

The Native American view of the deities ranged from a great-spirit high god, to animism, to a sort of pantheism that unified and deified all of humanity and nature. At the core was a doctrine of a primary holy sacred force. The Sioux called it *wakan*; the Algonquin, *orenda*. Other tribes gave this force other names. But shamans throughout the continent agreed that a holy force held all things together. Native North American life largely revolved around this force. It made nature alluring and intimidating, a source of benevolent influences that on occasion turned severe. Perhaps the key goal of most Native Americans was to maintain harmony with such holy natural power, to move in rhythm with its cosmic pulse. Harmony was the way to ensure the fertility of both tribe and field, to guarantee success in both hunting and war, to achieve a full life. By contrast, disharmony led to disaster: ruined crops, sickly children, defeat in war. As a deliberate exercise in disharmony, witchcraft caused a perceptible shudder.

For the Delaware tribe of North America, the four directions of the compass were sacred and merited prayers of thanksgiving. They thanked the east for the morning, when the light is bright and everyone feels good. They thanked the west for the end of the day, when the sun goes down and everyone can again feel good. To the north they owed thanks for the wind, whose cold coming reminds us that we have lived to see the leaves fall again. To the south they owed thanks for the warm winds that make the grass turn green.

Animist doctrine can be seen in the respect for animals and natural forces. For the Naskapi of Labrador, hunting was especially sacred, since it was their most important occupation. The Naskapi thought that the animals they hunted had emotions and purposes like their own and that in the beginning animals could talk like humans. So the Naskapi would sing and drum to them as to friends. Similarly, they would take great care not to mutilate certain bones of the elk or beaver that enclosed an inner soul, a spirit like the hunter's own. Indeed, they thought that at death the animals gathered in an animal realm, just as human spirits gathered in the human realm. Both realms were conceived as stages in a cycle of reincarnation (rebirth in a new form), and so both sets of spirits were bound together. If the hunters did not know the behavioral principles governing their sacred connections with the

animals, all sorts of misfortune could ensue. The hunt would be fruitless, the people would be without food, sickness or even death might descend.

As hunting peoples have considered their pursuit of game sacred, so agricultural peoples have considered farming sacred. The Native Americans who raised corn (maize) revered it as the gift of the Corn Maiden and harvested it ceremonially. Other Native American tribes insisted on treating the earth especially gently in the spring, for then it was like a woman pregnant with new life. To plow it, even to walk or run on it without care, would have been to mistreat a full womb.

There are a variety of Native American creation myths. Earth Diver (an animal or bird who brings the earth up out of the water) is a common one, but the Zuni tell of numerous workers who disappeared once the world was organized. According to the creation myth of the Maidu of California, a turtle collaborated with a heavenly spirit called "Earth Initiate" to pull the land up out of the waters. The turtle wanted a place to rest from his ceaseless swimming, so he volunteered to dive down for some earth. Earth Initiate held a rope tied to the turtle's left arm. The turtle went down, stayed six years, and returned covered with green slime. Under his fingernails was some sand, which Earth Initiate rolled into a ball that swelled up and became the earth. In the slightly different version of the Yauelmani Yokuts of California, a duck and an eagle replace the turtle and Earth Initiate.

The Winnebago pictured creation as a process of pure divine thought. When the Father, the Earth-maker, came to consciousness, he cried because he did not know what to do. Noticing that his tears, which had fallen from heaven, had become the waters, he realized that by wishing he could make other things become, so he wished for light and earth, which became. Then he made a likeness of himself from earth, and when it did not answer him he made a mind and soul for it and breathed into it so that it could reply. Thus, in one myth, the Winnebago taught that the world was made by design and that humans were made in God's image to converse with him.

Less revered than creative deities are the culture heroes celebrated in myths, whose function was to socialize the tribe. Often they are twins to whom the people trace their arts and crafts. Another superhuman figure in many tribal myths is the spirit who owns



the animals. Unless the people reverence this spirit, they will not have good hunting or fishing. A third power in North American mythology is the antihero called *Trickster*. Native American tribes frequently thought of animals, such as the coyote, as *Trickster* figures.

