



The Bora, or Initiation Ceremonies of the Kamilaroi Tribe. Part II

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The BORA, or INITIATION CEREMONIES of the KAMILAROI TRIBE.
(Part II.) By R. H. MATHEWS, Licensed Surveyor, N.S.W.

Introduction.—Last January (1895) I contributed a paper bearing the above title to the *Journal* of this Institute.¹ That paper was prepared, as before stated by me elsewhere,² from information supplied by a correspondent, Mr. J. T. Crawley, an officer of the New South Wales Mounted Police, stationed at Mogil Mogil, not far from the scene of the Bora. From my further details of the Jeraeil, which may be obtained by enquiry from some of the old Kurnai men who are still living.—R. H. M.

¹ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxiv, pp. 411-427.

² "Journ. Roy. Soc., N.S. Wales," xxviii, pp. 105-106.

general knowledge of the initiation ceremonies, and other customs of the aborigines, gained during many years' residence in the interior of New South Wales, I was able to give him an outline of the proceedings, and requested him to collect all the particulars he could. When the paper was in the press I obtained some further details from my correspondent, but unfortunately it was then too late to incorporate the additional matter with that paper. Being especially eager to make my account of the Bora as comprehensive and accurate as possible, I then determined to travel into the district in which it took place, and personally visit the tribes who had been present at it. This involved a journey of 350 miles to Narrabri by railway, and 150 miles by stage coach from there to Mungindi, on the Barwan river, which at that place forms the boundary between New South Wales and Queensland. From Mungindi, both by vehicle and on horseback, I visited several native camps, at all of which I met a number of the men who had been at the Gündabloui Bora. At each of these camps I took some of the initiated men into the adjacent bush, and showed them the bullroarer and other sacred emblems given to me by the headman of the Wiradthuri tribe, on the occasion of his having confided to me the whole ceremonial of the Bûrbûng. Upon seeing these emblems, and learning from my conversation that I was also acquainted with the esoteric mysteries of the Bora, they treated me as one who had been initiated, and gave me all the further information I wished to obtain.

I will now endeavour to supplement my former account of the Bora by the fuller details collected by myself in the camps of the natives. In doing this it will be desirable to continue the same arrangement of the heads of the subject as that adopted in the first paper,¹ so that all the matter under each heading in both papers may be read together. Thus, under the sub-head of *Mustering the Tribes*, the reader is requested to refer to these sub-heads in each paper, so that he may see all the particulars relating to the manner of gathering the tribes to attend the Bora ceremonies. This explanation will apply to each of the other sub-headings in both papers, which should be read together as a whole.

The reader will observe that I have excised a few paragraphs in different places in the former paper, which were not sufficiently full, or contained some inaccuracies of detail. These were compiled from Mr. Crawley's statements, and although they are substantially correct, they are not exact enough for scientific purposes.

Mustering the Tribes.—See the "Journal of the Anthropol-

¹ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxiv, pp. 411-427.

logical Institute," vol xxiv, pp. 411 to 413. At p. 411, the whole of note ¹ should be struck out. At p. 142, all the words from the commencement of line 16, to the word "headman" in line 24, should be cancelled; also, all the words commencing with the word "and" in line 41, to the end of the page. At p. 413, all the words commencing at the head of the page to the word "arranged" in line 5 should be struck out.

When a messenger is despatched, he takes with him a novice painted red all over, and a guardian to mind the novice. The messenger carries a bullroarer, kilt, belt, and one or more boomerangs. When he gets within about half a mile of the camp he freshly paints the novice red, and he and the man who has charge of the novice also paint themselves according to the tribal device. In coming within sight of the camp they give a shout, which is answered by the people there, who, when they see the youth painted red, know they are Bora messengers. All hands—men, women, and children—then quickly muster at some level place close to the camp, and pull handfuls of grass, which they lay on the ground, and form a ring, perhaps 30 or 40 feet in diameter, with a small opening in one side. If there is no long grass, they break small bushes and lay them around, inclosing a circular space. The messenger, novice, and guardian then advance in single file, and walk into the ring through the opening in its boundary. The men of the place are lying down on the side of the ring next the camp—the women sitting on the ground close beside them. The messenger and his comrades then dance round a few times inside the ring, and then form in a line near the edge of it farthest from the camp, where they remain standing. The men of the place then get up and mark time with their feet, and swing their arms for a short time, after which they step into the ring and jump round a few times, and then join the messengers, when all of them jump or dance round together, calling out the names of a few camping places in their country. The women, who have provided themselves with bushes for the purpose, now enter the ring and pull handfuls of leaves which they throw at the men as they dance round. At the conclusion of this performance they all come out of the ring and proceed to the camp. The novice, painted red all over, retires with his guardian in company with the boys and women of the tribe, who commence to sing; but the messenger goes with the headmen and others a short distance from the camp, where he shows them the bullroarer and other articles, and delivers all the particulars about the approaching Bora. Shortly after dark one of the men goes into a secluded place a short distance from the camp, and sounds a bullroarer, which is answered by the gins singing and beating on their rugs. During the evening

the men generally get up a corroboree in honour of their visitors.

In a few days' time, or perhaps the next day if the time is limited, the message is sent on to the next tribe. This is done either by the same messengers, or by the headmen of the tribe they have visited. If the latter, the headman selects from among his own people a novice and guardian, and also a man to act as a messenger, to the latter of whom he hands the bull-roarer and other emblems which he has received. These men then start away to the next tribe, and the details of their procedure there are precisely the same as have just been described.

