

# ADDENDUM TO ‘MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE UPPER SEPIK’

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## Introduction

Attempts have been made to map the ‘style areas’ of the Sepik River region of Papua New Guinea (e.g. Bühler 1960, Kaufmann in Greub 1985 and in Peltier & Morin 2006: 93). These are based on the (‘art’) style of the most prominent carved and painted works – masks, figures, suspension hooks, shields, slit gongs. Others have focussed on one kind of artefact and mapped out its distribution (e.g. Schmidt 1929 and Haberland 1963, 1965a, 1965b for Sepik shields; Hauser-Schäublin, 1989, Part 2 for cult houses; Tiesler, 1970 for shields of the North Coast and 1984 for cuirasses).

In a paper published in 2018 in the *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 146:189-201, I examined the distribution of five kinds of artefacts to determine the boundaries between distinct variations in those kinds of artefacts in the Upper Sepik region from Ambunti to the West Papuan border (**Fig. 1**). These artefacts were slit gongs, trumpets, shields, paintings on sago petioles and phallocrypts.

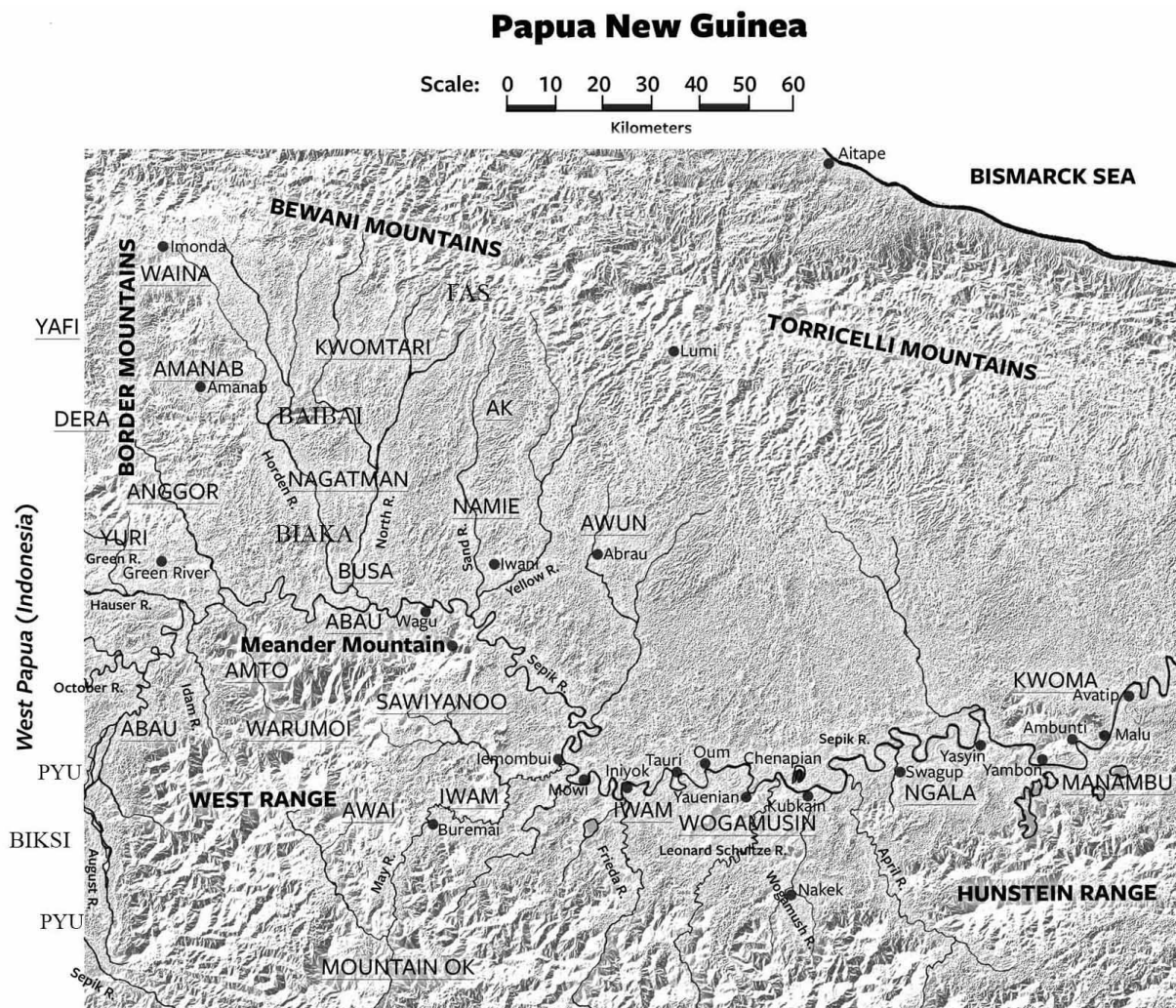


Figure 1. Map of Upper Sepik Region, Papua New Guinea. Prepared by Thomas Pyrzakowski, South Australian Museum. Language names in capitals.

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For reasons of space, the distribution of seven other kinds of artefacts could not be included in that paper. This addendum examines the distributions of the other kinds of artefact – houses, hand drums, human figures, canoe prows, canoe prow ‘shields’, tobacco smoking equipment, and areca nut chewing equipment.

### **To recapitulate:**

Except for the Sepik upstream from May River, the data is scarce, partly because there are few publications, and few museum collection datasets on-line, dealing with a range of upper Sepik material culture. In 1968, 1969 and 1972-73, I photographed and collected artefacts for museums in Berlin, Leiden, Sydney (AustMus), and the Papua New Guinea National Museum (PNGNM). These and other artefacts were included in the Upper Sepik-Central New Guinea Project ([www.uscngp.com](http://www.uscngp.com)).<sup>2</sup> Although the number of objects for some ethno-linguistic groups are few and I do not have images of all of them, they expand the data beyond what has been published.

There are three other limitations to the data. First, although there are pre-WW1 collections, not fully published, most research and collecting was carried out during the 1960s–1980s well after external factors began to affect upper Sepik societies and their material culture. Second, trade, warfare, intermarriage and so forth are factors that have caused many artefacts to be distributed at some distance from where they were made; this data was rarely recorded by collectors. Third, I sometimes have to use ethno-linguistic groups as a proxy for provenance, at a level above that of settlement, because many published objects lack more specific collection data.<sup>3</sup> I have in some cases reproduced several crucial images from published sources, with acknowledgement.

This survey will proceed from west to east, from the Border Mountains to Ambunti but, for lack of data, will not include the peoples of the southern tributaries of the Sepik east of May River.

## **1. Houses**

**WAINA houses**, in the northern Border Mountains, were clustered in small hamlets. They were built with an earth floor and a low roof sloping slightly to the rear (**Fig. 2**). Trophies of the hunt (animal skulls) were displayed on one of the outside walls or inside the house on the underside of the roof thatching. By the late 1960s, administration officers had persuaded many families to build houses with the floor well above the ground, ostensibly for health reasons. Those houses looked quite like those of the AMANAB.



**Figure 2. Family house, Umeda hamlet, WAINA. Photo: B. Craig 1969 C4:12.**

<sup>2</sup> See <http://data.uscngp.com/> and collapse the Welcome panel on the left. In the Results window on the right, click on the arrow in the ‘Title’ column, select ‘Sort Ascending’, scroll down and click on a kind of artefact to view examples from various locations.

<sup>3</sup> In the literature and on maps, spellings and names for settlements vary. I use the spellings and names in Laycock 1973 in my text but retain authors’ spellings in quotations. I use Laycock’s language names, in upper case.

Bernard Juillerat (1996:xxi-xxii) describes **AMANAB houses** (Figs 3, 4) as having ‘a floor on stilts into which are set two or four suspended cooking fires, and access via a veranda or simple defensive porch reached by a notched tree trunk that can be lowered into place or removed at will. The single room is a family space, and despite the fact that there is frequently a “bachelors’ house” [*mööf raara*] for adolescent boys, the village does not have anything like a “men’s house”, whereas in the plain (Kwomtari), one finds fairly spacious houses for the unmarried men containing ritual objects and . . . forbidden to women . . .’. Juillerat illustrates the floor plan of the family house showing separate hearths for male and female occupants (1996, Fig.17). The space on the ground beneath the elevated floor (*mogasəngaw*) was enclosed and used by women during menstruation and immediately after giving birth (ibid.:567).



Figure 3. Family house (*raara*), AMANAB. Photo: Douglas Miles 1964.



Figure 4. *Left*: Nai Nr 2 settlement, AMANAB. Photo: B. Craig 1969 C8:24. *Right*: Display of cassowary and pig relics on rear wall of family house, Nai Nr 2 settlement, AMANAB. Photo: B. Craig 1969 C8:26.

**ANGGOR** built single-family houses (*wor*) with the floor only a little above the ground in settlements (*ngoaf*) located on ridges with a cleared central plaza. The posts supporting the ridge-pole projected through the roof which extended forward providing shelter to the entrance (Fig. 5). The walls reached to ground-level. I did not see the interiors. Village sites were changed every five to ten years (Huber 1980:45-46).

Each **YURI** (*‘Gargar’*) settlement used to consist of a large community house. Hanns Peter reported that when he commenced fieldwork among the YURI in 1969, ‘no traditional community houses remained anywhere in the Gargar area controlled by the Australian government...’ (Peter 1990:246). However, a community house was seen by Peters in the YURI village of Auyingarap, in West Papua. It was built on posts around a large tree cut off about 15 metres above the ground which served as the main post. The building was wide, with verandas all around used as open living space but also were of strategic significance



Figure 5. Houses of Baribari village, ANGGOR. Photo: B. Craig 1969 C8:33

because the house could be guarded from there. The interior was divided by partitions into several rooms, one for each family, each with its own hearth. These houses could accommodate 60 to 80 people. To enhance the defensive character of these fortress-like houses, they were usually built on hills and the bush was cleared around it (Herrmann et al. 1996:16-17).<sup>4</sup>

**In West Papua**, on the western side of the border with Papua New Guinea and sharing a boundary with the southern-most Abau, are the **BIKSI** speakers. Their language was classified by Laycock as a Stock-level Isolate. I have found no published information about these people. However, the territory of the **PYU** speakers surrounds BIKSI territory to the north, west and south. PYU is related to BIAKA, BAIBAI, KWOMTARI and FAS, and may have been cut off from these more northern cousins by the reported intrusion up the Sepik of the ABAU (Craig 1980:9-10).

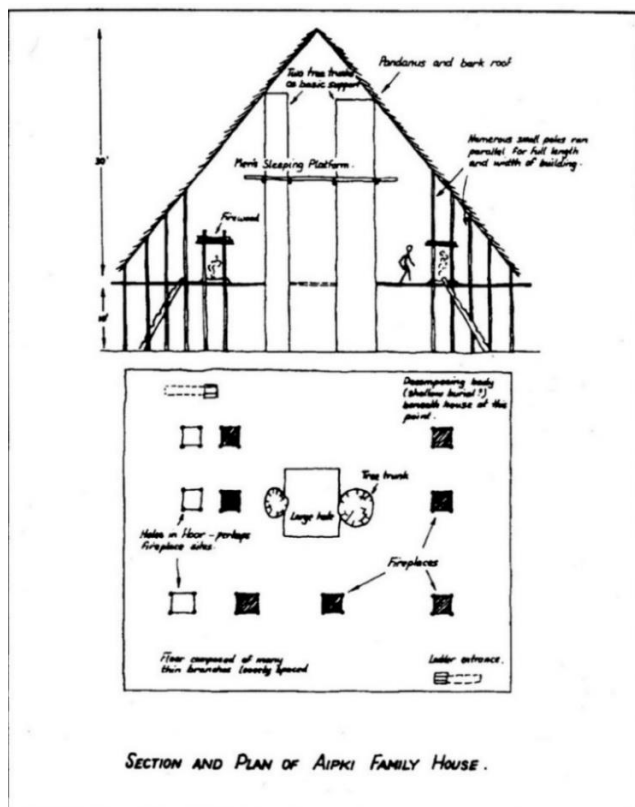


Figure 6. Left: Aipki (PYU) community house at Bonghibi. After Wight 1974:34. Right: BIKSI(?) community houses under construction. Images courtesy Franz Kvec, 21 March 2007.

<sup>4</sup> Translation of text thanks to Christine Winter.

Richard Thurnwald, during his journey to the source of the Sepik River in 1914, reported: ‘Two native houses stood quite isolated in front of the inner mountain gate [the Zweifel Gorge]. They were the last houses situated on the riverbank – cubical buildings erected on five-metre high stakes with round roofs like open umbrellas’ (translation – see p.7, ‘Thurnwald 1916’, [www.uscngp.com/papers/](http://www.uscngp.com/papers/)). This must have been at the most southern extension of the PYU speakers.

There is a report by Robert L. Wight (1974) who accompanied a Baptist Mission expedition from Kiwi[rok] east to the Aipki (PYU) settlement of Bonghibi, about ten kilometres west of the Sepik River, and somewhat north of Thurnwald’s sighting. A sketch of the large community house they encountered (**Fig. 6**) conforms to Thurnwald’s description and of the large community houses of the YURI. The plan is rectangular and the roof pyramidal, reaching to a height of 40 feet (12 metres), the floor three metres above the ground. This house was built around two large trees cut off about 9 or 10 metres above the ground. Similar large rectangular communal houses (*tinmin*) with conical or pyramidal shaped roofs were built by the Lepki, west of the Sobger River – about 40 kilometres west of the Aipki (PYU). Andersen (2007:28-29 & Photos 13, 14) reports that ‘these type of houses have been known to be built by many lowland tribes’. Apparently, this included the YURI of the southern Border Mountains.

**ABAU houses** were large, rectangular but somewhat rickety community structures built well off the ground, presumably to avoid flooding, and to provide a height advantage in case of enemy raids (**Fig. 7**). This kind of house (*ameiyamei*) has been documented in detailed descriptions, drawings and photographs (Behrmann 1922:332, 333; Craig 1980:10-14 and 2008:38-41; Schultze Jena 1914, Figs 13, 14, Tafel X-XIII, XVI; Thurnwald 1914:340, 342; Uittreksel 1910, Plates 20, 21). There was a token separation of men’s and women’s sleeping areas and hearths.

There were no separate men’s houses. Administration officers, ostensibly concerned over the health and fire risks of community dwellings, pressured the people to abandon these in favour of single-family dwellings set out in a village pattern. By the late 1960s, river-side villages of a dozen or so individual family houses had become the norm. These houses were the standard rectangular, gable-roofed structures with an open veranda, elevated a metre or two above the ground to avoid the occasional flooding of the river banks. A few community houses were maintained as the base for gardening, and the harvesting and processing of nearby sago palms.



**Figure 7. Community house (*ameiyamei*), Idam River, ABAU. Photo: B. Craig 1972-3 BM38:22.**

**The AMTO** of the north-west corner of the West Range traditionally lived in community houses like those built by the ABAU (**Fig. 8**). AMTO community houses preserved a token separation of the sexes, with the demarcation of men’s space and women’s space. Several women’s hearths were located along one long side of the building and fewer men’s hearths on the other side. The children slept with the women but moved

freely about in the men's space as well. Some AMTO community houses had internal partitions. Conrad and Dye (1975:11) state that the AMTO and their eastern neighbours, the MUS(I)AN 'appear similar to the Arai group<sup>5</sup> except for their houses. Though these are constructed like Arai houses, they are very long and are partitioned into six or more rooms for as many families'.

The AMTO also built men's ceremonial houses, said to have been round with a conical roof and lined with paintings on sago palm petioles like those of the Arai Family language speakers to the east. There were none remaining in 1973.

A special type of house is noteworthy. This was the dance-house called *fokiya* by the AMTO (*afok* by the ABAU). It was constructed according to the plan in **Fig. 9** and was peculiar in having a large rectangular dancing-floor supported only at the edges and a hole in the middle allowing the centre-post to support the ridge-pole but not the floor. The slow, knee-bending action of the dancers causes the floor to spring slowly up and down in rhythm with the dancing. I saw such a house, in a most dilapidated state, upstream from Sisilo in the Simaiya valley. Schwartz describes such a house at the Mianmin settlement of Usage on the Upper May River (1965:18). It is remarkable that this type of sprung dance floor, integrated into the centre of a communal living structure, has been recorded for the Murut of North Borneo (Rutter 1985:62-4), and may have existed elsewhere in New Guinea and south-east Asia.



Figure 8. Community house, and (right) internal partitions, Simaiya Valley, AMTO. Photos: B. Craig 1972-73 BM30:25, 28.

