

## The Ainu *Inao*; Some Comparative Considerations

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Much has been written about the *inao* or "shaved sticks" used in the religious cult of the Ainu of Hokkaido and Sakhalin; and now that the Ainu culture is virtually extinct, it might seem that there is nothing more to be said on this subject. However, until recently, most of the studies about this ritual accessory were strictly ethnographic, that is to say descriptive in terms of the Ainu culture itself. Comparisons were generally made only with obviously related phenomena of immediately neighboring Siberian peoples. No serious attempt was made to view this phenomenon within the wider framework of general cultural history.

It was not until 1960 that Taryō Ōbayashi, for the first time, attempted to establish the place of the Ainu *inao* within such a wider framework, comparing it with similar phenomena in various remote cultures, including, notably, those of several American Indian tribes. As well as I understand Professor Ōbayashi's paper, his comparisons were based mainly upon similarity of function — thus for example he compared the Ainu *inao* with the so-called "prayer sticks" of various American Indian tribes, such as the *baho* of the Pueblos and more or less similar objects among the Cora and Huichol of western Mexico.

My purpose in the present paper is to expand the range of comparisons in a somewhat different way, not so much on the basis of function as rather primarily on that of form, and especially with respect to the *shavings*, which constitute the most obvious morphological peculiarity of the *inao*. For it has been my experience that in material culture (more or less as in language), forms tend to persist even when meanings change. Accordingly I shall attempt to determine the distribution in the world of *shaved sticks*, rather than of *prayer-sticks* — in the hope that the contemplation of such analogies may also, like Professor Ōbayashi's observations, contribute to a better understanding of the *inao*.

For this purpose I shall consider ethnographic material from three areas: the central United States, Southeast Asia, and Australia. Finally I shall offer for consideration a certain class of apparently symbolic motifs from prehistoric times in the Old World, which I think may provide a clue to the conceptual origin of these various modern phenomena.

The occurrence of *inao*-like objects in the central United States has already been mentioned by Professor Ōbayashi. The evidence, though very limited, is nevertheless very interesting. "Shaved sticks" were placed upon the graves of deceased warriors, evidently as memorials, by two Algonkian tribes, the Menomini (Figs. 1 and 3) and the Potawatomi (Fig. 2), in a limited area in Wisconsin, and (so far as I know) nowhere else in the New World. Red bands, said to represent blood, were painted around the sticks in the intervals between the bunches of shavings. According to Indian explanations, these so-called "brave sticks" were placed at the graves in order to help the souls of the deceased warriors to join their ancestors in the

Afterworld.<sup>1</sup> Like Professor Ōbayashi, I suspect that this tradition must be very old; and that even if it occurs only in a very small area in the New World, it must be ultimately of Asiatic origin, and related somehow to the tradition of the Ainu *inao*.

The area of Southeast Asia, on the other hand, is very rich in phenomena comparable to the Ainu *inao*; and the relations seem to be not only morphological but often functional and conceptual as well. Here again, I am not the first to observe analogies with the *inao*. More than sixty years ago the French Japanologist, Claude Maitre,<sup>2</sup> mentioned the resemblance between the Ainu *inao* and certain "shaved sticks" of Borneo. However, it seems that Maitre did not pursue the matter, beyond casual mention of it; and he published no illustrations. Nor, so far as I know, have the Southeast Asiatic analogies for the Ainu *inao* been explored by any one else. And yet they are worthy of much more careful attention.

Actually, "shaved sticks" more or less like the *inao* occur not only in Borneo, as mentioned by Maitre, but also in the Philippines, and quite extensively throughout large parts of continental Southeast Asia, among peoples whose ethnography was perhaps little known in Maitre's time. I show you here a shaved stick from the Lisu of the upper Salween valley (Fig. 4), together with a specimen from the Tinguian of northern Luzon in the Philippines (Fig. 5). About the Lisu sticks I have been able to learn only that they were set up at the entrances of villages "to ward off evil spirits,"<sup>3</sup> and though I have no information about the function of the four prongs split into the top of the stick, it may be inferred, from the function of many similar devices throughout Southeast Asia, that these prongs were destined to receive a sacrificial offering. This is certainly true of the fringed canes of the Tinguian, the split tops of which served to hold leaves dipped in the blood of sacrificed animals. These canes were then placed at the doors of houses in the Tinguian village.

But it is in Borneo that we find probably the most elaborate development and widespread use of "shaved sticks," in a variety of sizes, forms and functions — some of which are of special interest for comparison with the *inao* of the Ainu. To begin with, I show you an example (Fig. 6) of the type of shaved stick most commonly encountered in Borneo — one with its top split into four prongs holding an egg as an offering. This specimen was made by the Penan, a partially nomadic tribe of the Sarawak interior; but the type is widespread among various ethnic groups throughout the island. Figure 7 shows a pole of much larger dimensions, with exceptionally elaborate shavings. It was one of many shaved poles and sticks of various types set up before the house of a sick man on the Tinjar River in Sarawak in order to cure him of fever.<sup>4</sup>

In Figs. 8 and 9 you see how these shaved sticks with split tops holding eggs were often combined in arrangements more or

ess reminiscent of the groves of fences of *inao* called *nusá* by the Ainu. In Borneo, it is not only eggs which serve as sacrificial offerings in the split tops of shaved sticks, but sometimes, we are told, bits of rice, or even chickens or small pigs, as you see them in Figs. 10 and 11.

In some parts of Southeast Asia, the split top of the shaved tick is greatly elaborated: thus among the Mru of the Chittagong Hill Tracts of East Pakistan (Fig. 12), and especially among the Marma, a little farther to the north, who insert a sacrificial platform between the four split ends of the bamboo tick (Fig. 13). It is interesting to observe that this Marma altar is one of a pair, dedicated respectively to the "grandmother" and the "grandfather" of the rice harvest; and that these "male" and "female" sticks are differentiated by the shape of their pointed bottoms which are stuck into the ground — the female tick having a single point (bevelled from one side), the male tick having a double point (bevelled from opposite sides), so as to represent a pair of legs. (Do not the Ainu also have "male" and "female" *inao*, differentiated by certain variations of cutting?) About the anthropomorphism of shaved sticks I shall have more to say in a moment. For the record, it may be added that shaved sticks also occur among the Khumi of Arakan and of the Chittagong Hill Tracts;<sup>5</sup> and that an instance is recorded of their being erected around a place of human sacrifice in Tipperah, at the northern extremity of the Bay of Bengal.<sup>6</sup> To my knowledge, the northwesternmost occurrence of the ritual use of "shaved sticks" in Southeast Asia is in connection with a buffalo-sacrifice practiced by the Dafla tribes of the Assam Himalayas<sup>7</sup> — thus roughly in the same latitude with the Lisu of the Salween River, but much farther to the west.<sup>8</sup>

As you have seen, an important feature of most of the Southeast Asiatic and Indonesian shaved sticks which I have showed you is the splitting of the top to make a receptacle for a sacrifice. Though this feature seems, at first sight, to have no counterpart among any of the Ainu *inao*, it is nevertheless, I think, an important index of relationship between the "shaved ticks" of the two regions. For there are at least two types of the Ainu *inao*, called, I believe, the *chehorokakep* and the *numba shutu inao*, which are similarly split at the top; and even though the receptacle thus formed is relatively modest in size, it also served to hold a sacrificial offering, namely a libation of beer or sake. According to Batchelor, this split receptacle was made to hold the lees of millet beer, at the time of the first brewing.<sup>9</sup> In one other type of *inao* described by Batchelor (the *hikappo-chikomesup* or "little carved birds"), bits of food were placed in the split tops.<sup>10</sup> Even though the split receptacles at the tops of these *inao* are much smaller and less conspicuous than the corresponding feature of the shaved sticks in Southeast Asia, it is obvious that their function is essentially the same; and I think it may be reasonably concluded from this evidence that the "shaved sticks" in these two widely separated areas are in fact basically related. If this is so, then it might perhaps be further concluded that at least those Ainu *inao* which have split tops for offerings are rudimentary survivals of a type whose more original form we recognize in Southeast Asia and Indonesia — though this is a question which can perhaps be properly decided only within the framework of a more extensive consideration of the origins of Ainu culture as a whole.

