the performance.² The boys are taken back to their camp, and everyone—men and boys—go to sleep.

¹ Each of these little camps is called a *bunbul*. Every novice is taken away from "No. 1 camp" to a *bunbul* situated in the direction opposite or contrary to that of his own country.

² Although I have mentioned only one play in the morning and one in the evening, there may be two or more different performances in succession each time. This applies to every day's proceedings.

Next morning, before daylight, all hands are roused up, and radiate away from the camp in little groups as on previous occasions, but going to new places. After breakfast, another patch of ground is cleared and the *kooringal* play *Dhoondhoo*, or black swans. They have grass and bushes tied in their hair, and walk past abreast, imitating the waddling gait of swans, the boys looking at them as usual. The *kooringal* then go out hunting, and the novices, with their respective guardians, go back to the small camps they were taken to in the early morning. On the return of the hunters in the afternoon, food is prepared and given to the novices in the usual manner, after which the whole assembly go into their old quarters at "No. 1."

A little while before sundown the bull-roarer was sounded somewhere close at hand, and the old men gave each novice some human excrement which they were compelled to eat.¹ During the evening some urine was collected in a coolamin, and given to the novices to drink when they were thirsty. It may be mentioned here that all the plays and other performances of the *kooringal* while out in the bush with the boys contain many obscene gestures and filthy practices; and it is remarkable that we find exhibitions of a somewhat similar character among the customs of other savage races² in different parts of the world.

The following morning, an hour or two before daylight, the old men call up the entire camp, which is again divided into little groups who radiate round the main camp as on the previous morning. On this occasion, however, these groups do not go to the same spots as before, but each little mob selects a fresh place at which to light their fire, and remain till daylight. After breakfast another new corroboree ground is prepared and the boys brought into it. The *kooringal* play *gummar*, or a windstorm; they go along one after the other, shouting and breaking down saplings and pulling up smaller bushes by the roots. After this the guardians and boys divide into groups and go back to their little camping places, and the *kooringal* and other men again go out hunting, and return to the camp early in the afternoon.

The remainder of the day should be devoted to the extraction of one of the central upper incisor teeth³ of each novice, but this custom has of recent years fallen into disuse owing to the occupation of the country by the white people. Two of the old headmen, however, gave me the following account of the process,

¹ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxv, 312; *ibid.*, vii, 252; "Journ. Roy. Soc. N.S. Wales, xviii, 103-104; "Kamilaroi and other Australian languages," 154-156.

² For particulars of the use of human ordure and urine on festive and ceremonial occasions, the reader is referred to Capt. J. G. Bourke's valuable book on the "Sociologic Rites of All Nations" (Washington, 1891).

³ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxv, 312.

illustrating their verbal descriptions by making holes of the required size in the ground, and placing themselves in proper attitudes. There was a small cleared space close to the camp, in which were made a row of double holes, varying from 6 inches to a foot deep, the number of the pair of holes equalling the number of the novices. In these the feet of the novices were put to prevent struggling, but the loose earth was not filled in around the foot. Each novice sat on the knee of one of the men, while another stood behind with one hand over the eyes of the novice—the other hand holding his chin to keep the mouth open. The principal headmen stood by, giving the necessary directions. When all was ready, the man who was to knock out the tooth stepped forward, bearing in his hands a mallet and a small wooden wedge, which was driven between the teeth for the purpose of loosening them, after which the tooth was knocked out by placing the wooden chisel against it, and then giving it a smart tap with the mallet. The tooth was either pulled out of mouth with the fingers, or was spat out, but the blood was swallowed. The foot holes were then filled up, and the novices were taken back to the camp.

That night at "No. 1 camp," instead of imitating an animal, the performance consists of the *kooringal* pretending to quarrel about something.¹ Loud recriminations are indulged in, and the men shake their weapons, as if going to engage in immediate combat. This is done to intimidate the novices, who are lying down, covered over as usual. After peace has apparently been restored, a number of the *kooringal* stand round each novice in succession.

On the following morning, as usual, about an hour or two before daylight, the old men awaken the entire camp, which is again broken up into small segments, each segment going away in different directions, and forming new camps, as before. As soon as the morning meal has been disposed of at these scattered camps, all the novices are mustered, and put standing in a row on the side of a freshly cleared space, near No. 1 camp. They have the rugs over their heads, and their eyes cast down in the usual way. About twenty men of the *kooringal*, painted black with charcoal and grease, and having small green bushes, and bunches of grass fastened in their hair, are sitting in a row in the cleared space, opposite to the novices. Each man has a piece of bark, *munga*, in one hand, similar in size and shape to the bark used in beating the ground at the ring, the morning the novices were taken away.² At a given signal from the headmen, who are standing close by, the *kooringal* commence

¹ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xiv, 310.

