

SOME NOTES ON THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF NEW GUINEA

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INITIATION RITES AND GHOST-CULT IN THE ASTROLABE BAY REGION

Although Astrolabe Bay is one of the earliest known territories of New Guinea we possess comparatively little knowledge of the cultures of the various groups of peoples inhabiting it. In addition, the greater part of the scanty information available dates back to the end of the last century, and refers chiefly to questions of the material culture of the region. Due mainly to the then prevailing poor state of ethnographic study, none of the larger monographic works dealing with the Astrolabe Bay gives a coherent, comprehensive picture of the cultures of the peoples living on its shores. Particularly deficient and incomplete is our knowledge of the social and mental cultural levels, and far from sufficient is that of the distribution of languages, although there exist a few rather solid linguistic works.

Undoubtedly, the fragmentary character of this material, which does not easily lend itself to modern treatment, is responsible for the fact that in the more important, comprehensive discussions on Melanesia Astrolabe Bay receives no or only superficial attention. This is all the more to be regretted as even from the meager information at hand it definitely transpires that this territory is one of the most archaic parts of New Guinea. Obviously, exploration and disclosure of the characteristics of its very ancient culture promise to yield many valuable data to be used in an attempt to unravel the strands of the cultural history of the northern shores that have so far seemed hopelessly entangled and confusing.

The archaic culture of Astrolabe Bay has by now become a thing of the past, a mere memory. The coastline is one of those regions where German colonization began as early as 1884,¹ and the contact with the West soon made the greater part of the items of this old culture disappear. The change took place with amazing rapidity within a few years.² While between 1891—93

¹ *Nachrichten*, 1887, p. 9.

² *Parkinson*, 1900, p. 18: »...on Kaiser Wilhelms-Land too ethnographical material has been disappearing remarkably fast. Since 1887 I have visited that area at various intervals, and I can witness that during these years the ethnographical peculiarities of the tribes there have declined to a great extent, in certain places quite particularly so. In the year 1893 I came to know better the shores from Dallmannhafen up to Berlinhafen. In those days it was a simple

the Hungarian scholar *Samuel Fenichel*³ was still able to send home to the Hungarian National Museum a great variety of elaborately carved cultic objects, *Lajos Biró*,⁴ some years later (around 1897), had to be satisfied with the simplest utensils of everyday life as tangible proofs of the region's culture. The rapidity of this change probably accounts for the fact why the European museums are so scantily provided with objects coming from Astrolabe Bay, if my information on this point is correct. Apart from the collection of *N. N. Miklucho-Maclay* now in Leningrad,⁵ the Ethnographical Museum in Budapest alone possesses material sufficient and suitable to give a picture of a wider cultural range on a more comprehensive scale.⁶

Research into the archaic culture of Astrolabe Bay has thus become more and more a study of a historical character that can be pursued only by collecting random notices from the past and chance descriptions, and by examining material of earlier days preserved in ethnographical museums. This remark applies to the initiation rites more than to any other sphere of cultic activity in New Guinea. The change was most rapid in this feature of native life for this custom seems to have been among the first that gave way under the impact of Christian-missionary influences. While the sources from the nineties of the last century abound in material concerning customs and beliefs on initiation, *Aufinger*, in the thirties of the present century, could only record mere scraps, incoherent and disconnected remnants of them.⁷

It follows from what has been so far said that the object of the present paper is to furnish contributory data to the disclosure of the old culture of the Astrolabe Bay peoples and, in general, to the cultural history of the northern shores of New Guinea by collecting, sifting and evaluating the literature extant on initiation and ghost-cult in these regions. Further, it is intended to supplement the picture thus evolved by the publication of those relevant objects kept in the Ethnographical Museum in Budapest that have not yet been made known elsewhere. It seems as if it were appropriate that the concluding chapter to the present paper be written by an ethnographer doing field work.

affair to put through an exchange for native objects. On my travels in 1898 and 1899, I found, to my surprise, that a number of objects, which could be easily had five years ago, were no more available, or were supplanted by imitations far below in workmanship from the older specimens.α

³ *Wichmann*, 1912, p. 539.

⁴ *Wichmann*, 1912, pp. 641—643.

⁵ Каталог, 1886.

⁶ *Biró and Semayer*, 1901. (No items of the *Fenichel* Collection have as yet been published.) Unfortunately, we had no opportunity of inspecting the material in the German museums and had to restrict ourselves to the published material. There is probably a considerable amount of material in the Museum of the Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft, Barmen. (*Völkerkundliche Ausstellung der Rheinischen Mission. Barmen*, 1914, pp. 6—10.)

⁷ *Aufinger*, 1941.

I.

1.

The first European to land near Bongu in Astrolabe Bay was the Russian ethnographer *Miklucho-Maclay*,⁸ and he also was the first who reported on the initiation rites of boys and their circumcision as was then practised by the native population. This is the description he gave: »Boys are circumcised at the age of 13—15. To perform the operation a sharpened flintstone is used. Incisions are made on the prepuce in a way so that the operation should leave one or more circumscribed scars. Circumcision is customary with the Papuans of Maclay Coast,⁹ and is generally practiced in most of the villages along the shores and in some localities among the hills of the Island. However, in a few of the higher-lying villages (Englam-Mana, Tongum-Mana, Maragum-Mana) these rites are not practiced, nor are they observed on the Island of Tiara,¹⁰ one of the islands of the archipelago of the 'happy people'.¹¹ As the initiation rites are thought to display manliness and virility, those who do not practise it, are despised by its professed adherents«. ¹²

Dealing with the ethnology of Maclay Coast, *Miklucho-Maclay* describes not only the technique of circumcision but also recognizes that it is connected with initiation rites. He states: »Reliable witnesses have given me the following report on circumcision.¹³ The operation is performed on boys of 12—13, and it takes place outside the village in a forest. A sharp shard of a flintstone is used to perform it. Thereafter the party, that consists only of men, leads the initiated back to the village amidst music, songs and general rejoicing. Following circumcision the boy is considered a young man invested with the rights denied to childhood«. ¹⁴

Of the ghost-cult underlying initiation *Miklucho-Maclay* succeeded in ascertaining but little, most probably because he had language difficulties.¹⁵ As can be seen from his communications and judging by the native terms he mentioned, he mainly drew upon the Bongu, Gumbu and Gorendu who spoke

⁸ *Miklucho-Maclay*, 1873, a., b., *Miklucho-Maclay*, 1875; *Miklucho-Maclay*, 1876; Миклухо-Маклай, 1950—1951, I—III; *Worsley*, 1951—1952; *Finsch*, 1888, a.; *Wichmann*, 1910, pp. 151—154, pp. 184—186; *Sokoloff and Faivre*, 1947, pp. 93—103.

⁹ The name of the present Rai-Coast, according to *Miklucho-Maclay*.

¹⁰ Tiara-Siar. See *Aufinger*, 1942-45, a., p. 631. Map.; *Nachrichten*, 1893, pp. 56—57.

¹¹ The name of the islands round Madang and the present Rai-Coast, according to *Miklucho-Maclay*.

¹² *Miklucho-Maclay*, 1873, a. p. 244; Миклухо-Маклай, 1950—1951, II, p. 40.

¹³ In the following the word »circumcision« will be used in the sense of the German word »Beschnidung«, referring to all types of cuts executed on the penis. The »circumcision proper« is to denote the complete cutting off of the prepuce, i. e. a special type of circumcision as distinct from incision, supra-incision, excision and sub-incision. *Piddington*, 1950, p. 177.

¹⁴ *Miklucho-Maclay*, 1876, p. 299; Миклухо-Маклай, 1950—1951, III, p. 84.

¹⁵ *Miklucho-Maclay*, 1876, pp. 303—308; Миклухо-Маклай, 1950—1951, III, pp. 90—94; *Hanke*, 1909, p. 4.

the same dialect.¹⁶ »The festivals and everything that goes with them... are called *Ai* in the dialect of my neighbours«.

The festive rites, dances and feasting are performed in a secluded spot that has been specially dedicated to the rites of the *Ai*. Women, children and uninitiated boys are excluded from the festival. »For the purpose of *keu-chewing*¹⁷ boys are often employed. Some of the initiated young men leave the party and go back to the village, get the chewing performed by uninitiated young boys, who cannot take part in the *Ai*, and then bring the chewed *keu* to the place of the *Ai*-rites.«¹⁸

According to *Miklucho-Maclay* feasting is the outstanding feature of an *Ai*-festival. In order to eat and drink undisturbed, children and women are kept away from the festival meals since they might be worrying the men for a share in the repast. To discourage them from approaching, the men employ musical instruments since the womenfolk have been made to believe in the harmful effect of their sounds.

Men are invited from the neighbouring villages for the hosts to receive invitations from their guests on similar occasions in the future.

As a souvenir of a well-spent *Ai*-feast, the lower jawbones of all pigs or dogs killed for the feast, are preserved in the *Boamramra*.¹⁹

Other types of festivals are usually held in the months of November and December, in the season when the fruit-crops ripen and the Papuans have less to do on their clearings. One of them, where only men are admitted, is called *Ai-mun*, while another, held within the village with women and children present, is known by the name: *Sel'-mun*. At an *Ai-mun* curious masked processions are formed. Tall wooden figures, called *Aidogan*, are carried from the village to the place of the *Ai* where they receive a new coat of paint and play an important role in the masquerades. The *Aidogan* is a *telum* made of a single tree-stem which is carved into several figures in tiers. The *Ai-mun* lasts for a few days during which time the men work themselves up into a frenzy so that masked procession, feasts, music etc. follow one upon the other through several days and nights almost without abreak for rest. »...sometimes the *Ai* wanders from one village to another. On such occasions a sham fight is fought between the invading *Ai* and the male members of the *Sel'-mun*«. ²⁰

¹⁶ The correct way of rendering the word should be *Boñū*. *Hanke*, 1909, p. 137. As the former way of writing, i. e. *Bongu*, is universally used, we have adopted it too. The village is situated ca. 5°30' S. and 145°48'7" E. on the shores of Astrolabe Bay. *Gumbu* lies east of *Konstantinhafen*, *Gorendu* to the north. In 1896 these two villages did no more exist, they were united with *Bongu*. This settlement counted 200 inhabitants in 1900. *Hanke*, 1909, pp. 1—2.

¹⁷ *Keu* 'Piper methysticum'. *Miklucho-Maclay*, 1876, pp. 28—30; *Миклухо-Маклай*, 1950—1951, III, pp. 112—115, 125—128; *Nevermann*, 1938.

¹⁸ *Miklucho-Maclay*, 1876, p. 328; *Миклухо-Маклай*, 1950—1951, III, p. 112.

¹⁹ The correct term for *Boamramra* is *bōdō*.

²⁰ *Miklucho-Maclay*, 1876, pp. 332—333; *Миклухо-Маклай*, 1950—1951, III, pp. 116—

Comrie, an Englishman, visited Astrolabe Bay on H. M. S. *Basilisk* in 1874. He made a few observations on the rite of circumcision. »Circumcision was general, and appeared to be performed by a straight incision through the dorsum of the prepuce, there being no ablation of supernumerary skin or mucous membrane; the cicatrices left were very unsightly and did not speak at all highly for the surgical skill of the operator.«²¹ It is regrettable that *Comrie* failed to give exact details of the locality where he had made his observations. He only wrote: »Having visited in 1874, that portion of New Guinea lying between East Cape and Astrolabe Bay.«²² Judging from the method of operation as described by him, we may assume that his information applies to the coastal region about Astrolabe Bay.

Zöller, who visited Astrolabe Bay in 1888, being mainly interested in Bogadjim and the region round Mount Finisterre, mentions both circumcision and ghost-cult but seems to be unaware of their interconnection. According to him »There can be no doubt that this custom (circumcision) is observed almost all along the entire Astrolabe Bay including the regions lying inland except probably Bokadschim if the information of the missionaries can be relied upon.«²³

Zöller also reports on the *Asa*-cult of Bogadjim. »We are best informed about the much discussed *Asa*-festival of the village Bokadschim, an important event in the life of the people there. In the village there are neither idols, nor images of the ancestors.«²⁴ The missionaries are of the opinion that certain wooden blocks, painted red, serve in their stead. Although the existence of a temple has so far been denied there can be no doubt that the people of Bokadschim do have a special *Asa*-house and that this may reasonably be looked upon as a kind of temple. The *Asa*-festivals seem to be observed at irregular intervals, and they usually last for several weeks. Visitors crowd together from all over the surrounding country. In the *Asa*-house the visitors stand about, blow their horns and break into shouts of 'chou, hou'.«²⁵

The bulk of our information and data derive from the great festival of initiation held in Bogadjim in the year 1893. *Hoffmann*, a missionary of the Rheinische Missions-Gesellschaft, stationed in Bogadjim, wrote the following

²¹ *Comrie*, 1877, p. 109.

²² *Comrie*, 1877, p. 102.

²³ *Zöller*, 1891, p. 278. This assumption of *Zöller*'s is erroneous as we shall see further down by reference to *Hagen*'s statement on the subject. Instead of Bokadschim we have used the form Bogadjim, since this is universally accepted. »The Bogadjim tribe, as *Mr. Kubary* informs us, has a language of its own, differing from both the northern Gorima and the southern Male. They inhabit a single village divided into four parts; from these Laluhu lies nearest to the coast, Cákuru and Kerin are lying to the north while Bom is the centre of the settlement. The territory of Bogadjim stretches about one mile to the north up to the river Jori-ia . . . The northern branch of the river serves as the border between them and the Gorima-area with the inhabitants of which the Bogadjim tribe has been living in a ceaseless 'feud'.« *Nachrichten*, 1888, p. 20.

²⁴ *Zöller* is mistaken here too, see *Hagen*, 1899, Table 42.

²⁵ *Zöller*, 1891, p. 269.

about it on the 3rd March, 1893: »Great festivals are just being held in Bogadjim. The ritual of circumcision was begun two months ago but it has not yet been finished. The thing will last for four months all in all. Three small houses have been erected in different places where the youngsters circumcised, children aged 4—5 and boys 14—15, are kept and are most carefully guarded by the grown-ups. The youngsters come not only from Bogadjim itself but also from all the neighbouring villages and from the hills, so that there is a regular stream of strangers in the village in these days. Work in the fields has entirely stopped. The men are lying about the place of the festival all day long, blow their horns, chatter and drink. The women have to provide the food but the strictest precautions are observed not to allow them to come anywhere near the place of idols. Now and then, and it seems to me mostly when the women are slow in collecting and preparing the taro needed, processions are organised into the village, amidst great shouting and din when the women are expected to take to flight. Two more months and they will make an end of the show amidst great rejoicings after which the young men will be taken back to the village. Great preparations are being made for the closing festival, ornaments are prepared and the so important red colour is made ready to paint the face with the participants are looking forward to the end of the festivals for they are forbidden to drink water all the time through and they may have nothing else to eat but roasted taro They are allowed meat only on certain fixed days and then the meat must be roasted. The other day I saw that they had a snake, 4—5 metres long, and a pig over their fire.«²⁶

Another report containing some relevant information appeared in the same year (1893) in *Eich's* account of his missionary activities in the Astrolabe Bay submitted to the Rheinische Missions-Gesellschaft. *Eich* describes the religious situation in those parts and mentions the *Asa*-rites, too. »Idolatry, in the strict sense of the word, is unknown among the Papuans. The stronghold of the Prince of Darkness consists in the *Asa*-observance which is nothing else but a service of the demons. Only men and grown-up young men are allowed to participate, women and children are completely excluded from it. The *Asa*-festivals or services are usually held outside the village in a remote place where a hut has been built to store the masks and wind-instruments, used at the ritual observances, but these instruments must be neither seen nor heard by the women or uninitiated children. The women are kept in complete ignorance about the *Asa*-observances and are therefore in constant dread of it. Pigs, dogs and fruit sacrificed at the *Asa*-services are eaten up by the men themselves in the greatest secret from the rest of the community.«²⁷

²⁶ *Hoffmann*, 1893, pp. 209—210. *Bartels* is mistaken when he attributes this letter to *Arff*. *Bartels*, 1894, p. 200 (Berichte der Rheinischen Missions-Gesellschaft, 1893, p. 209 contains the following passage: »Concerning the situation in Bogadjim Brother *Hoffmann* writes in his letter of March 3rd this year«.)

²⁷ *Eich*, 1893, p. 6.

The most detailed description of the *Asa*-observances, however, has been preserved in *Hagen's* work. In his account of the *Asa*-rites and the rites of the initiation, he relies both on information gained from local missionaries and on his own observations.

Hagen points out that the peoples of Astrolabe Bay are being held together by the strong ties of a secret religious cult which is stronger than the ties of birth or of political organization. In Bogadjim,²⁸ this secret cult is called *Asa*. The real nature of this cult has not yet been sufficiently cleared up but it seems highly probable that it is a social grouping mainly of religious character. Only men are allowed to take part in the rites of this secret cult, women and children are always rigorously excluded. To the latter the word *Asa* implies something that is a blend of the awful, terrible and supernatural, which threatens the uninitiated with fearful consequences. When the shout is passed around that the *Asa* is approaching, or when the sounds of the *Asa*-instruments are heard even from a distance, the women and the children take to flight in a state of genuine panic.

The elder boys are initiated into the rites of the *Asa*-cult in the course of their circumcision ritual. Among the various rites of the *Asa*-festivals outstanding importance is always accorded to the rites of circumcision and initiation. A youth is being introduced to the secrets of the *Asa*-cult while he is awaiting the healing of his wounds, isolated from the entire village community and hidden in the *Asa*-house (*Asa-tal*). Thus a certain moral education is also provided along with the ritual of initiation.

The *Asa*-house always lies remote from the village, usually it is built in a forest. As a rule, it is the joint possession of one or more villages. Thus for instance Gorima and Sarrar, two parts of Bogadjim, have a common *Asa*-house. The *Asa*-house is a simple hut with its interior completely shut off from an outside view. It differs from the usual hut of the village only in so far as it is even simpler in its furnishing. The interior is bare except for the sleeping couches set up for the novices. On the walls are hung the dance-masks made of wood that are called *Asa*-heads (*Asa-katé*) since they are used exclusively at the *Asa*-festivals. The ritual musical instruments are also placed along the walls. Such ritual musical instruments are the *Asa*-horns, -flutes, -rattles and -ocarinas. Of late (1894), the men's houses have begun to take over the part played formerly by the *Asa*-houses, and due to this the *Asa*-houses disappear by and by. While the *Asa*-house is communal property of the village, or of that section of the village that took part in its construction,²⁹ the objects guarded in it

²⁸ *Hagen*, 1899, p. 222. »The Bogadjim settlement is held together next to the language only by its geographical situation, being the keyposition for commerce with the interior, and by a religious tie, the secret cult of the *Asa*«.

²⁹ *Hagen*, 1899, pp. 194–195; *Hoffmann*, 1898, a. pp. 72–74.

(masks and musical instruments) remain personal property of the individual participants in the cult.

Initiation rituals are held once in 10–15 years. Their most essential part is circumcision. Circumcision itself is, in actual fact, nothing but an excision since only a small part of the prepuce is removed. In Bogadjim it goes by the name of *mulung-airas* (*mulung* = prepuce; *airas* = to drop). The operation can only be performed on boys who already have worn the *mel*³⁰ which means that they must be at least 3–4 years old. Since initiation festivals are held only at longer intervals, it is obvious that the age of those to be initiated varies between 4 and 19 years. Should, however, a village of friendly commercial relations prepare to hold an *Asa*-festival before one is due again at home, a contingent of boys may be sent along to have circumcision performed upon them there. Nor does it seem unlikely that the *Asa*-festivals are arranged in rotation according to some plan, now in this and then in another village. The native population of Bogadjim assert that in their village the next festival will take place in 15 years.

The initiation rites always take place in summer when the crops have already ripened and before the time for cultivating the new clearing in the forests has arrived. According to *Hoffmann* and *Arff* the festival usually lasts four months.

The beginning of the festival is marked by the segregation of the novices in the *Asa*-house though it is not unlikely that this event may be preceded by other preparatory stages. In the months following the novices are kept on a fast and have to undergo various ritual tests. They are strictly forbidden to partake in cooked meals, to drink water, to wash or to bathe. Women must not set eyes on them during this period and before the closing rites of the festival. The fathers of the novices, and the men invited, put up in a free space in front of the *Asa*-house together with the trading-friends from the other villages. There they spend their time in playing the ritual musical instruments, in dancing and eating. Only roasted taro may be eaten; meat is kept for the closing feast, and drinking water is just as much forbidden to them as to the novices. In the meantime the fathers work ornaments for their sons to wear, first of all the *tsaue*,³¹ a double-plaited armlet band, which the initiated young man receives as a first visible sign of the acknowledgement of his manhood. The absent fathers of strange youths, who came from other villages to be initiated, are represented in the party by a trade-friend in the festive village. It is the duty of the deputy-parent to see to preparing the various ornaments of his protegee and to perform all other rites that are incumbent on the fathers. In such instances the father presents the trade-friend who deputises for him with foodstuffs such

³⁰ A loincloth made of *tapa*. *Biró* and *Semayer*, 1901, pp. 47–49.