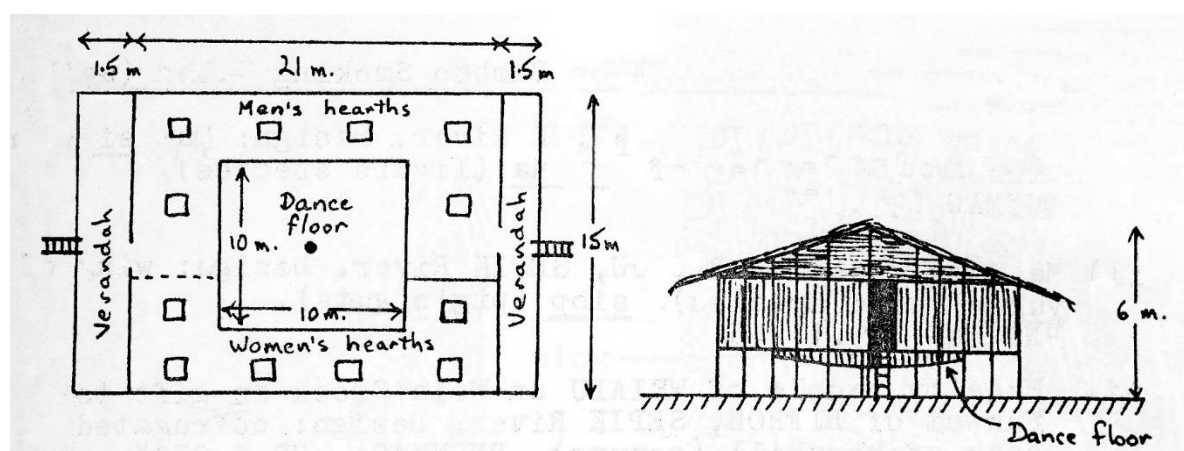
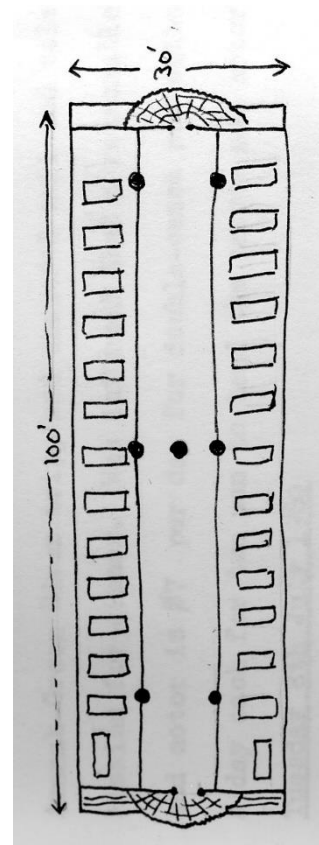


Figure 9. Floorplan and reconstructed front elevation of derelict community dance house (*fokiya*), Simaiya Valley, AMTO, 1973.

<sup>5</sup> Arai is an IWAM settlement and, to avoid confusion, that name should not be used to refer to the ethno-linguistic groups speaking the Left May languages of the central and eastern West Range.

**The NAMIE ('Lujere')** of the Yellow and Sand Rivers lived in villages consisting of a large men's house (*idon*) and several smaller family houses (*tuweilon*). Both kinds of buildings were A-frame structures a metre or two off the ground with a narrow veranda at the front, the entrance protected from the rain by a semi-circular porch roof (**Fig. 10**; see also Craig 1975:440-441 & Fig. 2; Hauser-Schäublin 1989, Abb. 187, 188;<sup>6</sup> Kelm & Kelm 1980, Plates 11-13; Swadling et al. 1988, Plate 234). Inside the men's house, a wide passage provided access to open sleeping platforms along each side. The men's house at Norambalip was about 30 metres long, 9 metres wide, 6.5 metres high above the floor, which was about 1.5 metres above the ground. There were 14 beds along each side of the central passageway with a small hearth under each bed to produce smoke to keep away mosquitoes.



**Figure 10.** Norambalip village men's house (*idon*), NAMIE (Lujere). Photo: B. Craig 1969 C7:4.

**The peoples of the West Range** speak five languages of the Left May Family, and Amto and Mus(i)an languages at the north-west corner of the Range, as discussed above. Conrad and Dye (1975:8, 9) report:

Villages are small, usually from one to four houses. Traditional houses are rectangular with many supporting poles and with walls of bark, sago leaf stems, or occasionally sago thatch. Roofs are flat in pitch and of sewn sago thatch, with gable ends sometimes protected by supplementary "veranda" roofs. Floors are palm bark, raised three to eight feet. The larger houses are usually partitioned into rooms, one per family'.

For ceremonial purposes, '[t]wo types of houses are used. One is rectangular, about 30 x 40 feet, with a raised sleeping platform of smooth sago stems eight feet in width around the outside. The other is even larger, conical in shape, and on the ground' (*ibid.*).

**Houses of the SAWIYANOO (AMA)** of the West Range have been described in more detail by Phillip Guddemi, who did field research there in the mid-1980s. He describes four kinds of houses, the three for ceremonies and initiations being allowed to deteriorate and collapse after the completion of the ceremonies.

1) There were the traditional large extended-family houses (*nu-siyoli*) that accommodated around fifteen to twenty people, including children, and were large enough for communal dances. A house at Takoifoni

<sup>6</sup> Abb. 188 is captioned 'Haus am Green River (Robinson 1927-1934)'; however, the building is a NAMIE men's house, not of the Green River area.

was rectangular, 24 feet (7.2 metres) wide, 32 feet (9.6 metres) long, and a few feet off the ground; there were three hearths along the left side for the men and three along the right side for the women, with a narrow compartment across the rear of the building for menstruation and childbirth. This kind of house often had verandas and was gable-roofed with a transversely roofed entrance (Guddemi 1992:182-183, Fig. 3, Plate 10).

- 2) The *yafi-nu* depicted by Guddemi (1992, Fig.4 and Plate 11; 1993, Fig.1) was a large, rectangular men's ritual and dance house built with special, sturdy timbers and flooring materials. It had a gable roof and a transversely roofed entrance. There was a veranda across the front with hearths, a central space consisting of a large men's dance floor around the central post, with hearths at the front and sides for onlookers, and a rear screened section with hearths for the older men where sacred ritual items – flutes, bullroarers and masks – were kept; this corresponded to the transverse space in extended family houses reserved for menstruation and childbirth. A rear transverse veranda for the old men overlooked a steep slope. The whole building was over 22 metres long and 13 metres wide with a floor about 3 metres above the ground (Fig. 11). Underneath this structure was an earth-floor dance area (*anokōu*) around the central post with hearths on raised platforms along both sides and across the rear. This space was used for dances performed by men and women together.
- 3) The *suwai-nu*, '... the initiation house built after the *yafi-nu* cycle [of ceremonies] in order to complete the initiation of the *inalopō* or junior men, [was] constructed in a similar manner and scale to the *yafi-nu* but without the *anokōu*' (ibid.:187-188).
- 4) The *nunu* boys' initiation house (ibid., 188-189 Plate 12; 2012, Fig.2) was an earth-floor, circular house with a conical roof built around a central post. An inside flat ceiling was lined with about a hundred painted sago-spathes that the women and uninitiated boys were allowed to see when the building was completed (Guddemi 2012:22). There was a secret loft above that ceiling 'where the older men perform various rituals and *somaemo* (playful, benevolently tricksterish) tasks' – including making the paintings shake violently to scare the young initiates.

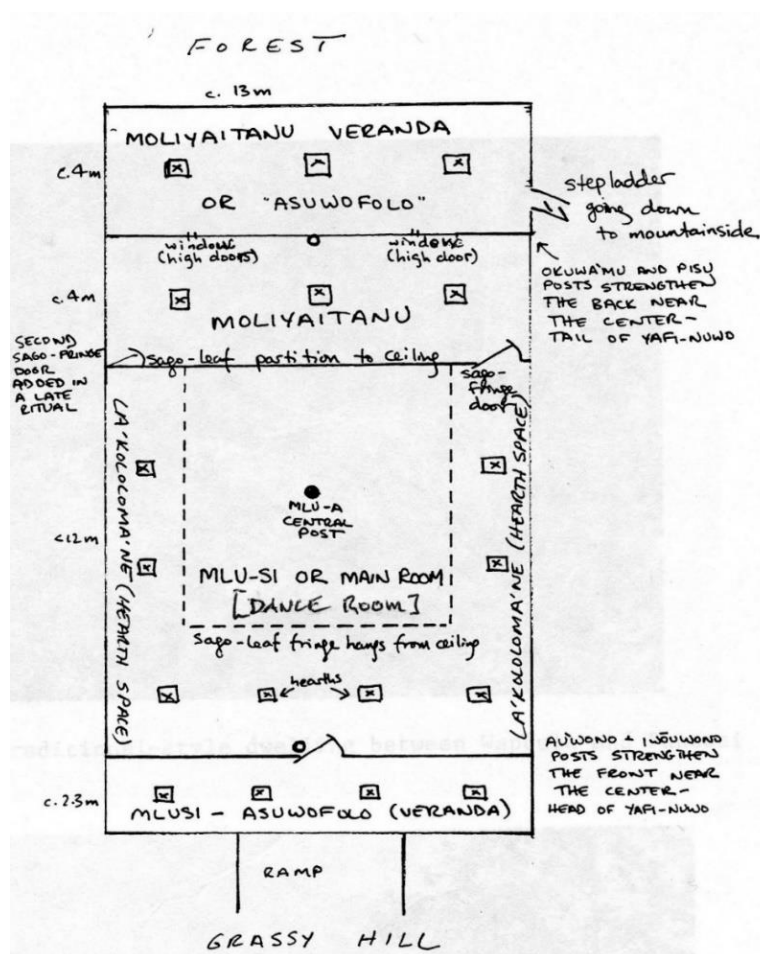


Figure 11. Community dance house (*yafi-nu*) of the SAWIYANOO (AMA), West Range. After Guddemi 1992, Fig. 4.

**The AWAI** of the West Range are located south of the SAWIYANOO. Schuster (1969:16) reports that the AWAI settlement of Aimi, a little south-west of the IWAM village of Buremai, was a single large house located at the top of a hill inhabited by several families (ibid., Ill. 22). ‘It had a central communal platform surrounded by the fireplaces of the individual families’.<sup>7</sup> Inside there were a few painted sago petioles (ibid., Illus 23-27). The AWAI community house he illustrates is like those of the SAWIYANOO.

**The WARUMOI** (Rocky Peak, Yinibu) are west of the SAWIYANOO. In 1965, Patrol Officer A.C. Plummer noted: ‘. . . a ceremonial house at the [Warumoi] village of Itelinu . . . It was a circular building going from the ground where its diameter was about 40 feet [12 metres] rising to a point about 20 feet [6 metres] from the ground. A single large centre post provided the main support. Two small entrances provided entry to the inside. The ceiling was entirely made up of bark paintings at a height of 6 feet [1.8 metres] from the floor, which was just bare ground. It is estimated that there were over 100 of these paintings tied to the ceiling’ (Plummer 1965:8; see also Schuster 1969:18, Illus 28-39).

**The multi-family houses of the IWAM of May River** were large sub-rectangular buildings a metre or two off the ground, with low walls, several hearths and beds around the edges, several entrances and a continuously thatched roof all around – no gables; notched logs served as ladders (Schuster 1969, Fig. 3; Swadling et al. 1988, Plate 235). Settlements comprised one or more of these houses (Schuster 1969, Fig. 2). Ted Schwartz reported (1965:11, 12) that Buremai, the most upstream May River Iwam village, ‘consists of three houses, though ideally of two – a large house for all men and older boys and another house for all women and children . . . In a number of Iwam villages the men’s house was pulled down or burned at the insistence of one of the first patrol officers, who regarded men’s houses as unsanitary and a source of trouble’.



**Figure 12.** Multi-family house (*amukwua*)<sup>8</sup>, Buremai village, May River IWAM. Photo: B. Craig 1972-73 BK 9:34.

The ‘Männerhaus’ in Schuster’s Ill. 3 is almost identical to Buremai houses I photographed in 1969 and 1972 (**Fig. 12**). In 1984, Shuji Yoshida began research among the May River IWAM; he observed (1998: 121) that ‘the men’s house has now disappeared, and several couples live together in the former men’s house’. Traditional May River IWAM men’s houses were circular in plan with a conical roof (Swadling et al. 1988, Plate 236, Aumi, May River, 1959). It is therefore unclear what building Yoshida is referring to as the ‘former men’s house’.

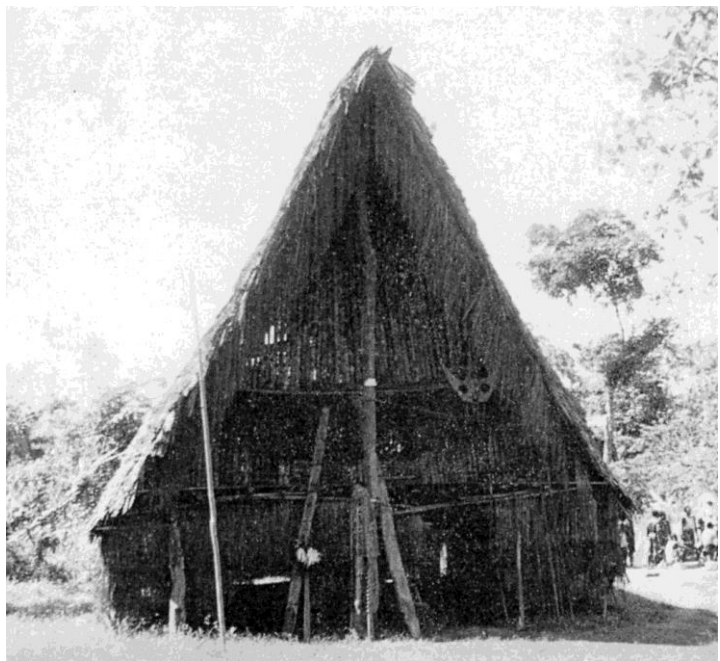
<sup>7</sup> Translation from German by Harry Beran.

<sup>8</sup> Yoshida (1998:125) recorded this term for ‘house’.

Schuster (1969:9, Illus 2, 3) writes that, among the May River IWAM (in 1966): ‘The men’s houses are the most important buildings in the villages . . . as meeting and cult houses . . . The inner walls of these houses used to be formed of painted palm spathes. They are now gone but in 1959 A[lfred] Bühler was still able to obtain examples’<sup>9</sup> (ibid.: Illus 5-10). Three painted palm panels of the May River IWAM, collected in 1912 by the Kaiserin-Augusta-Fluss expedition, are illustrated by Kelm (1966b, Plates 183-185).

**Sepik River IWAM** community family houses were like those of the May River IWAM (Hauser-Schäublin 1989, Abb. 184, photographed at Jauun, 1913). The men’s cult houses were distinguished by a conical or pyramidal roof (Hauser-Schäublin 1989:443 and Abb.185, Aum, 1959; Abb. 186, Iniyok, 1959); Swadling et al. 1988, Plate 233). Patrol Officer P.B. Wenke reported that houses at Iniyok were ‘conical structures of enormous size’ (Ambunti Patrol Report No.1, 1953/54).

This kind of cult house, with a tall, pyramidal roof, was photographed also at Senap (**CHENAPIAN**) by Roesicke in 1913 (Hauser-Schäublin 1989, Abb.183 – reproduced here as **Fig. 13**).



*Left: Figure 13. Men’s cult house, Tsenap, CHENAPIAN; Roesicke 1913, after Hauser-Schäublin 1989, Abb.183.*

*Right: Figure 14. Men’s cult house, Suagab, NGALA; Bühler 1959, after Hauser-Schäublin 1989, Abb.180. Note canoe prow ‘shield’ above the veranda on the right.*

There are no published illustrations of **WOGAMUSIN** houses. Newton (1971:51) cites Behrmann’s report (1922:18, 166-167) of ‘large longhouses standing in a row along the river bank, with deep porches . . . They were on piles, about sixty feet long and thirty feet wide, with sago-thatch roofs down to the floor, so that there were no interior walls . . .’. The ceremonial houses were said to resemble those of the YESAN-MAYO and KWOMA, the porches ornamented with many paintings on sago petioles. But it was more likely they resembled those of the NGALA. Canoe prow ‘shields’, when not in use, were hung up in the gables as for the NGALA.

**The NGALA (SUAGAB)** decorated the front porches of their ceremonial houses with paintings on sago petioles (Hauser-Schäublin 1989, Abb. 180, photo by Bühler 1959, reproduced here as **Fig. 15**; Newton 1971:34). Newton has documented these structures (ibid., Figs 60-65), the front projecting roof line of which recalls the front half of the roof line of KWOMA, NUKUMA, YASYIN and MAYO men’s houses. NGALA men’s houses differed in having a shallow apse at the rear and a platform for most of the length of the house forming an upper storey like the cult houses of the IATMUL, rather than like the KWOMA (one level on the ground), thereby adapting to their riverside conditions.

<sup>9</sup> Translation from German by Harry Beran.