² *Loc. cit.*, 311.

hitting the ground in front of them with the *munga*. At the same time bull-roarers (*mudjeegang*),¹ were sounded by two men who were standing in the clear space behind the *kooringal*. The guardians then raise the novices' heads, and opening the rugs at their faces, tell them to look at the scene before them. A number of men now step out behind the *kooringal*, who are sitting down beating the ground. Each of these men has a boomerang in one hand and a bunch of grass in the other, and after swaying their bodies to and fro for a short time, they all simultaneously throw their boomerangs over the heads of the novices. As soon as this is done, the guardians lift the blankets off the novices' heads,² and they are thus freed from being covered any more in this way. Several of the *kooringal* now rush up in front of each novice, with spears and other weapons raised in their hands, and threaten them that if they ever reveal what they have now been shown, to the women or the uninitiated, they will be killed without mercy. Several tails (*burran*) are now fastened by the guardians to the hair of the head of each novice, some hanging down behind, and others at the sides. The chisel and mallet with which the tooth was knocked out are shown at this time.

When these formalities are over, the novices and their guardians go out hunting with the *kooringal*, the boys being permitted to join in the exploits of the chase, the only restriction being that they must not look behind them, or on either side. On getting in sight of "No. 1 camp" when returning late in the afternoon, each guardian breaks a large bush which he hands to his novice, who holds it with folded arms against the front of his body, and marches on with his head bowed towards his breast. When the novices get into camp, each boy puts his bush on the ground, and sits down upon it. The game caught during the day is cooked, and that which is intended for the novices is dressed in the usual manner, by removing all bone and sinew from it. There is no performance at the camp fire that night, and all betake themselves to slumber as early as they can.

*Return of the boys.*³—An hour or two before daylight next morning, the assemblage is once more scattered into little groups as on previous occasions, and three of the *kooringal*

¹ "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," xxv, 308.

² *Loc. cit.*, 311.

³ In my original paper on the Būrbūng, "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," xxv, 296, I stated that in consequence of the numerous particulars to be taken down, some omissions or errors of detail might have crept in. I now find that a few of the ceremonies in the bush were not given in their proper sequence. The novices were shown the bull-roarer, and were named, during their first term in the bush before their return to the *thurrawonga*.

start away towards the place to which the women had removed the camp from the Būrbūng. The remainder of the men now pack up everything belonging to them, and after breakfast all the little groups again re-unite as usual. A start is then made towards the women's camp, hunting as they go, to provide food. Early in the afternoon they arrive at a waterhole, where a halt is made, and all the men go into the water and wash the black paint off their bodies, the novices sitting on the bank as spectators, towards whom the men splash water with their hands, and then come out of the waterhole. At this halting place, the men and boys have all the hair singed off their bodies, and the ends of the hair of their heads is singed to make it shorter.

Preparations are now made for resuming their journey towards the *thurrawonga* camp. The novices are decorated with spots of pipe-clay on top of the red ochre with which the whole of their bodies have been kept painted every day while they have been in the bush. The spots or daubs of pipe-clay referred to are put on the faces, breasts, and arms of the novices. The men are also painted, and both they and the boys wear their full dress.

Having proceeded some distance, another stoppage is made, and some of the old men who are related to the novices present call each boy out and give him a new name, by which he shall be henceforth known among the initiated men of the tribe.¹ The novice stands with his guardian, and when the name is announced the men raise a shout. The *kooringal* then again caution the neophytes not to reveal what they have seen to the women or the uninitiated, or they will be punished with death. While they are repeating this caution they hold in their hands spears and tomahawks, and step up quite close to the novices in a threatening attitude.

The three men before mentioned who started away before daylight went back to the new camp erected by the women. On arriving there, and having some conversation with the old men who had remained with the women, they put up a yard called *thurrawonga*,¹ for the purpose of receiving the novices on their return that evening. This yard resembles a semicircle in shape, and is built of forks and bushes laid as a fence, the convex end facing in the direction from which the novices are expected to arrive. It is about 40 feet across the open end and about 30 feet in the other direction, the height of the bough wall being about 4 or 5 feet. Near the farther end of this partial enclosure some sheets of bark are laid on top of logs and bushes, forming a platform of sufficient length to provide sitting room for the number of boys who are to be operated upon.