The novice who is brought to a tribe in this way remains with them, one of their men being appointed as a new guardian, the other two men returning to the tribe from which they had come. The novice stays with the people to whom he has been sent, and is brought back by them when they come to the Bora. If a sufficient number of novices are not available to provide one to accompany each messenger, an initiated man goes alone to some of the tribes, carrying the bullroarer and other emblems of his mission. The particulars of the journey of each tribe towards the Bora are given in my former paper.¹

The messengers are generally chosen from the same class and totem as the principal headman who summons the tribes to attend the Bora, and the message is sent to a headman of the same class in the tribe to be invited. The message is likewise sent on from tribe to tribe by men of the same class. If suitable men of the required class and totem cannot be obtained, the messengers may be selected according to their fitness to perform the duties entrusted to them, irrespective of class distinctions.

When a mob of natives get within an easy day's stage of the general encampment, a man is sent ahead to give notice that they will arrive that afternoon, thus giving the people there an opportunity to prepare to accord them the customary reception. When this assemblage gets within a quarter of a mile of the camp a halt is made for the purpose of decorating themselves with paint and feathers. When all is ready, they give a shout which is answered from the camp, and then they start on in single file—the men in the lead, the women and boys following. The people from the main camp, whom I will call the hosts, are by this time assembling at one side of the large ring² of the Bora ground. The men and women form into groups according to their classes, and sit down around the outside of the embankment, the men and women being mixed together, all having

¹ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxiv, p. 412.

² "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxiv, p. 414.

red stripes on their faces. All the novices in the camp are painted red, and are placed sitting on the bank with their feet within the ring. The new comers now approach in single file, and the men enter the ring carrying their weapons in their hands. The women and novices form into groups on the outside of the ring, on the side opposite to the hosts, the novice who accompanied the messenger being among them. The men tramp round in single file several times, and then form into a cluster in the middle of the ring. After this they form in a line near their own side, marking time with their feet and waving their arms for a little while, after which they withdraw altogether from the ring, and stand just outside the embankment. All this time they have their weapons in their hands.

The hosts now rise to their knees, and sway their arms from side to side a number of times, after which they rise to their feet and mark time for a few minutes, and then step over the embankment into the ring, and mark time again, swaying their arms as before. They then stamp round inside the ring, the headmen shouting out the names of several well known places in their country. Each headman in succession names a few places in their respective districts, each name being received with shouts. After this they step out of the ring and pick up their weapons, which up to this time have been lying on the ground. During these performances the women of the hosts have risen to their feet, and are standing a few paces back from the circle. The hosts then enter the circle again, carrying their weapons in their hands, and step forward a little way. The strangers also re-enter the ring and step forward a few paces; the hosts make another advance, and so do the strangers; these advances are made alternately until both sides are close to each other in the middle of the ring.

A welcome is now accorded to the novice who was sent with the messenger to summon the contingent. Supposing, for example, he is of the Murri class; a Kumbo advances from the side of the hosts and brings the novice Murri into the ring behind the men of the hosts, who turn their faces towards him, and dance in a semi-circle before him and his companion. The guardian on the strangers' side, who had the novice in charge, then steps forward, and conducts him back to the other boys from among whom he has just previously been taken.

The reader must now go back to where we left off at the end of the preceding paragraph. Both lots of men, the hosts and the strangers, now go right up to each other, and mix together and dance round in the ring. Then the novices belonging to

the strangers enter the ring, and the boys of the hosts who have been sitting on the embankment all this time rise to their feet and join them. The combined assembly of novices now run in amongst the men, and all of them dance round. The headmen of the strangers now call out the names of a few remarkable places in their own district, the name of each place being the signal for shouts as before. All the women of both sides now enter the ring, with green boughs in their hands, from which they pluck handfuls of leaves and throw them at the men as they dance round.

All now come out of the ring and separate the boys into groups according to their tribes, and place them sitting on the bank with their backs towards the ring. The women of each tribe then stand behind the boys with their faces in the same direction, and sing *bobbarubwar* songs. The women, and also the boys, are forbidden to look round. A number of men then stand behind the women. These precautions are taken to prevent the women and boys from seeing what is now to take place. One of the young men who is a good runner now runs around once inside the ring, and then away along the track leading to Baiamai's ground, and is followed by the other men. As soon as the first man gets out of sight he commences to swing the *murrawan*. The women and novices now start away to the main camp, where those belonging to the new comers commence to put up their temporary dwellings on the side nearest their own country.

Meantime the men of the new contingent are being shown the *yammunyamun*¹ on the ground and on the trees, the figures of Baiamai and Gunnaubeely and other devices, as far as the Goomee or Baiamai's fire. During this time a bullroarer is sounded at intervals, and as each figure or device is shown all the men raise a shout. A halt is made at the large cleared space around the Goomee, and some of the old men entertain the company by magical feats, bringing up through their mouths quartz crystals and other substances. At the end of each feat they run, with their heads down, in amongst their audience, catching hold of some one or more, and pulling off some part of their attire, such as a string from their *barranjal* (kilt) or the like, which they at once either swallow or pretend to do so. If the new comers have arrived early they may be shown over the remainder of the Bora ground, but, generally speaking, by the time the performances at the Goomee are concluded, it is time to proceed to the camp.