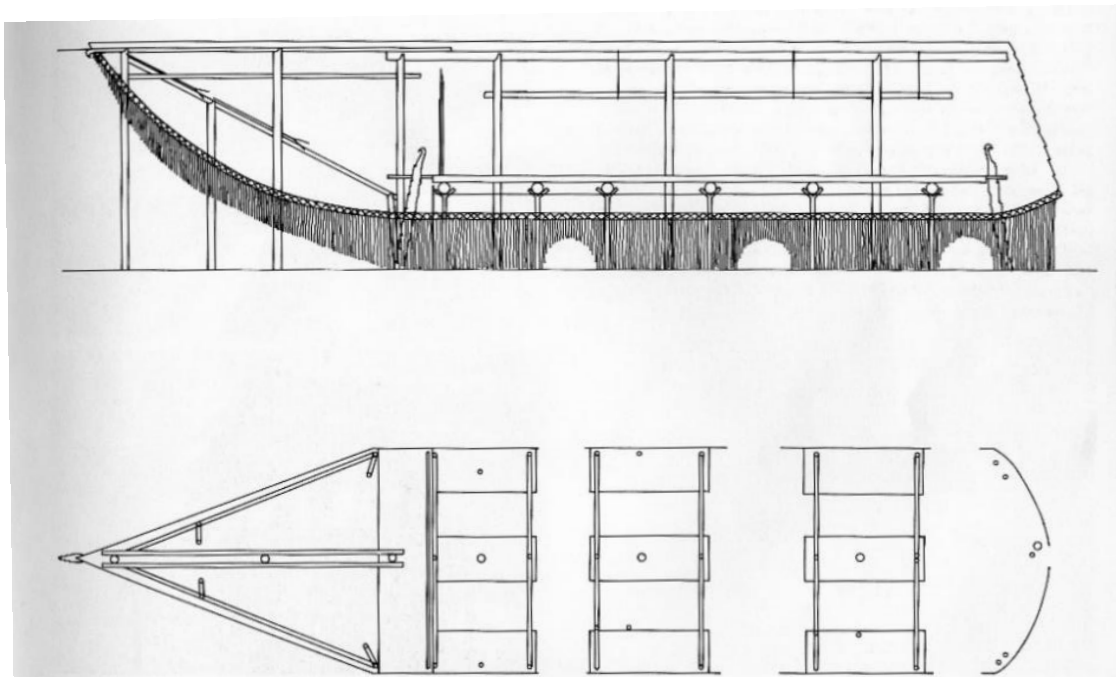


Figure 15. Ngala men's cult house, after Newton 1971, Figs 61, 62.

**KWOMA family dwellings** (*aka*) 'rarely exceed 12' in width by 25' in length' (Bowden 1983:45). Whiting and Reed provide a detailed description of the building of a family house (1938-39:184-5):

It is the men who build a house (Plate IIIB), first making *in situ* a full-sized model in bamboo. They cut the timbers of lengths determined by the model, haul or carry them to the site, set up the posts, fit the ridgepole and plates into notched uprights, lash rafters with lawyer-vine and rattan, make and fasten the sago-palm shingles, and enclose an inner room by walls of sago bark. The finished dwelling is a gable-roofed structure, rectangular in ground plan with an earth floor. In size it is approximately twenty-five feet in length by ten feet in width and stands ten feet high at the ridgepole. The roof descends to within three feet of the ground at the eaves. Bark-slab walls enclose the rear two-thirds of the house. Access to this dim sleeping room is gained by a small rectangular opening in its front wall ... The remaining third of the house, a sort of porch, serves as living-, dining-, and work-room. An abbreviated semi-hexagonal roof is usually added across the front end of the house to protect the occupants from slanting rain.

**The KWOMA men's cult house** (*korobo/kúrumbu*) was two or three times larger and up to 40' (12 metres) high. The *korobo* was basically a roof supported by a row of central posts and side posts, with a pair of diagonal posts at front and rear. There was an earth floor, the front and rear of the open-ended roof reached forward, and the sides came almost to the ground so there were no walls (**Figs 16-18**; see Bowden 1983, Figs 6-8 and 2006, Plate 1.3; Newton 1971:82).

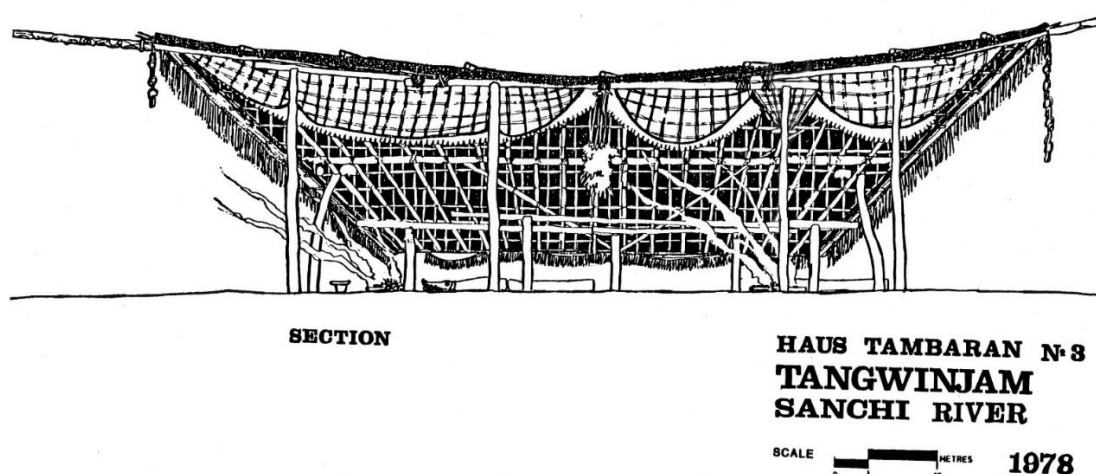


Figure 16. Drawing by Wallace ('Mac') Ruff, 1978.

The major structural posts and beams were carved and painted and the underside (ceiling) of the roof was covered, from the ridge pole to halfway to the eaves, with painted sago petioles that were placed individually with no relationship to those around them (Bowden 1983, Plates 2-4; 2006:5 and Plates 1.4, 1.6). **YESAN-MAYO** men's houses (Hauser-Schäublin 1989, Abb.178, 179; Newton 1971:90, Figs 131-135) were like those of the KWOMA and NUKUMA.



**Left: Figure 17.** Men's cult house (*korobo*), Bangwis village, KWOMA. Photo: B. Craig 1972-73 BM27:3.

**Right: Figure 18.** Men's cult house (*korobo*), Tongwinjamb village, KWOMA. Photo: B. Craig 1983 C2:25.

Further down the Sepik, the **MANAMBU** dwellings and men's cult houses (Newton 1971:62, 65-66; Reche 1913, Plates XXVI, 3 and XXXVI, 1) resembled those of the IATMUL, though smaller.

**Summary:** There were different architectural styles for each of the Border Mountains ethno-linguistic groups; for the ABAU; the NAMIE; the West Range peoples; the IWAM and CHENAPIAN; the WOGAMUSIN and NGALA; the KWOMA; and the MANAMBU. Men's ceremonial houses with circular or rectangular floor plans and conical or pyramidal roofs were built by the CHENAPIAN, Sepik IWAM, May River IWAM and West Range peoples.<sup>10</sup> The YURI and their southern and western neighbours in West Papua built elevated rectangular floor plan houses with conical or pyramidal roofs as large community dwellings.

## **2. Hand drums**

All through the Border Mountains, the western section of the upper Sepik to central New Guinea and further south, and in the upper reaches of the Leonard Schultze, Wogamush and April rivers, hand drums were hour-glass shaped without a carved handle, the skin of a monitor lizard as tympanum and a carved and painted design at the distal end. The designs varied considerably over the region as a whole and were carved as black relief bands with red and white pigments applied between.

<sup>10</sup> Pyramidal roofs were built also in the Blackwater River area (Hauser-Schäublin 1989, Abb.132, 135) and at Vanimo on the North Coast (ibid., Abb.55, 56).

**Border Mountains drums** are longer than ABAU and West Range drums (about 80 to 105 cm compared to 60 to 80 cm); Border Mountains drums are also of a slightly different shape, with the upper and lower half of the drum more convex than the conical tapering shape of each half of the ABAU drums.

I was informed that although drums (*anba*, **Figs 20, 21**) were made in all the **AMANAB** villages, Iafar village was the centre of drum-making and some were made for export. The two I photographed at Punda (*anaba*, **WAINA** speakers, **Fig. 19**) were traded from Iafar, each in exchange for a steel axe. It isn't clear whether WAINA men made drums for themselves. The designs on drums made by AMANAB speakers exhibited only a modest degree of variation.



Figure 19. Designs on hand drums (*anaba*) photographed at a Punda hamlet, WAINA. Photo: B. Craig 1969 C5:7. These drums were made by Iafar men (AMANAB speakers) and traded to Punda.



Figure 20. Hand drum (*anba*), Iafar village, AMANAB. Dimensions not available. Musée du quai Branly, Paris: 71.1974.35.210.



Figure 21. Hand drum (*anba*), Wamaru village, AMANAB. Dimensions not available. Musée du quai Branly, Paris: 71.1974.35.212.

**YURI hand drums (Figs 22, 23)** are like the AMANAB drums, with somewhat different carved and painted designs that vary little from one to another.



Figure 22. Hand drum (*siri*), Fongwinam village, YURI. 83 x 12.5 cm. Gottingen 3835.



Figure 23. Hand drum (*siri*), Troli village, YURI. 90 x 12 cm. Museum der Kulturen, Basel: Vb27045. Tympanum missing.

It appears that **ANGGOR drums** (*nimis*, **Fig. 24**) were like those of the AMANAB and YURI (considering this one example) but with different carved and painted designs.



Figure 24. Hand drum (*nimis*), Baribari village, ANGGOR. 104 x 15 cm. Australian Museum, Sydney: E64798.

The two **BIAKA hand drums** are different from each other. The one from Biaka village (**Fig. 25**) is like the ANGGOR one (**Fig. 24**); the one from Amini village (**Fig. 26**) is like those of the ABAU (**Fig. 27**) and BUSA (**Fig. 30**). Biaka is quite close to ANGGOR territory whereas Amini is closer to ABAU and BUSA territory. It isn't clear whether the makers of these drums were copying their neighbours' drums or whether one or the other is the traditional form for BIAKA drums. The ANGGOR, BIAKA and BUSA terms for hand drum – *nimis*, *imesi* and *imiti* (**Fig. 30**) respectively – appear to be cognate.



Figure 25. Hand drum (*imesi*), Biaka village, BIAKA. 103.5 x 18 cm. Berlin VI 50400.



Figure 26. Hand drum (*imesi*), Amini village, BIAKA. 62 x 14 cm. Australian Museum, Sydney: E64796.

**ABAU hand drums (Fig. 27)** are shorter (c. 60-80 cm long) than Border Mountains drums, with a conical, tapering shape to each half. They are carved without a handle, sometimes with rattan tied around the middle, and with monitor lizard tympana. Hand drums collected during the 1912/13 Kaiserin-Augusta-Fluss-Expedition from several ABAU villages along the Sepik River are illustrated by Kelm (1966b, Plates 221, 223-229; 1968, Plate 522). There is a great variety of designs carved and painted at the distal end, many of which are adapted from designs carved on arrow heads and fore-shafts (Fig. 29). **AMTO drums (Fig. 28)** are indistinguishable from ABAU drums, with a similar range of designs. The centre drum has been carved with a handle; that and the white paint on the main body of that drum, suggests influence by Sepik-Ramu coastal drums via men returning from work on plantations. The AMTO word for hand drum (*yimdi*) may be cognate with the BUSA word, *imiti*.



Figure 27. *Left*: Hand drum (*kiau*), Selelian village, Idam valley, ABAU. 66 x 13.5 cm. PNGNM 79.1.598. *Centre*: Man beating hand drum at Antibi village, Idam valley, ABAU. Photo: B. Craig 1968 B:11. *Right*: Hand drum (*kiau*), Iburu village, ABAU. 61 x 16 cm. Berlin VI 49756. Tympanum missing.



Left: Figure 28. Hand drums (*yimdi*) at Sisilo, Simaiya Valley, AMTO. Photo: B. Craig 1972-73 BM30:36.

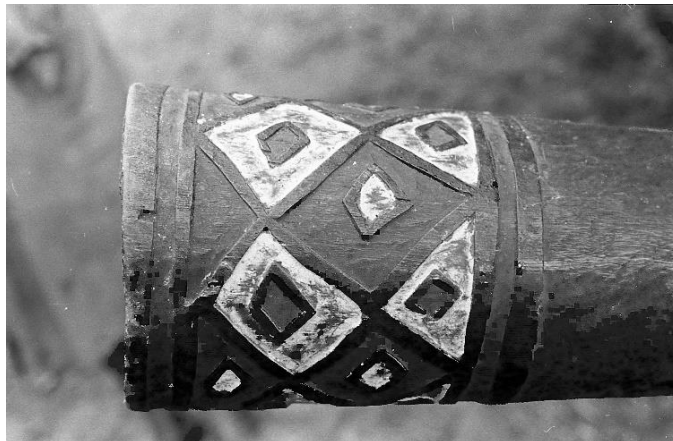
Right: Figure 29. ABAU arrow designs.



**BUSA and NAGATMAN hand drums** are the same form as ABAU drums. The design on the Busa village (BUSA) drum (**Fig. 30 left**) is like that on the Amini village (BIAKA) drum (**Fig. 26**); Amini is c.20 km WNW of Busa.



Left: Figure 30. Hand drum (*imiti*), Busa village, BUSA. Photo: B. Craig 1969 M3:22.



Right: Figure 31. Hand drum (*imiti*), Busa village, BUSA. Photo: B. Craig 1969 M3:23.



Left: Figure 32. Hand drum, Dila village, NAGATMAN. Photo: B. Craig 1969 M4:4.



Right: Figure 33. Hand drum, Nagitman village, NAGATMAN. Photo: B. Craig 1969 M5:28.

A **SAWIYANOO drum** hanging from the ceiling of a family house (**Fig. 34 left**), photographed by Phillip Guddemi, has a carved and painted design consistent with those of the ABAU and AMTO but also like those of the YURI. Recent drums (**Fig. 34 right**) are carved with a plain rectangular handle which is probably not traditional but copied from Sepik-Ramu coastal drums.



Figure 34. SAWIYANOO hand drums; photographs courtesy Phillip Guddemi.

The only published photograph of a traditional **NAMIE hand drum** is one from ‘below Meander Mountain’ (Kelm 1968, Plate 521); it is like the ABAU drums though slender and longer at 89 cm. Kelm & Kelm (1980, Fig. 54) illustrate an outline sketch of a hand drum (*ariei*) from Abrau (AWUN), east of the NAMIE, that has a plain rectangular handle with no carved or painted designs. The Berlin Museum documentation states this drum (Berlin VI 50486) was made by an 18-year old lad, so the handle may not be traditional. In 1971-72, William Mitchell did research among the Lujere (NAMIE) and he published a photograph (1975, Plate 8) that shows a man holding a rectangular-handled drum that appears to have sub-triangular panels of designs at the distal end. That too may not be a traditional drum.

A **May River IWAM hand drum** I collected at Buremai in 1972 (**Fig. 35**) has a plain rectangular handle like the AWUN, Lujere (NAMIE) and SAWIYANOO drums (**Fig. 34 right**). It has sub-triangular design panels (cf. Craig 2010:190, MPNr 105; Kelm 1968, Plate 385, 386) infilled with IWAM motifs. That these characteristics were influenced by Sepik-Ramu coastal drums (**Fig. 36**) seems likely. There is also a remarkable similarity in the linked-spirals design to the serial-ovals design of a hand drum from Kanduanam, ANGORAM speakers (Haberland & Schuster 1964:71).



Figure 35. Hand drum (*moi-i*)<sup>11</sup>, Buremai, May River IWAM. 61 x 16 cm. PNGNM 79.1.525. Photo: B. Craig 1972-73 BM25:27.

<sup>11</sup> Yoshida recorded the term as *muwai* (1998:125).

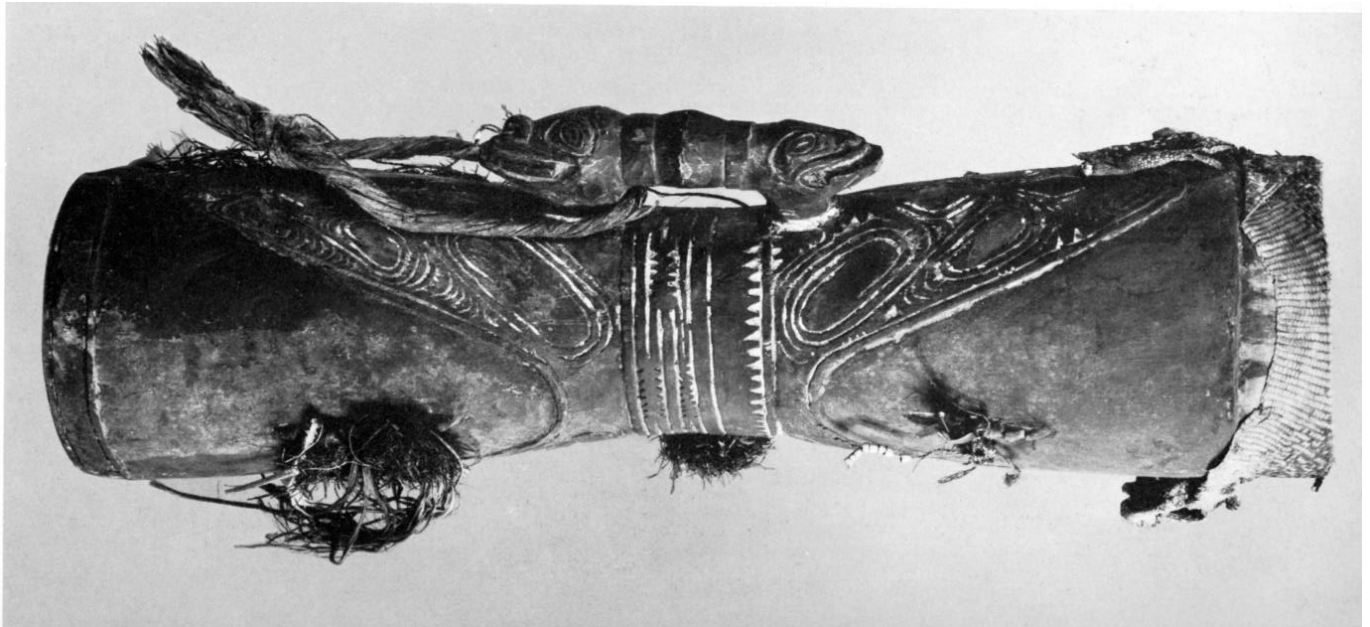


Figure 36. Hand drum from Wangan, KOPAR. 60 x 16 cm. After Kelm 1968, Plate 386.

