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VII

CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

VII.1. *General Reviews and Approaches*

Our ethnographic knowledge of Irian suffers from many gaps and imperfections. Consequently, all general reviews and characterizations of Papuan culture and society are necessarily provisional, in keeping with the state of our knowledge at the time of writing. All authors agree that there is an urgent need for further research. Recommended general studies are those by Held (1951), Van Baal (1954), De Bruyn (1958-59), Pouwer (1961a, 1961b, 1961c, 1966a, 1966b, 1966c), Schoorl (1967), Koentjaraningrat (1970), and Bromley (1973).

VII.2. *Some Special Characteristics of Irian Society and Culture*

The suggestion put forward in Van Baal (1954) that Irian society may be characterized as loosely structured has been discussed in Van der Leeden (1960), Pouwer (1960a, 1960b), Dutoit (1962), and Koentjaraningrat (1977). The question of greater or lesser 'looseness' recurs in a more general, theoretical framework in Van der Leeden's essays of 1970 and 1971.

A wholly different approach to the problems of kinship organization in Irian is found in an M.A. thesis written for the Anthropology Department of the University of Amsterdam. In this paper, which unfortunately has never been published, some 40 tribal societies of Irian are compared (Pans, 1967). A more recent comparative study on kinship organization is Cook and O'Brien (1980). A recent reader on religion and kinship is Herrifield a.o. (1983). Comparative data on land tenure and the organization of local groups are presented in Ploeg (1970) and Legiyo (1981).

Surveys or comparative studies of traditional religions in Irian are lacking. Nevertheless, some preliminary steps have been made by Takenaka (1949) and Kamma (1975, 1978).

The specific subject of counting systems has been discussed by Galis (1960) and Briley (1977).

A curious document from the past, finally, is Van Hoeverl (1880).

VII.3. *Culture Change. Messianic Movements and Cargo Cults*

The heading given to this section might suggest that Messianic movements and cargo cults always go hand in hand with culture change. But this must be emphatically denied. Even so, many of these religious movements are reactions to culture change. Besides, practically all of

them have been observed in a situation of more or less rapid culture change. As a result it is impossible to deal with culture change separately from the religious movements which reflect its influence. The presentation of the relevant literature is further complicated by the fact that developments similar to those reported from Irian have taken place in many areas in Melanesia and have provoked general discussions on culture change and religious movements in Melanesia as a whole. Many of the publications concerned form part of the vast body of literature on the subject generally. For practical reasons we must restrict ourselves to the literature on Irian specifically, and of this literature only to those works which have provided the basis for general discussions on the Irian case or which are devoted to this case. Works describing local religious movements have been relegated to the relevant subsections of Chapter VIII (Ethnography). In addition, concrete cases of culture change within the framework of cultural and economic development are dealt with in Chapter IX.

The reader interested in cargo cults specifically may best assure himself of the vast extent of the relevant material by consulting Zantkuijl's bibliography (1976).

Monographs containing information on culture change and cargo cults are Boelaars (1953), Kouwenhoven (1956), Schoorl (1957), Van Logchem (1963), Van Baal (1967), Kamma (1972a), Oosterwal (1973) and Van der Wilden (1981). Recommended periodical articles and contributions to larger volumes are those by Schneider (1928), Van Baal (1952, 1953, 1956, 1960, 1969), Held (1953-54), Kabel (1953), Kamma (1953, 1972b), Spreeuwenberg (1953), Van der Leeden (1961), Bachtiar (1963), Oosterwal (1963), O'Brien and Ploeg (1964), Marjen (1967), Boelaars (1968), Trenkenschuh (1974), Schoorl (1975), Kaipman (1978), and Godschalk (forthcoming).

Finally, several Academic Essays and mimeographed papers dealing with cargo cults must be mentioned, viz. Godschalk (1977), Agapa (1979), Hubatka (1981), Kapisa (1981), Mampioer (1981), Noriwari (1981), Romandei (1981) and Saf (1981).

VII.4. *Material Culture and the Visual Arts*

Up till the First World War most of the ethnographic work done in Irian was concerned with the material culture of the area. A general survey of publications on this subject has been given by Galis (1952). Unfortunately, this useful survey, covering a wide variety of subjects and tribes, is not easily accessible. It is not mentioned in Nienhuis.

One of the earliest publications on the material culture of Irian is that by De Clercq and Schmeltz (1893). Schmeltz was director of the State Ethnographic Museum at Leiden, and we are indebted to him for quite a number of well illustrated articles on the material culture of the coastal areas of Irian in Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie (abbreviated as IAE), namely in volumes 6 (1893), 8 and 9 (1895, 1896), 16 and 17 (1904, 1905). For brevity's sake these articles have not been specified in the bibliography at the end of the present section (subsection VII.7.). Another work of Schmeltz which has not been mentioned there is (for those years) meritorious 'Gids voor de tentoonstelling van de voorwerpen afkomstig van de Noord Nieuw-Guinea Expeditie o.l.v. Prof. A. Wichmann' (Publicaties Rijks Ethnografisch Museum, 2e serie,

Leiden 1907). Other early publications on material culture are Serrurier (1888, 1898), Van der Sande (1906), and Fischer (1908, 1913-15, 1915).