The men now retrace their steps towards the large ring, again

¹ A Kamilaroi word for the carvings on the soil and on the trees at the Bora ground.

looking at the various symbols as they go. When the ring is reached they start shouting, towards the camp, the men of the several classes going together. On coming within a few chains of the camp, they are met by the novices and several of the women, who each fall in with the men of their own class, and all proceed to a cleared space in the camp, where they dance round a few times, naming places in their several districts, and the women throw handfuls of leaves at them, after which they all disperse to their respective quarters.

The following afternoon, all the men, women, and novices assemble at the large ring, and go through the regular performances detailed in my former paper, after which the men go away in the usual manner to the sacred ground—the women and novices returning to the camp. The men of the contingent which arrived yesterday are now shown the remainder of the sacred ground in the following manner. The hosts are, as usual, the first to leave the large ring, and go to the Goomee, followed by the new arrivals. Some of them remain there, whilst a considerable number go on to the Goonaba and sit down on the ground on the most distant side of the smaller ring close to the outside of the embankment forming its wall. Two old men, with their bodies and limbs smeared with human blood, then ascend the *waddengahly* or seats formed of the inverted stumps, of trees and stand on top of the roots, beating two nullas together.

While these preparations are being made by the hosts, the new arrivals, who have come no further than the Goomee, have provided themselves with firesticks obtained at the large fire burning there; these are rolled up in green bushes for the purpose of making a smoke, and are carried in one hand, a boomerang being held in the other. They then advance along the track towards the Goonaba, and on getting close to it they rush up near the first side of the ring waving their smoky sticks, and make a feint of throwing the boomerangs at the men who are lying down on the other side of it. They dance there for a few minutes, after which they throw away their firesticks and form into a row. The hosts then rise to their feet and dance about, clapping their hands on their hips: they then enter the ring, and pick the sticks out of all the small heaps of earth and throw them out on one side, after which they scatter the loose soil of which the heaps are composed with their feet all over the ring, making the surface of the latter level. The whole assembly then enter the ring and dance about; the two men now descend from the *waddengahly*, and in turn perform some of their magical feats, running after the men around them after each trick. Some of their performances consist of drinking blood

out of a coolamin or large shell. Some of the other wizards of both sides then go through similar acts of jugglery.

After this, the new arrivals, accompanied by the others, walk leisurely over the ground, looking at the *yammunyamun* between the Goonaba and the Goomee. At the latter some further tricks and merrymaking may be indulged in, and then they look again over the drawings they saw yesterday. After this they return to the large ring, and dance round within it a few times, the old men of each tribe shouting out the names of a few well known places in their respective districts. They then return to the main camp, where they are received in the usual manner.

The Camp.—See the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," vol. xxiv, p. 413. The words "and Namoi," in line 37, should be struck out. There is nothing further to be added.

The Bora Ground.—See the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," vol. xxiv, pp. 413 to 418. At p. 414, all the words commencing with "These" in line 37, to the word "novices," in line 39, should be struck out.

The stumps of saplings, called *waddengahly* which were inserted in the ground with their roots upwards, mentioned in my former paper,¹ were smeared with human blood. The blood for this purpose was obtained by making small incisions with a piece of sharp flint or shell in the arms of several men, and collecting the blood in vessels as it dripped from the wounds. Scattered over the floor of the smaller circle, which is called *goonaba*, were a considerable number of small heaps of loose earth, each of which had a short stick inserted perpendicularly in the top. When welcoming a new contingent of natives these heaps were flattened down, as stated in my paper, but were restored before another contingent appeared. After the last contingent had arrived, the heaps were not again erected.

In addition to the numerous objects delineated on the Bora ground, and formerly described, there was a bower-birds'² harbour or "playhouse" close to the track and near the commencement of the carvings in the soil. This was formed by laying on the ground pieces of bone, small stones, and seeds of wild fruits, over which the tops of the tall grass was bent, in imitation of the "bowers" formed by these birds in the bush.

Preliminary Ceremonies.—See the "Journal of the Anthro-

¹ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxiv, p. 414.

² Such places are used only as "playhouses," as they are called by bushmen the bird builds its nest for breeding purposes in a tree.

pological Institute," vol. xxiv, pp. 418 to 420. At p. 418, all the words commencing with the word "Every" in line 27 to the end of the page, should be struck out. At p. 419 all the words from the head of the page to the end of line 22 should be struck out.

Almost every afternoon in fine weather the men, women, and novices painted themselves and proceeded to the large ring two or three hours before sun-down. The men started first, and were followed by the women and novices. On reaching the circle, the men gathered round it, having a weapon in each hand, such as a nulla-nulla and a boomerang, two nulla-nullas, or any two available weapons. The novices and women stood close by, the latter having green bushes in their hands. Little boys and girls who had accompanied their parents would sit down or play about a short distance off, watching the men and women.

The men, who are standing just outside the ring, each tribe being by themselves on the side next their own country, put one foot forward, resting on the embankment, swaying their bodies to and fro, and waving their arms, uttering monotonous shouts at each movement. The men of each tribe go through these motions in succession, the hosts performing first. After doing this for a few minutes each group of men step over the bank into the circle, and dance in a cluster by themselves. The men of the local tribe then call out the names of a few principal camping places or waterholes in their district. Each of the other tribes in succession also call out the names of notable places in their several countries. All the men now mix together, and the novices enter the ring and join them, all dancing round with much noisy merriment. The women now enter the ring and pluck handfuls of leaves from their green bushes, and throw them at the men as they dance round. The novices are now separated and placed by themselves sitting on the embankment, with the women beside them, and the remainder of the proceedings are practically the same as already described on the arrival of a contingent, except that the impressive ceremony at the *goonaba* is omitted.