A **WOGAMUSIN hand drum** from Kubkain, carved about 1945, features the typical WOGAMUSIN face design (cf. Newton 1971, Figs 89, 90) and spirals at both ends (**Fig. 37**). There is another one from Kubkain with the plain wood handle and the face design and two others with spiral motifs at the distal end (Haberland & Schuster 1964:104, 105; Newton 1971, Fig.105). Newton reports that ‘The Kubka had one magical and oracular hand drum (*wök*) at a time, with the personal name Sabotau’, but there were other hand drums as well, played along with trumpets to announce a successful raid (1971:53).



Figure 37. Hand drum (*wek*), Kubkain village, WOGAMUSIN. 70 x 18 cm. PNGNM 79.1.534. Carved soon after 1945. See Craig 2010:187, MPNr 86.

There is no mention by Newton of **NGALA** hand drums but just as their trumpets were made of bamboo, it is possible that the ‘beating of bamboo tubes on the ground’ to accompany the Mba:ngk ceremony’s songs (ibid.:37) substituted for the possession and use of hand drums.

**The KWOMA** appear to have had the short hand drum with plain wood handle (pers. comm. Ross Bowden 3.11.2016). It is unclear whether the drums had carved and painted designs.

A **MANAMBU hand drum** from Malu (**Fig. 38**) has a single carved loop for a strap handle and an incised spiral design on the distal half. A hand drum from Avatip (Kelm 1968, Plate 520) has an incised spiral design on its distal half with carved loops on one side to which the strap handle could be tied. A similar hand drum from ‘Tschapanaut’ (Japanaut, Western IATMUL) has the same means for securing a strap handle (Kelm 1966a, Plate 157). Apart from the lack of a carved handle, the MANAMBU drums are quite like most IATMUL drums that have carved handles, usually in the form of animals or birds.



**Figure 38. Hand drum, Malu village, MANAMBU. 63 x 17 cm. PNGNM E.7981. Photo by David Becker. Tympanum missing. See Craig 2010:188, MPNr 104.**

**Summary:** Border Mountains drums (AMANAB, ANGGOR, YURI and probably BIAKA) are relatively long, hour-glass in form, each half slightly convex-shaped rather than conical, no carved handle, and with a carved and painted design at the distal end. There were only two hand drums of the BIAKA for consideration, one like those of their ANGGOR neighbours and the other like the drums of their southern and eastern neighbours, the ABAU and BUSA.

The hand drums of the ABAU, NAMIE, AMTO and SAWIYANOO are relatively short, with an hour-glass shape, each half conical rather than convex-shaped, no carved handle and with a carved and painted design at the distal end. The designs on the drums of the Border Mountains are few; ABAU and AMTO designs are quite varied, few being the same.

IWAM and WOGAMUSIN hand drums also are relatively short, with the hour-glass shape and a plain carved handle. MANAMBU drums are similar to those of the IATMUL but with a different holding device. It is uncertain whether the plain carved handle was a traditional or introduced characteristic for upper Sepik drums. The carved and painted designs on all these drums are characteristic of each ethno-linguistic group, with some overlap among neighbours in the western upper Sepik region and in the Border Mountains.

### **3. Human figures**

Apart from a SAWIYANOO figure crudely-carved from sago pith for a healing ritual (Guddemi 1992:388-9, Plate 16), there were no human figures of any kind west of May River and I could not find any that have been published west of the MANAMBU or KWOMA<sup>12</sup> although there are rare carvings of the human face and upper body eg. the almost entire human figure of the May River IWAM canoe prow 'shield' (Kelm 1966b, Plate 193, reproduced here as **Fig. 51**), the CHENAPIAN canoe prow 'shield' (Kelm 1968, Plate 502, reproduced here as **Fig. 54, left**), and an NGGALA slit gong prow representing an anthropomorphised praying mantis (Newton 1971, Fig. 72).

At Iniyok (**Sepik River IWAM**), in 1972 I collected a male figure (*sikikan*), personal name Nounin (**Fig. 39, left**); it had been carved with steel tools c.1968. Nounin once had a female companion, Houpien, but it had been destroyed in a fire. Nounin was used in ceremonies to appeal for success in warfare and everyday activities. Iniyok allies – men from Tauri, Yauenian (Jauun) and Oum – also attended these ceremonies. The last ceremony was only four months before I collected the figure. The mouth, neck and shoulders of this figure are like those features of the half-figure of the May River canoe prow 'shield' mentioned above.

<sup>12</sup> A published figure collected by me in 1969 at Brugnowi, a IATMUL village outlier about 15 kilometres upstream from the MANAMBU village of Yambon, was suggested by Newton (1971, Fig. 130, caption) most likely to be a MANAMBU figure traded to Brugnowi; certainly, there are stylistic features and nomenclature that support this hypothesis. However, the c.50-year-old Brugnowi vendor claimed his grandfather had carved the figure well before he was born.

At Kubkain (**WOGAMUSIN**), also in 1972, I collected a male cult figure (*kam*) and a female cult figure (*tau*), carved by the same man with steel tools c.1969 (**Fig. 39 centre and right**). I was told they represented ancestors and were used in association with the initiation of youths in the ‘spirit house’. The youths were kept in the spirit house for five days during which they were rubbed all over with powerful stinging nettles. The spirit house ritual was intended to promote their rapid growth. After this initiation, they were eligible for marriage but until they had their first child, they were forbidden to eat taro, bananas, sugarcane, possum etc. This fragmentary data appears to correspond with Newton’s description of the Lol’iyan stage of WOGAMUSIN initiation (1971:52-53).

A pair of **MANAMBU** figures I photographed in 1969 (**Fig. 40**), one published by Kelm (1966b, Plate 72), and four in Museum Victoria (Craig et al. 2015, Figs 3.97-3.100) are only a little different to the Kubkain figures: less rigid, more ovoid head with more prominent nostrils; also, the Kelm figure and the four in Museum Victoria were carved in the form of suspension hooks. They are most likely *lagi*, carved as brother and sister pairs, personifications of the ginger planted by each clan’s ancestor. The male figures assisted with hunting and warfare; the female figures with love magic, to attract women from other places. The smaller household suspension hooks representing a great-grand-parent (Newton 1971:71 & Fig. 129) were called *tsambun*; these were revered by oiling and given offerings of food and betel nut (Craig et al. 2015:93-95).



**Left:** Figure 39. **Left:** male figure Nounin of Ini yok, Sepik River IWAM. 156 x 25 x 19 cm. PNGNM 79.1.591.

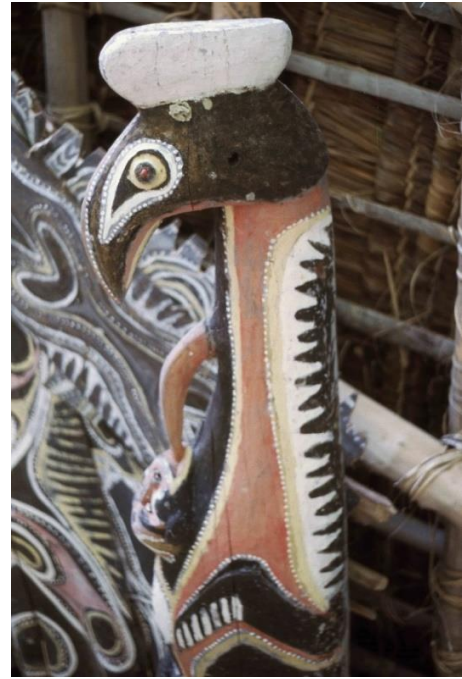
**Centre and right:** male and female figures of Kubkain. Collected 1972. 176 x 19.5 x 13 cm & 147 x 22 x 13 cm. PNGNM 79.1. 537, 538. Photo: B. Craig 1972-73 BM25:34.

**Centre:** Figure 40. Female and male figures, Yambon village, MANAMBU. Photo: B. Craig 1969 M23:25

**Right:** Figure 41. Female figure (*nogwi*) carved by Gutok of Tongwinjamb village, KWOMA speakers. Photo: B. Craig 1983 M3:29.

The **KWOMA**, **NUKUMA** and **YESAN-MAYO** carved female figures (*nogwi*) for the third and final yam harvest ceremony that was restricted to homicides. These figures (**Fig. 41**) were carved in a variety of individual and ‘tribal’ styles, with a flat facial plane, fat nose, prominent nostrils and shell-inlaid or protruding eyes (Bowden 1983, Plates 26, 27; Craig 2010:112-114; Newton 1971, Figs 181, 182). *Nogwi* represent powerful female spirits, presenting ‘a striking and unambiguous image of fecundity and abundance in both the natural and social worlds’ (Bowden 1983:77).

The KWOMA also carved legendary figures integral to men's cult house posts and beams, or freestanding and attached to the posts (**Fig. 42**). The head of that figure is KWOMA in style but the body like those of ABELAM figures. This carving represents an unnamed man who was digging for a yam and uncovered a disembodied head that leapt up and attached itself to his testicles (an episode in the story of Sasap, Bowden 1983:136). A carving at the end of a side beam of the Council House at Ambunti (**Fig. 43**) shows the same disembodied head attached to a cassowary's wattle, representing a later episode in the story of Sasap (ibid.:137).



*Left: Figure 42. Male figure with his digging stick, attached to the Bangwis village men's cult house post, KWOMA. Photo: B. Craig 1972-73 BM27:6.*

*Right: Figure 43. Cassowary carved at the end of a side beam, Council House, Ambunti. Photo: B. Craig 1972-73 BK13:29.*

**Summary:** The KWOMA and their neighbours carve relatively sophisticated anthropomorphic figures. the CHENAPIAN and Sepik River IWAM figures are cruder and rarer. There are no such carvings west of the IWAM.

#### **4. Canoe prows**

West of the May River, the only difference between a canoe's fore and aft was a means to secure a rattan mooring line at the prow.

The **May River IWAM** mostly carved non-figurative prows (**Fig. 44**). Like the shields, the design elements were named after features of flora and fauna, but informants did not necessarily agree on names. The leading end of one prow represents a large python (*mabu* – **Fig. 44, top right**).

**Sepik River IWAM, CHENAPIAN and WOGAMUSIN prows** incorporated recognisable bird heads (**Figs 45-50**). The NGALA and WOGAMUSIN made clay models of canoe prows that incorporated recognisable bird heads (Kelm 1966b, Plates 148-150, 181, 182; Newton 1971, Figs 79, 80).

For other canoe prows:

**Sepik River IWAM** - Bühler 1960, Plate 18 right, from 'Iniok';

**CHENAPIAN** - Kelm 1966b, Plate 151 from 'Tsenap';

**WOGAMUSIN** - Bühler 1960, Plate 18, centre, from 'Kupkei'; Newton 1971, Fig. 100 from 'Kubka';<sup>13</sup> Haberland & Schuster 1964:100 bottom, from 'Kupkein'; Kelm 1966b, Plate 156 from 'April River'.

<sup>13</sup> Auctioned Sotheby's, Paris 5 December 2007, Lot 149.

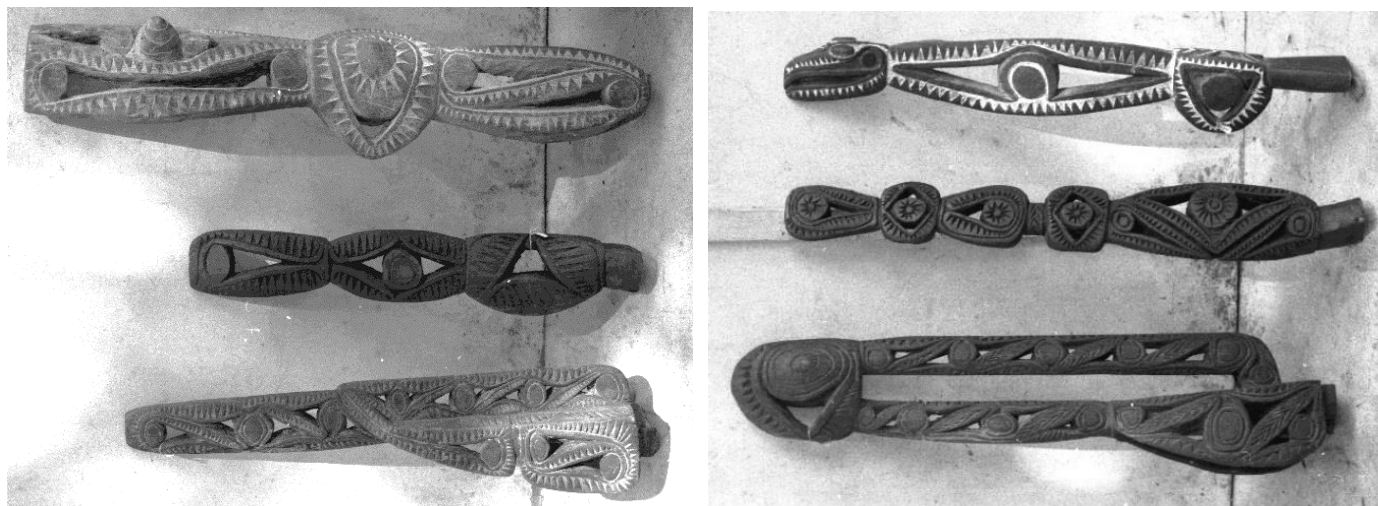


Figure 44. Canoe prows (*idap*), May River IWAM. Top left to bottom right: PNGNM 79.1.160, 523, 158, ???, 524, 157. 82 x 18 x 9 cm, 60 x 11 x 9 cm, 70 x 16 x 14 cm, ??? cm, 78 x 11 x 8 cm, 88 x 20 x 14 cm respectively. Photos: B. Craig 1972-73 BM25:23, 25.



Figure 45. Canoe prow, Tauri village, Sepik River IWAM. Photo: B. Craig 1969 M20:16.



Figure 46. Canoe prow, Jauun, IWAM, collected 1912-13. 75 x 13 x 12.5 cm. After Kelm 1968, Plate 507.



Figure 47. Canoe prow, 'Tsenap', CHENAPIAN, collected 1912-13. 207 x 43 x 32 cm. After Kelm 1968, Plate 506.

**WOGAMUSIN** canoe prows I collected at Kubkain and Biaka (Figs 49, 50) incorporate the bird head but also the ubiquitous WOGAMUSIN human face (cf. Kelm 1968, Plate 519). Newton suggests these faces, as *garab* masks (1971:52 and Figs 89, 90), represent female water spirits. The masks were 'kept in ceremonial houses and displayed to initiates during the Kwod ceremony'. This ceremony was associated with slit gongs

that were believed to be the manifestations of female water spirits. Thus, the slit gongs ‘are, by implication, symbolic canoes’. There is a striking resemblance between the WOGAMUSIN canoe prow (Fig. 48) and the finial of the slit gong illustrated by Newton (1971, Fig. 92).

The bird head motif was carved on canoe prows from Tauri (Sepik River IWAM) downstream to the WOGAMUSIN and NGALA, also on WOGAMUSIN slit gongs (Newton 1971, Fig. 92) and the handle end of paddles (ibid., Fig. 101). Newton reports (1971:53):

The canoes of the Kubka [WOGAMUSIN] had prows carved in very similar designs to those of the Nggala (from which they claim to have derived the pattern). Minor variations seem to have been standardized, and [as] the attributes of individual clans; they were repeated as the carved ends of paddle handles which usually represented totemic birds. The prows of large canoes similarly resembled the equivalents from Nggala’.



Figure 48. Canoe prow, Kubkain, WOGAMUSIN. 205 x 37 cm. PNGNM 81.26.104 (original registration lost). Photo by David Becker. See Craig 2010:32, MPNr 31.

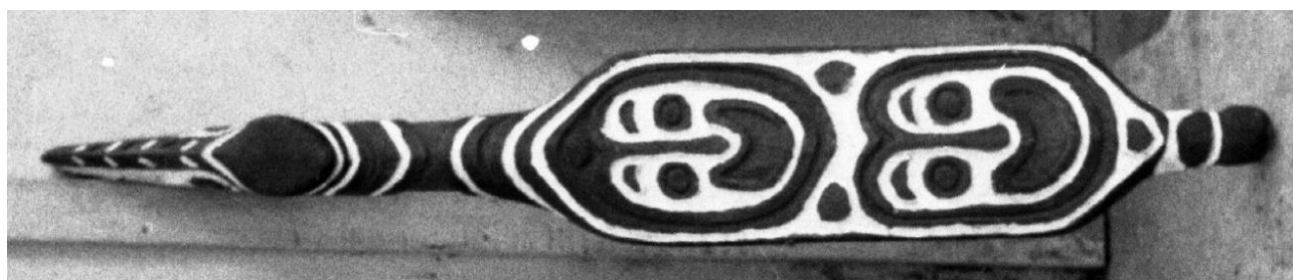


Figure 49. Canoe prow model (*boliahi*), Kubkain village, WOGAMUSIN. 86 x 13.5 x 7 cm. PNGNM 79.1.529. Photo: B. Craig 1972-73 BM25:29.