³¹ *Biró* and *Semayer*, 1901, p. 43.

as pigs, dogs, taro and other crops. With orphans it is the duty of the next male kin to replace the dead father.

Circumcision is performed in the following manner. The men take the novices to a small rivulet: the *Asa*-square. There a man versed in such operations is called upon to perform the act. He stretches the novice flat on his back. Another man takes hold of the outstretched arms of the youngster while the »surgeon« sits on his thighs. Then the »surgeon« pulls a portion of the prepuce over a small piece of flat wood over which he cuts off a part from its dorsum with one quick incision using a piece of glass for the operation, formerly a sharpened piece of obsidian. The severed particle is then thrown into the river. The wound is washed, leaves are put over it and then it is bandaged. All the operations need not be performed by one and the same man. They may be spread over a few weeks, and the expert absenting himself, some other male member of the party who is sufficiently versed in such procedures may take his place.

The novices spend their time in the *Asa*-house while their wounds are healing. The father of every novice has prepared a small model of a hut which he puts by his son's couch. The model serves as a receptacle for food, and in the mornings the father, or his deputy, places the daily food ration in this receptacle.

On moonlit nights the novices are taken once in every eight nights, later only at full moon, to the river for a bath amidst a festive procession.⁵² The party is headed by a few young men playing their *Asa*-ocarinas being followed by a few older men who shout or sing into pumpkin and bamboo trumpets, and these again are followed by the rest of the men who surround the novices and accompany the march by singing or crooning. This uproar mainly serves the purpose of keeping the womenfolk away, but, on the other hand, it is also intended to heighten the solemnity of the occasion. Such a festive bathing takes place about five times in the course of a four months' segregation.

The onerous duty of providing for the festive party entirely falls upon the shoulders of the women. They have to procure food for the men engaged in the *Asa*-festivals. If they slacken in their duties, the *Asa* itself warns and threatens them with the direst consequences. The warning for the *Asa* is given by the men who move into the village amidst a terrific din: shouting, making all kinds of noises and beating their drums. Terrified, the women flee from the *Asa* but, as a reminder of its warning, the men drive small sticks into the ground before their homes and fasten fresh leaves on them.

Bogadjim consists of four clearly delimited parts, and out of these parts only Sarrar and Gorima share a common *Asa*-house while the other two parts

⁵² This contradicts *Hoffmann's* statement who reported that during the four months the youths were forbidden to wash or bathe.

of the village have an *Asa*-house each. Therefore it not seldom happens that one *Asa* goes to visit the other in a festive procession.

During the four months of segregation another cultic object is also achieved. It is during this period that the novices come to know the *Asa* and that they are introduced to the *Asa*-cult.

The climax of the festive period is reached with the closing ceremonies that mark the end of segregation when the initiated are allowed to reenter the village. For this solemn occasion meat has been collected of pigs, large snakes, pouched mammals, crocodiles, monitor lizards etc. The meat of these animals is cut into chunks, put into wicker-baskets and smoked over the fireplace in the *Asa*-house. At last the great day itself arrives. According to *Hoffmann*, whose description has been taken over by *Hagen*,⁵³ the period of the four months came to an end on the 6th of May (1893). The preparations had already been made for the great festival which would take place on Monday. Ropes of rotang were brought and grass and gay coloured plants were wound around them. The food receptacles (models of huts) of the initiated, and flowers etc. were tied on to the rotang ropes, and these garlands were fastened across the road to two palm-trees that stood at the entrance of the village. Obviously, this was meant to be a kind of festive portal through which the relatives of the initiated and the other guests to the *Asa*-festival were to enter the village. Visitors had been pouring in from Saturday on by sea and over land from every direction. On Saturday night there was much excitement in the village. Young and old men were sitting round a huge bonfire at the *Asa*-square singing to the accompaniment of drums until well into Sunday morning. Then commenced the bathing of the novices. After the bath the hair of the novices was shaved off from the forehead, temples and nape including the eyebrows and eyelashes. Nobody slept a wink the following Sunday night either. Monday morning the novices, clean and shaved, put on their *mel*-s, plaited waists and head-dresses, the latter consisting of hen- and parrot-feathers, ornamented with shells and filed dogs' teeth. The festive equipment includes a net bag containing the kit of grown-up men. The bodies of the novices were painted with red, blue and white colours from head to foot. The girls, the small children and the uninitiated boys were similarly decked out and painted late Monday morning.

All the preparations complete, the participants ceremoniously formed a procession. At the head of the group marched an old man with a drum in his hand, behind him came small girls, then the novices followed by the men. The rear was made up by another old man who, like the one at the head, carried a drum. Beating drums and singing, the procession first passed around the village and then went through it and finally settled down at the centre of the village

⁵³ See also *Hoffmann*, 1894, pp. 57–62.

where everybody received one gulp of water and a piece of roasted pig or snake.³⁴

Essentially, this brought the festive cycle to its end, yet some concluding acts deserve mentioning. One of these was that the initiated had to visit the neighbouring villages and there make an ostentatious display of their ornaments. The villages visited were expected to present pigs and dogs to the arrivals. Were the gifts deemed insufficient, another and yet another procession was arranged and if no satisfactory result could be brought about, the stingy villagers were eventually threatened with war.³⁵

The *Asa* played an important role not only at the initiation of youths but also at interments. *Hagen* describes the custom for us writing that the *Asa* appears at the bier of the dead person »in order to paint his body. The frightening sounds of the *Asa*-horn are heard from afar, the women take to flight in sudden terror. The blower of the horn appears and paints the dead body red and white, and covers it up with wreathes twisted from the large red roses of the hibiscus. Sounding his horn once more he then disappears«. ³⁶

About the *Ai*, in Bongu the correlate of the *Asa*, *Kunze* reports an interesting story. Once upon a time, the *Ai*, who was an ogre, lived in the village. He never worked in the fields but always stayed at home. It often happened that when the men came home from their work on the fields, they found some of their children missing. Disgusted with these strange happenings, the men one day stationed themselves in ambush and saw how the ogre killed the children with a spear that were playing in front of his home, how he dragged their bodies into his hut and devoured them there. Infuriated, they banded together to destroy the *Ai*, surrounded his hut, set fire to it and the *Ai* was burnt to death in his own home. After a time a coconut palm and pumpkin grew up on the site and also the tree the seeds of which are now put on the rattles used at the *Ai*-festivals. Ever since the *Ai* refrains from devouring children and lives on pigs.³⁷

In trying to determine the essence of the *Ai Hanke*, who had been in charge of the missionary services in Astrolabe Bay for the Rheinische Missions-Gesellschaft and was head of the missionary establishment in Bongu, writes as follows³⁸ in his Bongu grammar and vocabulary: »*Ai* is a mythological ogre who plays the leading part in the secret cult of the Bongu people. As the legends have it, the *Ai* used to destroy the fields, devour all the crops and when at last caught

³⁴ *Hagen*, 1899, p. 234. »While he has not yet been circumcised, he is not allowed to eat pork or dog's flesh... but only fish, crabs and various mussels.« *Hagen*, 1899, p. 247. »Dogs, pigs, crocodiles as well as large snakes are food for festive meals, which are forbidden to women, and may be prepared and eaten only by the men at the *Asa*-place in front of the *Asa*-house or at some distance from the village.«

³⁵ *Hagen*, 1899, pp. 234—238.

³⁶ *Hagen*, 1899, p. 259. *Hagen* submits two stories of the *Asa* in the appendix to his work, but these have no significance from the point of view of our subject.

³⁷ *Kunze*, 1926, p. 91.

³⁸ On the missionary work in Astrolabe Bay, see among others: *Bergmann*, 1894; *Nachrichten*, 1894, p. 33; 1897, pp. 65—66; 1890, p. 89; 1898, p. 69.

and brought into the village he began to devour the children. He was burnt to death but from his ashes grew plants of which the instruments employed at the rites of the secret cult are now made.

»The *Ai* festivals, to which women and uninitiated young boys have no access, mainly consist in rich meals that are accompanied by 'music' played on bamboo reeds, pumpkins, flutes and whistles. Here in Bongu the scene for them is, as a rule, laid at some hidden spot in the depth of a forest. If the weather is unfavourable, huts put up expressly for this purpose or the ordinary men's houses are used.«^{38a}

In Bongu the term for circumcision is *muluñ*.³⁹

Werner reports initiation rituals from the interior of Astrolabe Bay. His observations refer to the village Damun where, according to him, circumcision is not practised but the initiation cult exists. He thinks initiation could have been performed only at greater intervals since there were great differences in age between the novices. The youngest could hardly have been more than 4 years old, whereas the oldest might have been about 16—17. The number of novices was six all in all. »The party proceeded to a rivulet in the nearby forest where it settled down on moss-covered rocks. After a fire had been made, some of the men began to shave. Thereupon the rites proper were started. At the further end of a gorge like ravine of the brook a kind of a yoke was put together from sticks. On its horizontal upper bar plants were fastened in a way that they formed a hanging semicircle. One of the men placed himself in front of the yoke, got hold of one novice after the other, spat a chewed mass of red colour on chest and back, and delivered a few energetic strokes on the body with the stalk of a plant. After this treatment the novice, who had previously taken off his clothing, passed through the leafy semicircle under the yoke, stepped into a mould formed by the riverbed where he took a long bath with ablutions. During these proceedings one of the older men was sitting on a rock overlooking the scene, singing a song and beating his drum. The ablutions of the novices having been finished, the rest of the party also took a bath though somewhat away from the yoke. Equally interesting were the closing acts which consisted mainly in a ceremonial shaving of all hairy parts of the body leaving only a circular tuft on the top of the skull, which was then be smeared with red paint For the shaving broken pieces of glass-bottles were used. All the human offal such as hair and nails, were carefully gathered up and then burned, doubtless to protect, the persons concerned from harmful magic. In the end a number of small bunches of flower, such as were used to decorate armlet bands with, were spat upon, then tied in large leaves, and the packages, about a foot long, were slowly burned to cinders by holding them over a fire. . . .«

^{38a} *Hanke*, 1909, p. 121.

³⁹ *Hanke*, 1909, p. 190.

»Having completed their festive attire by putting on necklaces of glass-beads, new clean loincloths and armlet bands they formed a procession and set out to the village accompanied by beating drums and boys carrying betel and cocoa-nuts.«

»These festivals were attended by men only but at the dances held in the evening also by girls and women in their festive attires.«⁴⁰

Dempwolff gives an account of the ghost-cult and initiation rites on Graged Island.⁴¹ Here the ghost is called *Mesiab*. »*Mesiab* means, on the one hand, 'ghost' while, on the other hand, it is the proper name of a mythological figure who plays a great part in the secret cult of the men and at the initiation of youths, etc. This *Mesiab* is identical with the *nosa* of the *Kate* (*Kai*) and with the *Balom* of the *Jabem*«. Women are excluded from the cult of *Mesiab*, and therefore every object that is connected with the *Mesiab*-cult is kept carefully hidden in the communal houses of the men. In honour of the *Mesiab* the men perform a ritual dance called the »flame-of-the-*Mesiab*« in the secrecy of their club houses. After the dances have been performed, the *Mesiab* stays on in the men's house without asking for food any more. If after a month's time he again wishes to be fed, then a new feast will be prepared for him. When he has had his fill he sets out on a journey. A stand of bamboo is erected in the village square as soon as he has left, and while this stand is still there, the *Mesiab* is away. During his absence the *kasusi*-flute is being kept in the men's house where »it bewails its ancestor — the *Mesiab* is its ancestor — who is staying away so long on his journeys«. When the women hear its sound they ask why the flute has not gone away too. Then the men answer that the *Mesiab* has left it at home, and that is why it complains. While the *Mesiab* is away it is forbidden to sound a drum or to make any similar noises. Whenever food is being prepared, some of it is taken to the men's house and set before the flute that it may also partake in it. The cult of the *Mesiab* also includes the *kag*-pipe, a pipe made of bamboo. The *kag*-pipe is not a musical instrument, it is used only as a speaking tube. Another type of flute, the *sabun*-flute, also belongs to the paraphernalia of the *Mesiab*-cult. It is not kept in the men's house but in the forest. Sometimes the men build stands from bamboo with jungle creepers, climb on top of them and play their flutes there. As soon as the women hear this sound they ask about it, and then they usually get this answer: »The *Mesiab* calls, you must prepare food and bring it to him«.

The initiation of the youths commences with a procession. Here the novices appear adorned with armlet bands, boar's tusks, dog's fangs, shells, combs and belts. After the procession is over and the finery and make-up of the youths have been sufficiently admired, the parents set taro, bananas and yams at their son's feet. Then the uncle or cousin, who has presented the novice with fineries,

⁴⁰ Werner, 1911, pp. 182—183.

⁴¹ By another name: Ragetta. Aufinger, 1942—1945, a., p. 631. Map.

goes up to his candidate, pulls at the joints of his fingers so as to produce a cracking sound. This is meant to be a magic blessing and is accompanied by the following words addressed to the novice: »After leaving this place commit no more sins, be obedient to our fathers and to the commands of your uncles. When you commit a sin, when you all commit sins, that will be evil and bad for you, and it will lead you on to disaster«.

Following this address there comes the command: »Go ahead. Return to the forest and stay in the forest! Take off your bags and your new loin-clothes, and keep them carefully in the huts outside the village. You may eat only food that has been roasted on fire and you are not allowed to cook in pots. Later on, when I give you the word, you will put seawater in pots and boil it. Then you will chew wood and chew roots, and boil the cud in seawater. Then take it back into your mouths and with it you will spit solemnly towards the sun and entreat the sun: Depart from me vile maladies and evil wounds, may they depart to you and avoid our bodies, so that we may go back home in good health. May also the evils go to you, to the sun, so that we may return to our homes healthy and happy and without any illness«.

When the novices performed these rites, »then they are made to chew sugarcane, rinse their mouths with its juice, swallow some of it and then spit it out. They rinse their mouths and gargle with cocoa-nut milk and spit it out«. After this ceremony they may again eat cooked food and are allowed to live again in the village in the house of the youth. Those novices who did not keep these prescriptions contracted severe ailments and recovered only with the help of the sorcerer. During initiation the novices are strictly forbidden to eat cuttle fish, giant mussel, fishes called *sae* and *tab*, plainly all animals that live in the sea«.⁴²

Aufinger's study, published in 1941 on the customs of initiation and circumcision along Astrolabe Bay, is an important contribution to our subject. He relied almost entirely on what he had been told by informants on the spot; he possessed hardly any literature on the subject he was investigating. Although his work acquaints us only with the procedures of circumcision pure and simple, stripped of all its religious aspects, yet we learn from it in what light the aged natives of 1930 still look upon ancient initiation and which of its elements proved sufficiently resistant to become tradition. At the same time, *Aufinger's* study makes us realise that an ancient native religion can sink into almost complete oblivion within less than 40 years, and that it is necessary to check oral information given by old people by comparing it with data obtainable from literature.

The facts related by *Aufinger* concerned localities about Madang and the Rai (Maclay) Coast. His study gives an excellent account of »how the old custom of circumcision, once an integral part of the initiation of youths and as

⁴² *Dempwolff*, 1929, pp. 208—212, 230—232.

such, encompassed by multifarious ceremonies, transformed into simple incision free of any ceremonious adjuncts, spreading in this simplified form even into such parts of the Island where the old custom of circumcision had never been practised«.

The older form, circumcision proper, was formerly practised on the small islands round Madang (Sek, Panutibun, Granget, Yabob and Bilibili), along a narrow coastline south of Madang as far as Melamu (Konstantinhafen) and along the Rai Coast eastwards till beyond Siassi.⁴³

In the old days circumcision, as a part of the initiation rites, generally took place during the great feasts (*maror*). These feasts begun after the yam crops had been lodged and often lasted for months. Their timing depended on practical considerations since there had to be a certain amount of food in readiness for the ritual meals. For this reason — but also because in between the pigs had to be grow up too — these feasts could not be held every year, from 2 to 3 years had to elapse between two consecutive festivals.

Aufinger assumes that circumcision had a religious basis but he could not find any facts to corroborate his assumption. »My informants will not give away anything on this subject, but they will keep on saying 'Kulubob made us the gift of circumcision'«. Formerly when somebody had died following circumcision, it was the custom to say »The *Tambaran* has eaten him up«. All these statements seem to point to an esoteric religious basis of circumcision.

In their languages the various natives called circumcision by the word *mulung* and it is still known by that name. This word means »great festive pomp« in distinction from *maror*, »the usual festive pomp«. Circumcision was performed on the youths at the beginning of their maturity. When the elders had fixed the date of circumcision, the youths hid in the brushwood where huts had been built for them. While the novices lived in these huts they were not allowed to meet women. They were forbidden to eat meat or fats, and their meals had to be prepared without any fat or water. Prohibition was extended to a certain type of red fish (*tak*) too. During the initiation the »uncle« (this word was used in a most general sense) was responsible for the novice. It was he who made the ornaments for him and dressed him up in his festive attire for the procession taking place after the circumcision. The novice's father was not allowed to be present at the act of circumcision. Nor was any novice allowed to watch the circumcision of another. During the operation the novice sat on a tree-trunk with outspread thighs and legs putting his hands on his knees. The »uncles« kept him fast in this position; one sat behind him and embraced

⁴³ This statement is doubtful, at least as far as the date is concerned. Both *Miklucho-Maclay* and *Hagen* maintain that already about 1871 and 1893 the supra-incision type of circumcision was practiced in Bongu and Bogadjim. Thus, if we accept the theory that supra-incision developed from circumcision proper we must assume that this change had taken place much earlier.

his chest; an »uncle« sat on each side of the novice holding tight his hands and legs. Usually it was the grandfather who performed the operation on his own grandson. Anyhow it was always an old and »big« man who was entrusted with this office. As a cutting instrument they used a hard stone (*galling*).⁴⁴ Prior to the act of circumcision, the master of ceremonies repeated the following magic formula over the cutting instrument: »Oh, fire-stone not any more; oh, Hai'es-his-tooth now; little fish quick catch, bite through, hold tight«. That means: as the shark bites the little fish in two with one bite, so shall the knife, which is no more a stone but a shark's tooth, quickly cut through the prepuce. After this incantation the master of ceremonies, with his left hand, got hold of the prepuce of the novice who was sitting in front of him, pulled it as far down as he could over the glans »and with a quick cut, at a rectangle to the penis, cut off the dorsum of the prepuce. Thus, this was a circumcision in the real sense of the word«.

The operation performed, the master of ceremonies uttered some magic words over the wound. The blood was caught up in a bamboo stick, dried on the sun and mixed up with ochreclay to be used later for painting the novice with it. Finally, the wounds were bandaged with green leaves. Until the wounds had been healed the youths were not allowed to leave their hut in the forest. During the night they had to sleep naked on their backs with feet spread wide apart. The elder men took great care that the novices should not change this position whilst asleep. During the day the penis was fastened to their bodies between the thighs by means of long, narrow leaves. After the wound was healed, which usually took 3—6 months, the novices returned to their village amongst ceremonies and decked out with their »great festive attire«, their bodies painted with the blood from the circumcision.

The ornaments to this great festive attire had been made by the »uncles« and it was also they who dressed and painted the novices for the ceremonial procession. They accompanied the young men back to the village. For their offices these »uncles« received gifts from the fathers such as dogs, pigs, wooden bowls and so on, equivalent in value to the ornaments with which they presented the youths.

Because of the frequent deaths following circumcision, this procedure was given up. There was always a possibility for accidents, thus for instance if the hand of the operator shook he cut the frenulum preputii or injured the glans penis. On Sek island, where a great number of deaths had occurred, they stopped circumcision altogether.

⁴⁴ Hagen, 1899, p. 192. »The Bogadjim people though they have steel knives mostly use bamboo-splinters and obsidian slivers for circumcision. At the square in front of the Stephansort Hospital, where once there had stood an *Asa*-house of a one-time village, I myself have found an obsidian clump, the size of a child's head, that by all probability had been used for circumcision.«

In the last 20—30 years circumcision proper gave way almost everywhere to supra-incision, and »today everywhere in the places mentioned above, excepting Sek, supra-incision has come to be practiced. Lately, this manner of circumcision has been spreading further north and also inland«. Nevertheless the islanders and the inhabitants of the coastline believe circumcision to be their exclusive prerogative.

According to *Aufinger*, the women are responsible for the wide-spreading of this custom. »The saying is that women who know something about it will only marry circumcised men«.

In places where supra-incision is the prevailing custom, the boys are operated upon at an age between 8 and 12. No religious ceremonies are attached to this operation, nor is any definite date fixed for it in advance. On a number of boys having reached a certain age in the village, the elders decide to have the operation performed on them. They inform the fathers of the candidates about their decision so that the necessary preparations should be made.