Surrendering the Boys to the Head-men.—See the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," vol. xxiv, pages 420 to 422. At p. 420, all the words commencing with the word "The" and ending with line 30; and all the words commencing with "As" in line 35 to the end of the page should be cancelled. At p. 421 all the lines from the head of the page to line 37 should be struck out. At p. 422, all the words from line 5 to line 20 should be cancelled.

Shortly after the arrival of the last tribe who were

expected to be present, the head-men fixed the day on which the initiation of the novices should commence. In the afternoon of the day preceding the date referred to, all the people assembled at the large ring, and went through the usual performances described at pp. 15 and 16, after which the women and novices returned to the camp, and the men proceeded to the Goomee, or Baiamai's fire, to finally determine the best place for the establishment of the new camp after the assemblage should remove from the Bora ground. Several of the headmen stated their views as to what would be the most convenient locality, some advocating Collybidgelah, others supporting a site somewhere in the direction of Mogil Mogil, but after a heated argument it was decided to merely remove it above half a mile southerly from its original position. One of the men who was in favour of that site then lifted a long pole, which had been previously cut for the purpose, and raising it perpendicularly with one end resting on the ground, let it fall in the direction which had been mutually agreed upon. After which all the men danced round the goomee a number of times shouting as they went. After this they proceeded into the adjacent scrub and with their tomahawks stripped some bark which they shaped into pieces about 2 feet 6 inches long, about 4 inches at the widest end, and 2 inches at the other, so that they could be gripped in the hand; these pieces of bark, called *mungawan*, were piled one on top of the other, and placed near the Goomee, ready for use the following morning. Each man then cut a small sapling or rod, resembling a whip-stick about 6 feet long, which they carried back to the large ring, within which they danced round with the sticks in their hands, the old men of each tribe shouting out the names of a few important water-holes or other remarkable places in their respective districts. They next formed in a group in the middle of the ring, with their heads down, shouting "po-o-oh!" they then all raised their heads and held up the sticks, pointing in the direction decided upon for the new camp, shouting as they did so. All the men then went to the margin of the ring and threw their sticks outside, all in one heap, lying parallel with each other, with one end pointing towards the proposed camp. Leaving the sticks where they fell, the men returned to the camp and were received by the women and novices in the way described before. Almost immediately a few of the men pretended to dispute about something, and the other men ran up to them making a noise with their mouth like pir-r-r, and other sounds. As soon as the women who had attended other Bora gatherings heard these sounds, they knew that the camp was about to be broken up, and commenced droning their bobbarubwar songs in

a very melancholy strain, as if sorry that the carnival was at an end.

All the people then packed up their things and started for the large circle, carrying with them sufficient water for use during the night and following morning; they camped contiguous to the ring, each tribe occupying the side facing their respective districts. When the camp had been arranged, the initiated men went away to the Goomee, where the head-men selected those to act as the *Koorinal* or band of warriors who were to accompany the novices and their guardians into the bush, and to assist the chief men to carry out all the formalities of initiation. The men who were to use the bull-roarers, and the *mungawans*, at the circle next morning were also chosen from among the *Koorinal*. Having made these arrangements the men returned to the women at the large ring, and during the evening a corroboree took place, after which the women and novices lay down to sleep. Some of the men then went into the adjacent scrub and imitated the quacking of the wood-duck, after which they went up a tree and commenced chopping with their tomahawks as if cutting out a native bees' nest. Promiscuous intercourse with the women is always permitted on this final night at the circle, and consequently some of the men were going about through the camp the greater part of the night.

During the night the men who had been chosen for the *Koorinal* and the *mungawans* left the camp unobserved by the women and novices, and proceeded to the Goomee, where they remained until the morning. At daylight one of them sounded the bull-roarer, which was responded to by the people at the camp; the women singing *bobbarubwar*, and the men raised the customary shout. Some of the men and women then proceeded to cut forks and boughs and erected a bush fence around outside the ring, about 2 feet distant from the embankment—the fence extending about two-thirds of the circumference, leaving the side from which the track, *thunburran*, issued unfenced. During this time the novices were being painted in the camp, each tribe decorating their own boys; but in this matter the class distinctions have to be complied with. For example, one of the novices is an *Ippai* Carpet-snake; a guardian is selected for him from among the men of the *Kubbi* class, but of a totem different to his own. This man and his sister *Kubbitha* then paint the novice. He is first painted all over with raddle and grease, giving him a shiny red colour, on top of which a few stripes of white are added about the face and chest, in accordance with his tribal device, having also birds' feathers inserted in his hair. The other boys would be

decorated in a similar manner; an Ippai and his sister Ippatha would paint a Kubbi novice; a Murri and his sister Matha would paint a Kumbo; and a Kumbo and his sister Butha would paint a Murri boy. When the painting of the novices was completed, they were taken and placed sitting on the earthen embankment, with their feet outside—the group of boys belonging to each tribe sitting on that side of the circle which faced the direction of their *taurai* or country—their heads being covered with blankets. The mothers of the boys were placed lying on the ground on the other side of the bush fence, each mother being opposite to her son, with her head towards him; the other women and the children being a little way farther back. Each woman lies on her side, with her elbow on the ground, and her head resting on her hand, with her eyes towards the ground. They were then covered over with rugs, blankets and bushes to prevent them from seeing what was about to take place, and a few men with spears in their hands, deputed to watch them.

