**Ainu**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** The blood, then, is above all seen to be incompatible with the sacred, because it is polluting and offensive to the deities. Menstrual and parturient blood are seen to be anomalous. The Ainu believe that during menstruation the old blood leaves the body as new blood is formed in the body from the water women drink at this time.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1981

**Focal Year:** 1900 – 1981

**Citation:** Ohnuki-Tierney, E. (1981). Illness and healing among the Sakhalin Ainu: a symbolic interpretation. Cambridge University Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ab06-013

**Description:** Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in repelling and expelling evil spirits. Whether the avoidance of tattooing during menstruation was a taboo or was based on greater sensitiveness and liability to inflammation at that period is uncertain. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near him. In such cases a tusu would be consulted, and if the woman were found guilty she would be punished.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1963

**Focal Year:** 1900 -1930

**Citation:** Munro, N. G., Seligman, B. Z., & Watanabe, H. (1963). Ainu creed and cult. Columbia University Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ab06-007

**Description:** Thus her clothes may not be hung where there is even the slightest possibility of a man passing under them; a man will be contaminated by the lingering smell even when the clothes are not stained. She may not go fishing on the lake during her menstrual period; lake fishing is otherwise permissible for women. She may not even participate in the bear ceremony until her menstrual period is over. When it is over, she must perform a purification rite by waving a spruce branch and artimisia grass (wormwood) around her body; only then can she join the celebration. If and when she becomes a shaman, she may not perform a rite during her menstrual period.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1974

**Focal Year:** 1900 – 1974

**Citation:** Ohnuki-Tierney, E. (1984). The Ainu of the northwest coast of southern Sakhalin. Waveland Press, Inc. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ab06-012

**Description:** The blood of menstruation is even considered a good talisman. During menstruation Ainu women wear woven aprons which they buy either from the Japanese or the Russians. In former years they used aprons of seal-skin for this purpose. These aprons are tied round the nude body, not in front, but in the back. In sitting position the blood drips onto the apron and thus protects the clothing from spots. The woman carefully hide these aprons from the eyes of all, but especially of the men.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1910

**Focal Year:** 1890 – 1905

**Citation:** Pilsudski, B., & Neuse, R. (1910). Pregnancy, birth and miscarriage among the inhabitants of Sakhalin Island (Gilyak and Ainu). Anthropos, Vol. 5, 756–774. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/cultures/ab06/documents/008

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None, however, the ethnography from 1910 talks about how the Ainu are not afraid of menstrual blood and view it as a positive thing (talked about if how men seen menstrual blood on the ground they should or do wipe it up with their finger and smear it on their chest) in the later ethnography menstruation is referred to as polluting and negative.

**Alorese**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** They are also not supposed to sleep with a menstruant. Women's menstrual periods have already been referred to as passing with a minimum of observances and notice. The only terms for menses that I procured were euphemistic ones, “my friend” or “headache.” In a subsequent section it will be seen that the monthly flow is attributed to the breaking of egglike structures in the breast, which are then discharged. Women use dry, porous banana bark as pads. These are then thrown away in some distant place. No one is supposed to see them, not even a kinswoman. During her periods a woman should wear a shawl that covers her body more completely and prevents any possible detection of stains on her loincloth. The number of days between periods is not known. Instead a woman approximates the onset of her periods by the recurrence of the phase of the moon during which her last period occurred. During menstruation women are not supposed to feel sexual desires and similarly men are not supposed to desire women in that condition. Informants report that discomfort is rare and takes the form of only a slight headache or backache. During this time, however, women are inclined to do less work. One woman said, “If a husband orders his wife to do work when she has her friend, older people will say to him, ‘Are your eyes closed? Don't you see how your wife is?’ A good husband will even cook for his wife at this time.”

**Date of Ethnography:** 1944

**Focal Year:** 1938 – 1939

**Citation:** Du Bois, Cora Alice, Abram Kardiner, and Emil Oberholzer. 1944. The People of Alor: A Social-Psychological Study of an East Indian Island. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=of05-001.

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Andamans**

**Aka Andamanese**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** There, menstruating women are often segregated and considered harmful to the entire community. Sexual intercourse is forbidden during the menstrual period even by the Onge: illness -- a swelling of the arms or legs -- would follow.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1961

**Focal Year:** 1951 – 1953

**Citation:** Cipriani, L. (1961). Hygiene and medical practices among the Onge (Little Andaman). Anthropos, Vol. 56, 481-500 , 8 plates. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=az02-006

**Description:** Foods that may not be eaten. According to an Akar-Bale informant these are, in that tribe, pork, turtle, Paradoxurus , honey and yams. An Aka-[unknown] Cari informant added to the above list dugong, monitor lizard, and the fish komar . If she ate any of these things at such a time she would be ill. This continues throughout her life till the climacteric. A menstruating woman is not required to leave the camp, as she is in many savage communities.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1922

**Focal Year:** 1906 -1908

**Citation:** Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. (Alfred R. (1922). The Andaman islanders: a study in social anthropology. Cambridge University Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=az02-001

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Armenia**

**Aka Armenians**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** There was no celebration or ritual observance of any kind at menarche. Instruction about menstruation might be given by an older female relative, but only rarely by the girl's mother (Informant 1); sometimes a neighbor girl shared her knowledge. Naturally it was not uncommon for a pubescent girl, ignorant of the biological facts, to be concerned and frightened when her periods began.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1985

**Focal year:** before 1914

**Citation:** Villa, S. H., & Matossian, M. A. K. (1982). Armenian village life before 1914. Wayne State University Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/cultures/rj01/documents/004

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None referenced

**Badaga**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** The concept applies equally in counting the days of menstruation, for the second day of that impurity is also considered to be the third; for example in counting when will be the ‘sixth’ day on which a woman may return to her kitchen duties. (For purposes of calculation, each day ends at the next sunrise, not at midnight.)

**Date of Ethnography:** 1999

**Focal Year:** 1800 – 1990

**Citation:** Hockings, P. (1999). Kindreds of the earth: Badaga household structure and demography. AltaMira Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw50-011

**Description:** Badaga women observe five days menstrual pollution. If a woman discovers her condition before washing her face in the early morning, that day is included in the pollution period. Otherwise, the period must be prolonged over six days. On the third day she bathes in cold water, using the bark of Pouzolzia (thorēkōlu), and on the fourth day is allowed a change of clothing after a bath. On this day she leaves the hut, and passes a portion of the night in the verandah of her house. After cooking and eating her evening meal, she bathes, and enters the outer room. Early on the following morning, the spot which she has occupied is cleaned, and she bathes in a stream. Returning home, she eats her food in the outer room, where she remains till next morning. Even children may not be touched by a menstruating woman. If, by chance, this happens, the child must be washed to remove the pollution, before it can be handled by others. This restriction is apparently not observed by any other tribe or caste.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1909

**Focal Year:** 1832 – 1907

**Citation:** Thurston, E., & Rangachari, K. (1909). Badaga. In castes and tribes in southern india: Vol. Vol. 1 (pp. 63–124). Government Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw50-001

**Description:** She cannot be allowed into the house until seven days after her period owing to a pollution taboo. The menstrual hut ( holagu□i —“pollution place”) was an important institution in the lives of adult women. They were customarily secluded there for a period of five to seven days. Thus the entire menstrual period would cover five or six days, and not seven as informants may assert. It was the custom that on the real third day of her five secluded days a woman would bathe in cold water using bark of pellitory as soap. On the fourth day she was to repeat this bath, but could then put on a change of clothing, leave the hut, and spend part of the night on her own veranda. After cooking and eating her evening meal there she would bathe again and could then enter the outer, less sacred room of the house. Early next morning the spot where she slept was cleaned, and the woman bathed in the stream. Then she would return home, eat her meals in the outer room, and remain there until next morning, the sixth actual day, when the pollution period would terminate. During the entire period no one may touch a menstruating woman. Should a child nonetheless do so he must be washed to remove the pollution before he comes into contact with anyone else.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1980

**Focal Year:** 1962 -1977

**Citation:** Hockings, P. (1980). Sex and disease in a mountain community. Vikas Publishing Pvt Ltd. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw50-004

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Balinese**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** In a case of necessity, as for instance if a woman had been unclean ( sebel ) following the death of a relative for a period ending only the day after the odalan, and expected to be again unclean, because menstruating, on the next day, she might bring her offering on this day — but only in the evening, when the gods are supposed to have returned from their promenade.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1953

**Focal Year:** 1930 – 1950

**Citation:** Belo, J. (1953). Bali: temple festival. In Monographs of the American Ethnological Society (Issue 22, pp. viii, 70). J. J. Augustin. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=of07-003

**Description:** Only the great palace ( puri ) of the local ruling prince is infinitely more elaborate, with a lily pond, compartments for the Radja's brothers and his countless wives, a great temple divided into three courts, and even special sections for the preservation of the corpses and for the seclusion of “impure” palace women during the time of menstruation. The most famous of these is the sacred pool of Tirta Empul in Tampaksiring, one of the holiest temples of Bali, where a special compartment has been devised for menstruating women. Menstrual blood anointed on the head of a man infallibly destines him to be henpecked. But once a month, during menstrual time, a wife's life is not a happy one; to her physical handicap is added the powerful taboo of pollution ( sebel ) which then falls upon her: she is forbidden to go into the temple, into the kitchen or the granary, or to the well. She may not prepare food nor, of course, make offerings or participate at feasts, and the wife of a high priest may not even speak to her exalted husband. No man would dream of sleeping in the same room with a woman in this condition; the average man moves into the house of a friend, but the wife of a nobleman has to look for a place to sleep, far from her husband. In the palace of a prince there is often a secluded compartment where his wives retire while menstruating. When the period is over, a woman has to be purified again with sprinkling of holy water before she can resume normal life. Perhaps because the Balinese believe that a man can be bewitched, losing all his will to the woman who can anoint his head with menstrual blood, they have such mortal horror of being near a woman during the time of menstruation.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1938

**Focal Year:** 1930 – 1938

**Citation:** Covarrubias, M. (1938). Island of Bali. Alfred A. Knopf. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=of07-002

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Bengali**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** Menstruating women and those who are in the period of ritual mourning can not be given the bangle.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1981

**Focal Year:** 1975 – 1976

**Citation:** Bhattacharyya, D. P., & Poole, D. (1992). Bengali conceptions of mental illness. University Microfilms. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw69-018