Supra-incision takes place near some river or brook. In the forest huts are built for the novices. There are no special prohibitions whatsoever. The boys are told that they still have some of their mothers blood in them, and that this has to be removed, so that they might develop into strong and handsome young men.⁴⁵

The operation itself is performed in the following manner. »One of the doctors pushes the thick end of a leafstalk of some decorative plant between the glans penis and the prepuce of the youth who is sitting in front of him on a tree-trunk. Tightening the prepuce over the stalk, he makes a long cut with a sharp bamboo-knife.« The other »doctor« collects the blood into a split coconut-shell, which is afterwards buried, blood and all. The youths then wash in the river or brook, and their wounds are bandaged in the manner already described. The wounds usually heal in 2 to 3 months. During this time the youths stay in the forest. After the time of their segregation is over, they are festively arrayed and in a solemn procession led back into the village. »In this way circumcision has radically changed in 20—30 years both in its form and religious content. As supra-incision the custom has been spreading unresistingly.«⁴⁶

Though it lies outside the Astrolabe Bay territory, mention must be made of Karkar (Dampier) Island⁴⁷ because of the similarity of its initiation rites to those of the Bay region proper. An early and only description of the initiation ritual there can be found in the writings of *Kunze* who was the first missionary on the island.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ This explanation has been known from other areas too. See for instance *Nilles*, 1940, p. 97.

⁴⁶ *Aufinger*, 1941, pp. 25—39.

⁴⁷ Little is known about the ethnography of the people on Karkar Island. See: *Kunze* 1896; *Nachrichten*, 1894, p. 47; *Höltker*, 1937; *Hubers*, 1942—45,

⁴⁸ *Kunze*, 1892, 1897, 1926.

According to him, the most essential part of the natives' religion is the cult of the *Barak*-ghost. The ghost itself is known all along the shores of New Guinea, although by different names. On the island of Siar he is called *Mesiab*, in Bogadjim they call him *Asa*. The festivals in honour of the *Barak*-ghost are held at uncertain dates, yearly, every other year, or at even longer intervals; they celebrate it now in this and then again in another village.

Women must not take part in any cultic activities connected with the *Barak*; they are not to know anything about matters concerning it, and must not even set eyes on any item of the religious parapharnelia.

The most significant of the festive proceedings arranged in honour of the *Barak* is the one connected with the initiation of youths. At the festival in Kulobob, which was attended by *Kunze* in November 1891, a number of boys were indoctrinated in the ghost-cult. The candidates were selected by the elders from among the boys between 9 and 12 years of age.

As a rule, these inauguration ceremonies commence with declaring the young boys mature. Maturation and, in general, all other festive proceedings take place in the *gogoi* and on the square in front of it. *Gogoi* is the designation for a hut built especially for cultic purposes. In it are kept the ritual musical instruments made of pumpkin and bamboo. While the *Barak*-festivals are on, every woman and child must avoid the place of the ceremonies. Sentinels are set watching that nobody should stealthily come near it. The festive square itself is fenced in. The *gogoi* is beautifully adorned. Long poles are driven in the ground round about it and these are decorated with multi-coloured foliage. Similarly decorated sticks are pushed across the roof of the *gogoi*. Apart from two narrow openings the inside of the hut is completely barred from the outer world. Even the two small entrances are screened from profane eyes by mats set up wall-like in front of them.

When *Kunze* arrived at the place of the festival, the solemnities had already been going on for 3—4 days and a number of youths had already been declared mature. Many mountain-dwellers were present as visitors. All along the front of the *gogoi* the youths of Kulobob were lined up in rows. The majority of them had already been initiated. Among them were standing those who were to be declared mature on that particular occasion. A curious figure was stately walking up and down in front of the line. He had a huge mask on his head, a real work of art of Papuan wood-carving. Its facial part looked awful, resembling rather some ante-diluvian monster than a human's face. To the top of the mask a decorated pole was fastened, some two meter in length. This not only made the mask extremely heavy to wear, but caused great difficulty for the wearer to keep his balance. Whenever at certain peculiar movements or bendings of the body the pole swung dangerously beyond its centre of gravity it cost the man no small effort to keep his balance and he was thus in constant danger of giving away his identity. The attire of this figure was rather different

from what the Papuans usually wear. His body was covered by a much-worn European overcoat, on his back hung a »*lawalap*«, a loincloth made of two coloured bandana handkerchiefs. In both hands he held boar tusks. Having, for some time, walked up and down the line of the youths with peculiar movements of the head he presently stopped in front of one of the candidates, glared at him, then hit him on the forehead with his fist, or on the chest, and thus declared him »mature«. During these proceedings the youths displayed greatest solemnity and attention. Moreover, on some faces fear and even horror could be noticed.

Whenever a *Barak* personificator had grown tired, he disappeared, and another man took his place with the same mask and attire. He behaved in much the same way as the first man did. Every time he seized a candidate, as if at a sign, 3—4 of the young men already initiated rushed at the novice, caught him, threw him up in the air, and caught him again. Then one of the lads pressed the novice's face against his own chest so that the novice should not see what was happening around him, some other lads were holding him tight while the rest of the youngsters were hitting his back with open palms or with twigs broken from the nearby trees. Thereafter two men each seized the novice's limbs and began to pull at him, as if they wanted to tear him to pieces. This was done with the idea that thereby the young man grows big and strong. Had the *Barak* not beaten him, he would remain small and weak. When all this had been performed, the oldest man of the village, Madana by name, delivered a moral homily to the novices charging them with the duty of keeping silent about what they had seen and experienced and not to give it away to the women. In the days following the youths had to fast, and for a certain period they were forbidden to eat meat and taro. Then the initiated youths went into the nearby forest where they spent one night in hiding. The next morning they boarded canoes, and in the company of a few men sailed over to Rich Island. While they were away, dishes were heaped up on the festive square with cooked taro, bananas, pigs' and dogs' meat. The food was meant for the *Barak*.

To the question why the youths were to hide, they answered: »The *Barak* has eaten them, that is what we tell the women and the girls; in a few days he will spit them out again«. And, truly, a few days later they returned from Rich Island, and naturally they maintained to have come rightaway from the stomach of the *Barak*. The *Barak*-festival was continued. Now came the second part of it. This took place in the *gogoi*. Here 10—12 large wooden drums had been placed, and all of them were being beaten day and night by two men each with heavy clubs in a varying rhythm. Next to every drummer stood another man ready to take over when fatigue set in. These men played on bamboo-pipes in the meantime. Another 20—30 men were playing on bamboo-pipes too. The sound of the bamboo-pipes was strengthened by an instrument like a horn giving off a booming sound. Time to time they stopped the drumming. During

these intervals one of the men addressed the party through a bamboo-tube in a disguised voice. This man represented the *Barak*. When he stopped talking, the rest of the men answered in a choir, and in this way a sort of dialogue took place between the *Barak* dwelling in the *gogoi* and the men gathered in his honour.

The men who stayed and feasted in the *gogoi* were supplied with taro, bananas, dogs' and pigs' meat by the women. The dishes filled with food were placed on a long platform, and everybody helped himself from the bowls to as much food as he liked.

While the *Barak*-festival lasted, great numbers of men visited it from the neighbouring villages. They came on foot or on canoes; even people living in the farthest parts of the hills put in an appearance. The visitors joined in the drumbeat and music-playing, taking turns at the instruments. Thus, the noise in the *gogoi* was kept up practically all the time with the exception of a few breaks while the *Barak* was reciting his part. Men from the neighbouring villages sometimes came twice or even three times. All this showed organization and so did the fact that everyone on the island knew exactly when he was supposed to appear in Kulobob at the *Barak*-festival. Naturally the Rich-islanders were also there among the visitors. During the twelve-day *Barak*-festival, according to Kunze's estimation, at least 2000—2500 men visited Kulobob. Not only the inhabitants of the coast were there but also the mountain-folk.⁴⁹

In earlier days circumcision was known everywhere in Karkar Island. In the villages on the coastline, however, it is no longer practised probably because of the physical pains it causes. The mountain villagers still observe it.⁵⁰

Kunze states, there was usually a swine-market held at the time of the festival. The pigs were tied securely and laid down in front of the hut. Then the most respected elder of the village pointed with a stone-axe to each pig in turn and called upon the buyer to come forward. Amidst great noise and, often, drum music, the buyer rose, together with all the men from his own village, went up to the selected pig and put down the price.⁵¹

2.

The summary of the available literature as outlined in the preceding chapter seems to confirm that by relying on literature alone it is only possible to arrive at incomplete, fragmentary solutions of the problems that present themselves to us. This is mainly due to the fact that most of the written sources date back to the last decades of the 19th century, i. e. to a time when ethnographical methodology was still undeveloped. But apart from this, it must be admitted

⁴⁹ Kunze, 1892, pp. 196—207.

⁵⁰ Kunze, 1897, p. 84.

⁵¹ Kunze, 1897, p. 78.

that, except in *Aufinger's* study, initiation and ghostcult have never been in the centre of scientific interest and the majority of the sources mention both these subjects only in passing. The fragmentary and incoherent presentation is also a consequence of the fact that most authors lacked a proper knowledge of and experience in scientific ethnography. The reports of the German protestant missionaries are more in the nature of descriptive stories of local life, which as such were chiefly intended for publication in popular missionary periodicals and bound to respect their peculiar viewpoints.

Besides *Aufinger*, only three authors possessed some expert ethnographical knowledge. *Miklucho-Maclay* did splendid spade-work in his days, and his experiences served for a long time as a guide in the study of the peoples of Astrolabe Bay.⁵² It is deplorable that his scanty knowledge of the native languages and the esoteric character of initiation and ghost-cult made it impossible for him to get better acquainted with the questions of native religious life.⁵³ *Hagen*, who was working as a physician in Astrolabe Bay, concentrated his valuable work upon the material culture of the natives. Unfortunately, he too had difficulties with the native languages, and as regards religion he was therefore compelled to rely almost entirely on information supplied by the missionaries which, of course, could not be satisfactory from a scientific point of view. *Dempwolff* was mainly interested in the study of native mental culture to which he made some valuable contributions. He also directed his attention to linguistics, and so his remarks on ethnographic points remained rather casual and fragmentary. From among the missionaries *Kunze's* work is perhaps the most useful but his highly colourful *tableaux vivants* do not touch upon many points important to us.

It is a cause for regret that *Kubary*, who spent many years in Astrolabe Bay,⁵⁴ has left no important contribution on the ethnography of this region, all the more so as his precise working methods are well known from other territories.⁵⁵

Summarising, it is obvious that the reports from the end of the last century could leave no complete picture of initiation and ghost-cult as it existed in those days. On the other hand, as can be deduced from *Aufinger's* reports, by to-day an entirely different situation prevails, the old cult and rituals are buried or dimmed in the minds of the native informants themselves to such an extent that there are no longer any means at our disposal to reconstruct a reliable and complete picture of the past.

⁵² *Finsch*, 1888, b. p. 37, p. 64; *Romilly*, 1886, p. 221. He writes: »We saw a few canoes coming off to us, but they seemed rather shy at first, till I shouted out the magical name of *Maclay*; then they came up, as fast as they could.« See also: *Finsch*, 1885, p. 9.

⁵³ *Miklucho-Maclay*, 1876, pp. 303—308; Миклухо-Маклай, 1950—1951, III, pp. 90—94.

⁵⁴ *Kubary* was in charge of a station of the New Guinea Company at Konstantinshafen. *Schmeltz*, 1897, pp. 134—135. His activity was, unfortunately, restricted to his official duties and to the shorter trips of exploration connected with them. *Nachrichten*, 1888, pp. 60—64.

⁵⁵ See e. g. *Kubary*, 1889; *Kubary*, 1892; *Kubary*, 1895.

Particularly poor are our data concerning the psychological bases of initiation and ghost-cult. Though we may say that we possess the descriptions of most of the features that may once have been essential elements of the ritual of initiation yet the nature of this material does not in itself enable us to draw inferences as to the psychological groundwork of these native observances.⁵⁶ Therefore, our work must be directed first of all to establish the place of the Astrolabe Bay initiation within the cultural history of New Guinea.

In our opinion, the fragmentary descriptions deriving from different regions are really parts of one and the same ghost-cult and initiation ritual. This is corroborated by the observation that the various descriptions show many points in common, and anyhow the vicinity of the localities, where our data derive from, make fundamental differences rather unlikely. Nor is there any reason to assume fundamental differences in view of the cultural unity of the Astrolabe Bay peoples, a fact that is further attested by the products of material culture coming from all over the Astrolabe Bay. This fundamental unity is proved also by linguistic facts. According to *Aufinger's* Melanesian speaking informants the initiation is called *mulung* in Astrolabe Bay, the meaning of *mulung* being literally »great pomp« as opposed to *maror* that denotes just »ordinary, common pomp«. The same word is used in connection with initiation in Bogadjim and Bongu too, i. e. in the non-Melanesian linguistic areas, meaning »prepuce« in Bogadjim, whereas *mulung airas* means »circumcision«. In Bongu *mulun* is used for the act of circumcision while *mulun daûar* denotes the performance itself of the operation.⁵⁷ In Bongu the word *maror* means rich, well-to-do, and the phrase *maror atar* is employed to express a festival that has been preceded by weeks of preparation.⁵⁸

A similar coincidence of features can be seen in the various myths as well. Thus, for instance, the myth of *Kilibob* and *Manup*, apart from a few minor details, can be found in practically every locality mentioned in our survey. (An analysis of the myth and an examination of its dispersion over our territory will be given further down.)

If on this basis it is agreed that in the descriptions given in the previous chapter we have before us various fragments of essentially the same cult and ritual, then the outstanding features of this cultic unity may be summed up as follows:

1. The initiation is an integral part of the ghost-cult. Initiation at the same time means the indoctrination of youths in the ghost-cult.
2. The ghost-cult and everything that belongs to it is secret. Women and uninitiated boys are excluded from it.

⁵⁶ For this reason we refer only to the literature of the subject and first of all to the works of *Reschke*, 1935; *Jensen*, 1933, and to the articles under the relevant headings in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

⁵⁷ *Hanke*, 1909, p. 190.

⁵⁸ *Hanke*, 1909, p. 185.

3. The ghost, the central figure of the cult, is an ogre or a monster (a shark⁵⁹); in some places, judging from the masks, it is some anthropomorphic being.

4. Candidates are kept segregated, usually in a special building situated in some remote place.

5. Initiation ceremonies take place at longer intervals.

6. Among the novices there may be included boys from other villages on condition that the two localities are on friendly terms and have trading relations.

7. The novices must observe a strict taboo of food and drink.

8. During the initiation rituals every candidate is under the strict control of one of the grown-up men.

9. The ghost swallows the boys.

10. At the time of the circumcision the ghost bites the prepuce of the novices.

11. The boys are contained in the stomach of the ghost until their wounds are healed.

12. At the end of the period of initiation, usually after partaking of some pork offered to him in sacrifice, the ghost gives up the youth and spits him out.

13. The act of circumcision is sometimes accompanied by the shaving of the novices' body. Beating, shaking the novice, and spitting on him may take the place of circumcision.

14. During their seclusion the novices receive rudimentary indoctrination.

15. The rites of initiation being over, the youths receive new clothings, new ornaments and are painted.

16. The newly initiated are taken back to the village in a festive procession amidst great rejoicing.

17. The cultic equipment comprises: a) masks, b) flutes or reeds of bamboo, c) bull-roarers, d) ocarinas, e) rattles, f) dancer's swords and g) ancestral images.

3.

Investigational results so far attained plainly point to the fact that the intricate combination of initiation rites in New Guinea constitutes, in essence, a homogeneous whole.

On the basis of his studies of the initiation rituals of the Bukawa and of the Jabim peoples along the Huon-Gulf Coast, *Deacon* comes to speak of *Balum*-type cults, and assumes that the »highly dramatic representation of the death and resurrection of the novices is the central feature in the rituals of initiation«.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ *Speiser*, 1945—1946, p. 16, writes of crocodiles and not sharks. We have been unable to find out on what he based his statement.

⁶⁰ *Deacon*, 1925, p. 332.

In his view »the association of the *Balum*-cult with Melanesian-speaking peoples, the use of masks (on Tami Is.) to represent ghosts, the drinking of kava on ceremonial occasions by the old men and the prohibition of its use by the uninitiated, indicate at least that the *Balum*-cult was brought to New Guinea by a cultural migration«. ⁶¹ Deacon professes to have discovered the Indonesian counterpart of the *Balum*-type cults in the *Kakihan*-Society in Ceram ⁶², and believes »that it may be regarded as the prototype of the initiation cults of the Melanesian-speaking peoples in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea, and probably therefore of the initiation cults of the Tugere, or Marind, and of the Gogodara in S. W. New Guinea«. ⁶³

Reschke, too, conceives of the initiation rituals of New Guinea as a cultic unity. He states that »on the whole initiation of the youths of the Melanesian and the Papuan tribes of New Guinea present a fundamentally uniform picture.« ⁶⁴ According to him, the essential characteristics of initiation in New Guinea can be summed up as follows :

1. By the common belief of the Melanesian and the Papuan tribes the ghost either swallows the novices or they are annihilated by fire. The two views blend into each other and seem to express the same idea : the novices must die at the beginning of the initiation.

2. The dying of the candidate in the ghost takes place through the circumcision.

3. Following a practical training given them during their segregation for guidance in the course of their further life and having thereby grown ripe to be true »Children of the ghost« the renascent candidates enter the normal daily life of their tribe.

4. With all the tribes, each individual stage of initiation corresponds to a natural phase of human development.

5. With all the tribes, the ghost is the Holy of Holies within which the transformation and the development of the novice is accomplished.

6. The ghost generally reveals itself as the first parents, as the first father and the first mother simultaneously, to whom all the members of the tribe owe their rise and bodily existence, and all their mental, spiritual and material possessions.

7. The ghost materializes in the flute, the bull-roarer, the mask, the dancing and the ghost-house, interpreted as the body of the ghost.

8. Fertility rites close the initiation ritual. Although these show a rich variety of forms, the fundamental idea underlying them all is the same. ⁶⁵

⁶¹ Deacon, 1925, pp. 332—333.

⁶² In addition to Deacon's study on the *Kakihan*-Society of Ceram, see also Jensen, 1948, pp. 80—126.

⁶³ Deacon, 1925, p. 335.

⁶⁴ Reschke, 1935, p. 163.

⁶⁵ Reschke, 1935, pp. 163—164.

Speiser deals with the cultic history of Melanesian initiation in more than one instance and at considerable length.⁶⁶ He attempts to determine the place to be assigned to the individual features of initiation and comes to the conclusion that certain features are primary while others are secondary. Investigating the primary features of initiation in New Guinea, he established the following essential elements :

1. Food taboos are present in practically all of the initiation rituals.
2. In none of the types of initiation is segregation ever missing and the motif of being kidnapped and killed by the ancestral spirits is often hinted at.
3. Teaching and investing with strength are features usually present.
4. Wherever food taboos are observed, the lifting of the interdiction always takes place among solemn ceremonies.
5. The idea of re-birth is traceable in most of the cases.⁶⁷

As regards the origin of initiation *Speiser* maintains it is polygenetic »with strong tendencies to converge«. In his opinion initiation derives from pre-Austronesian cultural layers, not forgetting, however, »that it is still being strongly cherished by the Austronesian Melanesians«. ⁶⁸ From among the secondary features of initiation *Speiser* assumes that the ghost-flute is pre-Austronesian while the man-swallowing ghost, circumcision and the bull-roarer are Melanesian cultural phenomena.⁶⁹

Comparing these findings and characteristics with the traits as outlined by us above for initiation in the Astrolabe Bay region we are forced to admit that the initiation rites in the territory under review definitely belong to the New Guinean initiation complex defined as a coherent cultic unity.

But we may go one step further, for beyond these general congruities several particularly characteristic features of Astrolabe Bay initiation point to a considerably closer connection with the initiation cults of the northern coastal regions.

Deacon seems to have been aware of this closer contact stating that in some of the cults on the northern coast of New Guinea, more particularly in the *Balum*-cult of the Huon Gulf region and the initiation ritual of Karesau Island, he detected the purest Melanesian counterparts of the *Kakihan*-Society of Ceram. It struck him that in these two geographically widely separated areas initiation in each case closely attached itself to ghost-cult and cultic-society, and that the ghost, always the central figure in these cults, showed invariably the same essential characteristics. We, too, are of the opinion that all the ghosts and ogres of the northern coastal regions, always the prime agents in initiation,

⁶⁶ *Speiser*, 1928—1929 ; *Speiser*, 1944 ; *Speiser*, 1945—1946.

⁶⁷ *Speiser*, 1945—1946, p. 8.

⁶⁸ *Speiser*, 1945—1946, p. 31.

⁶⁹ *Speiser*, 1945—1946, p. 17, p. 11, p. 26 ; *Speiser*, 1944, p. 13. For further details on the bull-roarer in Melanesia see also *Zerries*, 1942.

may be traced back to a common ancestral form. If *Deacon's* statement about the cults of Ceram and Karesau Islands can be accepted, namely, that »we are dealing in these two widely separated areas with the expressions of one and the same religious cult«,⁷⁰ then this identity is even more obvious in Northern New Guinea.

