The background of the cover is a photograph of two human skulls resting on a grey, textured rock. The skull in the foreground is painted with several thick, vertical red stripes. A snake is coiled around the skulls, its head near the one in the background. The scene is set outdoors with some green foliage visible in the upper left corner.

Sepik I - Part II

Prehistory - From the
Beginning of Time to
1885 or First Contact

LAURIE BRAGGE

Sepik History 1 Sepik Pre-History - From The Beginning Of Time Until 1885 or first contact

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction to Sepik History Sir David Attenborough

Preface Lawrence William Bragge

Forward Peter Turner

Sepik 1 Part 1

Introduction to Sepik Volume 1

Chapter 1. In the Beginning: the Geology, Landforms and Geography of the Sepik Basin

Chapter 2. The Arrival of Man 1 – the “Papuan’s”

Chapter 3. The Arrival of Man 2 – the Austronesians

Attachment 1: An Oral History of Austronesian Migration and Settlement or

Chapter 4. Tracking Down New Guinea’s Now Vanished “Archaic Civilization”

Chapter 5. The Anthropology of Religion

Chapter 6. Of Cultural and Religious Borrowings

Attachment 2: Traditional Adaptations to Accommodate Western Influences

Chapter 7. The Nature of Pre-contact Land Tenure

Chapter 8. The Illumination of Ancient Time Lines by Modern Science

Chapter 9. Of Human and Cultural Reincarnation

Chapter 10. Sepik Religion, Initiation, Age Class and other Social Structures

Chapter 11. Haus Tambarans - the Churches of the People

Chapter 12. Sepik Haus Tambarans

Chapter 13. Headhunting

Chapter 14. Cannibalism

Chapter 15. Sorcery, Magic and Associated Beliefs

Chapter 16. The Creation Myths of the Ndu, and Ancient Migrations

Chapter 17. Ndu Social Structure and Reflections of an Austronesian Past

Chapter 18. The Sago / Fish Trade – a Necessity of Middle Sepik Survival

Chapter 19. Sawos – From Mebinbit to Gripma to Nogosop and Gaikarobi

- Chapter 20. Sawos – Wereman Mother, Daughter and Related Villages**
- Chapter 21. Sawos – Torembei Mother, Daughter and Related Villages**
- Chapter 22. Sawos – Magro and Yambunei - Ancient Sepik Communities**
- Chapter 23. Sawos – Yamuk Mother, Daughters and Related Villages**
- Chapter 24. Other Sawos Villages – Burui Kunai Division Ambunti sub District**
- Chapter 25. Other Sawos villages – Sepik Plains Division Ambunti sub District**
- Chapter 26. Iatmul Pre-history**
- Chapter 27. The Nyaula Gods Tangweiyabinjua and Magisaun**
- Chapter 28. The Origins & Early History of the Manambu, and the Demise of Maumi**
- Chapter 29. The Pre-history of the Lower Sepik Communities**
- Chapter 30. Origins & Early History of the Chambri Lakes Pottery, Stone & Basket Industries**
- Chapter 31. Pre-history of Chambri Lakes Communities**
- Chapter 32. The Sepik Hill Language Communities of the Chambri Lakes**
- Chapter 33. The Creation of the ‘Bisis’ World; the Story of Gawatuk.**

Sepik 1 Part 2

- Chapter 34. The Story of Afek, and Elements of Pre-contact ‘Min’ Culture**
- Chapter 35. The Creation Myths and Early History of the Kwoma and Nukuma**
- Chapter 36. Pre-history and Demise of the Souli Mogani [Kompong Nggala]**
- Chapter 37. The Cassowary Myth of the Creation**

Attachment 3: The Yambon Gate and the Order of Early Sepik Settlement?

- Chapter 38. The Origins and Early History of the Yessan/Maio and Naiuri.**
- Chapter 39. The Rise of the War-like Swagup, and the Demise of Bodif**
- Chapter 40. The Origins and Early History of the Wogamas [Wogamush].**
- Chapter 41. Wongamusen – Pre-history of Kubka [Kubkain].**
- Chapter 42. Wongamusen – Pre-history of Hauna [Yauenian].**
- Chapter 43. Wongamusen– Pre-history of Chenapian.**
- Chapter 44. Wongamusen – Pre-history of Oum.**
- Chapter 45. Yenak/Yenak of Oum – Wogamusen Area Upper Sepik**

- Chapter 46. Wongamusen- Pre-history of Tauri.**
- Chapter 47. Wongamusen – Pre-history of Alikai**
- Chapter 48. The Sepik’s Semi-Sedentary Hunter Gatherers**
- Chapter 49. Sepik Hill Language Speakers of the Hunstein Range**
- Chapter 50. Stone Axe/Adze Manufacture and Trade – Leonard Schultze Rv. Headwaters**
- Chapter 51. Three Sepik Cave Systems of Archaeological Interest**
- Chapter 52. How Sepik Communities Appear To Have Evolved**
- Chapter 53. Pre-contact History of the Sepik – Unanswered Questions and Future Assessments**

Sepik 1 Chapter 34. The Story of Afek and Elements of Pre-contact “Min” culture

Some unique aspects of pre-contact “Min” Culture.

Part 1

AFEK As a field officer who spent 1966 and 1967 in Telefomin Sub District and conducted extensive patrolling, I was well aware of the “Min” ancestress/God figure Afek and her creation of the sacred haus tambaran at Telefolip; the “Mecca” of all “Min” peoples. In my career 1961-2011, I did not find another cultural group with as strong a traditional religious focus as the “Min.”

Part 2.

Telefolip haus tambaran. While there is some overlap with the story of Afek, the later fate of the Telefolip haus tambaran and associated religious upheaval as is covered in Sepik 4 *Coming to grips with the future*, makes it imperative that we have a full understanding of the traditional importance of this structure, its history and beliefs associated with it.

Part 3

MIIT social structure of Min communities. Not only was I unaware “Miit” social structure, I know of no officer who served in “Min” communities who was aware of it. Others like myself, no doubt recognise aspects of the MIIT concept once it was explained. I have not encountered anything like it elsewhere. Social structure in PNG traditional society is generally based upon descent.

Part 4

The Iligimin of the Elip valley. The Iligimin were resident in the Elip valley in the mid-19th century. They were at war with the Telefomin people and burnt the haus tambaran at Telefolip. After re-building the haus tambaran, the Telefomin fought the Iligimin, driving them from the Elip valley and occupying it themselves. This may be the first evidence of the Telefol expansion out of Telefolip.

Part 1

AFEK.

The Afek Myth.¹ [Robert Brumbaugh’s – *The Old Woman’s Legacy* – from Children of Afek].

1. **Afek came from the east from the Ok Om to Eliptaman, and crossed to Ifitaman¹. She opened and levelled the valley, drove the prior occupants, the Utungmin spirit people into the bush where they remain hiding still. She left visible signs of her passing and dropped pigs and taro from her netbag which became marsupials and a large stone, etc.**

She came from the East, ‘maybe looking for a husband’. Telefolmin² can be precise about her route only from Dulanmin [Duranmin] territory on the Om – (Upper Strickland).

Whilst travelling, Afek shifted her speech on the Om from Oksapmin to Telefol setting the precedent that divides Mountain-Ok languages from the Oksapmin language. Her route is marked by specific sites with ritual importance, and events with symbolic meaning (e.g. the transformation of pigs into marsupials is explained with reference to secret

¹ Ifitaman is the Telefomin valley.

² Telefolmin – “Telefol” is the language “Min” means people. The Administration has left out the second “l” adopting the spelling as Telefomin.

marsupial sacrifice which accompanies pig sacrifices in ritual). The contrast between the level, open terrain of Ifitaman and the surrounding rough mountains is explained by Afek's work of opening and remodelling the land.

- 2. Afek crossed the Sepik and climbed the hill Safoltigin (in the territory of the Urapmin). Her menstrual blood left a deposit of red earth which is used as paint for the *Mafumban* initiation. She changed the skins of snakes and insects and was about to do the same for humans. But The Old Man came following her as a dog from Telefolip. He escaped the traps she had set to keep from being interrupted, surprised her and had intercourse with her. She abandoned her project and killed him with a black palm club. Then she was sorry. She revived him and sent him back to Telefolip, but he would die later.**

A snake never dies on its own, but when it sees a man it crawls away and dies. Snakes rejuvenate themselves by shedding their old skin for new until men show them the reality of death. Sexuality replaces immortality, a theme linked to the paint at Safoltigin with the *Mafumban*, a ritual that turns boys into men.

Local references are detailed (The Sepik passes through a channel only as wide as a man's outstretched arms; where a false bridge left by Afek threw the Old Man into the water. He called the banks together and pulled himself out.) This episode fixes the relationship between the Telefomin and the Urapmin, where the cave Wimtem, below Safoltigin, rivals Telefolip as a ritual site. Safoltigin was Afek's first choice of a place to live, but she left it to join The Old Man at Telefolip.

- 3. Afek went down into Wimtem and followed the underground road west to Bultem. She built a shelter there, explored the area, then continued west along the underground road. She emerged at Afintembil in Atbalmin territory and built a cult house there. She continued west along the underground road, surfacing at Bongelabip in Ngalumin territory and built a cult house there. She came back along the underground road to Bultem in Wopkaimin territory and built a cult house there and left Moyansil bridge nearly completed. Then she passed under Ulapmin [Urapmin] and went to join The Old Man at Telefolip.**

It was from Safoltigin that Afek went down into the underground road; this became the route which the dead follow to Bultem. From the east, they find their way to the start of the road from Telefolip; from the west they use the entrance at Wimtem. Senior men of Falamin [Feramin] try to save the life of a person in shock by using a formula which temporarily blocks the entrance to the road at Telefolip; the spirit remains retrievable long enough to allow treatment. Revival of The Old Man likewise sets a precedent to restore the unconscious back to life.

The underground road may be imagined as a path blazed through a stretching world under the earth; hence, in her travels, Afek is creating this road. Each of the cult centres mentioned is an entrance to the road which links them all to one another and to Telefolip. There are few details about Bongelabip and the Telefomin do not seem to know of other houses built by Afek in West Papua.

- 4. Telefolip was a sago swamp. Afek turned back the Om River which fed it, built up the site with sand from the Om and banished sago to low, hot places. She built the cult house at Telefolip. She divided it into two according to the ritual division of Taro and Arrow. Then she put The Old Man in charge of the arrow half and herself**

in charge of the Taro half, retained in the ritual in the ritual organisation of that cult house today [I.E. at the time of writing the article]

The expulsion of sago from Telefolip opens the way for the creation of taro. Sago is viewed as an inferior alternative to taro and Ifitaman is exemplary in the fact that sago does not grow there at all. By order of Afek, it is forbidden to bring sago into Telefolip.

The ordering of Telefolip represents the creation of civilised order out of wilderness. Many customs duplicate Afek's procedure in this episode (e.g. the Falamin order of building a new village follows the sequence in which Afek built each type of house in Telefolip.) Telefol and some other Min groups order their ritual through the opposition of taro and arrow, set up by Afek in Telefolip. It is understood that The Old Man was without culture and had to be given his role by Afek.

5. Afek went west to the Tifalmin where people had eaten her bananas and, against her orders, caught her tadpoles. She killed a Tifalmin boy with her black palm club (*bial sanam*) and brought his body to Telefolip, composing a victory song. Then she went to Falamin territory where she saw a man cutting branches from a tree. She called to him in every language she knew but he did not answer. So she knocked over the tree with her club and brought his body also to Telefolip. She set the two bodies to cook but while she went to wash the intestines the fire spread, burning away the bush to create the grasslands of Ifitaman. Afek found a rat and his sister the frog rejoicing over the fire. In her anger she drove the rat into the grass and the frog into the water. She ate the Tifalmin, shared the Falamin's heart with ghosts at Bultem, made an underground circuit of the cult centres and left the bones of the Falamin in the house at Bongelabip. Returning she rubbed the blood of her victims on the posts of the cult house at Telefolip and then completed its construction.

This episode sets the precedent for war, over-riding any assumption of social obligations between neighbours. Cannibalism, the fire (named in fire-making spells) and completion of the Telefolip house, refer to Arrow concepts and rituals.

The event is told from the Telefolmin point of view. Falamin and Tifalmin, in the direct line of expansion from Ifitalman on either side are the classic traditional enemies of the Telefolmin. However these two groups tell the story the same way: Afek meant the lesson to be reciprocal, demonstrating how warfare is to be carried out. The stump of the tree where she killed the Falamin is still visible, near the Falamin village of Oksimin.

6. Since Afek had killed The Old Man, he died, went by the underground road to Bultem, and completed Motansil bridge before crossing over. Afek followed, met him at Moyansil and the two parted after making the first trade exchange there.

In this account, The Old Man was the first to die and take the route which the dead have followed ever since. By completing Moyansil bridge, he created the passage they follow from life into death. Much of this episode is repeated in the story of Olmoim.

Passage out of the Min world over Moyansil is equated with the passage from life into death. The 'visible' Moyansil bridge is the route by which trade from the lowlands reaches Bultem and the myth makes explicit reference to trade; 'if Afek and The Old Man had left without trading anything, we would not have any such thing as exchange and if one of them had given something without taking, everything would always be given free.' The 'invisible' Moyansil is the bridge from life into death at the end of the underground road. Telefolmin often mixed trade with Bultem with concepts of death: stone adzes and shell valuables were

said to come from the dead, explaining the diseases which sometimes arrived on this trade route.

- 7. Afek and her brother Olmoim (or Nanotim) lived together at Telefolip. He slept in a woman's house looking after the pigs while Afek slept in the cult house, decorated like a man. After Olmoim discovered pig fat hidden in the cult house they decided to try changing places. That night the pigs behaved better; next morning Afek was overwhelmed by the sight of her brother coming out greased and decorated as a man. So Afek put her brother through all the initiations, each in turn, and the new roles of male and female were fixed for ever.**

This is the first of many versions that account for the origin of the male cult. It is designed to suit boys at their first initiation, where they learn that by secretly rubbing pig fat on their skin they will grow large and attractive to women. I have already referred to another version learned later by a higher grade of initiands.

Bragge Note: Chapter 9 tells that in the mythology of many Sepik societies - in the beginning women controlled all aspects of society, particularly the haus tambaran and associated ritual life and that through a differing array of means this control was taken over by men and from this the men's cult developed. The story of Afek as told here has a clarity that I did not find in any other version of the transition of control from women to men.

I believe there are two explanations [or a combination of the two] for this:

1. The other Sepik societies did not hold the original female ancestor myths in as high regard as the Telefol held Afek and as a result the myths are not remembered in the same level of detail.
 2. The academic skills of Anthropologists and in-depth micro-studies over months or years in the same community allow, as in Brumbaugh's case, the capacity hear and analyse the myth as told in its differing complexities through differing initiation levels. By comparison the average "Kiap" collection of anthropological data is done from a base which lacks academic training and is done in haste usually as a secondary priority during a one or two night stay in the village per annum. The other side of this is that the "Kiap's" macro coverage allows him to collect data in every village during the annual patrol program and thus to develop a region appreciation of relationships between communities. Whereas Anthropologists tend to make in-depth micro studies
- 8. Afek lived in the cult house while her brother lived in a women's house, immobilised by his giant penis. Afek cut this to proper size, called the scratching bandicoot *kayaal* or had intercourse with a wild dog to open her vagina, which had before been closed, and then had intercourse with her brother. His blood was absorbed by two *marita pandanus*³ which she put inside her body: one for aggressive drive and one for fertility; the two powers of blood. She took for women one of each kind gave men two for aggressive power.**

This episode is a main reference point for understanding the relation of the sexes. Afek redefines anatomy, differentiates the powers of blood, and determines that women will trade part of their aggressive power for fertility. Consequently child birth and the menstrual house fall in the sphere of the women while men take control of initiation and the cult. This episode provides a key to the symbolism involving menstrual blood, pandanus, and those

³ a large red phallic shaped palm fruit.

other symbols whose red colour derives from the original flow of blood; to food taboos and contraception; to ritual secrets at Telefolip itself.

- 9. Afek and her brother lived together at Telefolip. He stayed in the village cooking taro, while she went out hunting each day. One day he followed and spied on her. He saw that the animals came to her voluntarily. After he saw that, the animals no longer came – they ran away as they have run from the hunter ever since.**

This is another of Olmoim's discoveries whose consequences were related to the change of roles which established the male cult.

- 10. From Telefolip Olmoim followed his sister and spied on her. Each day, she opened her legs and gave birth to the various animals, telling each one its future habits and uses. She gave birth to the taro. The possum *koyam* (*Phalanger gymnotis: kwiam in Tifal*) stole taro down into its burrow but the dog Wisi followed and brought it back.**

Afek gave birth to the taro (or formed it from her sexual secretions); it was her replacement for the sago she expelled from Telefolip. The "Taro thief" story is offered by women and children as the reason they do not eat the possum *koyam*; it is "bad" because it stole taro. For men the episode of the dog and the possum refers to the symbolism of taro ritual. *Koyam* stole yellow taro which dogs – having made it a gift – now refuse to eat.

The fact that Olmoim spied on Afek giving birth to taro, or later planting it, is cited as the reason she later killed him (either she was angry at his spying or she needed his bones for taro ritual). The principle that applies to hunting applies to taro, once the secret is known, game and taro are no longer freely available. Taro ritual required the death of Olmoim.

- 11. Afek killed Olmoim with a spell. She placed his body on a burial platform but it did not decay, so she created maggots and brought decay into the world. The maggots became *nassa* shell valuables. Olmoim followed the underground road to Bultem, invented the garden adze and travelled back. Afek's children met him but, picking his hair for lice, they found a maggot and showed him. Mortified, Olmoim left for ever. Taking one bone from his body on the burial platform to Bultem. Because of this the dead can never return. Afek collected the rest of the bones for taro ritual.**

Olmoim was the first man to die, decay, and follow the underground road west to Bultem; he set the precedent for the dead in the future. Much is attributed to him, which is also attributed to The Old Man.

This story is revealed at the *otban* initiation. The taro mysteries involve a hidden link between fertility and decay. The maggot is the symbol of the decay which makes death irreversible: therefore Olmoim was turned back by the sight of the maggot. The maggot inspires horror but is revealed to be the same as the *nassa* shells, the item of highest value.

This episode accounts for decay and death, funeral customs, the use of ancestral bones for taro ritual, special techniques of witchcraft and sorcery, the ritual power of the drum, and of the garden adze and the *nassa* shell valuables arriving from the west by trade.

- 12. At Telefolip, Afek's family grew large; it included the ancestors of all the Min people. Finally she assembled her family, changing the speech and customs of each branch, and sent them out to occupy their present territories. She sent with them the skills and resources that are no longer to be found at Ifitalman, with directions that their products should circulate by trade, eventually to find their was 'home' to Telefolip.**

This is the standard Telefolmin account of the Min, or perhaps of all the people in the world; they lived together at Telefolip and acquired their distinctive traits at the time of dispersal. Afek chose the Telefolmin to retain the original language and remain with her at Telefolip.

13. Afek ordered that when she died, her skull should stay at Telefolip and her pelvic bone at Wimtem among the Urapmin.

Afek's death is variously remembered. She lay down in a taro garden and died of old age, or she was killed by a local man. A Falamin tradition with some authority says she was killed in an invasion from the Om. In any case she is not represented as immortal; by inventing death and decay, she set the precedent that would apply to herself.

Ancestral bones are kept as the visible sign of the spirit which remains with them. Telefolip and Wimtem are thus the focal points for the representation of Afek. Some groups such as the Falamin, have bones of Afek, thus providing them access to her spirit independent of Telefolip. Overriding these considerations is the Telefolmin tradition that Afek sent each group away with a promise to hear when they called on her in ritual.

This has been a very sparse outline of the Afek narrative... a full description of the Afek myth would encompass the whole ethnography of the Telefolmin and go beyond if the episodes at Bultem, Bongelabip and elsewhere were pursued...

In Telefolmin religion Afek remains present and accessible. Taro fertility is a visible sign of her power, just as her bones are the visible signs of her presence.

ooo000ooo

Brumbaugh's excellent documentation of Afek, above, is followed by 22 pages of detailed commentary from which I have extracted the following notes in **bold**:

(Brumbaugh cont.) Telefolmin religion seems different from others such as Bimin-Kuskusmin (Poole 1976a) and Oksapmin (Perey 1973), where the era of Afek ended in mythical times.²

Writer's note: As an indication of the influence of Afek⁴, I was told the following story by informant Dukoptet/Bek of Divana in Oksapmin's Tekin valley in 1966 and recorded it as Appendix F of Oksapmin Patrol Report No 1/66-67³. The story indicates that:

1. That in Oksapmin the era of Afek ended not in mythical times [Perey 1973], but much more recently in the life time of a man, Tiner/Uriabninm of Divana who died in 1963.
2. That up until relatively recently ritual activity related to the Telefolip haus tambaran, received significant input from Oksapmin and presumably from other Min groups that are geographically remote from Telefolip. The story told by DUKOPTET is as follows:

Legend has it that in the distant past Oksapmin was a vast flat area of unproductive swamp which shuddered and moved when people walked on it. Then a spirit of some kind [presumably Afek – Iuanku] came along and the swamp was changed into the limestone ridges, valleys and outcrops of today, but it was still unproductive. The Oksapmin people were concerned about the problem of how to make things grow. They killed pigs and cassowaries and after eating them they planted the bones around the countryside and painted them red. A man called MANMANEI was the man who first did

⁴ I was told in 1966 that Afek is known in the Oksapmin area as Iuanku – *The woman*.

this but the ground remained unproductive. MANMANEI killed possums and did the same again, but to no avail.

