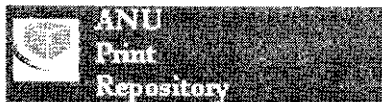


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R. H. Mathews

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.206, .103, .069 and .052. It is difficult to rely upon measurements of F to less than say .05 mm., corresponding to an error of from 1 in 600 to 1 in 4000, according to the length of the contact piece. Again if the director be set to 0.2 mm. as mentioned in § 6, the prism is set to $\pm .030$, so that from this cause there is an uncertainty of about the same order as that arising from defective measurement of the test-piece. And further the distance of the scale from the mirror, viz. L , cannot easily be fixed to within 0.25 mm., nor can the right angle condition be very perfectly satisfied, so that here again an absolute error of the order of about one four-thousandth also exists.

It is evident from what has been deduced that this Extensometer will give extremely accurate results so far as relative extensions or compressions are concerned, but the relation of these to the absolute length of the test-piece is not of the same order of accuracy. By lengthening the handle-bars, the setting of the prisms could be made more exact, and by making the grooves less deep and finishing them more carefully the value of E could be ascertained with greater accuracy. In this way, and by fixing the relations of parts of the apparatus which require to be relatively adjusted, allowing only for small adjusting movements, the absolute results can be made more nearly comparable in precision to the differential ones, in which a very high order of accuracy has been already reached, thanks to the very ingenious contrivance of Professor Martens, and the excellent workmanship of Herr Böhme.

One point remains to be noticed, viz., that the scale need not necessarily be parallel in two planes to the test-piece; hence after defining the plane in which it is important it should be carefully adjusted, I have said that it should be made merely "approximately parallel to the test-piece," see (c) this section. Even were the scale at right angles thereto, it is evident that the mirror rotation would be similarly registered. When however the variation caused by this rotation in the length of L , and the errors due to the shifts of the test-piece, are considered, it will be seen that the position indicated is the best.

In conclusion it may be remarked that with the aid of this extensometer, the behaviour of materials under stress may be studied with a thoroughness, that heretofore was very difficult if not practically impossible. The elasticity, solidity, plasticity and nachwirkung of materials may in the future be examined in larger specimens than have generally been used in the past. A series of exhaustive investigations in regard to these, to the effect of temperature, and to the influence of the duration of the applied stress, in determining the resultant deformations, ought to afford results valuable alike to the physicist and engineer.

THE BURBUNG, OR INITIATION CEREMONIES OF THE MURRUMBIDGEE TRIBES.

By R. H. MATHEWS, Licensed Surveyor.

[Read before the Royal Society of N. S. Wales, July 7, 1897.]

SYNOPSIS:

Introductory. The Main Camp and Burbung Ground. Gathering the Tribes. Arrival of Contingents. Daily Ceremonies at the Camp. Taking away the Boys. The Thurrawonga Camp. Ceremonies in the Bush. Return of the Boys. Finishing Ceremonies. Conclusion. Explanation of Wood Cut.

Introductory.—In two papers contributed to the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain,¹ I gave a short account of the Burbung of the northern section of the Wiradthuri tribes, who occupy the country commencing somewhere about the Barwon River, and extending southerly up the Macquarie, Castlereagh, Bogan, and other rivers, to the sources of the Lachlan, New South Wales. I also communicated a paper to the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia,² Queensland, on the initiation ceremonies of the tribes

¹ "The Burbung of the Wiradthuri Tribes."—Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 295–318. *Ibid.*, xxvi., 272–285.

² "The Initiation Ceremonies of the Aborigines of the Upper Lachlan."—Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc. Aust., (Q.), xi., 167–169.

located upon the upper portion of the last named river. As previously stated,¹ the articles referred to were the first ever published describing the details of the Burbung of the Wiradthuri tribes; in short, practically nothing was known respecting this ceremony until the first of these articles appeared.

In the present paper it is proposed to deal with the southern portion of the Wiradthuri community, whose initiation ceremonies differ in many respects from those of their northern brethren. These people occupy the Murrumbidgee River from Jugiong to Hay, extending southerly to the Murray; and reaching northerly up the Lachlan River to about the effluxion of the Willandra Billabong, where they join the northern section above referred to. It will be seen therefore that the present communication, read in connection with my former papers, deals with the Burbung ceremonies of the entire Wiradthuri community, comprising the numerous tribes spread over a wide zone of country stretching from the Murray almost to the Barwon, a distance of about four hundred miles. The Wiradthuri language is the most widely spread of the aboriginal tongues of New South Wales.

On the eastward of the southern half of the Wiradthuri community are a number of adjoining tribes scattered over the coastal district of New South Wales from Two-fold Bay almost to Sydney, among whom the initiation ceremony is known as the *Bunan*, a description of which has been furnished by me to the Anthropological Society at Washington.² Among the tribes who adopt the *Bunan* form of initiation, there is an abbreviated ceremony termed the *Kuringal*, which has been described by my fellow worker, Mr. A. W. Howitt,³ and is further illustrated and explained by me in a subsequent article.⁴ Lying between the northern half of the Wiradthuri territory and the sea coast, the

¹ Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 295.

² "The *Bunan* Ceremony of New South Wales."—American Anthropologist, ix., 327-349.

³ Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xii., 432-459.

⁴ Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 316, 317, plate xxvii.

Darkinung tribe¹ occupied the country from the Hunter River southerly to about Sydney or Botany Bay, and reaching westerly to the Wiradthuri boundary.

Adjoining the Wiradthuri on the north are the numerous tribes of the great Kamilaroi community, who occupy a wide tract of fertile country reaching from the Upper Hunter River in New South Wales to somewhere beyond the Queensland boundary, embracing the region watered by the Namoi, Gwydir, Macintyre, Barwon, and subordinate rivers. Comprehensive descriptions of the *Bora*, or initiation ceremonies of these tribes are contained in papers communicated by me to the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain,² and the Royal Society of Victoria.³

To the east of the Kamilaroi are various tribes spread over the table-land of New England and the country situated between there and the Pacific Ocean, comprising the districts watered by the following large rivers and their numerous affluents:—the Hunter, Manning, Macleay and Clarence. In these tribes the initiation ceremonies are of the *Keeparra* type, of a highly interesting character, and are described with some fulness of detail in my papers published by the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain,⁴ and by the Royal Society of Victoria.⁵ The *Keeparra* type contains some abnormal or modified forms, which in some cases so much alter the character of the ceremony that they are called by a different name.⁶ These are only a probationary form of initiation, and the youths who enter the ranks in this manner

¹ "The Burbung of the Darkinung Tribe."—Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria, x., N.S., 1-12.

² "The *Bora* or Initiation Ceremonies of the Kamilaroi Tribe."—Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxiv., 411-427. *Ibid.*, xxv., 318-339.

³ "The *Bora* of the Kamilaroi Tribes."—Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria, ix., N.S., 137-173.

⁴ "The *Keeparra* Ceremony of Initiation."—Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxvi., 320-338.

⁵ "The Burbung of the New England Tribes."—Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria, ix., N.S., 120-136.

⁶ "The *Dhalgai* Ceremony."—Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxvi., 338-340.



have subsequently to attend the fuller ceremonial of the *Keeparra*. Among the tribes inhabiting the country between the Clarence River and Point Danger, including the area watered by the Richmond and other rivers, the initiation ceremonies are known as the *Wandarral*, which I have described in a paper contributed to the Royal Society of Victoria.¹

It will be seen, therefore, in the various papers contributed to different learned institutions, on the Bora, the Burbung, the Bunan, the Keeparra, the Wandarral, and the subsidiary ceremonies connected with them, that I have given tolerably comprehensive descriptions of the types of initiation ceremonies practised by a number of large and important tribes occupying about three fourths of the total surface of New South Wales, and reaching some distance into Queensland. This vast extent of country is comprised approximately within the following limits, namely, from Twofold Bay westerly to Moulamein in the county of Wakool; thence northerly to Barrington in the county of Culgoa; thence easterly to the Pacific Ocean, and thence by the sea coast back to the starting point at Twofold Bay. A reference to the map of New South Wales will enable the reader more thoroughly to understand this description.

The Main Camp and Burbung Ground.—The site for the celebration of the Burbung ceremonies is usually chosen in some part of the tribal territory where water and fuel are plentiful, and where there is a sufficient supply of game to meet the food requirements of all the tribes who are expected to be present from other districts. The people who belong to the district in which the Burbung is to take place, whom I shall call the local tribe, are of course the first to arrive on the ground and erect their camp. The other tribes who arrive later, take up their position around the camp of the local mob, each in the direction of the district they have come from.

¹ "The Wandarral of the Clarence and Richmond River Tribes."—Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria, x., N.S., 29-42.

During the time that the other tribes are assembling, the local mob are busy preparing the ground. A suitable site is selected close to the camp, where a large ring called the *būrbūng*, about twenty-five yards in diameter, is marked out, and cleared of all timber and grass. The surface of this is levelled, and is surrounded by a wall¹ about a foot high, composed partly of the loose earth scraped from within, and partly of soil scraped off the surface for several yards outside the ring.

