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West Irian: A Bibliography

by

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VIII

ETHNOGRAPHY. REGIONAL STUDIES

VII 1.1. Introduction

In the presentation of the material this chapter mainly follows the order of the present-day administrative division of the territory into divisions (kabupaten) and subdivisions (KPS - daerah kepala pemerintah setempat). This is not done because the administrative division - which the Indonesian Government inherited from the colonial administration and since revised in points of detail - has any linguistic or ethnographic relevance - which it does not - but because it is expedient for quick geographical orientation and for the pin-pointing of official papers which are likely to give information that is relevant for the student of Irian's cultural diversity. These official papers are neither rare nor insignificant. They contain specified data on local demography, customary law, local political events, economic development and the problems of local administrators which the student of any specific culture needs for his general background information. The travel reports and Memories van Overgave of local administrators are useful documents. Many of them are relatively easily accessible because they have been filed in the former Rapportenarchief van het Kantoor voor Bevolkingszaken (KBZ). The inventory of this archive, drawn up by Nienhuis, is annexed to the present volume.

In order to derive full benefit from this source of information, the student should be able to find his way through the labyrinth of official geographic terms. This is not as simple as the new-comer to the study of Irian is liable to believe. Administrations do not always continue to use the geographical terms they have introduced in previous years. This they cannot do either. The continual growth of the administration is apt to lead to a parallel growth in the number of divisions and subdivisions and to concomitant changes of names and boundaries of earlier territorial units. In one particular case the result has been outright confusing. The term West New Guinea was initially bestowed upon what is now the Fakfak Division, later upon the Bird's Head and the Radja Ampat Islands which had previously formed part of the division of North New Guinea. There are other complications besides and to avoid confusion it will be necessary to devote the introduction to the present chapter to a short survey of Irian's administrative history.

In 1848 the Netherlands Indies Government recognized the status of the Dutch part of New Guinea as part of the territory of the principedom of Tidore, which recognition did not lead to any appreciable form of administrative control by Tidore. In 1897 the said Government decided to take the administrative control of the area in hand and, without recalling its former recognition of Tibore's nominal rights, created two 'divisions', namely those of the territory of North New Guinea (the later

divisions of Jayapura, Cenderawasih, Manokwari and Sorong) and West and South New Guinea (now Fakfak and Irian Selatan). Two government bases were founded, Manokwari and Fakfak (1898), each under an Assistant-Resident, who was subordinate to the Resident of Ternate, under whose supervision the principedom of Tidore came.

Only a few years later South New Guinea was separated from Tidore and brought under so-called direct rule through the creation of a division of South New Guinea with Merauke as capital. The Assistant-Resident was made directly answerable to the Governor-General, a situation which prevailed until 1913. In that year South New Guinea became a division of the Residency of Ambon. In the meantime (in 1912) Fakfak (West New Guinea) had been separated from Ternate and had also been joined onto the Residency of Ambon, a change which in this case did not involve any further formal curtailment of the (purely nominal) supremacy of the principedom of Tidore.

The administrative apparatus grew slowly. In several places district chiefs, hulpbestuurders or posthouders were appointed, but no subdivisions were created until 1909 (Hollandia) and 1915 (Sorong). The post of gezaghebber at Kaimana was soon afterwards entrusted to a district chief. Similar developments took place in South New Guinea, where in 1919 a post called Boven-Digoel was created at Assike. The main task of the hulpbestuurder in charge of the post was to supervise the activities of bird of paradise hunters, a most unpromising job with the inadequate means at the functionary's disposal. The creation of further subdivisions was restricted to North New Guinea, which in 1921 comprised five such units: Manokwari, Sorong, Hollandia, Schouten Islands (Bosnik) and Serui (Yapen).

In that same year 1921 New Guinea became a separate residency of its own (cf. on this point the papers written by C. Lulofs listed in Nienhuis under nos 1-3, in particular no. 3). Further extensions were contemplated: Sarmi and Kwatisore were to become subdivisional centres. Of the two, Sarmi was later indeed, to become a subdivision, but not before 1941.

The temporary settlement at Kwatisore was soon forgotten. It was some thirty years before the plans of the Resident were realized with the creation of a Wondama subdivision with Wasior as its capital. But meanwhile many things had happened.

The sudden death of the Resident in 1923 induced the Government to reconsider the viability of a Residency of New Guinea. Communications between Manokwari and the southern and western division were poor. Consequently, the Residency was abandoned and the old situation restored. The communications with Ambon were better. But the extension of the administrative apparatus was halted. Round about 1926 even the divisional organization disappeared. In 1927, following a reorganization of the administrative structure of the Moluccas, the Regeerings-almanak (Part II of that year) informs us that the following subdivisions now came under the Resident of Ternate: Hollandia, Serui, Schouten Islands, Manokwari, Sorong and Fakfak. The two remaining subdivisions, Merauke and Boven-Digul, were placed under the supervision of the Resident of Ambon. Of the two, Boven-Digul was new. It had nothing to do with the abandoned post at Assike, 60 miles South of Tanah Merah, but everything with the concentration camp for resistance fighters established there.

In 1935 the Regeerings-almanak announced a return to the earlier

situation. South New Guinea then formed part of the new Division of Tual (of the Residency of the Moluccas); Manokwari again became the seat of an Assistant-Resident, now under the Resident of Ambon. In 1936 Fakfak followed. From the Regeerings-almanak we learn that by now the administration of the old division of West New Guinea (Fakfak) had been extended northward by adding Inanwatan to its territory. In 1937 mention was made of yet another outpost, now in the Mimika region. This is correct, but the Almanak is wrong where it states that Merauke and Boven-Digul were also included in the administration of the Assistant-Resident of Fakfak. A decision to this effect had in fact been taken, but had never been carried out. Merauke and Boven-Digul remained part of the Tual Division until the war.

In 1937 North New Guinea had 5 subdivisions, viz. Manokwari, Sorong, Central Bird's Head (the Ayamaru region), Serui, and Hollandia. The latter then had an outstation at Sarmi, which in 1941 became a sixth subdivision. Biak was no longer mentioned. Apparently it had by then returned to the status of a district. In 1938 the Ayamaru region became part of the West New Guinea Division (Fakfak), which at that time also administered the southern and southwestern lowlands of the Bird's Head (the subdivision of Inanwatan).

The pre-war administrative vicissitudes recounted above have one, not unimportant, repercussion for the student of Irian's local history. The latter should bear in mind that sometimes relevant information may be obtained from the Memories van Overgave left by the Governors, later the Residents, of the Moluccas such as those of L. van Sandick (1926), J. Tideman (1930; Nienhuis no. 395), J. Koppenol (1934), and B.J. Haga (1938; Nienhuis no. 843). In this context mention must also be made of the Memorie written by a Resident of Ternate, viz. W.A. Hovenkamp (1934).

After the war Irian again became a Residency under the direct control of the central government at Jakarta. Hollandia became its capital. Thanks to the fact that it had accommodated the American army, it had better facilities than war-ravaged Manokwari. The administrative division returned to the old tripartition into North, West and South New Guinea, but the parts were differently defined.

In 1950 the North Division consisted of what are now the Jayapura and the Cenderawasih Divisions. West New Guinea, with Sorong as its capital, numbered five to six subdivisions: Radja Ampat, Sorong/Makbon, Manokwari, Ayamaru, and Fakfak. South New Guinea comprised three subdivisions, namely: Merauke, Boven-Digul, and Mimika, a fourth division, Central Mountains, was projected, and was for the time being to be placed under the supervision of the divisional administrator of Hollandia, who, like the other heads of divisions, was soon after the establishment of the Government of Netherlands New Guinea given the title of Resident.

In 1953-54 the number of divisions was increased by another two: the Geelvink Bay Division and the Fakfak Division. The Resident of the Geelvink Bay Division was charged with the supervision of the projected Western Mountains Division, and the Resident of Hollandia with the exploration and gradual penetration of the Eastern Mountains region. South New Guinea had to return Mimika to Fakfak. New subdivisions were created in each division, and by the end of a few years the foundations had been laid for the present organization, which has served as guide-line for the classification of the data of this chapter.

Two things should be noted, however. With the reconstitution of the Fakfak Division (1954), the Bird's Head Division, which at that time still had Sorong as its capital, retained the name Western Division." In the course of 1957, the divisional capital was transferred to Manokwari. Another point worth noting is that, with the separation of the Fakfak Division from its territory, the Western Division retained the subdivisions of Bintuni and Ayamaru, which before the war had formed part of Fakfak.

A last change followed under Indonesian sovereignty. It involved the bipartition of the Western Division into a Sorong and a Manokwari Division and the development of the two mountain districts into two fully fledged mountain divisions, Paniai and Jayawijaya, and finally the bipartition of the Cenderawasih Division into the kabupaten of Biak and Serui.

VII.1.2. The Jayapura Division

VIII.2.7. General

Geographically, the Jayapura Division can be defined as the area of land bordered by the Pacific Ocean, the international border, and the Mamberamo River from its southeastern headwaters down to its mouth. The administrative border does not coincide with this in detail, but this is hardly more surprising than the fact that a drowsy little township like Hollandia turned almost overnight into a thriving provincial capital. It had been founded as an outstation of Manokwari, the divisional administrative centre on the north coast. From Hollandia government control had been extended first to Sentani and Genjem, and later all along the north coast to the Mamberamo River. Penetration further inland did not occur until the late thirties.

In 1939 (officially 1941) the Sarmi subdivision was instituted, and in those same years Van Eechoud started his explorations of the lower Mamberamo region and the Wissel Lakes. At the other end of the West-East axis Gezaghebber Hoogland extended the administrative control of the Hollandia subdivision in a southward direction to the hill country of Arso and Molof. Actually, the southeastern hill district (since 1960 the subdivision of Keerom or Ubrub) is the only part of the interior of the Jayapura Division that is relatively easily accessible and moderately densely populated. By contrast, the mountain ranges of the Northern Divide south of the Sarmi coast, from Walkenaer Bay to the Mamberamo River, are heavily accidented and very sparsely populated. Up to the present day parts of the ranges are still unexplored. Very sparsely populated also is the Lakes Plain between the Northern Divide and the foothills of the Central Mountains.

General information on the Division as a whole is limited in scope. The travel accounts of early explorers and the Memories van Overgave of the controleurs in charge of the subdivision of Hollandia at the time it still included the later subdivisions of Sarmi and Genjem are primarily concerned with the town and with the present day Tobati and Sentani subdivisions, and will be dealt with in the next subsection or, occasion requiring, one of the later subsections. Of all the successive divisional administrators since the North New Guinea Division was separated from Manokwari (c.1946), only one wrote a Memorie van Overgave, namely J.W.N. Courtois, who was Assistant-Resident in charge of

the division in 1947 and 1948 (Nienhuis no. 7; 63 pp.). A second general document is Resident Lamers' report on the first meeting of the advisory council of the North New Guinea Division (Lamers 1952). A third/ and more elaborate, study, dealing with adat, inheritance, and family and land law in the Jos Sudarto (i.e. Humboldt Bay) area, and the Tanah-Merah-Demta, Sentani-Doyo-Maribo, Genyem and Kemtuk-Gressi areas, and sponsored by the University of Cenderawasih, is Adat (1973).