Another respect in which the "shaved sticks" of Southeast Asia, and more especially perhaps those of Borneo, show resemblance to the Ainu *inao* is their anthropomorphism, and more particularly their prosopomorphism, that is to say their representation of a human face. Here again, perhaps, the *inao* of the Ainu appear to be regressive, at least in so far as their anthropomorphism is relatively unnaturalistic, being as a rule merely implied by notches or *itokpa*, whose resemblance to various parts of the human body or features of the human face is purely schematic. More obviously anthropomorphic are certain *inao* of the Gilyaks, and especially of the Oroks, who are, or were, neighbors of the Ainu on Sakhalin. In the following illustrations two prosopomorphic *inaos* of the Sakhalin Oroks (Figs. 16 and 18) are juxtaposed with prosopomorphic "shaved sticks" of the Penan on the island of Borneo (Figs. 17 and 19). It may be noted that the two Orok *inaos* are differentiated as "male" and "female" by the shapes of their heads. The resemblance of these *inao* to the shaved sticks of the Penan of Borneo is of course obvious; and it seems to me that, taken together with the evidence of the split top to hold offerings, such anthropomorphism must be regarded as further evidence of relationship between the ritual shaved sticks of Northeast and Southeast Asia.

The two carvings shown in Figs. 20 and 21 were made by the Senoi-Semai of Pahang in Malaya, as representations of the spirits or demons of certain sicknesses. They are of special interest to us because the shavings here clearly represent the upper limbs of the figures — for it is, I think, human limbs which were originally represented by the shavings on the Ainu *inao*. These Malayan images might, then, be regarded as archaic or prototypic in relation to the *inao*.

There is much more to be said about Southeast Asiatic analogies for the Ainu *inao*; but as time is limited, I turn now to a brief consideration of shaved sticks in Australia. Here again, the striking resemblance between the Ainu *inao* and such sticks used ritually by the Australian aborigines has already been noticed by others, especially by Sternberg, and most recently by Leonhard Adam.<sup>11</sup> The picture here is quite different from that in Southeast Asia and Indonesia. In Australia there are no split tops for the insertion of sacrifices, and there is no anthropomorphism. Moreover, so far as I have been able to learn, the Australian shaved sticks are not stuck into the ground, as in the New World and in Northeast and Southeast Asia, but rather into the headbands of dancers, more especially upon the occasion of certain rituals of vengeance, for a death presumably caused by the sorcery of a member of another tribe (Figs. 22, 23). As for possible parallels in Northeast Asia, though there is no direct evidence, so far as I know, that these Ainu ever wore *inao* in the hair, like the Australians, they do of course have the custom of wearing loose shavings in their headbands upon certain ceremonial occasions; and there is an early report of one Ainu image, a kind of doll made of bundles of shavings, as shown in Fig. 25, which had six small *inao* stuck into the head as a kind of headdress.<sup>12</sup> From this evidence it is perhaps permissible to conclude that, at least in former times, *inao* were sometimes also worn in the hair by the Ainu, as is now done by the Australians (though of course not for the same purpose). An elaborate Australian "vengeance-taker's" headdress composed entirely of shaved sticks is shown in Fig. 26; and in Fig. 27 is reproduced a pair of illustrations showing an ancestor effigy evidently made of bundled sticks or grasses from northwestern Australia, with *inao*-like ornaments around the head.

As a matter of fact, it is more difficult to envisage a relation between the "shaved sticks" of Australia and the Ainu *inao* than between the Ainu *inao* and similar objects in Southeast Asia, where the relation is more obvious and apparently more direct. At any rate, the use of shaved sticks in Australia is quite different from their use in Southeast or Northeast Asia. (Is it closer, conceptually and functionally, to the "brave-sticks" of the Menomini and Potawatomi?) However these matters may eventually be explained, shaved sticks do have a wide distribution in Australia, and this suggests that their tradition is probably very old on the continent. In the absence of more detailed ethnographic and comparative studies, it might perhaps be concluded, tentatively, that the Australian phenomena represent an early stratum, or at least the remnant of an early stratum, of the same tradition of which we recognize a later phase in the usages common to Southeast and Northeast Asia.

This would bring us, logically, to the problem of prehistoric origins of the shaved stick; since it is generally believed that the Australian aborigines preserve, in many respects, a prehistoric way of life. Nevertheless, the fact remains that it is the Asiatic phenomena, rather than the Australian, for which we seem to find the most plausible antecedents in prehistory. Accordingly I shall attempt to arrive at a better understanding of the conceptual implications of the modern Asiatic objects before approaching the problem of the prehistoric origin of the type. The most important clue to the prehistoric origin of these objects is, in my opinion, to be seen in their *anthropomorphism*. And this can, I believe, be best understood in the sense that the *inao* represents an *anthropomorphic tree*, which is in fact (or at least in my own theory) really a *family tree*, that is to say the representation or symbolization of a genealogy. In terms of this image, the shavings of the *inao* would represent the *multiple limbs of a succession of ancestors on the family tree*. The shaved stick is thus, or would have been originally, the symbol of an invocation to the ancestral spirits: the more shavings, the more ancestors; and the more ancestors, the more help.

If, as I think, the *inao* does indeed ultimately represent a kind of "family tree," then it becomes of interest to observe that there are in fact many indications of the conceptual equivalence of the *inao* with trees. One of the clearest of these is provided by a practice of the Oroks, as reported by Wada. These

neighbors of the Ainu, who make their *inao*, as you have just seen, in the form of a human figure with a clearly represented face, also have the custom of carving exactly the same kind of face, in larger scale, on a living "holy tree," at such a height that the lowest branches of the tree appear as the limbs of a human body under the head carved on the trunk.<sup>13</sup> From this circumstance it is obvious that the shavings of the Orok *inao* are equivalent to the limbs of such a tree; and I think that the same inference must be extended to the *inao* of the Ainu, in the sense that the shavings on them represent (as I have already proposed) artificially multiplied limbs, not only of a tree but at the same time of a human figure. In other words, the Ainu *inao* are in fact *miniature anthropomorphic trees*, which can only be understood, in the final analysis, as personified *family trees*, symbolic of the ramifications of a social group.

It would, then, be quite natural, and even automatic, that the genealogical symbol of the tree or its branching should serve also as a symbol of the social group itself: the tribe, clan, or family. It is this semantic sequence which would, in my opinion, explain the preoccupation of the Ainu with *branches*, as we see them incorporated, for example, in some of their grave-posts, in some of their *ika-bashui* or ornamental libation-sticks, and in many of their *inao* (Figs. 28-31). In fact this Ainu preoccupation with branching leads me to suspect that the characteristic bifurcation of many of the Ainu ancestral emblems (*ekashi-itokpa* or *ekashi-shiroshi*) really represents the branching of a "family tree," and that it is by virtue of this meaning that they have become clan or family emblems. It is not surprising, then, that such branching emblems occur (among other types of family emblems) on the ceremonial libation-sticks (*kike-ush-bashui*) of the Ainu (Fig. 32), in close association with bunches of shavings; for the shavings and the branching emblems are then simply two different manifestations of the same fundamental symbolism. This would, I think, also explain why the branch-like family emblems of the Ainu (Fig. 33) so closely resemble many of the similarly branching *marks of ownership* used by certain Alaskan Eskimos (Fig. 34); for clan or family marks are, *ipso facto*, at least potentially, also marks of ownership — the characteristic branching of these emblems being in itself a reference to the clan or family, as owners of the objects so marked. Small variations may of course be introduced to make finer distinctions; but in both regions the basic symbol remains the branching tree.