Puberty rites were the most important rituals for most tribes. For the Oglala Sioux, the pattern for the female puberty rite was set by a vision of a buffalo calf being cleansed by its mother. Out of this grew the traditional ways that young women were cleansed (as the Sioux thought necessary for their fertility power) so that they could bear children and raise them in a sacred manner, so that their fertility power would not conflict with the killing power of Sioux males (who were hunters and warriors).

Agricultural tribes developed rituals based upon the agricultural cycles. The Pueblos feared that the world itself would cease to function if they did not perform these rituals: the sun would not travel the sky, the mountains would not stand tall. Without thanks from, and exchanges with, humankind, the forces of the world would not abide humankind, they would not function. Native Americans and sun, then, kept a holy compact.

Much Native American ritual aimed at intimacy with a benevolent supernatural power. A good example of this is the *vision quest*. Many North American tribes strenuously sought a vision of a guiding spirit. (South American tribes accepted visions that came but tended not to pursue them.) The vision quest became a rite of passage, a threshold to maturity. Without a vision as a guiding experience, one could not walk with direction or live with full purpose. If a young man's vision quest failed, he might become a tribal marginal, forced to dress in women's clothing and barred from male roles.

Along the Great Lakes and Mississippi Valley, the *vision quest* was largely used to train boys. In the Plains, men used it throughout life whenever they felt the need. On the Pacific coast, it often took the form of spirit possession. When the vision quest was used as training, children as young as seven years learned to fast. Boys heard that they would amount to nothing if they did not see a spirit and obtain its guidance. Girls could quest until puberty, when a different kind of power came, the power of motherhood.

A young man would begin the vision quest with a steam bath, putting off all worldly thoughts. Then he

would ascend the most commanding summit, strip to his moccasins and breechcloth. To demonstrate his commitment, he might cut off strips of flesh from his arm. When his vision came, it usually included a promise for his tribe, a glimpse of a tutelary animal (often a wolf or eagle), and a token (perhaps a feather or hair) that became his most prized possession. Finally, the youth would also receive his song—the particular chant that he alone could sing on important occasions. If he had other visions in the future, he could accumulate a “medicine bundle” of tokens. Often shamans who were great healers relied on such tokens to work cures.

An important variation on this vision theme was the Hopi representation of spirits through ceremonial masks. In that tribe, children up to eight or nine years old understood the *kachinas*, or masked dancers, to be real spirits in their midst. The crisis of the Hopi passage to adulthood occurred when the dancers dropped their masks, for then the young person had to accept that the reality of the *kachinas* was not physical but completely spiritual. The participants projected themselves into the spirit world and became what they were representing.

Largely through their visions, Native American shamans functioned as healers, exorcists, and diviners. As healers, they sucked from victims' bodies objects thought to be the tools of witches or ghosts. Shamans from the Navaho and other tribes of the Southwest stressed healing by ritual singing, while holy people of planting tribes specialized in spells for crop fertility. The Pueblos of New Mexico were agriculturalists who shifted from shamanist and rather individualistic ceremonies to more formalized priestly rituals. However, even their lengthy chants for healing and fertility retained ecstatic elements from a preagricultural, nomadic, and shamanist past.

Doctrines about the afterlife varied greatly from tribe to tribe. Among hunting tribes, the concept of the self or soul was not well defined. Human beings were thought to have several souls, one or more of which might live on after death. In fact, the Sioux were exceptional in not fearing the dead. Other tribes would have a child “adopt” a deceased relative to tame the relative's loosed soul. Reincarnation was a common assumption, and the Hopi buried dead infants in the hope that their souls would return in future children. The Pueblos had a singularly clear and

happy conception of the afterlife. For them the dead would either join the *kachinas* or become rain clouds. More typical was the Hopis' muted hope—they buried women in their wedding dresses, anticipating the women's passage to the next world.

Despite the importance of these notions, most Native Americans were less concerned with salvation in a future heaven than with a good life in the present. Happiness or success was to enjoy the beautiful land, to have many children, and to know the spirits intimately. Our modern priorities of getting ahead would have meant little to a traditional Native American. Far more important than possessions was the power to see the spiritual side of life.