IUANKU (Afek) came from the east, up through the Tekin valley. His [her] little brother came west as well, but along the Om River. IUANKU saw the futile efforts of MANMANEI and said "This is how to do it". IUANKU killed a man from Arafem, a section of the Duban group in the Strickland gorge and told the Oksapmin people to plant the bones in the ground towards Telefolip and to put the head into the haus tambaran at Telefolip. After doing this it was noticed that the pandanus, kaukau and taro were growing and producing well and that the pigs were growing fat...

Iuanku placed many taboos on the local people. She said people must not eat their own pigs, small children must eat with their mothers, but [male children] after being shown the haus tambaran they could eat with their fathers and this general type of thing (which are still followed strictly today).

After this time, it was accepted that when a drought came that the remedy was to be found in a sacrifice to the Telefolip haus tambaran. Two or three men would spy on the Arafem group and when a man was alone, would call their friends to capture him. The man's legs would be broken and then his arms, without killing the man himself. The man would then be taken to a patch of bush on the bank of the Tekin River, opposite where the Tekin Mission is today and tied to the top of a pandanus tree in the afternoon and would be left there overnight. In the morning the cry of birds would be heard from that section of the bush and investigation would reveal that birds called *Garaei* [a type of parrot] were pecking at the bound man. The bonds would then be cut and the man allowed to fall to the ground. All of the men from the whole Oksapmin area would be present for this occasion. (No women or children allowed).

The man would generally have died during the night. The arms and legs and then the head would be cut from the body with a rough piece of timber such as firewood (stone or bamboo not used). The insides would be planted at the scene of the amputations. One leg would be taken by the Divana men and buried at Divana. The other leg would be taken by Tomiana group and buried. One arm would go to Teka to be buried and the other to Khakha to be buried. A whole possum, with various types of leaves and grass would be buried with the body parts. Many pigs would be killed and cooked and great celebrations would follow. The now extinct Omtara group of people [Bi River] had the task of taking the head and placing it in the Telefolip haus tambaran.

The end of the drought was then considered inevitable and when the good times came again it was accepted that the only reason for it was the sacrifice. The strength of the sacrifice was believed to last a long time and when a drought again starting, the effects of the last sacrifice were considered to be wearing off, and a new victim was sought.

The sacrifice was considered to be good for the whole of the Oksapmin and Telefomin area. To this end the Abunkaman group of Eliptaman people planted a mark on the Telefomin/Oksapmin track near the Yam River. Beyond this mark Telefomin people were not permitted to fight as this was the source of heads to end droughts.

URIABINIM of Divana was among the last men to make a sacrifice of this type. URIABINIM and his son TINER/URIABNIM and their group caught and killed an old woman in this way. TINER himself died in 1963...At this time the Arafem had ceased to exist as a separate group. Some had been absorbed into the Duban group while the

remainder built a bridge over the Strickland River and cut it after they had crossed. This group has been absorbed into Hewa groups.

Because of this lack of satisfactory sacrifice candidates the practice died out forty to fifty years ago, [1920s approximately] and it was seen that the gardens and pandanus continued to bare, so no alternate source of sacrifices was sought.

(Brumbaugh, quoting Perey (1973)) The Oksapmin say Yuwan [Afek/ Iuanku] came to Oksapmin but the people did not appreciate her and cut her into pieces. The pieces were taken to Ifitaman leaving the Oksapmin today with a regretful song “Yuan is gone.”⁴

Writer’s note: Clearly there are differences in what Oksapmin informants told me in 1966 and told Perey in 1973. Brutti also wrote about Human sacrifice at Oksapmin in 2005. His version reads:

Afek or *Yuan ku* in Oksapmin came from the East and went Westward; coming from the Highlands and proceeding towards Telefomin, following the sun path. The other recurrent theme is the crossing of the Strickland (*Umeng*) River. The mythical existence of *Yuan ku* in Oksapmin is related to the Strickland River. *Yuan ku* created neither human nor animal beings nor the environment but she transformed the entire cosmos and gave the people a new culture and ecological rules. Following the *Yuan ku* secret teaching, the Oksapmin people learned to perform the fertility rite based upon a human sacrifice.

The victim had to be taken from a clan indicated by *Yuan ku*, the *Alipim* clan, created by her, residing along the eastern ridge of the Oksapmin region after crossing the Strickland River. It is interesting to note that, in the Duna *hambua* narrative *Alipima* is the name of an Oksapmin man (Strathern, 1995a:7). The victim had to be a strong young man of tested fertility, meaning he had to be married with at least one or more children. Being performed only once every several decades, it happened that often men did not take part in it during the course of their own life.⁵

(Brumbaugh cont.)...while the Oksapmin say the Old Woman came across the Strickland from the Highlands, the Om tradition says she arrived from the Leonard Schultze in the north...⁶

Writer’s note: Akiapmin people I met on the Tau River, a tributary of the Upper Leonard Schultze in September 1966 claimed descent from a common female ancestress of all the Min people. They claimed she lived at the junction of the Tau and Hapi [Leonard Schultze] rivers and “put” the Akiapmin people there, gave them taro saying this is your food, she also gave them their language. Then after an argument with her brother she walked up the Tau River over the central range into the Om River where she started off the Om River groups as she made her way to Telefomin.

Upstream along the Leonard Schultze River the Setiali, Yalimuo and Sumwari told me in 1966 that they knew of the legend, but claimed not to know the source of their own descent.

In the very headwaters of the Hapi [Leonard Schultze] at Unagabmin [also known as Kabian and Gabiano], a young leader called Tofiana told me that their ancestor was Babasebai, a woman, and that she had come upstream from the Tau/Hapi junction, where she wished to stay, but the Akiapmin [Tuwari] people there had said that this was their land and she was not welcome.

After “starting” the Unagabmin line she crossed the central range and went to Telefomin via the Keinu, Karu, Namili and Om Rivers.⁷

Interestingly the Yoliape and associated “Hewa” people of the lower Lagaip River, identified by Professor Hatanaka as the Saiyolof, told me on 29th May 1967 that they knew of the Babasebai [Afek] myth, but do not claim descent from her.⁸

(Brumbaugh cont.) The Telefomin sharply insulate ritual operations which pertain to *ARROW* (warfare, hunting and other vigorous, violent and bloody pursuit) from those which pertain to *TARO* (gardening, domestic pigs, and all gentle and nurturing pursuits...Associated with this division Telefolmin tradition specifies a moiety division of descent lines in very early history, which has shifted to a system of ritual moieties no longer based on descent...⁹

Afek is the “mother” of taro...The Min self-orientation involves a sharp contrast between taro-oriented mountain people and sago-oriented lowlands people...Telefolip sets the standard for “taro people”...The *otban* initiation reveals to men the mysteries of taro fertility.¹⁰

Writer’s note: As indicated in Chapter 11 There are strong parallels between Telefol and Middle Sepik [both Iatmul and Sawos] mythology in relation to moiety structures, their relationship with haus tambarans and the road to death.

Writer’s note 2: The haus tambaran at Wabiadang in the Nenataman area of the Frieda River headwaters was inspected in late September 1966 and was seen to have two fire places¹¹ as described above, presumably representing the arrow and taro moieties.

(Brumbaugh cont.)The world ordered by Afek is not to last forever. It will collapse sooner if men neglect to maintain it through the ritual sequence, but in any case Afek predicted that it would not last beyond twenty seven rebuildings of the Telefolip cult house. Then portents will appear and at last the earth will turn over and flood, and the world above ground will be finished.¹²

Nicole Haley’s 2002 ANU thesis, concerning the Duna people, *Ipakana Yakaiya: Mapping Landscapes, Mapping Lives includes*, as appendix 36, the above report from Oksapmin Patrol Report 1/1966-67. In the thesis narrative she states:

[Other writers – listed]...have offered comprehensive analyses of entropic beliefs amongst the Telefol and Huli people respectively. For the Telefol, the concept of entropy is encapsulated in the verb *binaman*, which means, “To finish, to run out, to dissipate, to become nothing. (Jorgensen 1981:304).¹³

Part 2.

TELEFOLIP HAUS TAMBARAN.

Except where indicated otherwise the information in Part 2 is drawn from Dan Jorgensen’s *The Telefolip and the architecture of ethnic identity in the Sepik Headwaters* - in *Children of Afek*. Ed Barry Craig and David Hundman – University of Sydney 1990.

Afek inaugurated the Telefol world when she built the Telefolip...It conferred its name not only on the village that grew up around it, but also on the Telefolmin people who it is said are all descended from this original village. Something of a local ‘pilgrimage centre’, the *telefolip* is the focus of the regional initiation cult, the site of rituals to turn youths into men.

As a repository of sacred relics associated with them, the *telefolip* is said to foster garden prosperity ‘as a mother nurtures her children.’

The fortunes of Telefolmin are said to be bound to the fortunes of the house. Made of perishable materials, the house’s progressive deterioration over time is matched by a progressive waning of garden fertility, only renewed when the house is rebuilt. It is an article of faith that the strength of the Telefolmin is at a low ebb when the *telefolip* is in bad repair, and failure to rebuild the house on precisely the same site would be an invitation to cosmological dissolution; taro would flee from the gardens; women, children and pigs would run off to enemies, who would make easy pickings of those who remained.

The *telefolip* was destroyed only once, burned in the 19th century by the Iligimin. In a graphic demonstration of the effectiveness of symbols, the Telefolmin avenged their Mother by mobilizing to exterminate the Iligimin – but only first rebuilding the *telefolip* to renew their strength. It is significant that their allies Urapmin, Fegolmin and Wopkeimin also assisted in the rebuilding and subsequent attacks on the Iligimin. After the last Iligimin village was destroyed, the victors built a replica – the *telefolip*’s ‘younger sister’ – at the former Iligimin site of Ubtentigin.

It seems clear that the *telefolip* is an objectification of Telefol identity embodied each time men from a score of villages assemble to rebuild it. More than this the *telefolip* is an objectification of sociality, not only in the practice of its construction, but in its visible details. Thus, the *telefolip* must be constructed of whole, unsplit timbers because it stands for Telefol unity. Outside and behind the house is a large mound of charred cooking stones, visible testimony of past feasts which men proudly recount. Within there are two hearth; the Taro hearth and the Arrow hearth, corresponding to the Taro and Arrow ritual moieties whose relation is conceived as the reciprocal interdependence of life-giving and life-taking. (Jorgensen 1981a) Each hearth is the focus of rites performed by the respective moieties on behalf of all. Along the back wall hand net bags containing the bones of Taro and Arrow spirits. The only meat that may be consumed within the *telefolip* is domestic or wild pork cooked in the appropriate hearth and shared with all present including the spirits. The wall is covered with thousands of pig jaws, many contributed by other Telefol villagers. Within the *telefolip*, the imagery of sociality and prosperity is fused.

The *telefolip* is also about time. Telefolmin repeatedly stress its age and permanence, and attribute their persistence as a people to the *telefolip*’s continuity. Directly behind the *telefolip* is the magnificent grove of towering hoop pines, which have stood since Afek first came to build the village. Easily the tallest trees in the valley, neither they nor the animals living among them may be disturbed. Returning to the interior of the *telefolip*, the bone relics houses there repeat the message, for whilst the house itself deteriorated over time, the bones endure.

The emphasis on the *telefolip*’s permanence and continuity is all the more striking because, unlike the natural continuity of the sacred grove, it is a constructed permanence depending upon human agency. This is true not only of the *telefolip* itself, but also of the relics and spirits it houses, since men must retrieve the dead in the first place, and the dead only remain among the living conditionally. This is so because relations between spirits and men are rooted in reciprocity and are therefore contingent upon performance; in exchange for the spirits’ help, men must provide the spirits with human company and the smell of pork. If men fail to do so, the spirits withdraw their benefits, inflict illness, or depart for the Land of the Dead, leaving behind a cold bag of bones. Thus the *telefolip* offers an objectification of

Telefol identity, saturated with values of sociality, prosperity and continuity, but this identity is only sustained by man's commitment.

These issues are part of a leitmotif⁵ of Telefolmin culture, the human confrontation with entropy...the guiding Telefol concept is *biniman* 'to become nothing'. Intimately connected with themes of loss, transience and mortality, the notion of entropy articulates the Telefol sense that all things pass. Figured in an image drawn from everyday life – the way water runs off a taro leaf – entropy is the way of the Telefol world. As swidden cultivators they know that their gardens are only temporary incursions into the bush and that claims to land are only maintained by their effective exercise, lapsing as soon as the last of a gardener's plantation s expire. As pig husbanders, the Telefolmin know their pigs only remain domesticated as long as they are properly cared for. As parents, Telefolmin know that children may secede from the household if dissatisfied and daughters are prone to run off to men from other villages unless a husband can be found at home. As husbands, men know that failure to look after their wives can lead to abandonment. In all these instances, the only solution is commitment and hard work; all that men possess may leave them and nothing is secure once and for all.

Seen from this angle, the *telefolip* is the embodiment of the Telefol struggle with entropy, an attempt to stand fast and resist the drift of things. This is most dramatic when we consider death, seen by survivors as abandonment. When Telefolmin die, their spirits become ghosts and depart – after returning to Telefolip – for the land of the dead. Once departed, they are irrevocably gone. To this there is an exception: the retrieval of the dead and their bones as cult relics. Such practices amount to attempts to resist life's draining away and rescue something human from time. But Telefolmin say not only will their world come undone if the *telefolip* is not rebuilt – things will in any event come to an end after the twenty seventh rebuilding of the *telefolip*. There is thus no ultimate resolution, and the *telefolip* itself only amounts to a holding action, a monument to the Telefol denial of transience.

Part 3.

MIIT social structure

Like most patrol officers who served in the Sepik's Telefomin sub district I gained my field experience in other PNG Districts and Sub Districts. Despite the huge diversity of PNG cultures this field experience gave me a general understanding of "clan" based social structure, based upon either patrilineal or matrilineal descent groups, and its fundamental relationship to "clan"-based land tenure; an individual's survival and food security depends upon clan membership, which entitles him/her to exercise various rights on their clan-land holdings. As the "clan" is also a descent group – other clan members are genetically related as actual or classificatory "brothers" and "sisters". The clan is therefore an exogamous group; marriage partners must be sought from other clans. The clan also has historic and religious focuses that provides a sense of unity going back in time. This results in an acceptance that there are three groups of "clan" members with concurrent rights in relation the clan land: The dead, who are revered and sometimes worshipped as a linkage in traditional religion, the currently living who are the current custodians of the clan lands for the as yet unborn and the "as yet unborn" themselves.

⁵ A **leitmotif** is a German word meaning **leading motif**. It is a little musical theme that is often repeated in a piece of music... "leitmotif" is sometimes used in literature. In a book it might be an idea that keeps coming up during the story.

The *miit* concept was unknown to everyone other than the “Min” when I arrived in Telefomin in 1966. The term *miit* was first recognized and used, almost simultaneously by Barbara Jones in her thesis concerning the Faiwolmin in 1980, by Dan Jorgensen in his thesis on Telefomin in 1981 and Don Gardner in his thesis on the Mianmin in 1981¹⁴. It took research by anthropologists, such as those quoted below, to identify and define the *miit* concept. Now that *miit* is defined I can see aspects of it in my observations as reported my Patrol Reports; reports which would have benefited had *miit* social structure been understood at the time. In writing the relevant chapters I have noted the improved understanding of “Min” motivations and reactions that a *miit* understanding allows.

Jorgensen [1988:28] There is no descent group among the Telefomin...Although there are named cognatic⁶ categories, these do not govern marriage. There are no corporate characteristics and do not form a matrix for collective life...It would be a mistake to try to force Miyan or Telefol groups into a “clan template.”

Gardner: Even though...all Mountain Ok peoples—share a common primordial ancestor, they...use the term *miit* to refer to named “kinds” of people (the term also means “origin” or “base”). In practice, these *miit* names are used most frequently to refer to territorially localised communities...Morren (1986:175, writing of east Miyanmin populations, suggests that descent is not important in understanding the *miit*, and he prefers a term with definite territorial connotations, “parish,” to designate the local group, which:

„is a matter...of residence and recruitment with individual parishes, as corporate entities, acting to conserve and expand their populations through endogamy, reciprocal inter-parish marriages, invitations to outsiders to contract uxorilocal⁷ marriages, or to take captives in war.

In the mid-1960s when George Morren conducted his first field trip among the most powerful Miyan group, 14% of extant marriages involved a partner taken captive during raiding, whilst 11% of all living members of that group were born of a captured woman. (1974:122-125). In the mid-seventies, I [Gardner] collected genealogies from less powerful western Miyan groups, but there too 15% of one group’s living members were either Atbalmin captives or their offspring. A household-by-household survey conducted in 1995, indicated that approximately 60% of 1,365 living east Miyanmin have at least one ancestor (within the last four generations) who was captured during a raid.¹⁵

Part 4

The Iligimin.

During Oksapmin Patrol No 1/1966-67, which is documented in Sepik 4 Chapter 41 *Exploration of the Sepik Strickland Divide 1965-66*, I was introduced to an elder of the Nanataman people in the Frieda River headwaters at Wabiadang. His name was Bilasep/ Yanopnok and he told me the following on 26th September 1966. This is documented on pages 2 & 3 of Appendix F of Oksapmin Patrol Report No 1/1966-67.

An Eliptamin group called Iligimin burnt down the haus tambaran at Telefolip and in the fight that followed part of the Iligimin group under the leadership of Angarabisep, Ansetok, Formtupnok and Nenemsep fled to the Figi River area [In the Om River headwaters] and built a fortress style house of the Om River type. The Telefomin people came to raid them, but found that their arrows were ineffective

⁶ Cognatic - kinship is a mode of descent calculated from an ancestor or ancestress.

⁷ Uxorilocal marriage - Of or relating to residence with a wife's kin group.

against the house within which the Iligimin people hid. A large pine tree grew near the house so the Telefomin decided to cut the tree down onto the house. After many hours of hard chopping the tree fell the wrong way and the Telefomin raiders went home.

The Iligimin decided they had better find safer land and so moved over the range to the headwaters of the Nena [Frieda] River, where they found a group called Fortan who were settled at Wabiadang. The Fortan fled to where Unamo is now. The Iligimin called upon the Fwialmin and Sogabentan groups for assistance and in the raid that followed the Fortan group was annihilated. The Sogabentan then returned to their home on the Fak River and the Fwialimin who had lived at the headwaters of the Fu River died out.

The Abunkaman and Agamtavip people of Mumabi [visited by Oksapmin patrol 1/1966-67 on 28th and 29th September 1966] report that the Iligimin killed off four settlements of the Fwialimin when the Iligimin first moved to the Fu and Figi Rivers. The grandfather of my 50 year old informant was involved in the fight against Iligimin – perhaps 80 years before 1966?

Some of the Iligimin stayed at the Wabiadang site near the Nena River and some returned to Eliptamin where half cast Iligimin descendants are still said to exist at Tagatemtigan and Biltavip. Of the four Iligimin ancestors Ansetok and Angarabisep were the true Nenataman ancestors. After Ansetok returned to Eliptamin he thought of the fertile soils of the land they had just won from the Fortan people and returned there with some Tagatemtigan and Biltavip people to settle. The other two ancestors Formtupnok and Nenemsep returned to the Eliptamin valley after the fight with the Fortan people.

Other Telefomin people came to settle later, but most stayed just a short period and returned to Telefomin and Eliptamin. This applied to two of the Nenataman villages – Wabiadang and Tumsengan. Unamo was settled later, and not by the Iligimin people. Unamo was settled after the Iligimin had moved to Wabiadang, by the son, daughter and son's wife of one Amisap of a place called Senatigin which is supposed to have existed at the lower end of the Elip valley. Amisap came as far as the Fak River where he died and the other three came on and settled on the bank of the Unamo creek, close to present day Unamo. Later again Kialikmin people came and settled with these people.¹⁶

Dan Jorgensen commented on the Iligimin in part 2 above.¹⁷

End notes Chapter 34

¹ R. Brumbaugh. "AFEK SANG" The Old Woman's Legacy to the Mountain OK. In Children of AFEK 1990, University of Sydney – Page 62-66.

² R.Brumbaugh 1990. P67

³ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 2 – Telefomin & Oksapmin patrol reports.

⁴ R.Brumbaugh 1990. P78

⁵ Lorenzo Brutti 2005 P252/3

⁶ R.Brumbaugh 1990. P79

⁷ Oksapmin Patrol Report 1/1966-67 in Bragge Sepik Research Vol 2. P12.

⁸ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vo, 15 – diary entry of 29th May 1967.

⁹ R.Brumbaugh 1990. P68

-
- ¹⁰ R.Brumbaugh 1990. P69
- ¹¹ L.W.Bragge – Sepik 4 chapter 41 and Oksapmin Patrol report 1/1966-67 – diary note 24th September 1966. Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 15.
- ¹² R.Brumbaugh 1990. P70
- ¹³ N.C.Haley – *ipakana Yakaiya*: Mapping landscapes. Mapping Lives – ANU thesis September 2002 P 161.
- ¹⁴ Personal communication from Dan Jorgensen 2/7/2014 – item 431 Bragge ref. vol. 13
- ¹⁵ Gardiner D. The advent and history of Miyanmin identity 2004 Pages 4 & 5
- ¹⁶ Oksapmin Patrol report 1/1966-67 appendix F pages 2 & 3
- ¹⁷ D.Jorgensen – The Architecture of Ethnic Identity in the Sepik – In Children of AFEK. Ed. Barry Craig and David Hyndman – P152 University of Sydney 1990

Sepik 1 Chapter 35 The Creation Myths and early history of the Kwoma and Nukuma.