If all this is so, then the usual Ainu explanation of the branching types of family crests (*ekashi shiroshi* or *ekashi itokpa*) as symbolizing the killer-whale god (*rep-un-kamui*) is nothing more than a "popular etymology" invented by the Ainu to explain a symbol whose real origin had long been forgotten; and the sequence of derivation in Figs. 35 and 36 would run in the opposite direction from that implied by the numbers assigned to the emblems in the published illustrations: in other words it was the symbol of a branch which was interpreted by the Ainu as a representation of the killer whale, and not at all the killer whale which gave rise to these branching emblems.

Now, if the shaved stick is a symbol of the family tree, with the shavings representing its branches, it would hardly be surprising that such a "tree" should be given the appearance of a person, with indications of the bodily parts, and especially of the face. Basically and originally this face can only be the face of the clan or tribal ancestor; and in so far as the symbolism of genealogy requires a multiplication of branches, we arrive at the image of a human figure with many limbs. It is this image which, in my opinion, is represented by the anthropomorphic *inao*.

But it is important to realize that the image of a human figure with many limbs is by no means restricted to the shaved sticks of the Ainu and other peoples. In fact, this image as a type can be found in many different cultures, both ancient and modern. Indeed, the type is so widespread, in its various manifestations, that I am convinced of its deeply fundamental importance, even though its identity and significance have not been heretofore recognized. It is obviously impossible to offer a survey of such images here; but it may be useful to show at least a few typical examples.

First, as you see here, some modern images of the multiple-bodied human figure from the Batak of Sumatra, from Buka in the Solomon Islands, and from the Navaho Indians of Arizona (Figs. 37, 38, 39); and then some prehistoric antecedents from neolithic painted pottery of Eastern Europe and Western Asia (Figs. 40, 41, 42). These are, of course, all two-dimensional representations; but there is no lack of

three-dimensional images of the same type, which might be more plausibly compared with the shaved sticks. I show you only one example, a group of ancestor images of the Garo of Assam (Fig. 43), in which the multiple bodies appear as a succession of ridges, and the limbs are apparently neglected. What appear to be "horns" on the heads of these Garo effigies I suspect to be rudiments of an original branching. (Similar "horns" otherwise inexplicable, occur on wooden images in the Indonesian island of Nias.) As a matter of fact, three-dimensional (i.e. sculptured) human figures with segmented bodies occur throughout the Western and even the Central Pacific islands, as well as in Africa, and in certain variations also in Siberia and the New World. The type is thus clearly of fundamental importance, and not only in itself, but also, I think, for a proper understanding of the Ainu *inao*, which I would regard as one of its manifestations.

The anthropomorphism of the images which I have just shown you is of course self-evident. Now let us consider some more schematic designs which, while apparently of the same conceptual class, can be more readily compared to the *inao*. In the designs of Fig. 44 you see some highly conventionalized human figures with multiple limbs from New Caledonia. Those at the top of the illustration retain vestiges of a human head, which is lost in the many-limbed figure at the left. Luquet, who assembled and studied these motifs, recognized their basic anthropomorphism, as well as their "phytomorphic appearance" — in other words, the appearance of a tree with many branches. He did not, however, attempt to *explain* this peculiarity: he merely identified the type of the multiple-limbed human figure as such.

In prehistoric Europe, similar human figures with recessive heads and multiple limbs were recognized by the famous French prehistorian, the Abbé Breuil, in the schematic rock-paintings of the Iberian peninsula. Some typical examples of these "pine-tree men," as Breuil calls them, are here assembled in Figs. 45, 46 and 47. Again, Breuil made no attempt to *explain* these forms: he merely identified them and noted the fact of their occurrence in this art. For me, such "pine-tree men," as well as the similar designs from modern New Caledonia, are in fact manifestations of the same basic symbolism which underlies the Ainu *inao* and other "shaved sticks" — namely that of the family tree.

Another creditable prehistorian, Hugo Obermaier, recognized the kinship of these Iberian forms to those occurring on the famous painted pebbles of Mas d'Azil in France, dating from mesolithic times, as shown in Fig. 48. But again, Obermaier merely recognized the type as such, without asking about its meaning.

Actually, I think there can be little doubt that the same symbolism of the anthropomorphic "family tree" accounts for similar designs also in another mesolithic manifestation, that of the Maglemose Culture of the Baltic area in northwestern Europe, as you see in the drill-point decoration of an amber pendant (Fig. 49) and the engraving on an implement of aurochs bone (Fig. 50). So far as I know, the analogy of these designs with the Azilian and Spanish schematic paintings are here noted for the first time; and needless to say, the question of their symbolic significance has never been asked. Yet the design engraved on the aurochs bone is very similar to that painted on a dolmen in Portugal, as you see in Fig. 52 — in which the Abbé Breuil recognized three of his "pine-tree men." The fact that the dolmen dates from the incipient age of metal, thus long after mesolithic times, does not matter; for as Breuil pointed out, mesolithic traditions lingered in parts of Iberia into much later periods. In Fig. 51 you see the painted design of another Iberian dolmen, in which Breuil again recognized the representation of human figures with multiple torsos — very much like those which you saw a moment ago in the painted decoration of Near Eastern neolithic pottery, and in the similar modern designs of Figs. 37-39.<sup>14</sup>

It seems to me very probable that these neolithic and mesolithic manifestations have their antecedents in still more ancient times. For "ramiform" designs occur occasionally in the art of the Upper Palaeolithic, at least in Western Europe. The problem here is more complex, because, in the first place, there are no obvious traces of anthropomorphism in these designs, as there are in neolithic Spain; and because surviving examples of such designs in palaeolithic art are in fact extremely rare. However, the fact that the artists of the Upper Palaeolithic, at least in Western Europe, showed practically no evidence of an interest in plant forms or trees encourages me to regard these



designs as symbolic of abstract conceptions rather than as attempts at representation. Thus I think it quite possible that the palaeolithic designs which you see in Figs. 53–55 represent the earliest known examples of the schematic representation of a genealogy in the form of a “family tree,” which ultimately underlies the Ainu *inao* and related modern phenomena.

In attempting to account for the extreme rarity of such “ramiforms” in surviving palaeolithic art, two observations should perhaps be made: in the first place, there is much evidence for continuity of artistic traditions from the late Upper Palaeolithic (Magdalenian) into the Mesolithic, where, as we have just seen, there is good reason to regard such “ramiforms” as anthropomorphic; and, secondly, what we know of palaeolithic art can only be a fraction of what must have existed. For example, all the artifacts of imperishable material which have survived to us were presumably made by men (who no doubt also did the cave-paintings of palaeolithic times). We have almost no way of knowing what decorative arts may have been practiced by palaeolithic women; and I suspect that in the decoration of their skin garments, and perhaps of their own bodies, genealogical symbolism most probably played an important role, and that “ramiforms” may very well have been a significant element in such traditions – which would have been hunted by the men.

Whether objects like the modern Ainu *inao* also existed in palaeolithic times is a different question. It is not necessary to assume that they did exist. But I think that the concept of genealogy in terms of the branching of a tree must have taken form in the human brain at a very early period, simply because it is such a natural and appropriate image of this important concept.<sup>15</sup> The motif could have become traditional long before it was embodied in the carvings which here especially interest us. But the development of the “shaved stick” must have taken place early enough to have been carried, in all probability by prehistoric migrations, from one part of Asia to another – presumably from the southeast to the northeast. However the problems of diffusion may ultimately be resolved, attention must, I think, be given to the fact that the *inao* of the Ainu are, in any event, closely related to the ritually used “shaved sticks” of continental and insular Southeast Asia.