There is another basis which is bound to make us suppose common origin. This is the linguistic basis, the analysis of the ghost names as they appear in connection with initiation in Northern New Guinea. Quite obvious seems to be the common root to *bar* (*lum*)⁷¹ in Bukawa and Jabim, *Barak* on Karkar Island, *Parak* and *Pakuk*⁷² in the Aitape region and *Brag*⁷³ in the Nor-Papuan language. Mention must be made in this context of the Graged and Siar Island *Mesiab*, the Bilibili Island term *Meriab*,⁷⁴ the Karesau *Kaiwar*⁷⁵ and the Monumbo *Murup*, *Möröb*.⁷⁶ According to *Reschke* »all these names of ghosts have an initial or final syllable with *mbar*, *war* or *par*. In the Graged word *Mesiab* the onetime *r* changed into an *s* following the well-known law of rhotacism. The earlier form of the word was *Meriab*,⁷⁷ *Merab*, which corresponds to the Monumbo word *Murup*, *Möröb*..... These tribes must have formerly known one single ghost with common name, a fact that finds confirmation in the close relationship between the ghost-cults of the different tribes«. ⁷⁸ *Reschke* considers the root of the word to be of Austronesian origin and assumes that »the Polynesian deity *Kane*, who combined all these life-giving powers in one person, might have wandered as far as New Guinea where he was adopted by the ghost-cults of the Melanesian and Papuan tribes«. ⁷⁹

The findings of *Deacon* and *Reschke* supplemented by our own data seem to permit the conclusion that the ghost- or ogre-cult forming the most essential part of New Guinean initiation rituals reached Melanesian territory from the west as a culture-immigrant, and its prototype should be looked for and found in Indonesia, according to *Deacon* on the Island of Ceram.

Speiser shares this opinion about the Austronesian character of the ghost-cult seeing that in his view: »...it seems admissible to consider the ghost's swallowing the candidate to be a Melanesian element which in New Guinea penetrated far into the pre-Austronesian area«. ⁸⁰

⁷⁰ *Deacon*, 1925, pp. 351—352.

⁷¹ On the *Balum*-cult and the initiation rituals at Huon Gulf see *Lehner*, 1911; 1930; 1934—1935; *Schellong*, 1889; *Bamler*, 1911; *Keysser*, 1911; *Zahn*, 1911; *Hogbin*, 1947—1948.

⁷² *Meyer*, 1932, 1933.

⁷³ *Schmidt*, 1926, pp. 48—56.

⁷⁴ On a note explaining his photograph, *Biró* calls the group of players of this cultic instrument: *meriab*-chorus.

⁷⁵ *Schmidt*, 1907.

⁷⁶ *Vormann*, 1915—1916.

⁷⁷ This inference of *Reschke's* is strengthened by the comments in Note 74.

⁷⁸ *Reschke*, 1935, p. 103.

⁷⁹ *Reschke*, 1935, pp. 104—105. About the linguistic situation of the northern coastal regions see: *Ray*, 1919; *Capell*, 1940—1941.

⁸⁰ *Speiser*, 1945—1946, p. 17.

These views are not contradicted in the least by the fact that in some places within the territory under review, as in Bogadjim and Bongu, we come upon ghost-names which show no connection whatsoever with the roots *mbar*, *war* and *par*. Though it is an occurrence common enough that cultural immigrants, whether phenomena or material objects, are taken over together with their original names, yet by no means can this be considered a hard and fast rule. That this is so, is clearly shown by the initiation rituals in the Lake Sentani area, to which, as *Wirz* conclusively proved, the cult had been imported recently. »About fifty years ago«, he writes, »at a time when the graybeards of today were youngsters, the peoples of Sentani knew nothing whatsoever about the secret cults of the coast-dwellers.«⁸¹ Cults adapted or, to be more exact, purchased often come to be reshaped and remodeled. »... a great many new elements come to be added to them in the first place, their amalgamation with a belief in the *Uarfo* ... «⁸² Moreover, the central figure of the former religion, the *Uarfo* himself, undergoes some changes; he now devours and swallows the young men or tears off their limbs.⁸³ This change in form is further emphasised by certain customs during initiation when for instance »... after festive meals the young men are wont to decorate their empty cooking vessels with all sorts of phantastic figures which represent mostly a fish or a monster (*Uarfo*).«⁸⁴ The *Uarfo*, as can be seen, has taken over the character of the central figure in the new cult without, however, giving up his old name for the new.

Probably, the same process took place elsewhere, too; first of all in the non-Melanesian speaking areas. The new cultic ideas embedded themselves in the old cultic soil. The old names of the local ghost or ghosts remained unchanged yet the ghost himself became invested with new features and qualities.

Apart from concepts relative to the ghost, there is another feature that links up the initiation rituals of the northern coastal region, namely, that circumcision, including here all proceedings with the penis, can be found in every type of them. Investigating the spreading of circumcision, *Speiser* came to the conclusion that: »Geographically, the custom of circumcision has spread all along the northern coast of New Guinea, though it appears not to have penetrated inland to any depths, then along the Huon Gulf to New-Britain and to North New-Ireland with its neighbouring islands«.

»This expansion makes it quite clear that coming from Indonesia circumcision first spread along the northern coastline of New Guinea, then traveled simultaneously by way of New-Britain to the north and, on a direct route, to the New Hebrides and New Caledonia.«⁸⁵

⁸¹ *Wirz*, 1923, p. 53. See also *Wirz*, 1928, pp. 323—355.

⁸² *Wirz*, 1923, p. 61.

⁸³ *Wirz*, 1923, p. 65, 68.

⁸⁴ *Wirz*, 1923, p. 74. On the subject of *Uarfo* see pp. 24—39.

⁸⁵ *Speiser*, 1944, p. 14.

From *Speiser's* investigations it would thus appear that the custom of circumcision, as found in the initiation rituals of the northern shores, came there carried on the waves of Melanesian migration and so it must be assumed that this element of initiation, next in importance to the ghost-cult, is also of Melanesian origin.

We cannot, however, agree with *Speiser's* statements in every respect. Thus, we cannot accept his statement that those native groups »who practise real circumcision speak, like the Indonesians do, Austronesian languages, whereas those who put grass and the like into the urethra, mostly belong to the pre-Austronesian peoples«. ⁸⁶ We cannot share this view because on close examination of the proper places which from a linguistic point of view are to be assigned, on the one hand, to those groups of peoples which practise »real circumcision« and, on the other hand, to those employing other manipulations with the penis, we find that none of them can be strictly limited to Melanesian or non-Melanesian speaking entities.

The circumcision as established by custom in the non-Melanesian speaking areas clearly shows that pre-Austronesians do know »real circumcision« too. Melanesian speaking groups, for instance in Karesau, are acquainted with the piercing of the penis, next to »real circumcision«. Were the manipulations with the penis other than circumcision pre-Austronesian cultural phenomena, then they would be more widely spread in the interior of the island. Today, they occur only along the coast and its vicinity. It seems probable, therefore, that similar to the circumcision-incision process observed by *Aufinger*, here too we are facing a local degeneration of »real circumcision«.

The third essential common feature in the North New Guinean initiation rituals is the fact that the ghost-flutes play everywhere a significant role. This peculiarity was noticed by *Deacon*, who wrote: »Initiation cults of the *Balum*-type in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea are associated with the use in their ritual of sacred flutes«. ⁸⁷ Agreeing with *Haddon*, ⁸⁸ *Deacon* thinks the flutes to be of Melanesian origin, and takes the coupling of the flute with the ghost of monster-like properties for a further proof of an existing genetical linkage between the Melanesian initiation rituals and the Kakihan Society of Ceram Island.

On our part, we disagree with *Haddon's* statement that »we may confidently ascribe the sacred flutes to direct Melanesian influence«. ⁸⁹ Investigating

⁸⁶ *Speiser*, 1944, p. 13.

⁸⁷ *Deacon*, 1925, p. 335.

⁸⁸ *Haddon*, 1920.

⁸⁹ *Haddon*, 1920, p. 256. In this study *Haddon* mentions the custom of initiation along the northern shores and in Astrolabe Bay basing his statement on the investigations of *Hagen*, *Biró* and *Semayer*. *Haddon* corroborates our view that the ghost-flutes play a considerable role in the initiations of the northern shores: »Their use extends along the whole northcoast and into Netherlands territory as far as the Nimburan.« (See p. 252). His view is that initiation and ghost-cult connected with it is non-Melanesian, and he motivates it in this way: »When

the distribution of the ghost-flutes *Speiser* points out that »they are found only in the north and the Central Mountains«⁹⁰ and, therefore, they must be considered as pre-Austronesian cultural phenomena. We may accept *Speiser's* view all the more as the use of the ghost-flutes is connected with the initiation ritual not only along the coast but also in the interior of New Guinea, where they even play a central part in it.^{90a}

Thus our investigations have led us to the following results :

On the shores of Northern New Guinea between the Huon Gulf and Humboldt Bay and on the outlying islands initiation rites are in more than one respect essentially the same. In the present author's opinion the most significant agreeing features are the two facts that the various names of the ghost can in most places be traced back to the same root, and that everywhere the same properties are attributed to the ghost. These characteristics are clearly of Melanesian origin. The same seems to apply to another feature, namely to that of circumcision, or whatever attention is given to the male genital organ. Finally, there is the use of ghost-flutes common in all initiation rituals all along the northern coast line the origin of which is obviously pre-Austronesian.

Now, since all these characteristics are also characteristics of the initiation ceremonies of Astrolabe Bay, the assumption appears to be justified that the initiation rituals of Astrolabe Bay link up with those of the northern shores of New Guinea. It is also equally probable that the initiation cult in the Astrolabe Bay region combines elements both of Melanesian and Papuan (pre-Austronesian) origin. Melanesian is the conception of ghost together with all his essential characteristics and the circumcision as an accompanying feature of the ghost-cult ; on the other hand, the use of the ghost-flute must be considered as Papuan (pre-Austronesian).

4.

The essential oneness of the initiation complex as practised on the coast of Northern New Guinea and the fact that the initiation ritual of Astrolabe Bay belongs within it, can also be corroborated by some mythological data. Thus the myth of *Kilibob* and *Manup* in Astrolabe Bay contains features which can

the coastal people have these ceremonies we constantly find that there are certain intimate relations with the mountain people, which would hardly be the case if the ceremonies had been introduced by the former. The conviction is thus borne in on one that the ceremonies belong essentially to the mountain folk. But the mountain people are universally regarded as aborigines, and ethnologists term them Papuan« (See p. 256). This view of *Haddon's* does not contradict our final conclusions because we do not believe that cultural exchange takes place exclusively along such rigid lines. We also know quite well by now the initiation rituals and the ghost-cults of the »mountainfolk«, and that both differ considerably from those of the coastal people.

⁹⁰ *Speiser*, 1945—1946, p. 11.

^{90a} *Aufenanger* and *Höltker*, 1940, pp. 67—85 ; *Vicedom* and *Tischner*, 1943—1948, II, pp. 180—185.

be found along the northern coastline in all the localities where the type of initiation as outlined above has been found predominant.

Hoffmann was the first to make known this myth from Bogadjim.⁹¹ In his work, *Hagen* published the same variant, apart from a few unimportant details,⁹² mentioning that the myth was also known on Siar Island.⁹³ The most detailed description of the myth has been given by *Dempwolff*⁹⁴ though certain elements of his version seem to be spurious additions (the turning into a tortoise of *Manumbu*, or to be exact, *Kilibob*'s wife; the tortoise hunt, etc.⁹⁵). It is to be regretted that *Kunze* gives only the names of these mythical figures as used in Karkar, but even the few scraps he does mention are sufficient to point to the heroic-cultural activities of the two main heroes, and make it highly probable that the Karkar version belongs to the same mythcomplex.⁹⁶ *Höltker*'s communication makes it certain that the myth has been known on Karkar Island too: »I myself have heard the myth from the natives«.⁹⁷ *Aufinger* recently reported an abridged variant of the myth from the Yabob Islands where we did not know that it had ever existed.⁹⁸ We submit this variant in full since it combines all the chief elements that have been found elsewhere, and because on certain points it most clearly expounds the fundamental concept of the myth.

Kilibob and *Manup* were brothers. One day *Kilibob* went fishing. His wife, *Rorpain*, went into the garden to fetch vegetables. Presently an arrow fell down next to her. This arrow belonged to *Manup*. *Rorpain* would not return the arrow before *Manup* had promised her to tattoo the decorations of his arrow on her mons Veneris. With his bamboo-knife *Manup* tattooed the pattern as was required from him. *Rorpain* was bleeding severely. *Manup* tried to stop the bleeding with leaves, then threw the soiled leaves into the sea. The waves carried the blood-stained leaves out to the open sea, exactly to the spot where *Kilibob* had been fishing. When *Kilibob* saw the blood-stained leaves he thought some harm had befallen his wife or his brother, but on his return he found nothing amiss. But while they were pulling the canoe to the shore, he noticed that somebody had been tattooing his wife's mons Veneris. When his wife refused to name the culprit, *Kilibob* decided to search for him. Next morning he called together all the men from the village, and asked them to help him build a big house. He ordered each of them to bring him a handsomely carved post. A few days later the men brought the posts. *Kilibob* examined each post with

⁹¹ *Hoffmann*, 1898, b.

⁹² *Hagen*, 1899, pp. 281—285. See also: *Tappenbeck*, 1901, pp. 57—61; *Krieger*, 1899, p. 128, p. 150, p. 188.

⁹³ *Hagen*, 1899, p. 285.

⁹⁴ *Dempwolff*, 1910, pp. 69—81.

⁹⁵ As it becomes clear from *Dempwolff*'s account, the two brothers have been mixed up in the first half of the mythical story. *Dempwolff*, 1910, p. 81.

⁹⁶ *Kunze*, 1897, p. 65.

⁹⁷ *Höltker*, in *Aufinger*, 1942—1945, b., p. 313.

⁹⁸ *Aufinger*, 1942—1945, b.

care. On one of them he recognized the same pattern that he had seen on his wife. Then he found out that this post had been carved by *Manup*. Thereupon *Kilibob* decided to kill *Manup*. When the holes were dug for the posts, *Kilibob* told his brother to jump into one of them and help straighten the post. His intention was to let the heavy post fall on his brother and so kill him. But *Rorpain* had warned *Manup*, and so he could make his own arrangements. He asked the white ants to dig an underground tunnel from the hole to his own house. Next morning *Manup* chewed betel-nut and spat the red juice of it into a cocoanut-shell. He hid the cocoanut-shell among his hair and slid down into the pit. When the men lifted the post over the pit with the intention to drop it on him *Manup* hid in the underground tunnel and put the cocoanut-shell on the bottom of the hole. When the men dropped the post into the pit it crunched the cocoanut-shell and the red juice splashed about. Seeing this, *Kilibob* thought it was his brother's blood, and that *Manup* was dead. Overjoyed he had his brother's largest pig tied up so that they could kill it for a celebration. But *Manup* called the pig to him and with his friends they killed one of *Kilibob*'s largest pigs and feasted on it. The parents feared a ceaseless feud between the brothers. So they decided that the brothers had better part. When they were ready, each of them stepped into a canoe in the company of their friends. *Manup* and his friends sailed northwest, while *Kilibob* sailed southeast, towards Dampier Straits. It is said that *Kilibob* was light-skinned while *Manup* was of a darker complexion. When after a long time the white men arrived through Dampier Straits the people of the Yabob Islands thought it was *Kilibob* who returned with his friends.

The basic features of this myth, can be retraced in every version current in the Astrolabe Bay region. The adultery, or rather the adulterous tattooing, the husband's revenge, the culprit's shrewd escape and the parting of the brothers appear with the same features in every variant. Even smaller details show agreement. *Kilibob*, the elder brother, is led to discover the adultery by means of leaves (Bogadjim, Bilibili, Yabob), *Kilibob* notices the tattooing while pulling his boat to shore when his wife steps over the outrigger (Bilibili, Yabob); the elder brother wants to carry out his revenge when building a house; he tries to establish the culprit's identity by the decoration on the post; or he himself carves the scene of the adultery on the wood (Bogadjim, Bilibili, Yabob); *Manup*'s death is planned to take place in the hole dug up for the post of a house, but he is helped by some animals, who dig an underground tunnel for him; at the same time he misleads his brother with the red juice of the betelnut (Bogadjim, Bilibili, Yabob); the two brothers sail away (in Yabob, Bilibili; in Bogadjim only *Mandumba*, with one companion); these sea-voyages are connected with the rise of settlements on the islands (Bogadjim, Bilibili).

This agreement in the details is corroborated by an investigation of the names in the myth. In Bogadjim the name of the two brothers is *Kolibob* and

Mandumba, on Bilibili Island *Kilibob* and *Manumbu*, on Yabob Island *Kilibob* and *Manup*, while on Karkar Island *Kelibob* and *Mandumbe*. In Bogadjim and in Bilibili Island *Kelibob*, *Kilibob* is the elder one of the two brothers and *Mandumba*, *Manumbu* the younger. The versions from Yabob and Karkar Islands do not mention this point, but it is obvious that in the Yabob Island version, as the story of the myth undoubtedly shows, *Kilibob* has to be the elder and *Manup* the younger brother.

Accordingly, the myths in Astrolabe Bay show a uniform appearance. This uniformity has been stressed by *Höltker*, too, who at the same time called attention to some further extensions of it. »The area where these myths are known, reaches from Astrolabe Bay to Karkar Island and, in all probability, beyond it, southwards as far as Finsch Haven, and to the north as far as the mouth of the Sepik River and, may be, even further. At any rate, a number of tales, which I have collected in the Bogia-district (such as the myth of *Ongkai* (= *Manup*) and *Moide* (= *Rorpain*) from Manam Island) substantially agree with the myth of *Kilibob* and *Manup* irrespective of the difference in the names«. ⁹⁹

Let us first examine the spreading of the myth to the south-east. Some fragments of the myth can be found with the Jabims as also has been pointed out by *Hagen*. Thus the Jabim variant agrees with the Bogadjim one on the voyage of the Cassowary and the Cock, when the two animals steer with their feathers, and when the Cassowary makes a hole in the bottom of the boat.¹⁰⁰ Similarly a myth has been known from Huon Gulf where we find: the adultery, the discovery of it, the escape of the adulterer to a tree, and the part the chips play in the story.¹⁰¹ This myth shows a similarity to the Bilibili variant too. The transformation of the persecuted person into a star is a later addition or completion. The same myth can be found, according to *Höltker*, still further east on the Gazella-Peninsula in the persons of the brothers *To Kabiana* and *To Purgo*.¹⁰²

Northwestward, beyond the afore mentioned Bogia district, one again meets variants of the myth of the two brothers. In Monumbo, the version agrees with that of the Astrolabe Bay even in its details. The name of the two brothers is *Monumbo* and *Liwówó*. The elder brother, *Monumbo*, was married; one day he went fishing to the sea. While he was away, *Liwówó*, the younger brother, seduced his wife. Not satisfied with this, he shaved off the hairs from her mons Veneris and painted a decoration on that place. The pattern *Liwówó* employed is used as a motif in decoration to this very day. When *Monumbo* learned about

⁹⁹ *Höltker*, in *Aufinger*, 1942—1945, b., p. 313.

¹⁰⁰ *Hagen*, 1899, pp. 284—285.

¹⁰¹ *Bamler*, 1911, pp. 530—532; *Zahn*, 1911, p. 389. *Dempwolff* has already called the attention to this myth (see *Dempwolff*, 1910, p. 81).

