

# Aranda

also known as “Arunta”

Data source: eHRAF

Secondary source

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*\* Data Source entry, prepared based on data sourced from an external project.*

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Entry tags: Australian Traditions, Religion

The Aranda are the aboriginal Australians who speak dialects of the same language group, and have lived in Australia for at least 20,000 years (Morton, 1996). This entry focuses on the Aranda living in the Alice Springs region of central Australia, ca. 1896, prior to extensive European and missionary influence. European contact began in the 1860s, but the effects of Christian missionaries were only marginal at the time and place this entry is concerned with. At this time, the religious group can be considered coterminous with the society at large, as religious beliefs and practices permeated most aspects of life. Key aspects of these beliefs include an extensive mythology of totemic ancestors, the presence of supernatural beings, medicine men, as well as ceremonial practices.



Date Range: 1886 CE - 1913 CE

Region: Alice Springs and environs

Region tags: Oceania, Australia

Alice Springs and environs, ca. 1896

## Status of Participants:

✓ Non-elite (common people, general populace)

## Sources

Print sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1: Divale, W. 2004. Codebook of Variables for the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample. *World Cultures: The Journal of Cross-Cultural and Comparative Research*.
- Source 2: Murdock, G.P. & Wilson, S.F. (Jul., 1972). Settlement patterns and community organization: *Cross-Cultural Codes 3. Ethnology*, 11(3), 254-295.
- Source 3: Tuden, A. & Marshall, C. (Oct., 1972). Political organization: *Cross-cultural codes 4. Ethnology*, 11(4), 436-464.
- Source 1: Murdock, G.P. (1967). *Ethnographic Atlas*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Online sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1 URL: <http://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=oi08-001>
- Source 1 Description: Spencer Sir, B., & Gillen, F. J. (1927). *Arunta: A Study Of A Stone Age People*. London: Macmillan and co., limited.

– Source 2 URL: <http://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=oi08-000>

– Source 2 Description: Morton, J. (1996). Culture Summary: Aranda. New Haven, Conn.: HRAF.

## General Variables

### Membership/Group Interactions

Are other religious groups in cultural contact with target religion:

– Yes

Notes: "The earliest writers to refer to the customs and beliefs of the Central Australian natives were the pioneer missionaries Kempe and Schulze, who were in charge of the Hermannsburg station in the Macdonnell Ranges" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:589). Kempe and Schulze's writings were published in 1891.

↳ Is there violent conflict (within sample region):

– Field doesn't know

Notes: SCCS Variable 1649, Frequency of Internal Warfare (resolved rating), coded don't know or unclear (Ember and Ember, 1992; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

↳ Is there violent conflict (with groups outside the sample region):

– Yes

Notes: SCCS Variable 1650, Frequency of External Warfare (resolved rating), indicates that "External warfare seems to occur once every 3 to 10 years" (Ember and Ember, 1992; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Does the religious group have a general process/system for assigning religious affiliation:

– Yes

Notes: "Two things are essential--first, a child must belong to the totem of the spot at which the mother believes that it was conceived, and, second, it must belong to the moiety of the tribe to which its father belongs. Its totem never changes, but its section may. Once born into a totem, no matter what his section may be, a man, when initiated, may witness and take part in all the sacred ceremonies connected with the totem..." (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:78).

↳ Assigned at birth (membership is default for this society):

– Yes

Notes: "Two things are essential--first, a child must belong to the totem of the spot at which the mother believes that it was conceived, and, second, it must belong to the moiety of the tribe to which its father belongs. Its totem never changes, but its section may. Once born into a totem, no matter what his section may be, a man, when initiated, may witness and take part in all the sacred ceremonies connected with the totem..." (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:78).

↳ Assigned by personal choice:

– No

↳ Assigned by participation in a particular ritual:

– Yes

Notes: "Before being allowed to see the Pertalchera [sacred tribal space and secretive information] a man must have passed through the ceremonies of circumcision and subincision, and have shown himself capable of self-restraint and of being worthy by his general demeanour to be admitted to the secrets of the tribe" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:112).

## Size and Structure

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (estimated population, numerical):

– Estimated population, numeric: 2000

Notes: Estimation by ethnographers (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:1).