After separate tribes from different parts of the country and different traditions were herded together onto the reservation system, there arose some syncretistic sharing of traditions. In the nineteenth century, a pantribal movement called the **Ghost Dance** was a response to the Native Americans' oppression and subjugation by whites and temporarily lifted their hopes. The Ghost Dance was a cult based on trance and a spiritual message promising that if the participants renewed their old ways and danced the new dance, they would be immune to the white man's diseases and bullets, the ancestors would return, and with them the buffalo. In 1886, a Paiute named Wowoka rallied hundreds of Paiutes, Kiowas, and Cheyenne in Nevada. By 1890, the Sioux, who had lost 9 million acres of their best land, turned to the Ghost Dance as a last resort. Across the country, Native Americans sang of the **apocalyptic** message brought by a spotted eagle: The dead are returning; the nation is coming; the Father will return the elk, the deer, and the buffalo. But the whites killed Sitting Bull, and the movement ended in the tragedy of Wounded Knee, when cavalry soldiers panicked at the sight of unarmed Indians dancing and chanting.

Some tribes responded to the reservation system by using hallucinatory drugs. At the time of Columbus, Native Americans used perhaps a hundred different substances. The first and most widespread of these was tobacco. In the twentieth century one of the most interesting Native American religious movements was the **peyote** religion, introduced in the late nineteenth century by Apaches, who traded for peyote across the Mexican border. Slowly a body of rituals developed, many of them from the Plains Indians, until there was

a complete ceremonial of confession, singing, drumming, and praying. The movement incorporated some Christian elements, reached many tribes of the Plains and the Southeast, and filled some of the void left by the passing of the Ghost Dance. Today, incorporated as the Native American Church, the peyote religion offers Indians the legal right to take peyote as their ritual sacrament.

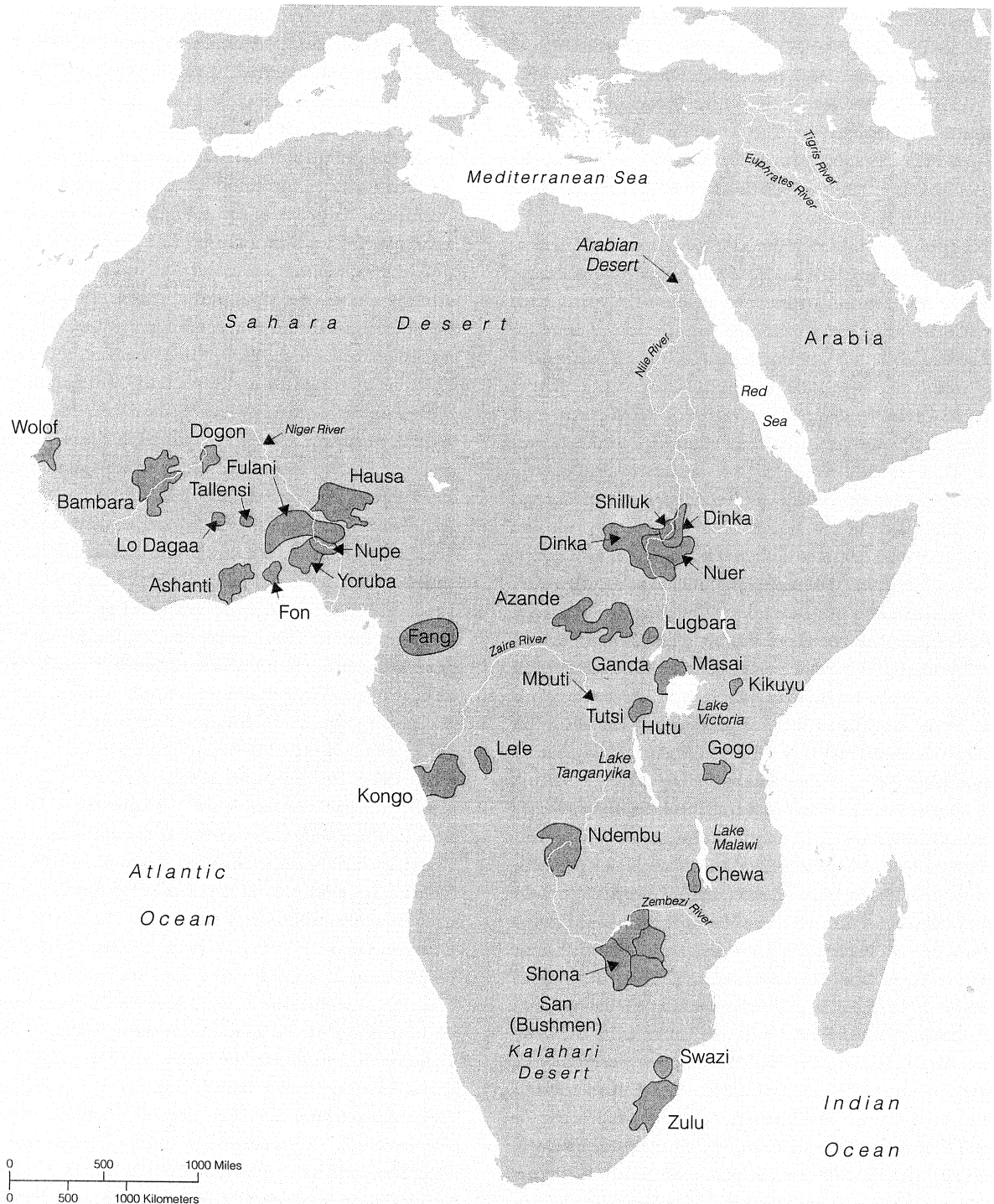
Another postreservation trend has been **syncretism**, the blending of different religious traditions. This includes not just the sharing of rituals, symbols, and myths from one tribe to another, but also the blending of Christian and native traditions. A woman may be baptized as a member of a Christian denomination but still find some relevance in going through traditional puberty rites.