The Kwoma are a non-Austronesian people numbering about 3,000 who live in the Waskuk Hills adjacent to Ambunti station and to the north and north west of it. Linguistically Kwoma is closely related to the Kwanga language, which is spoken by some 13,000 people in the Torricelli Mountains twenty kilometres to the north. Pre-contact, the Kwoma had little if any direct contact or reliable knowledge of the Kwanga.

The Kwoma are divided into two dialects – Kwoma, and Nukuma. The latter occupy the low-lying country to the immediate north west of the Kwoma.

The Kwoma consist of four tribes:

Tokogwiyisheebi [Tongwinjamb]

Wurabaji [Urumbanj]

Kowariyasi This group divided into Saseriman [also known as Mino] and Beglam villages

Hogwama This group divided into Waskuk, Bangwis and Melawei villages.

The Nukuma consist of five tribes

Apalataka [Ablatak]

Amaki

Kwaka

Nageri

Waiawus.

Writer’s Note: Sadly, as I did not conduct census or an area study of the Nukuma area [Numau Ablatak Division] I lack the finer detail of their pre-contact history and migrations.

Map – approximate positions of places mentioned in Chapter 20



Kwoma history¹: The Kwoma migrated into the Waskuk Hills probably around the beginning of the 19th century² from the low-lying country to the north west. All Kwoma people trace their origins to one or more holes in the ground north of the Waskuk Hills. Most trace their origin to a hole named Waniimay [or Wanmai] located close to the present village of Amaki.

Writer's note 1. As with the case of Ndu place of origin, Mebinbit, the precise location of the hole is unknown to present generations. In both cases the region in which both Wanmai and Mebinbit are believed to have existed, are in swampy plains country in which 'holes in the ground', such as caves or sink holes do not exist. But apart from claimed places of origin status, as discussed in Chapter 3, both Wanmai and Mebinbit are miles inland from the northern or left bank of the Sepik River and both roughly on the same contour. This suggests that in the time of the Sepik inland sea, they were probably on the same coast line, and therefore accessible to the Austronesian navigators of the time who sailed the inland sea.

Such a possible cultural contact with a people with vastly superior technology, and possessions including domesticated live-stock, would have profoundly impacted the primitive natives of that coastline; possible stimulating ideas about the places where it happened, as the places of the original creation or re-creation into a new era of existence.

Writer's note 2. During Ambunti patrol No 14/1971-72, at Amaki village I was shown three shaped slate objects that had been found in the bed of the Sanchi River during a period of very dry weather when the river bed was exposed. All three were in the form of anchor shaped tanged axes, but being of slate they had no cutting capacity. By chance, around the same time, I was shown a similar object from nearby Brugnowi village, which the owner said was used in an annual ritual to ensure the return of the Sepik's fish stocks after each dry season.

With regard to the location of mythical Wanmai, the discovery of these objects in the river at Amaki may help pinpoint the location of an important archaeological site.

The ancestors of the different Kwoma dialect clans are said to have established villages in the vicinities of these holes, but soon came into conflict with a tribe already situated in the area, the Apukili¹. The Apukili [now defunct³] were located some distance to the east of Amaki. To escape warfare from this more powerful group, and also to find more abundant sources of sago, the Kwoma tribes migrated into the Waskuk Hills.

Writer's note the writer's informants recall a second group of enemies associated with the Apukili; the Numbahapa. Whether these were completely separate groups or some form of combination is not clear, they were referred to as both Apkili and Numbahapa, and Apkili/Numbahapa. The creation myth states. [I did learn however in Sepik 2 Chapter 40 that Masalaga - now a part of Ambuken and possibly Biananumbu - was a daughter village of Numbahapa. **End writer's note**

We came from a hole in the ground called Wanmai. At that time there were seven people Kompong Ngala, Numau/Ablatak, Waskuk [Kwoma], Apkili/Numbahapa, Maio, Yessan, Avatip and Naiuri. Limbum and bamboo grew near the edge of the hole. At that time, we [humans] had big stomachs, big ears and hair that covered our faces.

¹ Skilled academics involved with long-term micro studies of a small groups of people in most cases used spellings of local names, which did not totally match the spellings used by administration officer who were responsible for the people residing in a far larger geographic area. The academics spellings were clearly correct, but for consistency the Administration published a book of accepted village name spellings, and without great difficulty field officers were bound to follow village book spellings. Academic spelling APUKILI, Administration spelling APKILI

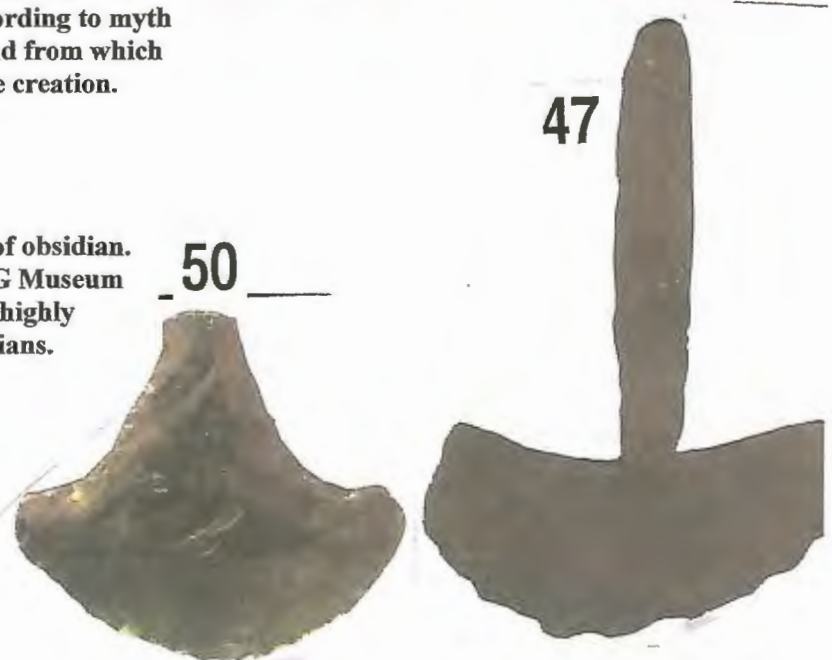
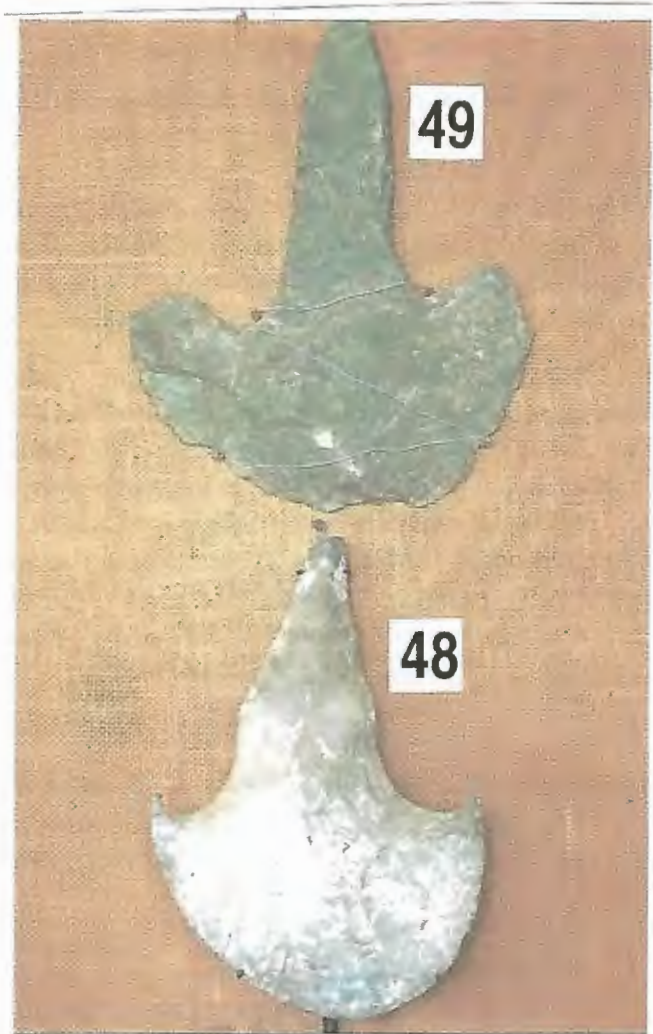
PROVENANCE – The changing functionality of “Tanged Axes”

Item 47. Was collected by Dr. Dirk Schmidt, Former curator on the PNG National Museum. The Brugnawi people brought the item to the Writer, - ADC Ambunti, asking if they could Sell, as it was a very important ritual item to Them. They told me it was used in a ritual to To ensure the return of the fish to the lakes And river after each dry season. I advised that If they considered it important to them they should not sell it. It appears that they did sell it as its. It appears in the Museum publication Sepik-Ramu 1988

Item 48. This beautifully worked chert blade has a very sharp cutting blade, but is so delicate that it was presumably a ceremonial object and not a work axe. This item, purchased in Nipa, Southern Highlands, is only the second such Item the writer has seen. The other was in a Catholic Mission collection some miles out of Tari, also in the Southern Highlands. While no archaeological date is known, these items and item 50, are thought to be ancient relics.

Item 49. is one of three slate objects purchased at Amaki in 1972. They were found in the bed of the Sanchi River during a dry period when the river bed was exposed. Amaki, according to myth was the site of the hole in the ground from which mankind emerged at the time of the creation.

Item 50. A tanged axe blade made of obsidian. The photo also comes from the PNG Museum Book Sepik/Ramu. Obsidian was a highly Valued trade item of the Austronesians.



The ancestors cut bamboo from the 1`edge of the hole to cut the hair, stomachs and ears to make the people look like we do today...In the beginning the people lived in the hole, not knowing what was outside the hole. A pig called Jambiau`us and picked a piece of bush our women use as a broom and went back into the hole. The men in the hole saw the broom and the earth on the pig and said "There must be earth outside this hole."

So, one man followed the pig when it went out of the hole again. He saw there was a good place outside the hole. The ancestors left the hole...inside the hole they were like new babies, but outside they were like true men. Kompong Ngala was the first to leave the hole and camped at Sangwiamba. The other ancestors stayed at Ugundu, Sigindamba and Imangugonolsai. Later the other ancestors of Waskuk, Avatip, Maio, and all the Kwoma divisions – Urumbanj, Saseriman etc established themselves at Sangwiamba . Olu's people [Kompong Ngala] came on to Mial and the Waskuk ancestors came to Wandambangwi, where Saseriman live now

Another version. *After [our ancestors] came out of the hole Wanmai, they established villages called Gwarasibangatapa and Wusiambaiwat. Apkili and Numbahapa were our enemies. They burned our villages and raided us. After many raids from this group...all neighbouring groups hunted them relentlessly until they were wiped out. Their [Apkili Numbahapa] tactics, in their hay-day, presented problems...they would ally themselves with one group, with whom they were living, against another, then invite someone else in to attack the group with whom they were living. Then they would and live with the attackers, before plotting their attack on their new benefactors with some other group. There were six such settlements before they were wiped out. The remnants of this group now [i.e. 1970] live at Tongwinjamb.⁴*

ooo000ooo

Naiuri, one of the seven "brothers" to emerge from the hole Wanmai during the creation,

Naiuri, now live [1970] with Yessan and Yaunget. Their land is on the north bank of the Sepik in between the two places [presumably Yessan and Yaunget also known as Marua]. Kamburunai was the Naiuri ancestor.⁵

A slightly different opinion.

Yessan is the Naiuri place of origin. They are of the one language – Yessan, Maio and Naiuri.⁶ Bragge Note – Lands Titles Commission research indicates Yessan arrived five generations ago [i.e. five generations before 1970] and joined Naiuri at the present Yessan village site.⁷

The interviews with elders provided no further illumination of the Naiuri. At Swagup a direct question about the Naiuri brought the following response.

No. Naiuri is only that part of Yessan that lives by the lake. They are not and were never to our knowledge, a separate village.⁸

Writer's note on the Naiuri. Clearly the Naiuri are a long existing people with a low profile. In my research with Sepik elders, regrettably, it did not occur to me to seek out Naiuri elders to ask of their past history, before memories of it are lost with the progressive passing of the elders.

ooo000ooo

Kwoma history continued: The Kwoma migrants found that the Waskuk Hills were already occupied by a distinct language group called Gaya [Laycock called them Ngala and two writer's Sepik archive lists two names for them "Kompong Ngala" – the name by which the Kwoma knew them, and Souli Moganai, the name by which the Manambu of the Sepik river knew them]. The Gaya were divided into at least two sub groups;

- The **Kopu Gala** occupied the northern part of the Waskuk Hills, and

- The **Mokodu Gala** of the southern half of the Waskuk Hills.

The different Kwoma groups initially settled at the extreme northern end of the Waskuk Hills, and for a time lived in peace with the Gala. But later the Kwoma came into violent conflict with the Gala and over what was probably some decades attacked and burned Gala settlements, driving the Gala people south towards the Sepik. Around the 1860s or 1870s the Kwoma destroyed the last Gala settlement.⁹ The demise of the Kompong Ngala/Souli Moganai [i.e. The Gala] is the subject of Sepik 1 Chapter 36.

Yerikai – Waskuk ancestral relations.

A pregnant woman at Yerikai called Kolobwi and her child, decided to go fishing out on the lake. When you decide such a thing, you must not talk about or the spirit [of the lake?] will hear and lay in wait for you. This happened, and when they were out on the lake, mother and child, found they were stuck to the canoe, unable to get out. Then the canoe sank and they went down into the water, where an eagle called Barawes had a haus tambaran.

The people there took the woman and tied her to a post in the haus tambaran. The eagle made a spell, which put the people to sleep and went to the woman and said to her “These people do not give me betelnut; I will free you.” She said “Thank you, but I am worried about my child who was in the canoe with me”. The eagle said he would go and look.

He flew up and looked and flew back and said. “Your child is dead. Forget it. The child fell down onto the point of the haus tambaran, which pierced him and left him hanging there.”

The eagle untied her and picked her up and flew up out of the water, into the sky, away from the people still sleeping in the haus tambaran under the water. He flew her to a tall Erima tree and left her there, so he could bring her a house, which he placed in the top of the Erima tree for her to live in. She lived there and all her wants and desires were met by the eagle...

She gave birth to twin boys; the big brother was Wantem and the small brother was Bambwan. The eagle looked after the boys and it had looked after their mother. The eagle said to them “Use this bow and arrows and if you see a big bird like me come and sits in this tree, you two can shoot it.”

Their mother suggested that it was time for the boys to leave the tree, so the eagle went to see the pythons, telling them each to hold the tail in its mouth to form a long rope from the ground up to the tree house. The mother tied the rope and all three were able to climb safely to the ground.

Now the eagle came and landed in the Erima tree, and the boys remembered what it had said and they took their bow and arrows and they shot it. The wounded eagle flew away and fell down in the distance at Saseriman. The boys followed the wounded eagle, which fell near to where two women were making sago.

But, they were not real women, they were basket hooks carved in the form of women and they had no vaginas. They took the eagle and hid it in the sago. The boys came and asked if they had seen the eagle. They denied seeing it. They asked again and the women admitted hiding it – they uncovered it and handed it back.

The boys cut it up and cooked it and offered portions to the two women, but they replied “No, we are not real women that you offer us food.” ...[But] The boys and the women ate the meat of the eagle together. Then the big brother took the eagle’s claw and began to carve a vagina on one of the women basket hooks.

The younger brother said “Let me see how you are carving it.” Big brother replied “You brother with the eagle’s claw. They carved the vaginas and married the two women. The big brother

Wantem stayed and give rise to the Waskuk [Kwoma} people. The small brother gave rise to the Yerikai and Garamambu people.

The big brother said "I hit you with the claw [so] now you must cover the vaginas of your women with skirts. My women will go naked. This was so until recently among the [Kwoma] women but when the brothers were carving the vaginas, big brother lied to younger brother 'Carve it like this and he carved decorations around the navel.

Now, before they came to the Kwoma area, but after they left the Erima tree Kolobwi [the eagle] said "Go and get heads." The brothers went out and killed a pig and brought its head back. But their mother said "No, that is just for food. Go back and kill something with skin lust like mine." They went out and killed a man and brought his head back. Their mother said. " This is right." She looked at the face and said "Oh! You have killed my cousin." In our language "Cousin" is Awai, so the headhunting singsing is called "Awai". She sent them out to get heads as training for fighting. This as the start of fighting and headhunting.¹⁰

Writer's note. This long narrative has been included because:

1. It is a typical Sepik "Old Testament" myth, presumably of great age.
2. It recognises an ancient relationship between the Kwoma and Yerikai/Garamambu peoples; a relationship that to the writer's knowledge is not recorded elsewhere.

ooo000ooo

The Yam cults.

The origin of the great annual cycle of rituals, related to the cultivation and harvesting of yams, is described in a legend, about which all Kwoma and Nukuma agree. It is said to have been accomplished through the ancestor of the Wanyi clan, Hambos:

In the earliest times the only sacred objects were bananas. There was a young boy called Hambos, a worthless creature, who wandered about picking up food where ever he could. One day, in the jungle, he fired an arrow at a bird called Abusindau, but missed it. Some way off an old woman called Yinamu was sitting making a net bag. The arrow struck the bag [or the back of her ceremonial house, in the Honggwa:m-ma version]. She picked it up and hid it. Yinamu was Hambos's grandmother. Hambos went about searching for his arrow, and at dusk came up to Yinamu's house. He asked her if she had seen it, but she lied and said she had not. She said to Hambos. "If you stay here, I have many things to show you. If you want to go back, you do not know the road; who will show you the road; who will help you find it?" So Hambos stayed and his family forgot about him.

Hambos grew into a fine young man. Yinamu at first forbade him to enter Woganimburr, her ceremonial house, but in due course she showed him how to plant yams, and the accompanying ritual. When the yams were ripe she taught him in turn the rituals of yam harvesting: Yina-ma, Mindja-ma and Nogwi.

Hambos then built two ceremonial houses of his own Abgiakwund and Asasaukwund. From these he distributed the rituals sending one each of the sacred objects to the Nukuma groups, one for Yina-ma going to the Wanyi and that for Mindja-ma to Amaki [a sub clan of the Malaba]. The Nukuma in turn gave them to the Kwoma.

At first all the sacred objects were of pottery and these were copied in wood during the next generation...

The terms Yina, Mindja and Nogwi each apply to several things: The ritual as a whole, The sacred objects displayed, and the social divisions involved.



Photos: Left to right:

Clay Yina – photo from page 216 - May & Tuckson's *The Traditional Pottery of Papua New Guinea*

Wooden Yina – photographed at Amaki 1972

Mindja – photographed at Amaki 1972

Two Nogwi figures photographed at Amaki 1972

The presence of men holding the sacred objects provides an indication of the relevant sizes of the sacred objects. Clay Yinas are proportionally smaller – usually about the size of a human head.

At puberty, a boy was nominated by his parents as a member of either the Yina-ma of the Mindja-ma. He went first to ritual of his section and then to the ritual of the other. There was nevertheless a distinct formulation that Yina-ma was junior and Mondja-ma was senior, Participation in Nogwi was open only to a man who had been through both, besides fulfilling other conditions, and was regarded as the culmination of his religious achievements.

The Yam harvest:

The yam harvest takes place towards the end of the European year, at about the beginning of the wet season. Preparations for the rituals began. Sago was washed [i.e. harvested]; pigs were hunted [and their meat] smoked; other food was gathered in as large quantities as possible; leaf tokens were placed on the paths around the village to debar women and children from moving about on them, and the open ends of the ceremonial house were fenced to conceal the proceedings inside. The yams were harvested and stored; but being powerful, even semi-magical, could not be eaten until the men had had performed the rituals.

These were performed in the sequence: Yina-ma; Mindja-ma; Yinamu [at Nagri only]; Nogwi. All followed approximately the same scenario. For each a particular kind of basket was built inside the ceremonial house; this was filled with part of the yam harvest, and decorated with different types of sacred objects. A ceremonial entry of the men to the house took place; the appropriate songs were sung and specified musical instruments were played for part of one day and all of one night.¹¹

In January 1973 the writer attended and photographed a Nogwi ceremony at Waskuk village. The invitation to attend was a special honour, as such invitations were not issued to any other non-Kwoma person. Photos and description of this singing can be found in Sepik 4 Chapter 45.

ooo000ooo

Conclusion. It is difficult to write a concise prehistory of the Kwoma as the story leads in abruptly separate directions. For that reason, there are additional chapters that need to be consulted to gain a better understanding of the subject. The Chapters are:

Chapter 37 The Cassowary Myth of the creation, and,
Chapter 36 Pre-history and demise of the Souli Moganai/Kompong Ngala

End Notes Chapter 35

¹ The history section draws heavily upon Ross Bowden's - A Dictionary of Kwoma – a Papuan Language of North West New Guinea – Pacific Linguistics 1997.