¹ "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," xxv, 310.

When the *thurrawanga* is completed, one of the three men before mentioned starts away to inform the *kooringal* that all is ready. He meets them somewhere on their march a little while before dark, and remains with them. They so regulate their progress that they may reach the appointed place an hour or two after dark. When they get within hearing distance, they commence to whistle and clap their hands together as they walk along through the darkness, and the women whistle in reply and give an occasional shout.

About dark the mothers of the novices, having their bodies painted and wearing ornaments in their hair, repaired from the general camp to the *thurrawanga*, accompanied by the two old men who had erected it; the other men who had been in the women's camp during the absence of the boys are also present. These people light a fire in the open end of the *thurrawanga*, and the mothers of the boys stand in a row a few paces outside, facing the fire. Each woman has beside her a spear sticking in the ground, on the upper end of which a tail, or *burrān*, is fastened; the spear is ornamented with stripes of white and red paint, and the *burrān* is coloured with red clay. She is also provided with a small quantity of pipe-clay and a boomerang painted with red and white stripes.²

When the procession from the bush get close to the *thurrawanga*, a bull-roarer is sounded in the rear, and the novices are taken on the men's shoulders and carried into the enclosure, where they are placed sitting down on the platform. The mother of each novice now steps forward and squirts pipe-clay out of her mouth over his face,³ and at the same time taps him lightly on the breast with a boomerang which she holds in one hand. She then hands a spear, with a tail (*burrān'*) fastened to one end of it, to the guardian, who gives it to the novice. This is the *burrān* which was left in the hand of the mother the morning her son was taken from her at the ring. The mothers then go away and proceed to their own camp.

Generally speaking, the novices and their guardians stop in the *thurrawanga* during the remainder of the night;⁴ but if it has been found necessary to erect it too close to the women's camp, the guardians and boys remove to some suitable place a little farther off. Most of the single men camp with them, but the married men go away to the women's camp.

¹ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxv, 309.

² Sometimes, instead of the boomerang, the mothers have a piece of bark, *barrang barrang*, about the same size, slightly scorched in the fire, so that it will show the marks of pipeclay, with which it is ornamented.

³ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxv, 310.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, 310.

Next day the boys are taken by their guardians and such of the *kooringal* as have remained with them, a few miles into the bush,¹ no women being allowed near them, where they gain their own living by hunting such animals as have not been prohibited as food. On the afternoon of the third or fourth day, the novices are painted red all over, with spots of white, as on the occasion of their return to the *thurrawanga*, and a start is again made towards the women's camp, which was removed to another place on the morning following the return of the boys. There another semicircular platform has been erected by the men, in close proximity to the camp. It is constructed in a similar way and is about the same size as the enclosure previously described, but on this occasion its open end faces the direction from which the novices are to approach. Around the back wall of the interior of this enclosure, a platform was erected by placing pieces of bark on top of logs and bushes like the other platform, except that this one is higher. On this platform were laid dilly bags belonging to the mothers of the novices who were to come in, one bag for each boy. A fire was then lighted in front of the semicircular enclosure and a number of green bushes were cut by the men, and placed close at hand for use presently.

About an hour or two after dark the contingent from the bush make their appearance. The novices, accompanied by the guardians walking beside them, now advance towards the fire, a number of men marching behind them, beating boomerangs, or other weapons together. The mothers of the boys are standing near the fire, and when they see the boys coming forward, they throw some of the bushes upon it. The guardians and novices then walk quite close to the fire, some of them standing on the green bushes, and the smoke ascends up around them all. As soon as they are sufficiently smoked, they walk into the enclosure, and are conducted by their guardians to the platform and placed sitting down, each beside the dilly bag belonging to his own mother.

In the meantime all the men present have been smoked in a similar manner by the women at the fire, more green bushes being added as required. When the novices, and all the men who have been out with them in the bush, have been smoked in this way, the women go into the enclosure.² Each mother then advances and taps her son on the shoulder with her open hand, at the same time laying some food on top of the dilly bag beside him, which he takes and puts into the bag. The mothers would then go away to their own camp, and the boys

¹ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxv, 310.