VIII.2.2. Jayapura Town, Tobati and Sentani

The Indonesian administration divided the old subdivision of Hollandia into three new ones. The available data on these three areas are so completely intertwined in our sources, however, that we could not avoid dealing with them in a single common subsection.

Today we know that the tribes which inhabited the area at the beginning of the present century belong to three groups: the Humboldt Bay people, with two villages on Humboldt Bay, two on Yotefa Bay, and one (vaguely related) on the north coast, in the Cyclop Mountains (Ormu). They speak an Austronesian language, in contrast to the two other groups, the Sko (Sekau) and the Sentani people. The former occupy the area between Humboldt Bay and the international border, and are linguistically related to the Arso, Skofro and Waris tribes of the Ubrub subdivision. The Sentani people (who have one village on Yotefa Bay, namely Nafri) occupy the whole of the Sentani Lake area and the villages of Tanah Merah Bay. We are well informed about the Humboldt Bay and Sentani people, but not so on the Sko and their southern neighbours. For descriptions of the country and the people in precolonial times, the reader may consult the reports drawn up by two members of the first New Guinea Expedition under the aegis of the Treub Maatschappij, namely Van der Sande (1907) and Wichmann (1917). Reports of earlier visitors to the area are Van der Goes (1862), Muller (1864), De Clerq (1889), Bink (1896), and Koning (1903).

More detailed general information may be obtained from the Memories van Overgave of N. Halie (1930, Nienhuis no. 15; Extract in Adatrechtbundel 45(1955):34-48), W. Philipsen (1932, Nienhuis no. 17; Extract in Adatrechtbundel 45(1955):49-53), J.G.H. Kramps (1936, Nienhuis no. 19; Extract in Adatrechtbundel 45:54-60, 353-55), W. Gerretsen (1937, Nienhuis no. 22), J. Hoogland (1940, Nienhuis no. 24; Extract in Adatrechtbundel 45(1955):61-92, 354 f., 479-80), W.J.H. Kouwenhoven (1947, Nienhuis no. 27), C.K. Jonasse (1957, Nienhuis no. 34), and J.W.E. Solcer (1959), Nienhuis no. 35).

In this context mention should also be made of the writings by Halie (1930), Van Hasselt (1909, 1912), Sachse (1910, 1912, 1956-57), and Sachse, Luymes and Dalhuisen (1911).

Sources on the ethnography of the Humboldt Bay people are Van Hasselt (1910), Wasterval (1916, 1922), Merkelijn (1950) and Galis (1953a, 1953b, 1955, 1968-69). Our knowledge of the Sko villages is confined to the information put forward in the Memories van Overgave, most especially that of Hoogland (cf. the extract in Adatrechtbundel 45, pp. 73-79). Additional information may (perhaps) be derived from the account by Sachse, Luymes and Dalhuisen of their experiences as members of the Dutch-German border committee (Sachse, Luymes and Dalhuisen 1912), and from the articles by Preusz (1899) and Friederici (1910).

The history of Jayapura/Hollandia has been described by Galis and Van Doornik (1960).

For more detailed information on the township's post-war development the reader should consult such official papers as Werkplan 1954-1956 (1954), the 'Bijstelling' of the latter and the Annual Reports to the United Nations (1949-1961). Interesting papers on various aspects of developments in town are: Lucas (1953a, 1953b, 1953c), Verenigingswезen (1953), Film (1956), Huizenga (1958, 1960), Van der Meulen (1959), Broekhuysen (1960), Smits (1961) and Siahaya (1972).

For general information on Sentani see the Memories van Overgave mentioned above and the relevant extracts in Adatrechtbundel 45, in particular nos 26-29. They contain but a small proportion of the available information, ethnographic and otherwise. Among the various authors who have tried to describe Sentani culture, the most prolific was undoubtedly Paul Wirz (Wirz 1924, 1928, 1929, 1933-34).

There is a large quantity of other literature, both old and new besides. We would mention Wasterval (1919), Bijkerk (1924, 1931), Halie (1931), Kramps (1939), Loth (1941-42), Cowan (1950, 1952, 1955), Erich and Peters (1952), Spreuwenberg (1953), Galis (1954, 1969), Galis and Pouwer (1956), Van Logchem (1957), Hofman (1959), Kooijman (1959, 1964), Van Ernst (1961), and Hoogerbrugge (1967).

Of interest also are the results of student research laid down in Academic Essays accepted by UNCEN and associated institutions at Jayapura, especially the essays of Sudarma (1972), Asmuruf (1973), Inggerik (1973), Monim (1973), Dimara (1975), Mambrasar (1976), Ranti (1976), and Kandy (1979). Two other papers to be mentioned here are one by Suwardi (1972) and another by Subardi (1982).

The data on traditional Sentani culture raise two problems that demand the carrying out of comparative studies and further research. The first is that of the karawari houses, often called 'temples' in the relevant literature. 'Temples' of this specific type occur from as far away as the Huon Peninsula in the East up to the Mamberamo in the West. They are (were) not found everywhere. Often the concomitant ritual had to be acquired by purchase. A comparative study and further research are called for.

The second problem is that of Sentani marriage rules and kinship terminology. Galis has pointed out in an unpublished note that they may be regarded as a replica of the Aranda system, as R. Scipio did before him (1968?) in a likewise unpublished paper, written for the Anthropological Institute of Utrecht University. Van Baal has expressed his doubts about this, however. He assumes that the terminology in question is based on relations not between genealogical but between local groups, leaving aside the question of how the difference between the two should be defined. There are indications that similar trends exist among some of the tribes in the Ubrub subdivision. The question of the relationship between locally and genealogically based exogamy being one which is currently occupying the attention of New Guinea specialists, further studies on the subject would be welcome.

VIII.2.3. The Subdivision of Ubrub (Keerom)

The interior south of Jayapura has long been neglected. The subdivision of Ubrub was created as late as 1960. Our knowledge of the area is patchy, while fairly little information has ever been published. A noteworthy exception is formed by the extracts from Hoogland's excel-

lent Memorie van Overgave in Adatrechtbundel 45, which, together with a few articles, is all that has appeared in print. The archives contain more abundant information (see Nienhuis' Inventaris of the KBZ Rapportenarchief), but all the existing papers and publications combined cannot disguise the fact that most of the area constitutes a white spot on the ethnographic map of Irian, a conclusion that is well borne out by the following list of titles: Kramps (1939-40), Hoogland (1940), Van Eechoud (1944), Galis (1956, 1956-57, 1957a, 1957b), Rombouts (1957, 1959), Suparlan (1972), Waïne (1974), and Koyafi (1976).

For further information the reader may consult the reports listed in Nienhuis under nos 125-144, and the Memories van Overgave of the controleurs and gezaghebbers of Hollandia mentioned above. (Until 1960 Ubrub formed part of the Hollandia subdivision).

VI11.2.4. *The Nimboron Subdivision (Genyem)*

This subdivision consists of three different parts, the Demta district, the districts of Nimboran and Kamtuk/Gressi, and the southern district of Unurum. Of these, Demta is a recent addition to the subdivision. Apparently the Demta people have never caused problems. The fact that there are no publications or reports devoted specifically to this area implies that they have not in the past made trouble. The reader will have to content himself with such information as can be derived from the Hollandia Memories van Overgave and with such incidental information as can be found in general works such as those by Van der Sande (1907) and Wichmann (1917) in Nova Guinea III and IV.

The latter were among the first visitors to the Nimboran district, which in later years aroused the interest of the officers in charge of the Hollandia subdivision because of its supposed potential for more advanced agriculture. They promoted the first agronomic soil investigations in the area. The results of these were encouraging. In 1951 Nimboran became a separate subdivision and the scene of Irian's first community development project, a project designed as an answer to the cargo cult, which had got the local people in its grip after the war. An authoritative account of these developments in the context of the Nimboran's original culture has been given in the doctoral dissertation of the first controleur in the area, viz. W.J.H. Kouwenhoven 1956. Another publication on the Nimboran community development project is Van Baal (1953). An evaluation of the project is given by Op 't Land (1970). Further information on Nimboran may be derived from Wentholt (1940), Elmberg (1949), Galis (1953), Kabel (1953), Van Loenen (1953), Anceaux (1957), Duwith (1975), Jaap van der Wilden (1976, 1981), Jelly van der Wilden (1976a, 1976b), Raïra (1978), and May (1981).

For unpublished reports on Nimboran see Nienhuis nos 67-83, and in particular the Memories van Overgave by E. van Voskuylen (1957, Nienhuis no. 82) and C.S.I.J. Lagerberg (1959, Nienhuis no. 83).

Very little is known about the tribes of the Unurum district. Information can only be derived from the two Memories just mentioned, from Elmberg (1949), and from the extracts of Kouwenhoven's patrol report to Guay published in Adatrechtbundel 45 (1955), pp. 101 and 485-86 (see also Nienhuis no. 70).

VI11.2.5. *The Sarmi Subdivision*

Sarmi is one of the few subdivisions which has attracted three different, qualified anthropologists, namely A.C. van der Leeden, G. Oos-

terwal and Koentjaraningrat, the first working both on the coast and in the western interior, the second in the eastern interior, and the third again on the coast. The results of their research in the Sarmi region have been published in Koentjaraningrat (1966a, 1966b, 1977), Van der Leeden (1954a, 1954b, 1955a, 1955b, 1955c, 1955d, 1955e, 1955f, 1956, 1961, 1962), and Oosterwal (1959, 1961a, 1961b). A discussion of Van der Leeden's dissertation of 1956 is given by Pouwer (1960).

Other recommended publications on Sarmi are Gjellerup (1912, 1915), Bijkerk (1921), Jamna (1949), Laroche (1949), Van Dooren (1959), Erickson (1976, 1981a, 1981b), and Sterner (1981).

Finally, there is a not inconsiderable amount of unpublished archive material, primarily the papers listed by Nienhuis under nos 84-120. The more important among these are the Memories van Overgave of H.F.H. Wollrabe (1938, Nienhuis no. 84), W.F. van den Berg (1940, Nienhuis no. 85), J.W. van Eek (1952, Nienhuis no. 91), J. Dubuy (1954, Nienhuis no. 108), C.A.B. Pley (1955, Nienhuis no. 112), F.E. Meijer (1959, Nienhuis no. 118), and E. van Voskuylen (1962, Nienhuis no. 120).

VIII.2.6. *The Mamberamo Subdivision*

The Mamberamo subdivision was created round about 1960. Memories van Overgave relating to the area are not available, and the few official papers registered by Nienhuis under this heading (nos 121-124) are of little value to the anthropologist. Apart from the occasional communications found in the Sarmi Memories and papers and in the reports of the exploratory expeditions which fought their way inland through the rapids of the Mamberamo River (cf. section VI.2.2.), relevant information is restricted to Van Eechoud (1962). This posthumous publication of Van Eechoud's major contribution to ethnography is a collection of extracts from "Verslag van de Exploratietocht naar Centraal Nieuw Guinea begonnen op 3 mei 1939, afgebroken wegens het uitbreken van den oorlog op 10 mei 1940", published in mimeographed form by the Ministry of Oversea Affairs in 1949.

