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There is certainly no shortage of information on cannibalism. A search at any good library will net twenty to thirty books on the topic, and, at the time this encyclopedia went to press, the World Wide Web contained no fewer than sites. Books on the topic range from popular surveys by Askenasy to anthropological treatments by Brown and Tuzin, Goldman, and Petrinovich to anthropological critique by Arens to postcolonial and literary critique by Barker and others. A superficial examination of post-World War II films lists a variety of both serious and humorous treatments of cannibalism, many of them first-rate. *Fires on the Plain* [Japan], *Soylent Green* [U.S.]. The fact that cannibalism is a powerful taboo in most human societies undeniably contributes to our fascination with tales about organisms eating conspecifics of the same species, especially humans. The practice of human cannibalism is highly variable and can be defined in a number of ways: This pattern was common in New Guinea as an act of veneration. This is well documented in numerous historical sources. This is not well documented. There is considerable evidence for this pattern of cannibalism. In exocannibalism, gastronomic cannibalism, and sadistic cannibalism, the victims are murdered before being eaten; in endocannibalism, starvation cannibalism, and medicinal cannibalism, they are not. Cannibalism in Nonhuman Animals Cannibalism occurs in a wide variety of invertebrate and vertebrate species and includes: Among nonhuman organisms, cannibalism may be either ecological or social. Ecological factors include a limited food supply or the recovery of reproductive investment when food is scarce for infant survival; social factors include competition for reproductive resources or food resources. A general principle is that older individuals usually consume younger ones or eggs; it is relatively rare for adults to eat other adults. Elgar and Crespi define cannibalism in nonhuman organisms only in cases where an individual is killed rather than dying a natural death before being eaten. In a comprehensive survey of cannibalism in primates in the wild, Hiraiwa-Hasegawa observed only five species in this practice: *Cercopithecus ascanius* redtail monkey, *Papio cynocephalus cynocephalus* baboon, *Macaca fuscata* Japanese macaque, *Gorilla gorilla beringei* mountain gorilla, and *Pan troglodytes* common chimpanzee. In each episode observed, infants were eaten after being killed, and this custom appeared to serve a nutritional therefore, ecological rather than social purpose in animals who ordinarily consumed meat as a part of their diets. Chimpanzees, our closest evolutionary relatives, have the highest rates of cannibalism among non-human primates; chimpanzees also have the highest rates of predation of red colobus monkeys among nonhuman primates. Cannibalism in History and Prehistory Identification of cannibalism in the distant past is, according to Tim White, based on very specific indicators in fossilized or unfossilized human bones: Based on these criteria, there is good evidence for cannibalism from the southwestern United States; New Guinea, Fiji, and other sites in the Pacific; and Europe; there is limited evidence at other sites around the world. Ann Gibbons has reported that very early paleoanthropological specimens dating back hundreds of thousands of years are increasingly being identified as showing signs of cannibalism. There is abundant evidence from historical accounts of cannibalism in the Caribbean the term was defined for Carib Indians; the Spanish word *Canibales* is a form of the ethnic name Carib and in Spanish accounts of Mesoamerican ritual sacrifices and cannibalism. Many historical accounts have been challenged within the past few decades because most information was derived from enemies of the groups identified as "cannibals," where the term was used to denigrate the other group. Also, during periods of exploration from the sixteenth century onward, Europeans were likely to accept the identification of "cannibal" in a group that was thought to be "savage" and "primitive." A storm of controversy has arisen over new evidence for cannibalism in Anasazi populations of the southwestern United States from the period between and c. White and the Turners have identified skeletal remains from a number of populations that lived in the Four Corners area that show clear signs of persistent and regular cannibalism White, ; Turner and Turner, The controversy has been fueled by the traditional view of these peoples as peaceful and non-violent and the belief that, if cannibalism did exist, it resulted from periodic famine and hunger, which must have