The Burbung ground described in the following pages has not been used for upwards of twenty years, and that is why I have chosen it, because all the works connected with it are on a more extensive scale than Burbung grounds of more recent times. It is situated between twenty-five and thirty chains easterly from the eastern boundary of Portion No. 11 of seventy-eight acres, in the Parish of Waddi, county of Boyd, New South Wales.

The large ring, (*burbung*) was about three hundred yards from the left bank of the Murrumbidgee River. Its boundary, which was composed of a raised earthen embankment, is still distinguishable, and measures twenty-five yards in one direction, by twenty-three yards in the other. In the southern wall of this circle an opening about three feet wide was left as an entrance, from which a pathway, called *dharambil* or *mooroo*, now grown over with grass, led away in a direction bearing S. 5° W. for a distance of fifty-five and a-half chains,² to a cleared circular space called the *Budtha Goonang* or *Goombo*. This space was not surrounded by an embankment like the Burbung ring, but the loose soil scraped off its surface in levelling it formed a sort of boundary around it.

Within this boundary were four heaps of earth about two feet high. These mounds were oblong in shape, three of them

¹ In one instance I saw a Burbung ring defined by a nick cut in the ground around its boundary. The nick or groove was three inches deep and four inches wide, cut out with tomahawks or sharp sticks.—Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 299.

² The goombo was a little under seventeen chains from the Burbung at Bulgeraga Creek.—Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 299.

being nine feet long and four feet broad; the remaining one, which was opposite to where the *mooroo* or track entered, being ten feet by five feet. These mounds were built up by first laying on the ground a number of pine logs, about five or six feet in length, and covering them over with loose earth. These four mounds formed a quadrilateral, the side of which were nine, eleven, twelve, and eleven yards respectively. Approximately in the centre of this quadrilateral, a log of wood, with a fork on the upper end, was inserted perpendicularly in the ground, projecting above the surface about two and a half feet.¹ About six yards beyond the goombo a fence composed of forks and boughs was erected, about twenty yards long and four or five feet high, known by the native name of *gareel* or *gheerang*.

The pathway, *mooroo*, from the Burbung to the Goombo passed over a black soil flat very lightly timbered, for the first half mile, and then entered a scrub of pine, box and undergrowth. At this point some saplings were bent over the track so as to form a kind of arch. From this point to the Goombo, a distance of fifteen chains, was higher ground, and consisted of a reddish sandy clay, well suited for carving or raising figures on its surface. At the time of my visit all the figures on the ground had disappeared, and most of the marked trees had been rooted out and burnt, owing to the occupation of the country by the white people. Fortunately the ground for a few chains around the goombo had not been interfered with.

I was accompanied by some of the old black-fellows who had attended the last Burbung held here, from whom I obtained the following description of it. On both sides of the pathway between the archway referred to and the Goombo, numerous devices and figures were formed on the ground. The outlines of some of them

¹ In the Burbung ground at Bulgeraga Creek, there were two inverted stumps of saplings inserted in the ground at the goombo, which were smeared with human blood.—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxv., 301. See also "The Burbung of the Darkinung Tribes."—*Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria*, x., N.S., 2.

were defined by a groove cut into the turf by means of flat sticks sharpened at one end to form a kind of spade; others were composed of the loose earth heaped up so as to resemble the horizontal image of the required object.

Amongst these drawings on the ground were the following: a large figure of Baiamai and the imprint of a gigantic human hand;¹ a kangaroo; a mallee hen's nest; a canoe with a paddle beside it; a spear, boomerang, waddy and tomahawk. Interspersed amongst these drawings were masses of *yammunyanun* or *yowan* patterns,² always met with on Wiradthuri and Kamilaroi initiation grounds. In a forked branch of one of the trees, twenty or thirty feet from the ground, an imitation of an eagle-hawk's nest³ was formed of twigs and sticks.

On one side of the path, not far from the goombo, an image of Dhurramoolun was formed of mud or clay about four or five feet high, having only one leg. In order to give it greater stability, this mud figure was propped against a tree. Between this image and the goombo was a fire (*woongonyalbil*). It was kindled on top of a low heap of earth built up for the purpose, and any of the men who happened to be near it replenished the fuel when required.

An incident occurred in connection with the last gathering which took place on this Burbung ground, which is of considerable interest, inasmuch as it shows the course pursued by the natives when any unforeseen event occurs to make it necessary to abandon the Burbung ground during the progress of the ceremonies. On that occasion very heavy rains had fallen on the sources of the Murrumbidgee River, causing a flood, which spread over all the low lands around the camp, and filled the watercourse (see sketch) between the Burbung ring and the Goombo. All the tribes present then shifted from their quarters near the Burbung, and went about six miles farther down the river to a place where there was some high dry ground, and erected a new camp.

¹ *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, Lond., xxv., 300.

² *Loc. cit.*, xxv., 302. ³ *Loc. cit.*, xxv., 300.

Instead of preparing another Burbung ground like the one they had been obliged to abandon, they selected a clear space of well grassed land near the camp, and formed a ring about seventy feet in diameter by binding the tops of the grass together around its boundary, but the grass growing within the ring was not cleared away. On the following morning the people mustered around this grass ring (*ngyendool*), and the whole of the procedure in taking away the novices was the same as described farther on in this paper.

Gathering the Tribes.—The headman of the tribe whose turn it is to muster the people for the Burbung, and who may be called the initiator, sends a messenger, accompanied perhaps by another man, to one of the neighbouring tribes in which he has some relatives or friends. A message stick, (*dharral*), on which some symbols were carved, would be handed to the messenger, and their meaning explained to him. This stick would have a long string, made of opossum fir, twisted around it. The purport of this message would be something to the effect that the sender knew of a place in his country, (*ngoorumbang*), where there were plenty of kangaroos, birds, iguanas, and other game. The bearer of the message on arrival near the men's camp in the tribe to which he was sent, would sit down, and some of them would go to him. He would then be conducted to the *ngooloobul*, or private meeting place of the men, and introduced to the headmen of the tribe, to whom he would hand the message stick, and deliver the oral message which he had received with it. The headman would understand by his friend reporting that he knew of a place where there was plenty of game, that he was ready to gather the tribes into his hunting grounds, for the purpose of initiating their boys, if they were agreeable to his doing so.

A consultation is held among the men present as to the time that would be most convenient for them to accept the invitation. They then give the messenger several tails (*burran*), some bunches of feathers, and a bunch of grass tied up, for distribution among the initiator and his friends. The messenger is then sent back to

his own people, and on his return he would hand the bunch of grass¹ to the headman, a tail to one of the other headmen, a bunch of feathers to another, and so on. The bunch of grass conveys the meaning that the party sending it is agreeable to the proposal, and that he wishes the initiator to proceed with the preparation of the ground. On receiving this reply, the camp would be removed next day to the place where it was proposed to hold the Burbung, and the men would commence making the ring and other parts of the sacred ground.

The initiator would then send another messenger to the same tribe to which the first messenger was sent. On this occasion the messenger, who would have another man with him to keep him company, would be furnished with a bull-roarer, (*mudjeegang*)² and several tails (*dhullaboolga*). On the arrival of this messenger at the camp he was directed to summon, he would be conducted to the *ngooloobul*, where he would hand the bull-roarer to the headman, and the tails would be distributed to the men to whom they had been sent by the Initiator. The time and place of holding the Burbung would also be stated at this meeting. In the course of a short time after the arrival of this messenger, all the men would pull small green bushes, and having taken one of these in each hand, would start away from the *ngooloobul* in a serpentine line, their headman in the lead, and would run into the women's camp, uttering guttural noises like "birr! wah!" as they went. They would then form into a group in a clear space and dance round,³ calling out the names of places in their *ngoorumbang*, after which they would throw down their bushes and break up, and walk away to their camps.

After the evening meal the young men would paint themselves and get up a corroboree in honour of the arrival of the messenger.

¹ If the tribe to whom this invitation was sent had not approved of holding a Burbung at that time, or were for other reasons prevented from accepting it, they would not give the messenger a bunch of grass to carry back with him, and this would be understood by the initiator as an end of the matter for the present, and nothing more would be done.

² Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 303. ³ Loc. cit., 304.

At the conclusion of this corroboree, one of the single men, who had gone away unobserved by the women, would sound the bull-roarer within hearing of the camp. The procession of the men, and the noise of the bull-roarer, are done for the purpose of making the women aware that a message has been received to attend a Burbung. The mothers of the boys who are old enough to be initiated are glad to hear this announcement, because their sons will be admitted to the rank of men of the tribe.

In the course of a few days—or if the time were short, perhaps the next day—after receipt of the message, the tribe would make a start towards the place where the Burbung was to be held.¹ On the journey thither, wherever the tribe camped at night a corroboree would be danced by the men, after which the bull-roarer would be sounded in the proximity of the camp. This journey would be performed by easy stages on account of the women and children and aged people having to accompany the rest. The entry of this mob into the main camp will be described under the heading "*Arrival of Contingents.*"

This is the only tribe which will be summoned directly by the local man, whom I have designated the initiator of the proceedings. There are now two mobs assembled on the Burbung ground,—the tribe of the initiator and that of the headman who sent the bunch of grass. It is now the turn of the latter to summon the next tribe, which he does by sending out a messenger bearing a bull-roarer and a few tails to the headman of some tribe in the community in which he may have friends or relatives. This messenger would be one of his own men, but a man of the other tribe may go with him to keep him company. The headman of this third tribe adopts a similar course in summoning a fourth tribe; and this procedure will be followed until all the tribes whom they wish to be present are gathered at the Burbung camp.