During the time that these preparations were going on at the large circle, the *Koorringal* were also at work at the *Goomee*, painting their bodies with powdered charcoal or burnt grass, mixed with grease, which gave them an intense black colour. They also cut long narrow strips of brigalow bark for the purpose of disguising themselves in the manner to be stated presently; only the white inner bark was used, the rough outside being scraped off.

When all the arrangements had been completed the sound of the bull-roarer was heard in the direction of Baiamai's ground, and the men at the camp stood in a semi-circle outside of the ring, beating together two nulla-nullas, or any other two weapons which happened to be at hand. One of the head-men then called out in his own language "Here he comes,"—others shouted "Go away," as if addressing Dhuramoolan. A number of men were now seen coming along the track from the direction of the *Goomee*, and entered the circle and ran round inside the bank, beating the ground with the pieces of bark (*mungawans*) before described. They had a mungawan in each hand, with which they forcibly struck the ground alternately at every step, but uttered no other sound. Having gone round the circle two or three times, they ran away noiselessly along the track to the *Goomee*. As soon as they had gone, some of the men standing round picked up firesticks, and threw them into the ring, scattering the embers about, for the purpose of making the women believe Dhuramoolan had done this when he came for the novices. There were also two men one on each side of the circle vigorously swinging bull-roarers,—when these two men

became giddy, caused by turning round, others took their places. Amid the terrific and deafening din made by the rattling of weapons, and the weird noise of the bull-roarers, the guardians advanced and caught their respective novices by the arm above the elbow, and lifted them to their feet. The boys were strictly enjoined to hold their heads down, and their arms close by their sides. The rugs were now taken off their heads, and they were marched away by their guardians along the track, followed by the men with the bull-roarers.

When the guardians and novices got out of sight, the covering was removed from the women and children, and they were permitted to rise. On looking all around, and seeing the fire scattered about, and the boys gone, they gave vent to their feelings in the usual native fashion. The fathers and relatives of the boys, and some other men not immediately connected with the ceremonies, packed up their things and started away after the novices. The women and children, assisted by a number of the men who remained with them, now packed up, and removed the camp about half a mile southerly from its former¹ position—each tribe selecting their quarters on the side towards their own country. It is imperative, according to ancient tribal custom, to remove the camp to a new site after the boys have been taken away.

Departure of the Boys.—See the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," vol. xxiv, pages 422 to 424. At p. 422 all the words after "About" in line 21 to the word "circle" in line 31 should be cancelled. At p. 423, the words commencing with "During" in line 12, and ending with "hunt" in line 15; the words "and boys" in line 22; and all the lines from line 26 to the end of the page, should be struck out. At p. 424, the first two lines should be cancelled, and also lines 27 to 31 inclusive.

In the meantime, the guardians had taken the novices away along the track, their eyes being cast upon the ground at their feet, and on reaching a clear space near the commencement of the *yammunyamun*, they were made to lie on the ground face downwards, with their arms close by their sides—their guardians standing near them. While the boys were lying here, the men of the Koorungal, who used the *mungawans*, had time to put on the strips of white bark previously prepared; these were tied across their faces—diagonally across their bodies, and also around their arms and legs. Being thus disguised, they went to where the novices were lying, and on approaching, the guardians clapped their hands on their hips to prevent the novices from hearing them coming. The novices were then ordered to rise to their feet and look at the hideous figures standing before

them. These men, who are called *binnialowee*, now stepped up close to the boys and commenced to dance and wave their arms up and down shouting *pir-r-r*. The boys' faces were now turned the other way, and the guardians again clapped their hands on their hips to allow the *binnialowee* to get away without being heard. Two men now emerged from the scrub a short distance on one side of the pathway, each of whom carried in his left hand a smoking firestick and in his right a boomerang, shouting like *Ah-h-ow!* and other sounds. On coming within 30 or 40 yards they rushed a few steps towards the boys, and threw each a boomerang over the heads of the latter; they did not come up to lift the boomerangs from where they fell, but immediately went away in the direction from which they had come. A bull-roarer was then sounded and the boys were conducted to the *Goomee*, with their eyes cast down upon the ground at their feet. One of the guardians then pretended to see something in the direction of the sun, and said to the novices, "Can you see the bees' nest in that tree over there; they are going in and out of a hole in the top branch." The boys all turned their eyes in the direction indicated, endeavouring to see the object, until told to look down at some men on the other side of the *Goomee* fire. These men, who also belong to the Koorinal, and are called *millunga*, were crouching down with their buttocks resting on their heels, and their elbows on their knees; they were painted jet black and were pulling down their lower eyelids with their hands, and staring fiercely at the novices. The sun having momentarily impaired the vision of the latter when looking towards the sky, they could not see very clearly, which caused the *millunga* to appear all the more unearthly and demoniacal. Having looked at these men for a little while, the novices were taken away with their heads bowed down, about 300 or 400 yards, and were placed sitting on the ground. During this brief delay the Koorinal left the *Goomee*, and went on a short distance ahead, each man cutting a leafy bough; they then crouched down in a cluster, each one holding his bough in front of him, in such a manner that nothing but a heap of bushes was visible when viewed from that direction. The novices were then brought on with their heads down, and placed standing in a row in front of the bushes, which the men kept shaking as if blown about in a gale. The boys were now directed to look, and two of the head-men, who accompanied them, Jack Bagot and Cowbail Billy, stood out, and one said to the other, "Can you tell me what this is?" The reply was, "You are older than I am—you ought to know best." The first man then struck the ground with his nulla-nulla and called out "Dhurraboolbool!" The Koorinal immediately

threw down the boughs and sprang to their feet, shouting, jumping, and waving their arms up and down in regular time for several minutes.

