Maaike Lauwaert &
Francien van Westrenen (eds.)

Facing Value

Radical perspectives from the arts

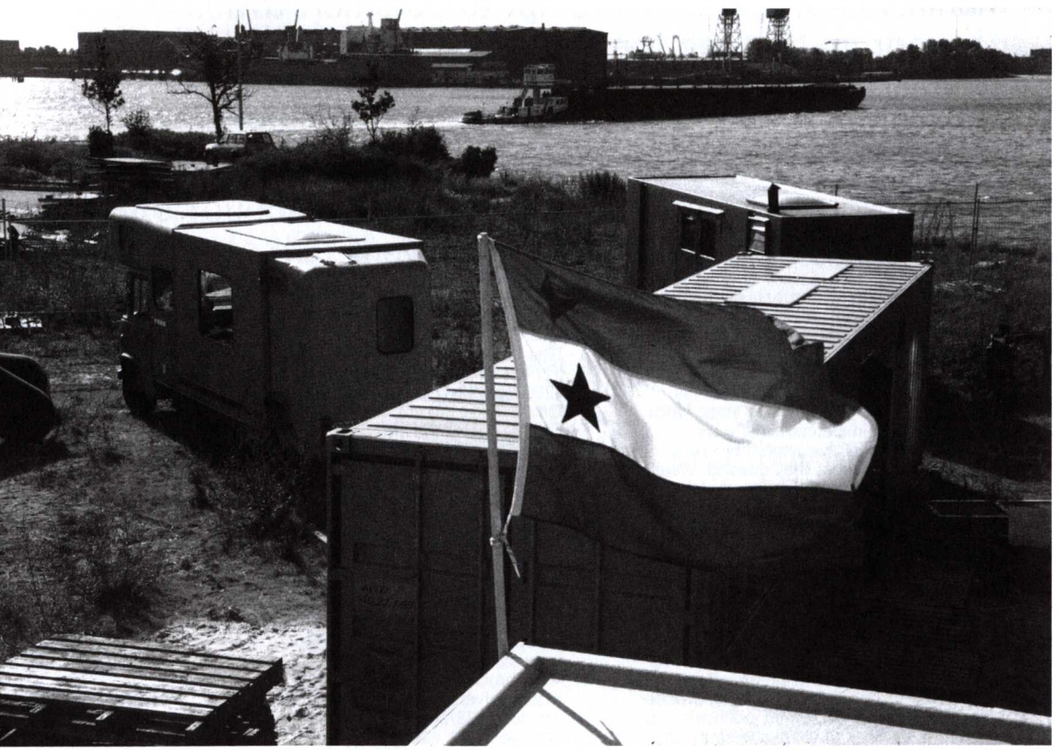
Valiz

1. Be unproductive
2. Hesitate and question
3. Share
4. Improvise
5. Invite and participate
6. Embrace the void
7. Play!
8. Support
9. Unite

Yto Barrada, *Briques (Bricks) (Backsteine)*, 2003/2011

Contents

On value 8



Atelier Van Lieshout, *Freestate of AVL-Ville*, Rotterdam, 2001

THE EXCHANGE OF GIFTS AND THE OBLIGATION TO RECIPROCATE (POLYNESIA)

Marcel Mauss

I
'TOTAL SERVICES', 'MATERNAL* GOODS' AGAINST 'MASCULINE GOODS'† (SAMOA)

During this research into the extension of contractual gifts, it seemed for a long time as if potlatch proper did not exist in Polynesia. Polynesian societies in which institutions were most comparable did not appear to go beyond the system of 'total services', permanent contracts between clans pooling their women, men, and children, and their rituals, etc. We then studied in Samoa the remarkable custom of exchanging emblazoned matting between chiefs on the occasion of a marriage, which did not appear to us to go beyond this level.[1] The elements of rivalry, destruction, and combat appeared to be lacking, whereas this was not so in Melanesia. Finally, there were too few facts available. Now we would be less critical about the facts.

First, this system of contractual gifts in Samoa extends far beyond marriage. Such gifts accompany the following events: the birth of a child,[2] circumcision,[3] sickness,[4] a daughter's arrival at puberty,[5] funeral rites,[6] trade.[7]

Next, two essential elements in potlatch proper can be clearly distinguished here: the honour, prestige, and *mana* conferred by wealth;[8] and the absolute obligation to reciprocate these gifts under pain of losing that *mana*, that authority—the talisman and source of wealth that is authority itself.[9]

* The French *utérin*, strictly speaking, relates to children of the same mother, but not necessarily of the same father. It is translated as 'maternal' and relates to the goods that are passed on to such children, i.e. 'maternal goods'.

† Masculine goods' [*biens masculins*] relates to goods passed on to children through the father's side.

1 G. Davy (1922) 'Foi jurée', p. 140, has studied these exchanges in connection with marriage, and its relationship to contract. As we shall see, they have a different dimension.

2 Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 178; *Samoa*, p. 82 ff.; Stair, *Old Samoa*, p. 175.

3 Krämer, *Samoa-Inseln*, vol. 2, pp. 52–63.

4 Stair, *Old Samoa*, p. 180; Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 225; *Samoa*, p. 142.

5 Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 184; *Samoa*, p. 91.

6 Krämer *Samoa-Inseln*, vol. 2, p. 105; Turner, *Samoa*, p. 142.

7 Krämer, *Samoa-Inseln*, vol. 2, pp. 96, 363. The commercial expedition, the *malaga* (cf. *walaga* in New Guinea) corresponds in fact very closely to the potlatch, which itself is characteristic of the expeditions carried out in the neighbouring Melanesian archipelago. Krämer uses the word *Gegenschenk* ['reciprocating present'] for the exchange of the *oloa* against the *tonga*, which we shall discuss. Moreover, although we must not fall into the exaggerations of British ethnographers of the Rivers and Elliot Smith school, nor into those of American ethnographers who, following Boas, see the whole of the American system of potlatch as a series of borrowings, we should, however, lay much weight on the fact that institutions, so to speak, travel around. This is especially true in this case, where a considerable amount of trade, from island to island and port to port, and over very great distances, from very early times must have served not only the passage of goods, but also the ways in which they were exchanged. Malinowski, in studies that we shall cite later, had a judicious appreciation of this fact. Cf. a study devoted to some of these institutions (Northwest Melanesia), in R. Lenoir (1924) 'Expéditions maritimes en Mélanesie', *Anthropologie*, September.

8 In any case rivalry between Maori clans is mentioned fairly often, particularly in connection with festivities. Cf. S.P. Smith, *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (henceforth, *JPS*), vol. 15, p. 87. (See also pp. 1, 59, n. 4).