commonly struck prehistoric peoples of the arid Southwest. A new image of these peoples, under the purported cultural influence of Mesoamerican traditions of violence from the south, is one of human sacrifice, cannibalism, and social pathology—quite different from the earlier view. Cannibalism and Survival Some of the best-documented examples of cannibalism have been based on the conditions that take place during widespread famines and on accounts of shipwrecked, marooned, or stranded groups of people who have gone for long periods without food. In these and other well-documented cases, it is unquestionable that the food acquired by means of cannibalism enabled some individuals to survive rather than starving to death. A more controversial issue is whether regular cannibalism in groups of people makes the difference between inadequate and adequate dietary intake. The Aztecs of Mexico practiced regular ritual sacrifice of captives and consumed the victims. Michael Harner and Marvin Harris argued that this food provided a protein-rich source of nutrients to a large Aztec population that was suffering from limited protein intake due to the absence of Native American domestic animals during pre-Hispanic times. This argument has been countered on the grounds that 1 population density was somewhat lower than estimated and 2 protein sources were available from a variety of plant and wild animal food that, when considered together, provided an adequate protein intake for most of the people. Garn and Block argued that the meat yield from an average human body 50 kg would only provide about 4. However, Dornsteich and Morren presented a more convincing argument for New Guinea cannibalism in several highland populations. They noted that the consumption of human flesh by the Miyanmin people provided between 5 and 10 percent of the daily intake of protein, which was equivalent to or greater than the protein derived from domestic and feral pig consumption. This basic issue seems to relate to the primary motives that people have for consuming human flesh. It is probably not correct to state that some people practice cannibalism solely as a source of food. There are many other human motives for cannibalism. On the other hand, human tissue has the same nutritional value as any other mammalian tissue when it is eaten, whether by a human or nonhuman predator. Carleton Gajdusek, who won a Nobel prize in for his study of the neurological-degenerative disease kuru, which he determined was caused by human contact with infected human brain tissue. Kuru, Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease, and bovine spongiform encephalopathy are all transmissible spongiform encephalopathies TSE and were formerly believed to be caused by a slow virus infection; recent evidence indicates that they are conveyed by proteins called prions. Among the Fore, the principal pattern of contact with infected human tissue was during the mortuary preparation associated with endocannibalistic consumption of dead kin. Whether cannibalism reflects pathological behavior depends on the circumstances of consumption. Starvation cannibalism appears to be tacitly condoned by Western societies, and other societies have sanctioned a variety of exocannibalistic practices. But perhaps the most abhorrent practice is that of sadistic or psychopathological murder and consumption of human tissue. Jeffrey Dahmer is a most recent example. A deranged young man who did not appear to be abnormal, he was arrested in Milwaukee in for the murder, dismemberment, and partial consumption of seventeen individuals. There are many other examples of such bizarre and pathological behavior in the literature. Oxford University Press, From Sacrifice to Survival. Cannibalism and the Colonial World. Cambridge University Press, The Ethnography of Cannibalism. Society for Psychological Anthropology, Ecology and Evolution among Diverse Taxa, edited by M. The Anthropology of Cannibalism. Bergin and Garvey, The Origins of Cultures. Howell, Michael, and Peter Ford. Aldine de Gruyter, Cannibalism and Violence in the Prehistoric American Southwest. University of Utah Press, Princeton University Press, For example, the Titan god Kronos ate his sons Hades and Poseidon and tried to eat Zeus in the fear that they would supplant him. Zeus, the future leader of the Olympian gods, forced his father to disgorge Hades and Poseidon. In another story, the curse on the House of Atreus was brought about by a deceptive form of endocannibalism. Atreus and Thyestes were brothers. He stopped at an island in search of food and stumbled on the cave of Polyphemus, a Cyclops. Odysseus escaped from Polyphemus, but not before the Cyclops had devoured a number of his men. Numerous nursery rhymes and fairy tales include cannibalism as part of the theme. Another example is "Hansel and Gretel. I smell the blood of an Englishman. Kuru Kuru can be used as an example of how endocannibalism led to a disastrous epidemic of a degenerative encephalopathic disease, the discovery of a whole class of diseases called prion diseases, a Nobel Prize won by D. Carleton Gajdusek, and the beginning

of our understanding of mad cow disease, which led to the mass destruction of livestock in the United Kingdom. A popular account of the early discovery of kuru is given in a book by Michael Howell and Peter Ford. The Fore people, who live in the central highlands of New Guinea and practiced a form of endocannibalism, were reported to have a disease that had a gradual onset imbalance but then progressed rapidly to an inability to stand or sit upright, dementia, and a general neurological deterioration that always ended in death. The Fore attributed the lethal disorder to sorcery, but Western officials believed the epidemic had natural causes, perhaps hysteria. Following work by Vincent Zigas, a district medical officer, and Carleton Gajdusek, a young American scientist, it was discovered that endocannibalism, as practiced by the Fore, contributed to the familial transmission of the infectious agent. By handling and consuming the incompletely cooked remains of the kuru victims, especially the highly infectious brain and nervous tissue, members of the family contracted the disease but did not show symptoms until many years later. The first connection with an animal disease was suggested in when a veterinary scientist suggested that kuru in humans seemed similar to symptoms of a disease called scrapie that was found in sheep. The most recent epidemic of a prion disease is mad cow disease bovine spongiform encephalopathy, which is a livestock disease that has been transmitted to humans. This is the second example of a livestock prion disease that has somehow been transformed and become infectious in humans the first is the probable transmission of scrapie to humans in kuru. Finally, the kuru epidemic in the Fore population was brought to a halt when the Australian government outlawed cannibalism in what is now Papua-New Guinea, and the practice slowly began to decline. Cite this article Pick a style below, and copy the text for your bibliography.

## 2: Understanding kuru: the contribution of anthropology and medicine

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The idea of people eating parts of other people is something that has occurred wherever and whenever humans have formed societies. In all of these contexts, anthropophagy connotes moral turpitude. The concept of cannibalism, its ethical encumbrances, and its cultural expression in history and myth are unquestionably universal. To be human is to think about the possibility of cannibalism. Anthropophagy is hard-wired into the architecture of human imagination. Cannibal giants, ogres, bogies, goblins, and other "frightening figures" populate the oral and literate traditions of most cultures, summoning images of grotesqueness, amorality, lawlessness, physical deformity, and exaggerated size. In a fusion of the historical and the fabled, these pancultural incidences of cannibal indicate a remarkable similarity in the way meanings are assigned to cannibalism across the world.

**Constructing History with Cannibals** Many cultural mythologies posit a prehistory that antedates the onset of acceptable mores, an epoch closed off from the beginnings of human settlement and social organization, when cannibalistic dynasties of giants prevailed. This common motif in cultural history indicates that cannibalism often symbolizes "others" that are less than fully human in some way. The imputation of anthropophagy draws a boundary between "us" and "them," the civilized and uncivilized, in a manner that depicts humans as emerging from a chaotic and bestial epoch dominated by a race of human-eating giants. These images of cannibal predecessors constitute a story that people tell themselves through myth to explain their past and present circumstances. So conventional are these patterns of thought across time and culture that we have come to understand cannibalism as the quintessential symbol of alterity, an entrenched metaphor of cultural xenophobia.