The guardians then marched the novices away with their heads bent and their eyes cast down as before. On proceeding a short distance, the boys were brought to a stand, and the *murrawan* was sounded in the forest behind them. The guardians now clapped their hands and told the boys to run ahead about 20 or 30 yards and stand still; they were then told to run on about the same distance, and stand again. The guardians now gave each boy two or three nulla-nullas for the purpose of joining in hunting wallabies and other game. The boys were in this way liberated from having to gaze upon the ground, and were now allowed to hold their heads up and look in any direction except behind them. The whole company travelled on in this way, the Koorungal walking a short distance behind the guardians, whilst the relatives of the novices and others were in the rear. On nearing a certain waterhole in the bush the boys were brought to a stand, the nulla-nullas taken from them, and they were directed to resume their former attitude of looking only at their feet. Arriving at the waterhole all their accoutrements were laid down, and the Koorungal performed a corroboree, each man hopping along on one leg, keeping time with each other. After this the journey towards the camping place was resumed, the boys being liberated in the usual manner, and a few nulla-nullas given to each after they had gone about 150 yards from the waterhole. The *murrawan* was occasionally sounded by the Koorungal who were walking behind; sometimes a dog's ear was pulled to make him howl, for the purpose of inducing the boys to believe that Dhuramoolan was coming along behind them. On their arrival at Mungaroo a camp was formed as described by me in a previous paper to this Institute.¹ The boys were placed in the yard made for them, and at nightfall food was taken to them by some of the guardians. About an hour afterwards the novices were brought to the men's camp and placed lying on the ground, their heads being covered with blankets. The Koorungal then raised a peculiar weird shout at intervals. This shouting, called *Bungaroo*, is instituted for the purpose of guiding to this camp in the bush any strange blacks who may have arrived at the main camp that day.

Supposing, for example, that a contingent having a few boys to be initiated were a day too late, and on their arrival had found that the main camp had broken up that morning, and that the old men had taken the novices away into the bush; the women and children of such a contingent would proceed to

¹ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxiv, p. 422.

the new camp, and join the other tribes, but some of the men would take the novices and start out after the Koorungal. They would not come up to the camp, but would stop for the night somewhere out of sight, perhaps half a mile or a mile away, at some place where there was water, and on hearing the *bungaroo* shout, they would reply to it. These salutes would be repeated perhaps several times. Early next morning a few of the strangers would approach the camp carrying in one hand a smoky stick, and in the other a boomerang, and uttering a series of short shouts. The Koorungal, guardians and novices would then stand out, and the new comers after rushing up near them, would retire and go back to their comrades. In a short time they would return, bringing with them their novices, who are put into the bough yard with the others, who know nothing of the new arrivals until placed amongst them. The guardians who would accompany the new boys would join the other guardians, and the other men would attach themselves to the Koorungal. No such contingent joined the camp at Mungaroo, but the formality of the *bungaroo* had to be complied with, in accordance with ancient usage.

At daylight next morning the boys were taken from the men's camp to their own yard, where breakfast was subsequently brought to them by the guardians. After breakfast, men and boys started out hunting, which was kept up the greater part of the day, provisions having run very short on account of the previous day having been so much pre-occupied by the breaking up ceremonies. During the afternoon the boys were called together and were placed standing with their eyes cast down. The Koorungal came up behind them and climbed trees, catching hold of the branches and imitating the posture and noise of locusts. The novices were then turned round and told to look. In a short time the men came down out of the trees and walked along the ground on their hands and feet mimicking locusts. The two old men then interrogated each other as to what animal was meant, and one of them struck the ground with his nulla-nulla, and shouted out "*Ngadalla*" (locusts). The backs of the novices were turned towards the Koorungal for a few minutes, and when they were again told to look round they saw the Koorungal lying on top of each other in a heap called *boballai*, which I will endeavour to describe. Supposing there are 20 men in the Koorungal; first about 9 or 10 of them would get down on the ground on their knees and elbows, as close together as they could lie,—then about half a dozen more men would lie on top of these, and the remainder on top of the second lot. A groaning noise is kept up by the men during the time they are in the heap. Most of the positions and gestures are very obscene,

and some of them disgusting. This tableau is enacted at the conclusion of most of the pantomimic performances and dances in the bush. The usual inquiries were exchanged between the old men as to the name of the scene before them, when one hits the earth with his *nulla-nulla*, and called out "*Boballai babiabbi*." During the rest of the afternoon, the men separated into two or three detachments, each lot of guardians and their novices going in different directions in pursuit of game. Each detachment of novices on their return to the camp were put into the bough yard. After supper, two or three small fires were lighted on the side of a clear space near the men's camp, and the novices were brought out of their yard and placed standing on one side. The Koorinal now passed along the clear space in a crouching attitude, jumping and shaking their arms; the leader of the band as well as the man in the rear had each a piece of string, the ends of which they held in their hands, having the middle between their teeth. This string was drawn from side to side through their teeth, the operators making a low noise with their mouth, which was repeated by the other dancers who had no string. As soon as all the actors had passed into the darkness, they returned, repeating the performance a few times, and at the conclusion the old man called out "*Warringun*." The evening's amusements were brought to a close by the tableau of *boballai*, and the boys were returned to their yard, where a few of the guardians remained with them until bedtime. At bedtime the murrawan was sounded in the adjacent forest, and the boys were brought out of their yard to the guardian's camp, where they slept all night. At daylight the following morning they were again returned to their own yard.