1 See the statements about use and meaning of the “brave sticks” in Hoffman and in Ritzenthaler, as cited under Figs. 1 and 2. About the “brave stick” in Oshkosh, Fig. 3, according to the museum records, it was supposed to indicate that the deceased “had taken scalps;” but I do not know how much credence to give to this statement.

2 Claude Eugène Maitre, in a review published in *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. 2, 1902, pp. 216–217, of an article by W. G. Aston, *The Japanese Gohai and the Ainu Inao* (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, vol. 31, 1901, pp. 131–135).

3 Information on record at the Musée de l'Homme, Paris, where the specimen itself is preserved.

4 Perhaps of special interest for comparison with the Ainu *inao* is the profuse and complicated use of shavings to decorate the so-called *dangei*-hut or -platform, which is erected by various groups of Borneo natives on the occasion of an annual festival, for the performance of ritual dances. See illustrations (and accompanying descriptions) in A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *In Centraal Borneo* (Leiden, 1901), vol. 1, facing p. 190; the same author, *Quer durch Borneo*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1904), plate 35; and Carl Lumholtz, *Through Central Borneo* (New York, 1920), vol. 1, facing p. 223. It is of course impossible to go here into a detailed consideration of these constructions, their use, and possible analogies with the ritual use of shavings by the Ainu. There are many analogies also between the decoration of these *dangei*-huts of Borneo and the ritual-decorative use of shavings in mainland Southeast Asia, especially in East Pakistan. (See, for example, illustrations in Bernot, as cited under Fig. 12).

5 Information from Dr. L. G. Löffler, Heidelberg, who photographed many such constructions among the Mru, besides that illustrated in our Fig. 13. For the Arakan Khumi, see Tickell in *Journ. Royal Geogr. Soc.*, vol. 24, 1854, p. 112.

6 See the “Administrative Report of British India 1859–60: Tipperah,” in *The Calcutta Review*, vol. 35, no. 70, December, 1860, p. 349.

7 C. R. Stonor, Note on Religion and Ritual among the Dafla Tribes of the Assam Himalayas, in *Anthropos*, vol. 52, 1957, pp. 19–21 and plate 2. (Some of the shavings are soaked in beer: cf. the *inumba-shutu-inao* of the Ainu!)

8 What may be the southwesternmost ramification of this tradition is a custom of the Kuttia Kond of Orissa in India, reported by H. Niggemeyer, *Die Kuttia Kond* (Munich, 1964, illustration on p. 150) of inserting a sacrificed dove into a kind of basket woven out of the frayed top of a bamboo stake, as is done also in Borneo (Elshout, *De Kenja-Dajaks uit het Apo-Kajangebied* [The Hague, 1926], p. 413); but the Kuttia Kond do not cut shavings into the shaft of the bamboo, as is done in Borneo.

9 John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folklore* (London, 1901), p. 110 f. See also Neil Gordon Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult* (London, 1962), p. 32 f.

10 Batchelor, *op. cit.*, p. 104 f.

11 L. Adam, A Parallel between Certain Ritual Objects of the Ainu and of the Australian Aborigines, in *VIII International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, Paris 1960, vol. 2, part 1 (Paris, 1963), pp. 9–13, citing Sternberg, presumably “The Ainu Problem,” *Anthropos*, vol. 24, 1929.

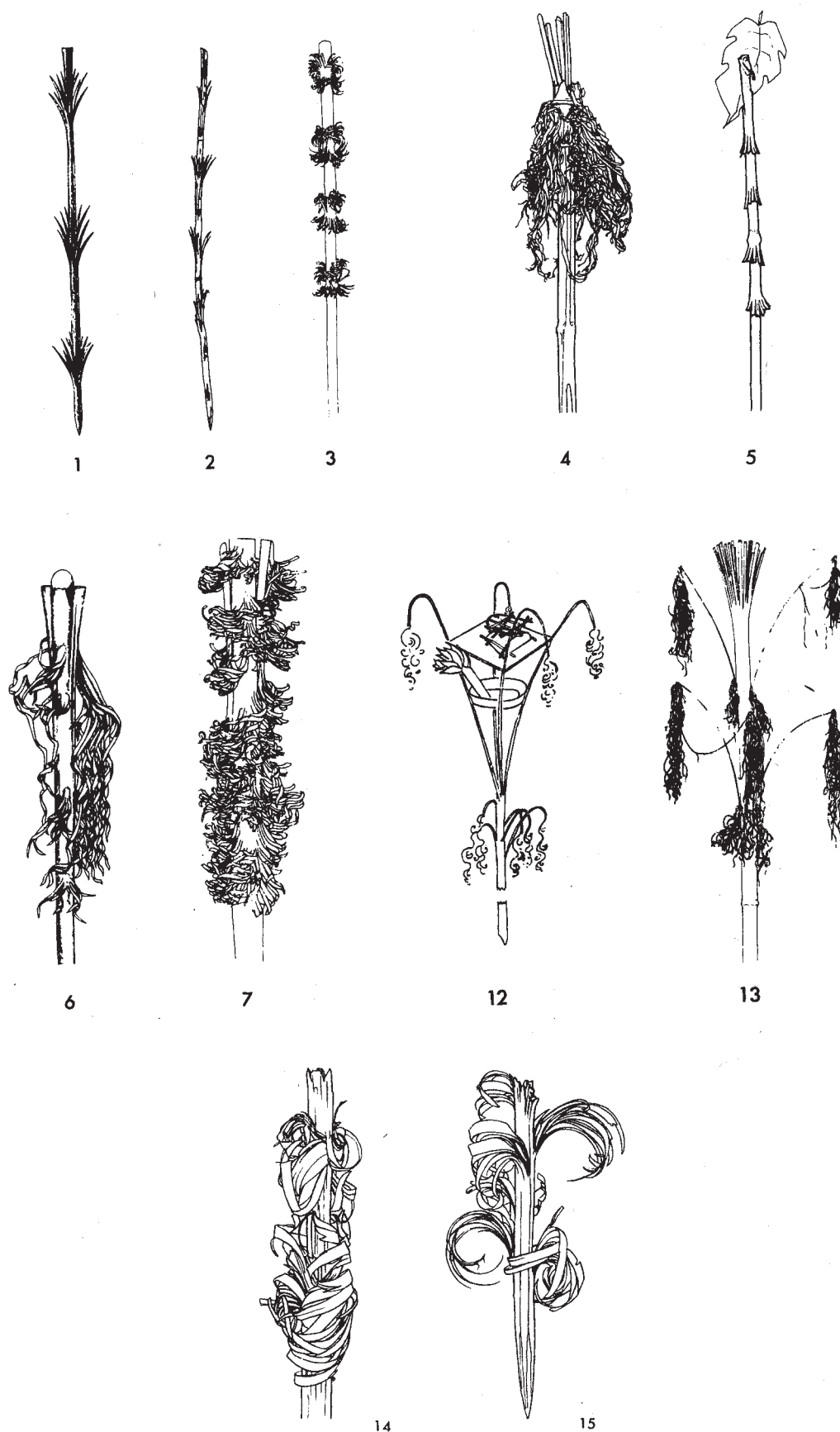
12 This *inao* effigy has been often reproduced, thus in fig. 28 of Natori, as cited under my Fig. 16. Natori gives the ultimate source of the illustration as Ezo Sangyō Zuesetsu, which was published during the Bunka era (1804–1818). Natori evidently succeeded in having a similar effigy made by a Hokkaido Ainu, to whom he showed the published illustration in 1936.