9 The reason why, in this case, we do not assert that potlatch proper exists, is because the element of usury in the reciprocal service rendered is lacking. However, as we shall see in considering Maori law, the fact that nothing is given in return entails the loss of *mana*, of 'face', as the Chinese say. In Samoa also, in order not to incur the same disadvantage, 'give and give in return' must be observed.

On the one hand, as Turner tells us:

> After the festivities at a birth, after having received and reciprocated the *oloa* and the *tonga*—in other words, masculine and feminine goods—husband and wife did not emerge any richer than before. But they had the satisfaction of having witnessed what they considered to be a great honour: the masses of property that had been assembled on the occasion of the birth of their son.[10]

On the other hand, these gifts can be obligatory and permanent, with no total counter-service in return except the legal status that entails them. Thus the child whom the sister, and consequently the brother-in-law, who is the maternal uncle, receive from their brother and brother-in-law to bring up, is himself termed a *tonga*, a possession on the mother's side.[11] Now, he is:

> the channel along which possessions that are internal in kind,[12] the *tonga*, continue to flow from the family of the child to that family. Furthermore, the child is the means whereby his parents can obtain possessions of a foreign kind (*oloa*) from the parents who have adopted him, and this occurs throughout the child's lifetime.
>
> This sacrifice [of the natural bonds] facilitates an easy system of exchange of property internal and external to the two kinship sides.

In short, the child, belonging to the mother's side, is the channel through which the goods of the maternal kin are exchanged against those of the paternal kin. It suffices to note that, living with his maternal uncle, the child has plainly the right to live there, and consequently possesses a general right over the latter's possessions. This system of 'fosterage' appears very close to that of the generally acknowledged right of the maternal nephew in Melanesian areas over the possessions of his uncle.[13] Only the theme of rivalry, combat, and destruction is lacking, for there to be potlatch.

Let us, however, note these two terms, *oloa*, and *tonga*, and let us consider particularly the *tonga*. This designates the permanent paraphernalia, particularly the mats given at marriage,[14] inherited by the daughters of that marriage, and the decorations and talismans that through the wife come into the newly founded family, with an obligation to return them.[15] In short, they are kinds of fixed property—immovable because of their destination. The *oloa*[16]—designate objects, mainly tools, that belong specifically to the husband. These are essentially movable goods. Thus nowadays this term is applied to things passed on by Whites.[17] This is clearly a recent extension of the meaning. We can leave on one side Turner's translation:

10 Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 178; *Samoa*, p. 52. This theme of ruin and honour is a basic one in the potlatch of the American North-west. Cf. examples in Porter, 'Report...', Eleventh Census, p. 334.

11 Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 178; *Samoa*, p. 83, calls the young man 'adopted'. He is wrong. The custom is exactly that of 'fosterage', of education being given outside the family of birth; more precisely, this fosterage is a kind of return to the maternal family, since the child is brought up in the family of his father's sister—in reality in the home of his uncle on the mother's side, the sister's husband. It must not be forgotten that Polynesia is a region where there is a dual classification of kinship: maternal and masculine. Cf. our review of Elsdon Best's work, *Maori Nomenclature*, in *Année Sociologique* 7:420, and Durkheim's observations in 5:37.

12 Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 179; *Samoa*, p. 83.

13 Cf. our observations on *vasu* in Fiji, in 'Procès-verbaux de l'I.F.A', *Anthropologie*, 1921.

14 Krämer, *Samoa-Inseln*, see under: *toga*, vol. 1, p. 482; vol. 2, p. 90.

15 Ibid, vol. 2, p. 296; cf. p. 90 (*toga=Mitgift* ['dowry']); p. 94, exchange of the *oloa* against *toga*.

16 Ibid, vol. 1, p. 477. Violette, *Dictionnaire Samoan-Français*, under *toga*, expresses it well: 'riches of the region consisting of finely woven matting and *oloa*, riches such as houses, boats, cloth, and guns' (p. 194, col. 2); and he refers us back to *oa*, 'riches, possessions', which includes all foreign articles.

17 Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 179; cf. p. 186. Tregear, *Maori Comparative Dictionary*, p. 468 (at the word *toga*, given under the heading *taonga*), muddles up the goods that bear this name and those that bear the name *oloa*. This is clearly a slip. Rev. Ella, 'Polynesian Native Clothing', *JPS*, vol. 9, p. 165 describes the ie *tonga* ('mats') as follows:

> They were the main wealth of the natives; formerly they were used as a form of money in exchanges of property, at marriages and on occasions demanding special courtesy. They are often kept in the families as heirlooms (substitute goods), and many of the old ie are known and valued very highly as having belonged to some famous family.

Cf. Turner, *Samoa*, p. 120. All these expressions have their equivalent in Melanesia and North America, and in our own folklore, as we shall see.

oloa=foreign; *tonga*=native. It is incorrect and insufficient, but not without interest, since it demonstrates that certain goods that are termed *tonga* are more closely linked to the soil,[18] the clan, the family, and the person than certain others that are termed *oloa*.

Yet, if we extend the field of our observation, the notion of *tonga* immediately takes on another dimension. In Maori, Tahitian, Tongan, and Mangarevan (Gambier), it connotes everything that may properly be termed possessions, everything that makes one rich, powerful, and influential, and everything that can be exchanged, and used as an object for compensating others.[19] These are exclusively the precious articles, talismans, emblems, mats, and sacred idols, sometimes even the traditions, cults, and magic rituals. Here we link up with that notion of propertyas-talisman, which we are sure is general throughout the Malaysian and Polynesian world, and even throughout the Pacific as a whole.[20]

II
THE SPIRIT OF THE THING GIVEN (MAORI)

This observation leads us to a very important realization: the *taonga* [sic] are strongly linked to the person, the clan, and the earth, at least in the theory of Maori law and religion. They are the vehicle for its *mana*, its magical, religious, and spiritual force. In a proverb that happily has been recorded by Sir George Grey[21] and C.O. Davis[22] the *taonga* are implored to destroy the individual who has accepted them. Thus they contain within them that force, in cases where the law, particularly the obligation to reciprocate, may fail to be observed.

Our much regretted friend Hertz had perceived the importance of these facts. With his touching disinterestedness he had noted down 'for Davy and Mauss', on the card recording the following fact. Colenso says:[23] 'They had a kind of exchange system, or rather one of giving presents that must ultimately either be reciprocated or given back.' For example, dried fish is exchanged for jellied birds or matting.[24] All these are exchanged between tribes or 'friendly families without any kind of stipulation'.

But Hertz had also noted—and I have found it among his records—a text whose importance had escaped the notice of both of us, for I was equally aware of it.