AFRICANS

The Africa most germane to our study in this chapter lies south of the Sahara. Whereas in the north Islam is now the major influence, in the south ancient religion competes with (or mingles with) Christianity or Islam. Africa is the world's second-largest continent in geographic area and its peoples vary greatly in terms of language, ethnic origins, and economic system. Some peoples are hunters in a rain forest, others are desert hunters, others herd cattle, and some have well-developed agricultural technology.

In analyzing traditional African religion, one first notes that most tribes have had a supreme being, sometimes fitting the concept of the high god. In East Africa, its most common name has been Mulungu, which connotes an impersonal spirit far away. Mulungu is creative, omnipotent, and omnipresent. It may be heard in thunder and seen in lightning. Originally Mulungu was intimate with the world, but in later days it withdrew.

Traditional West Africans build temples. They tend to pray every day, using simple, personal words, and frequently they pray at one of the many shrines that dot the countryside. Usually their prayers are quite practical—petitions for health, security, good farming, or safe travel. They commonly sacrifice something to a god, usually offering a liquid or cereal. The first-fruits offering at harvest time is especially important. Special occasions may prompt an animal sacrifice, and in ancient days humans apparently



Indigenous tribal peoples of Africa

were sacrificed, largely to provide companions for deceased kings. (Kings were crucial mediators of cosmic harmony and so somewhat divine.)

The ox sacrifice of the Nuer shows African religious ceremony in high style. It only takes place on such important occasions as weddings or feud settlements. Once the ox has been brought in, the ceremony unfolds in four phases: presentation, consecration, invocation, and immolation (killing). The animal is tethered to a stake; officiants rub ashes on it to consecrate it; a priest raises his spear and invokes the spirit; then he spears the animal and all members of the community eat from it. (Africans in general show great regard for cattle, and the main idea in cattle sacrifice seems to be to revere and tap the powers of procreation that bulls and cows represent.)

Traditionally Africans also emphasize rites of passage, investing birth, adolescence, marriage, and death with religious significance and giving the self a sense of development. Usually these rites are performed at home under the guidance of a family elder. At a birth, the family makes offerings to the ancestors. They also use divination to determine to which deity the child should be dedicated. Adolescent ceremonies stress endurance. They are ordeals designed to toughen children into adults and to impart adult sacred lore. Frequently they take the form of circumcision for boys or *clitoridectomy* for girls.

