

4 Destroying objects, keeping memories

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Introduction

The postfuneral rituals for Geoffrey Mangatobi, a senior Tiwi man from Melville Island in northern Australia, were filmed at his request. The film *Goodbye Old Man* contains gripping scenes of the loud wailing of his relatives at the grave.¹ They do so at the beginning of the encounter with the place of burial, holding the newly erected carved and painted grave-posts, and the next day, at the conclusion of the ceremony. While the mourners lie on the grave and cover themselves with dirt, the ritual workers are breaking things, such as a guitar and gramophone records. Traditional artefacts are destroyed as well. The workers break the deceased's mangrove spears through the middle and place them on the grave, whereas painted bark baskets are torn up by them and put upside down on top of the grave-posts.

Mangatobi wanted to ascertain that memories of him were kept.² In their mortuary rituals the Tiwi construct the deceased's postself,³ that is, how Mangatobi would be remembered after his death. The dead person's traits, deeds, relationships and life course are reviewed in the elaborate death rites. In their collective endeavour, the actors contributing their particular stances assemble a social biography of the deceased, define the social loss and constitute the new spirit of the dead.⁴ 'In a general way the whole ceremony is memorial, but there is also an effort to make it memorable, and by doing so, individual participants gain prestige.'⁵ The medium of the film added an extra dimension to the rituals in Mangatobi's memory. It made the happening more memorable with the camera on scene as well as more likely to be remembered, for the film could be viewed time and again. At that point in time, Geoffrey Mangatobi was concerned about the loss of indigenous culture. The mortuary rites for his son, a victim of manslaughter, were led by him and became the subject of a film (*Mourning for Mangatobi*) two years earlier.⁶ With this and the record of his postfuneral rites as his last request, Mangatobi wanted to leave behind a lasting memory of the old-style mourning rites as his legacy. The emphasis on keeping memories, however, seems to be at odds with the mortuary practice of the personal belongings of the deceased being destroyed or done away with rather than kept as mementoes. Some of Mangatobi's personal belongings were demonstratively broken and left at his grave. Why is it that the personal effects of the deceased are disposed of?

When asked about the practice, Tiwi people told me time and again that it was too painful to be confronted with these things. It hurts the survivors to be reminded

too much of the deceased.⁷ The disposal or destruction of the personal property of the deceased might thus be considered an ‘emotional practice’,⁸ a custom that is telling about the materiality of mourning. The emotional needs of the bereaved, as we will see, are tremendously important with regard to the performance and the timing of the mortuary rites. ‘In all such rites,’ as Malinowski notes, ‘there is a desire to maintain the tie and the parallel tendency to break the bond.’⁹ Tiwi mortuary rites are oriented towards a management of emotions. This includes the ritual disposal of the deceased’s personal belongings (called *amaratruniripungari*).

‘None of the close relatives want these items, for they will be reminded of the deceased,’ according to Goodale.¹⁰ Elsewhere in Aboriginal Australia the practice ‘helped alleviate the sorrow felt by the living, by removing physical reminders of the deceased.’¹¹ The same is said about the Native American Ohlone: ‘The property of the dead was thoroughly destroyed, the reason alleged being that the deceased would then be no longer remembered’.¹² My point is that the destruction quite to the contrary increases the reliance on memory. The things in question do not only remind the living of the dead but also become taboo due to the deceased’s association with them. In the Tiwi case this taboo (*pukamani*) applies to all material objects owned and/or frequently used by the dead person.¹³ The same accounts for the corpse. The personal effects are viewed as inseparable from one’s material being in the world, that is, one with the imagery of the physical body. Therefore, the deceased still has a presence and identity, as if he were living, in his intimate possessions. These things arouse the emotion of that person somehow still being there.

The main idea of this chapter is that precisely because the personal belongings of the deceased are destroyed or done away with (e.g., buried or dumped into the sea) the bereaved are forced into a reorientation towards their loss. The absence of the material objects that belonged to the newly dead relative does not diminish, as the scholars cited here above have argued, but rather enhances the mourners’ memory of the person in question. By preventing a continued social life of these things, the ritual destruction of personal effects enables the fixation of memories of the deceased in the imagination.