**Constructing Fiction with Cannibals** These themes of primordial anthropophagy serve other functions as well. Most oral traditions contain such folktales and fables that are passed down through the generations. The threat of cannibalization provides an externalized and uncontrollable projection of parenthood capable of punishing misdeeds. In this sense, cannibal figures share certain characteristics with imaginary companions and fictions such as the Easter Bunny, Tooth Fairy, or Santa Claus, which, by contrast, project positive reward rather than negative punishment. Cannibal representations are part of the universal stock of imaginative creations that foster obedience and conformity. Psychologists thus argue that anthropophagy is an archetype unaffected by cultural relativism and is, perhaps, a reflection of childhood psychodynamic processes. Flesh eating, from this perspective, may reflect child-engendered projections of parenthood and innate destruction fantasies. Parallels between Western and non-Western fictional mediums illuminate the power cannibalism exerts on the human psyche. In the context of folklore, cannibalism allows a rich re-imagining of the boundaries between the human and nonhuman, civilized and barbarian, male and female, the utopian and real. As such anthropophagy promotes not only social control but also teaches lessons about history, morality, and identity. Cannibalism emerges in these discourses of imaginative literature and sacred history as an "otherworldly" phenomenon that is unfavorable to human survival and thus likely to command fear and respect—hence the prevalence of cannibalistic motifs in nursery rhymes. These profound pancultural similarities have led some analysts to argue that the term "cannibalism" should be reserved only for the fantasy, both European and native, of the flesh-eating "other" rather than the practice of flesh-eating.

**Constructing the Practice of Cannibalism** As soon as one starts to consider questions about which peoples have eaten human flesh, one finds controversy. The main issues are the colonial history of attributions of flesh-eating as a political form of domination; the problem of what is acceptable evidence in the context of scientific knowledge of the day; and the problems of interpreting oral, archaeological, and written evidence. Although there is no accepted consensus on the various types of cannibalism encountered by researchers, the literature differentiates generally among a few types. This well-documented variant involves consumption of human flesh in emergency situations such as starvation. Some of the most famous cases are the Donner Party in the Sierra Nevada and the South American athletes stranded in the Andes in , whose plight later became the subject of the film *Alive*. The rationale for such

behavior is usually that in consuming parts of the body, the person ingests the characteristics of the deceased; or through consumption there is a regeneration of life after death. It is usually associated with the perpetration of ultimate violence or again as a means of imbibing valued qualities of the victim. Reports of this practice suggest a high incidence of exocannibalism with headhunting and the display of skulls as war trophies. Evidence in the Twenty-First Century In the popular Western imagination, knowledge and understanding of cannibals were shaped by early explorers, missionaries, colonial officers, travelers, and others. The most commonly cited accounts are those about the South American Tupinamba Indians; the Caribbean Cariba the word cannibal comes from, and is a corruption of, carrib and Caliban of St. Croix, and Martinique; and the South American Aztecs. These accounts were followed by numerous reported incidences of cannibalism in Africa, Polynesia, Australia, and Papua New Guinea. These often dubious attributions of cannibalism were a form of "othering" – denigrating other people and marking Similar to many tribes in Papua New Guinea, this group of Iwan warriors were once cannibals. While the tyranny of time often hampers these interpretive processes, the very act of attributing cannibalism to a society is now seen as a controversial political statement given modern sensitivities to indigenous peoples and cultures. As Alan Rumsey has noted, "Cannibalism has been most fully explored in its Western manifestations, as an aspect of the legitimating ideology of colonialism, missionization, and other forms of cultural imperialism" , p. Books that charted the travels of early explorers during the s and early s invariably carry titles with the term cannibal. How reliable are these early accounts, and what kinds of evidence for cannibal practices do they contain or rely upon? One of the most famous commentators and critics, has concluded, "I have been unable to uncover adequate documentation of cannibalism as a custom in any form for any society. Many historical texts are compromised by Western prejudices, so that cannibalism emerges more as colonial myth and cultural myopia than as scientifically attested truth. The accounts do not stand the test of modern scholarly scrutiny. Most anthropologists, however, tend to reject the argument that unless one has photographic or firsthand evidence for a practice, one cannot infer its existence at some period. Anthropologists and archaeologists rely on a host of contextual clues, regional patterns, and material-culture evidence when drawing conclusions about past social practices. What the anthropologist gains by way of notoriety may be lost by heated dispute with ethnic descendants who find the attribution of past cannibalism demeaning because of the connotations of barbarism. The Main Disputes Among the principal academic disputes about evidence for cannibalistic practices, two in particular stand out. First, archaeologist Tim White has conducted an analysis of year-old skeletal bone fragments from an Anasazi site at Mancos in southwest Colorado. William Arens has responded that White was seduced by the Holy Grail of cannibalism and failed to consider other explanations for the kind of perimortal bone trauma he encountered. Second, Daniel Gajdusek found a fatal nervous disease known as kuru among a small population of the Fore people in Papua New Guinea. Working with anthropologists, Gajdusek claimed the disease was caught through the mortuary practice of eating the brains from dead people in Fore. Arens questioned the photographic evidence provided by Gadjusek and others. He suggested other forms of transmission by which the disease may have been contracted. The result is clashing scholarly perspectives on the historical occurrence of cannibalism. Social Explanations and Conditions for Cannibalism The cross-cultural evidence for cannibalism among societies in Papua New Guinea, such as the Gimi, Hua, Daribi, and Bimin-Kuskusmin, suggests it is linked to the expression of cultural values about life, reproduction, and regeneration. Flesh is consumed as a form of life-generating food and as a symbolic means of reaffirming the meaning of existence. In other areas of Papua New Guinea, the same cultural themes are expressed through pig kills and exchanges. Cannibalism was a means of providing enduring continuity to group identity and of establishing the boundaries of the moral community. But it was equally a form of violence meted out to victims deemed amoral or evil, such as witches who brought death to other people. A second line of research has suggested that this latter exocannibalism is an expression of hostility, violence, or domination toward a victim. In this interpretation, the perpetrator eats to inflict an ultimate indignity and thus an ultimate form of humiliation and domination. The archaeologist John Kantner, reviewing the evidence for reputed Anasazi cannibalism in the American Southwest, has concluded that with the gradual reduction in available resources and intensified competition, exocannibalism became a sociopolitical measure aimed at enforcing tribal