Having fully detailed the procedure for one day, it will be sufficient to state that during the remainder of the stay at this camp, one or more pantomimic performances were gone through every day, some represented hunting incidents, others animals, and others corroborees. At the camp fire the doctors or wizards generally went through some of their tricks of jugglery, such as bringing up out of their mouths pieces of quartz, crystal and other substances. On the last night or two at this camp some of the old men sang Baiamai's song, the words of which, with other native chants, may be given by me on a future occasion. In order to obtain food they went out hunting every day, bringing back to the camp game of various kinds, wild honey, roots, &c.

When the novices were being escorted by their guardians to and from the yard, they had to keep their eyes cast upon the ground. When leaving the camp in the morning, or returning to it in the evening, they were guarded in the same way, and

even when in the yard they were not allowed to raise their heads. During the whole period from the morning on which they were taken from their mothers until they were shown the bull-roarer, they were not allowed to ask any questions or even to speak. If they want anything they had to make signs to their guardians. So rigorous was the surveillance exercised over them that they did not know who was at the men's camp, although the fathers of some of the boys were amongst the company. Among other reasons for keeping the boys in a yard by themselves at the camp, it serves the purpose of preventing them from hearing any of the discussions which take place between the Koorungal and the guardians as to the programme of performances for the next day. The novices know absolutely nothing of what is going to be done, or where they are going; they have simply to do what they are told. As a rule a new camp is reached every night, but on the present occasion, Mungaroo was the only good camping ground available, and therefore most of the time was spent there.

The ceremonies at Mungaroo occupied about a week, at the end of which the camp was broken up, and the return journey towards the new camp at Gundabluni was commenced. On reaching a waterhole in the scrub about a mile from Gundabluni, the men laid down their burdens, and lit a fire for the purpose of camping for the night. The boys were then taken away a short distance into the adjacent forest and were placed sitting down with their backs towards Gundabluni. Two old men then appeared, holding a small bush in each hand. Each man then brought his hands together, in front of him in such a manner that the two bushes hid his head and chest. The leafy end of the bush in one hand was held upwards, and in the other downwards, so that when placed side by side they presented a mass of leaves only. The men marched on in this way, and the novices were told to rise to their feet and look at them. On getting within 20 or 30 yards, they threw down the boughs, and rushed up quite close to the boys, and stood still. The guardians then turned the faces of the novices in the other direction, and the two men went away to the new camp at Gundabluni, and informed the women that the boys would be brought back the following morning.

A few of the principal old women then mustered all the females in the camp, not including the little girls, and drove them into a waterhole in the Moonie river, where they swam about and washed themselves. When they came out of the water they returned to the camp, and danced and sang bobbarubwar.

Shortly after the two men started away, the Koorungal formed

a semi-circle behind the boys, who were placed standing in a row with their eyes cast down. Two men with bull-roarers then went out into some clear ground in front of the novices and commenced loudly sounding these instruments. The boys were now directed to look at the two men, and were told that all similar noises that they had ever heard were made in this way. Several of the Koorungal then walked in front of the boys, with uplifted tomahawks in their hands, and told them that if ever they divulged this, or any of the other performances, which they had seen in the bush, to the women or the uninitiated, they would be killed. The murruwans were then given into the hands of the novices, and they were invited to inspect them. The guardians next invested each novice with the belt, kilt, and other articles of a man's dress. They were now admitted to the status of manhood, and were not kept under any further restraint. About half an hour after this, the Koorungal all went into the waterhole and washed the black paint off their bodies; the novices did not wash.

That night, after supper, a number of the men, accompanied by the neophytes, who are now called *tuggabillas*, started for the place where the new camp had been erected. On nearing the place the boys belonging to each tribe separated into groups, and each group then approached that side of the camp in which it was known their mothers would be located. Some of the men accompanied each detachment of boys, and upon arriving in proximity to their own side of the camp, one of the men ascended a tree and gave a peculiar shout. His voice was recognised by his female acquaintances in the camp, who answered him. Each boy now shouted in succession and was answered by his mother. During this time a bull-roarer was being sounded at the butt of the tree. The other detachments of boys, and the men who accompanied them, shouted in a similar manner, adjacent to their mothers' quarters, and were answered in the same way. The women then took burning sticks off the fire and waved them in the air. After this ceremony the men and *tuggabillas* returned to their comrades out at the waterhole in the bush.

While the boys were away at the women's camp, two or three of the men at the waterhole had climbed different trees overhanging the camping place, and remained quietly hidden among the branches. The old men, and the fathers of the *tuggabillas*, now proceeded to give the latter a new name. The Kumbo men gave names to the Kubbi boys, the Murris named the Ippais, the Kubbis named the Kumbos, and the Ippais named the Murri boys. Until now the boys have been called by the name which their parents gave them when they were children

When they go back to the camp their mothers will be told that Dhuramoolan gave them the new name. The neophytes were then forbidden to eat the flesh of certain animals as stated in my former paper.¹ There were amongst the company some young men who had been initiated at previous Boras, and these now asked the old men to free them from certain restrictions as to food which had been imposed upon them at the Boras referred to. At the end of these ceremonies, or perhaps at intervals during the time they were going on, the men in the trees made noises like opossums, and micturated down upon the ground in imitation of these animals. They then descended from the trees uttering exclamations of regret that the Bora festival had terminated. All hands then lay down at their camp fire to rest for the night.