**Description:** Women putting vermillion powder in the middle of their hair, along with a vermillion dot on their forehead. These adornments are put there after women bathe, except when the women are menstruating or on other tabooed occasions such as a few days after a birth or the death of a family member.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1988

**Focal Year:** 1981 – 1982

**Citation:** Rohner, R. P., Chaki-Sircar, M., & Connecticut, U. O. (1988). Women and children in a Bengali village. Published for University of Connecticut, University Press of New England. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw69-019

**Description:** A menstruating daughter-in-law may not perform the duty of worshiping the household deity.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1975

**Focal Year:** 1950 – 1969

**Citation:** Roy, M. (1975). Bengali women. University of Chicago Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw69-006

**Description:** Menstruating women of the house cannot however participate in any of the rites.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1975

**Focal Year:** 1967 – 1973

**Citation:** Fruzzetti, L. M. (1992). Conch shell bangles, iron bangles: an analysis of women, marriage, and ritual in Bengal. University Microfilms. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw69-017

**Description:** Menstruating women cannot, however, participate in any of the rites. After marriage, menstrual impurity becomes positive, since a woman is united in marriage to a husband through whom she will bear children and continue the male line. Menstrual rites open one's sexuality and one's readiness to carry the male line. For those three days each month a woman cannot perform sacred works, must abstain from cooking, and may not touch the elders of the house. The pollution, however, affects the woman alone and is not extended to cover other male or female members of the household. For the three days of pollution the married woman does not use vermilion or āltā, nor does she oil or wash her hair.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1982

**Focal Year:** 1967 – 1973

**Citation:** Fruzzetti, Lina. (1982). The gift of a virgin: women, marriage, and ritual in a Bengali society. Rutgers University Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw69-023

**Description:** This is similar to the three days segregation when a woman is in a state of pollution because of her menstrual cycle. At that time the woman emerges from the polluted state and discards those items associated with pollution, dirty clothes and jewelry worn during the menses. This emphasizes why cheap glass jewelry is worn when one is in a polluted state. As previously mentioned, a married woman does not have sexual intercourse for the first three days of her menstrual cycle; she becomes “active” on the fourth day. Married women are polluted and inactive for the first days of each menstrual cycle. Though she is not physically secluded from the rest of the family, a menstruating married woman does not partake in either daily chores or in sacred activities of the house. On the fourth day she goes through the bathing ritual after which she resumes an active life. She resumes worshipping the household deities, and cooking and feeding the young and elder members of the household. On the fourth day she can resume use of the symbols of married women, vermilion and oil, which married women apply daily to their parted hairline and to their iron and conch shell bangles. The married woman observing menstrual pollution, however, is still recognized as married even though she avoids using certain objects on certain days of the month. Being polluted in this sense is not equated with being dead in which case even the iron and conch shell bangles have to be removed.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1984

**Focal Year:** 1967 – 1973

**Citation:** Fruzzetti, L. M., & östör, A. (1984). Kinship and ritual in Bengal: anthropological essays. South Asian Publishers. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw69-008

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Bhil**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** A woman is ritually normal but pollution attaches to a menstruating woman and affects all the community.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1960

**Focal Year:** 1948 – 1954

**Citation:** Nath, Y. V. S., & Fürer-Haimendorf, C. von. (1960). Bhils of Ratanmal: an analysis of the social structure of a western Indian community. In The M.S. University sociological monograph series (Issue 1, pp. 15, 229). Maharaja Sayajirao University. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw25-006

**Description:** She can never become religious leader, say Bhopa (priest and medicineman), as she is unclean and polluted due to menses. During menstruation she neither can enter a worshipping place, nor allowed to fetch water or cook food for the family.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1985

**Focal Year:** Not Specified

**Citation:** Mann, K. (1985). Bhil women: changing world-view and development. Human Science : Journal of the Anthropological Survey of India, Vol. 34, 57–66. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw25-011

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced. However, the first ethnography references only ritualistic pollution and the second one adds actual behavioural changing taboos. This could denote a change or this could simply be that the first ethnography didn’t record the behavioural changing taboos because they didn’t witness them, weren’t looking for them, or weren’t around when any women were menstruating to observe this phenomenon.

**Burmans**

**aka Burmese**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** The only brake on intercourse, apart from mood, energy, and desire, is a menstrual taboo, which begins with the onset of the menses and ends on the day after their cessation.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1965

**Focal Year:** 1946 – 1961

**Citation:** Nash, M. (1965). The golden road to modernity: village life in contemporary Burma. Wiley. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ap04-034

**Description:** Although the idea of uncleanliness is associated with menstruation, there is no segregation of the girl or particular fear of contamination. So long as she conducts herself with propriety and modesty a girl is free to move in public at this time.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1951

**Focal Year:** 1949 – 1950

**Citation:** Brant, C. S., & Khaing, M. M. (1951). Burmese kinship and the life cycle: an outline. Southwest Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 7, 437–454. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ap04-023

**Description:** Although the idea of uncleanliness is associated with menstruation, there is no segregation of the girl or any particular fear of contamination. So long as she conducts herself with propriety and modesty a girl is free to move in public at this time.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1954

**Focal Year:** 1949 – 1954

**Citation:** Brant, C. S. (1954). Tadagale: A Burmese village in 1950. In Data paper (Issue 13, pp. vi, 41). Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ap04-014

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Burusho**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** When a woman's monthly affliction overtakes her, she dresses in her oldest clothes and lies immobile by the fire till she is well again. The others make daudo for her, a porridge of flour well boiled in water, which is reputed very sustaining, and bring it to her, saying, “Sister, eat.” After two days she is herself again, takes a bath, washes her clothes, and sweeps the house; but she is not banished as a pariah nor subject to any degrading superstitions nor to any taboo not imposed by nature.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1939

**Focal Year:** 1890 – 1937

**Citation:** Lorimer, E. O. (Emily O. (1939). Language hunting in the Karakoram. Allen and Unwin. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=av07-002

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced.

**Cambodians**

**Aka Khmer**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** There is still a sort of survival of the concept of “the shade” in the feeling that menstruation should be concealed from and never mentioned in the presence of men. I was once roundly chastised by some women for inquiring about the Chol Mlop ceremonies in the presence of males.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1974

**Focal Year:** 1950 – 1960

**Citation:** Ebihara, M., & Matthiasson, C. J. (1974). Khmer village women in Cambodia: a happy balance. In many sisters; women in cross-cultural perspective (pp. 305–347). Free Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=am04-183

**Description:** Intercourse is suspended during the woman's menstrual period.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1971

Focal Year: 1954 – 1968

**Citation:** Ebihara, M. (1971). Svay: a Khmer village in Cambodia. University Microfilms. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=am04-192

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced. Only references that the ceremony of a girls first menstruation had changed (gone from an elaborate ceremony of hair cutting and months long seclusion to just being silent on the subject).

**Central Thai**

**Aka Thai**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** Women, especially for the lower half of the body are, because of menstration, considered unclean.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1973

**Focal Year:** 1969 – 1970

**Citation:** Anderson, W. W. (1983). Children’s play and games in rural Thailand: a study in enculturation and socialization. University Microfilms. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ao07-021

**Description:** Raisers of this plant must keep their waan pots away from women, especially menstruating women, and away from places where women hang out their lower garments to dry.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1973

**Focal Year:** 1952 – 1971

**Citation:** Textor, R. B., Program, C. University. S. A., & Studies, Y. University. S. A. (1973). Roster of the gods: an ethnography of the supernatural in a Thai village. In Ethnography Series (pp. 3, 44, 911 leaves). Human Relations Area Files. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ao07-011

**Description:** There are no taboos and no rites concerned with menstruation. A man, however, risks misfortune if he comes into contact with menstrual blood. Menstruating women who have cramps have them because of the bad food they eat. The food eventually goes to their head in the form of gas and gives them a headache.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1960

**Focal Year:** 1953 – 1954

**Citation:** Kaufman, H. K. (1960). Bangkhuad: a community study in Thailand. In Monographs (Issue 10, pp. 10, 235 , plates). Published for the Association for Asian Studies by. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ao07-012

**Description:** Menstrual blood is seen to be dangerous, polluting, and diametrically opposed to beneficial power. Those substances which may come into contact with menstrual blood are therefore suspect and therefore a man should take care to keep the tattoos on the upper part of his body and his amulets which are charged with beneficial power away from the lower part of a woman's body and her lower garments. Menstrual blood is considered highly charged with dangerous magical power and even a casual contact may destroy some of the beneficial force of the members of the Sa[unknown]gha.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1975

**Focal Year:** 1967 – 1970

**Citation:** Terwiel, B. J. (1975). Monks and magic: an analysis of religious ceremonies in central Thailand. In Monograph series (Issue 24, pp. 2, 8, 296 , 4 plates). Studentlitteratur ; Curzon Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ao07-019

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** Potentially (but unlikely). Conflicting reports on taboos amongst this culture which could be due to a variety of reasons.