Further information on Mamberamo can be found in Kerkhoven (1909), Moszkowski (1911, 1912, 1928), Dubuy (1955) and Oosterwal (1963). Doubts about the reliability of Moszkowski's account of 1928 have been expressed in Militaire Exploratie (1920:31ff) and by Van Eechoud (1962:50).

VIII.2.1. *The Lakes Plain (Meervlakte)*

The Lakes Plain is ethnographically a terra incognita. Administratively, it forms part of at least three subdivisions: Mamberamo, Sarmi, and Nimboran. Descriptions are to be found in the reports of successive explorers. Their contacts with the local population - if any - were few. Exceptions are Mamberamo (1915), Feuilletau de Bruyn (1952-53), and Giel (1959). For a geographical description Langeler and Doorman (1918) may be consulted.

VI11.2.8. *Bibliography*

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VI11.3. The Cenderawasih Division

The people occupying the shores of Cenderawasih Bay and the islands in or facing the bay belong to a fairly homogeneous cultural province characterized linguistically by the use of Austronesian languages, socially by an organization into patrilineal clans and lineages, and materially by the dominant place of the canoe (and seafaring) in their ordinary and ceremonial life. Of course there are exceptions: Papuan languages are spoken in parts of Yapen and in several places along the coast. In the past Mapia atoll harboured the southernmost Micronesian settlement. Inside this cultural province four main regions can be distinguished: Biak/Numfor, Windesi/Wondama(Wandamen), Yapen, and

Waropen. Of these, the southwestern part of the Biak/Numfor region and the whole of the Windesi/Wondama region belong to the Manokwari Division, and so are dealt with in the next section (VII1.4.2. and VIII.4.4.).

Before the war the whole of the Cenderawasih region formed part of the Division of North New Guinea, which had Manokwari as its capital. After the war Manokwari and the Windesi/Wondama region were allocated to a new Division of West New Guinea, which included the whole of the Bird's Head and the Fakfak region. Simultaneously the central and eastern parts of the Cenderawasih region were incorporated into the reduced Division of North New Guinea, which was given Hollandia as capital. In 1953 Cenderawasih became a separate division. It then also included the present-day Nabire subdivision, which under Indonesian rule was added to the Paniai Division. As part of the coastal region of Nabire clearly belongs to the Waropen cultural area, this coastal area will be discussed here. For the tribes of the interior of the Nabire subdivision the reader is referred to subsection VIII 8.3.a.

A more drastic measure taken by the Indonesian Government was to split up the division into two parts, the kabupaten of Biak and the kabupaten of Serui. Because each of the two new divisions is relatively small and the relevant literature proportionally limited, the present authors have decided to present the data under the now somewhat obsolete heading Cenderawasih Division, which was the name of the region when the Biak and Serui Divisions were still united.

For literature on the Cenderawasih region as a whole the reader is referred to the sources mentioned in subsections 1 and 2 of the section dealing with the Manokwari Division (subsections VI11.4.1. and VIII.4.2.). The reason for this is plain. Until 1945 Manokwari was the main centre of the entire region, the place where all communications with and between the several parts converged.

VI11.3.1. The Biak-Numfor Region

Culturally and historically the region includes Doreh Bay and those islands off the East coast of the Bird's Head which do not form part of the Windesi/Wondama region. Doreh Bay (Manokwari) was the centre of communications within the region, and the centre also where the study of Numforese culture and language first began. Consequently, an important portion of the literature containing general information on the Biak/Numfor area and specific information on Numfor culture and language forms part of the literature concerned with the Manokwari Division, notably the sources mentioned in subsections VI11.4.1., 4.2. and 4.3. The reader is advised to consult these subsections, as most of these sources have not been listed here.

Good introductions to the cultures of the Biak-Numfor area are Feuilletau de Bruyn (1920), Galis (1953a), Mamoribo (1971), Kamma (1972a, 1972b), and Rumsarwir (1977). General information on the area may be derived from the sources mentioned in section VI11.4.1. and from De Bruyn (1948-49a), Stephan (1951), Galis (1953b), and Van Gendt (1954). On the development of Biak's international airfield and the construction of the township the reader may consult the relevant passages in the Annual Reports to the United Nations; a picture of the woeful circumstances in which this development started is given by Van den Berg (1982). Less spectacular were the development of a cooperative garden complex for the cultivation of vegetables (Wttewaall in NGS

2, 1958, pp. 266-77), the promotion of copal collecting in Bosnik (prepared by La. Zieck; Nienhuis nos 180, 181), and the work of the Fisheries Extension Service (Ch. IX.3.5, and Nienhuis nos 198, 210, 212).

Sources concerned with the ethnography of the islands, other than those mentioned under sections VIII.4.1., 4.2. and 4.3., are Pijnappel (1854), Meyer (1875), Von Rosenberg (1878-79a, 1878-79b), De Clercq (1888a), Van Hasselt (1902a, 1902b, 1910, 1911, 1914a, 1914b), Jens (1904, 1912-13, 1915a, 1915b, 1916), Tydeman (1912), Tanamal (c.1923), Wirz (1923-25, 1931), Kijne (1930), Hartweg (1932-33, 1935), Feuilletau de Bruyn (1937-39, 1940-41a, 1940-41b, 1940-41c, 1940-41d, 1941-42, 1946-47, 1948-49), Ten Haaft (1939, 1946-49), Held (1939, 1940), Hondius (1943), De Bruyn (1948-49b, 1949), Sohilaït (1949), Pos (1950), Biak (1955), Kamma (1955a, 1955b, 1955c, 1982), Noemfoor (1955), Calis (1961, 1963, 1970), Mansoben (1975), Korwa (1976), and Timme (1977).

A remote part of the Biak subdivision is Mapia atoll. Its curious history has been related by Wichmann (1909-12, cf. the index of Nova Guinea II, sub voce Mapia). See also Heeres (1900), Wichmann (1900) and Riedel (1952-53).

VIII.3.2. *The Yapen Subdivision*

In the post-war period Serui, the administrative centre of Yapen, enjoyed considerable publicity as a township where pro-Indonesian feelings prevailed, as a centre of the missionary activities of the Netherlands Reformed Church, which had its theological seminary here, and as the centre of a successful cacao cultivation project (cf. chapter IX.3.2.). Nevertheless, anthropologists have never given much attention to the area, so that we know very little about Yapen. Our information is restricted to sources which, in part, are also concerned with the Waropen area, which most of the time formed part of the Yapen subdivision. First to be mentioned are the Memories van Overgave of L.J. Huizinga (1927, Nienhuis no. 217), G. de Lassaquère (1932, Nienhuis no. 219), J.G. Detiger (1934, Nienhuis no. 220), F.J.H.M. Routs (1936, Nienhuis no. 178), F.R.J. Eibrink Jansen (1951, Nienhuis no. 224), J.W. van Eek (1954, Nienhuis no. 229), and W.M. van der Veen (1957, Nienhuis no. 237). Publications on Yapen are Bout (1931), Detiger (1935c, 1941-47), Van Eek (1955a, 1955b, 1955c), Teutscher (1955) and Anceaux (1961).

Aside from a few items in Nienhuis which have not been quoted here, this is about all. Perhaps some additional data may be derived from A.J. de Neef (n.d., 1938), who served as a missionary in Hollandia, Sarmi and Serui, and is the author of a number of mission stories published under his own name and under the pseudonym A. Zaaier. They have been listed by Galis in his bibliography (1962, pp. 199 and 273).

VIII. 3. 3. *The Waropen Subdivision and the Nabire Coast*

We are well informed about the Waropen people proper, but know next to nothing about the tribes in the interior -, just as little, in fact, as we know about the inhabitants of the islands off the Nabire coast and the few tribes speaking Papuan languages, which occupy part of Nabire's coastal area. The little information that is available is to be found in the Memories van Overgave listed in the preceding subsection and in those which are concerned only with the Waropen, viz. J.W. van Eek (1954, Nienhuis no. 234), R.Ch. Mahler (1958, Nienhuis no. 238),

and H.W. Assink (1958, Nienhuis no. 240).

Substantial information on Waropen culture is provided by Held (1939, 1940, 1947-48, 1956, 1957). Other sources are De Clercq (1888b), Lulofs (1912), Detiger (1935a, 1935b), De Neef (1937), and Assink (1960).

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VIII.4. The Manokwari Division

VIII.4.7. General Information

The Manokwari Division comprises only half of the Bird's Head peninsula. Its population can be roughly divided into two categories: those speaking Austronesian and those speaking Papuan languages. Of the

former, those tribes which form part of what Held has called the cultural province of Geelvink Bay (De Papoea Cultuurimprovisator, The Hague: Van Hoeve, 1951, p. 19) live in the immediate vicinity of Manokwari and in the Wondama-Windesi region. About the inhabitants of the eastern part of the Bintuni subdivision we know that they, too, speak an Austronesian language (actually, a Windesi dialect). Their cultural position, however, is uncertain. The tribes of the other category, those speaking Papuan languages, are in the majority; they are settled throughout the mountainous interior, on the north coast, on part of the east coast, and in part of the Bintuni hills and lowlands.

Manokwari is located on a magnificent natural harbour which even in early times attracted many visitors. Here the Protestant mission opened its first mission station (1855), and in 1898 the colonial government founded its first permanent administrative centre. Consequently, Manokwari (Doreh Bay) figures in a great variety of early travel accounts, many of which have been listed in chapter VI.2.3., notably Forrest (1779), Leupe (1875 and 1876), Van der Goes (1862), Goudswaard (1863), Robide van der Aa (1879), Haga (1884), Von Rosenberg (1875), d'Albertis (1880), Meyners d'Estrey (1881), Meyer (1873a, 1875a, 1875b), Beccari (1924) and Von Miklucho MacLay (1876). To this list should be added the reports by De Bruyn Kops (1840), Fabritius (1855), Goldman (1866-67), Bruyn (1877) and De Clercq (1893). With the exception of the work of Goudswaard and part of that of De Clercq, the ethnographic value of these accounts is negligible. The same can be said of the Special Reports of the Allied Forces, S.W. Pacific Area, Allied Geogr. Section, nos 40, 46 and 79 - war products which have been discussed above in section 1.1. The reports produced in the course of the period of exploration, which have been listed in section VI.2.2. (e.g., Wichmann 1917 and Militaire Exploratie 1920) sometimes provide more information, though on the whole they are very unsatisfactory. Disappointing also is the ethnographic information which may be derived from such later works as Bergman (1952), Lundquist (1952), Kokkelink (1956), and De Kock (1981).

A separate category of general works that contain more ethnographic information than the preceding one is that comprising publications dealing with the history of the Protestant missions in these parts. The more important of these works are those by Kamma, by the two Van Hasselts, and by Rauws mentioned in section VI.4. The most informative among them are Kamma's *Kruis en Korwar* (1953), which contains various articles on local subjects, and his *Dit wonderlijke Werk* (1976), a detailed history of the Protestant Mission in these parts.