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (% of sample region population, numerical):

– I don't know

Notes: At the time this entry focuses on, the majority of the Aranda still followed traditional beliefs and practices. However, contact with missionaries was already established and some Aranda converted to Christianity. An exact and reliable estimate of the percentage of converts is not available, especially due to the nomadic nature of Aranda settlements.

Are there recognized leaders in the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: There are not official political leaders among the Aranda, rather, leadership positions are held by elders on the basis of land territories. Medicine men are religious specialists in the sense that they possess more extensive knowledge and powers of a supernatural nature. Medicine men are influential, but not official leaders. See Morton, 1996.

↳ Is there a hierarchy among these leaders:

– No

↳ Are leaders believed to possess supernatural powers or qualities:

– Yes

Notes: Medicine men are capable of communicating with spirits and counteracting evil influences (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:397).

↳ Powers are culturally transmitted from a supernatural being:

– Yes

Notes: "In the Arunta...there are three distinct schools of medicine men--(1) those made by the Iruntarinia or spirits, (2) those made by the Eruncha, who are in reality only a special class of spirit individuals of a mischievous nature, and (3) those initiated by other medicine men" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:391).

↳ Powers are culturally transmitted from another human (e.g. teacher):

— Yes

Notes: "In the Arunta...there are three distinct schools of medicine men--(1) those made by the Iruntarinia or spirits, (2) those made by the Eruncha, who are in reality only a special class of spirit individuals of a mischievous nature, and (3) those initiated by other medicine men" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:391).

↳ Powers are associated with leadership office they assume:

— Yes

Notes: (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:391)

↳ Are leaders considered fallible:

— I don't know

↳ Are close followers or disciples of a religious leader required to obediently and unquestionably accept the leader's pronouncements on all matters:

— I don't know

## Scripture

Does the religious group have scriptures:

Scripture is a generic term used to designate revered texts that are considered particularly authoritative and sacred relative to other texts. Strictly speaking, it refers to written texts, but there are also "oral scriptures" (e.g. the Vedas of India).

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating scriptures are present among the Aranda.

## Architecture, Geography

Is monumental religious architecture present:

— No

Notes: "There are no structures in the community that are appreciably larger or more impressive than the usual residential dwellings" (Murdock and Wilson, 1972, column 6; note, identical to SCCS Variable 66).

Are there different types of religious monumental architecture:

— No

Notes: "There are no structures in the community that are appreciably larger or more impressive than the usual residential dwellings" (Murdock and Wilson, 1972, column 6; note, identical to SCCS Variable 66).

Is iconography present:

— Yes



Where is iconography present [select all that apply]:

— On persons

— Some public spaces

Notes: See Spencer and Gillen, 1927:555

Are pilgrimages present:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of pilgrimages.

## Beliefs

### Burial and Afterlife

Is a spirit-body distinction present:

Answer "no" only if personhood (or consciousness) is extinguished with death of the physical body.

Answering yes does not necessarily imply the existence of Cartesian mind/body dualism, merely that some element of personhood (or consciousness) survives the death of the body.

— Yes

Notes: "When a man or woman dies, the spirit part, or Kuruna, immediately leaves the body and flies away to its Peralchera in the form of a little bird called Chichurkna, whose whistling is often heard when there has been a death in the camp" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:423).

Belief in afterlife:

— Yes

Notes: "When a man or woman dies, the spirit part, or Kuruna, immediately leaves the body and flies away to its Peralchera in the form of a little bird called Chichurkna, whose whistling is often heard when there has been a death in the camp. As soon as it has joined its Arumburinga the latter hastens from its Knanja tree, or rock, or from its Peralchera, to the grave, to protect the body against attacks by mischievous spirits called Eruncha. It remains there until the Kuru-urkna or girdle, made of hair cut from the dead man, has been woven. During this short period of perhaps three or four days, it receives the special name of Alknuriniata. It then goes back to its Knanja tree, and the spirit of the dead man returns to the grave in the form of an Ulihana until the final mourning ceremony of Urpmilchimilla has been held, after which it returns to the Peralchera, and there joins the Arumburinga and other spirit beings, assuming once more the form of a Kuruna that can enter a woman and be reborn" (Spencer

and Gillen, 1927:423).