**Chukchee**

**Aka Chukchi**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** Chukchee consider that during that time the husband and wife must sleep apart, or the woman will grow sickly, and soon become sterile. A woman at the time of her courses must carefully avoid even to approach her husband. Even her breath is considered as impure: should it touch her husband or any other man; it would contaminate him, and destroy his chance in sea-hunting pursuits. He would even run the risk of being drowned at sea.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1904

**Focal Year:** Not Specified

**Citation:** Bogoraz-Tan, W., Vladimir Germanovich (Bogoras. (1904 [Part 1] ; 1907 [Part 2] ; 1909 [Part 3]//). The Chukchee: material culture [part 1], religion [part 2], social organization [part 3]. In Memoirs: Vol. XI (pp. xvii, 733 , 35 plates [HRAF pagination-incomplete]). E. J. Brill, Ltd. ; G. E. Stechert and Co. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ry02-001

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Eastern Toraja**

**Aka Toradja**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** Women who were menstruating were not allowed to go into a tobacco planting, for then the plants would be ruined. A woman should not do it [painting] while she was menstruating, for then the colors would not be bright, but watery.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1951

**Focal Year:** 1892 – 1932

**Citation:** Adriani, N., & Kruijt, A. C. (1951). The Bare’e-speaking Toradja of central Celebes (the East Toradja): third volume. In Verhandelingen (Issue 1, p. HRAF MS: vii, 651 [original: viii, 484 ]). Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=og11-004

**Description:** During the menses nothing is forbidden to the woman: she goes on with her daily chores as usual; but she may not go to or near a tobacco field in the skirt to which menstrual blood clings, because then the plants would die. A menstruating woman may not participate in a fishing party where the fish are stunned with kamande or toewa ; she herself may not eat fish caught in this way. Also during the time of his wife’s menstruation the husband refrains from coitus; in this case the reason is aversion.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1951

**Focal Year:** 1892 – 1932

**Citation:** Adriani, N., & Kruijt, A. C. (1951). The Bare’e-speaking Toradja of central Celebes (the East Toradja): second volume. In Verhandelingen (p. HRAF MS: ix, 810 [original: viii, 557 ]). Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=og11-003

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Garo**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** During the menstrual period, the women do not go out of the village. Sometimes, it may be for consideration of health that the åffected persons keep indoors, as for example, during menstruation and profuse bleeding due to accident.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1966

**Focal Year:** 1936 – 1951

**Citation:** Sinha, T. (1966). The Psyche of the Garos. In Memoir (Issue 12, pp. ix, 122). Anthropological Survey of India, Govt. of India. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ar05-018

**Description:** A menstruating woman is under no formal restrictions, but sexual relations are avoided, and she often wears dark clothes and is likely to spend at least one or two days fairly close to the house so as not to be embarrassed before her neighbors. She has to wash extra clothes, and when these hang out to dry, the women of the village take notice and know that she is not yet pregnant. I was told that the men are seldom so observant.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1963

**Focal Year:** 1954 – 1956

**Citation:** Burling, R. (1963). Rengsanggri: family and kinship in a Garo village. University of Pennsylvania Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ar05-001

**Description:** Women carry on usual domestic activities during menstruation. Menstrual blood is not regarded as repugnant and there is no hard and fast rule regarding abstinence from copulation during periods of women. No special ceremony is performed when a girl starts menstruating.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1968

**Focal Year:** 1958 – 1968

**Citation:** Goswami, M. C., & Majumdar, D. N. (1968). A Study of social attitudes among the Garo. Man in India, Vol. 48(1), 55–70. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ar05-017

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** Not Specified. Discrepancies between ethnographies which could be due to something like observing different populations (from the same culture).

**Gond**

**Aka Muria Gond**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** Everyone went to the funeral. Menstruating women are not normally allowed to attend, though sometimes they may come if they stand at a little distance. The catamenial period in any case is regarded as a time of contagious danger and taboo, and any irregularity is sufficient to cause a strong psychotic disturbance. Havelock Ellis goes so far as to say that ‘whenever a woman commits a deed of criminal violence it is extremely probable that she is at her monthly periods’.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1943

**Focal Year:** 1935 – 1942

**Citation:** Elwin, V. (1943). Maria murder and suicide. Pub. for Man in India by H. Milford, Oxford University Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw32-003

**Description:** During the days of menstruation, no woman will comb her hair; for the women are afraid lest some witch or sorcerer should get hold of the hair combed out and bewitch them. During menstruation they believe they are particularly susceptible to witchcraft. A menstruating woman has to observe certain rules of avoidance. She may not touch a waterpot or go near the hearth. If she does, the pot or hearth touched by her must be thrown away. But there is no other punishment. If a man were to accept food or water from a woman during menstruation, the caste council would not punish him; but it is believed that Bhagwan himself or one of the minor gods would punish him. A man who beats a menstruating woman is fined five rupees by the caste council, this was a new rule; in his father's time no fine at all was imposed for beating a menstruating woman. She is merely considered unclean and may not touch any food in the house. During her monthly period a woman is not allowed to go near the water-pot or to cook. She is unclean and has to live and to sleep apart as long as her period lasts. Usually she sleeps on the veranda ( parchhi ) where she is in less danger of defiling anything. A menstruating woman may not enter the cowshed. She is allowed, however, to work in the fields. After menstruation, she must take a bath before she is permitted to take up her household duties again. During his wife's menstruation, no Gond, Bhumia or Panka may perform any sacrifice. Nor must he touch the grain bin in the house or remove any grain from it. But he is allowed to grind it when some other member of the family has taken the grain from the bin. He should not go to his barn ( kanihar ) and, according to some informants, he may not plough or sow in his garden or field. But other informants said that sowing and ploughing are not forbidden. The husband of a menstruating woman must abstain from sexual intercourse with her as well as with other women; it is believed that he would become impotent if he offended against this rule. A man may not beat his wife when she is in her period. If a Gond beats his wife when she is menstruating, he must give an expiatory dinner. A man whose wife is in her monthly period may not eat the head of any animal killed in hunting. In the past no husband was allowed to go near the flour mill or the place where the rice is husked. They had to perform an offering if they accidentally touched the grinding stone or the grain bin during this time. Menstruation is called ajar pani (dirty water), mahina ki bimari (monthly illness) or bahar bimari (external illness).

**Date of Ethnography:** 1960

**Focal Year:** 1881 – 1951

**Citation:** Fuchs, S. (1960). The Gond and Bhumia of eastern Mandla. Asia Pub. House. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw32-007

**Description:** She must not sleep inside the house and, of course, sexual intercourse is strictly forbidden. She must not cook or fetch water or go to work in the fields. She must not touch cattle, pigs or fowls. She must not take grain from the bins or approach the Hearth of the Departed. During ordinary menstruation, as we have seen in Chapter VI, the wife, like all young women, is secluded for five or six days either in the communal menstruation hut, or in the hala or menstruation room or the separate menstruation hut of the house. The menstruation huts, whether communal or private, are known as pedawo'gha'i, or (in the south of the Abujhmar hills) as dola-lon, or (in the extreme north) as kurma-lon. In every hala room there is a complete set of cooking vessels and utensils for the woman to use while she is in her courses, when it is polo for her to touch any of the regular household articles. During a wife's period a husband is subject to the laws of a ‘little couvade’. No one will eat from his hands; no one will accept tobacco from his pouch. He must not cook or fetch water. He too must not go to the grain bins or approach the symbols of the Departed. He may go to a shrine, but he must not enter it; he may cut his clearing, but he must not fire it or sow seed. He may not hunt, carry a kawar -pole, climb a tree, cut grass or reap a crop. I was unable to photograph a girl with strikingly Mongolian features because she was in her period—the people seemed genuinely afraid that the menstrual exhalations would break the lens.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1949

**Focal Year:** 1927 – 1941

**Citation:** Grigson, W. V. (Wilfred V., & Elwin, V. (1949). The Maria Gonds of Bastar. Oxford University Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw32-001

**Description:** There is no taboo on women, even on menstruating women, provided they do not enter the fields in this condition. Hunting is particularly sensitive to the contagion of menstruous women. When the hunters go out into the jungle they must not walk across the footprints of such a woman nor should they see her shadow or cross it. They often suppose, when a hunt is a complete failure, that they must have walked across the foot-prints of a menstruous woman as they were going out. Should a woman enter her period during the absence of her husband on a hunt, he ought to return home, or if he does accompany the party he must not go near any traps or across the tracks of any animal; nor should he carry the animal when it is killed nor, since Kadrengal and the Departed live in them, should he hold a bow and arrow or a gun. Menstrual blood makes her dangerous, infectious while alive; it may turn her into a ghost of dread and horror after death. The motiari during her period may not cook or fetch water or touch the grainbins or approach any cultivated field or clearing for shifting cultivation. If she goes into a field where the rice is sprouting it will never reach maturity. She must not step across even the mark of a plough on the ground. She cannot attend a marriage or festival. She must not go near the shrine of the Village Mother. If she is present at any occasion where liquor is being distributed, she must not accept it from the hands of a man; another girl takes it for her and hands it to her in a leaf-cup. She must not take part in any games or dances, particularly in any ceremonial dances. The most stringent taboo is on her relations with men. Sexual intercourse is absolutely forbidden; though the woman does not seem to be affected, the man who goes to a menstruating woman will die. There is no cure for him, magician and priest are alike helpless. He is lost. The woman must not even touch a man or let her shadow fall upon him. Should a man be accidentally touched he is excommunicated and must be purified by passing through ‘a ring of fire’ before anyone will accept food or tobacco from him. A woman's husband also is subject to the strictest rules. During his wife's period, he must not dig the ground, visit his fields, either to sow or reap, thatch the roof, go to the thrashing floor, touch the grain-bins in the house, or visit the village shrines. If he visits his thrashing floor the quantity of his grain is reduced by half. But he may go to the ghotul and sleep there, though no one will take tobacco from his hands. He is allowed to fetch water and cook; indeed he generally has to do this work when his wife is barred from it, and many are the ribald jests that greet a young husband caught carrying pots from the well. If he is a priest, he cannot conduct any religious ceremony during his wife's period, and festivals often have to be postponed on this account. A girl does not bathe her whole body until the flow of blood ceases, but she does change and wash her public cloth, though she has to be very careful where she puts it to dry for fear a witch should steal it. This cloth must never be touched by a man. It is either thrown away after every period or hidden in a safe place outside the house. Breach of the menstruation rules is very serious. The importance attached to them may be seen by the interesting and curious case of the goddess Pendrawandin.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1947

**Focal Year:** 1935 – 1942

**Citation:** Elwin, V. (1947). The Muria and their ghotul. Oxford University Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw32-002

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** Yes. A man who beats a menstruating woman is fined five rupees by the caste council, this was a new rule; in his father's time no fine at all was imposed for beating a menstruating woman. It is said that in the old days the restrictions during menstruation were more severe (In the past no husband was allowed to go near the flour mill or the place where the rice is husked. They had to perform an offering if they accidentally touched the grinding stone or the grain bin during this time).

**Han Chinese**

**Aka Chekiang**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** Women during menstruation should not touch anything on the platform of the kitchen god.