The personal belongings of the deceased belong to the ‘extended self’ of the person in question.¹⁴ Without the disposal of the personal belongings along with the corpse the transition of the deceased from the world of the living to the world of the dead would be incomplete.¹⁵ This transition also implies a painful and long-drawn-out process of emotional detachment on the part of the bereaved.¹⁶ As we have seen, some of the objects of the dead may be kept back by the ritual workers to be used and discarded in the final mortuary rites. In order to understand the materiality of mourning in this respect we first need to know a little more about the management of emotions in Tiwi death rites.

Management of emotions

The Tiwi do not only grieve over the loss of another person, but they also grieve over the loss of their own personal possessions. In both instances, they use the

same term. One thus closely identifies with one's effects and one understands others do as well. In this respect, close relatives can empathise with the deceased, experiencing grief from the latter's perspective for the loss of significant others as well as personal belongings. Simultaneously, close relatives have to come to terms with the death as their loss of a part of self: special mortuary kinship roles apply in which a certain body part referring to the deceased is lost or wounded (e.g., the lower leg for a sibling; see further the discussion below).

What is more, everyone and everything closely associated with the deceased becomes taboo or *pukamani*. The behavioural restrictions or taboos include the handling of the corpse and the personal belongings of the deceased. Therefore, the close relatives are dependent on others, who are not *pukamani*, to perform these tasks.¹⁷ When the close relatives, however, anticipate the death, they often do away with most of the personal belongings of the dying person themselves.¹⁸ The ritual workers do away with a dead person's objects because these strong reminders cause the survivors too much grief, but not everything needs to be destroyed at once: selected objects may be saved and employed as beneficial aids to the process of mourning in the final mortuary rites, taking place months after a death. Then also these objects are destroyed, while the evoked memories of the deceased last.

The timing of the performance of postfuneral rites, also called *pukamani*, is determined by the emotions of the close relatives. The rituals will only be held when the bereaved most closely related to the deceased feel they are emotionally ready. This might take some time and range from two months to two years after the death. The cycle of mortuary rites – comprising the funeral, a series of intermediary rites and the concluding ceremony – stretches out for months and allows the bereaved to alternate occasions to grieve in a supportive ritual context with gradually resuming and carrying on life. The pattern affords them an oscillation of 'a time to live' and 'a time to grieve'.¹⁹ The management of emotions in the process of mourning is also part and parcel of mortuary rites. The ritual workers have to restrain the bereaved from causing serious injury to themselves in their gestures of grief. To prevent bodily harm the former take away objects such as knives, stones and pieces of wood from the bereaved, who tend to use these things in their expression of sorrow. Another example is the insertion of either slow or energetic dances to respectively 'cool down' and 'heat up' the emotions.²⁰ Some of the kept personal effects of the dead person, as mentioned, can be used in a similar vein to evoke and invoke the deceased. When not directly put away after death, things like clothes, mattresses and sheets may be deliberately used as a focus in ritual – literally placed centre stage – when an emotionally compelling remembrance of the dead person is desirable. Thereafter these things will be destroyed also.

According to Frazer, the 'melancholy aberration' of 'the practice of burying or destroying the property of the dead,' first noticeable amongst Australian Aborigines, 'led mankind to sacrifice the real interests of the living to the imaginary interests of the dead'.²¹ One could as well argue that it is precisely what makes us human. The Tiwi themselves say that nobody wants these things because it hurts the survivors to be reminded too much of the deceased. The emotional aspects of

the materiality of mourning merit attention. As Lutz notes, ‘an orientation toward the affective or emotional has directed us to focus more intensely on what matters to the communities we study, what moves them through the day and thus what makes the emergent material and social worlds in which we are immersed’.²² What matters for the Tiwi is giving heed to the feelings of the bereaved. The belongings of the deceased, more than anything else, make people sad. The erasure of these things is necessary.