A third category of works giving general information is that of *Memories van Overgave* and of articles written on subjects of administrative interest. From this category of articles those on (Indo-)European colonization in the area have been excluded. Included, however, are the *Memories* written by the controleurs of the subdivision of Manokwari before 1950, because the subdivision in those years comprised some three quarters of the present-day division of this name. The relevant *Memories* are, in chronological order C.C. Krom (1924, Nienhuis no. 4), W.A. Hovenkamp (1931), M. Klaassen (1936, Nienhuis no. 617), W. Kuiper (1937, Nienhuis no. 618), K.Th. Beets (1938, Nienhuis no. 5), J.C. Verkerke (1947, Nienhuis no. 619), K.W. Galis (1947, Nienhuis no. 621), and L.L.A. Maurenbrecher (1953, Nienhuis no. 543).

Articles on the problems of (native) policy and administration in the

Manokwari area have been published by Lulofs (1912a/ 1912b), Burger (1928a, 1928b, 1928c, 1930), Tideman (1939), Lamers (1939b), and Du-bois (1958).

Publications containing ethnographically relevant information on various parts of the Manokwari division are J.L. van Hasselt (1876a, 1876b, 1890), Van Eck (1879, 1881), Wilken (1887), Horst (1889, 1893), De Clercq and Schmeltz (1893), Snelleman (1906, 1928-29), Van der Sande (1907), Nuoffer (1908), F.J.F. van Hasselt (1921, 1922, 1926, 1930), Van Heyst (1941), Münsterberger (1945), Feuilletau de Bruyn (1946-47, 1947-48b), Cowan (1953), Pans (1960), Pouwer (1960), and Kamma (1972). The papers by Pouwer and Pans, though primarily concerned with the Ransiki mountain area, have a much wider scope than just this part of the Birds' Head peninsula, and are of interest to all students of its mountain tribes. Unfortunately, Pans' paper is difficult of access.

VI11.4.2. The Subdivision of Manokwari

This subsection is devoted to a review of the relevant literature on those parts of the Manokwari region which can be designated as non-Arfak. The people who are referred to as Arfak (a name covering various tribes) are dealt with in subsection 4.3., as there is a vast overlap between them and the Arfak people inhabiting the Ransiki subdivision. Reminding the reader that most of the relevant sources have already been mentioned in the preceding sections (in particular in subsection 4.1.), we are here listing the items which are of specific interest for the subdivision of Manokwari, i.e. the Doreh Bay region, Amberbaken and the Kebar Valley.

The Doreh Bay region has been described by J.L. van Hasselt (1888-89, 1901-03), Horst (1898), F.J.F. van Hasselt (1908, 1910, 1912, 1914, 1915), Galis (1948-49), and Kambuaya and Partono (1979).

Amberbaken early attracted attention because of the fact that the inhabitants of this coastal region are rice growers, and as such are unique among the Papuan tribes throughout New Guinea. They have been dealt with in Van Oosterzee (1906), Amberbaken (1953), and Winia (1957).

The Kebar Valley was of interest originally because of its wealth of agathis trees. Anthropological research followed later. Three reports on the area have been included in Nienhuis, viz. Desain (1956b), Labree (1957), and Zieck (1957). Articles on the Kebar Valley have been published by Lamers (1939a) and Van Royen (1956). Finally, a paper on the Kebar has been presented by Miedema (1981), followed by a complete monograph in 1984.

Among the unpublished reports dealing with the subdivision as a whole after 1950 are the Memories of F.R.J. Eibrink Jansen (1953, Nienhuis no. 624), H.W. Assink (1956, Nienhuis no. 632), W.G.F. Winia (1957, Nienhuis no. 638), and F.H. Peters (1961, Nienhuis no. 641). Other reports of anthropological interest are those by Woelders (Nienhuis no. 626), Pans (Nienhuis nos 629-631, 634 and 646) and Zevenbergen (Nienhuis nos 636 and 637).

VI11.4.3. The Ransiki Subdivision

Information on the islands off the coast (Meos War and Rumberpon) is sadly lacking. All we have are scattered communications, mainly of a moralistic nature, by missionaries. This is not to say that there is

nothing of anthropological relevance in these communications, but anyone interested in the original culture of the islanders will have to comb through them with little hope of finding much.

Fortunately, anthropologically more satisfactory information on the tribes inhabiting the mountainous mainland area of the subdivision is not scarce. Though the area does not boast any monograph on any of its tribes, there are at least a number of good and informative articles, such as those by Pouwer and Pans listed in subsection 4.2. For more published information (mainly on the Anggi Lakes region) the reader should consult Van Oosterzee (1904), Wichmann (1917:103-28), Gibbs (1918), Van Arcken (1937-38), Hordijk (1939-40), Van Schreven (1940-41), Feuilletau de Bruyn (1947-48a), Van Millingen (1953-54a, 1953-54b), Zieck (1955), and Van Gendt (1960).

Unpublished reports of ethnographic relevance are Desain (1956a), Pans (1956-58), Thoof (1956), Zevenbergen (1956, 1957, 1958), and Pouwer (1957).

Finally, there are the Memories van Overgave of J.J.W. Dubois (1954, Nienhuis no. 660), G.J. van Gendt (1958, Nienhuis no. 662), J. Dubuy (1961, Nienhuis no. 663), and P. van Oosten (1962, Nienhuis no. 664). For additional reports the reader is referred to Nienhuis under Manokwari, Arfak, Ransiki, and Anggimeren.

VIII.4.4. Wondama (Wandamen) - Windesi Subdivision (Wasior)

This subdivision is an almost blank spot on the ethnographic map of Irian. Our sources of information are confined to the Memories van Overgave of W.G.F. Winia (1953, Nienhuis no. 669), and C.W. Labree (1959, Nienhuis no. 671), and a small number of articles of limited value, viz. Van Balen (1886, 1915), Bink (1888), De Clercq (1889a, 1889c), Horst (1897), Van der Roest (1898), Starrenburg (1911, 1914, 1915), Wichmann (1917:340-56), Snelleman (1919), and Kijne (1960).

VI11.4.5. The Bintuni Subdivision

Before the war Bintuni formed part of the subdivision of Inanwatan, which then belonged to Fakfak. At that time the Babo district came under the administration of the subdivision of Fakfak. Today the Inanwatan district is part of the Teminabuan subdivision. Information on the district, both general and ethnographic, is scarce, while part of the general information is also relevant for the Teminabuan subdivision of Sorong.

General information on Bintuni is to be found in the Memories van Overgave of F.K. Lotgering (1940, Nienhuis no. 672), R.Ch.Mahler (1954, Nienhuis nos 729 and 730), E. van Voskuyl (1958, Nienhuis no. 745), G.V. Hansen (1961, Nienhuis no. 749), and F.I.M. Haes (1962, Nienhuis no. 750), and in the publications of Kan (1888), De Clercq (1889b), Moolenburgh (1903), and Lapré (1957).

Information which is ethnographically relevant has been included in Bout (1923), Wetstein (1925), Wempe (1951), Van Rhijn (1957a, 1957b, 1957c, 1959a, 1959b), Surinde (1974), Nasira (1976), and Nafurbanan (1979).

For all further information we are dependent on documents such as the *tourneeverlagen* of R.R. Bergh listed under nos 731, 734, 736-738, 740-743 in Nienhuis together with other papers mentioned there (i.a. Schultz on the upper Sibena: no. 733).

One final remark is in place here. The area deserves greater atten-

tion than it has received so far. One of the present authors once paid a short visit to the village of Negeri Besar in this area. Brief as it was, it convinced him that here was a society which had developed a culture of a very specific type which, in outward appearances, strongly reminded him of the swamp-dwelling tribes of the Southern Division.

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VI11.5. The Sorong Division

VI11.5.1. General

Three geographical areas can be distinguished here: the islands of the Radja Ampat Group, the mountainous western half of the Vogelkop mainland, and the lowlands along the west coast of the latter. The islands and the Seget district, which traditionally were part of the Salawati realm, belong to the Radja Ampat subdivision. The northern part of the mountains together with the Klamono district constitute the Sorong/Makbon subdivision, which also includes Sorong town (or Sorong Remu). All the rest of the division - the mountainous Ayamaru district and the Inanwatan and Teminabuan lowlands - is formed by the Teminabuan subdivision.

The Sorong Division is a fairly recent creation of the Indonesian Government. Initially, Sorong was a subdivision of North New Guinea, which then had Manokwari as its divisional capital. The controleur (or gezaghebber) of Sorong resided just off the coast, on the small island of Dom. Though most of his administrative duties concerned the islands, he also had to supervise the northwestern part of the Bird's Head. In the late thirties a subdivision Midden-Vogelkop was created (Amaru of Ayamaru), which soon afterwards was added, along with the equally new subdivision of Inanwatan, to the Residency of West New Guinea (then Fakfak).

After the second world war the administrative division of Irian was revised. The western part of the northern division (the present-day Divisions of Manokwari and Sorong) was combined with Fakfak and turned into a new division of West New Guinea, with Sorong, and later Manokwari, as its capital. In 1952 the subdivision Sorong was split up into two parts, the Radja Ampat Islands and Sorong/Makbon, the mainland part. Ayamaru remained but was enlarged by the addition of the Inanwatan district of the former subdivision of that name. The remaining part of this subdivision was combined with the Babo district into the new subdivision of Bintuni, with Steenkool as its regional centre. In 1954 the reshuffle was completed. Fakfak was separated from West New Guinea and became a separate division. At the same time the Ayamaru subdivision was given a new name and capital, Teminabuan.

This rather complicated administrative history has certain consequences for the use of older official papers as sources of information. Thus the researcher studying the Radja Ampat and Makbon areas (and for a particular period the Ayamaru region as well) should look for part of the information he will need in the Memories van Overgave of the Assistant-Resident of Manokwari, whereas the student of the southern part of the division including Ayamaru may have to look for information in this category of papers written by the Assistant-Resident of Fakfak. Also in other respects, subsections 1 and 2 of section VI11.4. contain information that is relevant for the Sorong Division.

The implication of this is that general information specifically relevant for the Sorong Division as such is scarce. Nevertheless, the various parts of the division are repeatedly commented on in such works as

Kamma (1953, 1976) and Feuilletau de Bruyn (1949-50). For further general information we must turn to the Memories van Overgave, though even these are primarily restricted to the Radja Ampat. Listed in Nienhuis are the Memories of P.J. van der Wai (1923, Nienhuis no. 562), A. Raamsdonk (1933, Nienhuis no. 563), C.A.M. van Caalen (1934, Nienhuis no. 565), S. van der Coot (1939, Nienhuis nos 566 and 567), T.R. Mulder (1940, Nienhuis nos 563 and 569), M.M. van Capelle (1946, Nienhuis no. 570), R. Hoogveen (1948, Nienhuis no. 573), C.J. Westering (1948, Nienhuis no. 575), and C.K. Jonasse (1953, Nienhuis no. 580).

VI11.5.2. The Radja Ampat Islands Subdivision

The Radja Ampat are, historically and culturally, an intriguing area. They are a port of call on the route from the North Moluccas not only to New Guinea but also to Micronesia. A hundred and fifty years ago pirates of Gebe, the nearest Moluccan neighbours of the Radja Ampat (about whom we know even less than about Radja Ampat) abducted the people of Mapia atoll. In the opposite direction Biakese migrated in not inconsiderable numbers to Waigeo and probably participated in the piracies and the raids launched far westwards from the so called Papuan islands.