² Bowden R. 1997 page 5

³ Bowden R. 1997 page 5

⁴ Nauwi Sauinambi of Bangwis – in Bragge Sepik Research volume 18 – page 65

⁵ Nauwi Sauinambi of Bangwis – in Bragge Sepik Research volume 18 – page 65

⁶ Karandaman of Malu – in Bragge Sepik Research volume 18 – page 29

⁷ Bragge Sepik Research volume 18 – page 29

⁸ Swagup elders – Bragge Sepik Research Vol 19 page 448

⁹ Bowden R. 1997 page 6

¹⁰ Maimban and Wani of Yerikai. Bragge Sepik Research notes Vol 19 PGES 300-301

¹¹ Newton D. Crocodile and Cassowary. Museum of Primitive Art New York 1971. Pages 83-4

Sepik 1 Chapter 36 The demise of the Souli Moganai – Kompong Ngala

The Kwoma creation myths and associated pre-contact of the Kwoma, are covered in Sepik1 Chapter 35. The Kwoma found themselves under attack by Apkili/Numbahapa people and took sanctuary in the Waskuk Hills. Anthropologist Ross Bowden takes up the story.

The Kwoma migrants found that the Waskuk Hills were already occupied by a distinct language group called Gaya [Laycock called them Ngala and the writer's Sepik archive lists two names for them "Kompong Ngala" – the name by which the Kwoma knew them, and Souli Moganai, the name by which the Manambu of the Sepik river knew them]. The Gaya were divided into at least two sub groups;

- *The **Kopu Gala** occupied the northern part of the Waskuk Hills, and*
- *The **Mokodu Gala** of the southern half of the Waskuk Hills.*

The different Kwoma groups initially settled at the extreme northern end of the Waskuk Hills, and for a time lived in peace with the Gala. But later the Kwoma came into violent conflict with the Gala and over what was probably some decades attacked and burned Gala settlements, driving the Gala people south towards the Sepik. Around the 1860s or 1870s the Kwoma destroyed the last Gala settlement.¹

The Kwoma version of events: *The Kompong Ngala came to live at Mial and the Kwoma moved from Sangwiamba to Wandambangwi, where the Urumbanj live now [1970]. The Kompong Ngala leader Olu was born at Mial. He became a fight leader and was feared by mountain and river people alike. He was our brother, but he did wrong and became his brothers' enemy.*

The ancestor of Councillor Maurimes and the ex-luluai of Tongwinjamb were loading their tambaran... [empowering their sacred spirit or god]. Olu's line heard this because before Saseriman did not have this tambaran and Olu's line said they had stolen it from him... Olu came and killed [the accused thief], who was called Kwonji, and his wife.

They tied the wife to a post in the haus tambaran and heated a sago stone tool in the fire and pushed it into her vagina and left her to die. They called out for the children to come and see their parents. Olu's line caught the child Embiagwau cut his throat

These killings shocked the Kwoma into action. They burned Mial to the ground and killed as many Kompong Ngala as they could. Malu had asked for Kwoma assistance to kill Olu's people and remove them. The fights against Olu had not succeeded because of the stockade around his camp and also Olu's fighting prowess

At times there were periods of peace, with people going and coming from Olu's camp, because, although he was bad, he was still a "brother" – some were afraid to approach Olu, but others were his friends. But even his friends, as they walked through Olu's land they sized up the sago stands and gardening land and thought to themselves. 'When he dies I'll have all of this.

While Olu lived on Mt Ambunti the Yambon people could not paddle canoes close to the shore at Ambunti because Olu's [people] would kill them with arrows, then retrieve the bodies and eat them. Olu owned Ambunti. His boundaries were the Sepik River, the [downstream] lake and upstream to Melawei. His village was on top of Ambunti mountain within a stockade made of timber, that was as strong as a gaol

On one occasion, One of Olu's men had been down in the sago, guarding some pigs. When he came up he heard the small noises made by some Malu men trying to untie the cane. He gave the warning to Olu's people. They crept out and saw a hand and arm inside the stockade, as a man groped for the cane to open the stockade. Olu's men grasped the arm and hung onto it. The Malus

pulled from the other side, until the man was ready to break. Both sides called out loudly in their tug of war. Then one of Olu's men hacked through the arm with a bamboo knife until it was severed. They carried it victoriously, singing as they went back to their house to cook the arm as food. The Malu ran off in defeat.

Malu sought revenge...The Malu and Yambon big men decided to gather payment to buy the services of the Kwoma to fight Olu. Fish, Tobacco and native money made up the payment.

Malu had another problem...Malu feared the Kwoma and they feared attack before they had a chance to state their case. So, they asked Avatip to approach the Wambun haus tambaran [at the Kwoma village of Wandembangwi, which was close to present day (1970) Waskuk village]. Everyone received some payment.

We [Kwoma] sent a target to Malu and arranged for them to approach Olu's camp from the river, while the Kwoma came in from behind on the hill. The arrangement was for a joint coordinated attack at dawn. Malu did not go but waited in their place to see the smoke appear as Olu's camp was burned.

Aragatump [the Kwoma leader] took his men to take up positions. He had left his dog [called Igeiweia] further down the ridge, but the dog followed and went to Olu's house, which he knew from peace time when his master visited Olu. Olu's people recognised the dog and suspected enemies were approaching. Igeiweia was speared and yelped and wined as it died. Aragatump heard his dog cry...He was smitten with sorrow and said "That dog was the same as a first son to me...He told his younger brother Margopweisa, who tried to console him, saying "Do not worry, I am here"

[With that] Margopweisa left his spear and pig skin shield and ran to the stockade and climbed its wall and once inside he opened the stockade gate for the Kwoma to enter. Then he took his spear and killed the man who had killed Aragatump's dog.

Thus, the fighting took place at night rather than the scheduled time of dawn. Olu's men were hesitant in the fight in case they killed men of their own by accident. The Kwoma took full advantage of this and killed without mercy...The fight ended. Few escaped to the lake near Yelogu.

The remnants of Olu's line, who fled to Yelogu were tricked by Avatip to go to a market at Avatip. The Avatips finished them. One small boy escaped the Avatip spears. He knew my ancestor Suksak...who welcomed him...He grew up and married and had two children.

Another version of the massacre by Avatip. *The massacre took place on the western edge of the Kwasanaba Lagoon, a large lake on the eastern side of the Waskuk hills and immediately to the, close to where the Gala north of the Sepik River close to where the Gala group in question had a settlement. For many generations Avatip people had traded with...Kwoma at this site and before then, the Gala. Using a ruse common adopted among warring groups in the Ambunti area, Avatip envoys treacherously invited the Gala to meet them at the market site on a particular day to trade. When they arrived the Avatip men who were waiting in their canoes, seized and drowned the leading Gala warrior and then set about slaughtering all the other Gala they could catch.*

[Meanwhile on the day of the attack on the stockade] Malu saw the smoke they were waiting for which signalled Olu's defeat. They finished off the wounded who escaped in the direction of the River. Before the Malus arrived the Kwoma had divided up the land which had belonged to Olu, leaving none for Malu as they had not participated in the fighting.²

ooo000ooo

As for Olu himself, he apparently died before the attack on his stockade. Nauwi's narrative continues: Olu went down to a sago stand and came upon a group of Kwoma warriors. He had his

bow and arrows and made to kill them. They looked around and saw him drawing his bow; it was the tension vibration of the bow string that attracted their attention. They jumped up and surrounded him. Bugiau shot him in the leg and he made off into the sago, but they caught him. They were careful not to kill Olu. They tied him up and carried him in triumph. Olu's people heard the singing and assumed Olu was dead.

Olu's wife Lat went into her house and took her decorations, her bilum and her most prized possessions, and she told the people. "You wait, I will go and see Olu. He has shot a pig and is sending a garamut message for me to come and carry it home." She was demented by the loss of her husband.

She went down and saw the Kwoma singing She covered her face with her bilum and approached them. They shot her and threw her body into the swamp...The Kwoma carried Olu, and tied him to a post in the Wambun haus tambaran. The people from as far as the Numau Ablatak [Nukuma area] gathered, bringing food and fire wood with them. It was a big occasion because Olu was a great mam. They intended to eat all of his flesh and blood, so they could obtain his strength and fighting prowess. They cut him up and cooked him in clay saucepans and ate him. They burned his bones to ash and put the ash carefully into bamboo containers. This was kept to be used by mothers with small children. A small amount of ash placed on a baby's tongue would give it Olu's strength.³

After the Kwoma had eaten Olu they went up and attacked the stockade. The haus tambaran in the stockade was called Mankap. We have called your Court House Mankap. [see Chapter 12 for photos of this court house which was built in the form of a Kwoma haus tambaran.]

Writer's note 1. I visited Ambunti and Bangwis in 1989 and met with my friend Nauwi, the informant for story. He had two things of interest to show me. His respected elder brother Walasaka had died recently and Nauwi had used his brother's skull to remodel the face with clay, shells and Walasaka's own hair. Also, he had carved a life size body and fitted the skull to it. Photo below.



Note the beautiful human bone dagger in Walasaka's right shoulder.

Writer's note 2. I was shown a carver's mallet [Photo previous page] by Nauwi at his house in the Kwoma Squatter settlement at the top end of Ambunti airstrip. Nauwi did not have a personal name for the mallet, which he said was collected after Kwoma warriors annihilated the Souli Moganai settlement on top of Mt Ambunti. The mallet was important as evidence that his people and not Malu won the land from Kompong Ngala - Souli Moganai as described above. Photo of the mallet below. By deduction I concluded that the mallet had been in the possession of Walasaka, and passed to Nauwi upon the death of his elder brother. Years later after Nauwi's own death, I asked Nauwi's son about the whereabouts of the mallet. He said he had no idea, and I gained the impression he knew nothing about the mallet. It seemed likely that such an important object would have passed to the next most senior of the Bangwis elders. It might be expected to re-appear when, and if, the Malu/Kwoma dispute over ownership of the former Kompong-Ngala/Souli-Moganai lands comes to court.

Writer's note 3. Historian purists should have problems with the narrative [above] as told by informant Nauwi Sauinambi. How could he possibly know word for word what Aragatump said at least a century earlier? He paints Olu, as a seriously un-nice person [which perhaps he was], the understandable but terrible fate of the Kwoma hero's dog Igeiweia and the prompted heroics of our hero's younger brother Margopweisa - would not be out of place in an Indiana Jones movie.

The narrative has been left in the form it was told, with all emotional elements intact, was because it is an excellent example of how knowledge was passed from generation to generation. Of necessity tribal history was passed on by skilled story tellers. In this case, because I had not heard the story before, I suspect I received the version usually reserved for uninitiated youths.

ooo000ooo

The writer regrets that he did not check the land titles to the Ambunti land purchase documentation in the Ambunti files to see which group actually got to sell the Ambunti land to the Administration.

Anthropologist Ross Bowden has more of the history: *When Kwoma destroyed the Gaya village and routed its inhabitants, they adopted many names of the vanquished group. For instance, the Gaya name for the southern part of the Waskuk Range was **Abudi** [= Ambunti]⁴*

*The Kwoma...drove the Gala who survived out of the [Waskuk] range altogether. Some took refuge to the east where their descendants still live among different Kaunga speaking groups, some went further east, while some crossed the Sepik, and went south into the foothills of the Hunstein mountains **and then worked their way up river where they established Swagup** on the south side of the Sepik river. [The story of Swagup's origins is the subject of Chapter 29]*

ooo000ooo

Sorting out the confusion between the names Kala¹, Ngala, Ngala, and Gala.

The bolded and underlined words above is the first time I had seen a reference that the "Ngala" people of Swagup actually originated from the "Kompong Ngala" of Mt Ambunti, although it seemed obvious that there had to be a link. Given that the Swagup "Ngala" are classified as a member Ndu language family, I emailed Alexandra Aikenvald for clarification of the names Gala, Kala, Ngala and Simon Harrison's Manambu clan name Nggala'angkw. Alexandra replied:

I made the connection between the Gala of the Gala wars and the Gala of Swagup based on the information from Manambu elders – especially Piur and others who took us to Swagup and also from the Swagup people themselves... The name Ngala was rejected by the Swagup people as incorrect and bearing an imprint of Manambu accent [not welcome, because there is no love lost

¹ "Kala" appears on Behrman's 1912/3 map where Swagup is located

between the two groups]...I do not think we know of any link between Avatip and Swagup from earlier times. I have tried asking but no one seems to know.⁵

Chapter 20 includes earlier historic background on two sub groups of the Gala and the progressive occupation of the Waskuk Hills by four Kwoma tribes, thus a map that applies the writer's best approximations of where these events took place.

End Notes Chapter 36

¹ Bowden R. 1997 page 6

² Nauwi Sauinambi of Bangwis – Bragge Sepik Research vol 18 pages 59-60

³ Nauwi Sauinambi of Bangwis – Bragge Sepik Research vol 18 pages 61

⁴ Bowden R. 1997 page 6

⁵ Email from Alexandra Aikenvald 15/7/2018 – in Bragge Reference volume 30 – item 906

Informant Karandaman of Malu tells how, he in company with Mr. Woodman went, to the area. Harold Woodman was ADO Ambunti pre-World War 2. Karandaman's story:

I went with Mr Woodman to Manja, Wosera and Siringwanda and the people there told me that their ancestors left there and went down to the Sepik...They were pleased to see me and adopted me as a relative and they brought me food. Mr Woodman asked "What is this?" and I explained that my ancestors had come from here. [Our hosts] said,

The broken ground around here is where the cassowary slept – your sister, the cassowary. Now, you two can sit and eat. Their story went like this:

There were plenty of mangoes and the cassowary had no food, so she went to eat the mangoes, but there was a man's head among the mangoes and when she came closer eating the mangoes the head lunged and latched onto the cassowary's wattle with its teeth. No matter how the cassowary tried, she could not dislodge the head. She struck the head against the buttress root of a tree many times... Then she hit it against the buttress root of a kwila tree and the head broke spilling its contents. The cassowary ate the scattered contents of the head.

The cassowary soon realised that she had become pregnant from eating the contents of the head. In the third month of the pregnancy she had one egg and a human man child. The egg soon hatched and a cassowary chick emerged. The mother cassowary said to the chick "This is your brother." The problem was that the cassowary could not find any food to feed the man child. So, they went to the garden of a man and pulled down ripe bananas and fed them to the boy, who said "Oh, Mama, these are sweet, we must come here more often."

The garden owner came and saw the tracks of a grown cassowary, a cassowary chick and a human man-child. He wondered about this. He decided to try them with a trap. He dug a hole beneath some ripe bananas, and covered the hole with banana leaves. The boy came back again, he knew where the ripe bananas were. His mother and brother were elsewhere. He tried to get bananas to eat, but he fell into the pit trap. When the mother realised her son was missing she told the cassowary chick "Go find your brother." They went and found the boy in the pit. The mother lowered her leg into the pit, but the boy could not reach. The mother cried and thought about how to get the boy out.

The garden owner was sitting his house when he heard the cassowary. "That sounds like it is coming from my garden" he told his wife. "You stay, I will go and have a look" ...he walked into the garden and saw the cassowary. He tried to spear it, but she hid among the bananas. He went and looked into the hole "Hey! You come here" he said to the child. He reached down, then he put a ladder down into the hole. The man was wondering if he might keep the child. Meanwhile the cassowary was watching from the garden. As the man got the boy out of the hole, he said "You are mine now you can take these bananas and eat them.

the boy said "I cannot take them and eat them because my brother also had no food." But then the cassowary spoke to her son "No forget that. You can go and when you are older you will realise that that you are not truly of the village people, but one who originated in the bush. When people abuse you come back to the bush to the Anganawan"¹ She went on top say "You just climb a tree and call out. I will be sleeping in the kunai nearby – Near Sirangwanda, near Wosera."

The man took the boy back to his camp and called his wife "Bring an old skirt down.". When she did he took the skirt and wrapped it around the child. The woman was

amazed. *'Where did you get that boy from? She asked and her husband replied. You must make him a new skirt so he can hide his private parts', so she made a new skirt for him.*

Two girls came down to play with him. "You two take off your skirts." He said, but they declined. "No, our fathers do not like us to do that" they explained. So, it was like that. Even when they washed, they left their skirts on. When their skirts became old and worn, their mothers made them new skirts and put them on over the old. They played together as children until the girls developed breasts; first small and pointed, then hanging down a little.

The boy's father said "Take this torch and give it to the girls when you go to wash. They will wait for you. When you come up from washing, they will go down. They will not cover themselves quickly. Count a little only, then break the torch into two and give half to the girls.

The two girls were swimming in the water, they came up as he was going down and went back down to the water with him. The father whistled "quickly now" ...At the river bank the boy hit each of them with the torch and broke their skirts and said "You are my wives now."

But all the men in the village said "Ahhh!, and we thought he was a woman... True! Those two big girls, is he going to have both?" The gardener then spoke. I am the big man of this place, who knows how to fight – just me. And who is the best story teller? Me! I have no children, and that is OK. He can have them both. Now! Who disputes that?" He asked, No one did.

One of the wives had a child and the other was pregnant. They went to cut sago. Times had changed – both parents were dead and the people of the village had become abusive as the mother cassowary had predicted". You came up without cause in the bush" they accused "This is not your bush, this is not your sago, and this is not your land. If you fell here, would you bleed? No, you are not real."

They abused him like that and beat their garamuts and the youth became very ashamed. He told his wives "Over the coming days we will kill all three of our pigs and make a feast for your brothers. And then I will follow my mother's advice."

They made their feast and then they went to the bush, telling everyone "We are going to our bush house now and later we will return." They lied like that and they went to find a special tree in the bush. The youth climbed the tree and he called out "Minda, Minda, Minda Aubisamba" he called out like this many times.

A singsing was being held at Sirangwanda and the boy's brother was asleep by the fire and he heard something. He told his mother "I heard some talk", at which she told her son to come outside and to the people of Sirangwanda she said. "Our friends, we leave you to your singsing. I have to go somewhere. But I will come back quickly."

"Is that so?" they replied, and she said "My child is sick and I ant to go and give him some food... Meanwhile the man-son was still in the tree calling out. As the cassowaries went down the kunai [grassland] towards him, the cassowary mother made cassowary noises and the man child heard them and called down to his wives "You two! She heard me and she is coming," "Will she eat us?" The frightened wives asked

"No, she will not" he said – He called out some more and the cassowaries came closer still. He climbed down from the tree and said to his wives "you two hide". The two cassowaries arrived and the three had a reunion. The Cassowary fell down and hugged the

man saying “before you were not like this...not like this...Here is your brother”. “Oh brother, Oh brother.” The cassowaries stood and fell down again in the joy of the reunion. Their mother looked around. “All this kaukau¹ ...who carried it here? There are two bilums.”

“I have two wives” he said “They are frightened and they are hiding.” “Come out, come out, I want to see you.” She coaxed them out and had them sit on her back as she walked around in swoons of joy, saying. “Ah, my son has two wives, one had a child and the other is pregnant ah ah.”

They sat down then and made small houses to sleep in. They lived together there. They cut sago and washed it and lived in the bush together. The man-child felled a sago palm and fence it off and waited and when a wild pig came he speared it. He brought it back and offered half to his mother and brother. “Did you spear it?” they asked “No we cannot eat it, we just eat fruit.” So, the man-child and his wives ate the pig.

Then he speared another pig. Later again when he was waiting in ambush for game he saw a cassowary and would have speared it, but he stopped himself “No” he said to himself, “It is mother” He returned to camp without any game. “Mother” he said, I have come back with no game. The only thing I saw near the sago was you”

“No, it was not me. You must spear that cassowary so your wives and child are not hungry.” So, he went back to the sago to hunt. The cassowary came again and he speared it. The cassowary was not dead. It was his mother and she told him “It is good that you have speared me. When I die, cut my meat up and feed it to your wives and child. Your brother can go back to all my friends.”

“Oh mother, why did I spear you” the man-child lamented.

“No, it is alright” She reassured him “Now this wing and this wing” she explained, “you must tie up in a limbum² parcel” And so it was that she instructed the man-child to bundle up all her feathers into five parcels and that the parcels must be stored in the place where they were camped. Then finally she explained “Now, you are not living in a good place as you are not eating good food, so I have done this thing in my own fashion.”

The man-child now went back to his camp and told his wives – “You two, I have speared mother.” And the wives cried “Why did you do that, you mad man.”. “Come” he said. “Let us go down and cut her up”, So they cut the cassowary meat, cooked it and ate it.

To his brother, the man-child said “I have speared mother. Will you stay with me?’ The Cassowary brother replied. “Oh yes I will stay with you.” But he stayed one night only, and then he ran away back to Wosera and Siringwanda.

The man and his two wives went down to wash sago and then they brought back the sago they had produced. Two days later they went to wash sago again. One of the parcels of feathers fell down from where it was stored, and then another fell down as well. There was singing and a garamut formed and also a haus tambaran. Then the other three parcels fell down and the two wives were very frightened, but the man was not frightened. [He knew} this was the meaning of what his mother had told him before she died. When the fifth parcel fell, they went back to the main camp. But the wives said “If we go they will fight us.” The man said “No” and they went close. He went on alone and was grabbed by the people there.

¹ Kaukau = sweet potato

² Limbum – Palm bark

This is the story of the [origin of] the Tongwinjamb people. The five parcels fell [and the feathers] became the Tongwinjamb people. The haus tambaran was also formed in Tongwinjamb.²

ooo000ooo

Writer's Note 1. At the time Karandaman met these story tellers, they were in the early stages of contact with the outside world, during the Yamil gold rush, miners passed through that area, and found the people were still at war with each other.³

Against that context, although distant, the Waskuk Hills are visible from the Wosera area, as would have been smoke, indicating a human presence there. The cassowary myth may have been a convenient cosmic explanation as to who those distant people were.

Writer's Note 2. The cassowary myth is now part of Kwoma mythology, although they recognise Wanmai rather than cassowary feathers as their origin. In the 1980s I invited Nauwi Sauinambi and two other Bangwis carvers to Australia to carve posts for my tribal art gallery at Koetong. Nauwi carved the head with the habit of latching onto genitals.