inequities. However the evidence remains hotly disputed. Skeletal trauma is indexed by bone markings made by tools or scrapers, disarticulations, breakage patterns, and "pot polish," blackened bone fragments suggesting abrasions caused by the boiling of bones. Such data indicate intentional and targeted defleshing of bones for the extraction of marrow. Such bone markings are quite different from mortuary bones found elsewhere in the region. Controversy surrounds these findings because other causes for the same bone markings have been proffered, including, second reburial of remains and external interference with bones by animals and natural hazards. Other scholars are therefore reluctant to impute cannibalism in the absence of any direct observation of it. Other analysts, looking at the famous Aztec materials, have suggested that such large-scale cannibalism is related both to hunger and the appreciation of the nutritional value of flesh. In other words, cannibalism is a response to material conditions of existence such as protein depreciation and dwindling livestock. In Mesoamerica these predisposing conditions ensure that cannibalism is given a ritual rationale so that themes of renewal are manifested through flesh-eating. The evidence of perimortem mutilation is overwhelming; the inference from these data to cannibalism and its rationales remains, however, contestable and less compelling. Conclusion From the available evidence, scholars have gleaned a seemingly reliable historical account of how cultures have constructed and used their concepts of cannibalism to provide a stereotype of the "other. The key insight is that in pancultural discourse and imaginative commerce, the human consumption of human flesh has served as a social narrative to enforce social control. Moreover, attributions of cannibalism remain a potent political tool wielded by those who pursue agendas of racial and ethnic domination. The French philosopher Michel Montaigne long ago disabused society of the Western-centered notion that eating human flesh is somehow barbaric and exotic: How one interprets cannibalism is thus always circumscribed and inflected by a culturally shaped morality. For many researchers, then, the issue of whether cannibalism was ever a socially sanctioned practice is of secondary importance.

## 3: Exocannibalism - Wikipedia

*Essays from a symposium held Dec. in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the Society for Psychological Anthropology.*

This article has been cited by other articles in PMC. Abstract To understand kuru and solve the problems of its cause and transmission required the integration of knowledge from both anthropological and medical research. Anthropological studies elucidated the origin and spread of kuru, the local mortuary practices of endocannibalism, the social effects of kuru, the life of women and child-rearing practices, the kinship system of the Fore and their willingness to incorporate outsiders into it, the myths, folklore and history of the Fore and their neighbours, sorcery as a powerful social phenomenon and way of explaining the causation of disease, and concepts of the treatment of disease. Many scientists from different disciplines, government officers and others have contributed to this chapter of medical history but it is the Fore people who have contributed the most, through their suffering, their cooperative and reliable witness to kuru, and their participation, in various ways, in the research process itself. Introduction Scientific investigation of kuru began in , and by a genetic explanation was most favoured among medical investigators. Bennett, one of the first to propose the genetic hypothesis Bennett et al. This essay provides an account of our research from to , with some observations based on the fieldwork I carried out between and Anthropology is both a natural science and a humanistic discipline, mediating between human biology and ecology on one hand and the study of human understanding on the other. By entering as fully as possible into the everyday life of others, anthropologists are, of necessity, both outside observers and participants in the internal dialogues of the people with whom we live Wolf , p. We also recorded Fore beliefs about kuru, their accounts of the history of the epidemic and of mortuary practices and observed the treatment of kuru victims by local healers. This provided us with a view of the epidemic at odds with the genetic hypothesis and allowed us to suggest an alternative reading, confirmed later by medical investigators. It soon became apparent that many of the kuru victims were not closely related biologically, but were kin in a non-biological sense. Our genealogical investigations led us to document the wider social structures within which kinship was situated, providing the context for interpreting the person-to-person connections inscribed on our kinship charts. The Fore named large regional clusters to which they believed they belonged Ibusa, Atigina, Pamusa , but these district associations were misty entities with small differences in dialect and custom. Ideally, these units joined for defence and settled internal quarrels peaceably. In the South Fore population of approximately in the early s, 39 such units ranged in size from 41 to , with a mean of Allied lines were subject to a single incest taboo. Unity and harmony within the political units, however, was tenuous. Immigrant lines formed enclaves and enjoyed dual rights as long as they continued to visit and maintain an interest in their original group. The acceptance of immigrant groups solved a problem facing colonizing populations, especially the Fore at that timeâ€”the shortage of marriageable women. The burden fell on newcomers whose incorporation into the group depended on demonstrated loyalty and observance of their new kinship obligations. Reference to common ancestors and common substance defined kinship status and provided a moral guide for living, but were not reliable statements of genetic relationships. Fore genealogies were short, no more than five generations deep, two above and two below the young or middle-aged adult who provided the information. Instead of depth, the Fore relied on lateral expansions of relatedness. A more frequent kinship elaboration occurred with the creation of kagisa kin from kagine, the time of the mid-day sun. Individuals with no known consanguineal relationship exchanged food and wealth in a formal meal during the kagine, when the sun was directly overhead. Sanctioned by the sun, a cosmic being, and sealed with the consumption of food grown on home territory, this tie also established the kinship of common substance. Fore genealogies were thus social documents that gave legitimacy to the claims and obligations of kinship. Some wagoli relationships were inherited from their parents, some they established themselves. Over time, commitment to group defence and the sharing of resources tended to outweigh distant origin. Following a period of apparently harmonious interaction between the Fore and the Pawaians, the relationship had soured. The Fore burned down Pawaian houses and shot most of those who attempted to run away. In a number of ways our research had begun to indicate that a simple