Material objects that belonged to a newly dead person happen to be deeply invested with emotions. Actually, anything associated with the identity of a living person becomes taboo after death: the personal names, voices on tape, images in photos, house and yard, places frequented, the place of death and even the land out bush may not be visited or hunted. This lasts for a considerable time: the post-funeral rites must have been accomplished and cleansing rites with smoke must have been performed. Whether it takes months or years, very much depends on the emotions and needs of the survivors.

Houses of the newly dead may be abandoned forever. The house formerly occupied by the deceased and items hard to replace (such as cars, dinghies, VCRs, football trophies) nowadays can, however, be ritually cleansed with smoke. After cleansing has taken place, depending on their emotions and needs, people might move into the house again or it might not be reoccupied for a considerable time, if ever.

The emotions concerned can be understood as an ‘index of social relationship’.²³ It has to do with ‘the gradual elimination of the social person of the deceased and the effect that has on the status and self-conception of the living’.²⁴ The mortuary practice of abandoning the personal objects of the deceased is not only a tool in the management of emotions but also speaks of a particular concept of person.

The extended self

The close association of these things with the dead person also follows from the fact that personal belongings can substitute for the corpse in Tiwi graves. Post-funeral rituals can be held out bush around a grave without a corpse but with the personal effects of the deceased. This has also to do with the fact that all (classificatory)²⁵ fathers of the deceased can organise these rituals but they do not always take place simultaneously or at one and the same location. Along with the corpse, these objects become taboo upon death, because they are closely associated – either as extensions or as stand-ins – with the dead body, an object itself.

The ritual burning of clothes of the deceased (called *amprakatika*) implies the termination of a relationship, not unlike burning the clothes of a living partner or lover marks the end of a relationship.²⁶ As a magical practice, the destruction of someone’s clothes equals killing or harming that person. For the same purpose, substances such as bodily excretions, hair and fingernails can be used. This matter, which is periodically separated from the body, does not differ that much from clothes as other material extensions of the body. More in general one could say

that the personal effects are viewed as inseparable from one's material being in the world, that is, one with the imagery of the physical body.

The burial of the dead with their possessions also demonstrates the intimate association between people and things.²⁷ According to Belk, people consider their personal belongings extensions of their selves.²⁸ He speaks of 'the extended self' (elaborating on James' idea of a 'material self').²⁹ For Belk, the fact that personal possessions are considered as parts of the self is evidenced by the way these things are treated after death.³⁰ Furthermore, the objects harbour memories and emotions of the person in question.³¹ These things, the dead person's clothes and personal belongings, arouse the emotion of that person somehow still being there.

Hence the ritual workers, the only ones allowed to handle and dispose of the corpse, have to collect the newly dead's personal effects. The body as well as the personal apparel and objects of the deceased have to vanish. Such goods seem to be seen as inseparable from the rightful owner, no matter the latter is dead.³² The entitlement or dead person's continued rights and interest in the personal belongings suggests an understanding in line with the idea of an extended self. Writing on the Kurnai of South-East Australia, Fison and Howitt state that 'the personality is very limited in extent, and in reality can only include weapons, implements and garments.'³³ As the bereaved relatives do not want to be reminded of the dead for emotional reasons, the things are buried together with the corpse. Among the Pintupi of the Western Desert, the personal belongings of the deceased are burned (occasionally even a truck) or handed to people far away, 'because a person's effects are identified with him or her and make close relatives sad'.³⁴ Further examples from Aboriginal Australia could be given,³⁵ but in spite of the variation in method they have in common that the notion of an extended self applies. The point is that there exists a close link between the deceased and his/her personal possessions: and as the person has to go, so too have these things.

Ritual destruction

Without the disposal of the personal belongings along with the corpse the transition of the deceased from the world of the living to the world of the dead would be incomplete. The erasure of material presence, including the ritual act of symbolically killing the goods associated with the deceased, paves the way for a transformation of the relationships with the one who has passed away.