Yet the Gebenese, like their masters, the Tidorese, speak a Papuan language, and the Micronesians and the Biakese an Austronesian one. We are here in a region where cultures and traditions meet - and clash with often considerable violence. From Haga's account of Prince Nuku's revolt against the Tidorese court in the late 18th century we know that the Papuan Islands - as the Radja Ampat were called at the time - played an important role in this North Moluccan conflict. But how little else we know! For ages there have been migrations to and fro in these parts, but no one ever bothered to find out what it was all about. When the name Radja Ampat is mentioned no one ever thinks of such islands as Kofiau or Ayau atoll. The former lies exactly on the route from west to east, but until very recently no one ever cared to inquire into what the Kofiau people know about their past, or what their opposite numbers, the Gebenese, do, though they boast a really thrilling history of daring raids and expeditions. Ayau atoll, moreover, which is remote from everything, was never given a place in the literature until 1976. The one-page report on children's games in Ayau mentioned in Nienhuis under no. 199 (N.B. under a heading where it does not belong, namely Biak) can conveniently be ignored. Fortunately, today there is a renewed interest being shown in the islands (through a joint research project on the Radja Ampat Islands initiated by the Indonesian and Dutch steering committees of the Indonesian Studies Programme) and we can only hope that this will throw new light on the intriguing past and present of these islands, one of which (Misol) is so close to both Seran and Irian that it poses a wholly unique enigma. For the time being the historical and other sources are as numerous as they are anthropologically uninteresting.

In the first place there are the old historical sources, mentioned in chapter VI, and listed again in this chapter under VIII.4.1. The most important of these is certainly Haga, (1884). Other 19th century sources of some interest are Von Rosenberg (1862), Bernstein (1866), Raffray (1878-79), Hoedt (1881), Van Oldenborgh (1882), Kniphorst (1883), Van Musschenbroek (1883), and De Glercq (1889).

For the present century we shall turn first to the official papers listed in Nienhuis under nos 595-616, then to the publications which have appeared since 1900. The more important official papers are, next to the Memories van Overgave mentioned at the end of the previous subsection (VIII.5.1.), the Memories which have been written since 1950, when the Radja Ampat became a separate subdivision, disconnected from Sorong/Makbon. These are the Memories of J.H.F. Sollewijn Gelpke (1951, Nienhuis no. 596), M. Maresch (1952, Nienhuis nos 598 and 599), F.E. Meijer (1955, Nienhuis no. 698), R. Stephan (1958, Nienhuis no. 613), M.O. Woelders (1961, Nienhuis no. 616), and E.A. Polansky (1957; not mentioned in Nienhuis and, from the point of view of the administrative tradition an exception as officers in charge of a district were not obliged to write such a paper).

Publications and Academic Essays which appeared since 1900 are Van Hille (1905-07), Wanner (1913), Van Peski (1914), Tauern (1915), Kamma (1939, 1941a, 1941b, 1947-49, 1977), Van der Goot (1941-42, 1955, 1961), Huwelijksadat (1955), Meijer (1955), Maurenbrecher (1956), Katoppo (1957), Polansky (1957), Kamma and Galis (1958), Mamoribo (1971), Djitmau (1974), Usman (1976), Van der Leeden (1978-79), F. Mambrasar and B. Mambrasar (1978), and Mansoben (1978-79, 1982).

VIII.5.3. The Subdivision of Sorong/Makbon

Sorong-Remu, the old settlement of the Protestant Mission and later the base of the New Guinea Oil Company, today is a large, multi-ethnic township which as such falls outside the scope of this chapter, except on one point. In 1953 the then manager of the oil company, the NINGPM, informed the Governor of Netherlands New Guinea that an investigation into the lodgings, wishes, complaints and expectations of the Company's Papuan personnel at its Sorong headquarters would be welcome to him. This investigation was commissioned to adspi rant-controleur J.W. Schoorl, who put out his, at that time enlightening, report in 1953 (Schoorl 1953).

The rural parts of the Sorong/Makbon subdivision never received as much attention as the oil settlement enjoyed. We have to content ourselves here with a small number of official reports (i.a. Memories van Overgave) and the observations of casual visitors. Mention should be made of the Memories of A. Vesseur (1952, Nienhuis no. 593; see also nos 592 and 594), W.G.F. Winia (1954, Nienhuis no. 582; see also nos 583-586, 585 and 586 being reports by Van Eek), and W.J.H. Kouwenhoven (1959, Nienhuis no. 590). Published information is provided by Bruyn (1879), Van der Goot (1938-39, 1941-43), and Kamma (1939, 1941a, 1941b, 1951-52, 1961a, n.d.). Even when we add to this list the reports of the forestry department mentioned in Nienhuis (inter alia those by Zieck), the result is a meagre one. To an important extent we must make do with the very general information referred to in subsection 1.

VI11.5.4. The Subdivision of Teminabuan

The two main mountain tribes of the subdivision have been amply described, the Mejbrat by J.E. Elmsberg, the Aifat by J.M. Schoorl (please note the difference in initials with the ethnographer of the Muyu). Less attention has been given to the tribes of the lowlands. For information on their cultures we must turn to official papers (Memories), scattered communications in books and articles on the work of the Protestant mis-

sion, and the casual observations of travellers. The complicated administrative history of the lowland area is yet another factor making for confusion: the student interested in this area must also consult subsection VIII.4.5., dealing with the Bintuni subdivision. Information there provided will not as a rule be repeated here.

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Archive material dealing with this subdivision is further to be found in Calis (1955-56), Hofman (1956), Van Rhijn (1959), Kamma (1961b), and Kamma-van Dijk (1961). Papers by Van Rhijn which also have relevance for the Teminabuan subdivision are those of 1957a, 1957b, 1957c, 1959a, and 1959b (see subsection VIII.4.5. and 4.6.). For other archive material the reader is referred to Nienhuis nos 672-724.

Published sources and Academic Essays on Teminabuan are: Wetstein (1925), Massink (1954), Elmberg (1955, 1959, 1965, 1966a, 1966b), Pouwer (1957), Barnett (1959), Dubois (1960), J.M. Schoorl (1969, 1979), Kamma (1970), Wafom (1977), and Kareth (1978).

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VIII.6. The Fakfok Division

VIII.6.1. The Subdivisions of Fakfak and Kaimana

This area is famous for its long-standing relations with the Moluccas. Its northwestern corner, Onirv, has been found mentioned among the dependencies of Majapahit in the Nagarakrtagama. Four centuries later, Dutch opperkoopman Keyts sang the praises of its bays in his journal (Leupe 1875:141; see VI.2.3.). In 1828 the Dutch selected the area for their first attempt at founding a permanent settlement (Fort Du Bus on Triton Bay), where they proclaimed their sovereignty over the entire western part of New Guinea. Though the settlement turned out a failure, the Dutch returned. When in 1897 they decided to stake out their claims, Fakfak was one of the two places where they set up a permanent administrative centre. In the history of the discovery of Irian as documented by Haga, Leupe, Robidé van der Aa and Wichmann, the area figures as an important entrance-way to the interior of Irian. Yet, anthropologically speaking, it is the most unknown part of all Irian.

People of the 20th century, fascinated as they were by the exotic, had little interest in what presented itself as more or less commonplace. With so many cannibals and headhunters nearby, the more decently behaved people of Fakfak and Kaimana did not attract inquiry. After all, anthropology is the child of romanticism, and its students have great difficulty in detaching themselves from their own cultural legacy. Up to the present day not more than one single ethnographic monograph has been devoted to any of the various parts of this region. All remaining publications are travel stories, while even these are few in number. For the study of the area we must often turn to archive sources, primarily Memories van Overgave. Although these have not been written to satisfy the anthropologist's expectations, they contain information of anthropological interest.

The Memories on Fakfak and Kaimana, mentioned in Nienhuis, are those of F.H. Dumas (1911, Nienhuis no. 530), G.M.G.M. Ingenluyff (1918, Nienhuis no. 531), J. Seyne Kok (1919, Nienhuis no. 532), M. Dersjant (1923, Nienhuis no. 533), S.J. van Geuns (1925, Nienhuis no. 534), A.L. Vink (1932, Nienhuis no. 525), F.W. van Santwijk (1937, Nienhuis no. 467), W.J. Cator (1939, Nienhuis no. 538), J.J.C. Haar (1940, Nienhuis no. 540), K.W. Galis (1942, Nienhuis no. 468), B.W. van Milligen (1949, Nienhuis no. 470), A. Vesseur (1951, Nienhuis no. 471), J.H.F. Sollewijn Gelpke (1953, Nienhuis no. 474), C.F. Knödler (1955, Nienhuis, no. 476), F.H. Peters (1956, Nienhuis no. 487), M.O. Woelders (1957, Nienhuis no. 481), and R.Ch. Mahler (1962, Nienhuis no. 483).

Alongside the documents listed by Nienhuis under nos 465-498 which have not been included in the preceding list, mention should be made of the unpublished papers by Sollewijn Gelpke (1952a, 1952b), Brand (1956), and Pfey (1956a, 1956b).

Publications on the area are Van Dissel (1904a, 1904b, 1904c, 1907), Van Hille (1905-07), Wichmann (1917), Bout (1920), Slump (1933-35), De Jong (1939-40), Cator (1942), Van Milligen (1955), Radjaschappen (1955), Bergman (1956), Rappard (1960), Van Logchem (1963), and Peckham (1981). Finally, there are the Academic Essays by Higimur (1973) and Tururop (1979).

Besides the publications on Fakfak listed here, there are those which have been mentioned in Chapter VI. They include the descriptions of prehistoric remains by Cator, Galis and Röder mentioned in subsection VI.1., and the travel accounts and descriptions of historical events listed in subsections VI.2.2. and VI.2.3., in particular Wichmann (1909-12), Leupe (1871, 1875, 1876, 1877), Van der Goes (1862), Von Miklucho MacLay (1876), Robidé van der Aa (1879), and De Clercq (1891). To these should be added De Clercq (1889).

VIII. 6.2. *The Mimika Subdivision*

Early this century explorers recognized in the Mimika coast with its many rivers and waterways, a promising entrance-way to the enticing highlands whose snow-covered peaks on the Carstensz Mountains stirred their imagination. Consequently, descriptions of the Mimika lowlands recur in the books of travel written by explorers who tried to penetrate to the highlands, from Lorentz (1913), Wollaston (1912), and Rawling (1913) to Bijlmer (1938) (cf. subsection VI.2.3.), descriptions which, however, added little to our ethnographical knowledge. In 1926 the Roman Catholic Mission settled in the area. The mission fathers initiated

linguistic studies. Later, in 1951, the Govt. anthropologist Pouwer started his illuminating ethnographic researches in the area. We now know that the Mimika lowland is culturally and linguistically a relatively homogeneous area. The inhabitants of the foothills and mountain slopes, however, are typical mountain people. Most of them are Uhunduni, who are also at home in the southern part of the Paniai Division. In more recent years one group of these Uhunduni descended further down into the lowlands and settled at Akemunga.