During the period between 1920 and 1950 studies of general aspects of culture were superseded by ethnographical monographs. The description of a given people's material culture came to form part of the ethnographic study of that people's culture. Nevertheless, special studies on material culture continued to be written, though not in the old form. More attention was now paid to artistic and technical features than in the preceding period, a development which we find modestly reflected in Loeber (1919-20, 1929-30), Wirz (1921, 1922, 1923, 1930), Hornell (1923), Speiser and Wirz (1931), Brauholtz (1934, 1936), Tillema (1940), Münsterberger (1945) and Bühler (1946-49).

The main events after 1950 were the discovery of divergent art-styles in specific parts of Irian on the one hand, and of the impressive beauty of Asmat wood-carving on the other. A third development was the progress of our knowledge of the material culture of the Irian people from a purely technical point of view. Various art-styles have been described by Gerbrands (1950-51, 1979), Kooijman (1955, 1956, 1959a, 1959b, 1959c, 1961, 1962a, 1962b, 1966), Kooijman and Frese (1958), Kooijman et al. (1960), and Van Baaren (1968). Asmat wood-carving is dealt with by Renselaar (1956), Gerbrands (1966, 1967), Commentary Asmat (1971), Hoogerbrugge and Kooijman (1976), Hoogerbrugge (1977), and Konrad, Konrad and Schneebaum (1981). The above-mentioned developments are further reflected in Van Emst (1957), Galis (1963), Ucko (1969), Kamma and Kooijman (1973), Poana et al. (1978), Solheim and AP (1977), Solheim and Mansoben (1977), and Krenak (1982). The list presented here is by no means exhaustive. Additional information on material culture and visual arts may be obtained from Chapter VIII, in which the ethnographic literature has been listed area-wise. Besides, some of the big western museums, such as those of Basel, Berlin, New York (Museum of Primitive Art) and the already mentioned Peabody Museum, have guides to their collections, as well as catalogues of former exhibitions, some of which may probably still be obtainable on application. Here we can give only one example, viz. Koch (1969).

VII.5. *Other Art Forms*

Recommended publications on other art forms - besides the visual arts - are Kunst (1967), Cerita rakyat (1979-80), and Flassy et al. (1980). The first is a study on Papuan music of the Kaowerawedj of the Nassau Mountains(?), on Papua songs, and on music of the southwestern coast, the western part of the Bird's Head, and Waigeo. The second publication contains forty folktales from various parts of Irian Jaya, collected by a team from Cenderawasih University. It includes an account of the methods of collection, and also the texts of the first 20 folktales in the original languages. Flassy et al. present an overview, with commentary, of folk dances from various parts of Irian Jaya which were performed at folkdance festivals held in Jayapura, in 1975, 1977 and 1979.

The interested student in search of tapes and records should consult the Jaap Kunst Instituut of the University of Amsterdam, which has a modest collection of music from Irian.

VII.6. Urgent Research

The need for further anthropological research in Irian is a recurrent theme in all discussions on the cultural diversity of the area. The International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research had devoted the greater part of its Bulletin no. 4 to this subject (Vienna, 1961). Here Van Baal, Van der Leeden, Van Logchem, and Pouwer have specified the most pressing needs. Although some of the gaps have been filled since, the reader of chapters V and VIII below will hardly fail to notice that most of them remain and call for swift action. Much, very much, remains to be done, and must be done quickly.

Before making an attempt to indicate the most important gaps, a remark should be made about two trends which jeopardize progress in the exploration of hitherto ignored or forgotten areas. One is the tendency to favour research in mountainous areas over that in low-lying regions because climatic conditions improve with increasing altitude. No one can deny this, but the result is that the lowlands are being neglected in spite of overwhelming evidence that the cultural variation of the lowland tribes exceeds that of the highland peoples by far. The other is the dogma borrowed from sociology which prescribes that a student who goes into the field to collect material for his doctoral thesis should organize his researches around a specific problem. As many a Ph.D. student supervisor finds himself at a loss to think up a hypothesis which may be tested in a fully unknown culture, the automatic result is that the prospective anthropologist does his research in a cultural environment on which basic information is already available. There is no doubt that this eventually contributes to a better knowledge of that specific culture. But as a consequence all the white patches on Irian's ethnographic map remain.

There are some white gaps which are really appalling. The largest, and by reason of accessibility and historical contacts most unaccountable such gap is that of the Fakfak Peninsula and the lowlands of the southern Bird's Head, opposite its north coast. The fact that we have a monograph on the Arguni Bay at our disposal accentuates the enormity of the gap rather than diminishing it. Other appalling gaps are the area to the east and south of Jayapura; the whole of Meervlakte (Lakes Plain) and the adjacent southern and northern foothills along both the Idenburg and Rouffaer Rivers; the Etna Bay region and its hinterland, including Yamur Lake; the Casuarine coast and its hinterland; the Ayu speaking tribes to the right of the Digul River; the Mapia valley of the western Paniai Division; the eastern and southeastern parts of the Paniai Division; and the peoples between the Yale and the Star Mountains in the Jayawijaya Division. If one were to go into detail one could specify many more areas, but the above suffices to show that there is a major task ahead.

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