The post from the cassowary myth.

Nauwi Sauinambi, informant, carver and friend

The post's modesty restored by the organised clutter of the gallery

ooo000ooo

Mentions of the Cassowary myth from other places.

#1. Kwonji of Burui. Kwonji told an abbreviated version of Karandaman's version of this myth, but added personal names for the cassowary mother and her two children:

- Cassowary mother - Kwoigwetagwa
- Man-child - Woigwetagwa
- Cassowary child - Sirimbit.⁴

#2. Yomoi of Bitara [April river] – a variation on Karandaman’s story *A man went to find wild fowl eggs, but when he got to the nest, he found that his cousin had been there before him and taken the eggs. He took a man’s head and buried it in the nest and went and told his cousin that he thought there were a lot of eggs still in the nest. The cousin went back to the wild fowl nest and started digging. The head then opened its mouth and fastened itself onto the man’s testicles. He tried to dislodge it but failed...He hit it on a mango tree until the head dislodged and fell to the ground, where it remained until a cassowary came along and broke the head open and ate the brains. Later the cassowary laid two eggs from which hatched a female cassowary and a male human child.⁵*

After the boy fell into the pit trap in the banana garden, he and his cassowary mother lived with the gardener until the gardener killed the cassowary. The feathers were collected and became people.

#3. Kiaui/Tibana of Begapuke [middle April River] – a variation on Yomoi’s version. *In seeking to dislodge the head from his testicles, the scrotum and testicles broke off and thus the head was dislodged.⁶*

#4. Councillor of Yauenian prompted by assembled elders. *There was a male and female cassowary. They mated and the female gave birth to a human child. The child cried for food, so the cassowary took the child to the garden of an old man and old woman, where he took ripe bananas to eat...the old man dug a pit under a bunch of ripe bananas...the old woman...looked into the pit and saw the child...they took the child out of the hole and washed him. The cassowary was at the edge of the garden saying “Kill the child and see what happens, I will finish you off.” ...They looked after the child until he was fully grown...He would go to the bush and meet his cassowary mother and she would go down into the water and fish would attach themselves to her feathers – and she would come back up into the ground and shake the fish off. Her son would put them into his canoe and paddle home...he always had plenty of fish, but the other people had few. Next day they would go where he went yesterday and get nothing...*

Then there was an accident when the man and the boy went to break up sago seeking grubs. The boy cut the man’s hand by accident with the stone axe. The man in his great pain said “You are not the child of a man. You are the child of a cassowary and you have hurt my hand.” The boy was worried [offended] by this. He took his bow and arrows and went to the bush and met a line of cassowaries. Where is my mother?” he asked. “Your mother is at the far end of this channel” they said...the boy met his mother and stayed with her for years. That is the end of the story.⁷

#5. Biko of Swagup’ Sago clan. *My ancestors were created on Mt Ambunti, which we call Baba. We were not created as men, we came from Cassowary feathers, and the people disbursed...⁸*

#6. Nesio of Biaga April River. *All the people ...were hunting crocodiles in a swamp. There was a head of a man in the grass and they chased it, thinking it was a crocodile. They threw spears, but they broke and did not stop the head. There was a man with very large testicles. The head attached itself to the man’s scrotum...There was a large mango tree and the head told the man “Go up the mango tree, I want to eat mangoes.” The head let go of the scrotum and the man went up the mango tree...a cassowary came to eat the mangoes and the head attached itself to the Cassowary’s wattle...*

The story then continues as above until the wrapping of the feathers in parcels... *Wulruwiyangwet [the boy child] ...left the three limbum containers [of cassowary feathers] in his house while he went to seek food... He then held a death feast/ceremony for his mother. Then he heard different languages being spoken from within the limbum containers. From one limbum came the languages of Sio, Bitara and Kagiru and of the April River headwaters. The other limbum has out language in it – from Swagup and up river.*

Also, in the limbums with the people that the feathers had turned into were canoes, paddles and spears for the river people, and bows arrows and bilums for the bush people; all the things of our culture were created with the people. The people disbursed, the canoe people put their spears in the canoes and paddled away. The bush people picked up their bows and arrows and walked away.

The mother's instruction was for the tail feathers was to make a large limbum package and to put it into the water...He made the limbum and put it into the water, and it got up – an engine started and it sailed away like a boat...⁹

Writer's interpretation. Clearly when your religion tells you how mankind and his material objects were created – then, with the passing of time, when a new group of men associated with new material goods comes into your world, the creation myth is necessarily adjusted to accommodate the new comers as their creation must have been the same as everyone else's.

End notes Chapter 37

¹ The Anganawan is presumably a region – unknown to the writer.

² Karandaman of Malu Sepik Research Vol 18 pages 29 – 31

³ Kwonji of Burui – Bragge Research Volume 18 page 187

⁴ Kwonji of Burui – Bragge Research Volume 18 page 183

⁵ Yimoi of Bitara – Bragge Research Volume 19 pages 398-399

⁶ Luluai and elders of Begapuke – Bragge Research Volume 19 Page 405

⁷ Councillor and elders of Yauenian – Bragge Research volume 19 page 488

⁸ Biko of Swagup – Bragge Research Volume 19 page 447

⁹ Nesio of Biaga – Bragge Research Volume 19 page 461

Sepik 1 Attachment 2-3

Might the Yambon Gate have influenced the order of Sepik Riverine Settlement?

Introducing the geographic feature known as the Yambon Gate.

Some 260 miles [420km] upstream of its entry into the Bismarck Sea [or about 15 river kilometres upstream from Ambunti], the Sepik River narrows from its normal width of several hundred metres to less than 100 metres at a point where it cuts through a ridge line of Ambunti metamorphic rock.¹ Aerial photography suggest the actual Gate, on either side of the river, may be a dyke aligned NNE-SSW, comprised of material harder than the surrounding country rock.

When in flood, the Sepik pours through the Yambon Gate with extreme turbulence and can be seen in its constricted flow to drop an estimated one metre¹ as the churning water gushes out into its far wider course below the Gate. An Australian Naval Chart on file at Ambunti shows the depth of the Sepik at or immediately below the Gate as 200 feet [about 60m].

The Sepik people refer to the Yambon Gate as *Bulkstore bilong mipela* ['our large warehouse'] due to the quantity of personal possessions lost from capsized canoes. A Government safe from May River Patrol Post also went to the river bottom there in about 1960.²

An apparent anomaly in Sepik valley siltation, and related human settlement patterns.

As we have seen earlier in this volume, the siltation of the Sepik valley steadily pushed the shoreline of the Sepik inland sea eastwards until, by about 2000 years ago, the sea shore was located close to the current junction of the Yuat and Sepik Rivers. Chapter 26 then explains that around that time, the Iatmul language group broke away from the Sawos to settle the newly emerged Middle Sepik river banks.

Chapters 39-46, on the other hand, indicate that settlement of the river banks of the Upper Sepik occurred in far more recent times, events which are clearly remembered by tribal elders. For the purposes of this text, the reader should bear in mind that the Upper Sepik is defined as being upstream of Ambunti, which itself is only a short distance below the Gate.

An obvious question then emerges: Why were Middle Sepik river banks settled before those of the Upper Sepik which, logic suggests, must have emerged from the Sepik inland sea thousands of years earlier? In quest of an answer to this question, my attention was drawn to the Yambon Gate [adjacent to the village of Yambon]. Might the current constriction of the Sepik's flow imposed by the Gate, have been greater in the past? Might the stony ridges where the Gate is located have even dammed the Sepik, leaving a giant lake upstream of the constriction?

If this were so, it might explain why the Upper Sepik river banks became habitable after those of the Middle Sepik. Whilst geology and related sciences not my field, three things suggest there are major difference in the Sepik environments upstream and downstream of the Yambon Gate.

#1. Whereas the Sepik valley is one huge wetland system, the area above the Gate is lower lying with more surface water than the area below it. This was witnessed by the 1942 Thurston expedition, which had difficulty finding dry river bank land upon which to camp, upstream of the Gate.³

#2. Dow et al's 1972 aerial photograph⁴ showing the nature of Sepik siltation [Figure 1 overleaf] depicts an area downstream of the April/Sepik junction and upstream of the Yambon Gate. Arguably

¹ The writer's personal guesstimate from personal non-scientific observation

the slowing of the flow rate caused by the Gate constriction facilitated this greater than normal deposition of sediment.

#3. Dow et al's 1972 map⁵ [Fig 2 below] shows the Sepik course below the Yambon Gate to have wide sweeping bends, while above the Gate, the bends are tighter and closer together. These contrasts are even more accentuated in aerial photographs. This writer suggests the upstream configuration was possibly caused by the Sepik being unable to cut a course through its own sediments and wash them away, because of Yambon Gate constriction downstream.

Research into the actual geology of the Gate and surrounding areas, and a detailed study of the geomorphology of the Upper Sepik basin, may shed more light on this hypothesis. Even if the Gate and the possible impoundment of water above it did not stop human migration upstream, the dynamics of early settlement in the Upper Sepik basin may well have been quite different to that assumed by current studies.



Mosaic of vertical air-photographs showing the Sepik River immediately downstream of the confluence with the Apuli River (bottom left hand corner).

Figure 1 - above

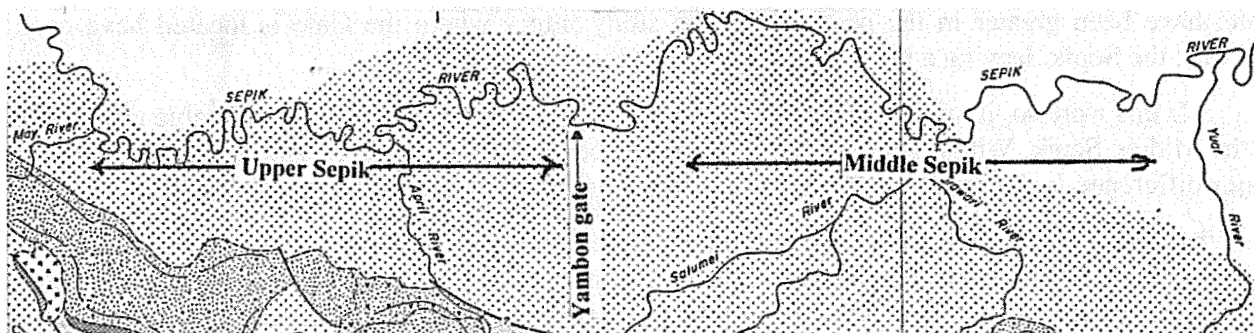


Figure 2 - above

ooo000ooo

End Notes Attachment 2

- ¹ D.B.Dow, J.A.J.Smit, J.H.C.Bain and J.Ryburn – Geology of the South Sepik Region New Guinea. Bureau of Mineral Resources Bulletin 133/Bulletin PNG 4 – Government Printing Service Canberra 1972. P 16 and 23
- ² Personal communication from the then OIC of May River who lost the safe.
- ³ L.W.Bragge – Sepik 3 The Sepik at War. Attachment D – The Thurston Expedition Page 2
- ⁴ Dow et al 1972 P1
- ⁵ Dow et al 1972 P 74

ooo000ooo

Sepik 1 Chapter 38 The origins and early history of Yessan Maio and Naiuri.

Writer's note; My primary informant at Yessan/Mai was Kabasuma/Kimandu who spoke in the Maio language through an interpreter. When interviewed in 1970, Kabasuma was 60 years old. He traced his genealogy back to his great grandfather Wombukura:

Wombukura – Kwangi – Kaimandu – Kabasuma – Bagia – Bagia's 3 children

Kabasuma's explained: *Yessan Maio are one group. Yessan/Maio originated with other with other groups from the hole in the ground at Wanmai. Yessan/Maio's primary enemy after the creation was Wingaiup¹. Yessan/Maio found the Kwoma in the bush and decided against killing them. Instead they made them our friends and allies in warfare; showing them the arts of fighting, killing and cannibalism.*

Yessan/Maio were cannibals for the sake of eating meat, as opposed to ceremonial cannibalism for the purpose of gaining strength. The edible parts of the body were the whole body except the head. We were not headhunters. All that was done as far as the head of a person killed by Yessan/Maio was to force spear points in through the eyes, nose and ears was to ensure that the person was in fact dead. People have been known to revive after [supposedly] being killed. The Yessan/Maio people ensured that this did not happen. A favourite recipe for human meat was a soup made by boiling the meat with yams and taro.

[After coming out of the hole at Wanmai] Kulgama was one of our first villages. We left there and fought our way to Tongwinjamb. We forced the Wingaiup from that village site. We did not burn their houses, but occupied them and ate their stored sago and other food. This was where Tongwinjamb is now.

Yessan and Maio are now two separate villages. We broke in the past for no other reason than our population became too large so we became two villages¹.

Another version of the creation myth.

We started at Watamei [Watamei is the Yessan/Maio word for Wanmai]. The two men who came from the hole were Rakir and Yinagir. They came to Ogunda and Siangambir. Our ancestors stayed there and fought with the Yaungets [otherwise known as Murua] The Muruas had enough, but they allied with Warasai and they fought on.

The Yessans moved to Kugunuwanmei. The Maios had gone on ahead and were living at Wilian, and the Yessans followed them. Both communities then moved to Mongwanbesawongawi. Then the Maios camped at Mino and Yessan went to where Beglam is now. Then they both moved to Melawei.²

Writer's note. The apparent contradiction between Kabasuma's and Yingir's statements, needs to be understood against the realities of many extended family groups finding their ways in quest of food through a hostile environment and over an extended period of time. The consolidation of many sub-groups into what the Administration knows as "Yessan/Maio" is a combination of many sub-group histories. It is an understandable mistake for the reader to think of Yessan/Maio as a singular entity. The people's focus and oral histories relate to extended families and clan groupings within 'Yessan/Maio.

¹ Wingaiup is not a name known to the writer. The Waskuk version of the creation indicates their first enemy was Apkili Numbahapa. It seems possible Wingaiup may have been the Yessan/Maio name for the Apkili Numbahapa.

When we met the Kwoma people after leaving Wanmai, they were the easy meat [literally] of Ambuken, Nungwaia and other places. We [Maio] decided to leave Tongwinjamb and Mino and come to Baswei and Yessan lived where Mino is now. It was at this time that we first met the Kwoma in the bush. We looked after the Kwoma as if they were the children of Yessan/Maio. While the Kwoma learned to fight, they also served as the labourers of Yessan/Maio. Weapons and pig skin shields were given by Yessan/Maio to the Kwoma.

The Kwoma with Yessan/Maio drove the Souli/Moganai from Mt Ambunti. There had been many of them living in the area from Melawei to Mt Ambunti. We killed many of them, but left some of them with whom we made friends and purchased land above [upstream of] Melawei. We set up a village there and lived there.

Kogundum of Yambon sent ginger to Malu inviting them to come and kill us. He told them the Souli/Moganai most of our men and only our fight-leader and a hand-full of men were left with the women and children. He suggested a fight against us would yield a huge reward in captured women, if Malu was so inclined.

The Malus came. Someone who had climbed a betelnut saw the Malus and called a warning to the Yessan/Maio leader. The Yessan/Maio laid an ambush and killed the Malus. [The informant's great-grand-father Wombukura and grand-father Kwangi were involved in this fight. Two of the Yessan/Maio leaders were Yautus and Sambirip].

Sambirip – Watnuk {Kwaru
Mangwio – Asinimbir – Kamnabor – 3 children in 1970

A small Malu boy who had been taken on this raid to be blooded, escaped. He took a tree branch with leaves on it back to the Malu women on the Melawei lagoon, each leaf marked a Malu man killed. The Malu women cried their way as they paddled back downstream to Malu.

We finally left that place which was called Mai'ip because we kept catching scabies there; the only way to escape the spirit that caused the scabies was to go elsewhere. We left there and went back to Mino and Saseriman.

Before, we had purchased this land from Souli/Moganai, but then after the fighting started with Souli Moganai, we saw smoke coming from Saseriman. We went with the Waskuk Kwomas to see who was trespassing on our land. We found Kaiwagalapai, the Saseriman ancestor had lit a fire and made camp there. We [our ancestors] decided not to kill him because if his fire went out, our ancestors would not have a place to get a fire stick.

Kaiwagalapai had killed a bandicoot and he cooked it for the Yessan, Maio and Waskuk people. There was not enough meat so he killed and cooked his dog as well for our ancestors. They were well pleased and left him and his wife alone there and give them permission to stay there, but on condition "We will not give you land until we beat the Souli Moganai" [The war against Souli Moganai was obviously still under way at that time]³

ooo000ooo

When the Germans came, we were living at Yessan/Maio but we were there only to assert our land claim. Our main camps were still at Baswei [Maio] and Mino [Yessan].⁴

Ooo000ooo

The Naiuri, one of the seven “brothers” to emerge from the hole Wanmai.

*We came from a hole in the ground called Wanmai. At that time there were seven people, Kompongala, Waskuk [Kwoma], Numau-Ablatak, Apkilinumbahapa, Yessan-Maio, Avatip, and Naiuri*⁵.

*Naiuri, now live [1970] with Yessan and Yaunget. Their land is on the north bank of the Sepik in between the two places [presumably Yessan and Yaunget – also known as Murua]. Kamburunai was the Naiuri ancestor.*⁶

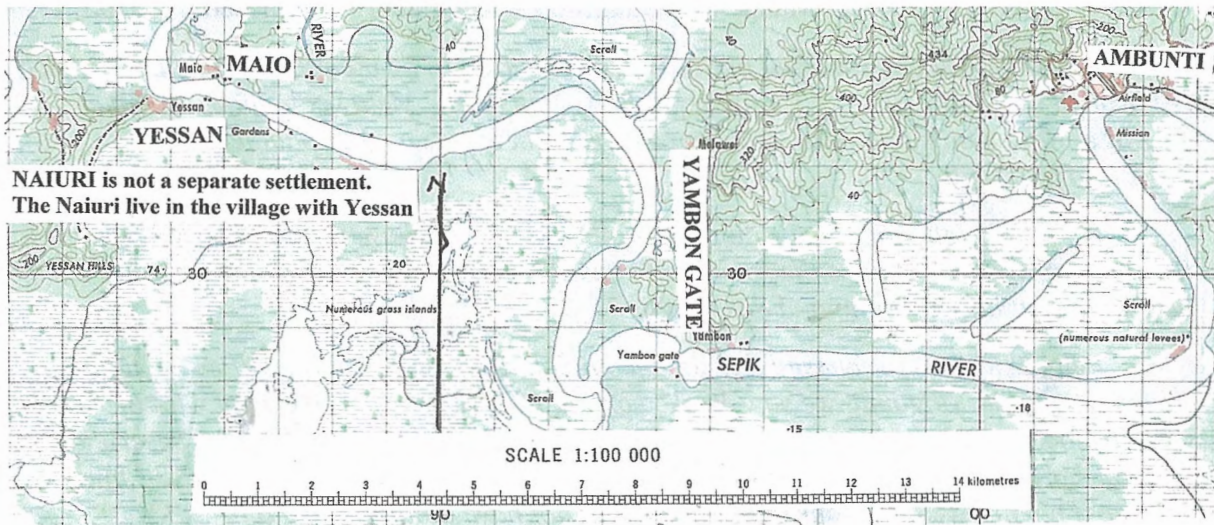
A slightly different opinion.

*Yessan is the Naiuri place of origin. They are of the one language – Yessan, Maio and Naiuri.*⁷ *Bragge Note – Lands Titles Commission research indicates Yessan arrived five generations ago [i.e. five generations before 1970] and joined Naiuri at the present Yessan village site.*⁸

The interviews with elders provided no further illumination of the Naiuri. At Swagup a direct question about the Naiuri brought the following response.

*No. Naiuri is only that part of Yessan that lives by the lake. They are not and were never, to our knowledge, a separate village.*⁹

Writer’s note on the Naiuri. Clearly the Naiuri are a long existing people with a low profile. In my research with Sepik elders, regrettably, it did not occur to me to seek out Naiuri elders to ask of their past history, before memories of it are lost with the progressive passing of the elders.



End Notes Chapter 38

¹ Kabasuma/Kaimandu of Maio. Bragge Sepik Research notes Vol 18 page 53

² Yingir of Yessan/Maio. (a comment on Kabasuma’s statement. Bragge Sepik Research notes Vol 18 page 56

³ Kabasuma/Kaimandu of Maio. Bragge Sepik Research notes Vol 18 page 53

⁴ Kabasuma/Kaimandu of Maio. Bragge Sepik Research notes Vol 18 page 54

⁵ Nauwi/Sauinambi of Bangwis. Bragge Sepik Research notes Vol 18 page 59

⁶ Nauwi Sauinambi of Bangwis – in Bragge Sepik Research volume 18 – page 65

⁷ Karandaman of Malu – in Bragge Sepik Research volume 18 – page 29

⁸ Bragge Sepik Research volume 18 – page 29

⁹ Swagup elders – Bragge Sepik Research Vol 19 page 448

Sepik 1 Chapter 39 The Rise of Swagup and Demise of Bodif.

Chapter Executive Summary.

This chapter tells of the Gala [Ngala] people of Swagup and the stories of origins of Ngala clans, which originated in remote places and migrated to settle at Swagup. The clans each belong to one of the three Swagup village residential wards WOLBI, DOGOSHUA and NGGRAIYO, each with its Haus Tambaran KOKOMBAUWI, AMUWASI and KAUKAUWUL respectively. Another level of organization is that each clan was associated with and the crew of a specific named war canoe.