Arrival of Contingents.—When a tribe gets within a day's journey, or perhaps a less distance, of the Burbung camp, the

¹ Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 304.

men and women paint themselves in whatever style is customary among them, and decorate their hair with feathers. In the tribes I am referring to, the painting consisted of stripes and daubs of pipeclay on the limbs and upper parts of the bodies, and on the face. The boys (*eeramooroong*), who are to be initiated are painted red all over their bodies. On coming in sight of the main camp the men disencumber themselves of their rugs and other effects, leaving them in charge of the women. A shout is now given, and on this being answered from the camp, all the men form into single file and march on in a serpentine line, each man being about a yard behind the man in front of him.

The headman is in the lead holding the lower end of a spear in his left hand, the other end of the spear pointing outward from his left shoulder. Instead of a single spear he may have several in a bundle. On the side of the spear, close to the end which he holds in his hand is tied the bullroarer (*mudjeegang*), which had been sent to him by the messenger.¹ The bullroarer is wrapped in a piece of the skin of some small animal, and in order to conceal it from observation, the man carries a small bush in the same hand. In his right hand he carries another small bushy bough, which he shakes at every few steps.

Each of the other men who are following have also spears and boughs exactly like the leader, but no bullroarer. The probationers, who will be referred to presently, carry a bough only. The messenger who has escorted the tribe is in the procession, a short distance behind the headman. On the left hand side of this sinuous cortege, but near the rear, the novices who are to be initiated, belonging to this tribe, and their mothers, are marching along. Each mother and her novice would march abreast of one of their male relatives in this procession. The other women of

¹ On the Lower Murrumbidgee, the *mudjeegang* is attached to the upper end of the spear, and has small bushes fastened around it. Among the Macquarie and Bogan River tribes, the *mudjeegang* is fastened to the lower end of the spear, and a *burra* to the upper end.—Journ. Anthropol. Inst., Lond., xxv., 305.

the tribe, together with the children and perhaps some of the infirm old men, would remain at the place where the men had left their superfluous effects.

As soon as the men of the local tribe hear the shout of the strangers approaching, they proceed to the ring, accompanied by the men belonging to all the contingents who have previously arrived at the Burbung camp.¹ They all sit down near the ring, on the side opposite to that from which the new tribe are coming, and commence beating their boomerangs together.

When the men of the new mob reach the Burbung ring, they run in single file once round the outside of it, and then enter it through the opening in the embankment, and march round inside until all the men are within the circle. The novices, painted red all over, with their mothers halt a short distance from it, and do not enter with the men, but go back and join the other women of their own tribe.

All, or nearly all, the tribes who arrive, will have with them a greater or less number of young men who were inaugurated into the rank of manhood at the three consecutive burbungs which took place previous to the present one. On the arrival of a contingent, these probationers are mixed among the wavy line of men, each of them walking behind the man who was his guardian on the occasion of his initiation. Each probationer has a large bush, which he holds with folded arms, against the front of his body. These young fellows enter the ring with the other men, and at once proceed to the centre, where they stand in a group. The men then form a cordon round them, and call out the names of several of the chief localities in their own ngooranbang or country. After this the men walk out of the circle and throw down their boughs beside the embankment. The neophytes follow them, still carrying their boughs in the way described.

¹ "The Burbung of the New England Tribes."—Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria, ix., N.S., 123. "The Bora or Initiation Ceremonies of the Kamilaroi Tribes."—Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 321.

The men of the local tribe and all those who are sitting down with them, then get up and step into the ring, dancing round and forming into a group, and call out the names of places in their respective districts. These men, who may be designated the hosts, now go away to the camp. The men of the newly arrived contingent then return to the place where they left their women and swags, and all of them march on into the main camp, and commence to erect their quarters on the side facing the direction of the district from which they have come.

After the new comers have had a short rest, they join the men of the hosts at the *ngooloobul*, or place where the initiated men meet near the camp. All the men now provide themselves with small boughs, which they carry in the right hand, and a boomerang in the other. The hosts then start in single file, walking in a winding line towards the ring, and are followed by the new arrivals, the men of each tribe keeping by themselves. When the man in the lead reaches the ring he steps over the bank and walks round near the circumference followed by the other men, until they are all within the ring, perhaps forming a spiral of several laps, if there are many men present. They now dance round several times, shouting out the names of a few places in their country. The hosts then start away along the track towards the goombo, halting at all the principal figures on the ground and on the trees, at each of which they shout in unison, and are followed by the strangers. When the hosts reach the goombo, a number of the men go and crouch down behind the bough-fence, (*gareel*) mentioned in the description of the Burbung ground, with a small bush in each hand. Four of the old men skilled in magical lore (*Weearthooree*) now stand at the four heaps of earth and commence their performances. By this time the strangers have arrived at the goombo, and sit down in front of it as spectators. The men who were hidden behind the screen of boughs, now come dancing out, one after the other, waving the small bushes which they hold in their hands, and mix with their comrades.

¹ Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 306.

The men who are at the heaps of earth change places, running from heap to heap, and while doing so are exhibiting rock crystals (*goonabillang*) or other substances in their mouths. They run after the men who are gathered round them, and the latter get behind the *wearthooree* and put their hands on his shoulders, so that he cannot turn round and catch them. When these performers get tired, some of the old men belonging to the strange tribe go and take their turn standing at the heaps, and running after the men of their own tribe. When the men have had sufficient play, they go back in file along the track, clapping their hands, to the burbung, which they enter, and shout out the names of places, waterholes, totems, etc., as usual, after which they go away to their camps.

The young fellows whom I have called "Probationers," to distinguish them from the full men, go to the ngooloobul with the men of their own tribe, where each lays his large bough on the ground and sits down on it. When the men start for the ring, as described in the last paragraph, the probationers start direct from the ngooloobul to the goombo, as they are not allowed to enter the ring except on the occasion of their arrival, as stated in a previous page. The boys who were initiated at the last Burbung have now an opportunity of looking at the image of Dhurramoolun—the *yowan* on the ground, the marked trees, and all the surroundings, for they were not permitted to see any of these things at the time of their inauguration, the particulars of which will be described under the head of "*Taking away the Boys*." When the men have finished their performances at the goombo, the probationers proceed from there to the camp, while the men return by way of the ring, as already described. The probationers left their boughs at the ngooloobul; and always when they assemble there with the men, they sit down upon the boughs. When they get too dry for use, they are replaced by fresh ones.

That night, after the evening meal is over, the young men of the local tribe, or perhaps the young men of one of the other tribes who have arrived previously, paint themselves, and dance

a corroboree on a cleared patch of ground close by, which is used for this purpose, the women belonging to their own tribe singing and beating time for them.¹ At the conclusion of this corroboree a man swings a bullroarer in the direction of the goombo, and all the men go into the Burbung carrying boomerangs, waddies and other weapons in their hands, where they dance round and call out the names of remarkable places, after which they retire to their respective camps for the night.

The foregoing description will apply to the arrival of every contingent, except the last mob who are expected to be present at the ceremonies, who make their appearance in the following manner. The painting of the men, women and novices, and their march when approaching the camp are precisely the same as on the arrival of previous contingents, but the leader of the serpentine cortege, instead of having a bullroarer, has a piece of burning bark (*wenduri boggara*), in the hand which holds the spear, and a bush in the other. Each of the other men carry a spear and a bush, but no fire. Their entry into the ring, and subsequent proceedings, are the same as already described. After the newcomers have erected their camp, the hosts and other tribes start away to the ring and are followed by the strangers. From the ring they proceed as usual along the track towards the goombo. When the man of the new mob who is still carrying the burning bark² reaches the fire, he throws the bark upon it, and leaves it there. The remainder of the formalities are the same as on previous occasions.

*Daily Ceremonies at the Camp.*³—From the time of the arrival of the first tribe of visitors, until the main encampment is broken up, there are corroborees and other performances almost daily.

¹ Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 306.

² Instead of the piece of smoking bark, the tribes in some parts of the country included in this paper carry a bunch of grass, which is thrown upon the fire. Every one in the camp knows, on seeing the leader carrying a firestick or a bunch of grass, that this is the last tribe which is expected to attend.

³ Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 307 and 325.

About daylight every morning the bullroarer is sounded by one of the single men in close proximity to the camp, and when this is heard the men raise a shout.¹

During the early part of the day the men and youths would go out hunting for the purpose of obtaining food. The women would also go out in search of such game and roots as they are in the habit of procuring. Infirm old men and women and young children would be left in the camp. By about two or three o'clock, most of the people would have returned from the bush, some coming in at one time and some at another, according to their success in the field.