Concerning the *hau*, the spirit of things, and especially that of the forest and wild fowl it contains, Tamati Ranaipiri, one of the best Maori informants of Elsdon Best, gives us, completely by chance, and entirely without prejudice, the key to the problem.[25]

> I will speak to you about the *hau*. The *hau* is not the wind that blows—not at all. Let us suppose that you possess

18 Kramer, *Samoa-Inseln*, vol. 2, pp. 90, 93.

19 See Tregear, *Maori Comparative Dictionary*, under *taonga*: Tahitian, *tatoa*, 'to give property', *faataoa*, 'to compensate, to give property'; Marquises Islands, see Lesson, *Polynésiens*, vol. 2, p. 232, *taetae*; cf. Radiguet, *Derniers Sauvages, tiau tae-tae*, 'presents given, gifts and goods of their country given in order to obtain foreign goods'. The root of the word is *tahu*, etc.

20 See M. Mauss (1914), 'Origines de la notion de monnaie', Anthropologie, ('Procès-verbaux de l'I.F.A.'), in which almost all the facts cited, except those concerning Central Africa and America, relate to this area.

21 G. Gray, *Proverbs*, p. 103 (translation, p. 103).

22 C.O. Davis, *Maori Mementos*, p. 21.

23 In *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, vol. 1, p. 354.

24 Theoretically the tribes of New Zealand are divided, by Maori tradition itself, into fishermen, cultivators, and hunters, and are deemed to exchange their products with one another constantly. Cf. E. Best, 'Forest Lore', *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, 42:435.

25 Ibid, Maori text, p. 431, transl. p. 439.

a certain article (*taonga*) and that you give me this article. You give it me without setting a price on it.[26] We strike no bargain about it. Now, I give this article to a third person who, after a certain lapse of time, decides to give me something as payment in return (*utu*).[27] He makes a present to me of something (*taonga*). Now, this *taonga* that he gives me is the spirit (*hau*) of the *taonga* that I had received from you and that I had given to *him*. The *taonga* that I received for these *taonga* (which came from you) must be returned to you. It would not be fair (*tika*) on my part to keep these *taonga* for myself, whether they were desirable (*rawe*) or undesirable (*kino*). I must give them to you because they are a *hau*[28] of the *taonga* that you gave me. If I kept this other *taonga* for myself, serious harm might befall me, even death. This is the nature of the *hau*, the *hau* of personal property, the *hau* of the *taonga*, the *hau* of the forest. *Kati ena* (But enough on this subject).

This text, of capital importance, deserves a few comments. It is purely Maori, permeated by that, as yet, vague theological and juridical spirit of doctrines within the 'house of secrets', but at times astonishingly clear, and presenting only one obscure feature: the intervention of a third person. Yet, in order to understand fully this Maori juridical expert, one need only say:

> The *taonga* and all goods termed strictly personal possess a *hau*, a spiritual power. You give me one of them, and I pass it on to a third party; he gives another to me in turn, because he is impelled to do so by the *hau* my present possesses. I, for my part, am obliged to give you that thing because I must return to you what is in reality the effect of the *hau* of your *taonga*.

When interpreted in this way the idea not only becomes clear, but emerges as one of the key ideas of Maori law. What imposes obligation in the present received and exchanged, is the fact that the thing received is not inactive. Even when it has been abandoned by the giver, it still possesses something of him. Through it the giver has a hold over the beneficiary just as, being its owner, through it he has a hold over the thief.[29] This is because the *taonga* is animated by the *hau* of its forest, its native heath and soil. It is truly 'native':[30] the *hau* follows after anyone possessing the thing.

It not only follows after the first

26 The word *hau* designates, as does the Latin *spiritus*, both the wind and the soul—more precisely, at least in certain cases, the soul and the power in inanimate and vegetal things, the word *mana* being reserved for men and spirits. It is applied less frequently to things than in Melanesian.

27 The word *utu* is used for the satisfaction experienced by blood-avengers, for compensations, repayments, responsibility, etc. It also designates the price. It is a complicated notion relating to morality, law, religion, and economics.

28 *He hau*. The whole translation of these two sentences has been shortened by Elsdon Best, whom I am nevertheless following.

29 A large number of facts to illustrate this last point had been gathered by R. Hertz for one of the paragraphs of his translation of *Sin and Expiation*. They demonstrate that the punishment for theft is merely the magical and religious effect of *mana*, the power that the owner retains over the good that has been stolen. Moreover, the good itself, hedged in by taboos and marked with the signs of ownership, is completely charged by these with *hau*, spiritual power. It is this *hau* that avenges the person suffering the theft, which takes possession of the thief, casts a spell upon him, and leads him to death or obliges him to make restitution. These facts are to be found in the book by Hertz, which we shall be publishing, under the paragraphs relating to *hau*.

30 In R. Hertz's work are to be found the documents relating to the *maori* to which we refer here. These *maori* are at the same time talismans, palladiums, and sanctuaries in which dwells the spirit of the clan, *hapu*, its *mana*, and the *hau* of its soil.
The documents of Elsdon Best concerning this point require comment and discussion, in particular those that relate to the remarkable expressions of *hau* whitia and of *kai hau*. The main passages are in 'Spiritual Concepts', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 10:10 (Maori text); and 9:198. We cannot deal with them as we should, but what follows is our interpretation: '*hau whitia*, averted *hau*', states Elsdon Best, and his translation seems exact. For the sin of theft or that of nonpayment or nonrendering of total counter-services is indeed a perverting of the soul, of *hau*, such as in cases (where it is confused with theft) of the refusal to enter into an exchange or give a present. On the contrary, kai *hau* is badly translated when it is considered as the mere equivalent of *hau whitia*. It does indeed designate 'the act of eating the soul' and is certainly the synonym of *whangai hau*: cf. Tregear, *Maori Comparative Dictionary* (MCD.), under the headings of *kai* and *whangai*; but this equivalence is not a simple one. For the typical present is that of food, *kai*, and the word refers to that system of food communion, and to the wrong that persists by remaining unredressed. There is something more: the word *hau* itself comes into the same order of ideas: Williams, *Maori Dictionary*, p. 23, under the heading *hau*, states, 'present given as a form of thanks for a present received'.

31 We draw attention also to the remarkable expression *kai-hau-tai*, Tregear, MCD, p. 116: 'to give a present of food offered by one tribe to another; "festivity" (South Island)'. The expression means that this present and the festivity returned are really the soul of the first 'service' returning to its point of departure: 'food that is the *hau* of the food'. In these institutions and these ideas are intermingled all sorts of principles between which our European vocabularies, on the contrary, take the greatest care to distinguish.