Swagup is one of many Sepik communities which recognize the Cosmogenic myth that mankind originated from cassowary feathers, as told in Chapter 37. The presentation of Swagup oral history and religious mythology is not only heavily reflective of head hunting and occasional cannibalism, it is told beautifully by elders who, at the time of telling, were proud and true believers in the Swagup cosmos.

Swagup was regarded as one of the most aggressive Sepik communities. In this chapter the elders tell of their wars against and annihilation of their ancestral enemy Bodif and wars against Kouiembi, Malu, Yambon, Yessan, Waskuk on Sepik and Kubkain. The Swagup live is a world of water- lakes, channels and rivers and a key to their mobility, aggression and very existence, are their canoes; above all their war canoes. The quality of the elders story telling is underlined by the elders pre-occupation with the individual names of Ancestors, Haus Tambarans, Lakes, Channels, Victims, sacred and important places and of course their ubiquitous war canoes. In association with this chapter, Sepik 4 - Chapter 1 *Kouiembi* includes an excellent description of a Swagup ceremonial launching of a war canoe, whose first raid was against the unfortunate Kouiembi people.

The post-World War 2 history of Swagup is told in Sepik 4 Chapter 18: *The Swagup head-hunting raid of February 1952* which is a continuation of this chapter.

Swagup consists of an assemblage of clans that originated in remote places. The story is started by elders NAMGUALIMBOL speaking through Interpreter BIKO.

Origins of Banap clan.¹

The informant was the last surviving member of the BANAP clan at Swagup.

Our ancestors lived at the middle of the channel down below [downstream on the Sepik] at the old place KOKASINABARO. Our ancestors fought the ancestors of BODIF. When our ancestors had been reduced to very few they left KOKASINABARO and went to the bush called NUGWISNUBADOK. This is out near the Sepik camp of the Swagups but back from the river. Now we go and see this old place when we go hunting with our dogs.

This was a retreat for the ancestors to breed up a new fighting force for when it was needed. The clans Gala and Banak broke away and did not camp at NUGWISNUBADOK. They went to where Yerikai and Garamambu are camped now. They had made two large canoes at the old place KOKASINABARO. The canoes were named KOROPSUA and KORAWEI. After they [BANAP clan] had bred up many soldiers they decided to move back to their lands at Swagup. They loaded their two big canoes and paddled down the Yerikai Lake. They called out to the ancestors of the Gala

Brother what are your intentions? We are going back to our ancestral lands.

The ancestors of what are now the Yerikai and Garamambu; the Gala and Banap clansmen answered. The cane has twisted around the Kwila and Garamut and we cannot undo its thorns so we will stay here and forget the old place [free interpretation: we are attached to this place and will stay] our ancestors replied:

We are just asking you. We did not want to go without giving you the chance to come if you wanted. So they went.

QN: If both clans stayed, Then who was it who came to the ancestral lands?

ANS: *The ancestors of NAMGUALIMBOL [informant] came back. Just some of the Banap clan came and he is the last surviving member. The clansmen who stayed at Yerikai and Garamambu did not come back here. None of the Gala came back to Swagup. The Yerikais and Garamambus are always asking me to send him down there so they can hear their stories of origin.*

QN: What land or village sites did the Gala and Banap occupy at Yerikai and Garamambu?

ANS: *Mura and Ganip. You can see these hills from Ambunti. We put our boundary on the ridge that goes down to Malu.*

QN: Have you heard of people called AMEI?

ANS: *Father died when I was small and he did not tell me that name. The Yerikai and Garamambu are now living on this land. The Banap returned to Swagup via the Hunstein Mountains waterways and down the Yambonamba channel.*

The origins of Sago clan – informant BIKO²

Biko of Swagup's sago clan told me:

My ancestors were created on the mountain Ambunti¹ which we call Baba. We were not created as men, we came from cassowary feathers [and from these] the people disbursed. A spirit of ours, a female called FATAK lives on Mt Baba. Her sons were OLU and MAMKOL. They are still there on the mountain near Waskuk.

The mother sent her children Go and find a man and you need to kill a pig or a cassowary. They went and killed a pig and brought it back to their mother, but she said No, not that. This is for eating. Go out again.

*They went and killed a cassowary, but the mother said **That is not for decorating a man that is just food** [of no ritual value]. **Go out again.** She took the cassowary feathers, cleaned them and put them into a bark container. On the third occasion they killed a man who was their relative. We do not know his name. They made a singsing. This is the basis of why we fight and take heads; at least until we were stopped. [Reference to the 1952 head hunting raid.]*

Now the bark container [limbum] of cassowary feathers burst open. The longest feathers turned into men of another language. These were the Bangwis and Waskuk people [Kwoma language] who still own the land down there. The feathers of the head, legs wings etc. became

¹ These would appear to be the Gala survivors of the Kwoma annihilation of the Gala population of Mt Ambunti that Ross Bowden mentions – at the end of Chapter 35.

the people of many languages and the mother spirit and her children sent them around to populate the land.

Now, we Swagups were made after Waskuk and Bangwis; They the Waskuk and Bangwis sent us **You go, you can make saucepans [clay pottery] to trade and I will sit down here and live here.** We got up and went up the Black River, which we call Galapa. [South of the Sepik towards Wagu] We did not go into the mountains [The Hunsteins, locally known as Samsai] we kept to the waterways and made our way here on the Yambonamba channel. On the way here we followed two channels; the Udubu channel and the Narawba channel.

All the clans have their origins in cassowary feathers. From there they disbursed and came, some came to Swagup. The clans which came through the Hunstein waterways were Sago clan and Banap... [Here the discussion trailed off and I think Biko realized he should not speak of the history of other clans. Then he continued]...also Bababa, crocodile and possum clans came via the Samsai waterways.³

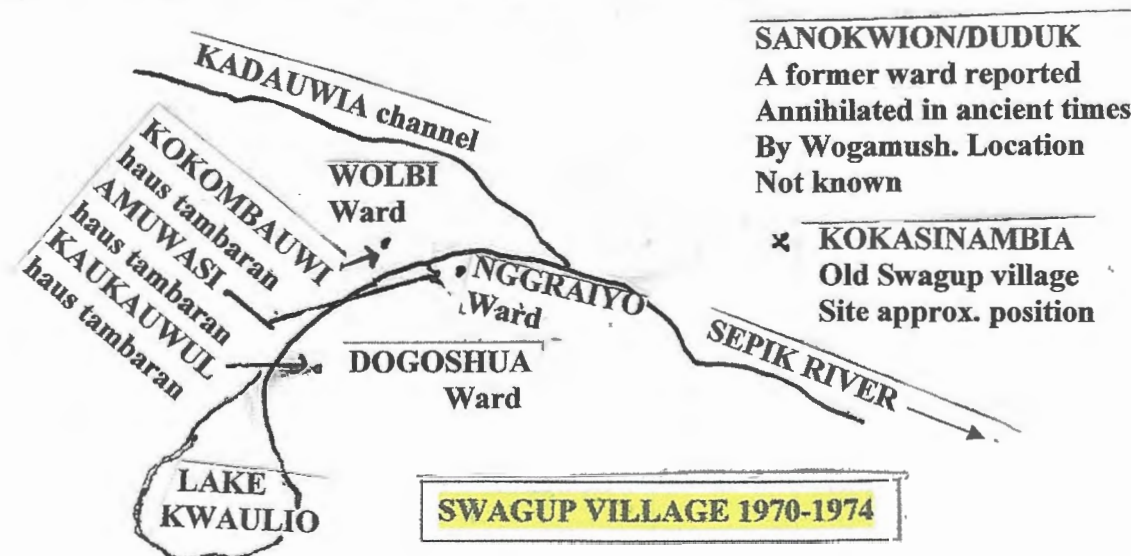
The origins of other Swagup clans in the Abrupt ranges.⁴

Bababa [Cassowary] clan origin is on Mt LIBANAMASIB

Coconut clan originated on Mt TABABAKAIN

Kokomo clan originated on Mt KONBO and Mt BOKIS. All are on the range of mountains behind Paka and Begapuke [The April/Leonard Schultze river divide]. They came down the NIKSEK [April] River and into the Sepik. The coconut clan split in two at Yamanumbu and came to Swagup by separate routes and reformed here. The Kokomo clan came down the NIKSEK River and then into the KOLPABA channel and then into the KADAUWIA channel to Swagup.

KOKASINABARO on the middle of the channel by which you came in [i.e. the then current channel to Swagup from the Sepik] is our old place. We left there in olden times before memory and camped where we are here. This village site is also very old.



A stockade fence used to run from the channel in this end of the village [DOGOSHUA ward?]. There was a closeable window for observation in the stockade fence this was on the right bank of the YAMBONAMBA channel that drains Lake KWAULIO into the main channel and to the Sepik. There

were also watch towers in trees close to the fence. In them were small; garamuts to sound the alarm. No successful raid ever eventuated against the village under these defenses.

Writer's Note: The collective names attributed to Douglas Newton⁵ and used in the table below for the Crocodile and Cassowary clans are claimed by the Swagups to be the Yambon names for them and say it means “our line” as there are said to be a lot of YENUI, or as the Swagups call them YENUWUL clansmen at Yambon,

The meaning or membership of KWITAM was not clear to informant BIKO and others. WAGUTAM means Wagu line. The Sago clan and others are believed to have originated in the Wagu area and regard Wagu as “Big Brother” and again they claim that this is Yambon terminology – not their own.

Each group listed as a clan is exogamous, even the three small crocodile clans and the three sago clans. The differences between these clans of the same name are on the basis of war canoe membership or ownership, or the relationship of the clan to a particular war canoe. This is said to be much the same as clan membership of a particular haus tambaran in the middle Sepik.

The situation after a head hunting raid is that clansmen in such a situation are free to move back and forth from haus tambaran to haus tambaran. So if a BUGNAYAN man of AMUWASI took a head his clansmen in the KAUKAUWUL haus tambaran are free to go and celebrate and share the glory at AMUWASI.

“Every clan had a war canoe (Buhler 1961:10) each had a name, and most of them were said to be female.”⁶ The Gala Haus Tambarans were “two-story buildings with pitched roofs which came down almost to the ground. They measured as much as a hundred feet long and twenty five feet high and twenty five feet wide at the ground. They consist of three sections; a huge open front porch, an enclosed centre section and a closed rear porch. The centre section, about sixty feet long consists of a platform laid over beams supported by three rows of short posts. This is at once the ceiling of the ground floor and the floor of the upper story.”⁷

Haus Tambaran	Ward	Newton's clans	Newton's Collective names	NGGALA clans/totems	Associated War canoes
KOKOMBAUWI	WOLBI	YENUI	NI YAGUTAM	LUMAU croc	DOLWAP
		BABA	KWITAM	YENUWUL crocodile	YAUWONBI
				BABABA cassowary	BAGUBAUWIL
				KOKOPO coconut	DAMTAU
				BANAP Crocodile	YIFIAUWUL
AMUWASI	NGGRAIYO		YUTAM	SAPONOKWA possum	BUGUNAUWEI
				AMBUKENJ pitpit cane grass	PAGILUWATO
				BUDNYAN hornbill	PIFAWUL
KAUKAUWUL	DODOSHUA		WOGUTAM	SAPONOKWA possum	
				BUDNYAN hornbill	
				NANGU sago	
				NAMUL sago/eagle	BANGIWEI

				MANAKAIYA sago
??	SANOKWION /BUDUL			NB See Swagup wars with Kumti below. It is claimed there was a 4 th Swagup ward with was annihilated in ancient times.

Headhunting:

Successful raiding was celebrated, on the return to the village, with the sounding of short bamboo trumpets, imitating cassowary calls. This was done outside the ceremonial house and was witnessed by women. Singing with accompanying beating of slit gongs followed inside the ceremonial house. Each clan had its own repertoire of songs for this ceremony. While the singing went on the homicide had to sit quietly. He might not even scratch himself with his hand but had to use a stalk of reed. He purified himself (probably by incising his penis) and ate ginger. But, while the celebration continued his mother's brother danced in his stead until nightfall

At the end of the ceremony the homicide grew his hair long and assumed black paint, a variety of shell and boar tusk ornaments and a coconut shell penis cover.

The captured heads were put in the bush until the flesh had rotten off. When they were clean they were brought back and decorated with red-painted modelled faces. They were then placed on a platform built around the front post of the ceremonial house, with a cigarette between the lips while a dance was held around the ceremonial mound. The heads were left on the platform until the homicide died, when they were buried in the mound.⁸

Age classes:

NAMBAJ – Uninitiated males

NIYIGGABIYA – Novices after entry into the haus tambaran

YEI'NYON – Previously initiated but unmarried

BABA'LU – Elders usually with large families and usually respected leaders

Informant NABAU (born 1922 +/-)

Bodif once lived where Yessan lives now. They had four camps KUMBAIWI, BUP, MOVI and ANABAKSOBA. In the beginning we did not fight with BODIF. Then two ancestors KOKUP and BASO killed a Bodif women. Her husband had beaten her during the night and she ran away. She tried to go to Kumbaiwi. The two Swagups killed her and hid her body near the oldest BODIF place on top of the hill in the bush – it is called FAKSIBA. There are still mangos, laulaus [Malay apple] and targets growing there. The Bodif did not know what became of her.

After their singsing that lasted twenty days the Swagups remained for a time and then they walked down in the dry water time [dry season]. They went to KARANGARO and on to WAFIEMBEI and beyond into the bush of ours called BAINYEI and then they came to the big Lake NAMBAKEI; but at that time it was not a lake, it was the Sepik River. The Yessans think it was a lake from ancient times, but it was not so. When the ancestors went down that time, the sand bars and new pitpit were still starting to form the ox-bow lake. They walked down onto the mud and sand bars.

The BODIF ancestor GUDMARUK has speared a crocodile during the day time and his smaller brother had gone hunting with his dog and killed a male pig. The elder brother went up to ask his daughter who was in an enclosed house for skin cutting.

Child did my small brother give you some pig too?

No father, I am not outside to see these things and get some.

Ah! This is a bad fashion, later who will get the payment when you marry; me, your father will not. It will be my younger brother who gets the payment.

The village was having a singsing through the night. GUDMARUK was there but he thought about the speared crocodile and wondered if it was dead or whether it had managed to struggle back into the water. The spear had come out. At about 5am he went down to look for the crocodile. He sang to himself as he went down the hill alone.

The Swagups ancestors had found the crocodile. It was dead and they pulled it up onto the ground and turned it over so it was belly up. Then they hid in ambush nearby. GUDMARUK came down to the water and took his canoe. He paddled and talked to himself as he went looking for his crocodile:

Could that be the crocodile I speared? Yes I think that is it. Yes that is it, I will go and pick it up by canoe. Yes that is it true! True! Because yesterday I speared him in a vital spot. The waiting Swagups waited and listened to his ramblings and they thought to themselves Yes. True! Take the crocodile back to the village so your women and children can eat crocodile meat.

GUDMARUK came and checked the crocodile and the Swagups speared him; he leapt down with the spear in him. They went down to the canoe as well and killed him. They did not take his head; they left him there intact. The Swagups took the crocodile and sang their way back up river to the village.

The men of BODIF who had a singsing going, stopped when they heard this. They mourned and wondered **What place has come to fight us now?** They waited for the victory garamuts to sound so they would know what place had attacked them. That at 6pm they heard the garamuts from Swagup.

Ah! True eh! So it was Swagup. I think that women who went missing must have been killed by Swagup as well. Thank you Swagup. Now you have told us what happened. The twenty day singsing ended at Swagup and all the men of Swagup went down to Bodif to fight again.

They arranged that three men in a small canoe were to go ahead and call out for bamboo to lengthen their paddles thereby tempting the BODIF to chase them. So they went down close to the mountain KUMBAUWI and called out **We three want bamboo.**

The BODIF replied **Wait a while and the women will cook mamis⁹ to give you.**

“Oh good.”

The Swagups had gone into a channel called TAIAS which leads into the lake. They hid and waited there; the war canoes, all decorated, were hidden there. The BODIF were lying about the mamis; they were putting their canoes into the water to go and fight. They paddled upstream towards the three Swagups. The Swagups hurriedly paddled away drawing the BODIF after them towards the waiting Swagup ambush.

The three men saw the decorations of the war canoes and called **Go inside further or they will see the canoes** The canoes went further in and hid properly so when the BODIF canoes came around the point the Swagup canoes were out of sight. The three Swagups and the BODIF canoes passed the mouth of the war canoes which now shot out behind the BODIFs; the pursuit was on!

The Bodifs raced to the shore and ran up the hill to the gardens they had planted. They saw the red leaves of the targets [crotons] growing there and thought the Swagups were waiting in

ambush. They turned back and jumped into the water. They had nowhere to run and the Swagups speared them like fish. The BODIFs had left their weapons and paddles in the canoes when they ran up the hill. Many, many BODIF were killed.

Now the Swagups assembled and talked. A BODIF woman paddled towards them and asked name after name and the Swagups answered **We killed him, we killed him and so on**. In answer to the names she asked of. The woman then said

I think all the men of KUMBAUWI must be finished. Bodif have no more men. KUMBAUWI was the strength of BODIF. The Swagup men dangled their fingers in the water **Do you want this; do you want our fingers?** [presumably indicating rape] **No I do not want that – I was just asking.** She went back.

All the bodies of the Bodif they left to rot there. They took only the heads back with them. The Bodif's beat their garamut and sent talk to their other places MOVI and ANABAKSOBA **THEY HAVE FINISHED US OFF** Said the drum message. They heard this and they took their weapons and put them in their canoes. The big men of theirs was in his garden. He was in fact a Swagup called BUGWAIOK. He left Swagup and settled at Bodif because his wife and children were dying off at Swagup. His children took his weapons for him, When he heard the garamuts he came down.

As is the fashion of fighting not one man can stay away. The Bodif men came and laid an ambush in our channel in the bush called BIFIO. They lay in ambush on both sides of the channel. This is close to the channel we dug in 1968 which joins the main channel. The Swagup ancestors had come to gather food and ate at the small lake of PAIANGIT, the small lake was called ALANGANGALA; back then PAIANGIT lake was where the Sepik flowed. They did not stay there long. They had cooked hot water sago and their throats went dry when they ate it. They drank water and they wondered if it was an omen **“I cannot swallow – what may be stuck in our channel – let me think?**

There were two Waskuks with the men of BODIF. They looked and saw the Swagups decorated with flowers paddling wildly up the channel. They [the Swagups] knew their enemy was waiting; they came with their shields and weapons and the angry courage to fight and the Waskuks asked **What do you think now Bodif**. The Swagup spear points dipped into the water with their paddles and they samsamed [War danced] as they came. Garamuts had sounded telling them their suspicion of an ambush in the channel were correct.

But the BODIFs replied to the Waskuks. **Are you two worried? Did you just eat a lot of hot water sago your wives prepared for you and you are talking?**

The Waskuks now told the BODIFs **Good! Good! The Swagups have aggressive men in their line. Good! Good – you wait.**

When the Swagups came close to BOFIO the BODIF warriors came out to fight. The Swagup ancestral warriors KOKUP and BASO leapt into the water with their spears and shields and ran up the bank, but no! They came down again, they were wrong. Their father BARUWEI saw this and he said **Oh sorry children you are still learning. That is not the way to fight...now get out of my way.**

He leapt into the water with his shield and spears and he stood up his shield and called KUKUP and BASO to come up behind his shield. All the Swagups stood their shields up and fought the BODIFs. All the BODIFs of MOVI and ANABAKSOBA were finished in the bush BOFIO. A few on the other bank survived to go back to their place.

The former Swagup BUGWAIOK, their fight leader was still trying to rally his men after the fight ended. LO'OM a Swagup ancestor asked of his people **Do you know a spear made of pitpit, a light spear we call NABUSUAR? It is in the canoe – get it.** The rest of the spears had been thrown... KOKUP and BASO were firing arrows and LO'OM told them to stop as he stood ready to fight with his spear and shield. BUGWAIOK was waving his shield back and forth deflecting arrows. LO'OM threw his spear and hit BUGWAIOK in the arm pit. The dying BUGWAIOK called the names of the ancestors and he added **This large tree of MOVI and ANABAKSOBA, I have cut it down and it is no more.** To the surviving BODIF he said **You must go. We are not a large line now.** He was vomiting blood.

The Swagup ancestors lost only BAIO and GUSAP. One was speared through the eye and the other through the body. The Swagups carried the bodies back to the village. The victors sang their way back the village and victory celebrations. The mourners with the bodies came behind them; the mourners were the family members of the two dead. When they came ashore they took the bodies to the haus tambaran. The bodied were buried in the haus tambaran.

The men were celebrating the victory and the heads that had been taken, but the wives and families of the dead mourned. The dead had been true brothers so it was even a greater loss. The soul of the big brother asked the soul of his younger brother.

What happened to you?

Speared in the ribs

Oh yes, that kills people! But why should both of us die? I am destroyed – I was speared in the eye and the eyeball fell out and I cannot find it. I want you to get up and live. I will repair you. They agreed. The soul of the older brother told the soul of the younger brother to go down to the canoes and take a WIS, which was the Limbum bark used to bale the water out of the canoes. **I will pump the blood from your body** so he baled the blood from under the liver of his younger brother and he said. **Hold this WIS. Do not cry quickly when you get up, if you do you will prevent my flight. Let me go and after I see you get up I will be all right.** They agreed on this.

The soul of the older brother said **I think of your family and of my family. You come back to life and look after both families.** With that the soul of the younger brother called out to the people up in the house mourning for them.

Come and open the grave. I have come back to life.