Many tribes are polygynous (one man and several wives), and so African women often are co-wives. As the operation of a women's society such as the Sande of Sierra Leone shows, one of the purposes of *clitoridectomy* (euphemistically called female circumcision) is to develop deep sisterly ties, lest husbands play women off against one another. Thus, the painful excision of the initiate's clitoris is performed amid strong group support; other women console the initiate with food, songs, and dances, promising her that her present suffering will ensure her future fertility and be a sign to her husband of her moral and religious maturity. It is also likely that clitoridectomy is thought to remove any maleness (since the clitoris is perceived as a penislike organ), allowing the woman to fit into her female social status more easily. Understandably, feminist scholars have suspected a patriarchal desire to control women's sexuality.

For the BaMbuti, the forest pygmies of the north-eastern Congo, female puberty rites have consisted of

dancing and singing in praise of life, accompanied by a long tubal instrument that produced hauntingly beautiful sounds thought to represent the forest animals' collective voice.

Funeral rites are intended to separate the dead from the living without offense. One must perform these rites most carefully, for they can influence the dead person's peace in the spirit world. Funerals keep the living in view, too, stirring up consoling memories and reminding the bereaved that all life is fleeting. Africans have tended to place great stock in dreams, often because there they could meet their departed ancestors.

African religions are especially rich in terms of varied myths, so studying the tribes' tales has become a preferred way of understanding the African social outlook. In a Yoruba creation myth, the supreme God sends to a marsh an artisan who is carrying a bag that lay between the great God's thighs. From this bag the artisan shakes out soil and then a cock and pigeon, which scratch the soil until the marsh is covered. Thus, the land is holy, given from above. The Dogon say that God created the sun and moon like pots with copper rings. To make the stars he flung pellets of clay into space, and he also made the earth out of clay. The Fon think that a great snake gathered the earth together after God made it and that the earth still rests on this snake's coils. For the Kikuyu of Kenya, God is the divider of the universe. He made Mount Kenya, the "Mountain of Brightness," as evidence of his wonders and as a divine resting place. The Luyia say that God first made the moon brighter and bigger than the sun. The sun became jealous, and the two fought. The moon was thrown into the dirt, resulting in its muddy face. The Boshongo, a Bantu tribe of central Africa, said that the creator Bumba produced the world because he had a stomachache. In pain, he vomited up the sun, the moon, living creatures, and finally humans. In a number of myths, he creates humans out of the ground. The Zulu of South Africa and the Thonga of Mozambique both have a tradition that the first man and woman came out of an exploded reed bed. A Pygmy story says that the chameleon heard a strange, whispering noise in a tree. When it cut the tree open, out came a flood of water, which spread over the earth, and the first humans, who were light skinned. The Ashanti of Ghana revere Mondays and Tuesdays, because the leopard, who is

sacred to some clans, emerged on those days. Also, the first human leader consoled his followers, who were frightened on coming out from under the earth. Because that leader was killed on Wednesday, Wednesday is a feared day.

The supreme deity fits a high-god pattern. There are numerous myths of the supreme being's withdrawal to the distant heaven. The Mende of Sierra Leone say that God moved away because humans were always bothering him. Ghanans and Nigerians say that humans became too familiar with God. Originally God's heaven was just above their heads, but children came to wipe their hands on it, women hit it when pounding grain, and finally a woman with a long pole hit heaven in the eye. God then moved away. The Burundi of central Africa say that God went off because a baby with a birth defect was born, and some humans wanted to kill God, whom they held responsible. In African mythology, God often leaves by climbing a spider's thread. If there were a great emergency, humans might be able to find the thread and obtain God's help again.

Though these stories stress God's distance and so reflect an African sense of a fall from heavenly grace, African prayers show that divinity is still thought to be present and operative, in ordinary times through intermediary gods and in times of crisis through the high god. Thus, a prayer to Imana, creator God of the Ruanda-Urundi, begs, "Give me offspring, give me as you give to others! Imana, what shall I do, where shall I go? I am in distress, where is there room for me? O merciful, O Imana of mercy, help this once." A hymn to Mwari, God of the Mashona of southern Zimbabwe, recites his attributes and accomplishments (he piled the rocks into mountains and sewed the heavens like cloth), then asks a hearing and mercy. A South African bushman asks his God Gauwa for help in hunting, complains that Gauwa is cheating him, but concludes on a note of hope: "Gauwa will bring something for us to kill next day, after he himself hunts and has eaten meat, when he is full and feeling well." The African God, then, is both far and near, both inscrutable and able to be petitioned. In general, he is considered kind and good, a father or friend. He creates and sustains all things, but no one has ever seen him.