32 Indeed the *taonga* seem to be endowed with individuality, even beyond the *hau* that is conferred upon them through their relationship with their owner. They bear names. According to the best enumeration (that of Tregear, loc. cit., p. 360, under the heading pounamu, extracted from the Colenso manuscripts), they specifically include only the following categories: the *pounamu*, the famous jades, the sacred property of the chiefs and the clans, usually the *tiki*, very rare, very personal, and very well carved; then there are various sorts of mats, one of which, doubtless emblazoned as in Samoa, bears the name *korowai*. (This is the sole Maori word that evokes for us the Samoan word *oloa*, the Maori equivalent of which we have failed to discover.)
A Maori document gives the name of *taonga* to the *karakia*, the individually named magic formulas that are considered to be personal talismans capable of being passed on: *JPS* 9:126 (transl. p. 133).

33 Best, 'Forest Lore', p. 449.

recipient, and even, if the occasion arises, a third person, but after any individual to whom the *taonga* is merely passed on.[31] In reality, it is the *hau* that wishes to return to its birthplace, to the sanctuary of the forest and the clan, and to the owner. The *taonga* or its *hau*—which itself moreover possesses a kind of individuality[32]—is attached to this chain of users until these give back from their own property, their *taonga*, their goods, or from their labour or trading, by way of feasts, festivals and presents, the equivalent or something of even greater value. This in turn will give the donors authority and power over the first donor, who has become the last recipient. This is the key idea that in Samoa and New Zealand seems to dominate the obligatory circulation of wealth, tribute, and gifts.

Such a fact throws light upon two important systems of social phenomena in Polynesia and even outside that area. First, we can grasp the nature of the legal tie that arises through the passing on of a thing. We shall come back presently to this point, when we show how these facts can contribute to a general theory of obligation. For the time being, however, it is clear that in Maori law, the legal tie, a tie occurring through things, is one between souls, because the thing itself possesses a soul, is of the soul. Hence it follows that to make a gift of something to someone is to make a present of some part of oneself. Next, in this way we can better account for the very nature of exchange through gifts, of everything that we call 'total services', and among these, potlatch. In this system of ideas one clearly and logically realizes that one must give back to another person what is really part and parcel of his nature and substance, because to accept something from somebody is to accept some part of his spiritual essence, of his soul. To retain that thing would be dangerous and mortal, not only because it would be against law and morality, but also because that thing coming from the person not only morally, but physically and spiritually, that essence, that food,[33] those goods, whether movable or immovable, those women or those descendants, those rituals or those acts of communion—all exert a magical or religious hold over you. Finally, the thing given is not inactive. Invested with life, often possessing individuality, it seeks to return to what Hertz called its 'place of origin' or to produce, on behalf of the clan and the native soil from which it sprang, an equivalent to replace it.

III
OTHER THEMES: THE OBLIGATION TO GIVE, THE OBLIGATION TO RECEIVE

To understand completely the institution of 'total services' and of potlatch, one has still to discover the explanation of the two other elements that are complementary to the former. The institution of 'total services' does not merely carry with it the obligation to reciprocate presents received. It also supposes two other obligations just as important: the obligation, on the one hand, to give presents, and on the other, to receive them. The complete theory of these three obligations, of these three themes relating to the same complex, would yield a satisfactory basic explanation for this form of contract among Polynesian clans. For the time being we can only sketch out how the subject might be treated.

It is easy to find many facts concerning the obligation to receive. For a clan, a household, a group of people, a guest, have no option but to ask for hospitality,[34] to receive presents, to enter into trading,[35] to contract alliances, through wives or blood kinship. The Dayaks have even developed a whole system of law and morality based upon the duty one has not to fail to share in the meal at which one is present or that one has seen in preparation.[36]

The obligation to give is no less important; a study of it might enable us to understand how people have become exchangers of goods and services. We can only point out a few facts. To refuse to give,[37] to fail to invite, just as to refuse to accept,[38] is tantamount to declaring war; it is to reject the bond of alliance and commonality.[39] Also, one gives because one is compelled to do so, because the recipient possesses some kind of right of property over anything that belongs to the donor.[40] This ownership is expressed and conceived of as a spiritual bond. Thus in Australia the son-in-law who owes all the spoils of the hunt to his parentsin-law may not eat anything in their presence for fear

34 Here might be placed the study of the system of facts that the Maoris class under the expressive term of 'scorn of *Tahu*'. The main document relating to this is to be found in Best, 'Maori Mythology', in *JPS* 9:113. *Tahu* is the 'emblematic' name for food generally; it is its personification. The expression *Kaua e tokahi ia Tahu*—'do not scorn Tahu' is used for a person who has refused the food that has been put before him. But the study of these beliefs concerning food in Maori areas would carry us far. Suffice it to say that this god, this hypostasis of food, is identical with Rongo, the god of plants and peace. Thus we shall understand better the association of ideas between hospitality, food, communion, peace, exchange, and law.

35 See Best, 'Spiritual Concepts', *JPS* 9:198.

36 See Hardeland, *Dayak Wörterbuch*, vol. 1, pp. 190, 397a, under the headings *indjok*, *irak*, *pahuni*. The comparative study of these institutions may be extended over the whole area of Malaysian, Indonesian, and Polynesian civilization. The sole difficulty consists in recognizing the institution. Let us give an example. It is under the heading of 'forced trade' that Spenser St John describes how, in the State of Brunei (Borneo), the nobles exacted tribute from the Bisayas by first making them gifts of cloth that were afterwards paid for at an usurious rate over a number of years (*Life in the Forests of the Far East*, vol. 2, p. 42). The error already arose among the civilized Malaysians themselves, who exploited a custom of their less civilized brothers, and no longer understood them. We shall not list all the Indonesian facts of this kind (see elsewhere the review of the study by A.C. Kruyt, *Koopen in Midden Celebes*).

37 To omit to invite someone to a war dance is a sin, a wrong that in the South Island bears the name of *puha*. See H.T. de Croisilles, 'Short Traditions of the South Island', *JPS* 10:76 (note: *tahua*, 'gift of food'). The ritual of Maori hospitality includes: an obligatory invitation that the new arrival cannot refuse, but which he must not request either. He must make his way to the house of his host (who differs according to his caste) without looking about him. His host must have a meal prepared expressly for him, and must be humbly present. Upon leaving, the stranger receives a parting present (Tregear, *Maori Race*, p. 29). Cf. p. 1, the *identical* rites of Hindu hospitality.