Figure 50. Canoe prow (*botum*), Biaka village, WOGAMUSIN. 80 x 28 x 11 cm. PNGNM 79.1.159. Photo: B. Craig 1972-73 BM25:28.

I could not find examples of MANAMBU canoe prows but the handles of their slit gong beaters and the ‘prows’ of their carved wood paint dishes (Kelm 1966b, Plates 58-68) suggest that the canoe prows would have been carved as relatively naturalistic crocodile and bird heads like those of the IATMUL. Bowden remarks (1983:12) that the KWOMA, being hill people, ‘traditionally neither made nor used canoes for any purposes’ and even in recent times were considered ‘notoriously unskilled canoeists’.

**Summary:** There are no carved canoe prows west of the IWAM. The May River IWAM prows are usually non-representational; the Sepik River IWAM, CHENAPIAN, WOGAMUSIN and NGALA prows incorporate representations of birds' heads. Recently-carved WOGAMUSIN prows include human faces like the *garab* masks representing female water spirits. The KWOMA did not traditionally make canoes at all and examples from the MANAMBU could not be found.

## 5. Canoe prow 'shields'

Reche (1913:291) states that the decorative 'shields' fastened at the prows of war canoes were found along the entire stretch of the Sepik from its mouth to the Hunstein Range. Subsequently these 'shields' have been found as far up as the May River. There is no record of them further west among the NAMIE or ABAU. This kind of object is constructed as a rattan frame covered by painted sago palm petioles, consisting of a central part and a wing-like part on either side; a carving, usually a mask, is fastened at the lower end of the central part. The petioles are often fringed with cassowary feathers.

Remarkably, from the Yuat River all the way upstream to CHENAPIAN, the two 'wings' of the tripartite construction are usually painted each with a large black disc against a light-coloured background.<sup>14</sup> Evidently the aim was to achieve maximum visual impact from a distance and unnerve the enemy, apart from any supernatural aid enlisted by incorporating the carved and painted wood masks and figures, presumably animated by spirit entities. Most canoe prow shields are edged with cassowary feathers, widely associated with aggression and warfare.

A **May River IWAM canoe prow 'shield'**, collected in 1912 by the Kaiserin-Augusta-Fluss expedition, incorporates an almost complete human figure at the centre; the wing-like petioles are each painted with concentric circles and fringed with cassowary feathers (**Fig. 51**).

Newton mentions a variation of this kind of IWAM canoe prow 'shield' that has a central painted petiole panel (rather than the carved figure of the Berlin piece) with a small female figure (called *wik* – 'woman') at the lower end. The central petiole panel 'represents the head of a cassowary (*hab*) and the side panels its wings. *Wik* and *hab* are a single being, the human figure designating, as it were, the femaleness of the cassowary. Other cultures to the east also think of these [canoe] ornaments as cassowaries: the Wogumas, who call them literally *baal wulru* ("canoe cassowary") . . .' (Newton 1973:43).

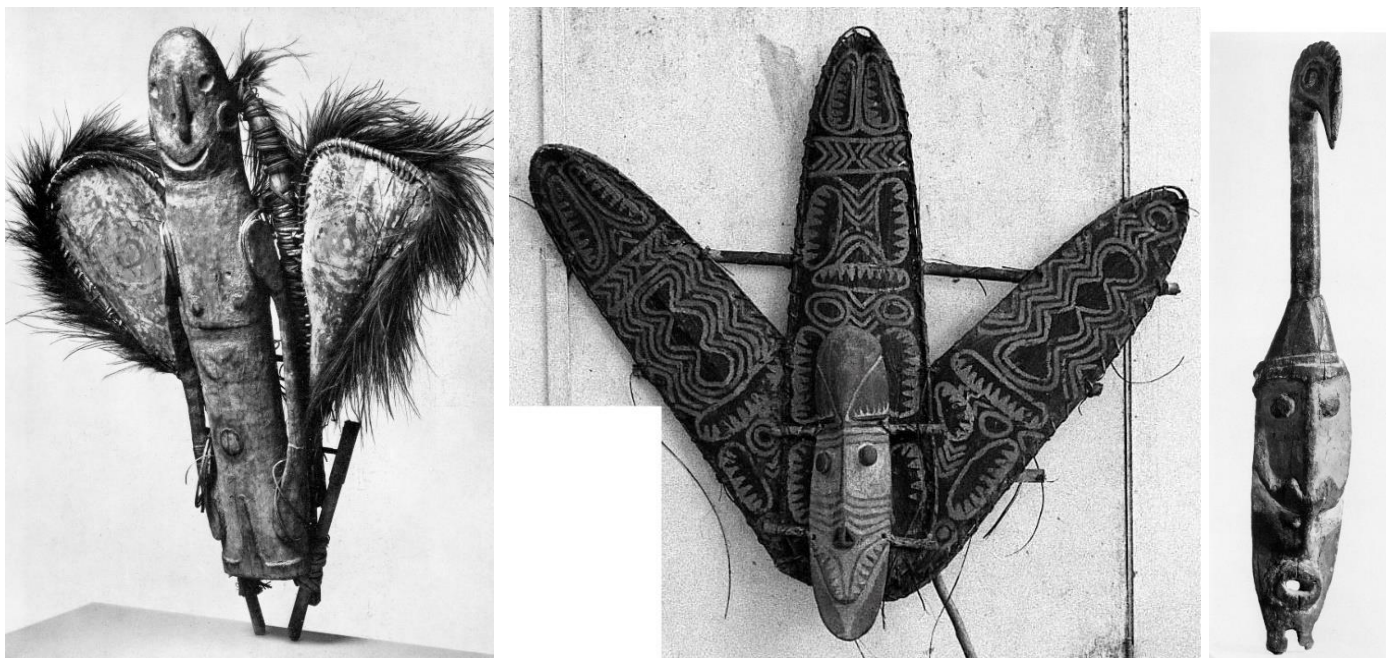
In 1972, I collected a canoe prow 'shield' at Iniyok, **Sepik River IWAM** (**Fig. 52**) that the vendor said had been used in fights against Iemombui, Mowi and Oum. It incorporated a head that had been carved with stone tools before WW2. There is no resemblance between this 'shield' and the one from May River but the carved and painted head of the canoe prow 'shield' from 'Suagab' (NGALA) (**Fig. 56**) does seem to be related.

Two canoe prow 'shields' from 'Tsenap' (**CHENAPIAN**) are illustrated by Kelm (reproduced here as **Fig. 54**); one incorporates a carved and painted head and torso, and the other a head only.

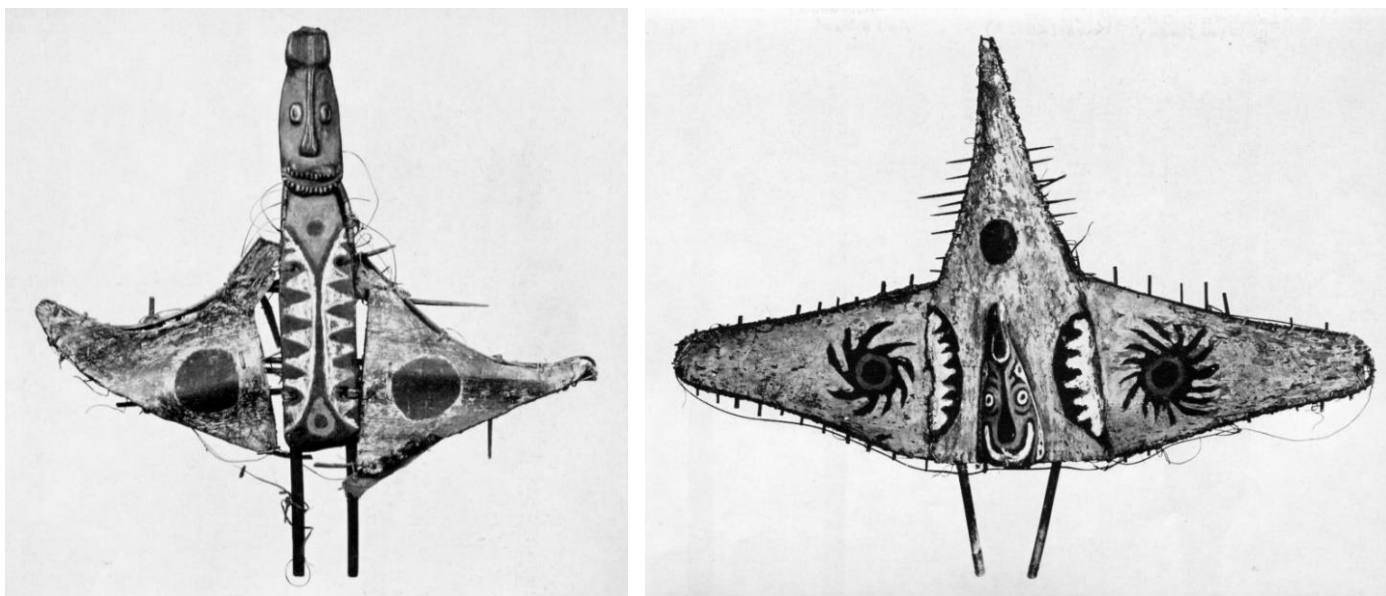
Newton illustrates an **NGALA canoe prow 'shield'** (1971, Fig. 75, reproduced here as **Fig. 55**) incorporating a carved and painted head with a tall hooked extension topped with a bird head. Another from 'Suagab' (NGALA) incorporating a carved head with tall extension above is described by Bühler (1960, Plate 9, reproduced here as **Fig. 56**) as a house ornament and is an example of a canoe prow 'shield' that had been hung up in the gable of a ceremonial house (cf. Newton 1971:51);<sup>15</sup> the carved head is like the head on the Iniyok canoe prow 'shield'.

<sup>14</sup> The May River IWAM example (**Fig. 51**) has painted concentric circles rather than black discs.

<sup>15</sup> One is attached to the proper left of the façade of the Suagab men's house in **Fig. 14** (from Hauser-Schäublin 1989, Abb.180).



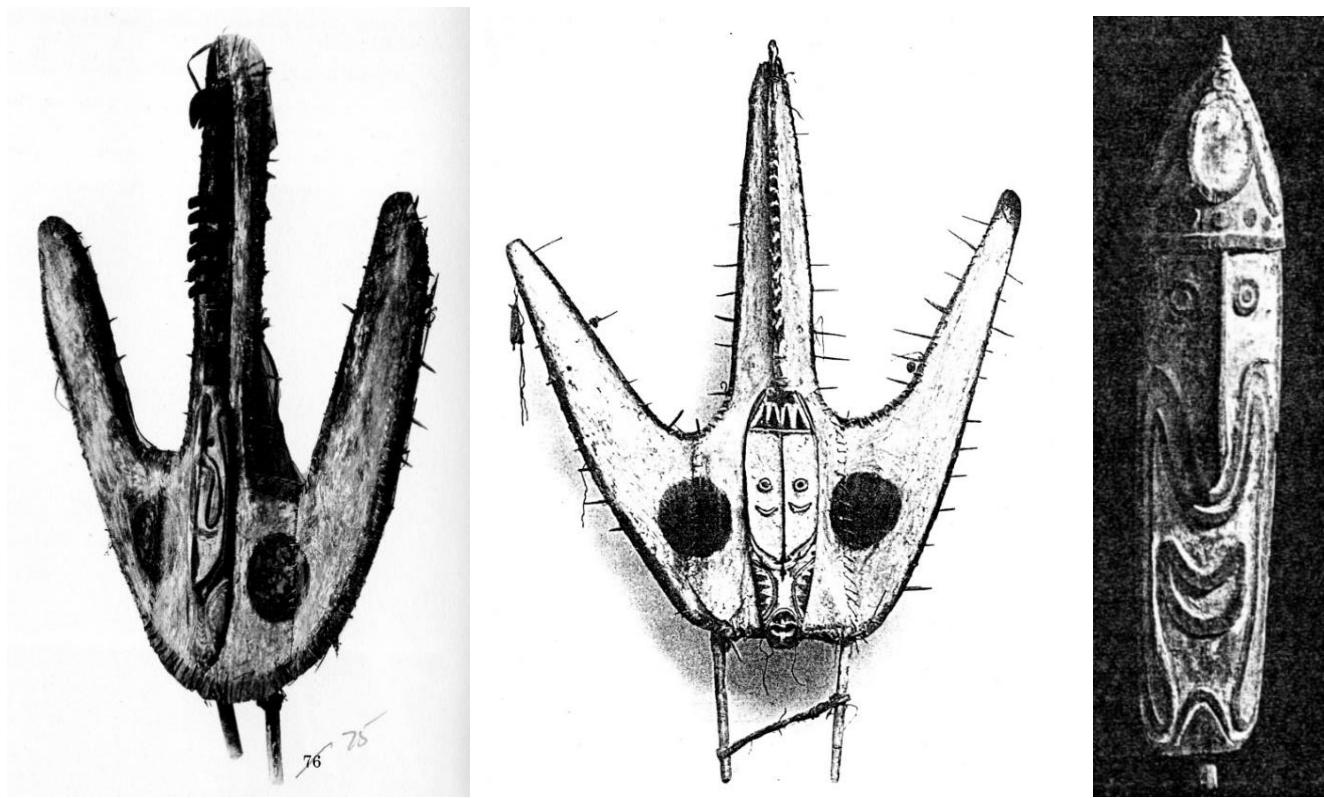
**Left:** Figure 51. Canoe prow ‘shield’, May River IWAM, collected 1912-13. 86 x 60 x 13 cm. After Kelm 1966b, Plate 193.  
**Centre:** Figure 52. Canoe prow ‘shield’ (*hap*) collected at Iniyok (Sepik IWAM) in 1972. 122 x 134 cm. PNGNM 79.1.539. Photo: B. Craig 1972-73 BM25:14.  
**Right:** Figure 53. Mask component of canoe prow ‘shield’ topped with hornbill head, ‘Yauna’ (Jauun), Sepik IWAM., collected 1959. 67 cm. Basel Vb 15927. After Bühler & Kaufmann 1980, Plate 106.



**Figure 54.** Canoe prow ‘shields’, ‘Tsenap’ (CHENAPIAN), collected 1912-13. 91.5 x 97 cm & 100 x 130 cm. After Kelm 1968, Plates 502, 503.

A **WOGAMUSIN** canoe prow ‘mask’, but without the extension and lacking the painted tripartite spathe construction to which it would have been attached, was collected at Kubkain (Haberland & Schuster 1964:101, reproduced here as **Fig. 57**).

Newton states that the canoe prow ‘shields’ of the WOGAMUSIN ‘were of the usual three-peaked kind, though considerably smaller than those of the Nggala; the term used for them (*ba:l wulru*, “canoe cassowary”) emphasised that they personify mythical cassowaries’ (1971:53).



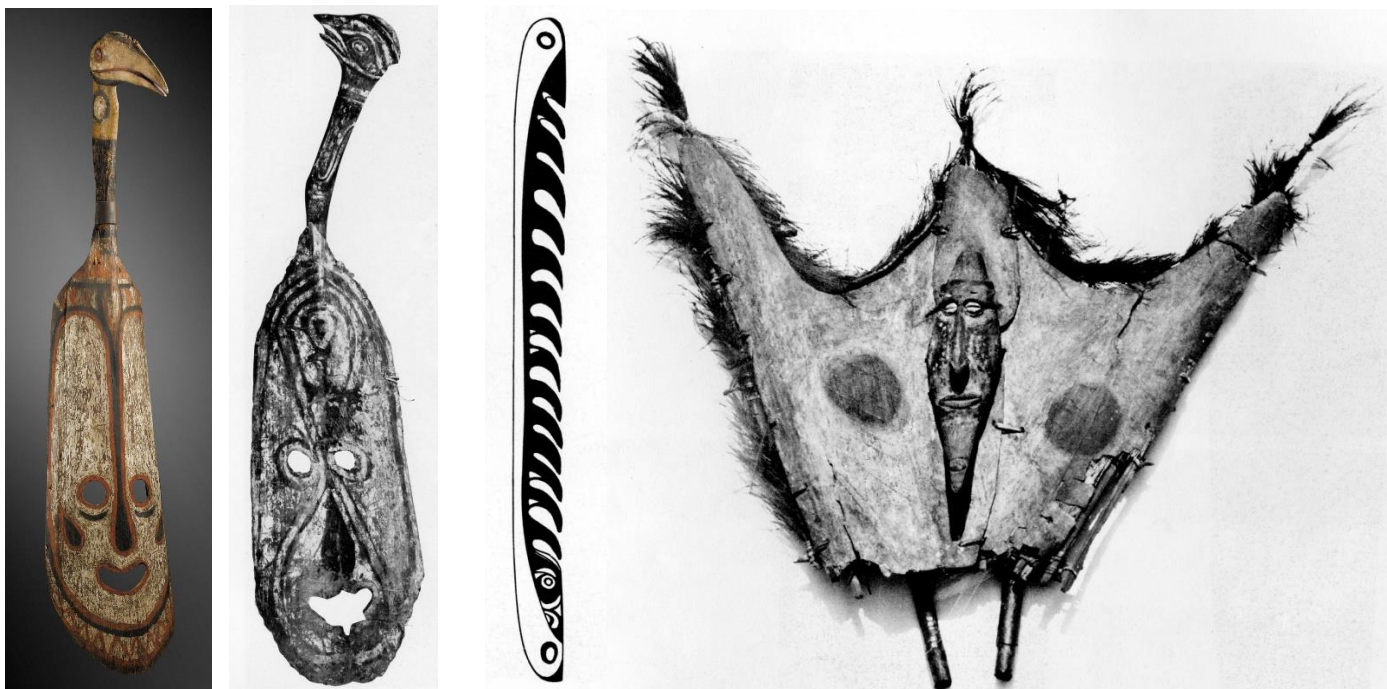
**Left:** Figure 55. Canoe prow ‘shield’ (*utukwei*), NGALA. 50” [127 cm]. After Newton 1971, Fig. 75 (wrongly numbered 76).  
**Centre:** Figure 56. Canoe prow ‘shield’, Suagab (NGALA). After Bühler 1960, Plate 9.  
**Right:** Figure 57. ‘Mask’ for canoe prow ‘shield’, Kubkain, WOGAMUSIN. After Haberland & Schuster 1964:101.