**Date of Ethnography:** 2005

**Focal Year:** 1935 – 1936

**Citation:** Aijmer, G. (2005). Women, kitchen and belonging in eastern China: idioms of continuity in Kaixiangong. Sociologus, Vol. 55(1), 39–58. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ae15-116

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Iban**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** Furthermore, although menstruation, pregnancy and childbearing are considered to be polluting, or ritually dangerous situations, the “otherness” of women in this respect is not something that is unduly emphasized. In short, Iban society is characterized by a remarkable equity between the sexes.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1991

**Focal Years:** Not Specified

**Citation:** Davison, J., & Sutlive, V. H. (1991). The children of NISING: images of headhunting and male sexuality in Iban ritual and oral literature. In female and male in borneo : contributions and challenges to gender studies (Vol. 1, pp. 153–230). The Borneo Research Council, Inc., Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=oc06-035

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Javanese**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** There is also a very strong prohibition against copulation during the wife's menstrual period.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1978

**Focal Year:** 1972 – 1973

**Citation:** Weiss, J. (1982). Folk psychology of the Javanese of Ponorogo. University Microfilms International. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=oe05-028

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Kachin**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** Under the roof there is a quasi-second floor or attic made of planks laid over the crossbeams. Here ritual articles, such as spears, knives, gongs, and other odds and ends, are kept. No female older that fourteen is allowed to climb to this floor because she would offend both the ancestral spirits and the men below with the pollution of her menstruation. In addition to the front door, there are two or three other outer doors that connect the house with the kitchen, cow shed, storage areas, and backyard. One important function of the side door is to provide an exit for “polluted” bodies from the house.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1997

**Focal Years:** Not Specified

**Citation:** Wang, Z. (1997). The Jingpo: Kachin of the Yunnan Plateau. In Program for Southeast Asian Studies monograph series (pp. xx, 360). Program for Southeast Asian Studies. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ap06-032

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Kashmiri**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** A child conceived when the wife is impure, that is, during menstruation, is born on the mula (an inauspicious nak﻿ṣatra). On the fourth day after the onset of menstruation ( māhavarī ), the wife is ready for sexual love. If her husband fails to fulfil her sexual needs there is every likelihood that she will enter into clandestine relations with other men.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1985

**Focal Year:** 1981 – 1982

**Citation:** Misri, U. (1985). Child and childhood: a conceptual construction. Contributions to Indian Sociology, Vol. 19(1), 115–132. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/cultures/av04/documents/011

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Kazakh**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** According to Mohammedan custom women are considered unclean at the time of menstruation, but the Kazak woman seems to have been little affected by this view because she could not be spared from the work around the camp to perform the proper ablutions, prayers and fasts.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1938

**Focal Year:** 1936

**Citation:** Hudson, A. E. (Alfred E. (1938). Kazak social structure. In Yale University publications in anthropology (Issue 20, pp. 1–109). Published for the Department of Anthropology Yale University, by the Yale University Press ; H. Milford, Oxford University Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=rq02-002

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None referenced

**Kerala**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** Punja is also a place where uccāra pūja , a celebration of the menstruation of Bhudevi (the earth goddess), is performed by Pulayas during the month of February. Just as the menstrual blood of Bhudevi is the source of the pollution and fertility of earth, the polluting and dangerous punja is the source of life and wealth, i.e., paddy.

**Date of Ethnography:** 2000

**Focal Year:** 1960 – 1995

**Citation:** Parpola, M. (2000). Kerala Brahmins in transition: a study of a Namputiri family. In Studia Orientalia (pp. xii, 436). Finnish Oriental Society. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/cultures/aw11/documents/015

**Description:** Like a menstruous woman, she must abstain from meat and condiments and must not see a tree; a plant, a man, a crow, a dog, or a cat. On the fourth day she bathed in the local pool. At the same time, it must be noted that among Tiyyars, Nayars, and also some Tamil castes, a woman keeps beside her a knife during menstruation; it is said to ward off attack by evil spirits. It is believed that a Nayar or Tiyyar woman is in a dangerous as well as a polluting condition during menstruation, especially the first. It is feared that, if she disregards any of the prohibitions, she may be raped by evil spirits, appearing as hairy animals. It is said also that if a man foolhardily copulated with a menstruous woman, he would become impotent. Similarly, if the woman were to urinate at the base of a tree, or walk in a paddy-field, the tree or the paddy would wither and die. If she were to approach a temple or the ancestor-shrine of her taravād , the temple-god or the ancestors might inflict her with excessive bleeding, or strike her dead.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1955

**Focal Year:** 1510 – 1949

**Citation:** Gough, K. (1955). Female initiation rites on the Malabar Coast. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 85, 45–80. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw11-007

**Description:** The fathers will start attending to their offspring when the woman is isolated during the polluting period of her menses, and thus gradually come to know the children better and to influence their upbringing.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1963

**Focal Year:** 1972 – 1949

**Citation:** Peter, P. of G. (1963). The polyandry of the Thandans (Tiyas), Kammalans, and other artisan castes of Kerala. In A study of polyandry (pp. 159–239, 594–601). Mouton & Co. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw11-012

**Description:** Women in menses, in order to purify themselves after the three days' seclusion, have to get a newly-washed loin cloth from the Vannan woman, and wrap it round their waist before bathing on the fourth day. This newly-washed loin cloth is known as marru (lit. “change”) and is of great significance in the sociology of Malabar.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1965

**Focal Year:** 1793 – 1965

**Citation:** Aiyappan, A. (1965). Social revolution in a Kerala village: a study in culture change. Asia Publishing House. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/cultures/aw11/documents/035

**Description:** Women are excluded from the ancestral shrine during their pollutions and may not enter it on the day of propitiations. The former prohibition is related to the whole concept of bad sacredness associated with emissions' of the body, which prevents women from touching or eating with others or entering any sacred place during their pollutions. That women should be totally excluded from the shrine on days of propitiation seems also to relate to the general position of women in the society.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1958

**Focal Year:** 1792 – 1952

**Citation:** Gough, K. (1958). Cults of the dead among the Nayars. Journal of American Folklore, Vol. 71, 446–478. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw11-004

**Description:** As a consequence certain taboos are attached to the shrines and no menstruating or pregnant woman may come within six yards of the shrine, nor should anyone enter it without taking a bath.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1956

**Focal Year:** 1890 – 1955

**Citation:** Mehra, J. D. (1956). Snake worship among the Nayars of South India. Man in India, Vol. 36, 132–139. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw11-005

**Description:** Even for the ordinary monthly periods, women have to confine themselves to a room and avoid entering the kitchen and the prayer-hall. During the period of menstrual pollution, the woman was prohibited from touching milch cows, or the eaves of the granary. Even her shadow was supposed to be injurious for fruit-bearing trees like the jack or the coconut, and she had to avoid going near them. Her husband had to avoid her for fear of impotency.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1977

**Focal Year:** 1498 – 1973

**Citation:** Puthenkalam, J. (Joseph). (1977). Marriage and the family in Kerala: with special reference to matrilineal castes. In Journal of comparative family studies monograph (pp. xvi, 246). Dept. of Sociology, University of Calgary. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/cultures/aw11/documents/034

**Description:** Usually the duration of the menstrual pollution is counted as three days or nights. Like the rules about the menstruating woman, the menstrual puberty rites also include the idea of impurity, seclusion, remaining unseen by males, a ceremonial bath of purification, and wearing a new or clean cloth after it. U took advantage of her menstruation and sometimes went to see her daughter Ajita in Vadakkancheri. No one is supposed to touch a menstruating woman during the first three days. On the bus she could not help touching many other people. When I was following her on such a trip, she warned me on the way back that in Ravipuram the ‘no-touching rule’ was to be observed again. The ancient rule forbidding sexual intercourse is said to be followed, and, as will be remembered, earlier the women used to stay in the room called a﻿ṟa , where deliveries also took place. During the first three days of menstruation women should not wash themselves, and according to my informants the rule was very strictly followed particularly on the third day. Unlike during the first menstruation, women were allowed to change the old cloths. On the other hand the women did clean their teeth, but this was the period when they particularly found time to remove lice from their hair. Of the relatives who had moved elsewhere, housewives usually observed the rules (e.g. IR's daughters Śr & i macr ;d & e macr ;vi and Rama﻿ṇi), but women working outside their homes did not. Earlier, the female teachers stayed away from their job during their period (MS). The third generation counted from IR usually did not observe these rules. From the time of the Taittirīya-Sa﻿ṃhitā (around 1000 BC) rules have been laid down in writing about the menstruating woman (Kane 1941: 802). They include ideas of uncleanliness, untouchability and the woman's segregation. There should be no sexual intercourse with her, she should not bathe or anoint herself or her eyes, comb her hair, clean her teeth, cut her nails etc. The son born of intercourse during the first three nights of menstruation is accursed, and if the woman in addition does one of the enumerated forbidden things, the son will be affected in a logical way, e.g. bathing would cause him to drown (TS II,5,1). According to Raheja (1988: 46), misfortunes are never attributed to impurity, but here is an example in ancient texts where failure to observe restrictions caused by pollution is said to bring various kinds of misfortune. A menstruating woman is not supposed to cook during the first three days in a traditional household. If there are no other Nampūtiri ladies who can do the cooking, even men of the house can help. U was standing by the well outside the kitchen, giving instructions to her mother-in-law and her son, while these two were preparing the meal in the kitchen. In Panjal, then, the pollution was more strictly observed under the eyes of old traditional people than is general in the country. The rules are relaxed and the behaviour of the same menstruating women is changed to conform to the all-India way when they have free choice outside the village. Middle-aged working Nampūtiri women, and even housewives, do not stay in isolation during their menstruation. They avoid sexual intercourse, cooking, and touching other people, and possibly also bathing during that time, but not all of them are strict about the three last-mentioned restrictions. All Nampūtiri women, even the younger ones, respect the prohibition of going to the temple during seven days from the beginning of menstruation. More generally too, those under a pollution avoid going to the temple. Menstrual pollution was taken into account less and less not only where women had jobs but also where they were housewives. Practical and health considerations took precedence over ritual strictness in some cases.

**Date of Ethnography:** 2000

**Focal Year:** 1730 – 1999

**Citation:** Parpola, M. (2000). Kerala Brahmins in transition: a study of a Namputiri family. In Studia Orientalia (pp. xii, 436). Finnish Oriental Society. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/cultures/aw11/documents/015

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** Yes, change from seclusion to just no touching at least when the earlier ethnographies are compared with the most recent ethnography. Also “Of the relatives who had moved elsewhere, housewives usually observed the rules (e.g. IR's daughters Śr & i macr ;d & e macr ;vi and Rama﻿ṇi), but women working outside their homes did not. Earlier, the female teachers stayed away from their job during their period (MS). The third generation counted from IR usually did not observe these rules.” And “In Panjal, then, the pollution was more strictly observed under the eyes of old traditional people than is general in the country. The rules are relaxed and the behaviour of the same menstruating women is changed to conform to the all-India way when they have free choice outside the village.” And “Middle-aged working Nampūtiri women, and even housewives, do not stay in isolation during their menstruation. They avoid sexual intercourse, cooking, and touching other people, and possibly also bathing during that time, but not all of them are strict about the three last-mentioned restrictions. All Nampūtiri women, even the younger ones, respect the prohibition of going to the temple during seven days from the beginning of menstruation. More generally too, those under a pollution avoid going to the temple.” And “Menstrual pollution was taken into account less and less not only where women had jobs but also where they were housewives. Practical and health considerations took precedence over ritual strictness in some cases.”