38 In reality the two rules blend inextricably together, as do the antithetical and symmetrical services that they prescribe. A proverb expresses this intermingling: Taylor (*Te ika a maui*, p. 132, proverb no. 60) translates it roughly, 'When raw it is seen, when cooked, it is taken'. 'It is better to eat half-cooked food than to wait until the strangers have arrived', when it is cooked and one has to share it with them.

39 Chief Hekemaru (mistake for Maru), according to the legend, refused to accept 'the food' unless he had been seen and greeted by the village to which he was a stranger. If his retinue had passed by unnoticed and messengers had then been sent to request that he and his companions should retrace their steps and share in the eating of food, he would reply that 'the food should not follow after his back'. By this he meant that the food offered to 'the sacred back of his head' (namely, when he had gone beyond the village) would be dangerous for those who gave it to him. Hence the proverb, 'the food will not follow Hekemaru's back' (Tregear, Maori Race, p. 79).

40 The Tuhoe tribe commented upon these principles of mythology and law to Elsdon Best ('Maori Mythology', *JPS* 8:113). 'When a famous chief is to visit the locality, his *mana* precedes him.' The people in the area set out to hunt and fish in order to procure good food. They catch nothing: 'it is because our mana who has gone ahead' has made all the animals and fish invisible; 'our mana has banished them...' etc. (There follows an explanation of the ice and snow, of the *Whai riri* [the sin against water], which keeps the food away from men). In reality this somewhat obscure commentary describes the state of a territory of a *hapu* of hunters whose members had not done what was necessary in order to receive the chief of another clan. They would have committed a '*kaipapa*, a sin against the food', and thus have destroyed their harvests, their game and fisheries, their own food.

41 Examples: the Arunta, the Unmatjera, and the Kaitish (cf. Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 610).

42 On the *vasu* see in particular the old treatise of Williams (1858), *Fiji and the Fijians*, vol. 1, p. 34. See also Steinmetz, *Entwicklung der Strafe*, vol. 2, p. 241 ff. This right of the nephew on the mother's side merely corresponds to the family communism system. But it allows one to gain some idea of other rights, for example, those of relations by marriage and what is generally called 'legal theft'.

43 See Bogoras, *The Chukchee* (Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memorandum of the American Museum of Natural History), vol. 7, New York. The obligations to be carried out for receiving and reciprocating presents, and for hospitality, are more marked among the Chukchee of the maritime areas than among those living in reindeer country. Cf. *Social Organization...*, pp. 634, 637, Cf. the rule for the sacrifice and the slaughter of reindeer. Cf. *Religion...*, vol. 2, p. 375: the duty to invite, the right of the guest to ask for whatever he wants, and the obligation laid upon him to give a present.

44 The theme of the obligation to give is a profoundly Eskimo one. Cf. our study of the 'Variations saisonnières dans les sociétés eskimo', *Année Sociologique* 9:121. One of the recent collections of stories of Eskimos published contains stories of this kind that preach generosity. Cf. Hawkes, *The Labrador Eskimos* (Canadian Geological Survey, Anthropological Series), p. 159.

45 We have (in 'Variations saisonnières dans les sociétés eskimo', *Année Sociologique* 9:121) considered the festivities of the Alaskan Eskimos as a combination of Eskimo elements and of borrowings made from the Indian potlatch proper. But since writing about this, the potlatch, as well as the custom of presents, has been identified as existing among the Chukchee and the Koryak of Siberia, as we shall see. Consequently the borrowing could just as well have been made from these as from the American Indians. Moreover, we must take into account the fine, and plausible hypotheses of Sauvageot (1924) (*Journal des Américanistes*) relating to the Asiatic origin of the Eskimo languages. These hypotheses are confirmed by the very strong ideas of archeologists and anthropologists about the origins of the Eskimos and their civilization. Finally, everything demonstrates that the Eskimos of the west, instead of being rather degenerate as compared with those of the east and the centre, are closer, linguistically and ethnologically, to the source. This seems now to have been proved by Thalbitzer.
In these conditions one must be more definite and say that potlatch exists among the eastern Eskimos and that it was established among them a very long time ago. However, there remain the totems and masks, which are somewhat peculiar to such festivals in the west, and a certain number of which are of Indian origin. Finally, the explanation is fairly unsatisfactory as accounting for the disappearance of the Eskimo potlatch from the east and centre of the American Arctic, unless it is explicable through the diminution in eastern Eskimo societies.

that their mere breath will poison what he consumes.[41] We have seen earlier the rights of this kind that the *taonga* nephew on the female side possesses in Samoa, which are exactly comparable to those of the nephew on the female side (*vasu*) in Fiji.[42]

In all this there is a succession of rights and duties to consume and reciprocate, corresponding to rights and duties to offer and accept. Yet this intricate mingling of symmetrical and contrary rights and duties ceases to appear contradictory if, above all, one grasps that mixture of spiritual ties between things that to some degree appertain to the soul, and individuals, and groups that to some extent treat one another as things.

All these institutions express one fact alone, one social system, one precise state of mind: everything—food, women, children, property, talismans, land, labour services, priestly functions, and ranks—is there for passing on, and for balancing accounts. Everything passes to and fro as if there were a constant exchange of a spiritual matter, including things and men, between clans and individuals, distributed between social ranks, the sexes, and the generations.

IV
NOTE: THE PRESENT MADE TO HUMANS, AND THE PRESENT MADE TO THE GODS

A fourth theme plays a part in this system and moral code relating to presents: it is that of the gift made to men in the sight of the gods and nature. We have not undertaken the general study that would be necessary to bring out its importance. Moreover, the facts we have available do not all relate to those geographical areas to which we have confined ourselves. Finally, the mythological element that we scarcely yet understand is too strong for us to leave it out of account. We shall therefore confine ourselves to a few remarks.

In all societies in Northeast Siberia[43] and among the Eskimos of West Alaska,[44] as with those on the Asian side of the Behring Straits, potlatch[45] produces an

effect not only upon men, who vie with one another in generosity, not only upon the things they pass on to one another or consume at it, not only upon the souls of the dead who are present and take part in it, and whose names have been assumed by men, but even upon nature. The exchange of presents between men, the 'namesakes'—the homonyms of the spirits, incite the spirits of the dead, the gods, things, animals, and nature to be 'generous towards them'.[46] The explanation is given that the exchange of gifts produces an abundance of riches. Nelson[47] and Porter[48] have provided us with a good description of these festivals and of their effect on the dead, on wild life, and on the whales and fish that are hunted and caught by the Eskimos. In the kind of language employed by the British trappers they have the expressive titles of 'Asking Festival',[49] or 'Inviting-in Festival'. They normally extend beyond the bounds of the winter villages. This effect upon nature is clearly brought out in one of the recent studies of these Eskimos.[50]