Up in the house the men told the women to be quiet **Stop crying for a moment so we can hear the talk.** The soul spoke again and the people knew one of them was alive. They broke the bed and the ground and they got the body out. The body had been buried in the earth and the bed had been made over the top of the grave and last they put soil on the platform as this stops the smell.

The younger brother said to his relatives. **Do not take me inside quickly. I will sit here for a while.** He waited and then he saw the soul of his brother flying away...it looked like a Tilley lamp in the sky. He saw this and then he cried and he spoke of the two souls in the grave. He was sad that both brothers had not died together. All the mourners heard this story.¹⁰

Informant NUGUDALA takes up the story;

When BUGWAIOK was killed his brother in law took his shield and samsamed [war dance] and said at the mortuary ceremony **Do not worry about him. Do not break the shields. I will attack the Swagups.** The BODIF then planned their raid on Swagup. They cut their hair and took ginger for

fighting and they came in their canoes and went ashore at the bush we call KASINIMBU. They war danced their way into the village to fight Swagup. The BODIF thought the Swagups had run away, but this was not so; the Swagups were hiding behind their houses. They allowed the BODIFs to come past a couple of houses and then closed around behind them and killed them. They came past another couple of houses and the Swagups were behind them again. In this way they broke up the BODIF.

The fighting went as far as DOGOSHUA ward and then came back. Some of the NGGRAIYO ward warriors were fighting down at DOGOSHUA. The sacred things of the haus tambaran of the past known as KARAROWEI the BODIF took and put into a canoe of ours; the canoe name was BIGNOWI. They took spears, flutes garamut drum sticks and mosquito baskets. They were taking these things back to their village. They had left the point and were going down the channel.

*DEBGLAU of Swagup saw this and he ran along the track and encountered a Swagup man fighting a BODIF; the Swagup would chase the Bodif and throw his spear and miss and the BODIF would pick up the spear and chase the Swagup and throw the spear and miss. DEBGLAU heard what was happening and he said **Chase him and when he chases you back run past me and go a long way. Do not stop near me.***

*They did this and when the BODIF whose name was WAPIO came past where DEBGLAU was hiding DEBGLAU held him. DEBGLAU bit WAPIO's navel out and drew the intestines out and tied WAPIO to a tree with them. Then he ran on after the canoe. He caught up with the canoe at the place where we make canoes, As he looked like SIWOSA of BODIF, the BODIF's brought the canoe into shore to pick him up. He got into the canoe at the stern at the steering position rather than the middle of the canoe where they wanted him to stand. They went out into the middle of the channel. From his position at the rear he used his spear PI MARUA and killed some and wounded others who fell into the water. He paddled the canoe back to Swagup and he said **You think we are men but we are just women. They were able to take our things!** Then he told his story.*

Writer's note I tried to draw a genealogy that linked DEBGLAU with the present, but the linkages are lost to memory – no time line was possible.

*Swagup went and talked to WAGU **Big brother please come and help me. I have no rest from warfare so help me if you will.** They agreed to fasten a target to go and fight BODIF. Swagup went on the last target while Wagu left their place when there were three targets left, IE they left two days earlier than Swagup as for them it was a long way. Both sides met and ate together. They agreed to decorate themselves the same way so they could recognize friends from enemies.*

*As it was getting dark they went and surrounded the hill called KUMBAIWI and BUP; each name represents a different ridge. At the head of the ridges were the places called MOSU and BRASUWEI. The warriors of Swagup and Wagu mixed. Most of them surrounded the hill, while a small group went straight up the track to attack the village and drive the inhabitants to the surrounding force. It worked that way. The line surrounding the hill killed them as they were chased by the smaller force. The surrounding warriors called up **Is that all?** The warriors of the smaller force replied **Yes that is all of them.***

*The people of the village were killed off and only the people who were absent in the bush hunting and making sago, as is the way of things, survived. The bodies of the dead were carried back up to the houses and put into or under them and then the Wagu men asked the Swagups **What have you to remove them?** Swagup said **Sorry we have nothing.** Wagu then said **Well we have and we brought it with us. We do it like this.** They tipped bad lime, which we call KEIMBINJOJA onto the bodies and they set the houses on fire. The smoke from the two villages rose, it went up and it pointed*

straight down at Swagup. The Wagus said **Small brother, some of them will go and live with you!** And Swagup said **Good! If they come to us we will finish them. We have tried them, but they are no good. We will finish them.**

Swagup and Wagu left then to go back to their villages but first that ate together, smoked and chewed betelnut together, They separated. They agreed that when Swagup reached their village they would beat their garamuts. The Wagus who would still be walking would hear them. The Swagups beat their garamuts and waited to hear the Wagu garamuts.

The BODIF survivors came and made small bush houses... They thought about their future. They were now few. They decided it would be better to move up river... Before this a BODIF man called WABUMOK came and was living at Swagup. The others decided to follow his tracks and live with their relatives. So they came; some lived here; some went to Waskuk, some to Biaga, some to Kubkain. The ones who came here were represented in all three haus tambaran.

Swagup accepted them and they lived here and ate with us. They went to wash sago and took dogs with them, but they were lying about washing sago. By then their numbers had increased and they were trying to return to their old lands to re-establish themselves there. They had made some houses at their old place. One Swagup came and found out that they were making a camp. He told the Swagups what he had discovered, speaking in Swagup language so the BODIFs who were present would not understand... Swagup did not want their old enemy to re-establish themselves.

Then there was trouble over sago. They were short of sago and an ancestor called GAGANA of Swagup took them to wash sago. His small brother ULO stayed. The sago was cut near the lake KWALIOA from the sago stand known as SELIA. They cut sago for five days. On the second day Ulo asked his brother **What about my palms are they ready? Did you see them? The answer came Sorry, there is not a lot of sago there, and they have cut yours already.** Ulo said **Oh that is alright. Good! I was just asking. Let them eat! When will they rest? The answer came This is the second day. They will work for another three days.**

So Ulo waited for the time when they would rest. They slept. At 5am ULO got up and lit a long fire. Then he struck the floor of the house in which the BODIFs were sleeping and under which he had lit the fire. **Hey! Get up and come and sit by the fire, but go down and wash your mouths out first.** They went and washed and then came to sit by the fire. They chewed betelnut and rolled smokes. There was an old man of knowledge u-stairs and OLU did not want to kill them until this old man also came down. The old man got up when he was ready and came and made a smoke by the fire. Then ULO and the many men of the village threw them into the fire. When they were all finished Ulo ran up to DOGOSHUA ward and gestured with his hands to finish them. All three wards killed the BODIF who lived with them.

All the BODIF women and children were at KAIULO lake fishing. The Swagups took their canoes and went after them. They killed the old useless women. The good looking young women and the children were kept and distributed among the Swagup men. They sang and danced in the Wolbi ward haus tambaran.

BUDBUGURA was the man whose responsibility it was to initiate all singsings. DEBGLAU was absent up at Waskuk when the massacre occurred and DEBGLAU'S nephew BAGLEI had not killed anyone in the massacre. DEBGLAU suggested he and BAGLEI go and watch the singsing. He took a cassowary bone dagger with him.

Now there was a large child, whose mother was a BODIF. She had been taken and was married to BUDBUGURA. DEBGLAU went and held this child by the leg. The terrified child clung

to its mothers legs. They stabbed the child with the dagger and the dead child was left at its mother's feet. She was crying as the two killers went back to their haus tambaran where the singsing was. Word reached BUDBUGURA. **You, the man who initiates singsings – they have killed your child!**

Who killed the child? He asked. He left the singing and went to cry in mourning. The victory singing did not get going, it finished when BUDBUGURA ceased taking part. The people were bewildered and they sat down and waited out the specified twenty days, but there was no singing.¹¹

Swagup wars with Yambon.

Yambon was the first enemy of our ancestors and grandfathers. We did not fight them in recent times and we have only some stories of the early wars. Our ancestors killed many of them; some went and hid in a hollow Erima tree and that is what saved them from being wiped out.¹²

Swagup wars with Malu.

Swagup and Wagu fastened targets to go and fight Malu. The target related in them meeting at the mouth of the Black River [just upstream of Ambunti]. To get there the Swagups slipped past Yambon in the dark of night. Yessan was not there yet. When Wagu and Swagup forces met Wagu was worried about what they considered to be an omen. **When we reached for ginger and pulled it the leaves broke leaving the roots in the ground.** As a Swagup man danced and jumped in the front of the canoe, trying to get the raiders underway, the stone ring holding his marl [loin covering] broke. He said **My wife just made this yesterday. It is still strong, so why did it break?** This was another omen. There was uncertainty among the raiders.

Meanwhile two Yambon women who were married at Malu were paddling up river to visit their families at Yambon. They saw the raiding party. They hid and went back to Malu and warned the village. The Malus prepared to fight. The Wagu/Swagup party went down stream and waited for dawn to raid the village still thinking they had the element of surprise.

They were urged on by ALKAPA, and he was the cause of this misfortune. ALKAPA had already made magic against the raiders of whom he was one, to settle an old grudge he had with the village. They attacked and found that all the Malus were assembled at the far end of the village in the haus tambaran. Their attack fell on an empty village. The Malus then counter-attacked and defeated them.

All the Wagus and most of the Swagups were killed in this fight. ALKAPA and most of his line, knowing what would happen, kept away and made their own way back home. SUSUP was wounded and managed to pull the spear out. As he made his way upstream he was taken in by Yambon who cured him. The canoe used by the raiders was DOROWAP. We did not fight Malu again.¹³

Swagup wars with 'Waskuk on Sepik' [Kutbug] – A Wogamush village 1:

Writer's note on place names.

Village Given Name	Waskuk names	Wider unity given name	Wider unity in Waskuk language
Waskuk on Sepik	Kutbug	Wogamush	
Yambanumbu	Kombuliap		Komnau
Biaga	Kumti		
Swagup	Gala		
Kubkain			

*Our ancestors and Waskuk used to fight regularly at a place by the river; a bush called: BELIOWA. The relationship was such that the Swagups would go up and hold up pottery and call **Friends we have come to trade.** To which the Waskuks would say **Friends, welcome wait while we get some grass together for you to make baskets** This was trick talk as both groups were really talking about getting their spears ready to fight. The Swagups would then drift back down to the bush BELIOWA and wait for the Waskuks. The Waskuks always got the worst of these fights. The Swagups did not suffer any deaths, but the Waskuks did. The Swagups did not take any Waskuk heads as the Waskuks used to take their dead back with them.*

*Then came a time when Waskuk said **Friends we have depleted our numbers and have few men left now.** Swagup replied **Me too, you nearly finished us off.** So they slowed down the fighting. This style of fighting was with them for a long time. They would fight every two or three months and in intervening period was one of friendship. They would fight on another day and they would be friends again. Time would pass and the Swagups would say **It is time we went and saw them again.***

SABUDEF was a great fighter of ours; a very strong man. Another man whose name is not remembered came and told man after man that he had made a way from which to attack Waskuk from the side and finish them. Man after man declined his invitation, but then he tapped on SABUDEF's shoulder and told him he was very interested. They attacked and won. The Waskuks were forced into the water where they were killed. PIDAUL was a canoe manned by DUONION of Swagup. He went around picking up the Waskuks and saving some of them. If he had not the Waskuks would have been finished.

In a time of high water there were many prawns. We ate prawns until our mouths were dry and so some of the BUDNION family went up to Waskuk to get betelnut. The men who went were WELILYAU, ALKAPA, MARL and WALYAMEI. They went up there but they did not meet the Waskuks. They took the betelnut they wanted and were coming down river when they remembered they had left a decorated paddle back at the betelnut palms. They decided to turn around and go back and get it. They were going upstream when they met the Waskuks coming downstream after them.

*The Waskuks included NALIO, IFIABUK and SUIISA and they came in their big canoe which was called YAMBUGUNAUWEI. The Waskuks called **Friends come here and take this tanget to set a day for a peace meeting. It is not good that we fight each other without reason.** The canoes came together. WELILYAU reached out for the tanget and was grabbed by the Waskuks. The Swagup canoe capsized and the three fell into the water. WELILYAU was dragged into the Waskuk canoe and killed there. The Waskuk ancestors speared the three in the water.*

Back in Swagup the people waited for them to return. When they were killed there was a big storm and in the morning people were asking where they had gone. Some thought they had gone off to hunt crocodiles, but the men of NGGRAIYO ward said the Waskuks had killed them. The discussions were still going when SANAUGWI and his wife WARUMEI paddled off to find their sons. The men of Swagup followed in the big canoe of WOLBI ward. SANAUGWI went straight and found where the Waskuks had cleared a path to take the bodies into the bush to behead them. SANAUGWI followed the path and found the headless bodies. The bodies had been pounded into paste with stone axes. The bones were broken into fine pieces and the bodies were like soup. They could not recognize one from the other. SANAUGWI did not try to bring them – he left them there. There was no payback as the Government influence had arrived and soon the Japanese came.¹⁴

Swagup wars with Biaga [Kumti] – A Wogamush village 2:

Writer's note; I suspect the story below and the one above describe the same incident from different sides. A key difference is informant Nesio's claim that there was a 4th Swagup ward called Sanokwion/Budul which was annihilated in this fight. This unanswered question is one I would have clarified if I had visited Swagup after talking with Nesio, but I did not. Nesio's story¹⁵ is set out below:

At Kumti there were two brothers with houses close together. The small brother, Masiba, was hungry, but the big brother whose name we do not recall said "There is no food, so we will sleep hungry". But the big brother had already eaten. Masiba slept without eating and he did not sleep well within his mosquito basket. When the first morning birds were calling he went out in his canoe with spears and fish spears and went out onto the Sepik where May flies were flying about. He speared fish as his canoe drifted down the Sepik.

The Swagups had come and were watching from hiding watching the Komnau [Wogamush] of Kumti. The war canoes of Swagup were guarding and waiting as the canoe with Masiba in it drifted towards them. The elder brother was also out on the Sepik spearing fish as his canoe drifted down, but he was a long way behind Masiba. The morning mists were thick on the water when a limbum smacked the water and the Swagups thumped the sides of their canoes. Masiba looked around but he could see nothing in the mist. They speared him after surrounding his canoe. The elder brother saw this and he spoke to three Swagups who were cousins of Kumti [people]. These three men did not want to fight Kumti as it was their mother's place. Before the fight these three ate only greens, while the others ate pig, cassowary and possum etc.

The three called to the big brother "Swagup will not go down, [ie return downstream to Swagup] they will remain here to test their strength. Tell mother [meaning – get the fighting force of Kumti down here – the Swagups will remain.] The elder brother heard this and paddled back to the village. He beat the garamut. It was flood time and the men in the sago heard the garamut and left their work and came back to the village to hear what the fighting [that the garamut message mentioned] was all about.

The Swagups in the meantime had gone ashore where they heard the talk of the three men who said "Do not go. To go would show that you are afraid of our in-laws and cousins at Kumti." The Swagups stayed and prepared to fight.

The men of Kumti, Kombuliap and Kutbug came and assembled. They ate ginger and a little hot water sago. They went and washed themselves and their spears and shields. They took nettles and they prepared their war canoes – there were about six or seven Kumti war canoes. They went down to where the Swagups were on a sand bank. They went ashore and sorted their "Kowar" [Kowar – ginger in this sense refers to a section of fighting men – presumably based on clan groupings]. One "ginger" took up position at the water's edge, another which was called Huhr (Pig) stood to one side, another ginger called eagle stood on the inside along the fringes of the bush.

The effect of this was that the Swagup force was enclosed and the fight started. The canoes were guarded by one big man called Galmin, as is the law of fighting...Galmin was my great grandfather [Galmin – Bobwoi – Wivu – Nesio, my informant]. The ground they fought on was called Baliaul, which is between Swagup and Yambunumbu.

The Swagups were of the Sanokwion.Budul ward of Swagup. They were finished in this fight, with only a few wounded struggling back home. Now there are only three wards at Swagup.

The eagle ginger speared and wounded one man who they brought back alive. He had been speared in the back with a multiple pronged spear. They nailed his hands to the sides of the canoe with spear points. They brought him back to Kumti and tied him up in the place where the singsings are held. When the required days of the singsing were over the Eagle Ginger took a bamboo knife and opened up his chest. The man was yelling as they cut out his liver and cut it into pieces for the warriors to eat raw. He died when they cut the second liver [the lungs]. Then they cooked and ate the whole body of this man.

Yessan origins

After Bodif were annihilated, our ancestors greased Yessan to come. They came from the Nageri, Waiawus area [Numau Ablatak]. KORORA gave sugar and lime spatulas to the Yessans and they came and occupied the land of the BODIF. ¹⁶

Swagup wars with Yessan.

The Swagups went to find crocodiles in the lake. They went in the big canoe called YAUWINBI. They met the Yessans at the point GOLSAP and they stopped and talked with the Yessans there and made friends.

*But an ancestor called NAMBUSUBOL; a killer and a great fighter felt his anger rising and his stomach became hot. He took his canoe and paddled off saying his stomach was hot; the Swagups did not know his intentions. He went ashore nearby and cut a track that would allow him to ambush NANPLAS who was talking with the Swagups. As NAMBUSUBOL made his way to set his ambush he encountered NANPLAS' son KAMBION who ran away calling to his father as he went **Father, Father enemies have come – Men of WAGU.***

*NANPLAS did not suspect Swagup. He believed the enemies were in fact from Wagu and he ran calling out. NAMBUSUBOL was carrying two spears and he hid behind a tree. He grasped NANPLAS by the left arm, but in NANPLAS right hand was a bamboo bladed spear with which he repeatedly stabbed NAMBUSUBOL's arm which held him. NAMBUSUBOL said **You cannot defeat me. I will not let you go.** They struggled on and NAMBUSUBOL called his two sons NARUWAN and KAMBIONG. They came and helped their father by spearing NANPLAS in the armpit and the spear came out the other side and they speared him again in the body. Now the sons said **Father let him go. He is dead.** He let go and the body fell down. NANPLAS' son ran up the mountain and told the Yessan people there what had happened.*

*The Swagups in the big canoe were very worried and demanded **Why did you kill NANPLAS he was our best friend.** They cried in mourning. The three killers did not mourn; they rejoiced in their kill. The two sons went down to get into the canoes but they saw the mourning and they ran back to their father and said the Swagups were angry over the death of NANPLAS.*

*Their father said **Go get in the canoe! Are you worried? Do not be afraid. Go get in the canoe.** They went and their father came and addressed the Swagups. **Who will go and cut the head off NANPLAS? Who wants to wear black paint?***

*At first he had asked his sons but one had said **We are not big men, so we should not have black paint.** The other son said **Father think of the banana garden your nephew GIRAUWI made for you.***

*Now NAMBUSUBOL called his nephew GIRAUWI. **Get up and go and cut the head of NANPLAS and bring it here and you will have the black paint. Do you not recall the banana and sugar garden you made for me and from which I now eat? Now I will repay you for your work.***

You can have the honour of the black paint. [i.e. recognition as a “homicide” warrior having taken a head]

GIRAUWI heard this talk from his ‘father’ and went and cut off the head. They sang their way back to Swagup, with the men in the big canoe having rubbed clay on themselves; they came back to Swagup in mourning for NANPLAS.

*The Yessans gathered on the river bank and the men said to the son of NANPLAS **Do not cry for your father. Do not worry. We will repay this death. We are men of the Pig and the Cassowary totems. We are land men² and we will repay!***

Meanwhile the victors continued coming and darkness found them on the way so they went ashore at the bush called GWATOK...they did not sleep, but sang and danced until dawn using tree buttress roots as their garamuts. The head was left on the front of the canoe. When it started to rain in the night the head called out:

GIRAUWI why have you left me in the canoe? Bring me up there.

*NAMBUSUBOL heard this and asked GIRAUWI **Did you bring the head up?***

No It is in the canoe.

Go and get it.

At dawn they went on and arrived back in the place where they put the head in the haus tambaran AMUWASI.

Swagup men from DOGOSHUA and NGGRAIYO wards went down to spear crocodiles. They were not concerned about a payback for NANPLAS; they had forgotten it. But the men of Yessan had not forgotten. The Swagups went to the lake called NUBAKUL and speared crocodiles and smoked the meat, then slept the night. The Yessans saw the Swagups and beat their garamuts for their men to assemble. The Swagups also heard the garamuts and correctly interpreted the meaning of the signals.

The Swagups decided not to leave, but to wait and talk to the Yessans and make peace with them. The Yessans came down to the Swagups. After negotiations and apparent friendship WUTUKWI of Swagup went ashore and went with the Yessans. With WUTUKWI went MINGISIBA of Swagup. In exchange a Yessan man, whose name is not remembered got into the Swagup canoes. The arrangement was that he would hunt crocodiles with them for a couple of days.

This exchange and show of trust was intended to be the basis of lasting friendship and peace between Yessan and Swagup. They agreed to hunt for two days and meet on the third. The Yessans set about cutting water grass and fenced the road and their market site. There was a place inside the fence for the canoes to go. They brought down vast amounts of yams , mamis, coconuts and other village produce.

*The Swagups came back at the agreed time and were met by the Yessans. The Swagups were hugely impressed by the amount of food that had been prepared for them to take away with them. **It will fill our canoes** They said*

² “Land men” differentiated them from the canoe borne Swagup “water men”. The Yessan and the neighbouring Kwoma traditionally did not use canoes.

Now the Yessans had already killed the two Swagups. The Swagups asked where they were and were told that they were still coming. The Swagups waited. The Yessan who had gone with the Swagups came ashore. In the time he had hunted, smoked meat and slept with the Swagups he had said in a joking fashion **They are going to kill you**. But the Swagups took no notice.