**Kol**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** During that time she may prepare her own food, but is not permitted to prepare food for another. The man must do his own cooking or make some other arrangements for the time being. There are other taboos at this time; she must never touch men's clothes nor should milk of any kind be touched by her. She may bring water from the well for her own use, but such water is taboo to any other member of the family.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1946

**Focal Year:** 1900 – 1940

**Citation:** Griffiths, Walter G., and B. S. (Biraja Sankar) Guha. 1946. “The Kol Tribe of Central India.” In Monograph Series, 2:xiv, 333. Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw37-001.

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Korean**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** Menstruation, birth, and death pollute, and pollution imposes a temporary ban on ritual activity. Women do not worship the household gods or make offerings in the shaman's shrine when they are menstruating. Menstruation offends the Korean gods, and a particularly good mansin will, when possessed, denounce a “dirty woman” for presuming to appear at a kut in a state of pollution.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1985

**Focal Year:** 1975

**Citation:** Kendall, Laurel. 1985. “Shamans, Housewives and Other Restless Spirits: Women in Korean Ritual Life.” In Studies of the East Asian Institute, xiii, 234. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/cultures/aa01/documents/059.

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Koryaks**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** During the period of menstruation a woman is not permitted to touch a drum.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1905

**Focal Year:** 1897 -1902

**Citation:** Jochelson, W. (1905–1908). The Koryak. In Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (Vol. x, pp. xv, 842). E. J. Bril ; G. E. Stechert. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ry04-001

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Lepcha**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** A menstruating woman is not allowed to go into the fields, but must remain inside the house. She cannot prepare any kind of food, either for herself or for others; her own meals are prepared by others and handed to her. This state of a jen ceases automatically with the menstruation period, and no kind of ceremony is performed.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1967

**Focal Year:** 1948-1950

**Citation:** Siiger, H. (1967). The Lepchas: culture and religion of a Himalayan people, part 1. In Nationalmuseets skrifter. Etnografisk række [Publications of the National Museum of Denmark, ethnographical series] (Vol. 11, pp. 252, plates). The National Museum of Denmark. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ak05-013

**Description:** Menstruating women may not go near the cardamom plants, especially when they are in flower. A woman in this state may not, for instance, approach pumpkins, chillies, cucumbers, or egg-plants, or they will rot away. It is thought that the smell of menstrual blood causes the damage, and that no harm will ensue if the woman thoroughly washes her body before going near the plants

**Date of Ethnography:** 1938

**Focal Year:** 1937

**Citation:** Gorer, G., & Hutton, J. H. (1938). Himalayan village: an account of the Lepchas of Sikkim. Michael Joseph, Ltd. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ak05-001

**Description:** patronage of the foreign Elaiji-nyou, who dislikes women, in particular menstruating women. The people of Mayal are said to share this dislike and should a menstruating woman visit them there would be the terrible result that all the people of Mayal would fall asleep and would not send the migratory birds.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1954

**Focal Year:** 1951

**Citation:** Hermanns, M. (1954). The Indo-Tibetans: The Indo-Tibetans and Mongoloid problem in the southern Himalaya and north-northeast India. K. L. Fernandes. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ak05-011

**Description:** the presence of menstruating women would blight the plant in flower; this is a completely alien idea, for otherwise menstruating women are paid no attention to. The Lepchas have modified this notion by saying that the plant dislikes any strong smell; soap or excreta would have just the same effect; they will not accept the prevalent Hindu idea of women being essentially unclean. the patronage of the foreign Elaiji- nyou, who dislikes women, in particular menstruating women. The people of Mayel are said to share this dislike, and should a menstruating woman visit them there would be the terrible result that all the people of Mayel would fall asleep and would not send the migratory birds. menstruating women should not approach the flowering plants which bear the fruit that the people of Mayel sell—pumpkins, cucumbers, egg-plants and chillies—or the plants will rot. They have no disgust for menstruation though they have some fear of it; if the menstrual blood falls into food or water it would be fatal to humans or animals though it nourishes fishes; a menstruating woman is not debarred from any action. After menstruation a woman will always wash both her body and her clothes. It is considered by most Lepchas extremely dangerous to sleep with a menstruating woman, the general belief is that the man who does so will be unwell and doltish afterwards for a period that some men put at a week and others at three years.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1938

**Focal Year:** 1937

**Citation:** Morris, J. (1938). Living with Lepchas: a book about the Sikkim Himalayas. William Heinemann Ltd. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ak05-002

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None referenced

**Malays**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** As for seclusion, ‘the contagion of woman during the sexual crises of menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, is simply intensified, because these are occasions when woman's pecular characteristics are accentuated, these are feminine crises when a woman is most a woman’. The savage dreads the contagion of her effeminacy, weakness, timidity and hysteria. And survivals of this dread may be traced in the observance of continence by Malay warriors and fishermen, in the notion that menstrual blood can cause leprosy, in the custom of husband and wife feeding separately except on the occasion of their marriage.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1961

**Focal Year:** 1900 – 1951

**Citation:** Peletz, M. G. (1996). Reason and passion: representations of gender in a Malay society. University of California Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=an05-194

**Description:** Menstrual blood is said by women and men alike to be “unclean” and “dirty” ( tak suci, kotor ) and is sometimes glossed “dirty blood” ( darah kotor ). Similarly, women sometimes refer to their menstruation as the “arrival of the moon” ( kedatangan bulan ) and, presumably if the menstrual flow is thick, as a “flood” ( banjir ). Since dirt or dirty blood, following Douglas (1966), may be viewed as matter out of place, the conceptual links between Figure 23. Village maidens menstruation, lunar cycles, and flooding argue rather strongly for the association of women with nature and natural threats to established orders. Women who are menstruating should not touch the Koran, pray, fast, or enter a prayer house, mosque, or graveyard; and they should refrain from having sex (though not all of them do). Sexual relations while menstruating (like sex with a menstruating women) is not simply seen as inappropriate; it is also regarded by some (but not all) villagers as sinful, and is in fact explicitly marked off in Islamic texts, though not in local culture, as “illicit fornication,” or zina. To my (and Ellen's) knowledge, however, there are no restrictions on the preparation or other handling of food by menstruating women. Nor are there any prohibitions pertaining to productive labor on the part of such women (e.g., proscriptions barring them from toiling in the rice fields or engaging in other work). Similarly, there is no evidence to indicate that menstrual blood is held to be a powerful substance. There are no menstrual huts or extreme forms of seclusion of the sort one frequently finds in parts of Melanesia, the Amazon, and elsewhere in the world. Women's genital secretions, including menstrual blood, also represent the “dark matrix” of humankind's animality. As for why women can't pray, among other ritual restrictions, when they are menstruating: This is because they are dirty ( kotor ), in a state of ritual impurity ( berjunub ). There are corresponding restrictions on men, Pakcik Rashid explained, in response to my bringing up the subject and asking about ejaculation. “If you ejaculate and know that you have done so, you must bathe before praying. And if the head of the penis penetrates fully during the sex act, then ablutions are necessary before prayer, even if no ejaculation occurs.”. Men do not have sex with (“eat”) their wives while they are menstruating because if they do, their children will be born with “ruined eyes.”. On why women face ritual restrictions when they are menstruating: “I don't know; it is forbidden, sinful; they're unclean, dirty. God made it that way.”. Concerning why women can't pray, enter the mosque, and so on when they are menstruating: “because the blood isn't good; it's dirty [ cicir, najis ]. It is also a sin to have sex while you are menstruating, but some people don't care.”.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1996

**Focal Year:** 1830 – 1993

**Citation:** Winstedt, R. (1961). The Malay magician: being shaman, Saiva and Sufi. Routledge and Kegan Paul. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=an05-137

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** Potentially. The earlier dated ethnography references seclusion but the later dated one does not. However, this could be me not understanding the ethnographers use of the word seclusion in the first ethnography (which upon rereading might be, however I am not really sure how to interpret the first passage beyond ritualistic impurity).

**Manchu**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** The men cannot enter jatka ˙bao during three days, because the man's spirits do not “like jatka. ” This can be translated: impurity, prohibition. The menstruation is called jatka □iha, i.e. jatka came. The Manchus are sure that the sexual intercourses during this period cause different maladies. The woman after the menstruation must wash herself and all her linen. During the active period of the woman, when she may have menstruations, she is restricted in several religious clan ceremonies; she cannot walk across man's clothing, if it lies on her way; she cannot step on the man. She cannot put out her shoes near the great naħan, where are kept the situs for spirits, clan lists and so forth.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1924

**Focal Year:** 1619 – 1918

**Citation:** Shirokogorov, S. M. (Sergeĭ M. (1924). Social organization of the Manchus: A study of the Manchu clan organization. In Extra volume (pp. vi, 196). Royal Asiatic Society. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ag04-002

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Mara**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** H. If a woman sits on the threshold of a house, the spirits of the animals as they pass by will see blood, and, thinking that the blood issues from a gunshot wound, the spirit of the animal says to itself, “If I enter that house I shall get shot, and my blood will flow out in the same way as the blood I can see.” The animal's spirit passes along and does not enter the house, and tells the other animals what he saw in the house, so that in consequence the householder is unable to shoot any game. It is ana for a woman during her menstrual flow to wash her skirt near the field and to hang it up on the field-house to dry, as it is said to cause the paddy to dry up.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1932

**Focal Year:** 1924 – 1928

**Citation:** Parry, N. E. (Neville E., & Hutton, J. H. (1932). The Lakhers. Macmillan. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/cultures/ar20/documents/001

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Mentawaians**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** Moreover, the fear of pollution by female physiological attributes — especially menstruation — which is otherwise a typical expression of the threat represented by women is totally absent on Mentawai.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1982

**Focal Years:** 1967 – 1978

**Citation:** Schefold, R. (1982). The culinary code in the puliaijat ritual of the Mentawaians. Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde -- , [Anthropologica, Vol. 138(24), 64–97. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=od09-006

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** No Menstrual Taboos Present

**Monguor**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** Pudaġ ilie, unclean demon; a woman is also pudaġ during her period.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1952