About two or three hours before sun-set, the men of the local tribe, with their head-man in the lead, would proceed to the ring in a serpentine line, with a bush in each hand. Some of the men might have a boomerang in one hand and a bush in the other, or perhaps a boomerang in each hand. This would be a signal for the men of the other tribes, who would also start, and join the assemblage, the members of each tribe keeping by themselves. This procession would march round and round inside the ring until all of them had entered it. The headmen of the local tribe would then call out the names of camping places, etc., and this example would be followed by the headmen of the other contingents in succession.

All the men would then come out of the ring, and throwing down their bushes, would start away along the track towards the goombo, the local men being in the lead. A stoppage is made at the image of Dhurramoolan, the fire, and all the principal figures on the ground and on the trees, the men dancing and shouting as they come to each one.² On arriving at the goombo, any of the clever men, who want to display their magical powers, stand at the

¹ "The Burbung of the New England Tribes."—Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria, ix., N.S., 121. "The Bunan Ceremony of N. S. Wales."—American Anthropologist, ix., 333, 334.

² "The Bora, or Initiation Ceremonies of the Kamilaroi Tribes."—Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 323.

heaps of earth and run after the other men who race about so as to get out of their reach. On these occasions there is no detachment of men hidden behind the garreel, or screen of boughs, that formality being gone through only on the arrival of a new mob.

At the conclusion of the proceedings the men return along the track to the ring and dance round, shouting the names of camping places, waterholes or the like, in their respective districts, after which they go to their camps. At these daily performances, the probationers go direct from the camp or ngooloobul to the goombo, and are invited by the old men to take particular notice of all the performances, and of everything on the ground and trees, so that they may be able to reproduce them on future occasions. When the men start back to the ring these probationers go to the camp direct from the goombo.

Later in the evening, if it were not wet or the men too tired, the usual corroboree would be danced by the tribe whose turn it was to do so. After that the bullroarer would be sounded in the adjacent forest, which would be answered by shouts of the men, and the women singing the usual burbung songs.

At the daily meetings of the headmen at the ngooloobul, or men's council place, the koorringal, or band of strong active men, who are to perform all the pantomimic displays in the bush are picked out; and also the men who are to act as guardians to the novices are chosen at these meetings.

Pieces of bark, called *munga* or *dhoorung* are stripped from trees somewhere adjacent to the goombo, where they are kept ready for use on the morning of the final ceremony, to be described presently. These strips of bark are about two feet and a half in length, and six inches in width at one end, but tapering smaller at the other in order that they may be gripped in the hand.¹

On the evening preceding the taking away of the novices there is the usual corroboree, and afterwards there is considerable sexual

¹ For an illustration of one of these pieces of bark, see plate xxvi., fig. 40.—Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 308 and 315.

license 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. This license would not be extended to the novices.

Taking away the Boys.—When the morning arrives on which it has been determined to take the novices away into the bush, some of the men leave the camp unobserved by the women a short time before daylight, and proceed to the goombo and light the *wongonyalbil* fire. When the day dawns these men sound the bullroarer (*mudjeegang*) somewhere within the sacred ground. When this sound is heard in the camp, the men shout in unison and the women commence to sing and beat their rugs. All the men who have remained at the camp, pick up each a burning stick from their camp fires, and run in single file into the Burbung, the leader entering it by stepping over the embankment and is followed by all the rest. They dance round inside the ring a short time, waving their fiery sticks in the air, shouting and naming places in their ngoorumbang, after which they return to their camps, and throw the burning sticks into the fires from which they have been taken.

The women and children, all quite naked, are now mustered out of the entire camp, and are brought close to the Burbung, the women of each tribe keeping by themselves, and sit down on the side which faces in the direction of their respective districts. The mothers of the novices are in the front, close to the embankment bounding the ring, the other women being behind them. The mothers are painted on the face and chest with marks of red ochre and pipeclay, the relatives of the boys and other women being also painted.

The youths who form the subject of the ceremony are now separated from the rest, and each is taken charge of by the guardian (*goomahn*), who has been selected for this duty. These men are the brothers actual or tribal, of the women from among whom the novices could, when old enough, obtain a wife in accordance with the tribal laws. These guardians do not for the present

take a prominent part in the proceedings, but get some of their brothers, who may be called their assistants or surrogates, to act for them until after the women have been covered up.

Each novice's female relatives, consisting perhaps of one of his sisters and a sister of the guardian, now paint him red all over his body and limbs, and ornament his hair with feathers.¹ During the progress of the painting of the novices, some of the men cut green boughs for use in covering the women presently, and a number of rugs and blankets are gathered throughout the camp for the same purpose.

The men are sitting down by themselves, in a state of nudity, a hundred yards away, and as soon as the novices are painted they are taken by their mothers towards where the men are sitting. When the men see the novices and their mothers coming, they go and meet them, and the latter run back to the camp followed by the men, who now take charge of the novices. Each group of boys is then taken by their male friends to the men belonging to a neighbouring tribe, who invest each novice with a man's attire, consisting of a belt or girdle round the waist, to which are attached four tails or kilts; a headband; and a band or armlet round each arm between the elbow and the shoulder. The group of novices are then taken back to their friends, and the men who had invested them in their regalia now take their own group of novices to the men of another tribe to have them dressed in a similar manner.

To make this matter more easily understood it may be supposed that the tribes from Hay, Narrandera, Gundagai, and Hillston are present. The novices of the Hay tribe, for example, would be invested in the garb of manhood by the Narrandera men; the Narrandera boys by the Gundagai men; the Gundagai novices would be dressed by the Hillston men; and the Hillston boys by the Hay men. That is to say, the novices belonging to one tribe

¹ "The Burbung of the Wiradthuri Tribes."—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxv., 308. "The Burbung of the New England Tribes."—*Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria*, ix., N.S., 124.

I—Aug. 4, 1897.

are always dressed in the regalia of a man by the men of one of the other tribes present at the general Burbung gathering.

When these decorations have been completed, each novice is taken by his friends into the ring, and is placed sitting down on a piece of bark laid on the embankment forming the boundary. All the novices belonging to each tribe are placed in a row on the side of the ring which is nearest their own ngoorumbang. There would therefore be as many groups of boys as there were tribes present, assuming that each tribe had brought some novices for the purpose of initiation. One of the sisters of the man who has been appointed guardian to the novice now enters the ring, and places a green leaf in the boy's mouth, after which she squirts pipe-clay out of her mouth into his face, and then retires among the other women. Each novice is treated in a similar manner by his guardian's sister.

The selection of the site to which the women will remove the camp¹ after the boys are taken away is the next business to be disposed of. Two old headmen enter the Burbung, one on each side, facing each other. One of them walks a few paces, and sticks his spear into the ground, and sitting down, says, "This would be a good place for the thurrawonga camp," at the same time mentioning the name of the locality. The other man then advances a few steps, and sticking his spear into the ground, sits down and calls out the name of another place which he thinks would be a better site for the new camp. Then the first man goes on a little way farther, and goes through the same deportment, and names another locality. Perhaps half a dozen different places may be suggested in this way, until one of them mentions the name of a place which they both approve of. Then the other old man approaches and sits down beside him, and both of them call out the name of the locality. This finally settles the matter, and the two men come out of the ring.

¹ "The Bora, or Initiation Ceremonies of the Kamilaroi Tribe."—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst., Lond., xxv., 327.* "The Burbung of the New England Tribes."—*Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria, ix., N.S., 124.*

A yamstick is then stuck into the ground just outside the embankment bounding the Burbung, and a man, who may be called No. 1, catches hold of it in one hand, say his right. Another man then steps forward, and the first man lets go the yamstick, which the other man catches in his right hand—at the same time with his left hand catching hold of the right hand of the first man, who moves on to make room for him. A third man now steps up and the second man releases his hold of the yamstick, which is then caught by the right hand of No. 3, who, with his other hand catches the right hand of No. 2. Fresh men are continually added in this way until there is a complete ring of men with their hands joined all round the Burbung—the first man, No. 1, having again reached the yamstick, which he catches in his left hand.¹

A man then runs once round this ring of men, singing as he goes, and when he gets back to the point from which he started, he hits the ground once with a nulla-nulla or piece of bark. All the men then let go their hands, and fall face downwards on the ground.² The man again runs once round and hits the ground as before, and all the men who are lying on the ground roll over on their backs. The man once more runs round, and strikes the ground in the same way, which is the signal for all the men to rise to their feet. They then step back from the ring, some of them going to one side and some to another, but most of them mustering near the side from which the pathway issues. Having collected their weapons, which were lying close at hand, they commence beating them together.