If we can accept at face-value the documentation of these IWAM, CHENAPIAN, WOGAMUSIN and NGALA artefacts, there must have been a considerable degree of shared imagery in pre-colonial times. The Iniyok (Sepik IWAM) canoe prow ‘shield’ (**Fig. 52**), however, may be a relatively modern hybrid: pre-colonial style ‘mask’ with modern painted panels.

The Basel ‘Yauna’ (IWAM) mask component with hornbill head (**Fig. 53**) seems to be related to the two NGALA masks for the Mba:ngk ceremony (Newton 1971, Fig. 87 and Kelm 1968, Plate 528 reproduced here as **Fig. 58 left & right**). Newton’s brief description of the Mba:ngk ceremony (ibid.:36-37) identifies the carved bird’s head as a hornbill (**Fig. 58, left**). However, he also discusses the bird head at the top of the hooked extension of the wood mask of the *utukwei* (**Fig. 55**): ‘The bird’s head at the top of the extension represents, in the Nggraiyo [ward/clan] examples, a totemic megapode; and in the cases of other clans, their own totemic birds. This part of the carving also recalls to the Nggala the carved hornbill head of the mask worn for Mba:ngk’ (ibid.:36). It is significant that ‘Nggraiyo claims to have come from far up the Sepik’ (ibid.: 33) and that the bird head on the IWAM carved ‘mask’ also is of a hornbill. The cassowary head on the Berlin mask (**Fig. 58, right**) is likely to represent the totemic bird of some other NGALA ward/clan.

The extension of the masks of the canoe prow ‘shields’ is carved as a series of hooks that suggests a relationship with the *manyura* carving (Newton 1971, Fig. 68, reproduced here as **Fig. 59**). The *manyura* is fastened inside the peak of the roof of the men’s ceremonial house and represents a thorny vine used in sorcery and healing (ibid.:34). It may be conjectured that this imagery is protective – aggressively so against an enemy (hence its appearance on war canoe prow ‘shields’) and protective of the health and well-being of the community (hence its appearance at the peak of the men’s cult house).

The carved and painted head of a **Yasyin (MAYO) canoe prow ‘shield’** (Newton 1971, Fig. 185 – reproduced here as **Fig. 60**) has cowrie shells for eyes, a characteristic also of the carved heads of **MANAMBU** canoe prow shields (Craig et al. 2015, Figs 3.121-123; Kelm 1968, Plate 501).



Left: Figure 58. Masks for Mba:ngk ceremony, painted sago petiole with carved hornbill/cassowary head; left: 98 cm, after Newton 1971, Fig. 87;<sup>16</sup> right: 109.5 x 28 cm; after Kelm 1968, Plate 528.

Centre: Figure 59. Carving of manyura, after Newton 1971, Fig. 68.

Right: Figure 60. Canoe prow ornament, Yasyin, MAYO; after Newton 1971, Fig. 185.

## 6. Tobacco smoking equipment

Tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*) was introduced by the Portuguese from the Americas to the Moluccas in eastern Indonesia before 1600, from where it spread to New Guinea (probably along with sweet potato). Tobacco smoking is ubiquitous throughout the Sepik region. Various devices were made for the purpose and considerable skill expended in decorating them although some peoples made no equipment and simply smoked cigars. For locations not particularly favourable for growing tobacco, supplementary supplies were obtained by trade. Both men and women smoked but, in some areas, certain equipment was used by men only. The data for the upper Sepik is incomplete on this matter so I have not pursued it here. For the distribution of various kinds of smoking equipment and their pyro-engraved or etched designs of the Mountain Ok, Border Mountains, upper Sepik basin and Torricelli Mountains, see Craig 1990:146-148 and Figs 15-22. The following survey provides more detail for the Border Mountains and upper Sepik.

### Border Mountains

I have no information about the devices used by **WAINA** speakers at the northern end of the Border Mountains. **AMANAB** speakers, as indicated by Juillerat in his notes to his collection in Paris, use three kinds of devices, all called *saapof-keeg*. In the central and northern areas of AMANAB territory, the pipe is a section of thin bamboo, often curved and sometimes long, with a larger diameter knob as the mouthpiece; the tobacco, rolled in a leaf, is inserted at the plain end.

### A – central and northern AMANAB area



Figure 61. Smoking tube (*saapof-keeg*), Einokneri, AMANAB. 14 x 2 cm. B. Juillerat, 1973. Paris, 71.1974.35.184.

<sup>16</sup> This colour image is from Sotheby's Auction, Paris 5 December 2007, Lot 145.



Figure 62. Smoking tube (*saapof-keeg*), Kwofinau, AMANAB 19 x 2 cm. B. Juillerat, 1973. Paris, 71.1974.35.188.



Figure 63. Smoking tube (*saapof-keeg*), Kwofinau, AMANAB 38 x 2.5 cm. B. Juillerat 1973. Paris, 71.1974.35.185.

The combination of gourd and bamboo tube is used in the eastern AMANAB area, closest to the territory of KWOMTARI speakers; all the peoples on the plains north of the upper Sepik – KWOMTARI, BUSA, NAGATMAN, AK, NAMIE and AWUN, as well as the ABAU, IWAM and West Range peoples, use the composite gourd and bamboo tube smoking device (**Figs 87, 106**). The bamboo tube holds the cigar, the other end of the tube is held against the smaller end of the gourd and the smoke inhaled at the fatter end of the gourd. **Measurements of gourds are maximum diameters.**

### B – eastern AMANAB area nearest KWOMTARI



Figure 64. Smoking tube (*saapof-keeg*), Wofneri, AMANAB. Gourd: 51 x 6 cm. B. Juillerat 1973. Paris, 71.1974.35.183.

Juillerat identifies the ANGGOR to the south as the likely source of, or inspiration for, the third kind of smoking device – the large-diameter bamboo pipe. The cigar is held between the fingers of the hand closing the distal end of the pipe; the mouth hole is at the node (**Fig. 71**).

### C – southern AMANAB area nearest ANGGOR



Figure 65. Smoking tube (*saapof-keeg*), Kwofinau, AMANAB 25 x 4 cm B. Juillerat, 1973. Paris, 71.1974.35.182.



Figure 66. Smoking tube (*saapof-keeg*), Kwofinau, AMANAB 21 x 5 cm B. Juillerat 1973. Paris, 71.1974.35.180.



Figure 67. Smoking tube (*wau'ug*), Nai #2, AMANAB. 23 x 4.5 cm. B. Craig 1969. Leiden 4477-289.

## ANGGOR



Figure 68. Smoking tube (*blon*), Nai #1, ANGGOR. 25 x 5 cm. B. Craig 1969. Berlin VI 50237. Almost the same design from Wamu. 29 x 5 cm. B. Craig 1969. Leiden 4477-292; single-spiral design from Nai #1. 30 x 5.5 cm. B. Craig 1969. Leiden 4477-291.



Figure 69. Smoking tube (*bon*), Baribari, ANGGOR. 28 x 4.5 cm. B. Craig 1969. Berlin. VI 50239. Almost identical design from Baribari, 34 x 5.5 cm. Leiden 4477-290; from Wamu, 26 x 4 cm, AustMus E.64738; both B. Craig 1969.



Figure 70. Smoking tube (*sawamra*), Samanai, ANGGOR H. Kelm 1970 24 x 6 cm. Berlin VI 50471. Design similar to AustMus E.64737 from Wamu, 26 x 5 cm; E.64717 from Baribari, 30 x 4 cm; both B. Craig 1969. Several from Akrani collected by H.D. Eve c.1937, 25 to 31 cm x 5.5 to 6 cm; AustMus E.46952 to 46957.



Figure 71. Using pipe. *Left*: Baribari, ANGGOR. Photo B. Craig, 1969 C8:35. *Right*: Pananggan, YURI. Photo B. Craig, 1968 G8:32.

## YURI

YURI and DERA smoking tubes were made from various diameters and lengths of bamboo, taken near the root; hence the curved shape. Sometimes a large and small diameter pipe were used together (Craig 1988, Fig.45).



Figure 72. Smoking tube (*sabungkol*) Yuri #1, YURI. 17 x 4 cm. B. Craig 1968. Berlin VI 49868.



Figure 73. Smoking tube (*sabungkol*) Pananggan, YURI. 21 x 1.5 cm. B. Craig 1968. Berlin VI 49911.

**DERA** (NB. Yamaminda is closest to YURI and ANGGOR borders)



Figure 74. Smoking tube, Yamaminda, DERA. 46 x 5 cm. J.J. Lind 1962. Rotterdam 55769-1. Used with Fig. 75?



Figure 75. Smoking tube, Yamaminda, DERA. 31 X 1.5 cm. J.J. Lind 1962. Rotterdam 55769-2.



Figure 76. Smoking tube, Yamaminda, DERA. 28 X 3.7 cm. J.J. Lind 1962. Rotterdam 55771.

## **BIAKA**

All four Biaka gourd smoking tubes collected by me were without pyro-engraved designs. No bamboo smoking tubes were collected.



Figure 77. Gourd smoking tube (*melo*) Biaka, BIAKA. 45 x 5 cm. B. Craig 1969. PNGNM E7662.

## **Upper Sepik riverine**

### **ABAU**

Haddon (1946:226-229) discusses smoking pipes of the upper Sepik and illustrates the two-part device of bamboo tube and gourd,<sup>17</sup> and combination of bamboo tubes of small and large diameter<sup>18</sup> (ibid. Fig. 196, after Schultze Jena 1914, Tafel XLII, h). He also illustrates the bamboo and gourd device collected at 'Wiari, neighbourhood of the Hauser River' (ABAU) by H.D. Eve (ibid. Fig. 197, reproduced here as **Fig.**

<sup>17</sup> From Settlement 47, c. 4° 15' x 141° (near Buliap in West Papua, probably BIKSI speakers).

<sup>18</sup> From Village 30 on the Sepik between North and Sand rivers ie. Wagu (ABAU).

78). However, he incorrectly describes the designs on the bamboo tubes as ‘burnt decoration’ when in fact they are etched with a marsupial-tooth tool (see Craig 1980:16-17 for further data and images).

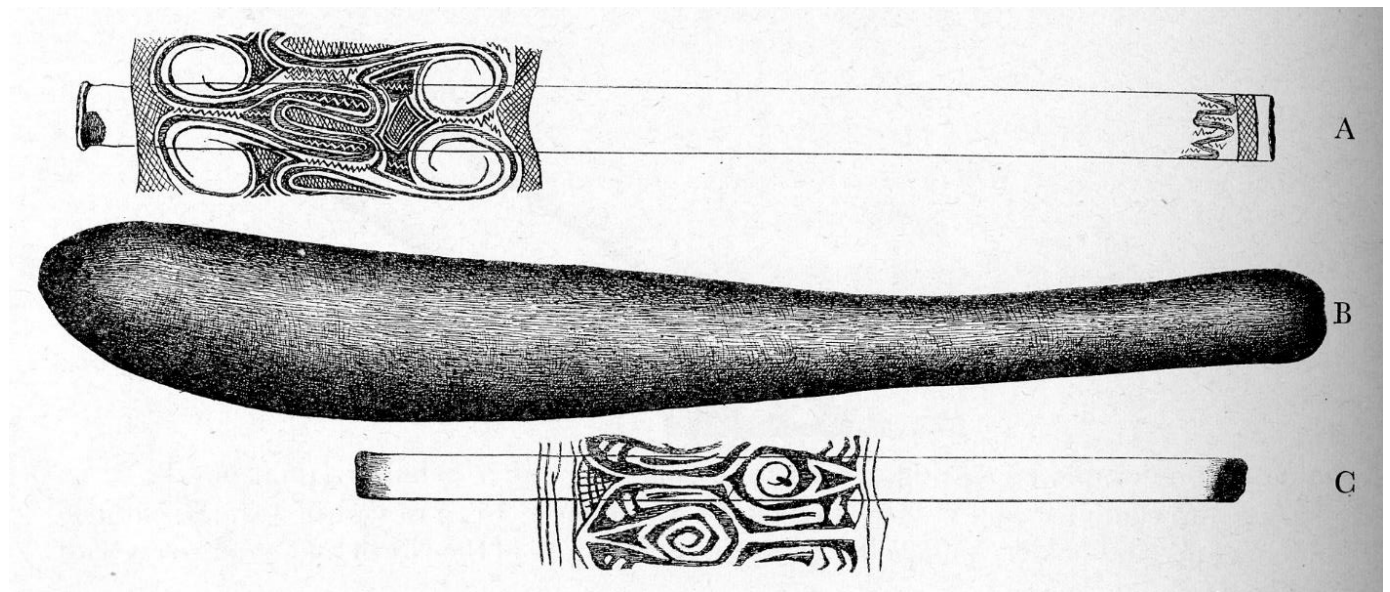


Figure 78. Smoking tubes (A: 43.4 x 2.4 cm; C: 32 x 1.6 cm) and undecorated gourd (B: 46.6 x 6.4 cm), ‘Wiari, neighbourhood of the Hauser River’, ABAU. Collected by H.D. Eve c.1937. Cambridge Museum via Gregory Bateson, 1939. After Haddon 1946, Fig. 197.



Figure 79. Smoking tube (*seik-nei*) Bisiaburu, ABAU. 49 x 2 cm. B. Craig 1968. Berlin VI 49799.



Figure 80. Gourd smoking tube (*sik*) Bamblediam, ABAU. 44 x 4.5 cm. B. Craig 1968. Berlin VI 49810.



Figure 81. Gourd smoking tube (*melo*) Bifrou, ABAU. 48 x 5.5 cm. B. Craig 1969. Leiden 4477-274. Used with Fig. 81.



Figure 82. Smoking tube (*wubeno-sik*) Bifrou, ABAU. 58 x 1.3 cm. B. Craig 1969. Leiden 4477-274a.



Figure 83. Gourd smoking tube (*melo*) 'Piglo' (Bifrou?), ABAU, 47 x 6 cm. G. Gerrits, pre-1973. PNGNM E11763.



Figure 84. Smoking tube (*saekino*) Ambremaki (Basis/Akweilom/Waiar), ABAU. 53 x 2 cm. B. Craig 1969. Berlin VI 50319.

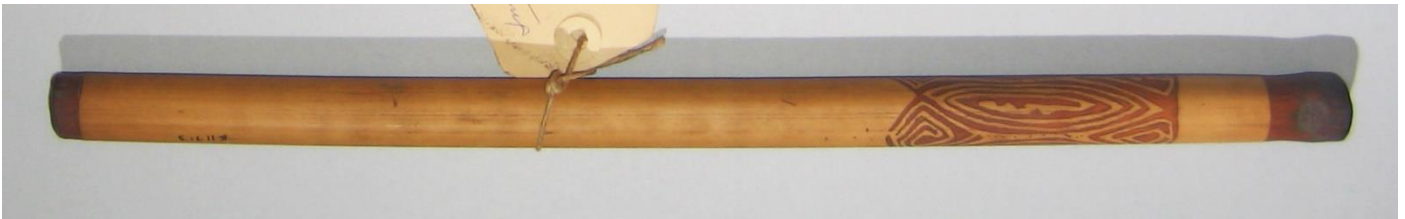


Figure 85. Bamboo smoking tube (*tabiya moroko* [??]), 'Waia' [Ambremaki/Akweilom/Basis], ABAU. 40 x 2 cm. G. Gerrits, pre-1973. PNGNM E11713.



Figure 86. Smoking tube (*saki*) Wagu, ABAU. 50 x 1.5 cm. B. Craig 1969. Berlin VI 50325.



Figure 87. Using composite smoking gourd and bamboo pipe. *Left*: Isabu, ABAU, Photo: B. Craig 1968 A:18. *Centre*: Nagitman, NAGATMAN, Photo: B. Craig 1969 C3:22. *Right*: Designs etched on ABAU bamboo smoking tubes. Bamblediam, B. Craig 1968 A:36; Isabu, B. Craig 1968 A:20.