**Focal Year:** 1946 – 1949

**Citation:** Schröder, D., & Neuse, R. (1952–1953). On the religion of the Tujen of the Sining Region (Koko Nor). Anthropos, Vol 47, HRAF ms: ii, 398 [Original: 1-79, 620-658, 822-870; 202-259 ]. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ae09-003

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Nenets**

**Aka Yurak-Samoyeds**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** The woman purifies herself after menstruation.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1924

**Focal Year:** 1911 – 1924

**Citation:** Lehtisalo, T., & Schütze, F. (1924). Sketch of a mythology of the Yurak Samoyed. In Suomalais-ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia (p. HRAF ms: 2, 184). Société Finno-ougrienne. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ru41-017

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Nivkh**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** During menstruation the woman puts on her oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the tùgurmam (the mistress of the fire) takes offense. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local ataxia.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1933

**Focal Year:** 1890 – 1930

**Citation:** Shternberg, L. Ia., Bromwich, L., & Ward, N. (1933). The Gilyak, Orochi, Goldi, Negidal, Ainu: articles and materials. Dal’giz. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=rx02-001

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Okayama**

**Aka Japanese**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** Under taboo ( imi ) conditions consequent upon birth, death, and menstruation, during a prescribed period all visits to shrines, all ritual to household gods is forbidden.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1953

**Focal Year:** 1950 – 1951

**Citation:** Cornell, J. B. (1953). Matsunagi: the life and social organization of a Japanese mountain community. University Microfilms International. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ab43-008

**Description:** On Takashima menstruation is a period of ceremonial pollution, when no contact with the kami-sama may be made. Taboos are ordinarily considered to apply only to contact with Shinto or “native” deities, and are said to bear no relation to orthodox Buddhism. Menstruating women may make no offerings to kami-sama and may not visit shrines. When women of the present grandparental generation were young, restrictions during menstrual periods were more rigid than they are today. Women of that time were not allowed to pass in front of statues or wayside shrines of Shinto deities, and if a woman during menses took meals together with her husband, he also became defiled and the taboos were extended to him. On the morning following the end of the menstrual period a new fire is built.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1954

**Focal Year:** 1950 – 1951

**Citation:** Norbeck, E. (1954). Takashima: a Japanese fishing community. University of Utah Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ab43-024

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** Yes. Although imi following childbirth and death are still rather closely observed, few households, except those with conservative old people, pay much attention to the taboo on the menses. Differences in Shinto (or native dieties) but no restrictions in orthodox Buddhism (Buddhism appears to have affected these beliefs and practices in at least the matters of food taboos and duration of taboos — and also to have been affected in turn). When women of the present grandparental generation were young, restrictions during menstrual periods were more rigid than they are today. Women of that time were not allowed to pass in front of statues or wayside shrines of Shinto deities, and if a woman during menses took meals together with her husband, he also became defiled and the taboos were extended to him.

**Okinawans**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** At present, the fear of pollution appears to be rapidly declining; thus, while a young housewife may continue to observe hearth rites as her mother (or mother-in-law) did before her, she often ignores the fact of menstruation as polluting and offensive to the kami. Nonetheless, for the oldest generation, most country women, and for kaminchu, pollution continues to be regarded as a matter deserving serious attention. A general taboo extends to all women in their menses, prohibiting them from entering a shrine or conducting household rites, but at present this seems to be far less scrupulously observed than in the past. During the period of the nuru 's menses, however, a substitute may officiate in her behalf. Fishing boats are taboo to women, as their presence would be offensive to the sea kami.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1966

**Focal Year:** 1875 – 1960

**Citation:** Lebra, W. P. (1966). Okinawan religion: belief, ritual, and social structure. University of Hawaii Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ac07-013

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** Yes. Younger women and women in urban areas are more likely to ignore menstruation as polluting or offensive to the gods.

**Pashtun**

**Aka Yusufzai**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** After menstruation when the woman is not permitted to wash herself for five to ten days. After menstruation and childbirth, women often put a small cotton cloth, soaked in red wine, into their vaginas. This is supposed to keep the passage tight and pleasurable for intercourse (though women deny that they enjoy sexual intercourse, and say this practice is simply to keep their husband's interest). Sexual contact is forbidden during the time when a woman is not bathing, but some men still have sex with their wives during menstruation. This act is not favored, since it is thought to be dangerous for the man and to cause bad terms between the couple. In the female process of childbirth and menstruation, this heat becomes so strong that men should avoid their wives completely, and the woman is not permitted to bathe for fear of injuring herself with the cool water.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1982

**Focal Year:** 1968 -1977

**Citation:** Lindholm, C. (1982). Generosity and jealousy: the Swat Pukhtun of northern Pakistan. Columbia University Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=au04-003

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Rungus Dusun**

**Aka Dusun**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** Menstruation among the Rungus is an unmarked category, both socially and culturally. A menstruating woman is neither polluting nor propitious. There are no restraints, no forms of social separation regarding menstruating women. A menstruating woman is not considered unclean or polluting by any member of the society. This is evidenced by the fact that a menstruating priestess can effectively communicate with her spirit familiar

**Date of Ethnography:** 1988

**Focal Years:** 1959 – 1963

**Citation:** Appell, L. W. R. (1988). Menstruation among the Rungus: an unmarked category. In Blood magic : the anthropology of menstruation, edited, with an introduction by Thomas Buckley and Alma Gottlieb (pp. 94–112, 265–266, 314–281). University of California Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=oc13-011

**Description:** A menstruating woman is not considered unclean or polluting by any member of the society. This is evidenced by the fact that a menstruating spirit medium can effectively communicate with her spirit familiar. Menstruation among the Rungus is thus an unmarked category, both socially and culturally. There is no term specifically to refer to menstruation. It is covered by the term adat ondu, meaning, simply, “women's customs”, a euphemism for menstruation. Neither women nor men are familiar with this term or its meaning until after marriage. A menstruating woman is neither polluting nor purifying, propitious nor dangerous. There are also no restraints, no forms of social separation regarding menstruating women. There are also no Rungus myths or rituals connected with menstruation. Even where other body by-products such as feces and vomitus are considered ritually filthy, menstrual discharge is not.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1991

**Focal Years:** 1959 – 1986

**Citation:** Appell, L. W. R. (1991). Sex role symmetry among the Rungus of Sabah. In female and male in borneo : contributions and challenges to gender studies: Vol. v. 1 (pp. 1–56). Borneo Research Council. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=oc13-010

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Sama-Bajau**

**Aka Badjau Tawi-Tawi**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** Most Bajau do not recognize any times when sexual intercourse is universally tabued. If one is willing to put up with the uncleanliness of menstruation, sex is legitimate even at that time.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1970

**Focal Year:** 1965 – 1967

**Citation:** Nimmo, H. (1970). Bajau sex and reproduction. Ethnology, Vol. 9(3), 251–262. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/cultures/oa08/documents/002

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Santal**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** As regards ritual continence, coitus is stopped during menstruation for a period of seven days or so.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1962

**Focal Year:** 1933 – 1939

**Citation:** Mukherjea, C. (1962). The Santals. A. Mukherjee & Co., Private Ltd. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/cultures/aw42/documents/003

**Description:** In Surjudih Lubia Soren’s wife kept her menstruation rags in the grain bin. Lubia to his great horror found them there one day and at once moved the village to approve a divorce. If he had not done so, he believed that all his wealth would have gone.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1984

**Focal Year:** 1942 – 1945

**Citation:** Archer, W. G. (William G. (1984). Tribal law and justice: a report on the Santal. Concept. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/cultures/aw42/documents/007

**Description:** Precautions of another kind are taken during her subsequent periods. A girl is always very careful to hide any rags that are smeared with her menstrual blood for if a boy lights upon them, he gets the girl in his power. If the rags reach a stream or any flowing water, her blood will flow for days on end. If the rags come into contact with a granary, they contaminate the family store and the whole house may lose its wealth. In other respects, menstruation has little significance. A woman’s acts and movements are unrestricted. She can fetch water, cook food, cowdung a floor, pass through standing crops, join the dancing, use a rice pounder. There is no taboo on intercourse but if a man takes a woman during her period, he cannot sacrifice to any bonga the following day. Apart from this, intercourse during menstruation has no dangers and Santals do not attribute any disease to a contact with menstrual blood. ‘At the most,’ they say ‘her blood will flow a day or two longer.’

**Date of Ethnography:** 1974

**Focal Year:** 1942 – 1946

**Citation:** Archer, W. G. (William G. (1974). The hill of flutes: life, love, and poetry in tribal India : a portrait of the Santals. University of Pittsburgh Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/cultures/aw42/documents/006

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** Potentially. In a change in taboo related to sexual intercourse but that could depend on the different ethnographers’ interpretations.

**Semai**

**Aka Senoi**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** East Semai men say menstrual blood is so like fish poison that menstruents cannot go on fish-poisoning expeditions without running the risk of being possessed by, and eventually becoming, a tigerish evil power. Although the Semai Robarchek worked with stated no explicit tabu on sexual relations during menstruation, people abstain from sex then because, as one man put it, “the blood would nauseate me.”

**Date of Ethnography:** 1987

**Focal Years:** 1950 – 1980

**Citation:** Robarchek, C. A. (1987). Blood drunkenness and the bloodthirsty Semai: unmaking another anthropological myth. American Anthropologist, Vol. 89(No. 2), 356–365. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=an06-008

**Description:** Blood, especially women's menstrual and puerperal blood, has special powers, akin to those symbolized by tigers and thundersqualls, say Semai. “Tiger trlaac, ” associated with bleeding at these times, involves the risk that the women or their embryos will turn into tigers. A menstruating woman who accompanies a fish poisoning expedition, mixing distinct categories of powerful poisons, for example, might mutate into a tiger.