Is the spatial location of the afterlife specified or described by the religious group:

– I don't know

Notes: Inconclusive evidence; varying beliefs of where the parts of the soul travel after death.

Reincarnation in this world:

– Yes

Notes: "At the present day there is living an aged man of the Arur or kangaroo totem, named Ungutnika. He is the reincarnation of a celebrated kangaroo of the Alchera, who sprang into existence at Undiara, close to the big gum tree which overhangs the water-pool" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:168).



In a human form:

– Yes

Notes: "When a man or woman dies, the spirit part, or Kuruna, immediately leaves the body and flies away to its Pertalchera in the form of a little bird called Chichurkna, whose whistling is often heard when there has been a death in the camp. As soon as it has joined its Arumburinga the latter hastens from its Knanja tree, or rock, or from its Pertalchera, to the grave, to protect the body against attacks by mischievous spirits called Eruncha. It remains there until the Kuru-urkna or girdle, made of hair cut from the dead man, has been woven. During this short period of perhaps three or four days, it receives the special name of Alknuriniata. It then goes back to its Knanja tree, and the spirit of the dead man returns to the grave in the form of an Ulihana until the final mourning ceremony of Urpmilchimilla has been held, after which it returns to the Pertalchera, and there joins the Arumburinga and other spirit beings, assuming once more the form of a Kuruna that can enter a woman and be reborn" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:423).

Are there special treatments for adherents' corpses:

– Yes

Notes: "The dead man (atua erilgne) is immediately carried away to the grave, called walgna, by the side of which the hair is cut from his head, by his sons, if present, or if none be there, by the younger brothers or their sons. While this is being done the women and children retire out of sight. The body is then placed in a sitting position with the knees doubled up against the chin, and is thus interred in a round hole in the ground, with the face looking toward the dead man's or woman's camping place in the Alchera--that is, the I mara Alchera. A depression is left on the same side of the mound so that the Ulthana [spirit] can pass in and out of it if it wishes to visit the body" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:431).



Cremation:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of cremation.



Mummification:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of mummification.

↳ Interment:

— Yes

Notes: See questions below for more details.

↳ Corpse is flexed (legs are bent or body is crouched):

— Yes

Notes: "The body is then placed in a sitting position with the knees doubled up against the chin, and is thus interred in a round hole in the ground, with the face looking toward the dead man's or woman's camping place in the Alchera--that is, the I mara Alchera" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:431).

↳ Corpse is extended (lying flat on front or back):

— No

Notes: (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:431)

↳ Corpse is upright (where body is interred in standing position):

— No

Notes: (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:431)

↳ Cannibalism:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of cannibalism.

↳ Exposure to elements (e.g. air drying):

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of exposing corpses to the elements.

↳ Feeding to animals:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of feeding corpses to animals.

↳ Secondary burial:

— No

Notes: SCCS Variable 1850, Secondary bone/body treatment: Original Scale, indicates that "secondary contact with the body or bones of the deceased does not occur" (Schroeder, 2001; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Are co-sacrifices present in tomb/burial:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of co-sacrifices.

Are grave goods present:

— No

Notes: "The [deceased] man's or woman's camp is at once burnt down, all the contents being destroyed" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:431).

Are formal burials present:

— Yes

Notes: For a description of a typical burial, see Spencer and Gillen, 1927, page 431.

↳ In cemetery:

— Yes

Notes: Presumably, the dead are buried in a burial ground. "The dead man (atua erilgne) is immediately carried away to the grave, called walgna, by the side of which the hair is cut from his head, by his sons, if present, or if none be there, by the younger brothers or their sons. While this is being done the women and children retire out of sight. The body is then placed in a sitting position with the knees doubled up against the chin, and is thus interred in a round hole in the ground, with the face looking toward the dead man's or woman's camping place in the Alchera--that is, the I mara Alchera" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:431).

## Supernatural Beings

Are supernatural beings present:

— Yes

Notes: Previously human spirits as well as non-human supernatural beings are present. Ethnographic information does not provide extensive descriptions of the supernatural beings' characters; see questions below for more details from available information.