¹⁰² *Höltker*, in *Aufinger*, 1942—1945, p. 313.

this, a fit of violent anger seized him, he took whatever valuable property he could lay hands on and proceeded westwards. Nor did the younger brother want to stay on in Monumbo. But he was in a difficult position. He had neither good boats, nor tools, etc. for *Monumbo* had taken all these with him. He had to sail with a very inadequate equipment. He was already out on the open sea when the outriggers of his boat broke off and he had to fasten them with inferior material. Later on, this misfortune repeated itself again and again. Whenever he had to stop to repair his boat, a cliff rose up from the sea. This is the origin of the cliffs between Monumbo and Hatzfeldhafen.¹⁰³

If we take the two brothers' parting and their going opposite ways to be the central feature of the myth, then we find that it travelled an even greater distance westward. *Gehberger* records a similar brother-myth from the Melanesian speaking Samap, west of the estuary of the Sepik River, in which the two brothers are called *Ribariba* and *Wanakau*. *Ribariba* was the elder brother and *Wanakau* the younger. The two brothers had been building boats, but the younger brother's boat was better, because he had cheated his elder brother and gave him inferior material. As *Ribariba*'s vessel was not seaworthy, he stayed behind and began to till the earth. The offsprings of *Ribariba* live at Tamrak, in the Samap territory where they are mainly engaged in agriculture, and speak a language different from that of other groups in the same village. *Wanakau*, the younger brother, sailed towards the west with his men, but later turned and proceeded eastwards. He died in a village named Kaup, where some men, jealous of his powers, killed him. Two of his fellow-travellers learned to build boats; from that time on boats have been found everywhere, while formerly they were not known anywhere.¹⁰⁴

We also know of similar brother-myth from the Melanesian speaking Tumleo, in the Aitape area. Here the elder brother's name is *Pisil*, the younger's is *Tanawau*. (In Jakamaul the elder is *Kaiarâr*, the younger is *Alevoetung* or *Tenâl*.) Upon their father's death the two brothers set out to find the soul of their dead mother. The elder brother went towards the east, the younger towards the west. »According to some of the versions, the elder brother, *Pisil*, who went to the east, was of tall stature, white-skinned, shining like the white people. The smaller brother, *Tanawau*, who went to the west, seems to have been of dark complexion just as the people of New Guinea are.¹⁰⁵ On their journey the two brothers were being more and more separated by an ever-widening river; *Pisil* kept to the eastern, *Tanawau* to the western banks of that river. The brothers got separated, and while they were sailing east and west, they occasionally went out to the open sea to look for each other. At the places where they reached the sea, promontories arose. On their way they also

¹⁰³ *Vormann*, 1910, pp. 417–418.

¹⁰⁴ *Gehberger*, 1950, pp. 296–300.

¹⁰⁵ *Meyer*, 1932, p. 433.

created rivers; the elder drew the beds of these rivers with a large spear, the younger one with a smaller bamboo-spear. That is why the rivers in the east are wider than those in the west. It was these two brothers who had created everything. The elder brother gave the eastern tribes their armour, their ornaments, their singsings and the *Parak*-system, etc. This is why the peoples in the east have weapons, ornaments, singsing, *Parak*, etc. different from those of the peoples of Tumleo in the west, where it was the younger brother who introduced them. This is also the reason why the eastern peoples have the spear and the westerners the bow and arrow.¹⁰⁶

Not unlike this myth is the one of *Tenál—Pisín* as known in Ulaú and Suein. »*Tenál—Pisín* are two brothers: the tall *Pisín* went towards the east, the small *Tenál* towards the west«. In another version *Tenál—Pisín* is one person who comes from the east and marches towards the west.¹⁰⁷

This east-west trend can also be traced in connection with *Wunekau*, in whose case we have to do not with one person but with two *Wunekau* brothers. The names of the two brothers vary but in the majority of instances »the name *Wunekau* is given to the elder brother in the east, while the younger brother is mostly called by secret names as in Jakaul: *Kaibúl*, *Haikau*, *Saikau*, etc. A *Wunekau* priest in Suein told me that with them the elder of the *Wunekau* brothers is mostly addressed by the name *Manub* and the younger by the name *Ribob*«. ¹⁰⁸ Besides, *Wunekau* is the chief culture hero.¹⁰⁹

If we accept the separation and sea voyages of the two brothers as the most essential features of the myth then we can virtually prove the extension of the mythical theme of *Kilibob* and *Manup* from the Huon Gulf to as far as Aitape. (The variants of the Huon Gulf region itself agree with the myth on different details.) This general correspondence of traits becomes even more striking when we investigate the common features apparent in the smaller details.

Investigations in that direction make it quite clear that as the other two brothers of the different myths, so are *Kilibob* and *Manup* of the Astrolabe Bay version culture heroes, physiographical shapers and tribal ancestors. Thus in the variants from Astrolabe Bay, Bogadjim and Bilibili the rise of the islands and of the villages was due to the sea voyage of *Mandumba*, *Manumbu*.¹¹⁰ In Bogadjim, it was *Kilibob*'s wife who created taro. On Karkar Island, it is asserted that *Mannube* brought into being the northern part of New Guinea, while *Kelibob* created the islands from his bow and arrow, and later on the

¹⁰⁶ Meyer, 1932, p. 433.

¹⁰⁷ Meyer, 1932, p. 439.

¹⁰⁸ Meyer, 1932, p. 821.

¹⁰⁹ Meyer, 1933, p. 32.

¹¹⁰ In the account of the creation of the islands, we can detect an eastern orientation.

mountains of New Guinea from his broken bow. In Monumbo, the existence of the cliffs is attributed to a voyage of *Liwówó*. In Samap, the origin of agriculture is ascribed to *Ribariba*, and that of shipping to *Wanakau*. In Tumleo, it is believed that the promontories of the coastline preserve the memory of the voyages by *Pisíl* and *Tanawau*, and that even the rivers were created by them with their spears, and everything mankind possesses was given to it by the two brothers. It must be remembered that in Tumleo the *Parak* system also is attributed to the two brothers, and that in Astrolabe Bay — as *Aufinger* reports — circumcision is believed to have been given to the people by *Kulubob*. Moreover, on Graged Island, as *Dempwolff* informs us, a number of customs are linked up with *Kilibob*'s name: »A long time ago, our master *Kilibob* himself brought this custom to our fathers and mothers, to our clansmen, to our grandparents and to our ancestors, and taught us to observe it«. ¹¹¹

Similarly corresponding traits are to be found in the motif of boat-building. The boat of one of the brothers does not withstand the hardships of a sea voyage, or it breaks up at the first trip. In the Bogadjim version, *Mandumbu*'s boat falls to pieces, and only after he has tied it up with his mother's sinews and veins, does it become seaworthy. In the Bilibili version, the elder brothers boat is destroyed, whereas in Monumbo that of the younger brother falls to pieces. The same motif appears in Samap, where the art of building boats is given to the people by the younger brother.

Particularly essential agreement reveals itself on certain points in the version as current in the Aitape region and that of Yabob Island in Astrolabe Bay. In both of them the elder brother proceeds eastward, the younger westward. The elder brother is of a lighter and the younger of a darker complexion. There is similarity even in their names, for in the Aitape region one of the brothers is called *Ribob*, the other *Manub*. Another point on which the Aitape and Astrolabe Bay versions agree is the belief that initiation and circumcision was introduced by the two brothers. From among the different ghost-names the Aitape term *Parak* and the Karkar term *Barak* stand nearest to each other. We may even go one step further. In the Astrolabe Bay ¹¹² as well as in the Aitape region ¹¹³ the myth is well known according to which the *Ai* or *Parak* fed on human flesh before it was burnt and annihilated. In both places the ghost's annihilation is connected with the origin of the ritual musical instruments. So when they relate the burning of the *Parak* they say: »In the ancient times the *Parak* did not wail through the bamboo-flute«, ¹¹⁴ and only later »did the ghost of the burnt *Parak* return in the form of bambooflutes«. ¹¹⁵ In Bongu, the musical

¹¹¹ *Dempwolff*, 1929, p. 214.

¹¹² *Hanke*, 1909, p. 121; *Kunze*, in *Zerries*, 1942, p. 58.

¹¹³ *Meyer*, 1932, pp. 451—454.

¹¹⁴ *Meyer*, 1932, p. 452.

¹¹⁵ *Meyer*, 1932, p. 454.

instruments used at the initiations came into existence from the ashes of the burnt *Ai*.¹¹⁶

We do not think great significance need be attached to the fact that the roles the two brothers play in the myths are often interchanged. It is far more essential that in all the myths the two brothers in some way or other always oppose each other, that they always differ in character, and that as culture heroes they bring different things to mankind. Of even greater importance do we consider the fact that in most of the myths one of the brothers is definitely a seafaring person. He builds the first boat, his boat resists the perils of the sea, while that of his brother suffers damage and perishes. If, for a working hypothesis, we accept the *Yabob* and *Aitape* version to be the original and agree that in all the others the names of the brothers merely interchange, then we realise that the elder brother is in every respect superior to the younger one. Elaborating this hypothesis, we find that the elder brother, who builds boats, who knows about sailing, is lighterskinned and taller, while the younger, who is of dark complexion, knows nothing about sailing and is an agriculturist. In addition, the elder brother always tends toward the east and the younger toward the west.

On the basis of these facts it is, perhaps, not undue precipitancy to advance the idea that the antagonism of the two hero-brothers should be looked upon as the reflection of historical processes, that is, as the mythical expression of the relations between the invading Melanesian peoples and the Papuan population compelled to relinquish its original place under the sun. The superiority displayed by the light-skinned elder brother and his orientation towards the east, also support the conclusion that the myth itself is of Melanesian origin, and that the non-Melanesian groups have taken it over retaining the essential elements though frequently interchanging the roles of the brothers.

Höltker also stresses the Melanesian origin of the myth. According to him the fact »... that in all the variants the brothers separate on the sea, the one travelling to the North, the other to the South, and not to the East and West towards the sea or the interior¹¹⁷, seems to furnish further justification of the conclusion that the original carriers of this piece of narrative were of a maritime (i. e. Melanesian) stock«. *Höltker* refers here to the NW and SE directions as applied in the *Yabob* variant, which correspond to the directions West and East respectively, as employed by us.¹¹⁸

This Melanesian character of the myth together with the facts established by us, namely, that the ghost and its names as well as the circumcision are Melanesian phenomena, and that the myth is current in all those places (with the exception of Samap) where the initiation ritual shows affinity to that of

¹¹⁶ So, among others, the tree the seeds of which are used on the dance-rattle.

¹¹⁷ A north-south orientation can be found only in *Kunze*, 1897, p. 65.

¹¹⁸ *Höltker*, in *Aufinger*, 1942–1945, b., p. 313.

Astrolabe Bay, justify the assumption that all along the northern coast of New Guinea we are really facing one and the same cultic complex of initiations.^{118a}

5.

While lack of sufficient material prevents us from dealing at any length with its social characteristics, we should like to mention that in our opinion initiation in Astrolabe Bay presents a phenomenon quite close to amphictyony. Our sources convincingly prove that initiation is not the internal affair of just one or the other group of uniform speech and social patterns. On the contrary: the youths of any one community may be initiated in any other one; festivals arranged in one place mobilise the population of large areas; initiation cere-

^{118a} *Riesenfeld's* work came to hand after this study had been finished. He analyzed the Melanesian myths (*Riesenfeld*, 1950, pp. 350, 381—385, etc.) and dealing with the northern coastal region, specially with Astrolabe Bay (*Riesenfeld*, 1950, pp. 366—372), he mentions the *Kilibob-Manup* myth as well. He points out in connection with Astrolabe Bay that: »Since also this myth has frequently been found in connection with the stone-using immigrants, it is manifest that not only are we confronted with an occurrence of some isolated themes in this region, but that the whole set of myths of the stone-using immigrants has been introduced here«. (*Riesenfeld*, 1950, p. 372). In connection with the myths of the Aitape area, he makes the following remarks: »The following data will show that not only does the story of the antagonistic brothers occur in this region, but also many other themes belonging to the great cycle of myths of the stone-using immigrants« (*Riesenfeld*, 1950, p. 384). Our investigation has been limited to the subject of a narrower range and dealt mainly with the Astrolabe Bay region. Therefore, we are not in a position to say whether the myths and the initiation connected with it, belong to the culture of the »stone-using immigrants«, or not. Even *Riesenfeld* feels compelled to add at the end of his summary on Astrolabe Bay: »These data show how little we know of the influence of the stone-using immigrants in this region«. There is some proof of the assumption that both Astrolabe Bay and Dampier Island were visited by megalithic migrants (*Riesenfeld*, 1950, p. 368).

Riesenfeld's view about Astrolabe Bay is corroborated by *Aufinger's* remark, 1942—1945, b., unknown to *Riesenfeld*, where he pointed out that the antagonism between the two brothers is emphasized by one of them being of light colour and the other of dark, one of them sailing towards the East and the other towards the West.

An analysis comprising larger areas clearly shows (*Riesenfeld*, 1949; *Riesenfeld*, 1950, pp. 258—273) that this mythcomplex belongs to the Melanesian megalithic culture. It may be of some interest to notice that there are outstanding similarities between Astrolabe Bay and the northern coastline of New-Britain. At the latter place, among the Bolas, »another myth relates that formerly only a certain black substance was used as food. A woman called *Runepai* introduced taro, yams, bananas and sugarcane« (*Riesenfeld*, 1950, p. 272). *Runepai* in this myth shows a similarity with *Rorpain* of the Bogadjim version, partly in name and partly in her culture heroic character, which cannot be looked upon as a mere convergence, the more so as among the Bolas we find the myth about the antagonistic brothers too.

From all this we might draw the conclusion that the initiation cult and the brother-myth belong to two different cultural layers and that their appearance within one story is the result of a later intertwining. From the two cultural layers, as *Riesenfeld* states (*Riesenfeld* 1950, pp. 680—681), that of the stone-using immigrants is the earlier and the one connected with initiation is the later. This is proved among others by the peoples of the Sentani Lake area where the megalithic culture is clearly recognizable (in addition to *Riesenfeld* see also *Wirz*, 1928) and where initiation has only been a recent acquisition.

In the last resort, all this is not in the least contradicting our former statements. Even if initiation and the brother-myth had different cultural origins, the myth must have been connected with initiation ever since the end of Melanesian migration, as we have seen in Astrolabe Bay and in the Aitape area, and this points to the unity of the initiation complex in the North of New Guinea.

monials offer opportunity for and enhance intercommunication between politically independent communities different also in language.

Analysing gatherings of this character, *Mühlmann* sums up their social and political significance in these words: »After all, there exist cultural means by which politically different communities establish contact with each other seeking ultimately to build up some superstructure of their villages. The opportune time for these endeavours are the common festivities held at certain periods to which people swarm in great numbers from all sides«. ¹¹⁹

In literature, such types of gatherings, named amphictyonies by *Mühlmann*, ¹²⁰ have so far been recorded from the Huon Gulf area only. ¹²¹ However, the initiations of Astrolabe Bay, too, do show an amphictyonic character, although somewhat vaguely and indistinctly.

Thus *Hoffmann*, writing about initiation at Bogadjim, mentions that »not only youths of Bogadjim but young men from all the neighbouring villages take part in it, so that there is a regular stream of strangers«. ¹²² *Hagen* reports that these festivals are held at long intervals »but should such a festival take place in between in one of the villages with which trading relations exist, then a number of young men will be sent there for circumcision«. ¹²³ *Hoffmann* writes about the closing ceremony of the initiation ceremony held in May 1893: »Saturday afternoon a number of friends came across the water and on land.« ¹²⁴ *Kunze's* description is the most detailed: »Visitors arrive every day from other villages to the *Barak*-festival; they come in large bands and in troops, some in canoes, some on foot, even from the remotest parts of the hills. Fresh arrivals come in every morning and evening so that in the *gogoi* there are always about 75—100 men together, sometimes even more. Those from the neighbouring villages sometimes come twice or three times and the whole thing seems to be so well-organized that every village on the island knows exactly on which day to arrive to the *Barak*-festival. Of course, the neighbours from Rich Island also take part in it. During the twelve days of the *Barak*-festival, according to my estimation, not less than 2000—2500 men must have visited Kulubob at one time or another«. ¹²⁵ It is not unlikely that the *bog*-festivals on Graged Island are gatherings of a similar nature. This assumption rests on *Dempwolff's* following communication: »...after they all have had a drink, he comes back and

¹¹⁹ *Mühlmann*, 1940, p. 54.

¹²⁰ *Mühlmann*, 1938, pp. 10—11.

¹²¹ *Mühlmann*, 1940, p. 54; *Hogbin*, 1947, p. 132. (»The first procedure was the announcement of what was contemplated to the surrounding countryside. Messengers went out to invite two men from each settlement to visit the village on a certain date, and when all had assembled the headman gave notice of his intentions and presented them with bull-roarers... etc.«)

¹²² *Hoffmann*, 1893, p. 209.

¹²³ *Hagen*, 1899, p. 235.

¹²⁴ *Hoffmann*, 1894, p. 59.

¹²⁵ *Kunze*, 1892, p. 204.

sits in the middle, breaks up ripe cocoanuts and addresses those present by saying: 'Oh you people of Laupain, Asaupain, Ijmalan, of Janudamon, Naslon and Sausau, when you will have left us, do not calumniate us, leave off the practice of magic so that we may live in piece. Let us, then, rejoice and enjoy what the festive table offers us'.¹²⁶

It is to be regretted that our sources do not inform us on a number of points which are highly relevant to our subject. Thus, among others, the question remains unanswered to what tribes and to which areas the people belonged who had appeared at the initiation festivals. Not even *Kunze's* report can be called adequate considering that he does not make it sufficiently clear whether the festivals were, or were not, attended by non-Melanesian speaking peoples of the northern half of the Island. Yet, it can be taken for an established fact that temporarily the initiation ceremonials united different linguistic and social groups of peoples. This is clearly seen in the case of Bogadjim. According to *Hoffmann's* report the visitors came on water and on land. As we know that the Bogadjim dialect is spoken only by a small number of natives, and that only a part of Bogadjim abuts on the sea-shore, it seems obvious that the visitors must have belonged to communities that spoke other languages. It is even probable that the visitors arriving by boats had come from the islands since, as *Werner* puts it »the people of Bongu and the dwellers of Rai Coast were forbidden to build any vessels, and only lately have they begun to make.....«¹²⁷

It is also probable that in Astrolabe Bay, just as with the *Balum*-cult festivals in the Huon Gulf region,¹²⁸ a Treuga Dei was associated with the festival. This follows from the general nature of this type of gatherings, and from the fact that inhabitants of friendly villages almost invariably took part in them. Obviously, *Dempwolff's* report cited above also refers to this peace-making tendency. (»Do not calumniate us, and leave off the practice of magic, so that we may live in peace«.) And lastly it must be kept in mind that, in *Kunze's* opinion, on Karkar Island the *Barak*-festival went together with a pig-market which clearly shows that the cultic aim was purposely coupled with an economic one. Marketing time, as everywhere else, is a period of peace here too.

¹²⁶ *Dempwolff*, 1929, p. 235.

¹²⁷ *Werner*, 1911, p. 118.

¹²⁸ *Lehner* 1935, pp. 271—272, and *Biró's* handwritten unpublished Notes. »The *Balum*-bullroarer plays a role at the similarly called peace-festivals of the natives, and only in the last act of that festival . . . The original *Balum*-bullroarer stands not only as a dead memory, but it is a real representative of the peace-loving *Balum*-festivals. When a strife breaks out for some petty reason between individuals or parties, the *abumtau* holds up the *Balum*-bullroarer in front of them, reminding them that they promised to keep peace, and then the fight has to stop«. See also *Hogbin*, 1947, pp. 132, 134. »Quarreling and fighting were also outlawed, and it is said that from this time till the ceremony was over anyone found guilty of murder, adultery or other major offences had to be killed by his own kinsfolk. . . The ancestors used to insist . . . that peace would confidently be expected for a year or two«.

The available data are, as we have seen, insufficient to discuss thoroughly the origin of these amphictyonic gatherings. Nevertheless it seems necessary to raise a few questions in connection with them.

Any investigation of the amphictyonic gatherings in Astrolabe Bay and its neighbourhood has to depart from two different angles. First, we believe, it must be assumed that with the non-Melanesian peoples these amphictyonic festivals came to be installed and were strengthened by trading relations. Proof of this is supplied by the fact that, according to our data, the Bogadjim language, for instance, is used along one part of the coastal region as a mediating agent for trading purposes,¹²⁹ and that the institution of trade-friendship is well-known here too.¹³⁰ We would also refer to *Mühlmann*, who points out that trade-friends — proxenoi — further to a considerable extent the intercourse between different linguistic groups. The assumption seems obvious enough that although the villages and groups invite each other to their festivals and feasts in expectation of a return of hospitality, (as was pointed out by *Miklucho-Maclay*)¹³¹ they also do this in order to strengthen their ties of commercial friendship. But since trading activities require peaceful conditions, it is no unjustified conclusion that a *Treuga Dei* must have been essential to the completeness of the festivals, a surmise that is corroborated by *Dempwolff*'s statements. The festivals certainly give an opportunity not only to strengthen the ties of an already existing friendship, but also to restore relations marred by temporary contentions and quarrels. In the course of time, the original economic aim may become obscured and with a widening of the peaceful area, even unnecessary, and cedes its place entirely to the cultic aim which now appears to be primary and reflects itself upon our minds as the cultural unificator of the different communities.

The second point we wish to make is that in these amphictyonic gatherings it is difficult not to assume the presence of survival phenomena. Primarily to the Melanesian speaking groups driven apart during their migrations must these amphictyonic gatherings have offered opportunities to restore, even though temporarily, their former, lost but still remembered, unity. Among these gatherings the one linked up with initiation is the most important. In the life of a group initiation dwarfs everything else since it performs the most important social as well as religious functions within it. It reinforces the group with new members and thereby again and again secures the continuation of its life. The fact that its rituals are always adapted to dramatic representation and that this dramatization increases the tension evolved by the event itself, greatly adds to its significance. The excitement created by the singing and music is a constantly recurring psychological motive seeking outlet in action and serv-

¹²⁹ *Hagen*, 1899, p. 218.