The old men then bend down the heads of the novices,³ and direct them to keep their eyes cast upon the ground at their feet. The mother of each novice is brought up near the embankment, immediately behind her son, and lies down in such a position that

¹ "The Burbung of the Darkinung Tribe."—*Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria, x., N.S., 5, 6.*

² "The Bunan Ceremony of N. S. Wales."—*American Anthropologist, ix., 335, 336.*

³ *Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria, ix., N.S., 125.*

she can hold in her hand one of the tails which are attached to the sides of his girdle. The other women and children are also told to lie down, and the men cover them all over with the rugs and bushes which had been got ready for that purpose. A few of the men stand on guard with spears in their hands to see that none of the women or children attempt to remove their covering or look up. 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 the necessary preparations have been made, the principal headman gives the signal, and two men approach from the direction of the goombo, sounding bullroarers, one man taking up his position on one side of the burbung, and the other man on the opposite side. Three or four other men also make their appearance, each having in his hand a piece of bark, *dhooroong*,¹ already described under the head of "*Daily Ceremonies at the Camp*." These men enter the Burbung and go round once beating the ground with the *dhooroong*, but not shouting, and then run away quietly towards the goombo.

It not unfrequently happens that small pieces of the bark used by the men in beating the ground, break off and remain in the ring, or rebound over the bank amongst the women. Some of the young men standing around watch for these fragments, and very carefully pick them up immediately, at the same time obliterating the imprints left on the ground where struck by the *mungas*. These precautions are taken so that the women, when they get up presently, may not be able to obtain any clue to the cause of the terrible thumping sounds produced in this manner. They are persuaded that it is caused by the trampling of the Evil Spirit when walking about taking the boys away, and that the noise made by the bullroarer is his awe-inspiring voice.

While the bullroarers are being sounded, and the men are beating the ground with the bark, the other men who are standing

¹ These pieces of bark are also called *munga* and *barrung barrung*.

outside the ring keep up a shout. During this din the guardians step forward, and take the novices by the arm and lead them noiselessly away along the *dharambil* or pathway. As each novice rises to his feet, the *dhallaboolga* or tail which is held in his mother's hand separates from his girdle, and is kept by her for the present.

During the 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, yam sticks, or the like, and scatter them about, some of them being thrown into the ring, and others hung on saplings.¹ Burning sticks taken out of the fire at the camp are also thrown close to where the women are lying. The men who are walking about also catch hold of some of the little boys who cannot talk yet, and make a few marks of pipe-clay on their faces. Perhaps one of these little fellows is placed sitting in the fork of a tree close at hand.

When the procession of guardians and their charges have advanced along the *dharambil* and have passed through the archway, a halt is made somewhere in the vicinity of the *goombo*. The novices are placed lying down on the ground, and rugs thrown over them. During this stoppage the *kooringal* and other men who are to accompany the novices into the bush have time to collect their weapons and other belongings, and overtake the guardians at this place. All the men present then beat their weapons together and keep up a vociferous noise for some minutes, a bullroarer being sounded close by. The men who were using the *dhooroong* in the Burbung ring are also here, and again beat the ground. These noises can be heard by the women at the camp and will be referred to presently. After this the *kooringal* paint their bodies jet black with burnt grass or powdered charcoal, mixed with grease.

The Thurrawonga Camp.—In order to make the subsequent sections of this memoir more easily and thoroughly understood, it

¹ "The Bora of the Kamilaroi Tribes."—Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria, ix., N.S., 155.

will be desirable at this stage to describe how the women and children are released from their imprisonment at the Burbung, and the removal of the camp to a new site, which may be distinguished as the "Thurrawonga Camp."

As soon as the novices and guardians are out of sight of the Burbung, the covering is taken off the women, who, on getting to their feet and seeing the boys gone and their things strewn about on the ground, chant a kind of lamentation, especially the mothers and sisters of the novices.¹ About this time they hear the shouting and other noises made by the men around the boys near the goombo. All the mothers then go to a log, or stem of a fallen tree, lying on the ground somewhere near the Burbung, half of them standing on one side and half on the other side of the log. The mothers standing on the one side then throw their yamsticks horizontally and end on, across the log, to the mothers on the other side; the latter return the yamsticks over the log in the same way. Bunches of green leaves are tied to one end of these yamsticks to make them ornamental, and the mothers sing during the performance. This throwing of the yamsticks to and fro across the log is continued until the shouting of the men near the goombo ceases, and is done for the avowed purpose of inducing the evil spirit to show clemency to their sons.

All the women and children, and a few of the old men who have been left in charge of them, then gather up their effects and start towards the locality which has been settled upon for the erection of the new camp. On arrival there the people of each tribe take up their quarters on the side facing their respective districts—the camp of the local tribe forming the initial point.

It not unfrequently happens that one of the tribes who are expected to attend the ceremonies are unable, from some cause, to reach the burbung ground before the camp is broken up, but arrive a day or two afterwards. In order that this late mob may know where to go, a messenger is sent to meet them and escort

¹ Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 330.

them to the Thurrawonga Camp, where they take up their quarters on the side next their own *ngoorumbang*.

Before leaving the burbung, the mothers of the novices provide themselves with pieces of burning bark, called *bunnang*, which they carry in their hands wherever they go. The *bunnang* consists of two pieces of bark laid together and placed in the fire till sufficiently ignited; it is then taken out, and smoulders as long as the bark lasts, when it is renewed by fresh pieces. Wherever the mothers rest to light a fire for the purpose of warming themselves or to cook their food, they cover the fire over with earth before leaving it, so that no other person may use it and so bring mischief upon their sons.

At the Thurrawonga Camp, the mothers of the novices belonging to each contingent occupy quarters by themselves a little distance from the camp of their own tribe. Every mother has a fire of her own, and no one else is permitted to use it. These separate camping places are called *dhunda*. Their sisters, or mother's sisters, or some of the elder women provide them with food, and attend to their wants generally. These women are collectively known as *yanniwa*, and none of the other women or the children are permitted to interfere with them.¹ Each mother eats the whole of the food brought to her, as it would bring evil upon her son if she gave any portion of it to the other women present. All the mothers are, however, very abstemious with their food whilst their sons are away.

The tails, *dhallaboolga*, retained in the hands of the mothers on the morning their sons were taken from them, are fastened to the upper ends of spears, and these weapons are stuck into the ground beside the quarters of the mothers to whom they belong. Every morning and evening the mothers pick up their spears and run, quite naked, a distance of about a hundred yards towards the part

¹ "The Bunan Ceremony of N. S. Wales."—*American Anthropologist*, ix., 341; "The Burbung of the Darkinung Tribes."—*Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria*, x., N.S., 7; "The Keeparra Ceremony of Initiation."—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxvi., 329.

of the district where their sons have been taken by the old men. They sing and shout and wave the spears with the tails attached, in that direction, and then run back to their own camp, inserting the spears in the ground as before. Their yamsticks, with the bushes attached, are also kept stuck in the ground in a similar manner. If one of these spears or yamsticks should fall or be accidentally knocked down, it is considered a bad omen, forewarning danger to the son of the owner of the weapon.

Every man or woman who has been out hunting during the day is met by one or more of the mothers on returning to the camp. They run towards the new arrival as he approaches, and wave the spear with the *dhallaboolga* attached to it, quite close to his face, and then run back to the *dhunda*.

Some of the old men remain at the new camp to see that all the tribal customs are strictly carried out. Communication is kept up between them and the men who are out with the novices; and the day the latter are notified to return, a bough yard, called *thurrawonga* or *cudthalderry* is erected a short distance from the camp, towards the quarters in which the *ngoorang* is situated.¹ This yard is semi-oval in shape, being about forty feet across the open end, and about twenty-five feet from there to the back wall. The walls of this enclosure, which are five or six feet high, are built of saplings, forks, and bushes, placed close together, so as to form a dense screen. One or more narrow openings, arched over the top with boughs, are left in the convex end, through which the contingent from the bush will enter on their arrival, as described farther on. Around each side, within this partial enclosure, a platform is erected by placing sheets of bark on top of logs laid around for the purpose.

About nightfall, all the women, accompanied by such of the men as may be in the camp, proceed to the *thurrawonga*, inside of which the men light a fire. The mothers of the novices are painted with marks of pipeclay and red ochre about the face, chest

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

and arms, and have the teeth, claws and small bones of various animals fastened in their hair and round their necks. They light a fire outside the open end of the *thurrawonga*, and wait there. When the *kooringal* and boys are heard coming, the men cover the rest of the women over with rugs and bushes, as on the previous occasion at the Burbung. The reader will understand this paragraph, when he comes to the section on "*The Return of the Boys*."

Ceremonies in the Bush.—I must now return to where the novices were left lying on the ground, with their guardians and the *kooringal* around them. When the shouting and other noises have ceased, the guardians catch hold of the novices by the hands and help them to their feet, their faces being still bent towards the ground. They are not at any time permitted to put their hands on the ground for the purpose of assisting themselves to rise, but must wait until helped up by their guardians. A rug is now adjusted over each novice's head in such a manner that there is only a narrow opening left at the face, through which he can see anything to which his attention may be directed by his guardian.¹

In the meantime a number of the *kooringal* have arranged themselves in a row, standing a few feet apart, with their faces towards the novices. Between each pair of these men a man is lying horizontally, his head resting on the shoulder of one of the men, and his feet on the shoulder of another. This will be made clearer by an example: Suppose A, B and C are three of the men standing in a line; another man, D, is laid horizontally between A and B; his head rests on A's shoulder, and he maintains that position by putting his arms round A's chest. His legs are on B's shoulder, one leg being round each side of B's neck. Another man, E, has his head on B's shoulder, and his feet on the shoulder of C, and keeps his hold of both men in the same way that D does. Perhaps a dozen men may be laid horizontally in this way,

¹ "The Burbung of the New England Tribes."—Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria, ix., N.S., 125.

and, when all is ready, the novices are told to raise their heads and look at the tableau before them, which is intended to represent a streak of black cloud resting on the shoulders of the men. The *kooringal* walk slowly towards the novices, and if a breeze is blowing they move gradually with its current, to convey the idea of a cloud drifting with the wind. The *kooringal* now let the men down off their shoulders, and all of them jump about before the boys.