The Asian Eskimos have even invented a kind of contraption, a wheel bedecked with all kinds of provisions borne on a sort of festive mast, itself surmounted by a walrus head. This portion of the mast projects out of the ceremonial tent whose support it forms. Using another wheel, it is manipulated inside the tent and turned in the direction of the sun's movement. The conjunction of all these themes could not be better demonstrated.[51]

It is also evident among the Chukchee[52] and the Koryaka of the far northeast of Siberia. Both carry out the potlatch. But it is the Chukchee of the coast, just like their neighbours, the Yuit, the Asian Eskimos we have just mentioned, who most practise these obligatory and voluntary exchanges of gifts and presents during long drawn-out 'Thanksgiving Ceremonies',[53] thanksgiving rites that occur frequently in winter and that follow one after another in each of the houses. The remains of the banqueting sacrifice are cast into the sea or scattered to the winds; they return to their land of origin, taking with them the wild animals killed during the year, who will return the next year. Jochelson mentions festivals of the same kind among the Koryak, but he has not been present at them, except for the whale festival.[54] Among the latter, the system of sacrifice seems to be very well developed.[55]

Bogoras[56] rightly compares these customs with those of the Russian *Koliada*: children wearing masks go from house to house demanding eggs and flour that one does not dare refuse to give them. We know that this custom is a European one.[57]

46 Hall, *Life with the Esquimaux*, vol. 2, p. 320. It is extremely remarkable that this expression has been given to us, not through observations made of the Alaskan potlatch, but as relating to the Eskimos of the centre, who only hold winter festivals for communistic activities and the exchange of presents. This demonstrates that the idea goes beyond the bounds of the institution of potlatch proper.

47 Nelson, 'Eskimos about Behring Straits', *Seventeenth Annual Report*, Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 303 ff.

48 Porter, *Alaskan Eleventh Census*, pp. 138, 141; and, especially, Wrangell, *Statische Ergebnisse...*, p. 132.

49 Nelson. Cf. 'asking stick' [sic] in Hawkes, *The Inviting-in Feast of the Alaskan Eskimos*, Geological Survey: Memoir 45, Anthropological Series 2, p. 7.

50 Hawkes, loc. cit, pp. 3, 7, 9 gives a description of one of these festivals, that of Unalaklit versus Malemiut. One of the most characteristic features of this collection is the comic series of 'total services' on the first day and the presents that they entail. The tribe that succeeds in making the other one laugh can ask from it what it likes. The best dancers receive valuable presents (pp. 12–14). It is a very clear and extremely rare example of ritual representations (I know of no other examples save in Australia and America) of a theme which, on the contrary, is very frequent in mythology: that of the jealous spirit who, when he laughs, lets go of the thing that he is holding.
The rite of the 'Inviting-in festival' ends, moreover, by a visit from the *angekok* (*shamane*) to the *inua*, the spirit-men whose mask he wears, and who indicate to him that they have enjoyed the dances and will send him some game. Cf. the present made to the seals. Jennes (1922) 'Life of the Copper Eskimos', *Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition*, vol. 12, p. 178, n. 2.
The other themes of the law of gifts are also very well developed. For example, the *näsnuk* chief has not the right to refuse any present, or dish presented, however rare it may be, under pain of being disgraced for ever. Hawkes, ibid, p. 9.
Hawkes is perfectly correct in considering (p. 19) that the festival of the Dene (Anvik) described by Chapman (1907) (*Congrès des Américanisles de Québec*, vol. 2) is a borrowing by the Indians from the Eskimos.

51 See figure in Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, vol. 7 (2): 403.

52 Bogoras, ibid, pp. 399–401.

The relationships that exist between these contracts and exchanges among humans and those between men and the gods throw light on a whole aspect of the theory of sacrifice. First, they are perfectly understood, particularly in those societies in which, although contractual and economic rituals are practised between men, these men are the masked incarnations, often Shaman priest-sorcerers, possessed by the spirit whose name they bear. In reality, they merely act as representatives of the spirits,[58] because these exchanges and contracts not only bear people and things along in their wake, but also the sacred beings that, to a greater or lesser extent, are associated with them.[59] This is very clearly the case in the Tlingit potlatch, in one of the two kinds of Haïda potlatch, and in the Eskimo potlatch.

This evolution was a natural one. One of the first groups of beings with which men had to enter into contract, and who, by definition, were there to make a contract with them, were above all the spirits of both the dead and of the gods. Indeed, it is they who are the true owners of the things and possessions of this world.[60] With them it was most necessary to exchange, and with them it was most dangerous not to exchange. Yet, conversely, it was with them it was easiest and safest to exchange. The purpose of destruction by sacrifice is precisely that it is an act of giving that is necessarily reciprocated. All the forms of potlatch in the American Northwest and in Northeast Asia know this theme of destruction.[61] It is not only in order to display power, wealth, and lack of self-interest that slaves are put to death, precious oils burnt, copper objects cast into the sea, and even the houses of princes set on fire. It is also in order to sacrifice to the spirits and the gods, indistinguishable from their living embodiments, who bear their titles and are their initiates and allies.

Yet already another theme appears that no longer needs this human underpinning, one that may be as ancient as the potlatch itself: it is believed that purchases must be made from the gods, who can set the price of things. Perhaps nowhere is this idea more characteristically expressed than among the Toradja of Celebes Island. Kruyt[62] tells us 'that there the owner must "purchase" from the spirits the right to carry out certain actions on "his" property', which is really theirs. Before cutting 'his' wood, before even tilling 'his' soil or planting the upright post of 'his' house, the gods must be paid. Whereas the idea of purchase even seems very little developed in the civil and commercial usage of the Toradja,[63] on the contrary this idea of purchase from the spirits and the gods is utterly constant.

53 Jochelson, 'The Koryak', *Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. 6, p. 64.

54 Ibid, p. 90.

55 See p. 38, 'This for Thee'.

56 Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 400.

57 On customs of this kind, see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 8th edn, vol. 3, pp. 78–85, 91 ff.; vol. 10, p. 169 ff; vol. 5, pp. 1, 161.

58 On the Tlingit potlatch, see, pp. 38 and 41. This characteristic is basic to all the potlatches in the American Northwest. It is, however, hardly apparent because the ritual is too totemlike for its effect upon nature to be very marked, on top of its effect upon the spirits. In the Behring Straits area, particularly in the potlatch between the Chukchee and the Eskimos on St Lawrence Island, it is much more apparent.