¹³⁰ *Hagen*, 1899, p. 219.

¹³¹ *Miklucho-Maclay*, 1876, p. 332; Миклухо-Маклай, 1950—1951, III, p. 117.

ing as an urge to repeat the cultic activity again and again; the common memories of past rituals also further this desire.

Some amphictyonic gatherings and among them perhaps the gatherings of the Melanesian speaking islanders of Astrolabe Bay may have had an origin of this nature. However, with the passing of time the contact slackened between the groups which before becoming scattered over the various islands arrived here on one and the same migrational wave, and the notion of their common origin was by and by forgotten. But the festivals which once played a central part in the life of the former community (as e. g. the outstanding event of initiation) remained and it is now these cultic ceremonials that from time to time and temporarily reunite the scattered groups. They constitute the only factor which, over and above some possible minor conformities in material, social and spiritual culture, still reflects the one-time unity and thereby secures the idea of its continuation in the minds of the different groups living in dispersion. Therefore from a psychological, sociological and cultural standpoint, an amphictyony must be looked upon as a survival and revival at the same time; its existence proves a former social unity of which it is a remnant and through the functions connected with it it ensures the continuity of at least a unity of cultic character and a renewal of society.

A process similar to the one reported by *Mühlmann* in connection with Polynesia, must have taken place in these regions of New Guinea. Therefore, his statement that »ethnologically amphictyonies must be interpreted as the counterbalancing force acting in opposition to dispersion«¹³² may be taken to be valid also in respect of the phenomena we have just been investigating. Our analysis has proved that in New Guinea, too, »it would be a mistake to view the myth as nothing but a myth (als Nur-Mythos)«¹³³ since in these legends it is again the historical past that is reflected.

All this should, of course, not suggest that we equate the Polynesian and the New Guinean amphictyonies. The concrete historical antecedents creating them must have been considerably different. But the general psychological basis (and here *Mühlmann* quotes the romantic *Schelling*), must have been similar at both places. The fear of dispersion, the fear that social unity might be broken up, which is, of course, being brought about by economic and social causes (dispersion tears asunder the social fabric, loosens the traditional framework of society and endangers the material basis of social existence), gives rise to the opposite of Diaspora, namely to the amphictyonies counteracting the tendencies of disruption by temporarily keeping up a cultic and sociological unity for the duration of these gatherings. In other words, the antithesis between the former unity and the present dispersion becomes relieved in the amphi-

¹³² *Mühlmann*, 1938, p. 99.

¹³³ *Mühlmann*, 1938, p. 98.

tyonies which some later time may again be followed by a wider and more efficient social integration.

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It must be admitted that what has been said in the foregoing is of a rather speculative character, but we cannot help agreeing with *Speiser's* dictum that »the cultural history of the South Sea is so entangled that it cannot be solved without some attempts at speculation«. ¹³⁴ We hope, however, that in a few questions we have succeeded in verifying and complementing some of the results of former investigators.

II.

The material objects of initiation and ghost-cult are just as important functional factors in the cultic activities as are the charms, the singing or the teachings given to the novices. Thus, the mask conjures up the ghost or the ancestor, the ghost house is the material manifestation of the ghost body, while the interior of the house is believed to be the belly of the ogre. In the booming sound of the bull-roarer the complaint of the ghost can be heard; the spirit-flute or the long bamboo-stick interprets the wishes of the ghost to his attendants at the festival. It is only natural, therefore, that the objects are surrounded by the same secrecy and restrictions as all the ritual acts connected with initiation. These objects must only be made, seen and handled by men. For women and the non-initiated the breaking of these rules means death or illness, the offended ghost will take his revenge, or rather the members of the cult who are responsible for keeping up at any price the secrecy of the cult and of its appurtenances.

Hagen reports that »the three ritual instruments, the *Asa*-flute, the *gul* and the ocarina, are meant to be heard by men's ears only, and on the penalty of death are forbidden to be seen or heard by women, even though they be Europeans«. ¹³⁵ On Karkar Island the ghost may only be seen by the men, »the women are not allowed to see it, or the instruments, else they must die«. ¹³⁶ *Miklucho-Maclay* writes from Bongu: »All these instruments, commonly known under the name of '*Ai*', are to be handled exclusively by men. Women and children are strictly forbidden to set eyes on them or even to hear them from near«. ¹³⁷ *Biró* ¹³⁸ and *Dempwolff* ¹³⁹ report the same prohibitions.

¹³⁴ *Speiser*, 1945—1946, p. 33.

¹³⁵ *Hagen*, 1899, p. 190.

¹³⁶ *Kunze*, 1897, p. 8.

¹³⁷ *Miklucho-Maclay*, 1876, p. 321; Миклухо-Маклай, 1950—1951, III, p. 106.

¹³⁸ *Biró* and *Semayer*, 1901, pp. 176—185.

¹³⁹ *Dempwolff*, 1929, p. 230.

PLATE I



PLATE II



KANSZKY

The instruments themselves were the property of the individual members, at least in Bogadjim. The place where they were kept, was the so-called *Asa-house* (*Ai-house, gogoi*), a building erected for the purposes of the cult and common property of the village, or some parts of it.¹⁴⁰

1.

Masks

The masked dances, the processions and the personification of the ghost by the mask, belonged to the most important items of the initiation and the cult. In Bongu they held masked processions at the *Ai-mun* festivals;¹⁴¹ on Karkar Island a masked man declared the novices mature.¹⁴² We know from Bogadjim, that masks were known there too: »real masks, called *Asa-kate* (*kate* 'head'), are found in our parts — Bogadjim — as well. They are hung up in the *Asa-houses* . . . and are used only on the occasion of dances at the *Asa-festivals*. They are usually of wood, made with the stone-axe and shell-knife, and though somewhat rough and clumsy they are really remarkable considering the primitive tools they have been executed with.¹⁴³

We only know the names of the Bogadjim and Bongu masks. In Bogadjim, as we have seen it, they are called *Asa-kate* and in Bongu *Ai-gate*.¹⁴⁴

The masks are anthropomorphic, hatchet-faced, and their craftsmanship is rather rough and rude. On their backs, which are done with somewhat less care, the traces of carving are clearly seen. Every mask has features entirely of its own. On each of them there are spy-holes under the eyes that are usually carved bas relief.

2.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Dance rattles

Their use has been described by *Miklucho-Maclay*: »By shaking them up and down, the nutshells come into contact and produce a clattering noise that can be modulated by the number of shells in the rattle and by the speed at which it is shaken. Beginning with a dull noise it can go over into a frantic crescendo. In these modulations the Papuans find an immense delight«. ¹⁴⁵ *Schmeltz* mentions the dancing-rattles in the *Kubary* collection of Konstantin-hafen.¹⁴⁶ The same type of rattles are described by *Schurtz*¹⁴⁷ and *Werner*¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁰ *Hagen*, 1899, p. 195; *Hoffmann*, 1898, a., p. 72.

¹⁴¹ *Miklucho-Maclay*, 1876, p. 332; Миклухо-Маклай, 1950—1951, III, pp. 116—117.

¹⁴² *Kunze*, 1892.

¹⁴³ *Hagen*, 1899, p. 172. Table 27.

¹⁴⁴ *Hanke*, 1909, p. 122.

¹⁴⁵ *Miklucho-Maclay*, 1876, pp. 322—323; Миклухо-Маклай 1950—1951, III, p. 108.

¹⁴⁶ *Schmeltz*, 1895, pp. 243—244. Table XVI/2.

¹⁴⁷ *Schurtz*, 1900, p. 511 (See also *Fuhrmann*, 1922, p. 102).

¹⁴⁸ *Werner*, 1911, pp. 56—57. Fig. 43 (Bogadjim).

and such can be found in the *Miklucho-Maclay* collection, too.¹⁴⁹ *Hagen*, quoting *Schmeltz*, remarked that in Bogadjim he had not come across any dance-rattles at all,¹⁵⁰ nor did *Biró* include any in that part of his catalogue that contains the description of musical instruments.¹⁵¹ *Finsch*, however, makes mention of such rattles in his account.¹⁵² Specimens of these musical instruments must have been very rare even around 1890 and could only be found by the merest chance in the coastal villages. The dance-rattle mentioned by *Werner* must have come from the interior or else it had belonged to a collection of some museum.

The typical feature of a dance-rattle consists in the execution of its handle which is usually cut of one piece of wood and worked into an anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figure. The rattling sound is produced by the dry shells of *Pan-gium edule* (in Bongum: *orlan*¹⁵³). They are threaded up on fibres which are fastened into a square hole at the upper end of the handle or, if the hole is missing, into a ring made of fibre applied to the handle.

Two names of the dance-rattles have been preserved from Bongo: *Ai-gaté-si* which means locks of the *Ai*¹⁵⁴ and *orlan-Ai*.¹⁵⁵

Flutes

Unfortunately, our sources do not give an exact description of the flutes used at the initiation rituals. In some instances it is not even clear whether they are really flutes or simply bamboo pipes. For this reason, and as these instruments are used for the same purpose, we shall deal with them together.

We have already spoken about the function of the flutes while dealing with initiation.¹⁵⁶

Hanke and *Miklucho-Maclay* mention flutes from Bongo. *Hanke* reports that their name is *Ai-kabrai*, i. e. the parrot of the *Ai*. »This is a bamboo pipe about two metres long, made of a certain specie of bamboo: the *damangu*; it serves as a wind-instrument«. ¹⁵⁷ The name and the use of the instrument is described by *Miklucho-Maclay* in the following way: »The *Ai-kabrai* is a bamboo stick about 2 metres long or longer, about 50 millimetres in width; the dividing walls of the nodes have been removed so that the entire length of the bamboo stick is formed into one long pipe. They take this bamboo stick

¹⁴⁹ Миклухо-Маклай, 1950—1951, III, p. 104. Fig. I/4; Каталог, 1886, No. 57; *Miklucho-Maclay* Collection, Leningrad, 170 (168—57), 171 (402—78), 172 (402—265).

¹⁵⁰ *Hagen*, 1899, p. 188.

¹⁵¹ *Biró* and *Semayer*, 1901, pp. 176—193.

¹⁵² *Finsch*, 1914, p. 544.

¹⁵³ Миклухо-Маклай, 1950—1951, III, p. 55, p. 132.

¹⁵⁴ *Hanke*, 1909, p. 122.

¹⁵⁵ *Miklucho-Maclay*, 1876, p. 322; Миклухо-Маклай, 1950—1951, III, p. 108.

¹⁵⁶ As to the manner of their use see *Wirz*, 1923, pp. 66—68; *Graf*, 1947. For a more recent occurrence in the interior of New Guinea see *Wirz*, 1952.

¹⁵⁷ *Hanke*, 1909, p. 122.

in their mouths and the wide diameter seems not to disturb the Papuans in the least, and they blow it, they yell, cry, growl and grunt through it, etc. They practise on it for hours at length at their festivals. Its sound, a multitoned howl, could be heard on windless, quiet nights along the seashores as far as 2—3 miles. This simple instrument is called *ai-kabrai*; '*kabrai*' means in the Papuan dialect a psittacus with a loud, shrill voice.¹⁵⁸ *Hagen* mentions flutes from Bogadjim,¹⁵⁹ and *Dempwolff* describes the way they are used on Graged Island.¹⁶⁰ *Biró* collected flutes in Bogadjim and in Bongu. These are much shorter than those described by *Hanke* and *Miklucho-Maclay*, yet *Biró* calls them all *Ai* or *Asa* objects. *Biró* remarks that their name in Bongu is *Ai-karam* and in Bogadjim *Asa-parrara*.¹⁶¹ We know from *Finch*'s report that on Karkar Island the length of the flutes is over 2 metres.¹⁶² *Kunze* does not mention the shape of the flutes, he probably refers to the *Ai-kabrai* described by *Miklucho-Maclay*.¹⁶³

Horns

Hanke mentions an instrument from Bongu called *Ai-aini* made from the dried skin of *Lagenaria vulgaris*.¹⁶⁴ *Miklucho-Maclay* reports that the name of the instrument in Bongu is *hol-Ai*. This is »a curved or straight trumpet-like wind-instrument made of the root of a variety of the *Lagenaria*.¹⁶⁵ This is used for making music as the former instruments are. Through it they speak, shout, cheer, cry, grunt, crow, whistle etc.«¹⁶⁶ *Hagen* has come across the same instrument in Bogadjim by the name of *gul* and adds that it is known in the interior of the island, too.¹⁶⁷ On Karkar Island »a ghost speaks occasionally through this instrument.«¹⁶⁸ *Zöller* has found it in Bogadjim, too.¹⁶⁹ One of the photographs in the *Biró* Collection suggests that it was known on Bilibili Island as well.

Ocarinas

In Bongu ocarina-like musical instruments are known by the name of *Ai-mongi-la*. »This is a kind of a pipe made from the shell of an unripe or very

¹⁵⁸ *Miklucho-Maclay*, 1876, pp. 321—322; Миклухо-Маклай, 1950—1951, III, p. 106, p. 107, Fig. 1; *Miklucho-Maclay* Collection Leningrad, 169 (168—50).

¹⁵⁹ *Hagen*, 1899, p. 186.

¹⁶⁰ *Dempwolff*, 1929, pp. 231—232.

¹⁶¹ *Biró* and *Semayer*, 1901, pp. 181—182.

¹⁶² *Finsch*, 1914, p. 529.

¹⁶³ *Kunze*, 1892, p. 203.

¹⁶⁴ *Hanke*, 1909, p. 122.

¹⁶⁵ This obviously rests on a mistake since it was the fruit of the *Lagenaria vulgaris* that was used for making trumpets.

¹⁶⁶ *Miklucho-Maclay*, 1876, p. 322; Миклухо-Маклай, 1950—1951, III, p. 106, p. 107., Fig. 3; *Miklucho-Maclay* Collection, Leningrad, 168 (168—58).

¹⁶⁷ *Hagen*, 1899, p. 189.

¹⁶⁸ *Kunze*, 1893, p. 8.

¹⁶⁹ *Zöller*, 1891, p. 269.

small cocoanut. It has a hole at one end and one at the side. The hole at the end serves for blowing into the instrument while the hole at the side is opened and shut with one finger. The sound produced in this way is like the call of a cuckoo.¹⁷⁰ *Miklucho-Maclay* heard it called *munki-Ai* in Bongu.¹⁷¹ *Finsch*, following *Miklucho-Maclay*, mentions it under the names *munki-Ai* and *mangi-Ai*, but erroneously connects it with the *Asa*-festivals.¹⁷² *Hagen* seems to have seen it in Bogadjim.¹⁷³ *Biró* reports that it was known in Bogadjim and in Bongu by the names of *ulo-Asa*, *vob-Asa*, *Asa-kore*, *mangi-Ai* and *mangi-Asa*, and adds that »they play a role only at the great festival of Tamol, and at the *Asa*-festival when the *Asa*-dance is performed to the sounds of this instrument. The dance melody is easily played, one has only to blow into the hole at the side and to open and close the hole at the end with the thumb at regular intervals. The main thing is not so much the melody as the rhythm that regulates the steps of the dance».¹⁷⁴

Bull-roarers

Little is known about the part these instruments play. *Miklucho-Maclay* did not come across them in Bongu, and *Hanke* gives only Bongu word for the »roaring« sound of the bull-roarer.¹⁷⁵ According to *Hagen*, »the bull-roarer exists in Bogadjim too, most likely it has the same religious significance at the initiation festivals as it has in Finschhafen».¹⁷⁶ *Finsch* succeeded in collecting a number of these instruments in Astrolabe Bay which shows that its use must have been wide-spread.¹⁷⁷ On Graged Island, as witnessed by *Dempwolff*, it is used at the *siao* dance.¹⁷⁸ We find a number of bull-roarers from the Astrolabe Bay region in the *Fenichel* and *Biró* Collections; the latter held these to be not only ritual objects but also spelling and charming sticks.¹⁷⁹

Besides these musical instruments, *Hanke* and *Miklucho-Maclay* describe one more from Bongu made of a leaf. *Hanke* gives the following description of it: »An *Ai-dobok* consists of the leaf of a certain plant, the leaf is held between the two thumbs pressed together in a way so that the two hands form into a hole underneath the leaf. When the air is blown through the two thumbs by raising them close to the mouth, a peculiar whistling sound of a deeper tamber

¹⁷⁰ *Hanke*, 1909, p. 122.

¹⁷¹ *Miklucho-Maclay*, 1876, p. 322; Миклухо-Маклай, 1950—1951, III, p. 106, p. 107. Fig. 5; Каталог, 1886, No. 59.

¹⁷² *Finsch*, 1914, p. 302. p. 529, Та le XIX. Fig. 428.

¹⁷³ *Hagen*, 1899, p. 189.

¹⁷⁴ *Biró* and *Semayer*, 1901, pp. 178—181.

¹⁷⁵ *Hanke*, 1909, p. 239.

¹⁷⁶ *Hagen*, 1899, p. 189.

¹⁷⁷ *Finsch*, 1914, p. 543.

¹⁷⁸ *Dempwolff*, 1929, p. 229.

¹⁷⁹ *Biró* and *Semayer*, 1901, pp. 182—193.

is produced». ¹⁸⁰ *Miklucho-Maclay* gives a similar description of this »musical instrument« but he does not mention its name. ¹⁸¹

3.

Dance-swords

From our sources it is *Biró* alone who mentions dance-swords. *Finsch* considers them to be weapons, and describes them accordingly. *Biró* differs from him writing: »Chiefly at the great festival of Tamol, at the *Asa*-festivals these dance-swords play an important part«. Their name is *Asa-seburu* or *sebaru-sulum*; in Bongu they are called *mulum-panyi*, and in Erima: *ulisu*. Thus, even by their names these swords are ritual objects first of all.

These dance-swords are flat wooden sticks with hilts at one end and points rounded off; they are decorated with carvings or incrustated or painted red. ¹⁸²

4.

Carved Figures

We know little about the beliefs and ideas attaching to these figures. Only that much seems to be probable that in most cases they represent ancestors. Very likely there is a difference between, on the one hand, the posts of the meeting houses with figures of men and women in tiers carved out of one piece of wood and, on the other hand, the 1—2 metres high single figures of men and women, and the small carvings of from 10 to 80 cm size.

Dempwolff is definite about the ancestral character of these figures as can be seen when he quotes a native remark concerning the building of a men's house. According to the natives the spirits of the ancestors are present at the building of the men's house and this is what they say to each other: »As a holy shrine you have built the men's house, you have carved the holy ancestral figures and brought them here and erected them in the men's house«. And then they add: Certainly, they obey the commands of the *Mesiab*. We are of one mind as the Father of our kindred has taught us. ¹⁸³

Miklucho-Maclay is of the opinion that »they are surely nothing else than the so-called 'Korwar's' from Doreh«. He also gives a description of the figures: »the *telums* are made of wood, ^{183a} rarely of clay, ^{183b} and represent human figures of both sexes. Nearly all of them wear fantastic decorative pat-

¹⁸⁰ *Hanke*, 1909, p. 122.

¹⁸¹ *Miklucho-Maclay*, 1876, p. 323; Миклухо-Маклай, 1950—1951, III, p. 109.

¹⁸² *Biró* and *Semayer*, 1901, pp. 173—176.

¹⁸³ *Dempwolff*, 1929, pp. 232—233.

^{183a} *Miklucho-Maclay* Collection, Leningrad, 185 (168—50), 186 (168—41), 187 (402—3), 188 (402—17), 189 (402—6), 190 (403—20.); Каталог, 1886, Nos 38, 39, 40, 41, 51, 52.

^{184b} *Miklucho-Maclay* Collection, Leningrad, 198 (168—51), 194 (168—52), 195 (402—15).

terns on their heads, and the figures of the men are mostly executed with genitalia of enormous sizes. Nearly all of them have a long tongue hanging down so that in many figures it is joined to the penis. These peculiarities of representation may be taken as characteristic features. In Englam-mana (a village in the hills) I came across a strange *telum* with a man's body, a crocodile's head and with a tortoise as a kind of a head covering«.

»Every figure has the nose pricked through as the Papuans have, and every *telum*, if there are more than one in the village, has a proper name of its own«.

»The significance of these wooden figures has not become quite clear to me, though, as I have said, I know for certain that they are in some way or other connected with the embryonic religious ideas of the Papuans. Thus, I found in some mountain villages, that *the big stones are honoured as telums too*.«¹⁸⁴

One type of the ancestral figures is called *Aidogan*. These play a part at the *Ai*-festival in the course of which a procession of masked natives carry »wooden *telums* of long poles with figures in tiers, the so called *Aidogans*, from the village to the *Ai*-place where they receive a new coat of paint, and thus renewed they play an outstanding role at the masked processions«. ¹⁸⁵

The posts of the large meeting-house on Bilibili Island represent human figures carved above one another in tiers. »This type of carving, called *Aimaka*, represents four male and two female figures in the nude carved in tiers and painted red and black on a white ground.«¹⁸⁶

In *Hagen's* opinion »people held in great esteem while alive, are carved in figures after their death«, but he admits that he has been unable to get full confirmation on this point. These figures are not particularly important since »no special notice is taken of them in Bogadjim; only once in a while is there a big feast prepared for them consisting of pigs, cocoanuts and dogs' meat; no women are allowed to be present at the feast..... The *silums* are set in the middle of the feasting group«.