hereditary explanation for kuru seemed hard to justify. Fore kinship can best be described as formed by webs of attachment based on lateral extension rather than vertical depth, on optional bonding not simply biological ascription. This is a form of social organization suited to a mode of agricultural subsistence in which fields are frequently relocated, the population is relatively mobile, and groups fragment and recombine in new alignments. Most adult men in the Fore reported residing in different places at birth, initiation, marriage and fatherhood. Much has changed in the South Fore since the early 1950s. The Fore no longer consume deceased kin and kuru is thus no longer transmitted. With the waning of the epidemic, and public health services that have reduced infant mortality, the population has increased rapidly. The shortage of women is no longer a concern, most people have abandoned pig keeping, and wage labour and markets have supplanted the indigenous trade networks that provided access to resources. With the suppression of warfare and the creation of refuges, as well as the production of coffee as a cash crop tying people to their plantations, the Fore population is now less mobile. A kinship system fashioned to meet the social conditions that existed 50 years ago may no longer be entirely relevant. It is probable that some features that once characterized Fore kinship, such as the ready incorporation of immigrants, practices of adoption and the widespread creation of kagisa kin, may not be well suited to the current needs. Contemporary genealogies may resemble more closely the pedigrees that Bennett had in mind. The recent appearance of kuru

The data we gathered indicated that kuru had spread slowly through Fore villages within living memory, and that its progress through Fore territory followed a specific, traceable route. This finding was at odds with a purely genetic model which implied that kuru must have been of remote evolutionary origin, and that it ought to have been in epidemiological equilibrium. As John Mathews observed later Mathews, pp. The Fore reported that kuru had entered Fore territory from Uwami, a Keiagana village to their northwest ca. 1950, and that the disease had travelled down the eastern border and then swung westward into central South Fore. From here, it turned again to the north and continued also to move south. Its appearance in the extreme south was thus relatively late, and many people gave persuasive accounts of their first encounter with the disease. We spent some weeks walking along the described route, visiting hamlets and collecting historical accounts. These stories placed the arrival of kuru at Kamira, adjacent to Wanitabe, in the late 1950s, and at Wanitabe where we were based by ca. 1960. The first cases at Purosa, six miles south of Wanitabe, were also said to have occurred in the early 1950s. From scores of accounts, a broad chronology emerged of the arrival of kuru in some southwestern and southeastern areas as late as the 1960s see the map Lindenbaum, p. Kuru was said to have appeared first among young women, with a subsequent shift to children of both sexes and adult men, an account that matched early epidemiological reports. Our genealogical records, which also recorded causes of death, confirmed Fore assertions that the disease was not of great historical depth. Deaths from kuru clustered in generations of young people and their parents, but were extremely rare in the next ascending generation. Moreover, the Fore could name for us and for later investigators those who had died of kuru. They could also name those who had participated in the consumption of deceased persons, demonstrating the link between the disease and cannibalism. As a result, a coherent account could be made for the appearance of the disease some 40-20 years after the ingestion of poorly cooked tissues containing the transmissible agent Mathews et al. In addition to the evidence we provided that kuru was a recent phenomenon, we thought also that the South Fore had adopted mortuary cannibalism in recent times, which we estimated to be roughly a decade before the appearance of kuru in the north, i.e. In the 1950s, many Fore said that the practice had arrived from the Kamano in the north, and from the Markham Valley and the Agarabi people to the northwest. Jerome Whitfield, an anthropologist currently working in the South Fore, has evidence that the custom may be of greater historical depth, dating back six generations. Cannibalism, however, remains a significant factor in the transmission of the disease. Kuru and cannibalism

During our fieldwork we gathered detailed information about the practice of cannibalism and continued to do so in 1960. The report notes that we were continuing to gather information on seven topics begun earlier: As these practices vary considerably in the kuru region and in adjacent areas, an attempt will be made to relate these findings to variations in kuru prevalence. Our thoughts about the relationship between kuru and cannibalism rested heavily on data we had collected concerning Fore rules about the consumption of human flesh, which seemed to fit the epidemiological evidence available to us at that time. Although it was no longer

present in the s, having been suppressed under pressure from the government and missions, the Fore spoke openly about the recent customary practices of consuming the dead. The first government patrols in the late s had also reported cannibalism to be customary throughout the region. Beyond the Fore, however, it was customary to consume enemies exocannibalism , not deceased kin endocannibalism , a pattern of behaviour with consequences for the transmission and geographical boundaries of kuru. The anthropologists Ronald and Catherine Berndt, who carried out research among the North Fore and neighbouring populations from to , said that cannibalism had ceased in the north by the s, but was still practised surreptitiously in the south Berndt. The South Fore confirmed that they had indeed continued to hide and eat deceased kin until the mids, when a government road was built to provide access from Okapa in the north to the southern hamlets at Purosa. Thus, in the South Fore, the area with the highest incidence of kuru in the s, cannibalism had continued longer than in the north. All body parts were eaten, except the gall bladder that was considered too bitter. Not all bodies were eaten. The Fore did not eat those who died of dysentery, leprosy and possibly yaws, but kuru victims were viewed favourably. Most significantly, not all Fore were cannibals. Cannibalism among adult men in the North Fore occurred more frequently than it did in the south; in the south, men rarely ate human flesh, and those who did said they avoided eating the bodies of women. Small children residing in houses with their mothers ate what their mothers gave them. Consumption of human flesh was thus largely limited to adult women, children of both sexes and a few adult men, a pattern that matched the epidemiology of kuru in the early s.