In the Tiwi postfuneral rites subsequent categories of kin – bereaved parents, children, grandparents, siblings or cousins of the deceased, the spouse and in-laws – perform. In their songs, dances and gestures they emphasise the loss or hurt of body parts that stand for the dead person.³⁶ For example, the fathers symbolically cut off their male genitals, the mothers (and mothers' brothers) have painful breasts, siblings lose or injure their legs, cousins do so with half of their face, and so forth. The bereaved thus lose part of self, that is, a specific, intersubjective relationship to the deceased. The spirits of the dead are supposed to perform simultaneously. Many of the songs by the living performers are in the form

of a dialogue with the dead person, whose voice is mimicked. Taken together, the ritual performances present a well-rounded portrayal of the dead person.

Barley notes that ‘funerary behaviour and beliefs around the world read like an extended discussion of the notion of the person’.³⁷ From the perspective of symbolic interactionism, ‘[t]he unity of the self is constituted by the unity of the entire relational pattern of social behaviour and experience in which the individual is implicated.’³⁸ Mead refers to this entire pattern as ‘the generalised other’.³⁹ The self can be an ‘object’ (which for Mead includes material objects as well as human beings given social meaning) to itself due to an internalised conversation of gestures directed to oneself as it would be to others.⁴⁰ In other words, ‘the self is constructed and defined in social interaction with significant others’.⁴¹ As mentioned, a social relation can also be maintained with objects, which play an important role in defining one’s identity.⁴² The personal belongings thus happen to be ‘saturated’ with the deceased’s being.⁴³ Both the corpse and the intimate possessions of the dead person are considered taboo (*pukamani*) by the Tiwi and receive ritual treatment. The ritual workers handle the dead body as well as the personal effects. These things, closely associated with the dead person, resemble the body parts of the bereaved as parts of the deceased’s self. The workers have to do away with them.

The ritual workers destroy, or get rid of, the things of the dead in various ways. The personal effects are broken to pieces, buried, left on the grave, burnt or thrown into the sea. The workers clear out the house of the deceased. The personal belongings, together with a heavy stone, are sometimes wrapped in plastic, tied with a cord. Next, this is taken in a dinghy and thrown overboard to the bottom of the sea. Things of the dead are also left on the grave to decompose. Or they are buried with the corpse. We can safely assume a deterioration of the body as well as the personal apparel and artefacts. The ritual destruction of the personal belongings marks death, ‘the greatest transition of all’.⁴⁴

The removal of the intimate objects of the dead has been related to all three phases in rites of passage as distinguished by Van Gennep: separation, transition and incorporation.⁴⁵ Doing away with these things so charged with emotions and memories serves the separation of the dead from the living, the transition of the deceased from the world of the living to the world of the dead and the incorporation in the world of the dead. The ritual gestures differ accordingly.

Hiatt, referring to the ritual burning of the clothes of the deceased in a sand sculpture in Arnhem Land, is adamant that we are dealing with a separation rite.⁴⁶ The same has been argued for the mortuary practice of hair cutting, that is, the removal of hair of either the deceased or the bereaved.⁴⁷ Van Gennep considers the destruction of the personal possessions of the deceased a rite of separation.⁴⁸ For Hiatt it is the emotional needs of the bereaved that take prevalence and explain this custom.⁴⁹ The Tiwi also practice the burning of the clothes of the deceased but it occurs out of sight and is not foregrounded in ritual as in the Arnhem Land case. They clearly see it as ‘finishing off’ a relationship (also practiced in terminating a relationship between lovers).⁵⁰ In other words, the practice can be regarded as a separation rite. Although distant kin might get access to a house or car after ritual

cleansing, it is more common on the mainland that intimate belongings such as clothes if not burnt are distributed to them and, therewith, disappear from view.⁵¹ This distribution thus takes place for the sake of the bereaved so that they are 'not continually reminded of the dead'.⁵² The avoidance of reminders of the deceased in manifold ways, including the name taboo and doing away with the possessions, might nevertheless have the opposite effect.⁵³