Hagen reports that all the statues are made in Bongu, and »that accounts for the similarity of the type all over Astrolabe Bay«. ¹⁸⁷

Zöller states that in Bogadjim figures of the ancestors are unknown; these are replaced by sticks painted red, but that in Bilibili very handsomely carved figures can be found.¹⁸⁸ His former observation concerning Bogadjim, as has already been pointed out, must be considered erroneous.

¹⁸⁴ *Miklucho-Maclay*, 1876, pp. 316—317; Миклухо-Маклай, 1950—1951, III, pp. 100—102.

¹⁸⁵ *Miklucho-Maclay*, 1876, p. 332; Миклухо-Маклай, 1950—1951, III, p. 118.

¹⁸⁶ *Finsch*, 1888, b., p. 73.; 1888, c; pp. 118—119.; 1914, p. 554.

¹⁸⁷ *Hagen*, 1899, p. 267.

¹⁸⁸ *Zöller*, 1891, pp. 269—270.

The style of the figures, however, cannot be called uniform, and for this reason we do not think it probable that their place of origin could exclusively have been Bongu. By comparing the different publications (*Schmeltz*,¹⁸⁹ *Werner*,¹⁹⁰ *Hagen*,¹⁹¹ *Biró*,¹⁹² *Miklucho-Maclay*,¹⁹³ *Kunze*^{193a}) it becomes obvious that the connection of the labial parts with the penis is not to be found everywhere, nor can the painting of the figures be called a universal custom. Not even the piercing of the nose can be seen on each specimen. As regards the elongation of the labial parts it must be stated that, contrary to the opinion of *Miklucho-Maclay*, it is not a hanging tongue at all but, as *Hagen* reports, a *bul*, which is »an ornament used at dances which, as we have seen, is taken into the mouth at dances or at feuds«. ¹⁹⁴

Our sources disagree as to the names of the ancestor figures. From Bongu we know the designations *telum*, *telum*, *telum-mul*, *sulum*, *Ai-dogan*, from Bogadjim *silum*, from the Bilibili Islands *Aimaka*. The forms *telum*, *telum*, *silum* can be traced back to *sulum* mentioned by *Hanke*,¹⁹⁵ which we consider the correct one, while *Aimaka* and *Aidogan* might refer to different types altogether.

5.

Style

It was *Preuss* who first expressed an opinion concerning the proper place of the style of the material from Astrolabe Bay. According to him, the area of the type of style characteristic of the Astrolabe Bay extends from Cap Fortification to Cap Croisilles.¹⁹⁶ The few objects which stood at *Preuss*'s disposal, hardly a dozen of figures and no masks at all, made it hard for him to arrive at reliable observations. His objects came from a few localities only, so that the conclusions drawn from them are rather of local importance than typical of the style generally employed.¹⁹⁷ *Speiser* included Astrolabe Bay in the *Tami*-style area but his assumption must be considered erroneous. As his quotations show, he relied exclusively on *Biró*'s work, for the decorative features of the Astrolabe Bay objects; as he had no access to a wider range of objects, he examined the dance-swords only that had been collected by *Biró* (see *Biró* and *Semayer*, 1901, Table XVII, figs. 1—5). From among these dance-

¹⁸⁹ *Schmeltz*, 1895, p. 244. Table XVI/1—1a.

¹⁹⁰ *Werner*, 1911, Figs. 40, 41, 44.

¹⁹¹ *Hagen*, 1899, Table 42.

¹⁹² *Biró* and *Semayer*, 1901, p. 196.

¹⁹³ Миклухо-Маклай, 1950—1951, I, p. 227, III, p. 101.

^{193a} *Kunze*, 1926, p. 77.

¹⁹⁴ *Hagen*, 1899, p. 267.

¹⁹⁵ *Hanke*, 1909, p. 209.

¹⁹⁶ *Preuss*, 1897, p. 85.

¹⁹⁷ *Preuss*, 1897, p. 88.

swords those numbered 1—3, though collected in Bogadjim, had not been made in Astrolabe Bay. An examination of these patterns and their comparison with those of the other material shows that these dance-swords derive from Huon Gulf.¹⁹⁸

We do not know of any other publication dealing with the decorative style of Astrolabe Bay. Careful sifting of the available sources makes us feel convinced that the material from Astrolabe Bay is little known. *Chauvet*,¹⁹⁹ *Frobenius*,²⁰⁰ *Fuhrmann*,²⁰¹ *Meyer*,²⁰² *Leenhardt*,²⁰³ *Vatter*,²⁰⁴ *Willitsch*,²⁰⁵ *Firth*,²⁰⁶ *Speiser*²⁰⁷ publish no material at all from Astrolabe Bay. The information available in printing and the material in our museum, has led us to share the conclusions of *Preuss*: Astrolabe Bay is an independent area of decorative style in New Guinea. Its features are unique, not similar to the *Tami*-style nor to the styles of the adjoining western areas. Nothing like it is known anywhere in New Guinea, wherefore we feel justified in supposing that here we have to do with a style independently developed, and probably Papuan.

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Tables

The objects published in the tables annexed were collected by *Samuel Fenichel* in Astrolabe Bay in 1891—1893, and are in possession of the Ethnographical Museum in Budapest (Hungary). It is much to be regretted that the notes of the author are fragmentary since *Fenichel* died in the hospital of Stephansort amidst tragic circumstances in March 1893. That makes it impossible for us to trace the items in his collection to definite villages. That much is certain, however, that his objects came from the innermost part of Astrolabe Bay, mostly from Bongu village, which was his permanent residence in New Guinea.

Exact information on provenience will be given of the objects only that do not derive from the *Fenichel* Collection.

¹⁹⁸ *Speiser*, 1936, p. 330. (On p. 333 the following passage is obviously an error that has escaped the author's attention: »*Tami*-style prevails along the coast line of New Guinea from Astrolabe Bay to Humboldt Bay«.) Among the drums of the Astrolabe Bay we find specimens coming from Huon Gulf (see *Bodrogi*, 1949, p. 222, Fig. 31).

¹⁹⁹ *Chauvet*, 1930.

²⁰⁰ *Frobenius*, 1897.

²⁰¹ *Fuhrmann*, 1922.

²⁰² *Meyer*, 1889.

²⁰³ *Leenhardt*, 1947.

²⁰⁴ *Vatter*, 1926.

²⁰⁵ *Willitsch*, 1935.

²⁰⁶ *Firth*, 1936.

²⁰⁷ *Speiser*, 1941.

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- AfAnthr. = Archiv für Anthropologie (Berlin).
 AV. = Archiv für Völkerkunde (Wien).
 Anthr. = Anthropos (St. Gabriel-Mödling b. Wien, — bzw. Posieux-Froideville, Kt. Freiburg, Schweiz).
 AT. = Acta Tropica (Basel).
 BA. = Baessler Archiv (Berlin).
 FEthn. = Folia Ethnographica (Budapest).
 JAF. = Journal of American Folklore (Menasha—Wisconsin).
 JRAI. = The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (London).
 IAE. = Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie (Leiden).
 JSO. = Journal de la Société des Océanistes (Paris).
 MGG. = Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft (für Thüringen) zu Jena (Jena).
 MAG. = Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien (Wien).
 Gl. = Globus (Gotha).
 Nachr. = Nachrichten über Kaiser-Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel (Berlin).
 NTN. = Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indie (Batavia—Gravenhage).
 PM. = Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen (Gotha).
 TKBG. = Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Wetevreden).
 ZES. = Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen (Berlin).
 ZfE. = Zeitschrift für Ethnologie (Berlin-Braunschweig).

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BAST SHIELDS FROM THE HUON-GULF REGION

The data at our disposal appear to limit the use of the many-folded bast shields of rough finish with multifarious painted decorations on their outer surface to the area around Finschhafen and especially to the territory of the Kai (Kate) tribe living in the Sattel Mountains. Pösch, who was the first to mention this protective armour, happened to come across it at the upper stretches of the river Mape, near the territory of the Poums of the Kai tribe.¹ Finsch, basing his account on Pösch's, also stated that this protective armour had mainly been in use among the Poums, and added that the Schlechter-expedition — in search of caoutchouc — had seen similar protective armour in the Bismarck Mountains among the people of the Hokrocho tribe.² Keysser writes of a protective weapon of a similar type which he calls a bast-armour and had found along the river Bulesome.³ Neuhauss, dealing with the weapons used in the region around the Huon Gulf, states that the use of the bast shields extends only over the territory of the Poums and Hupes settled north and west of the Sattel Mountain, and adds that this type is also known along the coast in the vicinity of Kap König Wilhelm.⁴ The bast armour of the Kambe tribe referred to by Keysser, might be taken to have been a further development of the bast shield under discussion.⁵

The bast shield is not mentioned by Frobenius in his comprehensive survey.⁶ Speiser classified it by the name »Bastbündel« in the group of »Panzer-schilde« (Bogenschilde) saying that it was known in the Solomon Islands too.⁷

The bast shield as known and used on the territory of the Kai tribe by the Poums and Hupes, and by the natives living in the vicinity of Kap König Wilhelm is made of a softened and roughly treated bast derived from the bark of trees known to me only by their native names: — *uontoganan* (in Poup), *sisio* (in Jabim), *talenibi* (in Jabim), *ausimin* (in Jabim). Bast treated in the man-

¹ Pösch, 1907, p. 57.

² Finsch, 1914, p. 364.

³ Keysser, 1912, p. 566.

⁴ Neuhauss, 1913, I, pp. 317—319; III, pp. 22, 259.

⁵ Keysser, 1912, p. 566. Fig. 2, 3.

⁶ Frobenius, 1900,

⁷ Speiser, 1942, p. 100.

PLATE III



KANISZY.

PLATE IV



J. KANSZKY

ner described by Schellong⁸ and cut up into sheets or strips, 60 cms wide and 120 cms long, is folded lengthwise in the middle, and two to ten layers are placed upon each other. These sheets are then laced together by bast fibres in stitches at unequal distances along the two longer sides. The bottom-end is usually left free and unlaced. The upper end is folded and securely stitched on; under this fold a bast string (*mu* in Poug, *gam* in Jabim) is passed through and tied into a knot at the free ends so that the shield — an apron, in fact — can be suspended round the neck. The shield is worn over the left shoulder; it covers the left side of the body and reaches to about the knees of a grown-up man. The shield worn in this manner does not hinder the wearer from using his bow and arrow. The man handling a bow stands with his shield left side turned towards the enemy while with his right hand he can draw his bow. The shield provides some protection against an arrow the point of which does not pierce through the fibres of the bast, and this prevents the arrow from injuring the body of its wearer.⁹

The name of the bast shield is *maluku* with the Poug and the Hupé, and it is called *mangi* around Kap König Wilhelm.¹⁰ According to Pöch, its name in the Poug dialect is *bunda*.¹¹

The outer surface is decorated in red and black colours in the characteristic style of the Huon Gulf territory.¹² On the basis of native informants *Biró* states that the dominant figurative decoration was meant to represent a human face over which a dancing cap was placed. The face itself shows the characteristic decorative painting of the natives festive make-up,¹³ and the head-dress is the well-known piece always used at festivals and at dances. The name of the head-dress is *modibu* in Jabim which means: »in the shape of a bird« or »like a bird«, but they also call it by the name that is given to the framework of the head-dress: *kwalam-tapa* meaning the frame for the cockatoo feathers.¹⁴

⁸ Schellong, 1888, 221—222.

⁹ Pöch, 1907, p. 57; Neuhauss, 1913, I, Fig. 211.

¹⁰ Neuhauss, 1913, I, p. 307.

¹¹ Pöch, 1907, p. 57.

¹² Neuhauss, 1913, I, pp. 359—365; Speiser, 1936, pp. 330—335.

¹³ Neuhauss, 1913, I, p. 396.

¹⁴ »The *kwalam-tapa* consists of a hat-shaped framework made from strips of cane or bamboo. Both sides of the frame are covered with sheets from fibres of a cocoa-nut tree. Red and white transverse stripes are painted on these, or they are decorated with *selam* heads (for the motif of the *selam* snake see Bodrogi, 1949, pp. 216—7). Two supports are made to raise from this framework, one in front, the other in the rear. These, being pliable, are bent so as to meet at their apices, where they are fastened together. At this point, a cross-shaped bit is tied to the construction to stick tufts of feathers into it. These support are made of the soft inner layers of the stalk of a sago-palm leaf (*labi* in Jabim) so the feathers can easily be stuck into them. Only the feathers from the wings and tail of a white cockatoo are suitable for this purpose (*kwalam*: *Cacatua Triton*). A slender grating of thin sticks is driven into the *labi* columns to keep the long feathers straight and in position.« From *Biró*'s unpublished handwritten notes. No 568. — Neuhauss, 1913, Fig. 314.

Biró found the same type of decorations on the large wooden shields used around Huon Gulf,¹⁵ the only difference being that while on the wooden shields the whole body is portrayed, the body has been left out on the bast shields, and only the face and the head-dress are represented. This explanation of *Biró's* is shared by *Preuss* who takes these figures on the wooden shields for dancing figures, and the decorative patterns above the heads for feather head-dresses.¹⁶ The decorative elements accompanying the motifs of face and cockatoo head-dress, are usually executed in the *Tami*-style,¹⁷ the characteristic features of which style I have last called the *Jabim*-style.¹⁸

The objects described in the following are in the possession of the Ethnographical Museum in Budapest (Hungary). The objects themselves were collected by *Lajos Biró* from 1896 to 1902.

*

PLATES

I. Bast shield. Huon Gulf, Poun.

The material is bast of a reddish brown colour. The bast derives from the *talenibi* tree. The bast shields are folded twice so that their thickness consists of four layers. The sheets are laced together along their entire length on both sides. At the upper fold a thin bast cord is passed through and tied into a knot at its free ends. The decoration is executed in red and black; the most characteristic decorative unit is a stylized human face with a dancing cap placed above it; these have been placed in the middle at the bottom and in the upper right corner.

Measurements: — length 105 cms; extreme width 75 cms. Exhibit No 66 205. Archive's number for collector's unpublished handwritten notes: — 666.

II. Bast shield. Huon Gulf, Poun.

The material is bast of a greyish brown colour, made from the *talenibi* tree. The bast sheets are folded twice so that their thickness consists of four layers. The sheets are laced together along their entire lengths on both sides. A thin bast cord is passed through the upper fold and tied into a knot at its free ends. The decorations have been done in red and black. The central feature of the decoration is a stylized human face with decorative elements of a dance cap, in the middle of the outer surface. The two decorative elements near the bottom represent stars (*asamen* in Poun; *utitalata* in Jabim).

Measurements: — length 95 cms; extreme width 43 cms. Exhibit No 66 206. Archive's number for collector's unpublished handwritten notes: — 666.

III. Bast shield. Huon Gulf, Poun.

The material is bast of reddish brown colour, made from the bark of the *ausimin* tree. The two-folded bast sheets are not of equal length, two layers of one sheet covering only one-third of the entire length in such a way that on the lower part two, on the upper, four layers give protection. One side of the shield is laced along its entire length, the lower edge is laced as well. Through the upper fold a thin bast strip is threaded through with its free ends tied into a knot. The outer surface is decorated with a black and red design. The human face is missing this time, and its place has been taken by the usual decorative elements. The entire decorative

¹⁵ This type of decoration is applied by the *Kai*, *Jabim*, *Bukawa*, and *Labo* tribes and is common along the shores of Huon Gulf as far as Laukanu. According to *Frobenius*, this type of shield belongs to the Asiatic type (*Frobenius*, 1900, pp. 27—28. Fig. 1.), according to *Speiser* to the class of »Deckschilder«. *Speiser*, 1942 p. 92; *Geissler*, 1908, p. 126. Figs. 1—3; *Neuhaus*, 1913, p. 107, III, p. 22. Figs. 207, 2 9; *Finsch*, 1888, p. 78 (216).

¹⁶ *Preuss*, 1897, pp. 104—5. Figs. 1, 15.

¹⁷ *Speiser*: 1936, pp. 330—335.

¹⁸ *Bodrogi*, 1949, p. 207.

pattern goes by the name: *guililum* (in Jabim) meaning: small animals of the sea. Some of the decorative elements of this pattern in detail are: *kalumben*, meaning the footprints of a seacrab and consisting of a combination of V-shaped lines stretching along the entire border of the shield; the two crosses placed closely at the lower part denote the sea-stars (*Asperioda utitalata* in Jabim; *kapongngaola* is the name of the two designs at the middle near the lower and upper edges; they consist of two interlaced circles joined by *kalumben* decorations. The lower part of the shield is marked off from the rest by a decorative pattern consisting of red circles and black spots placed within square frames. This pattern is known as *gwui-lilum* meaning small snail.

Measurements: — length 109 cms, length of the shorter sheet 56 cms, extreme width 55 cms. Exhibit No 66207. Archive's number for collector's unpublished handwritten notes: 666.

IV. Bast shield. Huon Gulf, Poom.

The material is a reddish brown bast. The shield is made of two shorter and two longer sheets of bast folded so that the bearer be protected by four layers in the upper half and by two in the lower. The upper fold covers about half of the shield. It is laced at the entire length of both its sides by two thick cords of fibre. The decorations are in black and red. The outstanding decorative pattern consists of a stylized human face with a dancing cap in the upper half of the surface. The rest of the decorations consists of the *utitalata* design mentioned above, and red and black lines cutting off the corners.

Measurements: — entire length 90 cms, length of the upper part with four layers 56 cms; extreme width 40 cms. Exhibit No: 67 448. Archive's number for collector's unpublished handwritten notes: 666..

V. Wooden shield. Huon Gulf, Bukawa.

Name: *lautu* in Jabim and Bukawa; *malo* or *maro* in Kai; *walife* in Poom. It is made from a soft type of wood, rough-grained and showing a tendency to splintering. Shape: an oblong slightly bent; upper edges rounded. The outer surface contains decorations in red and black colours. The main decorative element is a dancing human figure placed in the centre of the area bordered by marginal decorations running along the edges of the shield. The body, the head, and the feather head-dress each, are apart from each other, not joined in the representation.

Measurements: — length 186 cms, width 45 cms. Exhibition No 37 904. Archive's number for collector's unpublished handwritten notes: 613.

VI. Wooden shield. Huon Gulf, Bukawa.

Referred to by the same names as the shield under 5. It is made of soft wood, rough-grained, with a tendency to splintering. Shape: oblong slightly bent. The upper edges are rounded. The main decorative element is a dancing figure. Marginal decorations run along the edges.

Measurements: — length 178 cms; width: 43 cms. Exhibit No 37 905. Archive's number for collector's unpublished handwritten notes: 613.

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ДАННЫЕ К ЭТНОГРАФИИ НОВОЙ ГВИНЕИ

Т. Бодроги

Резюме

Обряды посвящения и культ духов в заливе Астролябе

Несмотря на то, что залив Астролябе принадлежит уже к давно известным областям Новой-Гвинеи, все же о древней культуре его населения мы располагаем только сравнительно незначительными этнографическими данными. Этой причиной главным образом является то, что рано начавшаяся колонизация, быстро преобразовала первоначальную культуру, и новые исследования уже не могут уловить подлинную картину этой древней культуры. Следовательно, исследование древней культуры населения залива Астролябе, стало в первую очередь исторической задачей, а исследования в наши дни должны исходить из полученного таким образом материала. Серьезным затруднением при этой работе является обстоятельство, что описания из раннего периода колонизации — за исключением единственного описания Н. Н. Миклухо-Маклая — мало удовлетворяют требованиям современной науки. Несмотря на то, автор предполагает, что собирание этих разбросанных данных, и их сравнение с более подробными описаниями из других областей, приводят к результатам, дополняющим установления относительно культуры северного побережья Новой Гвинеи. Поэтому настоящий очерк занимается такой группой явлений — (обряды посвящения и культ духов) — о которой мы располагаем достаточными описаниями как о заливе Астролябе, так и о других местах северного побережья, и для оценки по истории культуры которой имеются достаточные опорные точки.

Очерк разделяется на две части. Первая часть занимается изложением и оценкой материала посвящения и культа духов, а вторая часть описывает принадлежащий предметный материал Будапештского этнографического музея (Венгрия), используя при этом литературные данные.