On Mimika Memories van Overgave have been written by M. Paliama (1954, Nienhuis no. 519), C.S.I.J. Lagerberg (1956, Nienhuis no. 522), and K.J.M. de Jong (1959, Nienhuis no. 528). Of the other archive material mentioned in Nienhuis and elsewhere, attention should be drawn to Pouwer (1953, 1954b, 1954c, 1955a) and Coenen (1957a, 1957b, n.d.). The latter was involved in the so-called Akimunga project, which has been described in the papers listed in Nienhuis under nos 287-291 and 296-298 (referring also to Noëmba and Amungme).

In addition to the books written by explorers listed in the first part of this section, mention should be made of the publications and Academic Essays on Mimika by Drabbe (1947-50), Pouwer (1954a, 1955b, 1955c, 1955d, 1955e, 1955f, 1956, 1958, 1975), Van der Schoot (1969), Beanal (1972), Timang (1973), Ayamiseba, Turukay and Hernanto (1980), and Mamapuko Riccho (1981).

VIII. 6.3. *Bibliography*

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VI11. 7. The Southern Division

The Southern Division is a vast lowland. Hilly country is found only in

its northern parts, mainly the subdivisions of Tanah Merah and Muyu. Until the early thirties government control was confined to the Merauke subdivision. The construction of an internment camp on the Digul (at Tanah Merah) in 1926 presented an opportunity for using the settlement as an administrative centre for the gradual extension of government control to the upper Digul and the Muyu and Mappi regions. Here the Roman Catholic mission began its work in 1933, and after 1935 the government reluctantly followed suit by establishing a few district posts, which were too poorly equipped however, for them to have a firm grip on these parts. After the war the situation was taken in hand more seriously, but it was not until 1952 that a new subdivision was created, the Mappi Subdivision. In 1954 the Asmat subdivision followed, where around 1939 the opportunities for founding a government station had been explored but not realized. In 1955 the circle was completed with the institution of the Muyu Subdivision. This opened the way for penetration further northward, in the direction of the Central Mountains, where in 1958 a post was established in Ok Sibil, an area which now forms part of the Jayawijaya Division.

Nothing has up to now been written about the Southern Division as a whole. The Memories van Overgave of the early Assistant-Residents are relevant only for the Merauke subdivision, while the Assistant-Residents and Residents who administered the division after the war never wrote any such report. Of the three publications that are of a more general nature one is concerned with the work of the Roman Catholic Mission, (Boelaars 1953), the other two with what is essentially a subject of romantic interest: headhunting (Van der Kroef 1952, 1953). For information on mission activities in these parts see subsection VI.4., and on material culture and the arts subsection VI 1.4.

VIII.7.1. *The Merauke Subdivision*

General information on the Merauke subdivision is to be found in the publications of Schmeltz (1904, 1905), Plate (1913, 1916), Wirz (1922-25, 1928), Nielsen (1930), Nevermann (1935), Van Baal (1939), Verschueren (1941, 1947-48), Boldingh (1951-52), Kooijman (1959), and Veeger (1959).

Of the relevant Memories van Overgave the older ones were written by the Assistant-Residents of the Division of South New Guinea, viz. J.A. Kroesen (1906, Nienhuis no. 299), R.L.A. Hellwig (1906, Nienhuis no. 300), L.M.F. Plate (1915, Nienhuis no. 302), and L. Berkhout (1917, Nienhuis no. 303).

Berkhout is the last Assistant-Resident (and Resident!) a *Memorie van Overgave* by whom could be traced. All later Memories are Memories of the subdivision of South New Guinea, which name had to be changed again into Merauke subdivision after the war, when South New Guinea became a separate division. The authors of these were either *gezaghebbers* or *controleurs*. Dealing with the subdivision of South New Guinea are the Memories of A.J. Wenting (1928, Nienhuis no. 304), D.H. Fikkert (1933, Nienhuis no. 305), L. Wrede (1934, Nienhuis nos 306 and 307), W. Scheffer (1935, Nienhuis no. 308), J. Voorhamme (1937, Nienhuis no. 309), J. van Baal (1938, Nienhuis no. 310), and W. Klaus (1940, Nienhuis no. 311). The Memories relating to the Merauke subdivision are those of C.W. Wolff (1948, Nienhuis no. 329), J.J. de Zoete (1950, Nienhuis no. 330), J.C.B. Koopmans (1954, Nienhuis no. 338), A. Vesseur (1959, Nienhuis no. 342), and W.M. van der Veen

(1961, Nienhuis no. 343). Other archive materials relevant for the Merauke subdivision are listed in Nienhuis under nos 299-354 (including the Memories van Overgave). Another important paper is the *Rapport Bevolkingsonderzoek* (see subsection IV.2. and 3.). Ethnographic information on the area will be discussed below per tribe inhabiting it. These are the following: a. the Marind-anim; b. the Boadzi (or Gab-Gab, as they were called before the war); c. the Yéi-nan (also called Yéi-anim); d. the southern tribes occupying the area between the international border and Marind-anim territory; e. the tribes settled between the Marind-anim and the Digul River; f. the tribes of Kolepom (Frederik Hendrik Island) and Komoram (more generally called Komolom).

The Marind-anim is the biggest tribe by far and is actually made up of more than 40 subtribes. Their culture has been described by Van Baal (1966). The work includes an extensive bibliography. As it would not serve any useful purpose to repeat all the titles listed in it here, the reader interested specifically in the sources of Marind-anim ethnography will have to look for them there. On one point a correction must be made, however. On p. 970 "Vertenten, De Marind-anim¹¹ etc. should read "Vertenten, 'De Marind-anim. Hun sterrekunde', BKI 77:182-93." Later publications on the Marind are Meteray (1972), Fofid (1977), and Van Baal (1984).

Boadzi is the name given to a number of sub-tribes settled in the marshy territory between Lake Murray in Papua and the swamps along the western bank of the Fly River in Irian. The ethnographer best informed on the ins and outs of their culture was the late Father J. Verschueren, whose data, recorded in his letters to J. van Baal, have been published by the latter in *Dema* (1966:104-111, 587-596, 726-730, and other places mentioned in the Index - v. 'Boadzi', p. 985). They have been discussed in this Marind monography because of the close linguistic and cultural affinity between the Boadzi and the Marind-anim. Additional data collected by Verschueren are to be found in his original letters and in his posthumous notes, which are kept in the Social Science Dept. library of the Royal Tropical Institute at Amsterdam (cf. Van Baal's description of these posthumous notes in the Preface to his publication of 1982). For further data see Van Baal (1940), De Zoete (1947), and Nevermann (1952-53).

The Yéi-nan culture has been described by Wirz (1922-25, III, about 12 pp.), Nevermann (1942), and Van Baal (1982).

To the south and southeast of the Yéi-nan there live a number of minuscule tribes: the Moraori or Manggat-rik, the so-called Kanum-anim or Kanum-irébe, the Kurkari, and the Ng'gowugar (probably the same as the Toro). The latter group and the Kurkari live on either side of the international border. We know next to nothing about these tiny tribes, except that they must be closely akin to the tribes of the Trans-Fly region of Papua. The Kanum-anim occupy a few small settlements along the east coast of the Merauke subdivision. Their main settlement is the village of Yanggandur, in the savannah area further inland. The information on them is restricted and scattered over a variety of sources. Actually, there is only one publication especially devoted to them, viz. Nevermann (1939). See also, for what it is worth, Hellwig (1907). More scattered data are to be found in Van Baal (1966, pp. 13, 343, and 347), and in Wirz (1922-25). For literature on the cultures of the eastern neighbours of Kanum, Kurkari and Ng'go-

wugar, the interested student should consult the bibliography added to Schultze-Westrum (1965). A separate group are the Mora-ori or Manggat-rik of Mbur, a village near Merauke. They speak a different language, akin to the languages of the Kanum and the Trans-Fly peoples. Their culture has been drastically affected by Marind-anim influence. Apart from a few brief articles in old missionary periodicals listed in the bibliography in Van Baal (1934), under Cappers no. 1 and Van der Kooy no. 17, the one paper giving reliable information is that by Boelaars (1951).

The tribes between the Marind-anim and the Digul River have never been properly studied or classified. Relations between these tribes and the Yaqai are probable. Two of the languages of these tribes, the Makléw and the Yelmek, are fairly closely akin (cf. subsections V.9. and V.11., Boelaars 1950 and Drabbe 1954). The ethnographic information on these tribes is restricted to Nevermann's travel accounts (1935, 1940, 1952). Perhaps some additional information can be derived from the *Memories van Overgave*.

The main source of ethnographic information on the tribes of Kolepom and Komoram (Komolom) is Serpenti (1965, 1966, 1969, 1972-73, 1984). Other sources are Wolff (1948), Schoorl (1953), Verhage (1957), Van Heurn (1960), Kunewara (1981), and Tjabuy (1981), and the archive material listed in Nienhuis under nos 346-48. On the languages see subsections V.9. and V.11., Boelaars (1950), Drabbe (1949a).

VIII.7..2. *The Tanah Merah and Mindiptona Subdivisions*

The southwestern corner of the Tanah Merah subdivision excepted, the whole area is hilly, lying as it does on the southern spurs of the central mountains. The ethnographic knowledge of the peoples occupying these parts is restricted to the Muyu, east of the Kao River, and the Mandobo, between the Kao and the Digul. Culturally, both these peoples are akin to the mountain tribes farther to the north, which strongly suggests that the same may be expected of the hill tribes north of the Muyu and Mandobo about which no other information is available than that buried in an unpublished paper by Pouwer on the Iwur. As far as we know, the lowland tribes of the southwestern part of the area are quite different. Unfortunately, all we really know is that they speak various Auyu dialects (or languages), and thus belong to the same linguistic stock as the tribes occupying a large part of the Mappi subdivision and of the upper Asmat region. This knowledge does not make us any the wiser as regards their cultural position, however. The Mandobo also speak Auyu dialects (identified by Drabbe as Kaei and Wambon), and the general pattern of their culture is reminiscent of that of the mountain peoples of the highlands, whereas the little ethnographic information that is available on the Auyu of the Mappi and upper Asmat regions points in the direction of a lowland type of culture, whatever that may mean.

For the ethnography of the two subdivisions interesting publications and Academic Essays are Den Haan (1955), Schoorl (1957, 1970, 1975), Drabbe (1958, 1959), Boelaars (1969, 1970), Kuktem (1974), Kandan (1979), and Rumulus (1980). Additional information, also on groups which have never been given attention in print, may be found in the papers listed in Nienhuis under nos 394-421 and nos 439-464. Some of these papers have already been mentioned at the end of subsection

VI.3.1., in the context of the Tanah Merah camp in which we also mentioned the books written by J.F.M. Salim (1973) and L.J.A. Schoonheydt (1940). These, too, give background information which may be of interest to the student of native culture and development.