Thus we have seen the African tendency to solve the problem of making God both transcendent of the

world and immanent to the world by postulating a high god aloof from the world and lesser gods immersed in daily activity. Most other nonliterate religious cultures have worked out similar solutions, not agreeing with monotheisms that accept the otherness of full divinity, its lack of the limitations we find in all nondivine realities that makes it the realest, closest of beings.

Trickster figures were common in African myths. The Dogon viewed speech as a means of organization, and as such they thought it essentially good. Nonetheless, from the start of the world, speech had loosed disorder. This was because the jackal, God's deluded and deceitful son, desiring speech, had laid hands on the skirt (where speech was hidden) of his mother the earth and so had begun an incestuous relationship that set the world careening. As a result, there were many bad words whose utterance had manifestly physical effects. To Ogotemmeli they actually smelled, and their smell traveled from the nose to the throat and liver, and then to the sexual organs, where they affected potency and procreation.

Africans show little tendency toward asceticism. God's heavenly world is but a larger and happier version of their present good life. Many tribes hope that after death there will be a rebirth from the world of ghosts into another part of the sunlit earth. Because nature is bountiful, natural processes, including sex, are accepted without great question. The Ashanti of Ghana say that sexual knowledge came when the python sent man and woman to lie together. Consequently, many Ashanti thank the python for their children. If they find a dead python, they sprinkle it with white clay and give it a ritual burial. Africans tend to fear abnormal births, however, and disfigured people become outcasts. Twins are regarded differently by different tribes. Some tribes expose them to die, but others welcome and honor them. Like the Inuit, Africans think that souls are numerous, that the world is alive, and that a new child may inherit a soul from an ancestor in a form of reincarnation.

Several of the most poignant African myths deal with life's troubles, especially concerning ancestors and death and ghosts. A Zambian story tells of an old woman who wanted to follow her dead relatives because she had been left all alone. First she cut down tall trees and piled them on top of one another, trying to reach the sky. When this failed, she went looking

for the road to heaven, which appears to touch the earth at the horizon. She could not find it, but in her travels she met many tribes. They assured her that suffering is normal. A myth of the Chaga of Kenya tells of a man determined to shoot God because his sons had died. When he found God, however, there were his sons, more glorious than they had been on earth.

From these and other sources, it follows that many Africans have attributed death to a mistake. The Kono of Sierra Leone, for instance, explain death as the failure of a messenger dog. God gave the dog new skins for human beings, but the dog put them down in order to join a feast and a snake stole them. Since then the snake has been immortal, changing skins, while human beings have died—and tried to destroy snakes.

The functions of the shaman are broken down into several different African roles. The religious functionary who merits most attention is probably the *diviner*, who is more of an intellectual, not an ecstatic or spirit-possessed functionary. His or her religious talent is to conceive a comprehensive view of how all events fit into a sacred scheme. However, possession and wisdom are not clearly differentiated; intermediate forms lie between. The Mwari cultists of the Matopo Hills of Zimbabwe, for instance, contend that God speaks through mediums whom he possesses deep in certain caves, and that these messages give a comprehensive view of his operations in the world.

Also, there are numerous African intuitive diviners, famed for their ability to find lost articles, identify thieves, recognize witches, and so on. Whether they are inspired by a spirit or instinctively sense particular events is unclear. These diviners can pick up oblique clues from their clients' stories and give evidence of extrasensory perception.