13 Kan Wada, The Idols of the Aborigines on Southern Sakhalin, Especially those of the Oroks and Gilyaks, in *Studies from the Research Institute for Northern Culture—Hoppo Bunka Kenkyū Hokoku*, no. 13, Sapporo, 1958, p. 235 (unfortunately without illustration of the “holy tree”). Wada's information is also cited by Natori (1959), p. 104.

14 Though Breuil recognized the existence of figures with “multiple torsos” in the schematic rock-art of Spain, and the existence of closely similar figures in the painted decoration of neolithic pottery in the Near East (Breuil, *Le passage de la Figure à l'Ornement dans la céramique peinte des couches archaïques de Moussian et de Suse*, in *International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology*, 13th Session, Monaco 1906 [Monaco, 1907–08], vol. 2, pp. 332–344 – especially his fig. 206), it is curious that Breuil himself did not say anything about the obvious similarity of these motifs in the two traditions. I think that the widespread occurrence of motifs of this type in modern traditions (Figs. 37–39 of the present paper) now makes it obvious that not only are the two neolithic manifestations related to each other, but the type must be the vehicle of a very old and significant tradition of perhaps even pre-neolithic origin.

15 It might be expected that if, as here proposed, the concept of family relationships has found, from early times, a natural image in the branching of a tree (or other plant), this phytomorphic imagery would be generally reflected in the nomenclature of kinship, and perhaps be imbedded in language itself. Though I have not had time to gather evidence widely which might support this thesis, it may be mentioned that, besides our own common metaphor of the “branches” of a “family tree,” the imagery of branching is important in the terminology of kinship in Polynesia (personal communication of Dr. Aarne Koskinen, Helsinki); and A. A. Gerbrands, writing about “Symbolism in the Art of Amanamkai, Asmat, South New Guinea” (*Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde*, Leiden, vol. 15, 1962, p. 40) reports that “according to personal communications from David B. Eyde based on field work in the same village of Amanamkai, kinship relations are compared with the branches of a tree, corresponding to a genealogical tree in western culture.” Presumably a further search would reveal similar usages in language and folklore in other parts of the world. (Compare some remarks about this imagery in Schuster, *Genealogical Patterns*, *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. 10, São Paulo, 1956–58, note 109 on page 85).





Note: For missing numbers see p. 96



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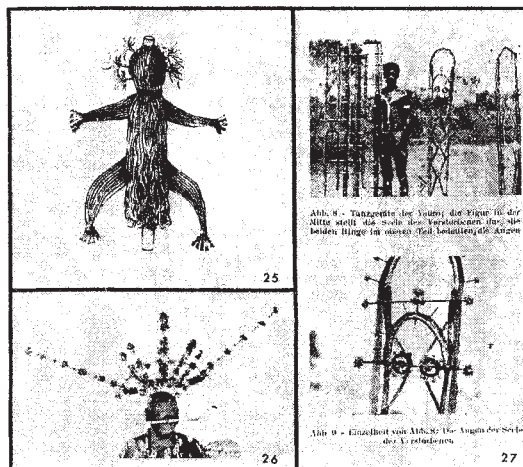


Abb. 25 - Tänzerin der Vigna in der Mitte stellt die noch im Verstandenen dar; sie beiden Hänge im ersten und letzten, die Augen

Abb. 27 - Einzelheit von Abb. 26 (die Augen der Vigna der V. reifen)

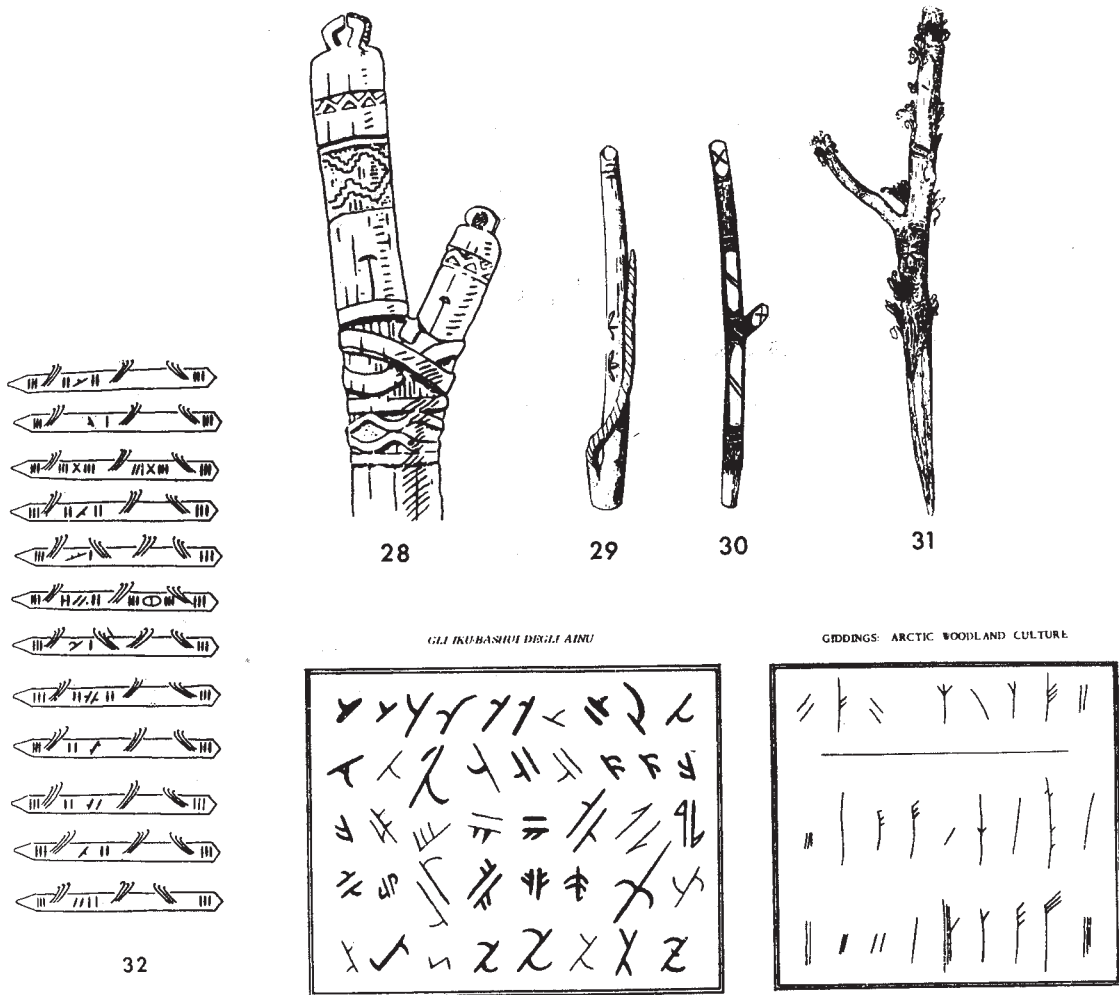
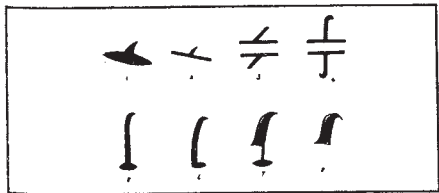


Fig. 26. Segni sulla faccia inferiore degli iku-bashui.

Ownership marks on Kobuk River arrowheads



第1圖 エカシイトツバの例 (レブンカムイシロシの變化)

1-4 レブンカムイシロシ (1-2 草本圖) (3-4 遺蹟) 5-8 アシベシロシ (5 岩崎・6 沢田・7-8 他田)



Fig. 5.- La figura del Rep-un-Kamui: da rappresentazione a simbolo. (S= Collez. SUGITAMA; S. H.= MUSEO di SAPPORO; M= MAKAINI).