An important category of primary sources is again that of the *Memories van Overgave*, viz. J. Wiarda (1938, Nienhuis no. 397), W.J.H. Houbolt (1940, Nienhuis no. 399), R. den Haan (1949, Nienhuis no. 402), N.A. Nieland (1953, Nienhuis no. 406), C.H. Stefels (1955, Nienhuis no. 415), J.W. Schoorl (1956, Nienhuis no. 458), and F.H. Peters (1958, Nienhuis no. 417).

Alongside the other documents listed in Nienhuis, mention should be made of Pouwer (1959), and De Vries (1981).

VIII.7.3. *The Mappi Subdivision*

The eastern and northern parts of the subdivision are occupied by Auyu-speaking tribes; the central part, all along the eastern tributaries of the Mappi River, by the Yaqai; and the remaining, western part by what Boelaars calls the Qondu tribes - people about whom we know next to nothing. Published information is almost wholly restricted to the Yaqai, the only tribe to have been properly described.

For general information on the situation in the years before and just after the war see, in addition to the above-mentioned *Memories* by Wiarda, Houbolt and Den Haan: Lebelauw (1941), Van Ravenswaay Claasen (1946-47), Maturbongs (1949), Verschueren and Meuwese (1950), Verschueren and Vriens (1951-52), and Nieland (1953). On a slightly later period are Mappi en Asmat (1955), Mappiverslag (1955), Van Kampen (1956), Cappetti (1958), and Zevering (1960).

Ethnographic information on the Yaqai is to be found in Boelaars (1957, 1971, 1981), and Kabagaimu (1979). Additional information on the Yaqai may be derived from Boelaars' mimeographed reports mentioned in Nienhuis (nos 385-393) and his voluminous report mentioned in *Daftar buku² Keuskupan Jayapura* but not in Nienhuis: *De sociaal-economische structuur der Jaqai* (1955, 86 pp.).

Ethnographic information on the Auyu-speaking tribes is confined to Vriens and Boelaars (1954, 1971), Tenjap (1974), and Haak (1981).

VIII.7.4. *The Asmat Subdivision*

The Asmat subdivision comprises an extensive, marshy lowland, dissected by countless creeks, and inhabited by numerous tribes and subtribes. Linguistically these are closely akin to each other, with a few exceptions each of them speaking a dialect of the Asmat language (cf. subsection V.9.) Socially, however, they are deeply divided as a result of internal warfare. Initially, in the years when they were called the Manowé, they were famous for their savagery. When they became better known and after the name Manowé had been replaced by that of Asmat, they became even more famous for their art. Yet, though much has been written about them since, they have never become fully known. There is not a single monograph on an Asmat tribe or subtribe which deserves to be called a full-fledged ethnography. There are a great many data available, but they are either too general or too specific, and are insufficient for the compilation of an integral description of their culture. Towards that end two or three subtribal monographs are still badly needed. Nevertheless, the available data are so diverse that they cannot but arouse the anthropologist's curiosity. There is no lack

of general introductions dealing with special aspects or problems to sustain this curiosity, such as Van Amelsvoort (1964), Gerbrands (1967b), Van der Schoot (1969), and Konrad, Konrad and Scheebaum (1981). The latter is bilingual and also bears the German title *Leben mit den Ahnen*. Actually, it is a catalogue of the exhibition of Asmat art presented at Hofheim am Taunus in 1981. Van Amelsvoort's book originally appeared as a doctoral dissertation under the title *Early introduction of integrated rural health into a primitive society*. One of its virtues is its extensive bibliography of the earlier literature. Other literature on Asmat art has already been listed in subsections VI 1.4. and 7. Titles containing more information on Asmat art among many other things, are included among the following publications devoted to Asmat culture generally: Fischer (1913-15), Mappi en Asmat (1955), Zegwaard and Boelaars (1955), Zegwaard (1954-55, 1959), Bergman (1961), Van Kessel (1961), Gerbrands (1962a, 1962b, 1963, 1967a), De Hoog (1963), Eyde (1966), Hoogerbrugge (1969, 1973, 1976), Girard (1970), Smidt (1970), Sowada (1971, 1973), Keller (1972), M'Bait and McQuire (1972), Adrian (1973), Van Arsdale (1973, 1978), Greiwe (1973), Jorpitsj (1973), Kasiran (1973), Lang (1973), M'Bait (1973a, 1973b), Omberep (1973), Rausch (1973), Walker (1973, 1974b), Arsdale and Gallus (1974), Konrad and Böhning (1974), Kuruwaip (1974a, 1974b), Mansoben (1974b), Van de Wouw (1974), Claerhout (1975), Konrad, Böhning and Sowada (1975), and Wassing (1977).

Mimeographed papers and Academic Essays on Asmat are Sowada (1961), Rumulus (1971), Ap (1974a, 1974b, 1974c), Ap and Mansoben (1974), Jamlean (1974), Korwa (1974), Mansoben (1974a, 1974c), Ohoiwutun (1974), and Setilit (1977). Further there are the articles in *An Asmat Sketchbook*, a periodical edited by F. Trenkenschuh on behalf of the Asmat Museum of Culture and Progress, Agats. Since 1970 at least six volumes of this have appeared, containing articles on a variety of subjects relating to Asmat life and art. Examples are the articles of Zegwaard (1970a, 1970b, 1978), Konrad (1977), and Arsdale (1978). Zegwaard is the author of a number of short articles such as those in *NNG* 2(1954) nos 5 and 7, in *Schakels NNG* 21(1956) and 39(1960), and in an *Asmat Sketchbook* 4(1974):137-40.

In addition to all the publications mentioned above there are the unpublished archive documents listed in Nienhuis (nos 422-438). Among them are the following *Memories van Overgave* relating to the Asmat subdivision: J. Thooft (1957, Nienhuis no. 429), M. Lapré (1959, Nienhuis nos 430 and 431), and H.A. van der Schoot (1960, Nienhuis no. 433). There is also one relating to the Casuarine Coast district, viz. V.P.C. Maturbongs (1959, Nienhuis nos 436 and 437). Maturbongs was well experienced in these parts. He is the author of a 12-page report on the "bangsa" Papoea bahagian "Manoewe" (Nienhuis no. 423) dated August 1938, which is apparently a sequel to the description of the exploratory activities of the previous year by R.R. van Ravenswaay Claasen (Nienhuis no. 422). Other interesting reports are those by Wassing on his disastrous journey with the late Rockefeller jr. (Nienhuis no. 435) and by Krosschell on his stay among the people of the Casuarine Coast from 1959 to 1961 (Nienhuis no. 438).

Finally, mention must be made of a number of films, in the first place that made by A.A. Gerbrands, Matjemosh, a woodcarver from the village of Amanamkai, an Asmat tribe on the southwest coast of New Guinea (16 mm., colour, sound, duration 27 min. Production: Stichting

Film en Wetenschap, Utrecht). A number of films of shorter duration on various subjects are available at the Institut für den wissenschaftlichen Film, Encyclopaedia Cinematographica, Göttingen, under nos E 645 - E 647/1964 and E 655/1964. Another interesting film is that by Gaisseau and Saulnier (above, p. 49).

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VIII.1.8. The Paniai Division

VIII.1.8.1. Exploration

The Central Mountains region is extremely rugged country, shielded from penetration from the south by a vast swampy lowland, and from the north by the equally marshy Lakes Plain, a plain offering considerable opportunities for traffic by water but putting up an insurmountable barrier to further penetration in the forbidding rapids in the middle of the course of the Mamberamo River. The only places where overland travel is feasible are in the far eastern part of the Jayawijaya Division and the western end of the Paniai Division. In the far eastern end a road is now under construction, a gargantuan task intended to provide an overland connection between Jayapura and Merauke. It is fairly certain that in the foreseeable future the beneficial effects of the road will be restricted to the eastern part of Jayawijaya Division. East-west travel between Paniai and the Balim area is difficult, as any possible route has to pass through narrow valleys and across mountain passes which

make road construction highly expensive. For an overland connection with the coast, Paniai should look for other solutions.

In the past two of these have been explored, namely an overland route southward from Lake Tigi via the Uta Valley, and another one northward from Lake Paniai through the Siriwo valley to Napan/Wainami on the Nabire coast. So far, neither of these possibilities has been realized, and for good reasons. The northward route leads through a very sparsely populated area with virtually no chances of raising the labour needed for the maintenance of a road; the other ends at a point on the river which is as unpromising for shipping as, further downstream, is the coast.

The exploration of the Paniai region started late. It took the discovery of the lakes by Wissel (December 1936) to stimulate the interest of the authorities. Previous mountain expeditions had concentrated more on the eastern part of the range (the Jayawijaya region) than on the western part. The two expeditions which reached this area were those led by Stirling and Bijlmer respectively, but they did not penetrate it far enough to find out that it harboured a fairly dense population (cf. subsection VI.2.2.). Wissel's discovery provoked feverish activity on the part of the administration. Thanks to Van Eechoud's untiring efforts both as an explorer and as an organizer, Enarotali was able to welcome its first controleur (Stutterheim), as early as the autumn of 1938. In 1939 his place was taken by Vic de Bruyn, who, by destiny and perseverance, became the great explorer of the area. The reports of the preparatory explorations in 1937 and 1938 by the Assistant-Resident of Fakfak, Dr. W.J. Cator, cannot easily be traced. Easier of access is Van Eechoud's thrilling account of his crossing from south to north in 1938 (Van Eechoud 1939). Van Eechoud did not restrict himself to travelling; he organized the construction and fitting out of the new government station at Enarotali. A great achievement and an instructive report. His explorations had an immediate follow-up in those by Harzen and Van Krieken and those of the Wissel Lakes Expedition of 1939 led by Le Roux. These explorations have been reported in Harzen (1939), Krieken (1940), and Le Roux (1948-51). Further reports are those by Le Roux (1927), Van Ravenswaay Claasen (1939), and Eyma (1940).

With the arrival of De Bruyn as controleur at Enarotali, a new period of intensive exploration of the area set in, which laid the foundations for regular government supervision in the Western mountain region (De Bruyn 1939a, 1939b, 1939-41, 1941a, 1941b). Similar exploratory activities from a later period have been reported by Veerman (1951, 1951-52) and Meyer Ranneft (1952-54). See also Nienhuis nos 252, 268, 274, 277, 279, 282-285, 293-295.

VIII. 8.2. Administration and Related Matters

In 1953 the Dutch colonial government entrusted the Resident of Biak (the Cenderawasih Division) with the supervision of the Western Mountain area, an arrangement which was continued after this region was recognized as a separate division. Following the transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia, the division received a bupati of its own. The bupati, however, was not stationed in the mountains but on the coast, in Nabire. By creating a separate subdivision of Nabire and transferring it from the Cenderawasih Division to Paniai, the Indonesian Government brought about a situation whereby the administrative officer in charge of the area is resident in the division itself, but is, in fact, as much

out of direct touch with the centre of its population as formerly the Resident of Biak used to be.