Another evidence that African worldviews reflect centuries of cultural exchange is the common divinatory systems that stretch from Zaire to South Africa. In one system, for example, a basket containing 205 pieces of bone or wood represents all reality. To answer a question, the diviner shakes the basket and analyzes the pattern into which the pieces fall. The possible combinations are enormous, so students travel long distances to study with famous teachers. In

effect, the basket and its pieces are a microcosm of the African world's social institutions and forces. The diviner can feed into this system the problem at hand and then read out an answer. As with the shaman's report from the gods, the diviner's answer often becomes a means to healing or reconciliation.

Like the African witch doctor, who is a sort of physician, the diviner supports the forces of good, just as witches (to be distinguished from witch doctors) and sorcerers are agents of evil. Most tribes think that witches work at night, that they are usually women, and that they inherit or buy from demons a power to inflict harm. The sorcerer taps the power that witch doctors use but turns it to harm. He or she may make potions, cast spells, or put pins in an image of the victim.

SOUTHEAST ASIANS AND MELANESIANS

Just south and east of the Australian continent is a wide range of scattered Pacific islands known collectively as **Melanesia**, which includes Papua New Guinea. The indigenous peoples differ greatly in terms of language and culture but share many similarities with the Australian Aborigines—understandings of the sacred, animism, totemism, shamanism, and the Dreamtime. The Dyak of Borneo, for instance, thought of themselves as a sacred people. Their land was sacred, too, because it had been given to them by the deities, who made it from the remains of the sun and the moon.

One difference between the Melanesians and the Australians is that the former have agriculture and domestic animals such as pigs. One creation myth reflecting this is the story of **Hainuwele** from New Guinea. In some versions, a beautiful woman creates food in a disgusting way (e.g., she excretes it). Outraged, the people rise up and kill her, chopping up her body into many tiny pieces and burying them. These pieces become yams, the great dietary staple.

The various island cultures of Melanesia also have some notable male puberty rites. Some tribes were the original bungee cord jumpers: they built towers, fastened vines to their ankles, and jumped off as a test of daring. Other tribes would go on raids and try to capture the head of an enemy, and then shrink it.

FEATURES OF SPECIFIC TRIBAL TRADITIONS				
PEOPLE	LOCATION	LEADER	DOCTRINES AND MYTHS	RITUALS
Aborigines	Australia	shaman	high god, animism, Dreamtime, totemism	puberty
Melanesians	western Pacific		Dreamtime, Hainuwele, ancestors	puberty, cargo
Polynesians	southeastern Pacific		taboo, animism, totemism, creation	puberty, cargo
Ainu	northern Japan	shaman	animism	bear sacrifice, divination
Eskimo	Arctic	shaman	afterlife, animism, creation	
Indians	North America	shaman	high god, tricksters, totemism, creation	puberty, peyotism, Ghost Dance
Africans	Africa	witch doctor, diviner, herbalist	high god, animism, tricksters, ancestors, ghosts	divination, puberty
Teutons	northern Europe		tricksters, apocalyptic hell and valhalla, pantheon, fairies	megaliths
Celts	western Europe	priests	tricksters, fairies	megaliths, sacrifice, calendars

The Ngaju Dayak of South Borneo saw marriage as a sacred stage in life's unfolding. Therefore, the two marital partners were made to die symbolically so that they could be reborn by sticking the stem of the Tree of Life, represented by a spear, in a human head taken in a raid or from a slave. Thus, the couple was made vividly aware that their new state dealt with awesome powers. (In recent decades the head has been replaced by a coconut.)

Ritual cannibalism was also practiced on these islands. The brains of ancestors were eaten as part of the funeral rites in order to assimilate the spirits of the departed. Unfortunately, after many generations this practice led to the transmission of a dementia

based upon a slow-acting infection (not unlike bovine spongiform dementia, known as "mad cow disease").

In Indonesia and Melanesia, megaliths can be found: stone monuments that defended the soul during its journey to the beyond, ensured an eternal existence after death, linked the living and the dead, and fertilized the crops and animals through their sacred durability.

In the last century, contact with Europeans and North Americans led to the development of **cargo cults** among Melanesians in the western Pacific. Most of these cults arose during World War II, when these islands were occupied first by the Japanese, then by the allied forces of the United States, Britain, Australia, and

New Zealand. Docks and airfields were constructed and grew into oil depots, refueling stations, ammunition dumps and stockpiles of a variety of supplies produced in America. Local people developed myths that the cargo offloaded by the whites was really a gift from the ancestors and then expropriated by the white delivery men. The airplanes symbolized contact with the ancestors. The related ritual was to construct makeshift airfields and attempt to guide in planes loaded with cargo. More than one U.S. pilot landed on the wrong airstrip after being confused by these rituals.