² *Loc. cit.*, 311-312.

with their guardians would remain in the enclosure for the night. Next day they are brought into the single men's camp, but are not allowed to mix with the women or children. This being the last ceremony necessary to admit the novices to the privileges of probationers,¹ all the tribes assembled from the other districts return to their respective homes.

Conclusion.—In this, as well as in other papers on the initiation ceremonies of the Australian aborigines, it will be observed that I have confined myself as much as possible to descriptions only. Considerations of space have compelled me to omit many particulars which I could have wished to include, and to abbreviate others which I should have liked to describe more in detail; but it is hoped that the information which I have collected will be found sufficiently full for purposes of comparison with similar rites celebrated in other parts of Australia. I have in my note books a mass of information gathered from the headmen of various tribes, with whom I have been in conversation, bearing on the reason of many parts of the ceremonies, and their meaning, which will be dealt with in another paper on a future occasion.

The Wiradthuri community occupied a wide tract of country in the interior of New South Wales, commencing near the Barwon river, and extending thence southerly to the Murray. My two papers on the Burbung will be found to contain, in a condensed form, the initiation ceremonies practised throughout this vast area; there are local differences in the mode of carrying out the details, but the essential parts of the rites are substantially the same.

Owing to their class and totemic divisions, the Wiradthuri tribes are ranked with those forming what has been called the "Kamilaroi Organisation," for particulars of which the reader is referred to my paper on "The Kamilaroi Class System of the Australian Aborigines," published in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia," Queensland Branch, vol. x, pp. 18-34.

Adjoining the Wiradthuri community on the south-east, and extending thence to the Pacific Ocean, are a number of tribes spread over the coastal districts of New South Wales from about Twofold Bay to Sydney or Newcastle. The form of initiation ceremony practised by these people is known as the *Bunan*, a full account of which is given by me in a paper contributed to the Anthropological Society at Washington, U.S.A., and published in the "American Anthropologist."² Among a

¹ These neophytes must attend at least two more Būrbūngs before they will be entitled to claim the full status of tribesmen.

² "Am. Anthropol., Wash.," ix.

section of these tribes there is also an abbreviated ceremony termed the *kūringal*, used under certain circumstances, which has been described by my friend and fellow worker, Mr. A. W. Howitt,¹ and is further illustrated and explained by me in a subsequent paper.²

AN ACCOUNT OF SKULLS FROM MADAGASCAR IN THE ANATOMICAL MUSEUM OF CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY. By W. LAURENCE HENRY DUCKWORTH, B.A., Fellow of Jesus College.

[WITH PLATE XXXI.]

THE University collection contains three skulls from Madagascar of which one was presented by the Rev. C. P. Cory, the other two by the Rev. J. W. Mathews. The donor of the first writes to say that he obtained the specimen himself from the east coast, at some risk, for the natives venerate the dead, and is of opinion that it belonged to an individual of one of the woolly-haired tribes, probably the Betsimisaraka. The other two skulls are labelled "Skull of a Betsileo" and "Skull of a Hova" respectively.³

In no case does the mandible accompany the skull; the principal features of the latter are as follows:—

The first, that of a native of the Betsimisaraka or Betsimisaraka tribe, has been embedded in vegetable mould, some of which still adheres to its base, and which has stained the bone a brownish red colour. The zygomatic arches, pterygoid plates, and alveolar border have sustained some damage. The absence of strongly marked muscular ridges and other features distinctive of sex causes some hesitation in pronouncing on this point, but the balance of evidence appears to indicate a female; the remaining teeth are of large size and being but little worn indicate that the individual was in the prime of life.

The profile view (*norma lateralis*) shows slight prognathism; the general outline of the face is somewhat flattened, the nasofrontal depression being quite shallow, and the forehead high; the contour of the cranial vault is uninterrupted by flattening, and forms a continuous curve from nasion to inion. On either side, the frontal and temporal bones are separated at the pterion by a narrow spur-like projection of the parietal bone. The conceptacula cerebelli are large and bulging.

In *norma facialis*, narrowness is a notable feature, the orbital axes droop slightly externally, the canine fossæ are remarkably

¹ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xiii, 432-439.

² *Ibid.*, xxv, 316-317, Plate XXVII, Sec. 2.

³ The Betsimisaraka tribe occupies the east coast, the Betsileo the central southern districts.—Sibree.