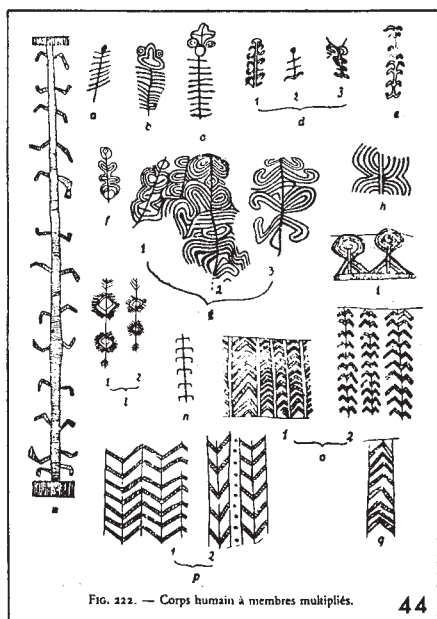
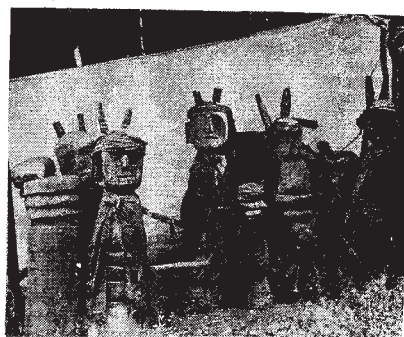
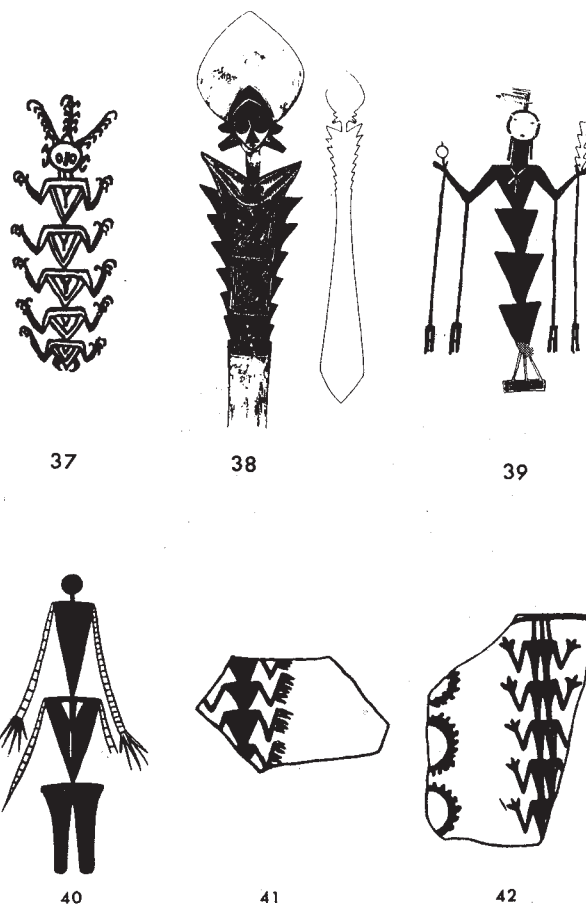


FIG. 222. — Corps humain à membres multipliés.

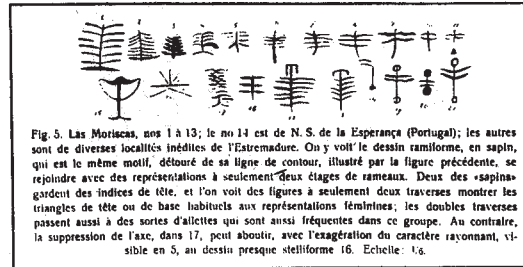
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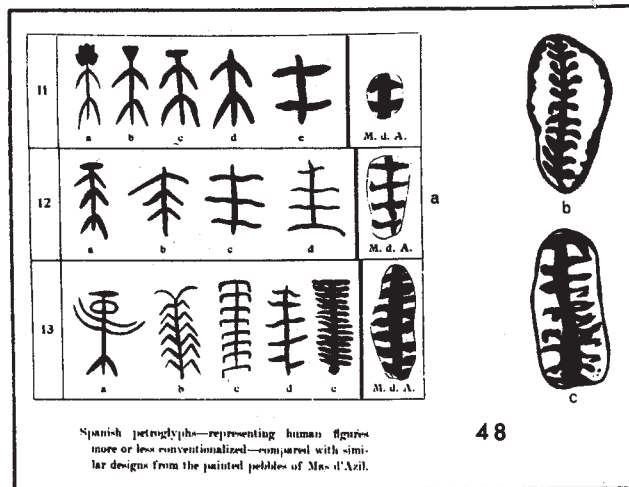
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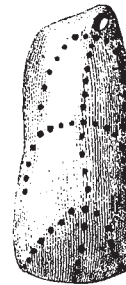
46



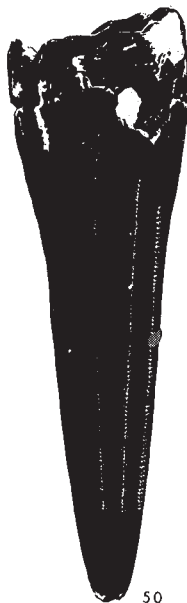
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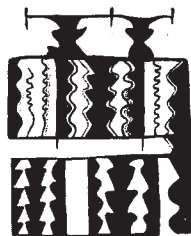
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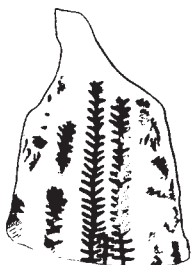
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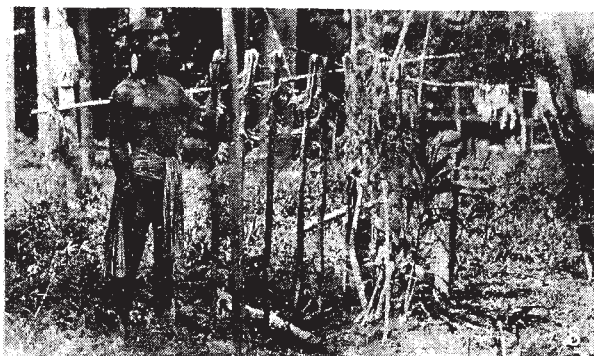


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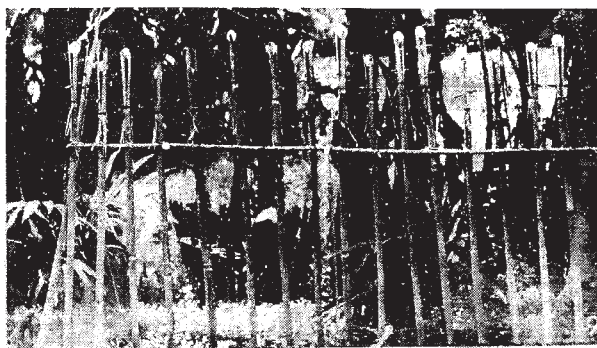




8 A highland youth making an offering to the gods after recovery from sickness.



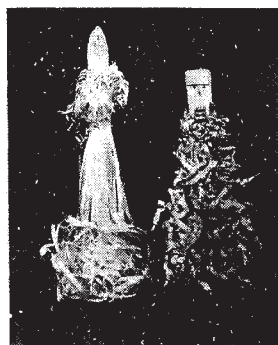
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9 SACRIFICE OF EGGS TO THE GOOD SPIRITS, LONG PAHANGEL, MABAKAM RIVER