**Date of Ethnography:** 2008

**Focal Years:** 1874 – 2008

**Citation:** Dentan, R. K. (2008). Overwhelming terror: love, fear, peace, and violence among Semai of Malaysia. In War and peace library (pp. xiii, 277). Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=an06-027

**Description:** Menstruating women should not take long walks, do hard work, or overexert themselves, although healthy women usually ignore these precautions. They should sleep a little further away from their husbands than usual and should not engage in sexual intercourse. While bathing, menstruating women usually undress separately from other women in order to hide the leaf or pad of cloth with which they staunch the flow. The Semai say that menstrual fluid is “like fish poison” and that if a menstruating woman joins in poisoning fish she will turn into a tiger. Menstruating west Semai women should cook only for themselves, but they usually continue to cook for others. People say that copulating with a menstruating woman is “dirty,” but unlikely to have ill effects. There are very few food avoidances.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1968

**Focal Years:** 1962 – 1963

**Citation:** Dentan, R. K. (1968). he Semai: a nonviolent people of Malaya. In Case studies in cultural anthropology (pp. 16, 110). Holt, Rinehart and Winston. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=an06-017

**Description:** Menstruation, with its prolonged show of blood, may be said to place the menstruating woman in a state of heat. By denying herself meat, she is protecting her body from increased heat, from the blood in the meat. This may be what underlies the Chewong assertion at such times that ‘blood must not be mixed with blood’. Menstruating women, like newly delivered women, may not eat meat, fish, chillies, oil, etc., but only ratn without additives. In this case, as opposed to that of lying-in women, she may eat cool ratn ; in fact this is specifically stated to be better. The dietary restrictions operate in both cases until the bleeding ceases. Thus menstruating women handle, cook, and share out all meat given to them either by their husbands or by women of other households. In Chewong society, unlike many others, menstruating women are not regarded as polluting. They accompany men on hunting expeditions, handle blowpipes, quivers, darts, as well as dart poison. They mix freely with members of both sexes, and they bathe in the rivers with the rest and may do so upstream as well. It is only in respect to their own health that pantang prohibitions have to be observed. It is significant, in view of this, to note that the most common colloquial expression for menstruation is ‘I don't want meat’ ( inyeden ai ). Other terms for the condition is ‘moon children’ ( wong keché ); ‘moon blood’ ( mahum keché ); or ‘Tanko's children’ ( wòng Tanko).

**Date of Ethnography:** 1984

**Focal Years:** 1977 – 1981

**Citation:** Howell, S. (1984). Society and cosmos: Chewong of peninsular Malaysia. Oxford University Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=an06-002

**Description:** Menstrual blood is dangerous (inf), but some lowlanders said that copulating with a menstruent, although “dirty,” was not proscribed. The woman should cook for no one but herself (inf). Since lowland women almost all ignore this prohibition (obs). A menstruating woman should leave her house only to defecate or urinate, bathing being prohibited; but only girls menstruating for the first or second time usually observe this restriction (inf). Menstruating women should not take long walks, do hard work or overexert themselves (inf). A healthy woman with a couple of children usually ignores these prohibitions (inf, obs). Menstruating women may sleep with their husbands but should not copulate (inf). They should sleep slightly farther away from their husbands than usual. In bathing, menstruating women usually undress separately from the other women, to conceal the leaf or pad of cloth with which they staunch the flow (inf, obs). Menstrual fluid is “like fish poison,” so that a menstruating woman cannot participate in poisoning fish, lest she “become” a tiger. Menstruating women should not eat large wild animals, i.e., bearcat, palmcat, and the larger ruminants, lest they “become” those animals or tigers (inf). Certain “anomalous” animals were also taboo. Lowland women seem very casual about observing the menstrual meat taboos, except those on bearcat and palmcat (inf, obs). Menstruating women should not eat the very “acidic” fruits of certain Zalacca spp., for fear of malaria or pallor. Some informants said that overeating a diuretic palm pith ( Arenga ?pinnata ) or berpag ( ?Croton sp.) leaves might cause “spinning of the eyes” (dizziness) and nausea. menstruating women should not eat any meat, fresh fish, tapioca or other white root (including, presumably, most of the semi-poisonous wild tubers), pineapple or certain jungle fruits. The Semai do not keep menstruating women away from crops, as they presumably would if they perceived, at any level of consciousness, a relationship between menstrual discharge and the wilting of plants.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1988

**Focal Years:** 1947 – 1963

**Citation:** Dentan, R. K. (1988). Some Senoi Semai dietary restrictions: a study of food behavior in a Malay hill tribe. University Microfilms International. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=an06-007

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Semang**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** It is blood lawac to let human menstrual blood or blood resulting from childbirth flow into a stream. Thus, a woman cannot bathe in a stream during her period or for a week or so after giving birth. She may bathe in water that has been removed from the stream, however. women abstain from eating meat and salt (and a few other minor foods) during their menstrual periods and following parturition. If a woman were to break this prohibition she would suffer from dizziness ( tewin ). But only the menstrual blood itself is considered dirty ( kamah ), not female blood in general. . The Batek do not consider menstrual blood very polluting, and women continue to carry on their usual activities and to sleep in their family lean-to during their periods. The Batek Teh and a few closely related Batek Dè', however, do not allow menstrual blood to flow into a stream, and thus prohibit bathing or washing clothes in streams during a woman's period, because they think this would anger the thunder-god. But in other respects they, like most of the Batek Dè', are not very concerned about the ‘dirtiness’ of menstrual blood.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1979

**Focal Year:** 1900 – 1979

**Citation:** Endicott, K. M. (1979). Batek Negrito religion: the world-view and rituals of a hunting and gathering people of Peninsular Malaysia. Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=an07-004

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Sherpa**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** Only reference to menstruation made is to “The first menstruation is informed to the friends and mother. After attaining puberty, the girl is simply called nakchunga” and “The idea of conception is easily known by the Sherpas. As soon as the menstruation is stopped firstly it is informed to the husband and after that the husband's mother.” Which reference a girls first menses and the cessation of menses because of pregnancy respectively.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1989

**Focal Year:** 1984 – 1985

**Citation:** Kunwar, R. R. (1989). Fire of Himal: an anthropological study of the Sherpas of Nepal Himalayan region. Nirala Publications. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ak06-016

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None referenced

**Sinhalese**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** Women are considered to be ritually impure at times owing to the "pollution" of puberty, childbirth, and menstruation.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1997

**Focal Years:** Not Specified

**Citation:** Pfaffenberger, B. (1997). Culture summary: Sinhalese. HRAF. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ax04-000

**Description:** Blood is considered to be extremely polluting 7 Menstrual blood is only much more so. and in the same class as other bodily excretions such as spittle ( kele ), feces ( gu ), and urine ( mu ).

**Date of Ethnography:** 1971

**Focal Years:** 1954 – 1956

**Citation:** Yalman, N. (1971). Under the bo tree: studies in caste, kinship, and marriage in the interior of Ceylon. University of California Press ; University of California Press, Ltd. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ax04-004

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None referenced

**Taiwan Hokkien**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** There is a marked reluctance on the part of most women to even enter the Great Hall, especially if they are menstruating. Women are not allowed in the inner sanctum at any time for any purpose.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1974

**Focal Year:** 1945 – 1973

**Citation:** Seaman, G. (1983). Temple organization in a Chinese village. University Microfilms. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ad05-053

**Description:** Menstruation, birth, and death are all polluting. Menstruating women may cause injury to spirit mediums in trance.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1977

**Focal Year:** 1972 – 1973

**Citation:** Gould-Martin, K. (1977). Women asking women: an ethnography of health care in rural Taiwan. Xerox University Microfilms. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ad05-071

**Description:** She discovers that her body is a source of filth that can endanger others as well as herself. She may not enter a temple during her menses, for her unclean state would anger the gods, perhaps to the point of causing illness to strike her in revenge. A menstruating woman cannot attend the annual firewalking lest her presence cause the men who walk on the coals to burn their feet.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1972

**Focal Year:** 1960

**Citation:** Gould-Martin, K. (1977). Women asking women: an ethnography of health care in rural Taiwan. Xerox University Microfilms. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ad05-071

**Description:** Sexual relations with a menstruating female must be avoided because they are polluting, and the woman will indirectly inform her husband that he cannot approach her. The menstrual flow is generally regarded as shameful, dirty, and ritually defiling.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1969

**Focal Year:** Not Specified

**Citation:** Diamond, N. (1969). Kʻun Shen; a Taiwan village. In Case studies in cultural anthropology (pp. 12, 111). Holt, Rinehart and Winston. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ad05-009

**Description:** Anyone who comes into contact with menstrual blood--male or female--is barred from worshiping the gods. Given the serious consequence of contact with menstrual blood, one would expect great care to be taken in its disposition. In fact, however, women treat the problem quite casually. They put the soiled papers or pads in the latrine, where they disintegrate. When women are in a state considered unclean, therefore, they must carefully abstain from certain activities, and other people must take precautions before coming into contact with them. Menstrual fluids are considered unclean in part because they are bad for the body.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1978

**Focal Year:** 1969 – 1972

**Citation:** Ahern, E. M. (1978). The power and pollution of Chinese women. In studies in chinese society (pp. 269–290, 362–363). Stanford University Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ad05-029

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Tamil**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** If a woman during her period touched a growing plant, the plant would wither; if she touched a metal pot with her hand, the metal would corrode.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1990

**Focal Year:** 1975 – 1988

**Citation:** Trawick, M. (1990). Notes on love in a Tamil family. University of California Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw16-051

**Description:** The hardest time for Chandra is the monthly three days of menstrual seclusion, during which period she is confined to a small area and is not allowed to bathe or to do her ordinary household work. She also must avoid her son at this time, and he causes her great embarrassment by chasing her around trying to touch her, and asking what will happen to him if he does. Both mother and son end up angry and in tears after these confrontations.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1991

**Focal Year:** Not Specified

**Citation:** Egnor, M. T. (1991). On the meaning of sakti to women in Tamil Nadu. In The powers of tamil women (Issue 6, pp. 1–34). Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw16-052

**Description:** The special sexual attributes of women—their menstrual and birth pollutions—are much feared by men and scrupulously avoided as dangerous and ritually unclean.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1956

**Focal Year:** 1951 – 1953

**Citation:** Gough, K. (1956). Brahman kinship in a Tamil village. American Anthropologist, Vol. 58, 826–853. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw16-004

**Description:** The isolation of the woman during her period is scarcely noticeable. It is limited to three days, or even one day, and the corresponding cooking taboo is truly respected only where it is easy to replace the woman of the house. The absence of a cult and a sacred image in the house, which prevents the woman who is then impure from coming into contact with what is sacred, is doubtlessly there for some reason. Ceremonial impurities mean seclusion, certain interdicts and a final purification.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1957

**Focal Year:** 1949 – 1950

**Citation:** Dumont, L., & Schutze, F. (1957). A subcaste of south India: social organization and religion of the Pramalai Kallar. In Le Monde d’outre-mer passé et présent, Première Série, Études (pp. 6, 6, 460). Mouton & Co. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw16-038