### 4: The Ethnography of cannibalism - Society for Psychological Anthropology - Google Books

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Language[ edit ] The Beti people, like the other Beti-Pahuin peoples speak a dialect of the Fang language, [1] also known as Pahuin or Pangwe. Sometimes called as the Beti language, it is a Southern Bantu language belonging to the Niger-Congo family of languages. They continued to face jihads and violence from the north by the Fulani people also called Fulbe or Fula people , abandoned their settlements and migrated further into southern parts of central Cameroon till the 19th century when European traders and colonial forces intervened as they sought trade and markets. After the first world war, the German colony was taken over, divided by the French and the British colonial powers. He published a memoir about them in The memoir mentions his arrival on the Atlantic coast and being told by local people about the cannibalistic Beti people. When Du Chaillu met the Beti people, he saw skulls and bones near their settlement. He immediately took these for cannibalism and wrote about it in his memoir. Later visitors such as the ethnographer Mary Kingsley in 1897, who did not speak the Beti language or live with the local people, saw the same sighting, and titled her book "A Victorian Woman Explorer among the Man-eaters". These alleged practices were used to justify violence against them and the enslavement of Beti and Fang peoples. The practice of collecting the bones were a way of remembrance and religious reverence for their dead. Among the most famous was the novel Tarzan of the Apes by Edgar Rice Burroughs , which created the popular Tarzan character. Burroughs set his novel near the village of Mbonga, among the Beti people and their closely related ethnic group called the Fang people. The Tarzan syndicate became a global sensation, was widely followed, created some 89 movies in the years that followed, and launched numerous comic strips and television series, many of which providing a distorted stereotyped view about the people from the African equatorial forest. Since colonial times, many have adopted cash crops such as peanuts and cacao. However, these craftsmanship are nearly extinct because of urbanization and modern trade flows. Outside the village compounds were carefully concealed traps, as another line of defense against slave raiders. The villages have tended to be politically independent of each other, centered on a lineage called Ayon or Mvog. The Beti revere their ancestors, and known among other things for their artistically produced reliquary boxes called the Byeri. They store the bones of their ancestors in these reliquary boxes, which were used during rites of passage, with their sophisticated masks called So animal-faced and Ngil human-faced. Another notable aspect of their society has been the concept of Mebala, a type of potlatch , where wealthy families ceremoniously gather and give away their wealth to the poorer families.

## 5: Of Cannibals, Tourists, and Ethnographers – Cultural Anthropology

*The types of cannibalism covered include: exo-cannibalism, judicial, survival, endocannibalism, human sacrifice, biting, infanticide, funeral, slave, and Windigo and cannibalism. The origins and philosophy of cannibalism as well as cannibalism's relationship with food taboos and religion are also discussed.*

Anthropology Essay May 22, The ethnographic, historical and archaeological evidence for the practice of institutionalised anthropophagy. This essay will examine the practice of anthropophagy or human cannibalism by comparing ethnographic and historical data to the archaeological record in order to determine the possible reasons for its practice in antiquity. It will first of all define and explain the origins of the word cannibalism. The various categories will then be outlined, including the differences between exocannibalism and endocannibalism. Historical and ethnographic examples of the practice will be discussed together with examples from archaeology. Anthropophagy is a controversial subject among anthropologists, ethnographers and archaeologists Cole For many years, it has been at the centre of heated debate about the extent of its existence both archaeologically and ethnographically *ibid.* Arens claimed that the accounts of 19th century ethnographers were unreliable because of their colonial attitude and innate racism Taylor , He later conceded, "the ingestion of culturally processed human body parts was open to further consideration" Arens , Increasingly biological, anthropological and archaeological evidence supports the idea that anthropophagy has been very much a part of the human experience Taylor , British anthropologist Professor Chris Stringer has stated that if butchery can be seen in the tiny sample that makes up the human fossil record, then it must have been a common occurrence throughout human history *ibid.* Archaeologist Ann Gibbons is in agreement with Stringer and concludes that the frequent presence of cannibalism in the archaeological record must indicate that hunger was not its only driving force Gibbons Anthropology Essay May 22, Anthropophagy is the scientific term used to describe the ingestion of human flesh by another human being, more commonly known as cannibalism. Upon reaching the Caribbean, Columbus fig. Chanca identified the discovery of human remains as evidence of cannibalism and believing that they were in Asia, Columbus immediately identified these people as the subjects of Genghis Khan Whitehead , ; Taylor , The word from then on became a derogatory term used to infer savagery Whitehead , It signified barbarism and therefore, the antithesis of the enlightened refinement of western civilization Lindenbaum , Engraving of Christopher Columbus by Theodore de Bry [www.cannibalism.com](http://www.cannibalism.com) Cannibalism has been noted in over 1, animal species worldwide and zoologists have recognised it as an intrinsic part of animal behaviour *ibid.* In the animal world cannibalism is usually prompted by dietary necessity, 2 Bridget Brennan 4th Year Applied Archaeology. Anthropology Essay May 22, the promotion of a particular gene pool or as a means of controlling numbers Taylor , 63; Cole Among *Homo sapiens* anthropophagy can also occur out of necessity for instance during famine, military siege or shipwreck and the term used for this is survival or gustatory cannibalism Lindenbaum , Cannibalistic behaviour can manifest itself as part of a personality disorder or severe psychosis and has often been seen among serial killers such as Jeffrey Dahmer or Ed Gein Lindenbaum , ; Scott and McMurry , However, this essay will be examining anthropophagy as a cultural choice which is much more complex and can be part of religious ritual, revenge, social control or indeed a dietary preference that is culturally driven Scott and McMurry , In anthropology two main types of institutionalised cannibalism are recognised Chagnon , These two types are exocannibalism involving the consumption of individuals outside the community or group and endocannibalism which takes place within the group *ibid.* The latter is ritualistic in nature, with body elements being ingested for the benefit of the soul rather than the body Arens , In ritualistic anthropophagy a selected part of the body is eaten in order to perform religious ceremonies, typically funerary rites Chagnon , Anthropology Essay May 22, connected with aggression or warfare and one of the most recent accounts regarding exocannibalism took place during the civil war in Congo Bergner In United Nations investigators reported 12 cases of cannibalism that occurred during a failed rebel advance in Beni, which is in north eastern Congo *ibid.* The Orokaivia people of Papua New Guinea claimed that they ate the captives they took during intertribal raids as compensation for the spirits of Orokaivia warriors killed during such raids Sanday , 6.