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- Fig. 1 So-called "ceremonial baton" or "brave stick" of the Menomini Indians of Wisconsin. After W. J. Hoffman, *The Menomini Indians*, 14th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, for 1892-93 (Washington, 1896), fig. 6 on p. 73.
- Fig. 2 "Brave stick" of the Potawatomi Indians of Wisconsin. After the original in the Milwaukee Public Museum, 55480. Height, 84.5 cm. Published: R. Ritzenthaler, *The Potawatomi Indians of Wisconsin*, Bulletin of the Milwaukee Public Museum, vol. 19, no. 3 (Milwaukee, 1953), fig. 9.
- Fig. 3 Grave-marker ("brave stick") for Chief Oshkosh of the Menomini Indians. After the original in the Oshkosh Public Museum, Oshkosh, Wisconsin.
- Fig. 4 "Shaved stick" of the Lisu of the upper Salween River, Yunnan-Burma border region. After the original in Paris, Musée de l'Homme, 38.27.59, from the first Guibaut-Liotart Expedition, 1936-37. Height, 58.5 cm.
- Fig. 5 "Spirit offering" of the Tinguian of northern Luzon, Philippine Islands. After the original in Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History, 109.111.
- Fig. 6 Shaved stick with offering of an egg in the split top. Eastern Penan (Penan Buang), former nomads now settled at Long Buang, Apoh River, Sarawak (Borneo). Drawn from a photograph taken in 1951 and kindly supplied by Prof. Rodney Needham of Oxford University.
- Fig. 7 Pole with attached shavings erected to dispel evil spirits. Tinjar River, Sarawak (Borneo). After W. H. Furness, *The Home-Life of Borneo Head-Hunters* (Philadelphia, 1902), facing p. 98. (This is one of a whole "forest" of "shaved sticks" of various kinds shown in that remarkable illustration).
- Fig. 8 "A Klemantan youth making an offering to the gods after recovery from sickness," (Borneo). After Charles Hose, *Natural Man* (London, 1926), facing p. 220.
- Fig. 9 "Sacrifice of eggs to the good spirits, Long Pahangei, Mahakam River." (Borneo). After Carl Lumholtz, *Through Central Borneo* (New York, 1920), Vol. 2, facing p. 233.
- Fig. 10 A piglet and a chicken impaled in the split tops of shaved sticks at Long Nawang, Kayan River, Eastern Borneo, to dispel evil spirits. After H. F. Tillema, *Apo-Kajan* (Amsterdam, n.d.), fig. 62.
- Fig. 11 Piglet impaled in the split top of a shaved stick, as an offering at the main post of a newly erected house. Kayan of the upper Mahakam River, Eastern Borneo. After A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1907), pl. 28.
- Fig. 12 So-called "altar" of the "grandmother" (of the rice-harvest). Mamma of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, East Pakistan. After L. Bernot, *Les paysans arakanais du Pakistan oriental*, *Le monde d'outre-mer passé et présent*, première série, Etudes, 16 (Paris, 1967), vol. 2, fig. 57 on p. 605. (This is one of a pair with a slightly different "altar of the grandfather.")
- Fig. 13 Bamboo mast for a pig sacrifice, erected for the inauguration of a new house by the Mru of the southern Chittagong Hill Tracts, East Pakistan. After a photograph taken in 1956-57 and kindly supplied by Dr. L. G. Löffler of Heidelberg University.
- Fig. 14 Top of an Ainu *inao* (presumably *chehorokakep*), with four prongs forming a libation "cup." From Shikui village, Hokkaido, Japan. After the original in New York, American Museum of Natural History, 70/4215. Length of the whole object, 54 cm.
- Fig. 15 Ainu *inao* from Noboribetsu village, Hokkaido, Japan, with split top, presumably for an offering. After the original in New York, American Museum of Natural History, 70/4160. Height, 20.4 cm.
- Fig. 16 Anthropomorphic *inao* of the Orok on Sakhalin Island (Karafuto). The shape of the head indicates a "female." After Takemitsu Natori, *Inao and Itokpa in Saghalien Island*. Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku = Studies from the Research Institute for Northern Culture, no. 14, Sapporo, 1959, fig. 23.
- Fig. 17 Anthropomorphic "shaved stick" set up as an offering by the Eastern Penan, Sarawak, Borneo. (Cf. Fig. 6). From a photograph taken in 1951 and kindly supplied by Prof. Rodney Needham of Oxford University.
- Fig. 18 Anthropomorphic *inao* of the Orok on Sakhalin Island (Karafuto). The shape of the head indicates a "male." Same source as Fig. 16.
- Fig. 19 Anthropomorphic "shaved stick" set up as an offering by the Eastern Penan, Sarawak, Borneo. (Cf. Figs. 6 and 17). From a photograph taken in 1951 and kindly supplied by Prof. Rodney Needham of Oxford University.
- Figs. 20, 21 Wooden effigies made by the Jah Hut (Semai-Senoi) of Pahang State, Malaya, to represent evil spirits causing illnesses. They form part of a series of such images collected by Robert K. Dentan in 1962 and deposited in the American Museum of Natural History, New York, under the numbers 70.2/4092 and 4107. Heights, 17.7 and 17.3 cm.
- Fig. 22 Stick with attached shavings, to be stuck into the headband of a man participating in a vengeance party. Aranda tribe, central Australia. After the original in Stuttgart, Linden-Museum, 85529 b (Liebler Collection). Height, 25 cm.
- Fig. 23 Pitjantjara man of the Warburton Ranges in the eastern part of Western Australia, decorated for the "eagle" dance. From a Kodachrome made in 1967, and kindly supplied by Dr. Richard Gould, New York.
- Fig. 24 Stick with attached shavings, called *turra*, said to be carried in the hand during corroboree-dances. Sherlock District, northwestern Australia. After E. Clement, *Ethnographical Notes on the Western-Australian Aborigines*, Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, vol. 16, Leiden, 1904, p. 27, no. 162.
- Fig. 25 Doll-like *inao* made of shavings bound together, with smaller stick-*inaos* inserted into the head as headdress. Said to have been made for a child at the time of its birth. After H. von Siebold, *Ethnologische Studien über die Aino auf der Insel Yesso*, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, vol. 13, 1881, pl. vi, fig. 5. (See note 12 in the present article).
- Fig. 26 Headdress of a vengeance-seeker, consisting of sticks with attached shavings fixed in a frame. Loritja tribe at Wadara near Horseshoe Bend on the Finke River, central Australia. After the original in Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde, 14.50.38. (Gift of the missionary O. Liebler). Length of sticks, 30 to 70 cm.
- Fig. 27 Effigy representing the soul of a deceased person. Yaoro tribe of northwestern Australia. After Ernst Worms, *Die Goranara-Feier im australischen Kimberley*, *Annali Lateranensi*, vol. 6, Rome, 1962, p. 231.
- Fig. 28 Ainu grave-post. After Y. Tosabayashi, *Grave-Posts of the Ainu (Ainu-Minzoku no Bohyō)*, Japanese Journal of Ethnology (Minzokugaku Kenkyū), vol. 16, 1951, p. 292, fig. 6. (Original preserved in the Botanical Garden Museum, Sapporo).
- Fig. 29 Ainu ceremonial drinking-stick (*iku-bashui*). After B. Laufer, *The Decorative Art of the Amur Tribes*, *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 7, New York, 1902, pl. xxxi, fig. 20.
- Fig. 30 Ainu ceremonial drinking-stick (*iku-bashui*). After F. Maraini, *Gli ikubashui degli Ainu*, Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto Italiano di Cultura in Tokio, vol. 1 (Tokyo, 1942), fig. 85 a. The author suggests that this specimen represents a transition between the sacred *kike-ush-bashui* (see our Fig. 32) and the more decorative *iku-bashui*.
- Fig. 31 Ainu *inao*. (Note face at crotch). After M. Haberlandt, *Das japanische Volk*, in: G. Buschan, *Illustrierte Völkerkunde*, vol. 2, part 1 (Stuttgart, 1923), fig. 434 on p. 686. (The original, said to be from Hokkaido, is in the Linden-Museum, Stuttgart).
- Fig. 32 Group of sacred libation-sticks (*kike-ush-bashui*) of the Ainu, showing *itokpa*-notches at the two ends and clan-emblems (*shiroshi*) between bunches of shavings. After T. Natori, *The Genealogy of Aino on the Saru River*, *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo* (Jinruigaku Zasshi), vol. 55, no. 5, 1940, fig. 4-A on p. 215.
- Fig. 33 Group of symbols (clan-emblems, *shiroshi*) carved on the under sides of Ainu *iku-bashui* (ceremonial libation-sticks), said to represent the sea-god, *rep-un-kamui*, as a killer-whale. After Maraini (as cited above under Fig. 30), p. 32, fig. 26, nos. 1 through 43.
- Fig. 34 Ownership marks on prehistoric arrowheads from the Kobuk River, Alaska. After J. L. Giddings, *The Arctic Woodland Culture of the Kobuk River*, *Museum Monographs of the University Museum*, Philadelphia, 1952, fig. 28. Similar marks on Alaskan arrow-shafts and harpoons have been reported from Cape Price of Wales (Collins), Kotzebue (Van Stone), and Cape Smythe and Point Barrow (Wissler-Stefánsson).
- Fig. 35 Ancestral marks (*ekashi-itokpa*) of various Ainu groups. After H. Kono, *On the Inau-Shiroshi of the Ainu*, *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo* (Jinruigaku Zasshi), vol. 49, 1934, p. 19, fig. 1. Note especially nos. 1-4, representing "killer-whale marks" (*rebun-kamui-shiroshi*).
- Fig. 36 Series of marks on libation sticks of the Ainu, purporting to illustrate the derivation of simple branched symbols from the silhouette of the killer-whale. After Maraini (as cited above under Fig. 30), fig. 5.
- Fig. 37 Motif in a modern manuscript or "bark book" of the Bataks of Sumatra. After the original in Leiden, University Library, Ms. Or. 35333.
- Fig. 38 Carved and painted decoration at the end of a "dance-paddle" from the northwestern Solomon Islands (Buka?). After the original in Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde, 3726. Width at "shoulders," 14.7 cm. Total length of paddle, 134.8 cm.
- Fig. 39 One of four identical "cloud-men" (in four different colors) painted on a buckskin used in curative ceremonies by the Navaho Indians of Arizona and New Mexico. Height of figure as shown, ca. 40 cm. After the original in Santa Fe, Museum of Navaho Ceremonial Art.
- Fig. 40 Painted design on a biconical vase from Petreny, Bessarabia. Early 2nd millennium B.C. (archaizing). After E. R. von Stern, *Die "prämykenische" Kultur in Süd-Russland*, in: *Trudy 13-ago Arkheologicheskago S'ezda, v Ekaterinoslave*, 1905 (Moscow, 1907-08), pl. ii, fig. 3.
- Fig. 41 Painted sherd of neolithic pottery from Tepe Giyan, Irān. About middle of the 4th millennium B. C. After G. Contenau & R. Ghirshman, *Fouilles du Tépé-Giyan* (Paris, 1935), pl. 45, no. 17.
- Fig. 42 Painted sherd of neolithic pottery from Tepe Moussian, Irān. About 3500-3200 B.C. Height, 6.7 cm. After J.-E. Gautier & G. Lampre, *Fouilles de Moussian*, *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, vol. 8, 1905, fig. 262.
- Fig. 43 So-called *kimas* or memorial posts for the dead, under a house of the Garos of Assam. After A. Playfair, *The Garos*