The guardians now take the novices away several miles to a camp in the bush, being accompanied by some of the principal headmen, who have charge of the ceremonies, and a number of initiated men, called the *kooringal*, selected from the several tribes present at the Burbung gathering. The fathers and other relatives of the boys are also amongst the company. The blankets are kept over the heads of the novices in the manner already described, and they have to walk along with their eyes cast upon the heels of the man in front of them. All the men and boys walk along at a leisurely pace, and the latter are not permitted to speak or to gaze about them.

On arriving at the place where they intend to stay for the night, a space is cleared of sticks and other loose rubbish, and the boys, with their guardians, occupy one side of it, a little way from the men. The *kooringal* and other men camp round this cleared space, the men of each tribe keeping by themselves. The novices are placed lying down with the blankets on their heads as before, some of the guardians being continually with them. During the evening the *kooringal* play the *wyang* or night-owl. They have white rings painted with pipe clay round their eyes, and mud plastered on their posteriors, on which feathers are fastened. They file past the fire to and fro a few times imitating the owl, the novices sitting on the other side of the fire looking at them. If it is a fine night more than one pantomime may be played. When they become weary or sleepy, the boys are taken to their own quarters, and all hands retire for the night.

Some time before daylight the following morning all the people are roused out of their slumbers by the old men.¹ The men and boys are divided into a number of little mobs, each mob marching away from the *ngoorang* or main camp in different directions, for a distance of 100 or 150 yards. It is not necessary that each section should go the same distance from the *ngoorang*; this matter is regulated by the suitability of the ground for camping purposes. The novices, each being accompanied by his guardian, are taken away in these groups, some going with one group and some with another. Care is taken, however, that every novice is taken away from the *ngoorang* in the direction opposite to that in which his own country is situated. Some of the mobs would, perhaps, consist of men only, owing to their being no novices from the district located in the contrary direction. Each of the groups light a fire at their respective camping places, which are called *bünbül*, where they remain till after daylight, and have breakfast there.

After the morning meal has been disposed of, all the little mobs re-unite, and clear another corroboree ground contiguous to the one they prepared the previous evening. The *kooringal* then select some animal as the subject of the play, and when all is ready the novices are permitted to look at the performance. Their heads are then bent down as before, and they are taken back to their respective *bünbül*s from which they have just come, where they remain with their guardians during the day. The novices are called *budthandooree* during their sojourn at the *bünbül* camps.

The *kooringal* then go out into the bush hunting, in order to provide food for the novices and guardians, as well as for themselves. On their return to the camp in the afternoon some of the game caught during the day is cooked and given to the novices. The bones and sinews are taken out of the meat which is prepared for them, and some of the old men go round to see that their food is dressed according to rule.

¹ "The Initiation Ceremonies of the Aborigines of the Upper Lachlan."
—Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc. Aust (Q) xi., 169.

As the young fellows are generally eager to participate in the plays enacted in the bush, they leave their women at the new camp, and start out to join the *kooringal*, having received directions respecting the locality from some of the old men at the camp, or perhaps some of these men escort them to the *ngoorang*. On the way out they paint their bodies with charcoal and grease, and on nearing the *ngoorang*, one of them climbs a tree and shouts in a peculiar manner, which is answered by the *kooringal*. The latter then gather up their weapons, and having mustered all the novices, take them to the quarter from which the man's voice has been heard, where they find the fresh arrivals, who are called *goory*, sitting down in a group, with bushes in their hands. The *kooringal* place the boys standing in a row looking at the new men, round whom they form a semi-circle, dancing and shaking their weapons.¹ The heads of the boys are now bent down by their guardians, and they are taken back to the *būnbūls*—the *goory* joining the *kooringal*. These arrivals at the *ngoorang* generally take place late in the afternoon, or early in the morning.

At the close of the day all the men and boys camp at the same place as the night before, and similar pantomimic performances are indulged in. In the morning all hands are called up by the old men, and radiate away from the *ngoorang* as on the previous morning. On this occasion they do not go to the same place as before, but each little mob selects a fresh camp at which to light their fire and remain till morning. After breakfast another corroboree ground is cleared, at a different place to that used yesterday, and another play is performed by the *kooringal*. Different animals are represented each night and morning, and all the dances and performances are as usual largely composed of abominable and obscene displays, which cannot be described in a paper like the present. The *kooringal* renew the black paint upon their

¹ Compare with "The Wandarral of the Richmond and Clarence River Tribes."—Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria, x., N.S., 38.

bodies day by day, and the guardians keep the novices carefully painted red.

It is not essential that the men and boys should remain at the same camp every night; they may stay one or more nights at the same place, or a fresh camping ground may be reached every night. When taking the boys from one camp to another, the rugs are kept over their heads, and they are under the vigorous surveillance of their guardians. When walking along through the bush, the *kooringal* and guardians are joking with each other all the time. If any of them see an iguana going up a tree, they say he is coming down; if a small bird is seen they say it is very large; if the day is cold, they remark that it is hot, and so on. At each of these statements, which is always the opposite of the truth, a shout is given, and all the men laugh. The novices are not permitted to laugh at anything that is said or done, no matter how amusing or preposterous it may be.

Human ordure¹ was given to the novices on more than one occasion during their stay in the bush. The sound of the bull-roarer would be heard in the adjacent forest shortly before sunset and some of the guardians would say to the novices, "Here comes Dhurramoolum to feed you with excrement." Preparations for this ceremony had been made during the afternoon. Small pieces of bark had been cut, about six inches square, and slightly charred in the fire, and on each of these a small portion of excrement was deposited by the old men. These pieces of bark with their contents, were now brought and placed before each novice as they sat at the camp fire, and they had to eat the ordure without a murmur in the presence of the headman. They were also compelled to drink urine collected in a coolamin for the purpose.²

On the third or fourth day after leaving the Burbung one of the middle front teeth of the upper jaw is taken out of each of the

¹ "The Burbung of the Wiradthuri Tribes."—Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 312.

² "The Burbung of the New England Tribes."—Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria, ix., N.S., 128.

novices. A clear patch of ground is selected somewhere near the camp, from the surface of which all loose rubbish and grass is removed. Along the centre of this cleared space a row of holes, about a foot long and four inches wide are dug into the ground to the depth of six or nine inches, according to the nature of the soil. The number of these holes is regulated by the number of boys to be operated upon, there being two holes for each individual. In some cases, however, where the ground is very hard, one pair of holes may be used for several boys. These holes are about a foot and a half apart, so that the boys when standing in them have their legs extended. In the bottom of each hole a layer of green leaves is strewn to keep the boys' feet off the ground.

About an hour or two before sunset the novices are brought out and placed standing with their feet in the holes, all their faces being in one direction. Each guardian now kneels down behind his novice, and puts his head between the boy's legs, which have been kept wide apart for this purpose, so that the boy rests on his guardian's neck and shoulders. The principal headman now walks along in front, and takes the rugs off the novices, at the same time shoving their heads up straight. Another man then comes behind each boy and catches him by the top of the head with one hand, and with the other holds the boy's chin to keep the mouth open. Sometimes the man holds one hand on each side of the boy's head, the fingers of one hand being on the chin. A piece of tough stick is placed across the boy's mouth to prevent his shutting it. A number of men accustomed to the work of extracting teeth are standing in front of the boys, and the headmen are walking about giving such directions as may be thought necessary.

The *modus operandi* in extracting the tooth is as follows.¹ The man who is to operate upon the boy steps up to him, and with his

¹ Compare with descriptions of this operation given by me in "The Bunan Ceremony of N. S. Wales."—*American Anthropologist*, ix., 338; "The Burbung of the Darkinung Tribes."—*Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria*, x., N.S., 7-8; "The Burbung of the Wiradthuri Tribes."—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxvi., 278-279.

finger nail pushes back the gum from the tooth to be extracted. He then puts his own lower teeth under the tooth and pulls outward and upward—the stick which is across the boy's mouth preventing him from biting the man's lip. This is done with the professed intention of loosening the tooth, and blackfellows have told me that occasionally it comes out under this treatment. If not, this is accomplished by placing one end of a narrow piece of wood or stone, called *wallung*, against the tooth, and hitting the other end with a stone or wooden mallet used as a hammer. The tooth is then taken out of the boy's mouth with the man's fingers and the gum pressed together. As each tooth is produced and held up, all the men present shout "Wir-r-r!" in unison. While the ceremony is going on, a bullroarer (*mudjeegang*) is occasionally sounded in the bush not far off. The blood flowing from the wounded gum is swallowed by the boy. The guardians now assist the novices to withdraw their feet from the holes, which are then filled up, and the surface of the ground strewn over with rubbish the same as it was before being cleared. The boys are freed from wearing the rugs over their heads from this time forth.