Another reason for the ritual destruction of the personal belongings of the deceased is given by Hertz in his seminal essay on mortuary ritual. Hertz writes, 'to make a material object or living being pass from this world to the next, to free or create the soul, it must be destroyed.'⁵⁴ This applies to the corpse and the personal belongings of the deceased, at least in the Tiwi case. Elsewhere I have argued that a distinction can be made between flesh-type and bone-type objects. Bone-type objects, such as ancestral bones, relics, royal regalia, heirlooms and precious metals and stones, are characterised by durability and represent the continuity of social (descent) groups over the generations. Flesh-type objects, such as the flesh of the corpse and intimate possessions of the deceased, require a transformation of material character – by destruction in part or whole – to achieve passage to another realm of existence, namely the world of the dead.⁵⁵ In other words, the practice is a feature of a rite of transition. While the destruction of the personal belongings of the deceased makes the transition to another form of existence possible, the absence of material presence of both the person and the personal effects forces the bereaved to remember the deceased in other ways.

Several ethnographers relate the Tiwi practice of annihilating the personal belongings of the dead to perceived demands of the spirits of the dead. The spirits of the dead would be still interested in these things.⁵⁶ Mountford and Goodale describe how at the time of burial personal items of the deceased were left at the grave and the tabooed area was exclusively reserved for hunting and gathering by the spirit(s) of the dead. A large fire and a container of water, in addition, were to provide for the dead person's needs.⁵⁷ During my fieldwork (in 1988–1989 and five return visits since) I saw objects such as cool boxes, plastic bottles with water, cigarettes, a Mary statue and a T-shirt of the local Australian Rules football club placed on the grave. Some graves had the deceased's clothes buried in them rather than a corpse. Enamel plates or bowls and mugs could be found on older graves. A mattress and sheets that belonged to the deceased, in a few occasions, were put centre stage during the final mortuary rites. The handling of the intimate possessions of the dead can be seen in these instances as a rite of incorporation. The items placed on the grave were for the dead to stay put there and to participate in the world of the dead.

The mattress and sheets were a prop in mourning used to evoke and invoke the deceased. The items left on the grave, dedicated to the deceased, speak of a care for the dead. In the last ritual act most bereaved people, according to Boston and Trezise, 'wish to do what they feel the dead person would have liked' as this feels right and gives consolation.⁵⁸ Spencer observed Tiwi mortuary rituals in 1911 and 1912. He notes that 'it is evident that the whole ceremony is carried out with the object of pleasing the spirit of the dead person and also, at the same time, of

intimating to it the fact that they expect it to remain quiet and not trouble them'.⁵⁹ This resonates with Malinowski's remark, cited here above, on the ambiguity in the attitude towards the newly dead. Frazer suggests that the fear of the dead must have come 'from the idea that they were angry with the living for dispossessing them. Hence, rather than use the property of the deceased and thereby incur the anger of his ghost, men destroyed it.'⁶⁰

On their part, however, the bereaved might also feel anger about the loss of the departed.⁶¹ The Tiwi tend to curse their cultural hero Purukupali, who brought death into the world. For example, one man sang he wanted to smash his face, that is, of the mythological ancestor.⁶² Besides calls for revenge, anger and perhaps feelings of guilt are also expressed in self-wounding, particularly respective parts of the body referring to the deceased.⁶³ Destruction of property at the time of death through burning, breaking or burial entails a certain measure of violence also. The close relatives refrain from claims to the deceased's personal belongings, a form of self-denial enforced by the cultural convention that these objects are taboo if not the unendurable emotional hardship of facing them. The gestures described here above can also be perceived as symbolic killing, notably of parts of the deceased's self, be it human flesh or material objects.⁶⁴