- (London, 1909), plate facing p. 113.
- Fig. 44 Modern designs from New Caledonia representing "the human body with multiple limbs." After G.-H. Luquet, *L'Art Néo-Calédonien. Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie de l'Université de Paris*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1926), fig. 222.
- Fig. 45 Designs painted in a rock-shelter at Murron del Pino (Province of Ciudad Real), south-central Spain, selected to illustrate the "development of the seated figure toward a phytomorphic complication." After H. Breuil, *Les peintures rupestres schématiques de la péninsule ibérique*, vol. 3 (Lagny, 1933), fig. 50 (with some omissions).
- Fig. 46 Designs painted in rock-shelters of southwestern Spain, illustrating the tendency of the human figure to develop the "false phytomorphic appearance" of so-called "pine-tree men." After H. Breuil, *Les roches peintes schématiques d'Helechal (Badajoz), Estremadure*, in: *Publication d'hommage offerte au P. W. Schmidt* (Vienna, 1928), fig. 5 on p. 786.
- Fig. 47 Painted "ramiform" design from a rock-shelter in Almería Province, southeastern Spain, said to represent a "seated human figure in multiple stages." After H. Breuil, *Les peintures rupestres schématiques de la péninsule ibérique*, vol. 4 (Lagny, 1935), pl. xvii, 1, and text, p. 21.
- Fig. 48 a Comparison of painted human figures on mesolithic pebbles from Mas d'Azil (right) with human figures in Spanish rock-paintings (left). After H. Obermaier, *Fossil Man in Spain* (New Haven, 1925), pl. xxi (detail).
- Fig. 48b,c Two additional painted pebbles from Mas d'Azil with "ramiform" (i.e. presumably anthropomorphic) designs. After E. Piette, *Les galets coloriés de Mas d'Azil*, *l'Anthropologie*, vol. 7, 1896, figs. 26 and 58 on pp. 397 and 410.
- Fig. 49 Amber pendant with drill-point ornament, from an unknown find-site presumably in Denmark. After Sophus Müller, *Nye Stenalders Former*, *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, series 2, vol. 14, 1896, p. 339, fig. 19. Height, 8.1 cm. J. G. D. Clark, *The Mesolithic Settlement of Northern Europe* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 175, assigns this piece (his fig. 57, no. 11) to "Period II," i.e. Boreal times, roughly 6000-5000 B.C.
- Fig. 50 Implement (weapon? of aurochs bone, found in 1923 in the Ryum Brook, eastern Jutland, Denmark. Maglemose period (presumably 6000-5000 B.C.). After the original in Copenhagen, Danish National Museum, Prehistoric Collections, A 33100. Height, 31.5 cm. Published (inter alia) by J. Brøndsted, *Inedita aus dem dänischen Nationalmuseum*, I, *Acta Archaeologica*, vol. 5, Copenhagen, 1934-35, p. 146, fig. 2.
- Fig. 51 Painted decoration of an upright of a dolmen at Côta, Pedralta, province of Beira Alta, Portugal. Eneolithic period (probably late 3rd millennium B.C.). After H. Breuil, *Les peintures rupestres schématiques de la péninsule ibérique*, vol. 1 (Lagny, 1933), fig. 37. (See also the discussion of this design in C. Schuster, *Skin and Fur Mosaics in Prehistoric and Modern Times*, in: *Festschrift für Ad. E. Jensen* [Munich, 1964], vol. 2, fig. 1 on p. 560).
- Fig. 52 Painted decoration on the upright of a dolmen at the same site, and of the same period. After Breuil, *op. cit.*, fig. 29.
- Fig. 53, 54 Engraved pieces of bone from Laugerie Basse, Dordogne, France. Palaeolithic (Magdalenian?). After "E.C.," in *Matériaux pour l'histoire de l'homme*, 2nd series, vol. 8, 1873, p. 396, figs. 73 and 72. (Cf. P. Graziosi, *Palaeolithic Art* [New York, 1960], pl. 91 and p. 98).
- Fig. 55 Engraved design on the rib of a horse. Palaeolithic-Magdalenian. After P. David & M. Lugol, *Gravures magdaléniennes inédites de Montgaudier (Charente)*, *Bulletin de la Société préhistorique française*, vol. 47, 1950, fig. 1.