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Telugu**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** Menstruation and childbirth are thought to defile a woman and, to some extent, members of her household. During such a time she cannot cook or participate in normal social or religious activities. When, in 1964, the wife of Konduru's priest went into confinement, the annual Rama fair was delayed for several days.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1971

**Focal Year:** 1964 – 1965

**Citation:** Tapper, B. E. (1987). Rivalry and tribute: society and ritual in a Telegu village in South India. In Studies in sociology and social anthropology (pp. xvi, 309). Hindustan Pub.Corp. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw17-002

**Description:** Menstrual pollution ( maila ) is terminated by a bath after approximately five days. During menstruation a Gavara woman does not enter the inner room of her house (the location of the family god corner and storage of seed grains). She also does not perform pūja or cook for her family. The notion of prohibitions on dealings with deities during menstruation is explained as preserving respectfulness rather than as preventing mystical contamination or ritual pollution.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1987

**Focal Year:** 1970 – 1972

**Citation:** Hiebert, P. G. (1971). Konduru: structure and integration in a South Indian village. University of Minnesota Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw17-003

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Tibetans**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** Dar bang, the stake with the bundles of hair, is a so-called “sacred stake.” The spot may not be contaminated by women in childbed, menstruating women, or people who are impure.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1948

**Focal Year:** 1935-1945

**Citation:** Hermanns, M., & Sch. (1948). The A Mdo Pa greater Tibetans: the socio-economic bases of the pastoral cultures of Inner Asia. Philosophische Fakultät der Universität Freiburg in der Schweiz. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aj01-007

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Toda**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** A stone, the majvatvaiirn, marks the point nearest to the dairy-temple at which she must stop. It is here that butter-milk ( maj ) is distributed to the womenfolk every evening at sunset by the dairy priests. They must not handle it, furthermore, when they are menstruating.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1963

**Focal Year:** 1939 – 1949

**Citation:** Peter, P. of G. (1963). A study of polyandry. Mouton. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw60-013

**Description:** At the end of her period the woman bathes, as is the general practice in India, and with this all restrictions are removed. On the other hand, the separation of a woman from the dairy and dairyman becomes total during menses. She is not allowed to go with the other women to receive buttermilk from the dairy, nor may she drink this buttermilk. If a dairyman wants to sleep in her house, she must leave it. And no man who has had intercourse with a menstruating woman may be ordained as dairyman until after the next new moon. he Toda girl or woman is not excluded from her house, and unlike most Hindu women of South India she may continue as usual with her domestic duties, including cooking. She wears a sanitary pad (again an unusual feature) which traditionally was made of moss; now it is usually old rags changed when necessary and burned after use. There are no bars to her contact with ordinary males of the community. Theoretically it is forbidden for a man to have sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, but the rule is safely ignored.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1986

**Focal Year:** 1900 – 1984

**Citation:** Walker, A. R. (1986). The Toda of South India: a new look. In Studies in sociology and social anthropology (pp. xix, 371 , [38] of plates). Hindustan Pub. Corp. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw60-014

**Description:** They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. They cook as usual; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's menstrual period is apparently broken at times; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after the next new moon. But no menstruating woman may enter it [A hut built to accommodate the relics of a man between his first and second funerals because its name is the word for dairy]. It is probable that this restriction has been made following upon the restriction on a menstruating woman's entering the funeral hut proper. Likewise, no menstruating woman may stay in the mund [House?]; she must go outside and stay away for three days. As is very usual, a bath is prescribed after menstruation is over, to remove the last traces of uncleanliness. But, very unusual among primitive communities, the Toda woman during her period wears a sanitary napkin designed to absorb the flow of blood. Formerly it was made of moss wrapped into a pad with a piece of cloth and attached before and behind to the usual silver or brass chain girdle or, failing this, to a waist-string. At present rags are more common in the munds than formerly and the pad may be made wholly of rags. The pad is changed when necessary, and all discarded ones are burnt. Such pads are also used by Kota and by Badaga women, but their use has not been reported, so far as I know, for the women of any other Indian community. The converted Toda women have not been sufficient in number to provide wives for all the Toda men converts and the deficiency has been made up by converted Tamilian women. The two sets of women continue their pre-Christian customs during menstruation. The Toda women wear the sanitary napkin and continue to cook and to live in all parts of the house.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1939

**Focal Year:** 1935 – 1938

**Citation:** Emeneau, M. B. (Murray B. (1939). Toda menstruation practices. New Indian Antiquary, Extra Series, Vol. 1, 82–84. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=aw60-011

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** Not Referenced

**Uyghur**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** “Because I'm cooking tomatoes,” she says, implying she is menstruating.

**Date of Ethnography:** 2009

**Focal Year:** 1992 – 1997

**Citation:** Dautcher, J. (2009). Down a narrow road: identity and masculinity in a Uyghur community in Xinjiang China. In Harvard East Asian monographs (pp. xvi, 349). Harvard University Asia Center. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/cultures/ai04/documents/003

**Description:** This is the frequent bleeding associated with the disease, which renders the inflicted person unclean: it is menstruation and postpartum bleeding which are responsible for women's polluting nature.

**Date of Ethnography:** 2004

**Focal Year:** 1850 – 1995

**Citation:** Bellér-Hann, I. (2004). Hair-raising stories: the trickster in Uyghur oral tradition. Asian Anthropology, Vol. 3, 13–38. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/cultures/ai04/documents/011

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Vedda**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** Among the wilder Veddas no special measures are taken when a woman menstruates, she is allowed to eat the ordinary food, and to sleep in the cave as usual. But among all the village Veddas, and most of those who have mixed at all with the Sinhalese, the menstruous women are strictly isolated, a little shelter being built for them a few paces from the family hut (Plate XX).

**Date of Ethnography:** 1911

**Focal Year:** 1907 – 1911

**Citation:** Seligman, C. G. (Charles G., Seligman, B. Z., Myers, C. S., & Gunasekara, Abraham Mendis, d. 1931. (1911). The Veddas. In Cambridge archaeological and ethnological series (pp. 19, 463). University Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ax05-001

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** Yes. Among the wilder Veddas no special measures are taken when a woman menstruates, she is allowed to eat the ordinary food, and to sleep in the cave as usual. But among all the village Veddas, and most of those who have mixed at all with the Sinhalese, the menstruous women are strictly isolated, a little shelter being built for them a few paces from the family hut (Plate XX). Furthermore, during her seclusion she may eat any food cooked at the ordinary fire, but a special platter is kept for her use. The girls who look after her suffer no restrictions. This happens every time a girl or woman menstruates.

**Vietnamese**

**Aka Annamese**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** During her period, a wife is forbidden to gather lotus flowers or bathe in ponds where these flowers grow, to perfume tea with the pollen of odoriferous flowers, to prepare soya brine ( làm tu'o'ng ), to salt sauerkraut ( mu□i du'a ), etc. Finally, she must no longer do any sewing. (3) 3. Among certain tribes of Siberia, notably the Ostiak and Ghiliak, women must stay in an alcove built behind their house during their period.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1942

**Focal Years:** 1931 – 1942

**Citation:** Ngô-Quy-Son, & Messner, C. A. (1942). A few taboos among the Annamites of Tonkin. Institut Indochinois Por l’étude de l’Homme, Bulletins et Travaux Pour 1940, Vol. 3, 31–37. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=am11-078

**Description:** “Menstrual blood is regarded as very bad, toxic and unhallowed. Not only must the blood be avoided but the woman herself should not go to the pagoda or to the main room of the house where the altar to the ancestors is located. This religious avoidance is so widely accepted that even among the urban Vietnamese, women don't pray or officiate in any way. The urban Vietnamese, however, do not consider menstrual blood as toxic or dangerous although they avoid it when possible and in families with servants, the women wash their own pads, considering it cruel to require a servant to do so.”. “In the rural areas Vietnamese women go out as little as possible during menstruation and are especially careful to avoid holy places. There are taboos on sewing, eating sour food or bathing the genitals during this period, violation of which will cause menorragia (prolonged menses). Intercourse is forbidden from the first day of menstruation to some days after the last day, not only because it is dirty but because it is believed to cause venereal disease in the male. Urban Vietnamese women observe only the taboos against intercourse and praying at an altar or temple.”.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1951

**Focal Years:** 1951

**Citation:** De, T. D., & Coughlin, M. (1951). Notes on birth and reproduction in Vietnam. [s.n.]. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=am11-019

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** Urban Vietnamese do not consider menstruation to be as toxic and dangerous as rural Vietnamese do. Urban Vietnamese women observe only the taboos against intercourse and praying at an altar or temple.

**Yakut**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** During her menstrual period a woman is not allowed to touch the fire or to approach the hearth.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1933

**Focal Year:** 1884 – 1902

**Citation:** Jochelson, W. (1933). The Yakut. In Anthropological papers: Vol. XXXIII (pp. 33–225). Published by order of the Trustees. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=rv02-002

**Description:** If a menstruating woman enters or if she steps on the tools, both she and the blacksmith become covered with sores. To heal these it is necessary to smear them with the blood of a white reindeer, or rub them with the surface of an anvil, saying, ‘Please cure these sores.”’

**Date of Ethnography:** 1933

**Focal Year:** Not Specified

**Citation:** Popov, A. A. (1933). Consecration ritual for a blacksmith novice among the Yakuts. Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. 46, 257–271. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=rv02-015

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Yi**

**Aka Lolo**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** The ts'i□imo should be past menopause so menstrual pollution would not compromise her ritual purity.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1998

**Focal Years:** 1930s – 1990s

**Citation:** Mueggler, E. (1998). Procreative metaphor and productive unity in an Yi headmanship. The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 4(2), 235–253. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=ae04-010

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced

**Yukaghir**

**Continent:** Asia

**Description:** A menstruating woman or a woman after child-birth must not touch shamanistic objects. Among the tundra Yukaghir the women are altogether forbidden to sit on their husband's sledges, where the hunting-spear is fastened.

**Date of Ethnography:** 1975

**Focal Year:** 1895 – 1902

**Citation:** Jochelson, W. (1975). The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus. In American Museum of Natural History, New York. Memoirs ; The Jesup North Pacific Expedition. Publications: Vol. v. 13 (pp. xvi, 469 , [15] leaves of plates). AMS Press. https://ehrafworldcultures-yale-edu.uleth.idm.oclc.org/document?id=rv03-001

**Change in Menstrual Taboos:** None Referenced