The novices are then conducted back to the camp and after supper they are taken a little way into the bush with the men under the pretext of looking for water to allay their thirst. When they have walked some distance, one of the men who has gone away unobserved by the boys, whistles, and calls out "I think there is water over here." The men and boys then proceed in that direction but go too far. The man then again whistles and they turn back and find him sitting down, apparently perishing from thirst, and he tells them he has not found any water. The koorungal then corroboree round him and shout.

After that they all go back to the camp, and the boys are placed lying down in their own quarters. In a short time the men pretend to quarrel among themselves about something, angry words being mutually exchanged, and the men get their weapons ready. The novices think a conflict is imminent, but after some further recriminations peace is apparently restored. A detach-

ment of the kooringal now gather round each novice in succession, as he lies in his camp, and sing Dhurramoolun's song¹ over him, beating their boomerangs together while doing so:—

Ghee'-bul, ghee'-bul, oong-o-ga' ga-la'-bi-an,

Bah'-wan-bah' goo-rar' nga-dahn'-tha bay'-an.

This chant is repeated a great many times without intermission. As the men finish singing over each novice they raise a shout, "Heh! Wah!" and when the ceremonial is concluded, both men and boys retire to rest for the night.

Next morning the whole camp is roused up as usual, and the men and boys divide into little groups, each going away in different directions as before. Two or three men are despatched to the women's camp to inform them that the kooringal and boys will return that evening. The kooringal go away a short distance out of sight of the camp, where they clear a portion of the surface of the ground of all sticks and loose rubbish. Pieces of bark, *barung barung* or *dhoorooong*, similar in size and shape to those used at the Burbung when the boys were taken away are prepared ready for use. They also light one or more fires, and burn green bushes on them to make a smoke. The smoke, being charged with moisture from the green leaves, partakes somewhat of the nature of fog, and does not ascend as readily as ordinary smoke, but hangs about near the ground.

When these preparations have been made, the guardians march the novices, with their eyes cast down, towards the cleared space, telling them that Dhurramoolun is going to burn them at a big fire which he has ready, and their attention is opportunely directed to the smoke hovering around them, but they are not permitted to raise their heads.

In hilly districts, as on the Upper Murrumbidgee about Gundagai, where there is rocky country, the kooringal heat a few large stones in a fire at some place near to which the novices will be

¹ "The Keeparra Ceremony of Initiation."—Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxvi., 333; "The Bora of the Kamilaroi Tribes."—Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria, ix., N.S., 167.

brought along. When the boys are passing, a large hot stone is started rolling past close to their feet, so that they can see it, and as it rolls along it scorches the grass. A little farther on one or two more stones may be rolled past in the same way. Other larger stones are thrown heavily on the ground or against rocks a little way off to make as much noise as possible, and terrify the novices, who are told that this is the work of Dhurramoolun. In level country where there are no rocks, as in the district around Hay, this stone rolling part of the performance is necessarily omitted.

As the guardians and novices approach the cleared space referred to, about a dozen men with the *barrung barrung* commence to beat the ground. These men, who are called *wundang*, are fantastically disguised by having small bushes, pieces of bark and grass fastened in their hair and in their belts. They are sitting in a row, and strike the ground in front of them with the *barrung barrung*, one after the other, making a great noise. A man is standing near each end of this row swinging a *mudjeegang*. The novices are brought up in front of the *wundang*, and are told to raise their heads and look. The men who are swinging the bull-roarers then place one foot on top of the other to give them the appearance of having only one leg, like their mysterious prototype, Dhurramoolun. The remainder of the men, including the relatives of the boys are standing around the cleared space.

The headmen and other armed warriors now step out with uplifted spears and tomahawks and warn the novices that if they reveal what they have just seen, or any of the secret ceremonies which have taken place in their presence in the bush, to the women or uninitiated, their own lives and those of the persons to whom they may confide the mysteries, will be required at the hands of the tribe.

Return of the Boys.—At the conclusion of the important ceremonial of showing the boys the bullroarer, they are taken back to the ngoorang, and everything is packed up, after which a start is made for the Thurrawonga camp—described in previous pages.

The koorungal engage in hunting as they journey along in order to provide something for dinner. The boys walk with their guardians, having, as before stated, been released from wearing the rugs over their heads, but are forbidden to look in any direction except straight ahead. About midway a waterhole is reached, where a halt is made, and the game caught by the way is cooked on fires lighted for the purpose. This camp is called *Bidjerigang*.

At this halting place, the men and boys have all the hair singed off their bodies, and the hair of their heads is also singed to make it shorter, after which the men go into the waterhole and wash off the black paint.¹ The guardians sit with the novices on the bank, and when the koorungal come out they mind the boys while the guardians perform their ablutions. None of the novices go into the waterhole. After this, the boys are painted with white spots on their faces, arms and chests. The guardian chews the end of a piece of tough green stick till it frays out like a kind of brush, which he dips in wet pipe clay and applies to the skin of the novice. These white spots are put on top of the red ochre with which the bodies of the novices have been kept painted during their sojourn in the *ngoorang*. All the men are painted in the way customary in their tribe, and boys and men wear their full dress.

The journey forward is then resumed, and on going some distance farther on a halt is made for the purpose of giving the boys a new name.² The guardians and novices stand in a row, each of the latter having a small bush in his hand. The koorungal form into a semicircle several paces in front of the row of novices, and some of the old men, who are relatives of the boys, are deputed to name them. These old men stand out by themselves in front of the koorungal, and call up a certain guardian, who steps forward, bringing his novice with him, and both of them stand in

¹ "The Burbung of the New England Tribes."—Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria, ix., N.S., 131. "The Bora or Initiation Ceremonies of the Kamilaroi Tribe."—Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 336.

² Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 310; *Ibid.*, xxvi., 281.

front of the semicircle—the boy shaking the bush which he carries in his hand. The old men then deliberate what name shall be given to him, and when this point has been decided, the name is called out, upon which all the men present shout "Wir-r-r!" in unison. The boy and his guardian then retire and stand on one side. Another guardian and his novice are then called out in a similar manner, and when the name has been given they also retire, and stand beside the previous pair. This procedure is repeated until all the novices have been named, and are standing in a row at a different place to that at first occupied by them—the bushes which they carried being thrown down. Some of the armed men then step out in front of the neophytes and repeat the caution as to the consequences which will ensue if they divulge any of the secret ceremonies which they have passed through in the bush.

Another start is now made towards the women's camp, and on nearing it, the men whistle and keep repeating "Bir-r! Bir-r!" and are answered by the mothers of the novices. On getting within about a hundred yards of the appointed place the guardians halt for a few minutes, and take the novices on their shoulders, and start on abreast till they get within twenty or thirty yards of the thurrawonga, where they again come to a stand. The koorungal are behind the guardians, and in the rear a bullroarer is sounded by one of the men. While the guardians are getting the boys on their shoulders,¹ a number of the koorungal file into the thurrawonga through the archway, and stand in rows along the wall to the right and left.

The guardians then enter the thurrawonga, and step up on the platform, keeping the boys on their shoulders. The mothers, who are standing near the fires, then advance, each having a spear in her hand, to the upper end of which is attached the *dhullaboolga* or tail which she took from her son's girdle the morning he left the Burbung. She raises the end of the spear towards the boy,

¹ "The Bunan Ceremony of New South Wales."—American Anthropologist, ix., 342.

who catches hold of the *dhullaboolga* and pulls it off, and then slides down from his guardian's shoulders out of sight of his mother.¹ The latter at the same time also turns her back towards her son. The same course is followed by all the mothers simultaneously, after which the covering is taken off the other women, who are lying down a few paces back from the open end of the thurrawonga, and then all the women go away back to the main camp.

The men who have charge of the proceedings at the thurrawonga then throw green bushes on the fire, which produce a dense smoke into which are gathered all the men who have been out at the ngoorang, as well as the boys, where they stand round the fire until the old men consider that they have been sufficiently fumigated. The guardians and novices camp all night in the thurrawonga, and early next morning go away into the bush to a suitable camping place, accompanied by some of the koorngal and old men. The women also remove their quarters, and go to another camp.

The men and boys stop away for a few days. It may be that they camp at the same place all the time, or perhaps a fresh camping ground is reached every night. The camp is not broken up into *bunbul* sections every morning, and the boys go out hunting with the men during the day, being now under no restrictions, except that they must eat only such food² as has been sanctioned by the old men.

At the end of this term of probation, the men and boys again go back to the main camp, stopping at some suitable place by the way to paint themselves, and put on their full dress. This return of the novices, which completes the process of inauguration, is called *ngoorango goorawalgarree* (bringing back to camp), and is

¹ Among the Wiradthuri tribes further to the northward, the mother of the novice squirts pipe-clay out of her mouth into his face when he is carried into the thurrawonga; and in some districts she afterwards taps him on the breast with a boomerang, or with a small narrow piece of bark, ornamented with paint for the occasion.—Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 310; *Ibid.*, xxvi., 282 and note 2.