On the administration of the main area four Memories van Overgave are available, namely those by R.J. Meyer Ranneft (1952, Nienhuis no. 257), R. Den Haan (1956, Nienhuis no. 264), J. Massink (1960, Nienhuis no. 275), and C.O. Bouma (1960, Nienhuis no. 280). Other sources on administrative matters and related subjects are Meyer Ranneft (1950-51), Boelen (1955), Van Logchem (1957b), Van Nunen (1957), Van Ernst (1958), and Dubbeldam (1964). Of interest in this context is the "Wege Bage movement", discussed in Nienhuis no. 271 (1959) and in the more recent paper by Mote (1976). Finally, mention should be made of the discussion of the administration of justice in the Wissel Lakes area in BKI 117:25-50 and in NGS 5:253-76, listed in subsection VI.3.3. and 3.4., under Keuning (1961) and Lemaire (1961).

For information on development work the reader must turn to chapter IX. It is very limited, as is that on the activities of the missions. Reports on the progress made by the CAMA, or Christian and Missionary Alliance, which has been working in the area since just before the war, are to be found in the periodical *Parousia*. Unfortunately, most of the information presented here is of an edificatory rather than a factual nature.

The archives do not yield much information, either. The one report mentioned in Nienhuis (no. 293) is that by the missionary Troutman on his visit to the Iraga valley. The Roman Catholic mission, which started its work here more or less simultaneously with the Protestant CAMA, is dealt with by Steltenpool (1957-58) and Degei (1977). A settlement project for mountain dwellers in Akimunga (Mimika) is discussed by Peters (1957-58, 1958). See also Nienhuis under nos 287, 288, 296-298, and above, subsection VIII.1.6.2.

VIII. 8.3. *Ethnography*

For the purposes of the present review the Paniai population has been divided into the following groups: a. the tribes of the Nabire subdivision; b. the Kapauku or Ekagi people; c. the Moni; d. the south-eastern tribes such as the Uhunduni; and e. the tribes of the far eastern corner (the Mulia valley). The division is neither consistently correct nor geographically complete. Its only virtue is its use as an organizing principle for the classification of the available sources without necessitating comments on what we do not know, comments which, in order to be useful, demand a better local knowledge than that which is at present available. For a review of the different tribes and their territories see *Adatrechtbundel* 45(1955): 322-26.

a. The sources containing information on the Nabire coast have been listed in subsection VIII.3.3., where they are logically more in place than in a list of sources on highland cultures. Our information on the tribes in the interior of the Nabire subdivision is restricted to the papers by Kuik (1937-38, 1940-41a, 1940-41b), and Luttkhuis (1958). Finally, attention should be drawn to the travel account of an early visitor to Yamur Lake, A. Wichmann, in *Nova Guinea* IV, pp. 356-77.

b. We are better informed on the Kapauku or Ekagi people occupying the Lakes area and a major part of the territory to the east and west of it. Authoritative are the works by Pospisil (1956, 1958a, 1958b, 1959-60, 1963a, 1963b, 1965a, 1965b, 1967, 1980), and by Pospisil and De Sola Price (1966). Other literature of ethnographic relevance not men-

tioned in subsections VI.11.8.1. and 2. is De Bruyn (1939-40a, 1939-40b, 1955a, 1955b, 1955c, the *Adatrechtbundel* papers being extracts of an unpublished report listed in Nienhuis under no. 261), Van Eechoud (1939-40), Stutterheim (1939), Roushdy (1940), Tillemans (1950-51), Boelen (1954, 1955-56), Den Haan (1955), Dubbeldam (1957), Van Logchem (1957a), Grootenhuus (1960), Makai (1972), Tatago (1979), Kudiai (1980), and Van Emmerik (n.d.). A practically unknown part of the area is its southwestern corner, the Mapi Valley. It is dealt with by Bunapa (1972). For further information on the Kapauku the reader should consult Nienhuis. More data are to be expected from Father S. Hylkema, however, who at the time of writing is again in the field. His fieldnotes contain a wealth of data on Kapauku society and lore.

c. Reports of ethnographic relevance on the Moni are De Bruyn (1939-40a), Troutman (1951), Van Nunen (1966, 1980), and Zonggonau (1976).

d. Articles and manuscripts on the southeastern tribes have been written by Bijlmer (1939), Kammerer (1953, 1954), Coenen (1957a, 1957b, 1959, 1960), Kock (1967), and Von Schiefenhövel (1977, 1978).

e. A report on the Munia Valley, in the far eastern corner of the Paniai Division, has been written by Van Rhijn (1969).

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VI11.9. The Jayawijaya Division

VI11.9.1. Exploration and Administration

The eastern part of the Central Mountains enjoyed greater attention from successive exploratory expeditions than the western part, and yet it was not until 1938 that a really exciting discovery was made - that of the Grand Valley of the Balim. At that time, however, the territorial government was preoccupied with the preparations for a worthy follow-up to another stimulating discovery - that of the Wissel Lakes. So it happened that no action was taken in this part other than the exploration of the eastern hill country south of Hollandia, where, forty years later, the Indonesian Government planned a road which is to connect Jayapura with the eastern Highlands and, eventually, Merauke. (On the surveying activities of gezaghebber Hoogland in the Arso and Waris regions, see his *Memorie van Overgave* listed in subsection VIII.2.3.). For the time being. World War II prevented all further attempts at penetrating into the eastern mountains. And after the war the government did not hurry with this. It had more than enough work to clear away the war debris and to get ready for a new start. So it happened that the first government station in the area was established as late as December 1956, some two years after the first missionaries had arrived there. The location selected for the station was a promising one: Wamena, in the centre of the Grand Valley, near a suitable place for the construction of a sizable airfield.

There is no need to return here to the period of the expeditions. The relevant documents have been listed in subsection VI.2.2. Here must be mentioned those documents which relate to events and developments during the first years of government control in the area, such as Hamers (1956), Veldkamp (1957, 1958a, 1958b), Gonsalves (1960),

Bongers (1960) and Ploeg (1979). On the Balim Valley see also Nienhuis nos 154, 163 and 167.

Information on the first experiences of the local Government in the northeastern part of the division is confined to a patrol report by Gonsalves (Nienhuis no. 148).

We are much better informed as regards the introduction of government control in the Star Mountains region at the southeastern end of the division. It coincided with the activities in connection with the Star Mountains Expedition of 1959 (cf. subsection VI.2.2.). The area was approached from the south. As early as 1955 J.W. Schoorl, then controleur of Muyu, undertook the first patrol to the Sibil valley (J.W. Schoorl, Nienhuis no. 168). In 1957-58 Hermans constructed a small airstrip, and soon after the Expedition people entered the field. On the activities undertaken during this period see the reports written by A.A.M. Hermans listed in Nienhuis under nos 169-171 and 173, by D.J. Dragt (Nienhuis no. 146), J. Snee (Nienhuis no. 147), J.J. Reynders (Nienhuis no. 172) and G.H. Dasselaar (Nienhuis no. 174). On the subsequent period when government control had become more or less routinized see the Memories van Overgave by G.H. Dasselaar (1960, Nienhuis no. 176) and J.M.A. Born (Nienhuis no. 177). During all this time the area formed part of the Division of South New Guinea. Its incorporation into the Jayawijaya Division is of a later date.

VIII. 9.2. Ethnography

The ethnographic map of the eastern highlands is anything but complete. We know for certain that the western part of the division is occupied by Dani speaking tribes, but we have no guarantee that linguistic affinity always goes hand in hand with a high degree of cultural relationship. Nor can we be sure that all tribes in that part of the division speak a Dani language, though various Dani groups have been subject to ethnographic description. Similarly, we have by now extensive information on the Yali of the northeast and on some groups in the Star Mountains in the southeast, but no descriptions of the different parts of the area as a whole. Throughout the division we come across various well-known and well studied groups surrounded by neighbours about whom we know next to nothing.

a. The Dani-speaking Tribes

Earlier contributions to Dani ethnography are De Kock (1912), Van Nouhuys (1913), Wirz (1924a, 1924b, 1931), Brass (1941), and Snell (n.d.).

Since 1960 ethnographic reports and publications have followed each other in rapid succession as a result of the interest being taken in the area by missions and the government on the one hand, and by American anthropologists on the other. A great stimulus was provided by the Rockefeller Expedition of 1959/60, which entailed the tragic death of the young Rockefeller on the Asmat coast. Of the published material we would mention Hitt (1962), Matthiessen (1963), Iskandar (1964, review by Koentjaraningrat 1966a), Peters (1965, review by Koentjaraningrat 1966b), Broekhuysse (1967), Gardner and Heider (1969, review by Camps and Naylor 1972), Ploeg (1969), Heider (1970, review by Camps 1972), Nafuni (1975), Heider (1979), and Hayward (1980).

Articles and contributions to larger volumes have been published by Van der Stoep (1959-60), Bromley (1960, 1962a, 1962b, 1962c, 1976,

1980), Smit and Smit (1960a, 1960b), Brookfield (1964), O'Brien and Ploeg (1964), O'Brien (1966, 1969a, 1969b, 1980), Ploeg (1966, 1968, 1979, 1980), Heider (1967a, 1967b, 1969a, 1969b, 1971-72, 1972b, 1972c, 1975-76, 1976a, 1976b, 1980), Hively (1975), Scovill (1975), and Ucko (1969). Then, there is the often interesting unpublished material by Broekhuysse (1961), Bromley (1961), O'Brien (1969c), Larson (1972, 1976), Naylor (1973), and Wetapo (1981). To these should be added the early report of Ploeg listed in Nienhuis under no. 153.

Finally, attention should be paid to Gardner's film "Dead Birds" (Gardner 1963, 1971), and Heider (1972a).

b. The Yali (Yale) Tribes and their Neighbours

Information on these tribes is provided in Koch (1967, 1968, 1968-69, 1970a, 1970b, 1970c, 1972, 1974a, 1974b, 1974c, 1980), Fanner (1970), and Zöllner (1977).

c. The Star Mountains Region (Sibil)

The Star Mountains Region has been described by Kooijman (1962), Reynders (1962), and Pouwer (1960, 1964). Of particular interest is the penetrating description of a more northern mountain group in the Apmi-Sibil valley by Hylkema (1974).

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IX

ECONOMIC AND SOCIO-CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AFTER 1950

IX. 1. Introduction

Until World War II, Irian was the most underdeveloped part of Indonesia. After the war, and more particularly since 1950, the territory and its population have gone through a process of rapid development and change. Some of the main documents concerned with this process have been listed in Chapter VI, sections 3 and 4. Details and information on more recent developments had to be left aside there. They will find a place here, in the sections dealing with education, economic development, migration and resettlement, health care and social development. For a general orientation on the development policy with respect to the area are recommended J.C.M. Bakker (1965), Werkplan 1954-56 and Ontwikkelingsplan 1961-63 (see Chapter VI.3.3. and 3.4.), and Verhoeff (1956), Development (1968), and Garnaut and Manning (1974).

IX. 7.7. Bibliography

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IX.2. Education

During the colonial period the system of native school education was developed jointly by the government and the missions. The final phase of this course can be followed by reading the successive Reports on Netherlands New Guinea submitted to the United Nations over the years 1949-61. Extensive information on the policy pursued and on the problems at issue can be gathered from the reports of the Raad voor Volksopvoeding from 1951 on. A comprehensive study devoted to the place and problems of school education in the framework of the socio-cultural development of Irian is sadly lacking, though some of the problems have been discussed in the doctoral dissertations of Lagerberg (1962) and