В первом пункте первой части автор приводит в хронологическом порядке данные, относящиеся к рассматриваемому предмету, т. е. вкратце излагает их. Первым образом он приводит самые ранние данные русского ученого Н. Н. Миклухо-Маклая из 1870—71 гг., относящиеся главным образом к деревне Бонги. За Миклухо-Маклаем следует Комри, который упоминает обрезание, затем Золлер, который в своей работе, опубликованной в 1891 г., описывает восхождение гор Финистерр, сообщая довольно недостоверные данные о богадьимском культе аса. Более точные описания имеются лишь от 1893 г. В 1893 г. состоялся последний большой праздник посвящения в Богадьиме; миссионеры, находившиеся в этих краях от 1887 г., имели возможность записать довольно точные подробности относительно сущности посвящения и его ритологии. Пользуясь отчасти устными сообщениями миссионеров, отчасти же их популярными статьями, опубликованными в популярных журналах, а кроме этого на основе своего собственного наблюдения, Хаген написал свой научный труд, опубликованный в 1899 г. Научный труд Хагена представляет собой самый исчерпывающий источник об обрядах посвящения и культа духов в заливе Астролябе. Данные Хагена, относящиеся главным образом к Богадьиму, в которых мы находим подробные информации о ходе посвящения, о верованиях, об обрезании и о предметном материале, дополняются — относительно Бонгу — заметками Кунце и Ханке. Из областей, лежащих за заливом Астролябе, мы обязуемся Вернеру довольно общими данными из 1910-ых годов, а Демпвольф знакомляет нас с отдельными подробностями посвящения и культа духов на острове Грагед.

Современными описаниями мы располагаем только в конце 30-ых годов. Сборник Ауфингера появился в печати в 1941 г. на страницах журнала Этнос. Его утверждения ясно доказывают все изменения, происходившие в ритологии посвящения за последний полвека. Бросается в глаза, но весьма естественно, что посвящение в наши дни совершенно потеряло свои религиозные основы, а остался только светский обычай обрезания.

Описание Кунце об острове Каркар (Дампие) пополняет материал о заливе Астролябе, сообщая ценные наблюдения относительно функции маски; а также из его описаний можно узнать социологические характеристики обрядов посвящения.

Второй пункт занимается оценкой представленного материала. Автор устанавливает, что изложенные и сами по себе довольно отрывочные части дополняют друг друга, и что на основе этих частичных данных мы вправе начертить характерные моменты обрядов посвящения и культа духов. Автор подтверждает свое мнение не только совпадением



PLATE VI



KANSKY M

отдельных подробностей, но и лингвистическими и мифологическими доказательствами. Характерные обряды посвящения он приводит в 17-и пунктах, используя эти характеристики в дальнейшем как основу разбора истории культуры этих народностей.

В третьем пункте очерка автор указывает на то, что на основе проведенных до сих пор исследований, в Новой Гвинее следует считаться с однообразным — в сущности — комплексом посвящения. В прочем к этому же заключению пришли Дикн, Решке и Шпейзер в своих работах об обрядах посвящения. Сравнивая результаты этих авторов с материалом о заливе Астролябе, автор пришел к тому заключению, что посвящение в заливе Астролябе принадлежит к общему комплексу обрядов посвящения в Новой Гвинее. Автор думает, что кроме этого общего совпадения, обряды посвящения северного побережья находятся в более тесной генетической связи друг с другом, и что к этим обрядам можно отнести и посвящения в заливе Астролябе. На возможность совпадения обрядов посвящения на северном побережье указывал уже и Дикн, и собранный с тех пор материал также установил эти взгляды. В подтверждение своего мнения автор упоминает, что в центре обрядов посвящения — северного побережья — стоит дух, облеченный свойствами чудовища, и что названия этого чудовища можно вывести из общего корня. Автор доказывает, что действительность его тезиса не сокращается тем, что в отдельных областях встречаются и другие названия духа, причем его свойства те же. Он иллюстрирует примерами то частое явление, что в случае заимствования, прежнее название духа сохраняется, в то время как его свойства меняются. Вторым доказательством автора является то, что при обрядах посвящения северного побережья, всегда находим обрезание, или же какой-нибудь другой процесс искалечения или возбуждения пениса. Распространение этого процесса в Меланезии ограничено, а в Новой Гвинее он встречается только на северном побережье. Во-вторых автор указывает на то, что при каждом из упомянутых им посвящений, важную роль играет флейта духа, распространенная на северных частях Новой Гвинеи. Анализируя эти три важные совпадающие черты — используя при этом вышеприведенные установления — можно заключить, что из совпадающих черт, роль духа и обрезание являются чертами меланезского происхождения, а флейта духа является папуаской чертой. Следовательно, обряды посвящения северного побережья показывают смешение культурных воздействий.

Четвертый пункт очерка сообщает мифологические данные, в целях дополнительного доказательства, и оценивает их. Автор устанавливает, что в отдельных областях обряды посвящения, или дух, находящийся в центре обрядов, связан с двумя антагонистическими братьями, и что этот миф об антагонистической братской паре встречается во всех областях, в которых мы находим вышенамеченный процесс посвящения. При рассмотрении мифа, выяснилось, что он отражает исторические события. На это указывают разные антропологические характеристики братьев, противоположение направлению их странствований, как и та черта, что один из братьев снабжен выражено «мореходным» характером. Совпадения в некоторых подробностях мифов, и даже в названиях братьев настолько поразительные, что их происхождение безусловно общее. По мнению автора — и это мнение подтверждается прежде всего восточно-западной ориентацией, проявляющейся в мифе, и частями, которые связаны с морскими мотивами — этот миф меланезского происхождения, и его связь с обрядами посвящения можно отнести к общей волне меланезского странствования.

В пятом пункте автор старается доказать характер «*amphiktyonia*» обрядов посвящения в заливе Астролябе. Даже наши скудные данные показывают на то, что праздничества посвящений привели в движение массы больших областей, и что в период этих посвящений было в силе что-то вроде *Treuga Dei*. По мнению автора посвящения имели характер *amphiktyonia* благодаря двум связанным друг с другом факторам, возникновение которых, может происходить и независимо друг от друга. Одним из этих факторов является существование торговых отношений, торговой дружбы. В случае же наличия другого фактора — и этот фактор может присоединяться к первому — *amphiktyonia* не что иное, как общие празднества, раннего общественного единства, которые сохранялись и после *diaspora* (главным образом благодаря силе преданий), делая таким образом возможным временное восстановление потерянного единства. Все это показывает, что эти собрания имели характер как пережитков, так и возрождений.

Вторая часть очерка излагает предметный материал, связанный с посвящением и культом духов, на основе того соображения, что предметы представляют собой неотделимую часть риторологии. Это доказывается тем, что и относительно предметов встречаются такие запрещения, которые обеспечивают таинственность самого ритуала. Далее в порядке обсуждения автор рассматривает маски, инструменты, танцевальные мечи, и древние статуи. В каждой группе сперва выясняется роль предметов в обрядах посвящений и в культе духов на основании относящихся литературных данных, а затем изла-

гаются музееведческие данные и опубликования о предметах. В заключение автор занимается стилем залива Астролябе и доказывает, что в противоположность утверждениям Шпейзера, залив Астролябе представляет собой отделенную область стиля, как это сразу видно на основе представленного материала картин.

Щиты из тапа в окрестности Финч-харбор

Опубликование материала занимается с одной группой коллекции Биро из гольфа Хуон, со щитами из тапа, на основе предметов, находящихся в Будапештском Этнографическом Музее. Пользуясь с относящимися литературными данными и записями Л. Биро, автор излагает распространение, изготовление и применение щитов этого типа, их названия туземцами, далее рассматривает особенности стиля украшений щитов. Наряду с щитами из тапа, автор для сравнения иллюстрирует два изогнутых (jabim) деревянных щита.



1. Exhibit No 8920. Mask. Background black, on the face in places traces of red paint.
Height 45 cms



2. The same mask, side view



3. Exhibit No 8924. Mask. Colour dark brown. Height 49 cms



4. Exhibit No 8918. Mask. Colour purplish brown. Height 45 cms



5. Exhibit No 8919. Mask. Colour purplish brown. Height 43 cms



6. Exhibit No 8923. Mask. Colour dark-brown. The headdress represents three wild boar tusks bent into a circle. Height 57 cms



7. Exhibit No 8933. Mask. Colour blackish, the labial parts are framed white, on the face stripes of white. Height 53 cms



8. Exhibit No 8931. Mask. Half of the face is painted black, the other half red, round the labial parts the colour is white. Height 40 cms



9. Exhibit No 8925. Mask. Colour greyish brown with purple shades. Height 42 cms



10. Exhibit No 8922. Mask. Colour dark brown, glossy. Height 69 cms



11. Exhibit No 8932. Mask. Colour purplish, glossy. Height 66 cms



12. Side view of the same mask



13. Exhibit No 8929. Mask. A very old piece, cracked in places. Colour dark brown, in places with purple and black paint. Height 39 cms



14. Exhibit No. 8930. Mask. Colour purplish brown. Height 39 cms



15. Exhibit No 8927. Mask. Colour purplish brown. Height 47 cms



16. Exhibit No 8926. Mask. Colour blackish. Height 60 cms



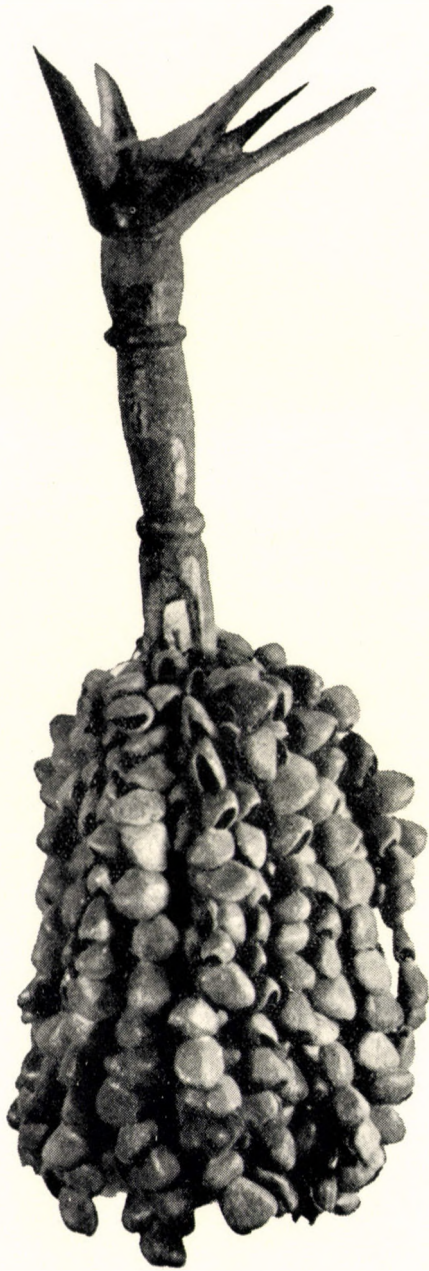
17. Exhibit No 8921. Mask. Purple coloured. Height 43 cms



18. Exhibit No 8928. Mask. Colour blackish brown. Height 60 cms



19. Side view of the same mask



20. Exhibit No 11769. Dance-rattle. The colour of the handle is light brown, that of the shells blackish brown. Length of the handle 45 cms



21. Exhibit No 11762. Dance-rattle. Light brown, the shells are black. The length of the handle is 45 cms

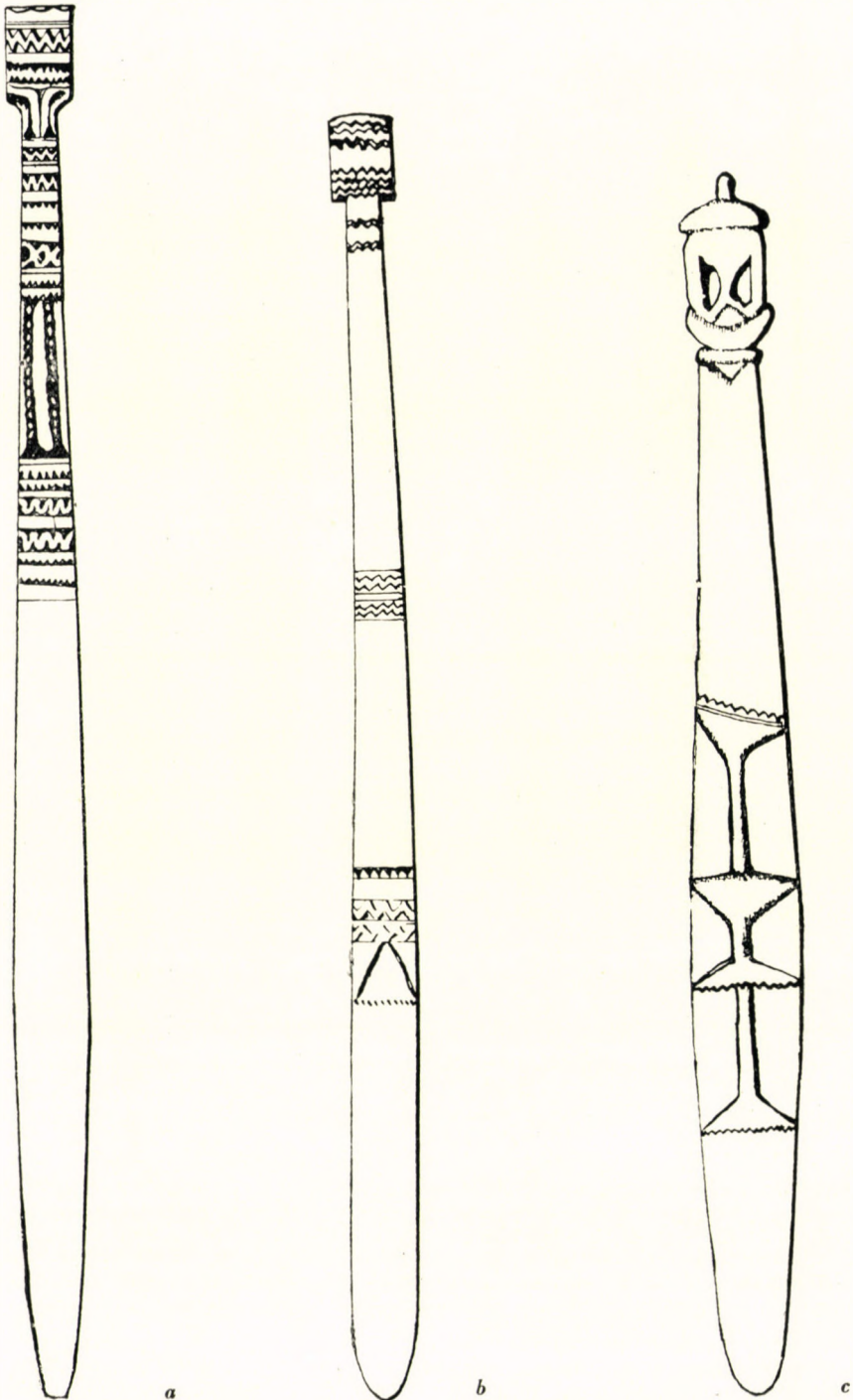


22. Exhibit No 11771. Part of a handle of a dance-rattle. Anthropomorphic carving. Colour black, labial parts hanging and in contact with penis. The entire length of handle 61 cms.

23. Exhibit No 12627. Handle of a dance-rattle. Colour black. The hole where the string with the shells is fastened can be clearly seen at the lower end. Length of the handle 67 cms



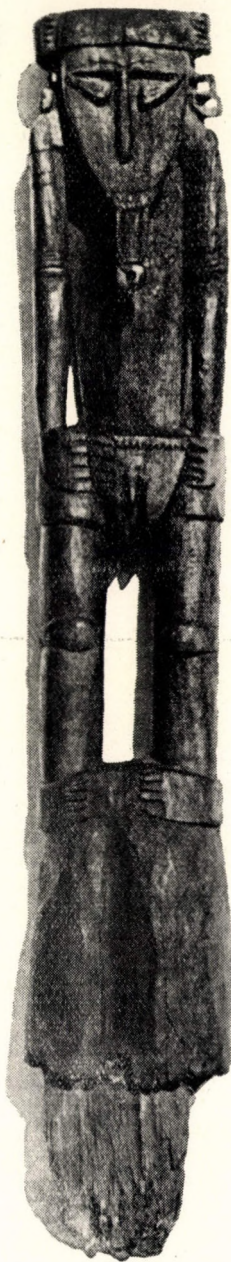
24. Bull-roarers. *a*. Exhibit No 9074. Colour purplish. On one side it is decorated by incrust-ed carvings. Length 48,5 cms. *b*. Exhibit No 9043. Colour dark brown. One side is decorated by incrust-ed carvings. Length 43,5 cms. *c*. Exhibit No 9069. Colour dark brown. One side is decorated by incrust-ed carvings. Length 41 cms. *d*. Exhibit No 9064. Colour dark brown, on one side are incrust-ed carvings. Length 39,2 cms. *e*. Exhibit No 9070. Colour dark brown. On one side incrust-ed carving but dimly discernible. Length 35,4 cms



25. Dance-swords. *a.* Exhibit No 12846. Incrusted carving on one side. Dark brown. Length 135 cms. *b.* Exhibit No 12847. Colour dark brown; incrusted carving on one side. Length 121cms. *c.* Exhibit No 16090. Bas relief. Colour dark brown, on one side purple and white painting. Length 117 cms



26. Exhibit No 11864. Ancestral figure. Colour light brown. Height 192 cms



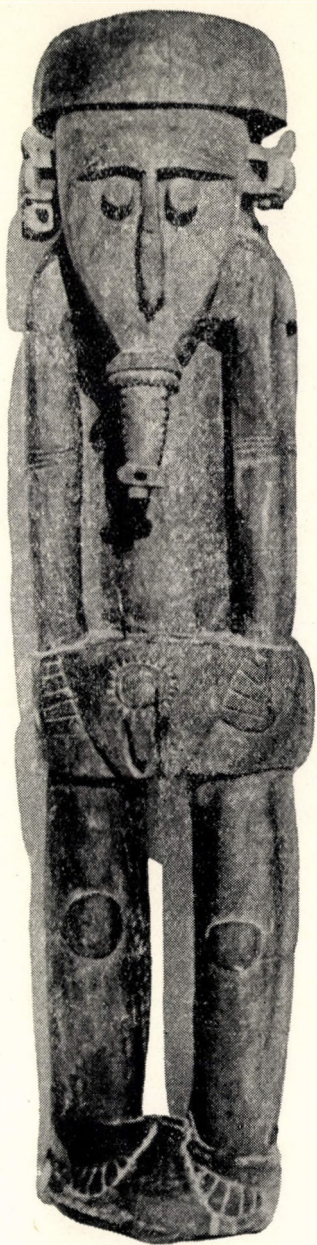
27. Exhibit No 11868. Ancestral figure. Colour purplish brown. Height 167 cms



28. Exhibit No 11766. Ancestral figure. The colour is light brown. Height 190 cms



29. Exhibit No 11863. Ancestral figure. Colour light brown. Height 114 cms



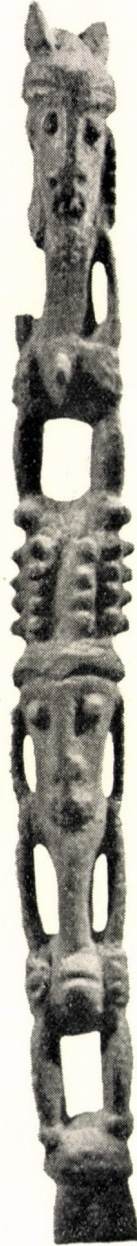
30. Exhibit No 11865. Ancestral figure. Colour light brown. Height 99 cms



31. Exhibit No 11862. Ancestral figure. Colour light brown. Height 111 cms



32. Exhibit No 11861. Ancestral figure. Colour light brown. Height 178 cms



33. Exhibit No 11874. Wooden figure. Colour greyish brown. Represents a man's and a woman's figure standing on a cylindrical pedestal. Height 96,5 cms



34. Exhibit No 11882. Wooden figure. Colour greyish black. Broken in places. Man's figure with prominent sexual characteristics. Height 51 cms



35. Exhibit No 11876. Wooden figure. Colour blackish brown. Prominent female sexual characteristics. Height 45 cms



36. Exhibit No 11887. Wooden figure. Colour blackish brown. Standing on a small square pedestal. Man's figure with prominent sexual characteristics. Height 17 cms.

37. Exhibit No 11883. Fragment of wooden figure. Colour glossy black. Considerably worn away. Height 21 cms



38. Exhibit No 11875. Wooden figure. Colour greyish black. Standing on an asymmetric cylindrical pedestal. It has prominent male sexual characteristics. Height 48 cms



39. *Merriáb (Meriab)* chorus from Bilibili Island. Men are playing ocarinas and pumpkin trumpets. *Biró's* photograph, 1897



40. Circumcised youths from Bilibili Island. *Biró's* photograph, 1897



41. Ancestral figure (*telum*) from Bongu. Drawing by Miklucho-Maclay, 1877. In Миклухо-Маклай, 1950—1951, III. p. 101



42. A masked Papuan from Bongu. Drawing by *Miklucho-Maclay*, 1870—71.
In Миклухо-Маклай, 1950—1951, III, p. 117