Symbolic death and rebirth are part and parcel of rites of passage, marking the transition from one status to another.⁶⁵ Furthermore, in Aboriginal Australia, deaths were often treated as if the person in question had been killed.⁶⁶ Hertz acknowledges the importance of symbolic killing as a precondition for a transition to the world of the dead: 'It is so true that natural death is not sufficient to sever the ties binding the deceased to this world, that in order to become a legitimate and authentic inhabitant of the land of the dead he first must be killed.'⁶⁷ Bloch views this as a particular type of violence. Following the pattern of the rites of passage, he regards the initial phase 'as a dramatically constructed dichotomisation located within the body of each of the participants'.⁶⁸ Bloch envisions a split between the elements of vitality and transcendence. The persons undergoing the rites of passage are changed, for the violence acted upon them is rebounding, enabling them to enter a world beyond process, and appropriating and conquering an external vitality.⁶⁹ This vitality shows in the imagined agency of the dead. Symbolic killing, characterised by abruptness and irreversibility, is a powerful image of a radical breaking of ties and separation.⁷⁰ The ritual destruction of the personal belongings of the deceased allows for a clear-cut transition, for it completes the deletion of the material presence of the person in question in the world of the living.

Keeping memories

The physical absence of the corpse and the dead person's personal belongings, disposed of by the ritual workers, forces the bereaved into a reorientation towards their loss. The disappearance of the material presence, the deceased's 'extended self', is an ostentatious way to stress the void and mark the breaking of ties. The subsequent 'rebounding violence' implies a recasting of the relationship between

the living and the dead.⁷¹ The newly dead's being no longer palpable invites an incremental vividness of memory. It enhances the construction of the deceased's postself, the way in which the dead person will be remembered in song, dance and gesture in the final mortuary rites.⁷² The fixation of immaterial memories draws on the emotionally compelling physical annihilation, to which the mourners following their needs can adjust with the oscillating process between ritual moments of remembrance with attention to grief and returning to everyday life. Destroying objects thus allows for keeping memories. The deceased will be remembered as portrayed in the final rites, called *iloti* and meaning 'for good'.

The eradication of the personal belongings of the deceased as well as the corpse creates the space for a memory of the dead to be reconstructed.⁷³ Indeed, as elsewhere in Aboriginal Australia, first 'all traces of the dead are removed'.⁷⁴ Material traces, that is. As Hafner puts it with regard to Aborigines in Cape York, 'the dead disappear from the material plane but not from social view, and are not simply relegated to the past'.⁷⁵ The creative side to this process is the fixation and objectivation of memories in mortuary ritual by means of song, dance and ritual calls and gestures. Drawing on their memories of their personal experiences with the deceased and traceable social and cosmological relationships, the participants construct the deceased's (post)self or 'generalised other', as Mead would call it.⁷⁶ In this collective creative process⁷⁷ a new spirit of the dead is constituted. The transition is timed by taking the emotions of the bereaved and their process of mourning into account. Geoffrey Mangatobi's mangrove spears were destroyed at the conclusion of the ceremony, but memories of him are kept until today. Actually, the spears figured in the crocodile dance of his clan (Mangatobi is a crocodile name) to which a swift movement with the shoulder had been added by Geoffrey and his brothers. This gesture referred to their father Mangatobi being speared in his side in an ambush and his narrow escape while four brothers were speared to death. The son of the perpetrator reenacted the spearing by his father in the final death rites for Geoffrey Mangatobi.⁷⁸ This defining gesture made the memories of the latter even more emotionally compelling.

Notes

- 1 dir. MacDougall 1977.
- 2 Loizos 1991: 9.
- 3 Venbrux 2017.
- 4 Venbrux 1995.
- 5 Goodale 1971: 250.
- 6 dir. Levy 1974.
- 7 Venbrux 2007.
- 8 Beatty 2005: 22.
- 9 Malinowski 1948: 32.
- 10 Goodale 1971: 267.
- 11 Gray 1976: 147.
- 12 Kroeber cited in Panich 2015: 114.
- 13 Goodale 1971: 266.
- 14 Belk 1988.