² "The Dhalgai Ceremony."—Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxvi., 339.

also known as *minbin mumbilla*. A platform, (*goolay*), about a foot high, composed of pieces of bark laid on logs, is erected by the men somewhere near the women's camp. The mothers of the novices, decorated as at the thurrawonga, and all the women of the tribe are present at this platform, but none of them are covered over on this occasion. Each boy's mother lays on the platform a rug or blanket, beside which she inserts her yamstick in the ground, and sits down on the other side of the platform. All the mothers then commence to sing doleful chants, because their sons will not be allowed to camp with them any more, but must now stay with the single men, and take their part as men of the tribe.

When these preparations have been made, at a given signal the guardians and novices approach, followed by some of the koorngal beating boomerangs, but the mudjeegang is not sounded. On getting near the platform each guardian points out to the boy his mother's yamstick, and directs him to sit down on the rug which is beside it.¹ The mothers, who are sitting down on the other side of the platform, immediately behind the boys, then put their arms around them for a few minutes. The guardians then catch the novices by the hand and lead them away to a camp in sight of the men's quarters, all the women at the same time returning to their respective camps. From the time the novices were taken away from the Burbung their mothers have been required to carry a piece of burning bark in their hands when travelling from place to place, but they are now released from this obligation, and these firesticks are left at the *goolay*. The next day the mothers of the novices go into a waterhole or running stream near the camp, and wash the paint off their bodies.

Finishing Ceremonies.—As soon as all the fundamental rites have been concluded, the strange tribes are eager to get back to their own districts, and generally start away the next day, or

¹ Farther north the men and neophytes are smoked on this occasion, instead of on the return to the thurrawonga.—Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 312; *Ibid.*, xxvi., 283.

at any rate in the course of a short time. The local tribe also shift to another part of their ngoorumbang, the food supply of the present camping ground having been exhausted by the large demand made upon its animals and fruits by the tribes who have attended the ceremonies.

Each tribe takes charge of its own novices, who are kept under the control of their guardians or relatives. They are not permitted to talk or laugh loud until they reach the age at which they develop the voice of a man. They are allowed to lodge near the main camp, and may come in sight of the women, but must not speak to them. They are gradually brought nearer and nearer to the men's quarters until they eventually come right in among the single men. A white stone, (quartz crystal) called *goonabillang* or *ngullang*, is given to the neophytes by the old men. A boy must attend at least three burbungs before he is admitted to the full privileges of a tribesman.

The mother of a novice is likewise required to comply with certain tribal regulations. Any food which she collects herself, or which is given to her by others, is eaten by her alone, as it would be unpropitious and fraught with evil to her son if she were to give any food to another person, until her son acquires a man's voice.

It will be interesting to give a brief outline of the formalities connected with the disposal of the teeth of the novices. When the old man extracts a boy's tooth in the manner described in the preceding pages, he hands it to the guardian, who takes care of it until he has an opportunity of giving it to the father of the boy. Before all the people disperse, the father hands over the tooth to the headman of one of the tribes in which he may have relatives or acquaintances, who takes it away with him to his own country. This headman may send the tooth farther on to another tribe, or he may keep it amongst his own people.

After a time, which may be only of a few months duration, or it may be a much longer period, the headman who took the tooth

away sends messengers to the tribe to which the owner of the tooth belongs, stating that it will be brought back at such a time. On receipt of this message, preparations are made to meet the strange people at the time appointed. On these occasions it is the custom for each tribe to make presents to the other, which takes the form of exchange or barter. Supposing for example that there is plenty of suitable stone for making hatchets¹ and whetstones in the country belonging to one tribe, they will exchange these commodities with the men of another tribe, in whose country there may be suitable wood for making spears and other weapons. People who have coloured clays will exchange them for skins of animals not plentiful in their own country. Others will have string made of the bark of certain trees, richly coloured feathers of rare birds, reeds for making light spears, and so on, which they exchange for other articles. It may be that some of the men and women exchange exactly similar articles with the people of another tribe merely as mementos of their meeting.

At these gatherings, the hosts arrange themselves in a line, with their presents and other commodities lying on the ground near them. The visitors advance and form into a row opposite the hosts, and display their presents in a similar manner. The headman who has brought back the tooth returns it to the boy's father, who subsequently hands it over to his son. After some time it is buried in the ground.

Conclusion.—With the exception of a short paper on the Burbung of the natives of the Upper Lachlan River,² this is the first detailed account of the initiation ceremonies of the Wiradthuri tribes published in any of the Australian colonies. Moreover, the first account of the Burbung of these tribes which has hitherto been published in England is that contained in two short papers

¹ See my paper on "Stone Implements used by the Aborigines."—Journ. Roy. Soc. N. S. Wales, xxviii., 301–305, Plate 43.

² "The Initiation Ceremonies of the Aborigines of the Upper Lachlan."—Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc. Aust. (Q.), xi., 167–169.

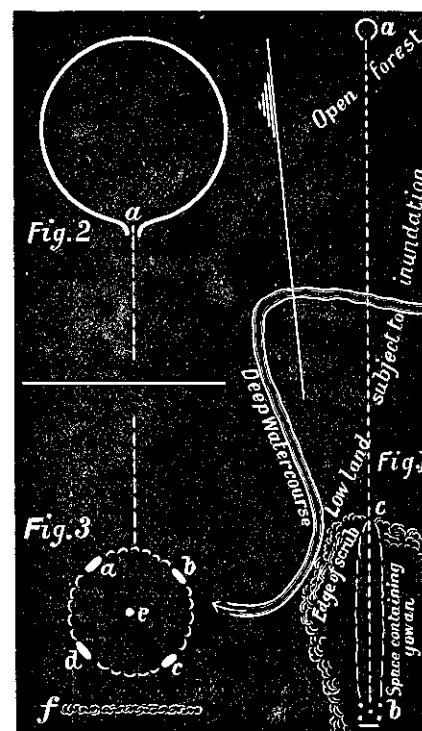
communicated by me to the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain.¹

I regret that in the present paper, as well as in the previous articles to which reference has been made, considerations of space have compelled me to omit many particulars which I would have liked to describe more fully. It will be observed that I have confined myself as much as practicable to descriptions only, without offering explanations, or submitting theories for the present. I have a mass of information bearing upon the reasons of many parts of the ceremonies and their meaning, gathered in conversations with old headmen of different tribes, which it is hoped will be found of interest to those who study the customs of aboriginal races.

Explanation of Woodcut.—Fig. 1 is a plan of the Burbung ground, showing everything in its correct position in regard to the north point, which is marked upon it. The scale is 16 chains to one inch. *a* is the Burbung circle; *b* is the *goombo*; and the dotted line from *a* to *b* is the pathway *mooroo*, leading from one to the other, a distance of 1225 yards, or about 55½ chains—nearly three-quarters of a mile. *c* is the archway through which the men passed in going along the track; *a* to *c* is low lying level ground, with a deep, crooked watercourse running through it, which is liable to be inundated by the overflow of the water from the Murrumbidgee when that river is in a state of flood. From *c* to *b*, the path ran through scrubby land, considerably higher than the land at the Burbung. This scrub has, as stated in the text, been cleared away, and part of the land is now under cultivation. The space from *c* to *b*, enclosed by broken lines, is that which contained all the figures and carvings in the soil and on the trees, known collectively as *yowan*.

Fig. 2 shows the Burbung ring, twenty-five yards by twenty-three yards, averaging twenty-four yards in diameter; *a* is the

¹ "The Burbung of the Wiradthuri Tribes."—Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 295-318. *Ibid.*, xxvi., 272-285.



opening in the embankment, from which the path led away towards the *goombo*. The embankment is continued outward a few feet on either side of the track where it leaves the ring. The camp of the local tribe was about one hundred yards to the north of this circle, and the other tribes were encamped adjacent, each on the side facing in the direction from which they had come. Water for camp use was obtained from the Murrumbidgee River, which was close to the camp in a north-easterly direction.

Fig. 3 is an enlarged drawing of the *goombo* or *budtha goonang*—*a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, being the four heaps of earth; *e* is the position of the forked stump; *f* is the screen of boughs, *garreel*, a little way beyond the *goombo*. The dotted line is the track leading to the Burbung.

The scale of Figs. 2 and 3 is eighty feet to one inch. For complete details of all the drawings the reader is referred to the text.

¹ In Plate xxv., Diagram 3, of my description of the Burbung ground at Bulgeraga Creek, I showed the position of two wooden seats within the *goombo*. These seats were formed by digging two saplings out of the ground by the roots; the stems were then cut through about three or four feet from the base. The stumps were now carried to the *goombo*, and inserted perpendicularly in the ground, with the rooty ends upward. They were stained with human blood, and the headmen stood or sat upon them on ceremonial occasions.—Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 301, pl. xxv.