Conversely, for the Asabano tribes the practice of exocannibalism ensured the destruction of their enemies souls, thus preventing their return as ghosts that would torment them Lohmann , For the Wari plate 1 eating their enemies, was their way of showing their contempt for them ibid. By complete contrast, their endocannibalistic practices were related to funerary ritual in which the deceased family members were consumed as a way of demonstrating affection and respect ibid. Like the Wari, the Yanomamo also practiced endocannibalistic anthropophagy despite claiming to have a fear of becoming cannibals Chagnon , According to American anthropologist Napoleon Chagnon, the Yanomamo cremated their dead and ground down any unburnt bone ibid. The ashes, along with the crushed bone, would be mixed with ripe plantain to form a soup that would 4 Bridget Brennan 4th Year Applied Archaeology. Only women drank the ashes of men who have been killed by enemy raiders while the ashes of children were imbibed by their parents ibid. For the Bimin Kuskusmin, also of Papua New Guinea, honouring the dead involved eating their bone marrow ibid. For the people of Fiji cannibalism was described by them as simply a part of their culture Sanday , They mainly practiced exocannibalism against rival tribal warriors who would be eaten in order to gain mana, a substance that Fijians claimed was their life force or status influence ibid. Historical accounts of institutionalised cannibalism date back to the writings of Herodotus, an ancient Greek philosopher who lived during the fifth century BC Murphy and Mallory , He describes the endocannibalistic mortuary practices of the Issedones who lived in the Steppe lands of the Urals ibid. When a man died, his kin would bring beasts of the flock to be killed and cut up ibid. The dead man would also be cut up and his flesh would be mingled with that of the slaughtered animals to be consumed as part of a funerary feast ibid. The Greek geographer Strabo also described endocannibalism in relation to the Irish and claimed that they considered it an honourable thing for a man to devour his father when he died ibid. Accounts of the sacrificial rituals of the 16th century Aztecs include a description of the living hearts of the victims being ripped from their bodies in order to appease the gods Sanday , The bodies were then thrown down the side of the temple where they were collected by their captors fig. The captors cooked the remains in a stew that was then fed to their families ibid. Anthropology Essay May 22, Figure 2: During his second voyage of exploration to islands in the Pacific, Captain Cook was sceptical of reports of cannibalism among the Maoris and the Fijians Taylor , As a product of the 18th century enlightenment he preferred instead to believe in the idea of the noble savage ibid. Nonetheless, Maori people were observed, by his crew, cooking human flesh on the quarterdeck of his ship the Resolution ibid. This was a demonstration by the Maoris that they did indeed consume human remains and that they were proud of it ibid. Cook later apologised for the incident but pointed out that it was the "state of their civilisation" and that they only ate their enemies ibid. In the 19th century a Polynesian missionary and native of the Cook Islands kept an eyewitness log of his travels in which he described the consumption of human flesh by Canaque natives in New Caledonia plate 2 Sanday , After intertribal warfare the slain were dismembered and taken back to the village to be cooked, although only the arms and legs were eaten, the rest of the body being discarded ibid. Anthropology Essay May 22, Plate 2: Canaque Warriors of New Caledonia circa However, cannibalism is a very controversial subject among archaeologists because of the difficulties in recognising it correctly Cole It is even more difficult to establish which form of cannibalism may be present archaeologically since the treatment of skeletal remains will be similar if not identical regardless of motivation ibid. Prehistoric anthropophagy may be interpreted as survival or dietary cannibalism ibid. Furthermore, secondary burial in prehistoric contexts can mimic cannibalistic activity since it also involves the defleshing and dismemberment of the body Villa et al. However it is believed that excarnated human remains will have more cut marks in order to completely remove the flesh from the bone Cole There will also be an absence or splitting in order to remove bone marrow ibid. Anthropology Essay May 22, consumed the bone marrow of their deceased relatives in order to send their souls to the other world Lewis , This form of endocannibalistic anthropophagy as part of funerary ritual may well have been practiced either parallel or in conjunction with excarnation for secondary burial in prehistoric communities. Analogous occurrences can produce comparable indications and within groups there may well be diverse practices that cannot be safely reproduced in the archaeological record Pickering , For archaeologists a combination of telltale signatures need to be found on the bones in order to identify cannibalistic practices that would otherwise be invisible Cole These signatures