- 15 Venbrux 2007.
- 16 Hertz 1960, first published 1907.
- 17 Hart and Pilling 1960: 93; see also Brandl 1971.
- 18 Grau 1983: 70.
- 19 Reid 1979: 340–342.
- 20 Seligman 1932: 198, n.1.
- 21 Frazer 1913: 149.
- 22 Lutz 2017: 189.
- 23 Lutz 1988: 4; cf. Venbrux 1993.
- 24 Metcalf and Huntington 1991: 65.
- 25 This includes the brothers of the actual father who are also considered ‘father’.
- 26 Venbrux 1995: 100.
- 27 Belk 1988: 144.
- 28 Belk 1988.
- 29 James 1931: 292–293, first published 1890.
- 30 Belk 1988: 139, 144.
- 31 Belk 1988: 148.
- 32 Goody 1962: 307.
- 33 Fison and Howitt 1991: 245, first published 1880.
- 34 Myers 2016: 562.
- 35 e.g. Bendann 1930: 116–117; Berndt and Berndt 1988: 455–465.
- 36 Venbrux 1993, 1995.
- 37 Barley 1995: 27; see also Bloch 1988; Venbrux 1995: 194–195.
- 38 Mead 1972: 144, n. 4. First published in 1934.
- 39 Mead 1972: 154.
- 40 Mead 1972: 149.
- 41 Jakoby 2012: 686.
- 42 Mead 1972: 154, n. 7; McCarthy 1984; Jakoby 2015.
- 43 Bendann 1930: 248–250.
- 44 Elkin 1964: 175.
- 45 Van Gennep 1960; see also Venbrux 2015.
- 46 Hiatt 1961: 2–3; for further references to this practice in Arnhem Land, see Warner 1969: 409–411 (first published in 1937); Hiatt 1965: 55; Peterson 1976: 100–101; Clunies Ross and Hiatt 1977: 131; Reid 1979: 337; Morphy 1984: 81; Clunies Ross 1989; Borsboom 1994: 255. For a few examples from Central Australia, see Spencer and Gillen 1927: 431; Meggitt 1986: 320–321 (first published in 1962); Tonkinson 1978: 84–85; Myers 1986: 134.
- 47 Glaskin 2006: 115; Glowczewski 1983: 238; Musharbash 2008: 28.
- 48 Van Gennep 1960: 164.
- 49 Hiatt 1961: *passim*.
- 50 Venbrux 2007: 99.
- 51 Samson 1980: 144–145; Widlok 2007: 14–16; Musharbash 2008: 21, 28.
- 52 Glaskin 2006: 122.
- 53 Cf. Stasch 2011: 102.
- 54 Hertz 1960: 46.
- 55 Venbrux 2007. It must be noted that the personal belongings are being destroyed or done away with by people of the same generation. See also Tonkinson 2008: 40.
- 56 C. H. Berndt 1950: 305.
- 57 Mountford 1958: 64–65; Goodale 1971: 237; R. M. Berndt 1974: 27.
- 58 Boston and Trezise 1988: 99.
- 59 Spencer 1914: 239.
- 60 Frazer 1886: 75, n. 1.
- 61 Borsboom 1994: 262–264.

- 62 Venbrux 2009: 467.
63 Venbrux 1995; Stroebe and Schut 1998: 8.
64 Venbrux 1995:145–147; McCarthy1984.
65 Hertz 1960; Van Gennepe 1960; Venbrux 2015.
66 Spencer and Gillen 1968: 476 (first published 1899); Meggitt 1986: 246; Elkin 1964: 319; Maddock 1986: 156.
67 Hertz 1960: 73.
68 Bloch 1992: 6.
69 Bloch 1992.
70 Venbrux 1995: 146.
71 Bloch 1992.
72 See Venbrux 2017.
73 Cf. Weiss 1997: 169.
74 Rose 1992: 72.
75 Hafner 2016: 928.
76 Venbrux 2017; Mead 1972: 154 (see also here above).
77 Cf. Bogatyrev and Jakobson 1929.
78 Venbrux 2009: 472.

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