## Upper Sepik Basin ('Plains')

**NAGATMAN** (No smoking gourds were collected, but see above - **Fig. 87, centre.**)



Figure 88. Bamboo smoking tube, 'Morakuinina' (Marakwini), NAGATMAN. c.30 x 1.6 cm. H.D. Eve c.1937. AustMus E.44572.

## AK



Figure 89. Bamboo smoking tube (*meiro-sikio*) Kwieftim, AK. 14 x 1.8 cm. H. Kelm 1970. Berlin VI 50739.



Figure 90. Smoking gourd and bamboo tube (*meiro-sikio*) Kwieftim, AK. 46 x 4.5 cm + 16.5 x 1.5cm. H. Kelm 1970. Berlin VI 50853 a, b.

## NAMIE (Lujere)



Figure 91. Smoking tube (*weri/uweri*) Sibat (Tipas), NAMIE (detail). 53 x 1.5 cm. A. Buhler 1959. Basel Vb15131.



Figure 92. Smoking tube (*weri/uweri*) Sibat (Tipas), NAMIE (detail). 33 x 1.5 cm. A. Buhler 1959. Basel Vb15133.



Figure 93. Smoking tube (*weri/uweri*) Sibat (Tipas), NAMIE. 31 x 1.3 cm. A. Buhler 1959. Basel Vb15155. Details, two views. NB. This design (both sides) is common on NAMIE, AK and KWOMTARI shields.



Figure 94. Smoking tube (*weli*) Akwom, NAMIE. 20 x 2 cm. B. Craig 1969. Berlin VI 50149.



Figure 95. Smoking tube (*weli*) Akwom, NAMIE. 32 x 1.5 cm. B. Craig 1969. Berlin VI 50147.



Figure 96. Smoking tube (*weli*) Tipas, NAMIE. 53 x 1.5 cm. B. Craig 1969. AustMus E64758-1. Used with Fig. 96.



Figure 97. Gourd smoking tube (*melo*) Tipas, NAMIE. c.51 cm x 6 cm. B. Craig 1969. AustMus E64758-2.



Figure 98. Two-part smoking pipes, collected by K. Wills c.1945. Mariyama, NAMIE. Top pipe: 27 x 3.5 cm, bottom pipe: 52 x 2 cm. SthAustMuseum A58102, -3. Compare to Kelm 1966b, Plate 241 'Nord-Fluss-Mundung' (=Beimap), ABAU.



Figure 99. Gourd smoking tube (*meru*) Sibat (Tipas), NAMIE. 38 cm x 5 cm. A. Buhler 1959. Basel Vb15118.



Figure 100. Gourd smoking tube (*meru*), Sibat (Tipas), NAMIE. 52 cm across x 5.5 cm. A. Buhler 1959. Basel Vb15127.



Figure 101. Smoking gourd and bamboo tube (*maro-waeri*) Yegerapi, NAMIE. 46 x 3.5 + 18 X 1.3 cm. H. Kelm 1970. Berlin VI 50861a, b.

## AWUN



Figure 102. Smoking tube (*meitu-eit*) Abrau, AWUN. 40 X 4.5 + c.35 x 1.2 cm. H. Kelm 1970. Berlin VI 50511 a,b.



Figure 103. Bamboo smoking tube, 'Dabrau', AWUN. 23 x 3.5 cm. H.D. Eve c.1937. AustMus E.63895.



Figure 104. Bamboo smoking tube, 'Dabrau', AWUN. 27 x 3.5 cm. H.D. Eve c.1937. AustMus E.63895.

## West Range AMTO



Figure 105: Gourd smoking tube (*fembiam*), Amto village, AMTO. 46 x 4 cm. B. Craig 1973. PNGNM 79.1.354.

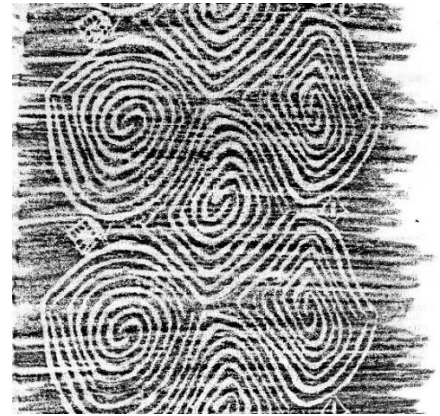
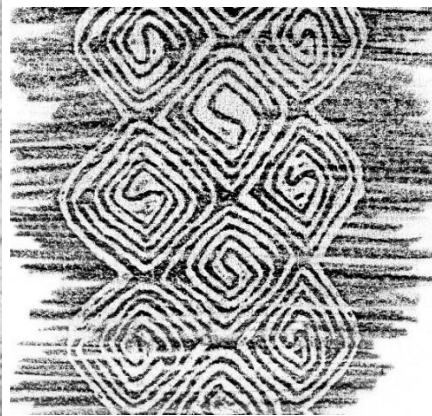
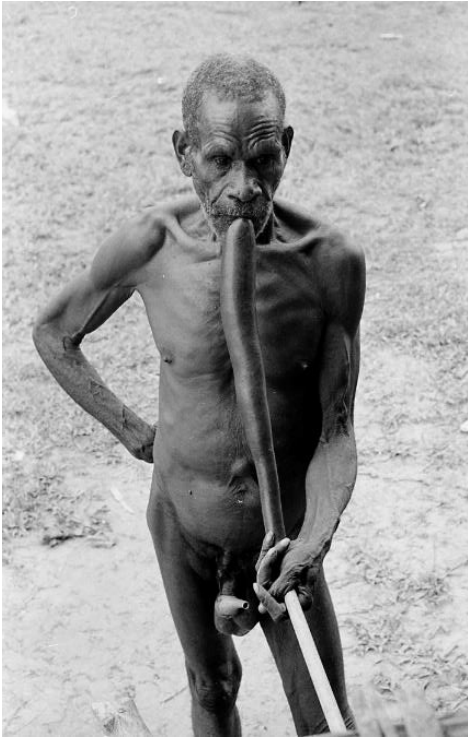


Figure 106. *Left*: Inano of Amto village, AMTO. Photo: B. Craig 1972-73 BM31:1. *Centre & right*: Designs etched on bamboo smoking tubes (*fembiam-kalu*), Sisilo village, AMTO 40.5 x 2 cm & 27.5 x 2 cm. B. Craig 1973. PNGNM 79.1.515 & 79.1.516 respectively. Cf. Fig. 79 (Bisiaburu, Idam Valley, ABAU) above and Fig. 110 (YINIBU) below.

## SAWIYANOO and YINIBU



Figure 107. Smoking gourd (*koke atino*) 58 x 5 cm, and bamboo smoking tube (*koke lapuwoo*) 43 x 1.4 cm, SAWIYANOO. Photo and data courtesy Phillip Guddemi.



Figure 108. Bamboo smoking tube (*tapetari*), Iwau, YINIBU. 50 x 2 cm. G. Gerrits, pre-1973. POM E11762a.



Figure 109. Gourd smoking tube (*tako*), Iwau, YINIBU. 46 x 5.5 cm. G. Gerrits, pre-1973. POM E11762b.



Figure 110. Bamboo smoking tube (*tabiya moroko*), Waia, YINIBU. 38 x 2.3 cm. G. Gerrits, pre-1973. POM E11714.

The **MAY RIVER IWAM** used the two-piece apparatus of long gourd (*suweii*) and etched bamboo tube (*keien/koiyen*) (Kelm 1966b, Plates 189 & 190 left) as did the **Sepik River IWAM** (ibid., Plate 190 centre and right) but the designs etched on the bamboo tubes (**Fig. 111**) were different to those on the ABAU and NAMIE tubes, and the long gourds were plain or decorated with seeds stuck onto a mastic (I was unable to find an illustration of one with etched designs). The IWAM also made a two-part apparatus of large diameter and narrow diameter bamboo tubes (Kelm 1968, Plate 531, 'May River'; Roesicke 1914:518-519) similar to another two-part apparatus that may be NAMIE (Kelm 1968, Plate 532, 'below Meander Mountain').<sup>19</sup>

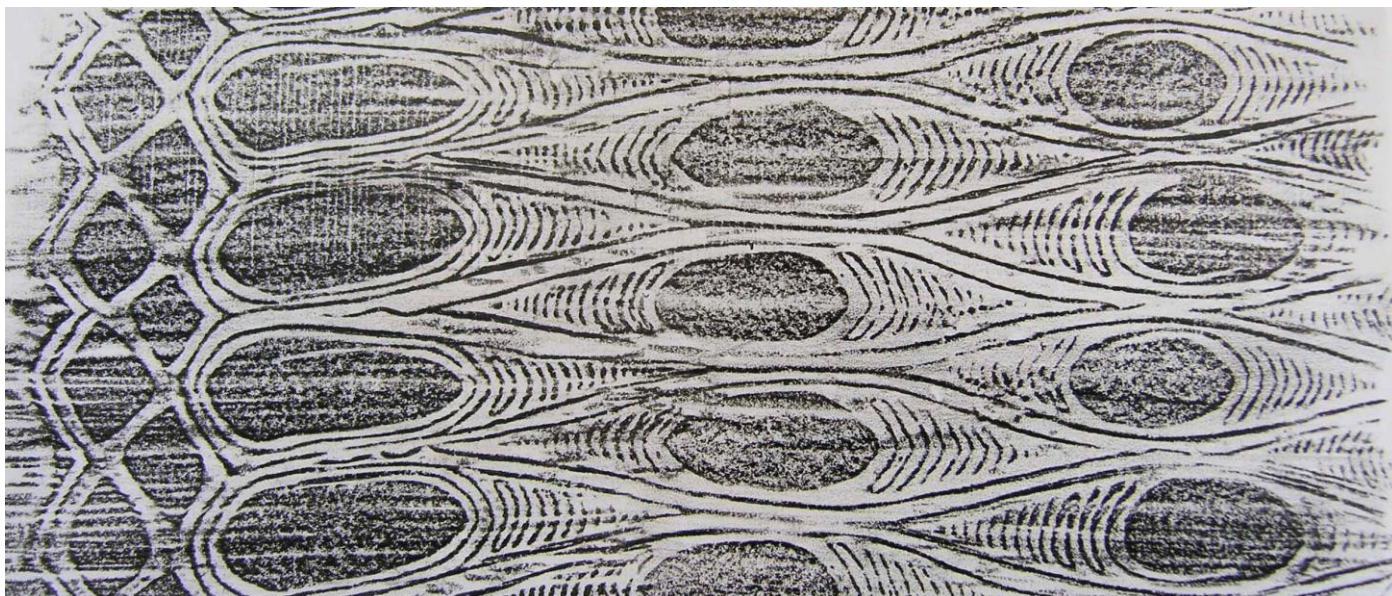


Figure 111. Rubbing of design etched on bamboo smoking tube (*keien*), Buremai, May River IWAM. 36 x 1.7 cm. B. Craig 1972. PNGNM 79.1.243.

<sup>19</sup> I am suspicious of the documentation of Plates 531 and 532. On the basis of the designs, I think the pair in Plate 532 is from May River (compare design with **Fig. 111**) and the pair in Plate 531 is from 'below' Meander Mountain (therefore NAMIE).

The composite gourd and bamboo smoking pipe were used also at Wagu, BAHINEMO (McCarthy 1935:43-44) but there are no images. I have not identified any smoking equipment for the WOGAMUSIN, NGALA, KWOMA or MANAMBU. Whiting and Reed (1938-39:186) report of the KWOMA, that 'Men and boys smoke cigarettes rolled in dried banana leaf...'. Haddon (1946:229), citing Behrmann (1917:88), reports of the Malu people (MANAMBU) that 'the tobacco is smoked wrapped up in a banana leaf'. He also states (1946:230), 'Bateson informed me in 1930 that there were no pipes or holders among the Iatmul, who smoked cigarettes only'. This may have been the case also for the WOGAMUSIN and NGALA.

**Summary:** In the Border Mountains it seems that each ethno-linguistic group had its own kind of smoking equipment but also made and used the kinds of equipment used by their immediate neighbours. The **northern and central AMANAB** used a narrow-diameter bamboo tube, often curved, sometimes with etched designs, and a knob at the proximal end. The **southern AMANAB**, and sometimes the **DERA**, use the large-diameter bamboo tube with etched designs. The **YURI** and **DERA** use a bamboo tube, often curved, with etched designs and of a range of lengths and diameters.

The **East AMANAB, BIAKA, ABAU, BUSA, NAGATMAN, NAMIE, AK and AWUN** use a long, narrow-diameter bamboo tube to hold the cigar, which is inserted into the smaller end of a long gourd with the mouth hole at the fatter end of the gourd (Craig 1990, Fig. 17; Kelm & Kelm 1980, Fig. 28; Schultze Jena 1914, Tafel XLII, h, reproduced in Haddon 1946, Fig. 196). The bamboo tube designs were etched and the gourd designs pyro-engraved, though most of the NAMIE smoking gourds lacked designs or were partly sheathed in lizard skin. This kind of apparatus was also used by the **IWAM** and by the **AMTO, SAWIYANOO** and **YINIBU** of the West Range (Guddemi 1992:54; Plate 7). The ABAU, AK, NAMIE, AWUN and IWAM sometimes used a wide-diameter bamboo tube instead of the gourd (Kelm 1966b, Plate 241; Schultze Jena 1914, Tafel XLII, i) but I saw none of those in the late 1960s.

I found no evidence of smoking devices east of the IWAM.

## **7. Areca nut chewing equipment**

The areca-nut palm (*Areca catechu*), commonly referred to as the 'betel nut' palm, is believed to have been domesticated in SE Asia several thousand years ago, from where it spread to New Guinea and the Melanesian islands. The palm grows in most lowland environments from sea level to 1100 m. Betel nut is a mild stimulant usually consumed with the catkins, leaves or stems of the lowland betel pepper plant (*Piper betle*), together with slaked lime produced by cooking and grinding seashells or coral. People sometimes chew betel nut on its own. It is commonly given as a small gift but is also used in more formal situations, such as for healing ceremonies.

Betel chewing is common throughout the Sepik region. Some peoples (eg. in the lower Sepik) make wood mortars and pestles for crushing the nut, especially useful for older people whose teeth have deteriorated. However, in the upper Sepik region, the only equipment used is a container for the lime and a spatula to transfer the lime from the container to the mouth. The nuts may be carried in a small string bag along with other personal items. The lime containers are gourds of various shapes; the globular shape with a narrow neck, and the long ovoid shape, were the most popular. Spatulas were fashioned from bone, usually with a part of the condyle cut as a lateral protrusion at the proximal end to prevent the spatula from falling into the gourd container.

The Border Mountains, upper Sepik basin and West Range peoples etched or pyro-engraved designs on their gourd lime containers. From Ambunti, downstream, containers were made also from sections of bamboo (Kelm 1966a, Plates 430, 431), the kind presented to newly-initiated youths having elaborately decorated stoppers (ibid., Plates 421-425, 432-437).

## Border Mountains WAINA



Figure 112. Gourd lime container (*ou-peda*), Umeda, WAINA. 16 x 4.5 cm. B. Craig 1969. AustMus E64746.



Figure 113. Gourd lime container (*ou-peda*), Punda, WAINA. 15 x 4 cm. B. Craig 1969. Berlin VI 50084.

The designs on WAINA phallocrypts (**Fig. 114**) were etched<sup>20</sup> and the same is true for their lime containers (**Figs 112, 113**).



Figure 114. *Left*: Gourd phallocrypt (*peda*), Umeda, WAINA. 8 x 6.5 cm. B. Craig 1969. Berlin VI 50070. *Right*: Gourd phallocrypt (*peda*), Punda, WAINA. 8.5 x 7.5 cm. B. Craig 1969. Berlin VI 50086.

## AMANAB and ANGGOR

I could find no examples of gourd lime containers though areca palms were cultivated. However, it is likely that both peoples used gourd lime containers and the designs on the gourds were like those on their gourd phallocrypts.

The designs on AMANAB phallocrypts (**Fig. 115**) were either etched or pyro-engraved<sup>21</sup> so it is likely that the same was true for the gourd lime containers. Juillerat observed that the etched designs on the globular phallocrypts were typical for AMANAB villages to the north and west whereas the pyro-engraved designs on the elongated phallocrypts were typical of the villages to the east, closest to the plains peoples (KWOMTARI) who pyro-engraved their elongated phallocrypts.

<sup>20</sup> I confess to an error in the JSO paper: there I incorrectly stated they were pyro-engraved.

<sup>21</sup> Similarly, I incorrectly stated they were pyro-engraved when in fact they were *either* etched *or* pyro-engraved.



Figure 115. *Left*: Gourd phallocrypt (*wagmu*), Kwofinau, AMANAB. 8.5 x 8 cm. B. Juillerat 1973. Paris-71.1974.35.110. *Right*: Gourd phallocrypt (*beberay*), Akraminag, AMANAB. 18 x 3.5 cm. B. Juillerat 1973. Paris-71.1974.35.121.

The designs on ANGGOR phallocrypts, both globular and elongated, were pyro-engraved (**Fig. 116**) so it is likely that the same was true for the gourd lime containers.