include such things as a lack of cranial base and absence of vertebrae, cut marks, chop marks, scraping, long bone breakage, anvil abrasions, burnt bones due to cooking, percussion pitting, and peeling *ibid.* As stated previously evidence of butchery can do nothing more than infer dismemberment. The depositional patterns and modifications to the disarticulated remains must also be observed particularly with regard to cannibalism that has ritual or religious aspects *ibid.* Biological evidence that cannibalism was present in both prehistoric and ethnographic populations comes from research into a neurodegenerative disorder known as Kuru or prion disease Pennisi , Once cannibalism had been banned Kuru disappeared and no one born after has presented with the disease *ibid.* Previously the Fore people had been practicing endocannibalism in the form of funerary feasts which they believed released the souls of their dead kinsmen Whitfield et al. Analysis of the DNA of the Fore people along with other samples from around the world revealed that two versions of the prion gene were present in all the samples Pennisi , The gene for a malformed protein known as a prion which causes brain cells to die is also thought to be responsible for CJD Creutzfeldt Jakob Disease *ibid.* Those most susceptible to prion diseases were found to be carrying two identical copies while those who carried two unmatched copies were 8 Bridget Brennan 4th Year Applied Archaeology. Anthropology Essay May 22, less susceptible Cole The scientists concluded that the polymorphisms were a result of natural selection due to protracted exposure to cannibalism *ibid.* In the Fore people a cannibalistic diet containing prion contaminated tissue may have been an important source and a trigger for the disease Pennisi , Paolo Villa has noted that "cannibalism is a phenomenon at the edge of detectability" Villa , The site dates to between the 5th and 4th millennium BC Villa , Both faunal and human remains were found within the cave, believed to be a temporary camp site for an early farming community *ibid.* The animal remains included sheep and wild boar deposited in distinct separate clusters *ibid.* The human remains consisted of three clusters of fragments of post cranial bones amounting to a minimum of six individuals Villa , These included three adults, two children and one individual of indeterminate age *ibid.* As part of the analysis careful refitting of the bones and taphonomic studies were carried out. It was concluded that the bone breakages were the result of human agency and that both human and animals had been butchered in an identical fashion Villa , All the human long bones had been broken presumably to extract marrow indicating the processing of human remains for nutritional purposes *ibid.* Secondary burial was ruled out by Villa and her team because of the mode of dismemberment and also because the traditional form of burial practice in South West France during that period was primary inhumation *ibid.* She also proposed that since there was no evidence of starvation the main reason for cannibalistic activity may have been intertribal aggression *ibid.* Pickering proposed that the treatment of the Fontbregourra remains could be replicated using anthropological data related to the secondary burial practices of 9 Bridget Brennan 4th Year Applied Archaeology. Anthropology Essay May 22, Australian aborigines Pickering , In her reply Villa pointed out that both the sheep and the boar had also been found in their own distinct clusters *ibid.* Furthermore ethnographic examples of cannibalism could just as equally be used to interpret butchered human remains as those cited by Pickering to explain secondary burial practices *ibid.* David Degusta has shown that the style and method of butchery discovered at the Fijian site of Navatu are consistent with Fijian folklore and ethnography Taylor , 70 Interpreting the presence of cannibalism among ancient human remains can also anger modern tribal people Taylor , In the American south-west the year old human remains from Anasazi and Fremont Indian sites in Colorado have revealed distinctive patterns of systematic butchery plate 3 *ibid.* Disarticulated, defleshed and cooked human remains found on pithouse floors Marlar et al.

## 6: Catalog Record: The Ethnography of cannibalism | Hathi Trust Digital Library

*cannibalism* (kǎfn`Ä-bÉ™IÄ-zÉ™m) [Span. canÄ-bal, referring to the Carib], eating of human flesh by other humans. The charge of cannibalism is a common insult, and it is likely that some alleged cannibal groups have merely been victims of popular fear and misrepresentation.

Univ of California Press Format Available: In this radical reexamination of the notion of cannibalism, Gananath Obeyesekere offers a fascinating and convincing argument that cannibalism is mostly "cannibal talk," a discourse on the Other engaged in by both indigenous peoples and colonial intruders that results in sometimes funny and sometimes deadly cultural misunderstandings. Cannibalism is less a social or cultural fact than a mythic representation of European writing that reflects much more the realities of European societies and their fascination with the practice of cannibalism, he argues. And while very limited forms of cannibalism might have occurred in Polynesian societies, they were largely in connection with human sacrifice and carried out by a select community in well-defined sacramental rituals. Cannibal Talk considers how the colonial intrusion produced a complex self-fulfilling prophecy whereby the fantasy of cannibalism became a reality as natives on occasion began to eat both Europeans and their own enemies in acts of "conspicuous anthropophagy. Dog Ear Publishing Format Available: The central purpose of this book is to show that cannibalism has been practiced under certain conditions in a variety of cultures throughout the world. Twenty-five different cultures are presented in this book. The types of cannibalism covered include: Ezzo has been involved with the study of Native American Indian history and culture for over twenty-five years. His interest in the subject matter first began when he earned his Indian Lore merit badge from Mr. Koch when he was 15 years old. His interest in the topic continued when he served as an Indian Lore counselor at Camp Turner for four summers in , , and While at Fredonia he wrote two published articles and co-wrote a third article with one of his professors, Dr. This article was presented at the 16th Algonquian Conference and was published a year later in During his time at the University of Oklahoma he presented several papers including one at a Frontier Conference at OU in and also a paper at the Algonquian Conference. His MA thesis was also written on a Native American topic. The title of his thesis "Female Status in Northeastern North America" was a historical survey of the roles of Native American women in a number of Algonquian societies. During subsequent years David continued to attend and publish papers at Algonquian Conferences. In June of David earned his Ph. This book was also published by Dog Ear Publishing.

## 7: Cannibalism - world, body, life, history, time, person, human, Constructing History with Cannibals

*The Anthropology of Cannibalism includes seven interesting articles on the subject of human cannibalism. Almost half of the book is dedicated to the conversation about cannibalism as a tool of cultural prejudice -- whether it is applied by colonialist Europeans or Ku Waru of New Guinea.*

## 8: Beti people - Wikipedia

*In an essay in "The Ethnography of Cannibalism," a publication of the Society for Psychological Anthropology,, Dr. Sahlins writes that "it would be difficult to agree with the Christian.*

## 9: Project MUSE - Flesh or Fantasy: Cannibalism and the Meanings of Violence

*Cannibalism Cannibalism, or anthropophagy, is the ingestion of human flesh by humans. The idea of people eating parts of other people is something that has occurred wherever and whenever humans have formed societies.*

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