59 See Bogoras, *Chuckchee Mythology*, p. 14, line 2 ff. for a potlatch myth. A dialogue is begun between two Shamans: 'What will you answer?' namely 'give as return present'. This dialogue finishes in a wrestling match. Then the two Shamans make a contract with each other. They exchange with each other their magic knife and their magic necklace, and their spirit (these attend upon magic), and finally their body (p. 15, line 2). But they are not perfectly successful in making their flights and landings. This is because they have forgotten to exchange their bracelets and their tassels, 'my guide in motion' (p. 16, line 10). In the end they succeed in performing their tricks. It can be seen that all these things have the same spiritual value as the spirit itself, and are spirits.

60 See Jochelson, 'Koryak Religion', *Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. 6, p. 30, A Kwakiutl chant of the dance of the spirits (the Shamanism of the winter ceremonies) comments upon the theme:
You send us everything from the other world, O spirits, you who take away from men their senses.
You have heard that we were hungry, O spirits...
We shall receive much from you, etc...
See: Boas, *Secret Societies and Social Organization of the Kwakiutl Indians*, p. 483.

61 Davy, 'Foi jurée', p. 224, ff. See also p. 37.

62 A.C. Kruyt, 'Koopen in Midden Celebes', *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afdeeling Letterkunde, 56; series B, no. 5, pp. 158, 159, 163–8.

63 Ibid, pp. 3, 5 of the extract.

Malinowski, reporting on forms of exchange that we shall describe shortly, points to acts of the same kind in the Trobriand Islands. An evil spirit, a *tauvau* whose corpse has been found (that of a snake or land crab) may be exorcised by presenting to it one of the *vaygu'a*, a precious object that is both an ornament or talisman and an object of wealth used in the exchanges of the *kula*. This gift has an immediate effect upon the mind of this spirit.[64] Moreover, at the festival of the *mila-mila*,[65] a potlatch to honour the dead, the two kinds of *vaygu'a*, those of the *kula* and those that Malinowski for the first time[66] calls 'permanent' *vaygu'a*, are displayed and offered to the spirits on a platform identical to that of the chief. This makes their spirits benevolent. They carry off to the land of the dead[67] the shades of these precious objects, where they vie with one another in their wealth just as living men do upon returning from a solemn *kula*.[68]

Van Ossenbruggen, who is not only a theorist but also a distinguished observer living on the spot, has noticed another characteristic of these institutions.[69] Gifts to humans and to the gods also serve the purpose of buying peace between them both. In this way evil spirits and, more generally, bad influences, even not personalized, are got rid of. A man's curse allows jealous spirits to enter into you and kill you, and evil influences to act. Wrongs done to men make a guilty person weak when faced with sinister spirits and things. Van Ossenbruggen particularly interprets in this way the strewing of money along the path of the wedding procession in China, and even the bride-price. This is an interesting suggestion from which a whole series of facts needs to be unravelled.[70]

It is evident that here a start can be made on formulating a theory and history of contract sacrifice. Contract sacrifice supposes institutions of the kind we have described and, conversely, contract sacrifice realizes them to the full, because those gods who give and return gifts are there to give a considerable thing in the place of a small one.

It is perhaps not a result of pure chance that the two solemn formulas of the contract—in Latin, *do ut des*, in Sanskrit, *dadā mi se, dehi me*[71]—also have been preserved in religious texts.

64 Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, p. 511.
65 Ibid, pp. 72, 184.
66 Ibid, p. 512 (those who are not the objects of obligatory exchange). See Baloma (1917) 'Spirits of the Dead', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*.
67 A Maori myth, that of Te Kanava. Grey, *Polyn. Myth*, p. 213, tells how the spirits, the fairies, took on the shade of the *pounamu* (jades, etc.), alias *taonga*, laid out in their honour. Wyatt Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, p. 257 recounts an exactly identical myth from Mangaia, which tells the same story about necklaces made of discs of red mother-of-pearl, and how they won favour with the beautiful Manapa.
68 Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, p. 513. Malinowski (p. 510 ff.) somewhat exaggerates the novelty of these facts, which are exactly identical to those of the Tlingit and Haïda potlatches.
69 'Het primitieve denken, voorn. in Pokkengebruiken', *Bijdr. tot de Taal-, Landen Volksdenken v. Nederl, Indië*, vol. 71, pp. 245, 246.
70 Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, p. 386, has already launched a hypothesis of this kind and Westermarck has taken up the question and is beginning to prove it. See especially, *History of Human Marriage*, 2nd edn, vol. 1, p. 394 ff. But he did not see clearly its purport through not having identified the system of total services and the more developed system of potlatch in which all the exchanges, and particularly the exchange of women and marriage, are only one of the parts. Concerning the fertility in marriage ensured by gifts made to the two spouses, see Ch. 3, n. 112, p. 152.
71 Vâjasaneyisamhita. See Hubert and Mauss, 'Essai sur le sacrifice', *Année Sociologique* 2:105.
72 Tremearne (1913), *Haussa Superstitions and Customs*, p. 55.
73 Tremearne (1915), *The Ban of the Bori*, p. 239.
74 Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 283. 'The poor are the guests of God.'
75 The Betsimisaraka of Madagascar tell of two chiefs, one of whom gave away everything that he possessed, while the other gave away nothing and kept everything for himself. God gave good fortune to the one who was generous, and ruined the miser (Grandidier, *Ethnographie de Madagascar*, vol. 2, p. 67).

NOTE ON ALMS

Later, however, in the evolution of laws and religions, men appear once more, having become again the representatives of the gods and the dead, if they have ever ceased to be. For example, among the Hausa in the Sudan, when the Guinea corn is ripe, fevers may spread. The only way to avoid this fever is to make presents of this grain to the poor.[72] Also among the Hausa (but this time in Tripoli), at the time of the Great Prayer (*Baban Salla*), the children (these customs are Mediterranean and European) visit houses: 'Should I enter?' The reply is: 'O long-eared hare, for a bone, one gets services.' (A poor person is happy to work for the rich.) These gifts to children and the poor are pleasing to the dead.[73] Among the Hausa these customs may be of Moslem origin,[74] both Negro and European at the same time, and Berber also.

In any case here one can see how a theory of alms can develop. Alms are the fruits of a moral notion of the gift and of fortune[75] on the one hand, and of a notion of sacrifice, on the other. Generosity is an obligation, because Nemesis avenges the poor and the gods for the superabundance of happiness and wealth of certain people who should rid themselves of it. This is the ancient morality of the gift, which has become a principle of justice. The gods and the spirits accept that the share of wealth and happiness that has been offered to them and had been hitherto destroyed in useless sacrifices should serve the poor and children.[76] In recounting this we are recounting the history of the moral ideas of the Semites. The Arab sadaka originally meant exclusively justice, as did the Hebrew *zedaqa*:[77] it has come to mean alms. We can even date from the Mischnaic era, from the victory of the 'Poor' in Jerusalem, the time when the doctrine of charity and alms was born, which, with Christianity and Islam, spread around the world. It was at this time that the word *zedaqa* changed in meaning, because in the Bible it did not mean alms.