↳ A supreme high god is present:

— No

Notes: SCCS Variable 238 (Note, identical to Ethnographic Atlas Column 34), Religion: high gods, indicates that "a high god is absent or not reported in substantial descriptions of religious beliefs" (Murdock, 1962-1971; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

↳ Previously human spirits are present:

— Yes

Notes: "During the period of mourning which follows immediately upon the death of a man and occupies a period of from twelve to eighteen months, no person must mention the name

of the deceased except it be absolutely necessary to do so, and then only in a whisper, for fear of disturbing and annoying the man's spirit, which, in ghost form, or, as they call it, Ulthana, walks about" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:432).

↳ Previously human spirits have knowledge of this world:

— Yes

Notes: "He [the deceased] may still watch over his friends [after the end-of-mourning ceremony], guard them from harm, and visit them in dreams, but he must not come in such a way as to frighten them" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:439).

↳ Human spirits have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

— Yes

Notes: "It is their [the son-in-laws of deceased men] duty to cut themselves on the shoulder when the man who is their Irundera or father-in-law dies. If a son-in-law does not well and faithfully perform this cutting rite, which is called Unangara, then some Irundera will punish him by giving away his special Anua or wife to some other man to appease the Ulihana [spirit] of the dead father-in-law" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:432).

↳ Human spirits can punish:

— Yes

Notes: (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:432)

↳ Human spirits have memory of life:

— Yes

Notes: "If the Ulthana hears his name mentioned, he comes to the conclusion that his relatives are not properly mourning for him--if their grief were genuine it would cause them too much pain to hear his name mentioned to allow them to do so--and so he will come and trouble them in their sleep, to show them that he is not pleased with them" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:342).

↳ Human spirits exhibit negative emotion:

— Yes

Notes: "If the Ulthana hears his name mentioned, he comes to the conclusion that his relatives are not properly mourning for him--if their grief were genuine it would cause them too much pain to hear his name mentioned to allow them to do so--and so he will come and trouble them in their sleep, to show them that he is not pleased with them" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:342).

↳ Human spirits communicate with the living:

— Yes

↳ In dreams:

— Yes

Notes: "If the Ulthana hears his name mentioned, he comes to the conclusion that his relatives are not properly mourning for him--if their grief were genuine it would cause them too much pain to hear his name mentioned to allow them to do so--and so he will come and trouble them in their sleep, to show them that he is not pleased with them" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:342).

↳ Non-human supernatural beings are present:

— Yes

Notes: "The terms Iruntarinia and Iwupa are used collectively to include all the various forms of spirit beings" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:423).

↳ These supernatural beings can be seen:

— Yes

Notes: "...the Iruntarinia, who is invisible except to a few highly-gifted medicine men and also to the dogs..." (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:393).

↳ These supernatural beings exhibit positive emotion:

— Yes

Notes: "To the native the Iruntarinia is a very real personage, who, as a general rule, is a beneficent being, though at times capable of great cruelty..." (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:427).

↳ These supernatural beings possess hunger:

— Yes

Notes: "The spirits kill and eat all manner of game, but always uncooked, for they are not supposed to have any fires, and not seldom they steal game which has been wounded, but not killed on the spot, by men" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:425).

## Supernatural Monitoring

Is supernatural monitoring present:

This refers to surveillance by supernatural beings of humans' behaviour and/or thought particularly as it relates to social norms or potential norm violations.

— No

Notes: The only examples of supernatural monitoring concerns that of previously human spirits punishing when they are not properly mourned (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:432).

Do supernatural beings mete out punishment:

— Yes

Notes: There is limited ethnographic information on supernatural punishment. See questions below

for available details.

↳ Is the cause or agent of supernatural punishment known:

– Yes

Notes: The spirits of deceased humans are described as the agents of supernatural punishment (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:432).

↳ Done only by high god:

– No

Notes: SCCS Variable 238 (Note, identical to Ethnographic Atlas Column 34), Religion: high gods, indicates that "a high god is absent or not reported in substantial descriptions of religious beliefs" (Murdock, 1962-1971; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

↳ Done by many supernatural beings:

– Yes

Notes: The spirits of deceased humans are described as the agents of supernatural punishment (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:432).