The following morning after breakfast the men and boys had the ends of their hair singed with small blazing pieces of stick²; the hair on their faces and other parts of their bodies being singed off altogether. The boys who had been kept painted red all over, during the whole of the time they had been in the bush, now had in addition, white stripes drawn diagonally across their bodies from the direction of each shoulder, and also lines of white on their arms and legs. They were likewise decorated in their newly acquired full dress of a man. The men were painted with red stripes from the waist downwards, and from the elbows to the hands. All men and boys had feathers of the eagle, hawk or swan fixed in their hair. A start was then made for the new camp, and one of the men went ahead to report that the boys would shortly arrive.

Return of the boys.—See the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," vol. xxiv, pages 424 to 427. At p. 424, all the lines commencing with the word "The" in line 10, and ending with the word "come," in line 35, should be struck out.

A bough-yard, *thurrawanga*, had been erected near the new camp, as stated in my former paper on this subject.³ Around the outside of the convex end of this yard logs of wood had been laid, on which the novices would have to stand. Within this yard the mothers of the guardians and Koorinal had placed their yam-sticks around near the fence, about 2 or 3 feet from it, each stick having some article belonging to the owner attached to it, in order that the men might recognise them. The yam-sticks of the Dil'bi women were on one side of the yard and those of the Kup'athin women on the other.

The men and women belonging to the new camp, who are called

¹ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxiv, p. 426.

² "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxiv, p. 424.

³ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxiv, pp. 424, 425.

collectively *moo'eemalla*, mustered near the bough yard some time after breakfast, and had bushes cut ready to lay over the women and children. When the messenger arrived stating that the men and boys were coming in from the bush, the women were placed lying down around the outside of the convex end of the yard, and were covered with rugs and bushes; the mothers of the novices, or those women acting in their stead, being nearest the fence with their heads against the logs before mentioned. As far as practicable, these women were placed on the side of the yard nearest their respective districts. The other women and the children were lying down a few yards farther away from the yard. When all was ready at the bough yard, a shout or signal was given, and the Koorungal, guardians and neophytes approached in single file, a bull-roarer being sounded by one of the *mooeemalla* men somewhere in the adjacent scrub. The Koorungal and guardians, carrying nothing in their hands, entered the yard and sat down on the ground behind the yam-sticks of their own or tribal mothers. Each boy was taken by the men to the outside of the enclosure and placed standing beside his mother on the log against which her head was resting. These arrangements are all carried out quickly, so as not to keep the women and children covered up too long. While the women are covered up, some of the men may pick up one or two of the little children, who cannot speak, and put a few marks of paint on them, to make the women believe that Dhuramoolan did it. When they were all in their places, the covering was taken off the mothers, who stood up with their heads bowed, and their eyes cast on the ground at their feet; each mother standing in this position, then held up her arms, and rubbed her hands on her son's breast and shoulders, symbolical of rubbing the red paint off him. Neither of them spoke. The boys then ran away to a camp, which had been prepared for them 150 yards southerly from the new camp.¹ The mothers turn their backs to the boys so as not to see them running away. The boys are not allowed to look behind them as they run.

All the women were then uncovered, and advancing, they pulled down the boughs forming the yard. The men rose to their feet and danced in the middle of the space within the yam-sticks, uttering guttural sounds or low shouts, the women standing all round them.

The women then took the men to a convenient place near the camp and divided them into Dilbi and Kupathin groups. Fires were then lighted on the windward side of them, and green bushes laid on the fire to produce a dense smoke, which

¹ "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," xxiv, p. 425.

curled up around the men. The Dilbi women smoked the Dilbi men, and the Kupathin women the Kupathin men. This smoking only lasted a short time, after which the men went away to the boys' camp.

That night the neophytes, accompanied by some of the men, went close to the women's camp, and sounded the bull-roarers. The following day the boys, carrying in their hands a firestick, wrapped in green bushes to cause a smoke, were brought up to the women's camp, a bull-roarer being sounded somewhere out of sight. Some men walked behind the boys, throwing pieces of bark at them. The boys were placed sitting on a log, divided into groups according to their classes. The women, painted with a few stripes of red and white, were there, and proceeded to smoke the boys in the same manner as the men had been smoked the day before. The boys then went back to their own camp.

In a few days' time the boys were brought up to the women's camp and were smoked again in the same manner. The mothers tell their sons that when they wish to take a wife they must select a woman in accordance with the class and totem laws of the tribe. The women then go up close to the boys, and catching hold of them, put their mouths to their ears and sing out "*coor-r-r*." This concludes the initiation ceremonies, but the boys are kept under the surveillance of their guardians and the old men for some time after their return to their own districts.¹

Conclusion.—The information contained in the preceding pages is entirely new, and is now published for the first time. Some omissions and errors of detail are almost necessarily incident to all original work of this character, but it is hoped that if any have been made in the present paper they will be found to be unimportant. Although I have made my descriptions of the various parts of the ceremonies as short as I could consistently with the clear exposition of the subject, this paper has already exceeded the limits I had assigned to it. It has not been thought necessary, or indeed desirable, at the present stage of the investigation, to enter upon the *raison d'être* of the ceremonies, or to discuss the meaning of the different performances which have been referred to. It is proposed to leave this part of the subject to be dealt with in a future article, and in the meantime I shall avail myself of every opportunity to extend my researches and collect further details in connection with the initiation ceremonies of the Australian aborigines.

¹ "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," xxiv, p. 426.