However, let us return to our main subject: the gift, and the obligation to reciprocate. These documents and comments have not merely local ethnographic interest. A comparison can broaden the scope of these facts, deepening their meaning.

The basic elements of the potlatch[78] can therefore be found in Polynesia, even if the institution in its entirety is not to

76 On notions concerning alms, generosity, and liberality, see the collection of facts gathered by Westermarck, *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, vol. 1, chapter 23.
77 Concerning the value still attached at the present day to the magic of the *sadqâa*, see below.
78 We have not been able to carry out the task of re-reading an entire literature. There are questions that can only be posed after the research is over. Yet we do not doubt that by reconstituting the systems made up of unconnected facts given us by ethnographers, we would still find other important vestiges of the potlatch in Polynesia. For example, the festivals concerning the exhibiting of food, *hakari*, in Polynesia (see Tregear, *Maori Race*, p. 113) consist of exactly the same displays, the same heaps of food piled up one on another, the same distribution of food, as the hakarai, the same festivals with identical names among the Koita Melanesians. See Seligmann, The Melanesians, pp. 141–5, and passim. On the hakari, see also Taylor, *Te ika a Maoui*, p. 13; Yeats (1835), *An Account of New Zealand*, p. 139; Tregear, *Maori Comparative Dictionary*, under *hakari*. A myth in Grey, *Polyn. Myth*, p. 213 (1855 edn), and p. 189 (Routledge's popular edn), which describes the *hakari* of Maru, the god of war, in which the solemn designation of the recipients is absolutely identical to that in the festivals of New Caledonia, Fiji, and New Guinea. Below is also a speech constituting an *uma taonga* (*taonga* 'oven'), for a *hikairo* (food distribution), preserved in a song (given in Sir G. Grey (1835) *Ko nga Moteata: Mythology and Traditions in New Zealand*, p. 132), in so far as I am able to translate it (second verse):
Give me on this side my *taonga*,
Give me my *taonga*, so that I may heap them up,
That I may place them in a heap pointing towards land,
And in a heap pointing towards the sea, Etc....towards the east...
Give me my *taonga*.
The first verse doubtless refers to stone *taonga*. We can see just how much the very notion of the *taonga* is inherent in the ritual of the festival of food. See Percy Smith, 'Wars of the Northern against the Southern Tribes', *JPS* 8:156 (the *hakari* of Te Toko).

be found there.[79] In any case 'exchange-through-gift' is the rule there. Yet, it would be merely pure scholasticism to dwell on this theme of the law if it were only Maori, or at the most, Polynesian. Let us shift the emphasis of the subject. We can show, at least as regards the *obligation to reciprocate*, that it has a completely different sphere of application. We shall likewise point out the extension of other obligations and prove that this interpretation is valid for several other groups of societies.

The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies. London and New York: Routledge, © 2002, pp. 10–23, 112–123 Reproduced by permission of Taylor & Francis Books UK.

Marcel Mauss (1872–1950) was a French sociologist whose academic work traversed the boundaries between sociology and anthropology. Today, he is best known for his analyses of magic, sacrifice, and gift exchange in different cultures around the world, which he elaborated in his most famous book *The Gift* from 1925.

79 Even assuming that the institution is not found in present-day Polynesian societies, it may well have existed in civilizations and societies that the immigration by Polynesians has absorbed or replaced, and it may well also be that the Polynesians had it before their migration. Indeed there is a reason for its having disappeared from part of this area. It is because the clans have definitively become hierarchized in almost all the islands and have even been concentrated around a monarchy. Thus there is missing one of the main conditions for the potlatch, namely the instability of a hierarchy that rivalry between chiefs has precisely the aim of temporarily stabilizing. Likewise, if we find more traces (perhaps of secondary origin) among the Maori than in any other island, it is precisely because chieftainship had been reconstituted there, and isolated clans had become rivals.
For the destruction of wealth on Melanesian or American lines in Samoa, see Krämer, Samoa-Inseln, vol. 1, p. 375. (See Index, under *ifoga*.) The Maori *muru*, the destructions of goods because of misdoing, may also be studied from this viewpoint. In Madagascar, the relations between the *Lohateny*, who should trade with one another, who may insult one another, and wreak havoc among themselves, are likewise vestiges of the ancient potlatches. See Grandidier, *Ethnographie de Madagascar*, vol. 2, p. 131 and n.; pp. 132–3. See also p. 155.

TIME/BANK: A CONVERSATION WITH JULIETA ARANDA AND ANTON VIDOKLE

Julieta Aranda & Anton Vidokle

What was the impetus to resurrect Josiah Warren's project/store? Is it the current financial crisis and belief that prevailing economic systems don't work, in which case the project would be an eminently political action that uses the realm of artistic practice to come into being, or is it an essentially artistic project, strictly intended to address the realm of art (practice, audience, consumption)?

ANTON VIDOKLE:

Well, for me (and it may be something else for Julieta) there is something poetic in revisiting a project that existed briefly in 1827. It's interesting how alternative and utopian proposals keep resurfacing in history again and again. Most of the time they have a short lifespan or remain unfinished or unrealized, but stubbornly keep coming back. I'd like to think that maybe someone else a hundred years from now will open yet another time store somewhere, and this time it will be so successful that it will really transform everything. Or maybe it will fail, but someone will try it again, and again... until it succeeds. What is reassuring is the continuity of a desire for things to be different.

The more practical side of this is that a time store is a very immediate visualization of an alternative economy. I find that one of the biggest problems in society in general is a certain difficulty to imagine things as being different. For example, while a lot of people are attracted to the idea of time-based currency or economy, most have a really hard time imagining what they can do with it. So it's very helpful to have a store with all sorts of commodities that one can obtain in exchange for time—it makes a rather abstract concept visceral.

JULIETA ARANDA:

I agree with Anton, and would just want to add that I don't see how we could think of a project such as *Time/Bank* as purely symbolic, even though I would actually say that *Time/Bank* is definitively an artist's project. You see, the realm of art is not limited to practice/audience/consumption. That may be true about a market-driven contemporary art economy, but that economy—with all its visibility—represents only a part of the totality of art.

Recently, I was walking around a small occupation that sprouted in Mexico City, and it struck me that, in the same way as in Zucotti Park in NY, there was evidence of art everywhere—painting, theatrical situations, musical performances. While the manifestations of work that I witnessed

IS THE RETURN PART OF THE LIFESPAN?