↳ Done through impersonal cause-effect principle:

– No

↳ Is the reason for supernatural punishment known:

– Yes

↳ Done to enforce religious ritual-devotional adherence:

– Yes

Notes: It is their [the son-in-laws of deceased men] duty to cut themselves on the shoulder when the man who is their Irundera or father-in-law dies. If a son-in-law does not well and faithfully perform this cutting rite, which is called Unangara, then some Irundera will punish him by giving away his special Anua or wife to some other man to appease the Ulihana [spirit] of the dead father-in-law" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:432).

↳ Supernatural punishments are meted out in the afterlife:

– I don't know

↳ Supernatural punishments are meted out in this lifetime:

– Yes

↳ Supernatural punishments in this life are highly emphasized by the religious

group:

— I don't know

↳ Punishment in this life consists of mild sensory displeasure:

— Yes

Notes: "If the Ulthana hears his name mentioned, he comes to the conclusion that his relatives are not properly mourning for him--if their grief were genuine it would cause them too much pain to hear his name mentioned to allow them to do so--and so he will come and trouble them in their sleep, to show them that he is not pleased with them" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:342).

↳ Other [specify]

— Yes

Notes: It is their [the son-in-laws of deceased men] duty to cut themselves on the shoulder when the man who is their Irundera or father-in-law dies. If a son-in-law does not well and faithfully perform this cutting rite, which is called Unangara, then some Irundera will punish him by giving away his special Anua or wife to some other man to appease the Ulihana [spirit] of the dead father-in-law" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:432).

Do supernatural beings bestow rewards:

— I don't know

Notes: Insufficient ethnographic information.

## Messianism/Eschatology

Are messianic beliefs present:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of messianic beliefs.

Is an eschatology present:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of a belief in an eschatology.

## Practices

### Membership Costs and Practices

Does membership in this religious group require castration:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of castration.

Does membership in this religious group require forgone food opportunities (taboos on desired foods):

— No

Notes: "Apart from restrictions concerned with the totems, there are others which relate, on the one hand, to food which has been killed by special individuals, and, on the other, to food which may not be eaten by particular individuals at certain times of their lives" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:490). Although food restrictions are present they are not religious in nature, and are better described as social customs.

Does membership in this religious group require permanent scarring or painful bodily alterations:

— No

Notes: Although ceremonial knocking out of teeth is performed, it is not mandatory. "The operation always takes place after the Water Mbanbiuma ceremony has been performed, and in the case of a fully-grown man it is performed on the Mbanbiuma ground. It is impossible to find out why the ceremony has become so especially associated with the rain or water totem, though at the same time it must be remembered that it is performed, not infrequently, on men and women of other totems; in fact, anyone, whatever his or her totem be, may undergo the rite at pleasure, but in the case of just the one totem it is obligatory, or practically so, though at the same time the nonobservance of the custom would not prevent any man from being admitted to the secrets of the tribe, but it would subject him to what is most dreaded by the native, and that is the constant ridicule of the other men and women with whom he is in daily contact" Spencer and Gillen, 1927:477).

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of adults:

"Adults" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition of a human who is 18-years-old or older and who is legally responsible for his/her actions, then please specify that difference in the Comments/Sources: box below.

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of human sacrifice.

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of children:

"Children" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition, please specify that difference in the Comments/Sources: box below.

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of human sacrifice.

Does membership in this religious group require self-sacrifice (suicide):

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of human sacrifice.

Does membership in this religious group require participation in large-scale rituals:

i.e. involving two or more households; includes large-scale "ceremonies" and "festivals."

— Yes

Notes: In order to become a full member of the community and gain access to secretive tribal knowledge, men must go through a series of initiation ceremonies that involve the community. For a full description of these ceremonies, see Spencer and Gillen, 1927:175. Additionally, each local totemic group has a set of ceremonies associated with their totem (see Spencer and Gillen, 1927:145).

Are extra-ritual in-group markers present:

E.g. special changes to appearance such as circumcision, tattoos, scarification, etc.