Figure 116. *Left*: Gourd phallocrypt (*bele*), Samanai, ANGGOR. 7 x 4 cm. B. Craig 1969. PNGNM E2672. *Right*: Gourd phallocrypt (*bele*), Wamu, ANGGOR. 20 x 4 cm. P. Huber 1970. PNGNM E5865.

On the other hand, all YURI phallocrypts were pyro-engraved (**Fig. 117**) but the gourd lime containers were either etched or pyro-engraved (**Figs 118-121**).



Figure 117. *Left*: Gourd phallocrypt (*yak*), Kamberap, YURI. 8.5 x 3.5 cm. B. Craig 1968. PNGNM E2663. *Right*: Gourd phallocrypt (*yak*), Kamberap, YURI. 6.5 x 5 cm. B. Craig 1968. Leiden-4471-57.

## YURI/Gargar

There seem to be two kinds of YURI (Gargar) gourd lime containers (*yagur*):

- Ovoid with etched designs (**Figs 118, 119**);
- Globular, narrow necked, with pyro-engraved designs (**Figs 120, 121**), like those of the ABAU.



Figure 118. Gourd lime container (*yagur*), Kamberap, YURI. 23.5 x 5.5 cm. H. Peter 1969. Vienna 148.919.



Figure 119. Gourd lime container (*yagur*), Fongwinam, YURI. 14.5 x 6 cm. H. Peter 1973. Vienna 154.863.



Figure 120. Gourd lime container (*yagur*) 31 x 9 cm, and bone spatula 33 cm, Kamberap, YURI. H. Peter 1973. Vienna 177.184 a, b.



Figure 121. Gourd lime container (*yagur*), Kamberap, YURI. 30 x 9.5 cm. H. Peter 1969. Vienna 177.531-3.

## Upper Sepik riverine

### ABAU

ABAU lime containers (*ai/aidep/eiwo*) were made in a variety of shapes with a wide range of pyro-engraved designs (see Craig 1980:20-22 for further data and images).



Figure 122. *Left*: Two gourd lime containers (*ai*), Hufi, ABAU. Photo: B. Craig 1968 F:18, 20. *Right*: Three gourd lime containers (*aidep*), Seelian and Bamblediam, Idam Valley, ABAU. Photo: B. Craig 1972-73 BM29:25.



Figure 123. Gourd lime container (*eiwo*), Bifrou, ABAU. 20 x 6 cm. B. Craig 1969. AustMus E64749. NB. This gourd and its design is like those of the BUSA who live several kilometres north of Bifrou (cf. Fig. 125).

## Upper Sepik Basin ('Plains')

In the upper Sepik basin, the BAIBAI, BUSA, NAGATMAN and AK prefer a relatively short, slightly waisted gourd. The NAMIE prefer the longer ovoid gourd.

### BAIBAI



Figure 124. Gourd lime container (*ma'abu*), Yebdibi, BAIBAI. 15 x 6.5 cm. M.J. Lewis 1962. SthAustMuseum A54365.

## BUSA



Figure 125. Gourd lime container (*utiba*), Rawei, BUSA. 20.5 x 7 cm. B. Craig 1969. Leiden 44787-302.



Figure 126. Gourd lime container (*utiba*), Rawei, BUSA. 22 x 8 cm. B. Craig 1969. AustMus E64742.



Figure 127. Gourd lime container (*utiba*), Rawei, BUSA. 21 x 7 cm. B. Craig 1969. Berlin VI 49939.

## NAGATMAN



Figure 128. Gourd lime container (*batine*), Nagitman, NAGATMAN. 19 x 7 cm. B. Craig 1969. Leiden 4477-304.



Figure 129. Gourd lime container (*batine*), Nagitman, NAGATMAN. 25 x 7 cm. B. Craig 1969. Berlin VI 49945.



Figure 130. Gourd lime containers (*batine*), Dila, NAGATMAN. Photo: B. Craig 1969 C2:35, 36 (obtained from the BUSA).

## AK



Figure 131. Gourd lime container (*mearu*), Kwieftim, AK. 18 x 6.5 cm. H. Kelm 1970. Berlin VI 50809.

## NAMIE



Figure 132. Gourd lime container [*ailile*], 'Sibat' [Tipas], NAMIE. 30 x 6 cm. A. Bühler 1959. Basel Vb15188.



Figure 133. Gourd lime container (*eri*), Yiwani, NAMIE. 31 x 6 cm. M. & G. Schuster c. 1966. Basel Vb 26305.



Figure 134. Gourd lime container (*aribe*), Panawai, NAMIE. 36 x 7 cm. G. Gerrits, pre-1973. PNGNM E11703.



Figure 135. Gourd lime container (*mearu* = 'gourd') and bone spatula, Yegarapi, NAMIE. 39 x 6.5 cm. H. Kelm 1970. Berlin VI 50810a, b.



Figure 136. Gourd lime container [*ailile*], Tipas, NAMIE. 37.5 x 6.56 cm. A. Bühler 1959. Leiden Vb 15194.



Figure 137. Gourd lime container (*ailile*), Walakori, NAMIE. 21 x 9 cm. B. Craig 1969. AustMus E64745

## West Range

No **AMTO** gourd lime containers were identified though I believe they exist and are probably similar to those of the **ABAU**.

## SAWIYANOO and YINIBU



Figure 138. Gourd lime container (*sala fali*) 15 x 9 cm, and spatula (*solā*) 23 cm, SAWIYANOO. Photo and data courtesy Phillip Guddemi.



Figure 139. Gourd lime container (*samaphini*) and bone spatula (*selai*), Iwau, YINIBU. 23 x 6 cm. G. Gerrits, pre-1973. PNGNM E11698.



Figure 140. Gourd lime container (*sehare separahame*), Waia, YINIBU. 32 x 10 cm. G. Gerrits, pre-1973. PNGNM E11773.



Figure 141. Gourd lime container and bone spatula (*sehare separahame*), Waia, YINIBU. 29 x 10 cm. G. Gerrits, pre-1973. PNGNM E11774.

## May River IWAM

IWAM gourd lime containers (*eii/ai*) were made in three shapes:

- a) narrow-necked globular, c. 22 x 90cm (**Fig. 143 left**);
- b) long, relatively thin, various lengths, c. 40 x 7 cm diameter (**Fig. 142 left**);
- c) large ovoid, c. 50 x 12 cm (**Fig. 142 right, 143 right**).



Figure 142. *Left*: Gourd smoking tube or unusually long gourd lime container. *Right*: Gourd lime container (*eii/ai*), 53 x 12 cm (see Fig. 143, right); Wasmenap, May River IWAM. Photo: B. Craig 1972-73 BM21:20 (detail).

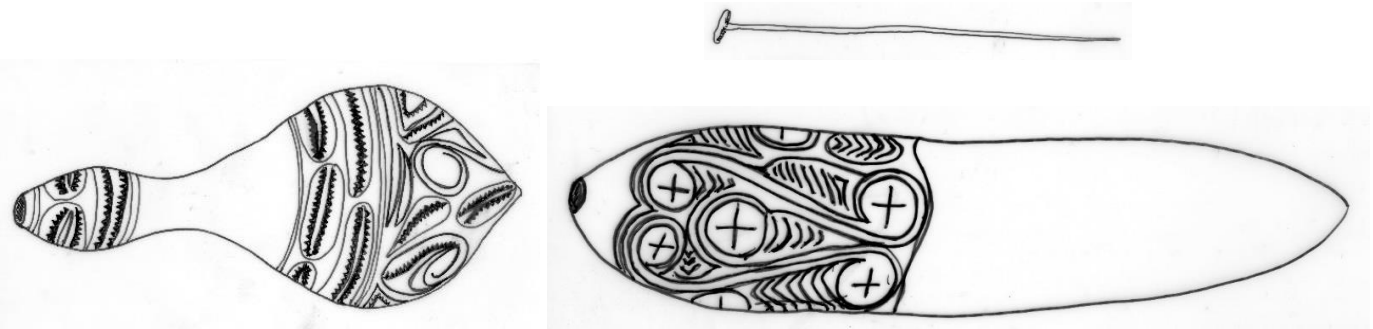


Figure 143. Gourd lime containers (*eii*), May River IWAM, 1972. Left: Aumi village, 23 x 9 cm; PNGNM 79.1.219. Right: Wasmenap village; gourd 53 x 12 cm, spatula 27 cm; 79.1.165a, b. Sketches by B. Craig.

The designs were etched, not pyro-engraved as were the gourd lime containers of the West Range and upper Sepik basin, and incorporated motifs that were similar to those carved on shields and canoe prows, and painted on sago petioles (cf. Schuster 1969, Figs 4, 6, 15, 16).

The **Sepik River IWAM** seem to have had both bamboo lime containers (*kedou*) and gourd lime containers (*eiwou*), with etched designs. I collected one of each at Oum (Aum #1). The bamboo container is registered 79.1.286 in the PNG National Museum, but I do not have an image of it; it is 43.5 x 8 cm. The gourd lime container is registered 79.1.211 and is 47.5 x 6 cm. I have only a sketch of it (**Fig. 144**).

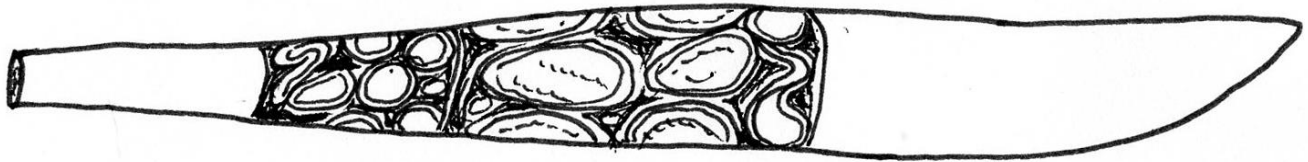


Figure 144. Gourd lime container (*eiwou*), Oum (Aum #1), Sepik River IWAM. B. Craig 1972. PNGNM 79.1.211. 47.5 x 6 cm. Sketch by B. Craig.

I could locate only two illustrations of **WOGAMUSIN** lime containers (Kelm 1966b, Plates 134, 'Wogumasch' and 162, 'April River'). The first is a plain ovoid gourd with shell and Job's tear seeds ornamenting the proximal end, 42 x 7 cm; Plate 135 is a cassowary bone spatula (29 cm) that may have belonged with that gourd container. The second is a fat ovoid gourd (32.5 x 10.3 cm) with a pyro-engraved design at the proximal end that recalls the design on the WOGAMUSIN trumpet (ibid., Plate 141) and the face design on WOGAMUSIN shields.

There are several **MANAMBU** lime containers. An ovoid gourd (43.5 x 12 cm) from Malu with pyro-engraved designs<sup>22</sup> and cowrie shells stuck on around the neck, with its decorated wood spatula intact (Kelm 1966b, Plate 87), is not unlike some IATMUL and KARAWARI lime containers and spatulas (cf. Bateson 1932, Plate 1 right; Kelm 1966a, Plate 438). One from Yambon (42 x 8.4 cm) is of similar shape with an etched face design (Kelm 1968, Plate 523) like the faces on their shields. Schultze Jena illustrates a long plain gourd with decorated cassowary bone spatula from Avatip (1914, Tafel XLIII, h, i). Newton refers to bamboo lime containers with stoppers of carved totemic birds (1971:67) presented to novices after they had been scarified during the Wa'ar mba'angkwa initiation; these seem to have been the equivalent of the bamboo lime containers of the KWOMA and IATMUL.

**KWOMA** lime containers appear to be of two kinds: globular, narrow-necked, plain or pyro-engraved gourds with shells stuck around the neck (Kelm 1966b, Plate 130, 33.8 x 8.5 cm; 1968, Plate 524, 59 x 7.5 cm) and bamboo, pyro-engraved, with a wood stopper carved as human and bird forms (Kelm 1966b, Plates 124, 125, 131). The latter recall the lime containers of the IATMUL (Kelm 1966a, Plates 421-429, 432-437)

<sup>22</sup> Although described as 'Brandmalerei', the design appears to have been etched with a sharp tooth tool, as for IWAM designs.

presented to novices at the end of their initiation (Bateson 1932:439). The IATMUL also used pyro-engraved and etched bamboo and gourd lime containers with elaborate spatulas of wood or bone for ordinary use (Kelm 1966a, Plates 430, 431, 438-441).

**Summary:** Everywhere west of the MANAMBU, as far as the West Papua border, gourds are used as lime containers, etched by the IWAM or plain with stuck-on shells, but pyro-engraved elsewhere. In the Border Mountains, designs were etched or pyro-engraved. The gourds vary considerably in shape and size; spatulas were usually of cassowary bone.

## Discussion

This survey of seven kinds of artefacts in many cases has been based on relatively few examples. The following comments are therefore tentative until museums have fully digitised their collections, checked documentation, and made the images and documentation available on the Web so that more rigorous research can be undertaken.

So, given these limitations, where are the boundaries between these distinct kinds of artefacts in the region of the Sepik River, from the border with West Papua to Ambunti? To what extent does this reflect the linguistic situation?

The upper Sepik region is linguistically heterogeneous. According to Laycock (1973 and map 1975),<sup>23</sup> the languages in the upper Sepik suggest that the NGALA share ancestry with the MANAMBU, IATMUL and KWOMA (in the Middle Sepik Stock) whereas the WOGAMUSIN and CHENAPIAN are with the IWAM and ABAU (in the Upper Sepik Stock). The NAMIE, AK and AWUN (Yellow River Stock) are closer to the Middle Sepik Stock than with the Upper Sepik Stock. All belong to the Sepik Phylum.

The West Range is inhabited primarily by speakers of the LEFT MAY/ARAI Phylum (which is completely distinct from the Sepik Phylum), and language isolates AMTO and MUSIAN. The Border Mountains are inhabited by Trans-New Guinea Phylum speakers and the language isolate YURI. The swampy North River basin is inhabited by KWOMTARI Phylum speakers and language isolates BUSA and NAGATMAN.

Individual speech communities were by no means culturally homogeneous. Newton (1975) demonstrated how the designs on WOGAMUSIN shields reflect the complex interactions and movements of peoples ranging from the May River to the Hunstein Range (his diagram, p.197). Similarly, it appears that MANAMBU language and culture also reflect a diversity of sources (Newton 1971:64; Aikhenvald 2008:22-24). The MANAMBU, sharing certain cultural features with the IATMUL (eg. cult houses, slit gongs, hand drums, trumpets, bamboo lime containers with carved stoppers), nevertheless shared identical wood, and animal skin, shields with the KWOMA. They believe their clans originated from mythical villages to the east and to the west (Harrison 1990:45-47). The examination of smoking tubes and gourd lime containers in this Addendum indicate overlapping kinds of objects and styles of decoration among neighbouring ethno-linguistic groups in the Border Mountains.

The NGALA, WOGAMUSIN, CHENAPIAN and IWAM shared similar hand drums, trumpets, shields used with spears, canoe prows, canoe prow 'shields', and two or three kinds of phallocrypts marking successive stages of male initiation. Human representation becomes rarer among the CHENAPIAN and the IWAM. IWAM houses were distinct from those of the WOGAMUSIN and NGALA (whose ceremonial houses share some of the characteristics of those of the KWOMA). Although all the shields from the MANAMBU and KWOMA, as far upstream as the IWAM, were arm-held and used with spear, the designs on the shields were distinctive for each ethno-linguistic group (Craig 2018).

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<sup>23</sup> Aikhenvald (2008:595-6) has called into question aspects of Laycock's 'genealogies' of Sepik languages as she considers they are based on insufficient or faulty data. But until there is a revision, I will accept his analysis for the time being.

Upstream from May River, there were significantly different material culture characteristics, in particular the use of bows and arrows rather than spears and the use of broad, flat, shoulder shields rather than narrow arm-held shields; and the designs were quite different. Hand drums in the upper Sepik basin were longer, without handles and with a narrow band of designs at the distal end; the carved and painted designs on trumpets were consistent with those on the drums and on the shields. In the Border Mountains, the hour glass drums were even longer but there was less variety of designs at the distal end.

Among the IWAM, in the West Range, in the upper Sepik basin and Border Mountains, tobacco smoking devices (bamboo tubes and combinations of bamboo tubes and gourds) and variously-shaped gourd lime containers, were etched or pyro-engraved with curvilinear designs. Only certain kinds of smoking tubes and gourd lime containers were clearly characteristic of particular ethno-linguistic groups (eg. northern AMANAB, YURI and IWAM); elsewhere there was considerable overlap among neighbouring groups.

Thus, depending on the kind of artefact, boundaries can be drawn differently. However, it is clear from the JSO paper (Craig 2018) and this study, that a provisional analysis would indicate the following categories:

1. the MANAMBU with the IATMUL, albeit with influence from the KWOMA;
2. the NGALA and WOGAMUSIN sharing certain features with the KWOMA;
3. the CHENAPIAN and IWAM sharing features with the WOGAMUSIN and a significant material cultural boundary between the IWAM and the peoples of the West Range and the upper Sepik basin;
4. the distinctive culture of the West Range peoples sharing some cultural features of the ABAU and NAMIE of the upper Sepik basin;
5. the relatively homogeneous culture of the peoples of the upper Sepik basin (ABAU, BAIBAI, BUSA, NAGATMAN, KWOMTARI, AK, NAMIE and AWUN);
6. the Border Mountains peoples distinct in many ways from the peoples of the upper Sepik basin but sharing, and influencing, certain items of their neighbours.

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