POLYNESIANS

The Polynesians (e.g., the Samoans, Tahitians, Hawaiians, Tongans, Maori) settled the Pacific islands east of Melanesia, known collectively as **Polynesia**. They had complicated creation myths and totemic systems representing their arrival on the islands: a person's identity was determined by which canoes his or her ancestors were on when they arrived on the islands. The Polynesians had deities of the sun, seasons, and sea.

Puberty rites for men and women were popular. Many of the symbols and ceremonies that tourists associate with Hawaii, such as the flower lei and the hula dance, have their origin in these rites. Tattooing was used in puberty rites.

The term *taboo* is based upon a Polynesian word. Taboos were important in the explanation of natural disasters such as storms and volcanoes. Taboos were also useful in rationing the limited resources of the region. Fishing in certain areas might be forbidden for a while in order to allow for a replenishing of stocks. During certain times (such as the four-month winter period), war and heavy work might be forbidden. During that time they would also retell the myth of Lono, an agricultural god, symbolizing him with a pole and cloth banners. The explorer Captain James Cook arrived during this period, and his ship's masts and sails may have led some people to wonder if he was the god Lono returned to the islands.

Another concept related to the taboo was that of places of refuge. These were special locations that were generally uninhabited, but persons who had broken taboos could go there and seek sanctuary, escaping punishment and perhaps even obtaining some purification.

AINU

The **Ainu** were an indigenous people on the island of Hokkaido, the northern island of present-day Japan (and site of the 1964 Sapporo winter Olympics). The Ainu had many similarities to the Inuit, including the linguistic fact that their name for themselves means "the men." The Ainu had some millet-based agriculture, but most of their traditional diet was based upon salmon fishing and hunting. The Ainu were animistic and had diviners and shamans, but they are most notable for their bear festival. In this ritual a cub is captured, then kept and nourished for up to a year, and then ritually sacrificed as a messenger to the "Keeper of the Animals" so that more game will be sent. The festival is a three-day event with much music, dancing, and consumption of rice wine.

TEUTONS

The **Teutons**, the early inhabitants of Germany and Scandinavia, were also known as the Vikings or Norse. They were herding peoples with some agriculture.

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The Teutons worshipped in groves and had some megalith ritual centers. Their mythology paralleled that of the Greeks, Romans, and Vedic Aryans: a similar polytheistic pantheon of anthropomorphic deities and creation myths. Odin was the father of the gods. Thor, his son, hurled the thunderbolt and represented the values of warriors and raiders. The gods lived in a palace known as Valhalla. There were also trickster figures, trolls, and fairies as well as Valkyries who flew over battlefields and swooped down to carry fallen heroes to join the gods at Valhalla. In addition to men who died in battle, the other humans who joined the gods were women who died in childbirth.

The Teutons thought that most people who died went to a place under the earth called "hell," which was not necessarily a bad place. There was also a doctrine of **eschatology** (a theory about the end of the world). The Teutons foretold of a final **apocalypse**, a battle between the gods and the forces of evil, in which the gods would be destroyed. The noblest act

for a hero would be to fight on this losing side of the gods in the final battle.

CELTS

The Celts lived in western Europe—in present-day Brittany (France), Galicia (Spain), Ireland, Scotland, England, and Wales. The Celts had settled agriculture. (Indeed, it was usually the Celts who were the victims of the Teutons' raids.) The Celts had also developed megaliths as ritual centers. Some, such as Stonehenge in England, served as elaborate calendars.

A hereditary class of Celtic priests (the **Druids**) developed to officiate at these rituals (including some human sacrifice) and also engaged in astrological divination. Heroes, gods, and demons were often portrayed as clever tricksters. Some deities were similar to the Greeks, Romans, and Teutons. Celtic holidays have contributed some of their symbols to modern holidays such as Halloween, Christmas, and Easter.