— Yes

Notes: "Every Australian native, so far as is known, has, in the normal condition of the tribe, to pass through certain ceremonies of initiation before he is admitted to the secrets of the tribe and is regarded as a fully developed member of it. These ceremonies vary both in their nature and number to a very large extent in different tribes...In the Arunta tribe the ceremonies of the men are four in number: (1) Painting and throwing the boy up in the air. (2) Circumcision or Lartna. (3) Sub-incision or Arilta. (4) The Engwura or fire ceremony" (Spencer and Gillen, 1927:175).



Circumcision:

— Yes

Notes: Spencer and Gillen, 1927:175

## Society and Institutions

### Levels of Social Complexity

The society to which the religious group belongs is best characterized as (please choose one):

— A tribe

Notes: The Aranda have no political authority beyond the local community, which is reflective of autonomous bands and villages (Ethnographic Atlas column 33, Murdock, 1967; retrieved from Divale, 2004). According to Murdock and Wilson (1972; Column 10: Descent), the Aranda have double descent (both matrilineal and patrilineal) with dispersed sibs. Additionally, the Aranda have clan-communities (each consisting of a single localized exogamous kin group/clan), as well as moieties. Source of information: Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock, 1967), Columns 19, 20, 22. Because the Aranda have kin ties beyond the community, the society is best characterized as a tribe.

### Education

Does the religious group provide formal education to its adherents:

— I don't know

Notes: Insufficient ethnographic information.

Is formal education available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group:

– I don't know

Notes: Insufficient ethnographic information.

## Bureaucracy

Do the group's adherents interact with a formal bureaucracy within their group:

– No

Notes: The Aranda have no political authority beyond the local community, which is reflective of autonomous bands and villages (Ethnographic Atlas column 33, Murdock, 1967; retrieved from Divale, 2004).

## Public Works

Does the religious group in question provide public food storage:

– No

Notes: SCCS Variable 20, food storage, indicates there is no food storage among the Aranda (Murdock and Morrow, 1970; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Is public food storage provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Notes: SCCS Variable 20, food storage, indicates there is no food storage among the Aranda (Murdock and Morrow, 1970; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Does the religious group in question provide transportation infrastructure:

– No

Notes: It can be assumed that transportation infrastructure is not present, as routes of land transport are "unimproved trails", according to Murdock and Morrow (1970; Retrieved from Divale, 2004; SCCS Variable 14).

Is transportation infrastructure provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Notes: It can be assumed that transportation infrastructure is not present, as routes of land transport are "unimproved trails", according to Murdock and Morrow (1970; Retrieved from Divale, 2004; SCCS Variable 14).

## Enforcement

Does the religious group in question provide an institutionalized police force:

– No

Notes: Tuden and Marshall (1972) column 10, Police (note, equivalent to SCCS variable 90, Police) indicates that "police functions are not specialized or institutionalized at any level of political integration, the maintenance of law and order being left exclusively to informal mechanisms of social control, to private retaliation, or to sorcery."

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized judges:

— No

Notes: According to Tuden and Marshall, 1972, (column 9, judiciary), indicates that "supreme judicial authority is lacking at any level above that the local community."

Does the religious group in question have a formal legal code:

— No

Notes: Because there is no formal social control among the Aranda, it can be assumed that there is no formal legal code. Additionally, no ethnographic evidence indicates that a formal legal code is present.

## Written Language

Does the religious group in question possess its own distinct written language:

— I don't know

Notes: SCCS Variable 149, Writing and Records, indicates that the Aranda has "non-written records" (Murdock and Provost, 1971; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Is a non-religion-specific written language available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— I don't know

Notes: Insufficient ethnographic information.

Is a non-religion-specific written language used by the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— I don't know

Notes: Insufficient ethnographic information.

## Food Production

Does the religious group in question provide food for themselves:

— Yes

Notes: The Aranda rely on hunting and gathering for subsistence. Source of information from Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock, 1962-1971), retrieved from Divale, 2004; Variables 203-207, 232.



Please characterize the forms/level of food production [choose all that apply]:

—Gathering

—Hunting (including marine animals)

Notes: The Aranda rely on hunting and gathering for subsistence. Source of information from Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock, 1962-1971), retrieved from Divale, 2004; Variables 203-207, 232.