The food was loaded into the Swagup canoes; it was heaped high in the canoes and all the weapons were underneath it. The Yessans took their spears and threw them at the Swagups in the canoes. They threw at the man in the stern, the furthest from shore first. They threw their spears from the high land and the men of the two haus tambarans were severely defeated in a payback for NANPLAS. The Swagups were unable to return the fight and there were about fifty men killed in this fight; the two haus tambarans were empty.

Four survivors came home wounded; DIT, DABULU, NUBIEF and MARAKMUSH. A fifth, BUBINBOL died on the way. He had been chopped through the collarbone with a stone axe. Some other survivors found their way home, but most did not come back. Our father's generation were killed like that so now there is only us; their children here along with some old crocodiles (aged warriors).

In payback they killed only one man; the Yessan big man ELIF. They went down and saw him fishing for big mouth fish [Bass]. The Swagup in the lead was WAIUKWA. He speared ELIF in the left buttock with a multi-pronged spear. ELIF threw a spear in return but it missed when WAIUKWA jumped into the water from his canoe. WAIUKWA's spear was still sticking into ELIF, who could no longer walk; he dragged himself up the hill like a crocodile. The Swagups followed him and killed him in some water he was trying to cross. They carried the body back and abandoned their idea of killing crocodiles. On their way back to Swagup they went ashore on an Island near ELIF's place and cut his head off and brought only the head back to Swagup. They went ashore for the night on our Island. They sang through the night and the men in the village heard them and knew they had made a kill. They went in their canoes in the night and joined them.

In the morning they came into the village and took the head into the haus tambaran. Later they took the head to the base of the ficus tree to allow it to rot. This is where the rotting of heads has always been done. They retrieve the skulls when they are completely white. They Paint the skulls white and put a cigarette in its mouth and take flowers to decorate them. The head hunting singsing lasts twenty days.¹⁷

Swagup Wars against Kubkain

Our traditions prevent us and our ancestors fighting against Kubkain, but one incident arose within Swagup over abusive language which created an exception. MANGANABOL of Swagup said to a Swagup woman called GAWI that her husband YAU'UN could not fight because he spent too much time in his wife's vagina. Swagup men YAU'UN and GASKUL took offense at this but they did not do anything immediately

MANAGANBOL'S wife BUBWEI sent a target to friends in KUBKAIN to come and visit. Three KUBKAIN men came. They were WANGO, YAU'UNGUDMAI and GARUWAGAWA. The two first named came on ahead and went into the channel called KADAUWIA, which used to come in from the Sepik, but which is now silted up. YAU'UN and GASKUL knew of the target and set an ambush for the friends of their enemy MANAGANBOL. They smelt the herbs worn on ceremonial occasions before they saw the Kubkains. The two Swagups in their canoe came upon the Kubkains and the men talked as friends as the two canoes drifted together down the channel.

Without warning YAU'UN took a spear and struck one of the Kubkains in the ear killing him. The other Kubkain was struck by GASKUL and fell into the water where he was killed by a spear from WAIOKWA, another Swagup. They took the heads down to the haus tambaran.

The third Kubkain had gone down on the Sepik seeking crocodile eggs in the bush called WALIK and in the late afternoon he went to meet the other Kubkains at Swagup. The Swagups waited. The Swagup women cried in mourning for their Kubkain friends, but they were told to be quiet so as not to warn the third Kubkain as he came. He came into the village paddling up the waterway. BULSOK let him pass and then came after him until he was near where the Councillor's house is now then threw his spear. The spear did not hit properly point first and it bounced off GARUWAGAWA. GARUWAGAWA jumped into the water and tried to climb out of the channel. Then an old crocodile; a warrior called NARAWAN speared him with two bamboo bladed spears. The body sank. They prodded with long crocodile spears until they located him, then impaled him and brought him out of the water. He was brought aboard canoes which drifted down to the haus tambaran. They cut off his head and left his body under a ficus tree to rot. The head was also left there to rot. There was no singing over this as many were worried and mourning over the deaths of these three friends; neither had the warriors eaten ginger before the fight. This was not long before the war with Japan.

Some time later WEIOKWA and YANBOL and their wife BUKAUWEI of Swagup had paddled up to Kubkain. WEIOKWA's child had died and he wanted bamboo from Kubkain to make sorcery over the grave in order to find out what had caused the death and who was responsible. So they went, on their way the men of Waskuk called to them **hear this! Wait here and have a smoke and a talk.** Their intention was to stop them going to Kubkain where they would be killed but WEIOKWA replied **No do not want to hear your grease talk.** WEIOKWA and his brother believed that the Waskuks had seen all the pottery in the canoe and wanted to get some, To do that the brothers believed the Waskuks would tell them not to go to Kubkain and trade only with them. So they ignored their cousins at Waskuk and they went ashore at Kubkain.

WUGATO the wife of MIDUTAUWI was making sago by the river. She was a clan's person of the Swagups and she pushed their canoe out again into the water to prevent them landing so they demanded **Why are you stopping us coming ashore?** So then she moved canoes aside so they could come ashore, By then it was dusk. The small brother went to one haus tambaran. While big brother weiokwa came down to the hill at the point. The wife was taken to MIDUTAUWI's house with all the pottery.

The Kubkains had prepared their plan. MIDUTAUWI's wife was to strike her child so it cried loudly to prevent BUKAUWEI hearing the cries of the two men when they were killed. So she hit the child for no apparent reason and the child cried loudly. At that moment WONBOL³ of Kubkain was walking along the edge of the water and he held WEIOKWA, but the Swagup struggled and lifted WONBOL and carried him like a haversack. Others saw this and plenty of men tackled WEIOKWA and laid him down and stabbed him to death him with cassowary bone daggers. The smaller brother was held by a Kubkain called BITSUROOP and he too was killed with daggers. The man who actually killed him and earned his black paint was SASUWIMBOL.

The woman BUKAUWEI had tried to calm the crying child and they were eating bread fruit, but she had heard her husband's cries. The Kubkains said to SUWASI **SUWASI if you are a man**

you can kill this woman of these two, if you are not a man forget it – we can send others to kill her.

SUWASI got up and took a bamboo bladed black palm spear. He went and saw the woman sitting in front of the house. His spear went through her heart and she fell with the spear through her. They heaped the bodies in a fenced hut. They cut out the thigh bones of the two men to be made into bone daggers and they cut off the heads. The bodies were then put on a raft on the Sepik. They put green and dry coconuts on the raft as well and set the raft adrift.

This was to show that the debt (pay-back) was repaid; that Swagup should not worry; as far as the Kubkains were concerned it was over. The Swagups were going to repay this, but the white-men came quickly. The Japanese had not come yet.¹⁸

End Notes Chapter 39

¹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 p 447

² Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 p 447/8

³ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 P 447-8

⁴ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 p 439-442 - Informant

⁵ Newton D. Crocodile and Cassowary. Jaylen Offset Lithography Co, New York 1971

⁶ Newton 1971. P33

⁷ Newton 1971. P33

⁸ Newton 1971 p 36

⁹ A species of yam

¹⁰ Informant Nabau (born 1922 Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 p 439-442

¹¹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 P 444-5

¹² Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 P 445

¹³ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 P 439

¹⁴ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 P 438-9

¹⁵ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 P 466/7

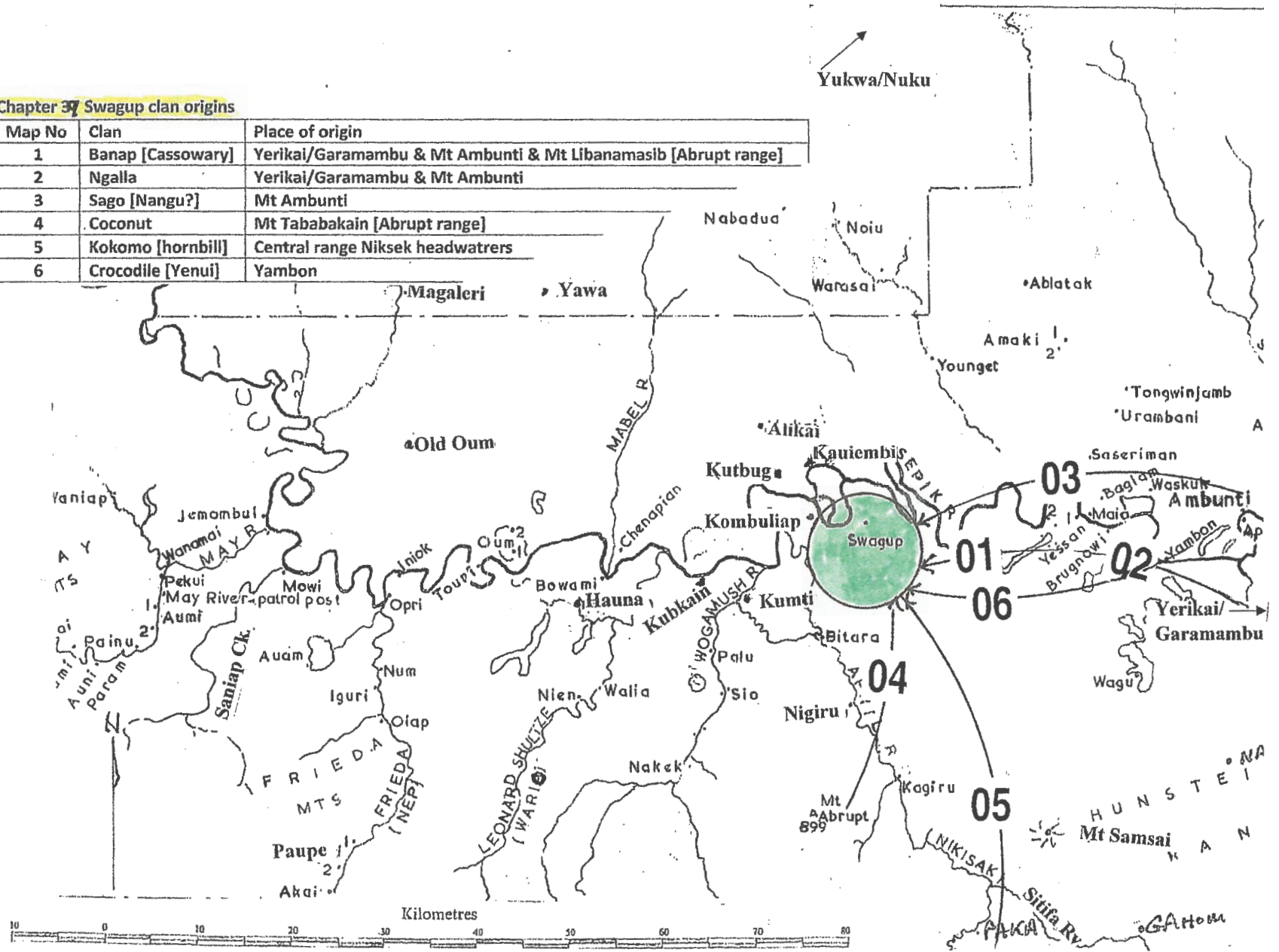
¹⁶ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 P 439

¹⁷ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 P 436-8

¹⁸ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 P 444-5

Chapter 37 Swagup clan origins

Map No	Clan	Place of origin
1	Banap [Cassowary]	Yerikai/Garamambu & Mt Ambunti & Mt Libanamasib [Abrupt range]
2	Ngalla	Yerikai/Garamambu & Mt Ambunti
3	Sago [Nangu?]	Mt Ambunti
4	Coconut	Mt Tababakain [Abrupt range]
5	Kokomo [hornbill]	Central range Niksek headwaters
6	Crocodile [Yenui]	Yambon



Sepik 1 – Chapter 40 – the origins and early history of Wogamas [Wogamush]

As indicated in the introduction to part 3 of the Sepik 1 Table of Contents, the Wongamusen language is spoken by four villages – three of which make up the community known as Wogamas, or Wogamush. The fourth is Kubkain which is the subject of the next chapter.

Some confusion over the three Wogamas villages needs to be cleared up. Each of the villages has two names

	Administration name	Village name
Wogamas [Wogamush]	Waskuk-on-Sepik	Kutbug
	Biaga	Kumti
	Yambunumbu	Kombuliap

Pre-contact social structure of Wogamas in summary.

<u>Village</u>	<u>Ward</u>	<u>Haus Tambaran</u>	<u>Clans</u>	<u>Totems</u>
Kutbug	[not asked]	Goglom	Mongwalion	Parrot/Mangas
			Bolien'non	Flying fox Ton ¹
			Nabusion	Banana
			Boruiyei	Tortoise/Eagle
			Nobwit	Eagle/Sago
			Girui ²	Pig/Cassowary
Kumti	Kumuing	Ninkro	Girui	Pig/Cassowary
			Suwaion	Dog [?]
			Wadeitam	Not asked
	Kaliok	Siginwaiya	Nabusion	Banana
			Boru'ruynion	Not asked
			Dembelion	Not asked
	Salugwed or Wonion	Kaukaumul	Girui	Pig/Cassowary
			Apkesion	Not asked
			Watmiugion	Not asked
Kombuliap	Not asked		Masaninyon	Crocodile
			Nabusion	Banana/Opossum
			Girui	Pig/Cassowary
			Biguruhion	Tobacco

The origins of Kutbug Clans.

#1 Galbwa or Galbwi clan [not listed above as presumably no longer in existence].

The clan they call Galbwa or Galbwi came first and settled at Kutbug. Other clans came later and settled with them. Galbwi originated close to the Sitifa River [An April River headwaters tributary] on the big mountain on this side [North East indicated] – Mt Galbwa, also known as Mt Samsai [and Mt Hunstein on some maps].

#2 Mulelion clan

The clan called Mulelion came also from the Niksek [April River] from near the Sitifa, but downstream a little on the side of Mt Galbwa.

#3 Nabusion clan and #4 Apwion clan

Nabusion also came down the April River and were of the same group [as Galbwa and Mulelion. Apart from several sub groups throughout the Wogamas social structure, there is also Nabusion clan representation at Kubkain –listed briefly there as clan #16 Chapter 41]

¹ Tree of the Lei chi fruit family

² Girui is also called Giruihion

Yelba and Malsin were the places where we originated. Both places are on the same big mountain, where Begapuke is [Mt Samsai [Hunstein] middle reaches of the April River]. Our clan was Nabusion, our sister clan from the same place was Apwion. Both clans originated together and migrated together. The ancestor Rangi came in a canoe, which was a banana and some of us came in a big canoe made of cedar. The banana canoe was made from a palm with the shoots removed. We came in the tracks of the clan that had gone ahead – Bolenion clan which originated at Galbwa at the Sitifa River. [The Sitifa is an Upper April River tributary]

Qn. *Can Nabusion and Apwion clans inter-marry”*

Ans. *No.*

The Apwion clan came to the Sepik and settled at Duiamba, above Biaga. But the Sepik changed course and left it inland. Rangi, who came in the banana canoe went altogether, and settled at Yessan, and his descendants are still there.

The rest of our ancestors came and settled in this area [Biaga]. After the Sepik changed course, we moved back to the Sepik at Koldu and we made a haus tambaran there called Goglom. Koldu is now on a lake – off the right [south] bank of the Sepik – inland from river above Biaga.

From there the Apwion clan went to Bulbul and Kutbug. All the clans gathered at Kutbug. From there the settlement of Namsokom was established, although still called Kutbug. Then there was a move to Nukuk after the Yauenian raid. Kutbug was abandoned when the river changes its course again.

Nabusion clan came down the April River and came directly to Kombuliap. The [Nabusion] ancestor married two wives and they had two sons Negreko and Mesaur. They went and cut sago and my ancestor Mesaur divided and allocated the sago. He gave only the base of the sago to his brother Negreko, who said it was not enough. He did not like it and said it was not right. They fought, so he and his line ran away to Kutbug. Negreko was the ancestor of the ex-luluai’s line. Our clans still have the same name. Nabusion¹

Another episode of the Nabusion story.

*Based upon the partial genealogy: Buna – Ingribel { Yereke – Kebia [born 1927]
Gerhon- Tuti*

Buna came to us from Swagup in recent times. He was a child at Swagup, but both his mother and father were dead. They [Swagup] were going to kill him and he ran away during a time of flooding to Kombuliap. He came into the Kambuliap bush at a place called Uguruwitugunau.

A man of the Suwaion clan at Kombuliap clan called Bisu’u went to get limbum [building material]. He found tracks on a wild fowl nest, which was one of the few pieces of ground not under floodwater. He caught Buna, who thought he was going to be killed, but Bisu’u reassured him and put him in his canoe and covered him with the limbum he had collected.

He paddled the canoe back to the village and told his wife to remove the limbum from the canoe. She did so and uncovered Buna and was surprised and pleased that they had a child to adopt and care for. But Buna kept on stealing, and he was beaten for it, so he ran away from Kombuliap and went to the toilet of the haus tambaran at Kumti, where my ancestor Sanuagrehei found him. He recognised Buna, and asked him what he was doing. Buna was afraid he would be killed, but he was not.

My ancestor took him back to Bisu’u at Kombuliap, and attempted to return him, but Bisu’u did not want him back. Bisu’u said. “it is not as if there would be a bride price, as there would be if he was a girl. He is of no value and you can have him if you want.”

So, my ancestor looked after him and brought him up and arranged his marriage after seeing him through the Initiation ceremonies. Buna raised a family.

#5 Mongwalion clan

We originated at what they now call Nuku. Its real name is Yukwa, which is the sharp mountain at Nuku. The small red parrot's [Wein] lice [binatang bilong em] are what we originated from. They [the lice] come, just as when a man dies insects gather.

We [our ancestors] came to Morokdong and Moriakom after leaving Yukwa. We were the first to arrive there. There were no other people close to us. We left Yukwa because there were too many people crowding us, although they did not fight.

The Masaninyon clan had a man whose name I do not know. He and our ancestor Yensalko were making two canoes together. They were big canoes and they argued as to whom a particular design belonged. The Masaninyon man pulled a cassowary bone dagger from his arm band and stabbed Yensalko in the chest just below the nipple. Yensalko took his dagger and stabbed the Masaninyon man and they both died.

The crocodile spirit, Masaninyon's totem whipped up rough waves with its tail, causing the tide to flood and finish the places Glaskom and Marakom and killing some of the people.

The people of the Mulelion clan then went to Unuk and Walionbeg. These places were in the middle reaches of a channel, [location unidentified]. This area is now under deep swamp. The ancestors left and the spirits of that place also abandoned it. It is just swamp and pandanus trees now.

Our next move was to Sinbui and Badalwi. These places are at the head of the waterway upon which Kubug is located [This the stream, with no map name, in the headwaters of which Alikai is now located.] We set up two haus tambarans there – Nagmiwililium and Munkasuwi. Some ancestors came to Marakom and Glaskom. I will show you on the channel.³

Before, our ancestors went naked. Then they went to fight on the other side of the bush called Munges and Muli. They raided Munges and Muli from the camps Sinbui and Badaluwi and also conquered the place called Hugnouk and took their lands. They then moved close to Kubkain

Two ancestors - Nouliagak and Nyauwunbel took sticks of Tulip trees to break the ground and create the channel down to the Sepik. They said "We cannot stay here" so they made the channel. They were becoming spirits by their work of channel makers; they went down into the water. This is part of our land claim on the kunai plains area.

The ancestors thus left Sinbui and Badalwi and went to Ninilbog and Nagilitau. The Kubkains came and made friends with the ancestors with the ancestors and said "You are naked, and some friends and allies joke and shiver at the sight of you. This is not good. We will cover your organs. They gave us skirts and marls and all was alright. This was done at Ninilbog and Nagilitau. Our grandfathers were born on this ground.

Oum, Chenapian and some Tauris came down to fight and made bad ginger [Burnt bad ginger – making fight magic] and preparations through their tambarans and they came outside [i.e. they left their hidden village sites along the Sepik] Some went to Hauna and they were defeated. Some went to Biaga where they were defeated. Some went to Kombuliap and they were defeated.

After this fight Mutbel Sukoro of Mongwalion clan left and came to Kombuliap. The men of the Kombuliap haus tambaran decided to kill him and his family. Mutbel had a friend there of the

³ If I was shown the channel in question in 1974, I kept no notation of it.

Giruii clan. The friend told him that he Mutbel was going to be killed. But he added, if they kill you, this place will be finished. I will make such sorcery through the crocodiles that they will all die. Come down to the haus tambaran.” “No. they will kill me.

“Friend Come.” They went and sat down and the Giruii addressed the people of the three Wogamas villages assembled there. “This man is my friend, who ever harms him, I will finish this place. It will burn and only the posts will be left” The people heard this talk and were afraid, and accepted the talk.

Mutbel was married to a Kutbug woman of the Bolien’non clan. His in-laws from Kutbug said “Friend trouble has arisen in front of our eyes here [Kombuliap]. It is better if our sister, you and the children come and live at Kutbug.” The family returned to Kutbug and the family increased there.

#6 Leptigon clan.

The ancestor Sukoro of the Leptigon clan came to live at Kutbug as well. After being there for some time Sukoro said. “It is a flood time. Tomorrow I will show you a line of Erima trees on the Sepik River bank, near the point where we have made our garden. The yams and mamis are ready, it is time to dig them. But Sukoro’s wife argued. No tomorrow, I will go and get a sago of mine from the bush. They argued back and forth and finally Sukoro did what his wife wanted. Their children, the boy Rigiei and a girl whose name I do not remember, were left behind and they went to dig the yams.

War canoes of Oum and Hauna were waiting in ambush for the parents. They were about to go in and get the sago, when the woman said “Crocodile tracks” and he agreed “Crocodile tracks” They had seen the canoes and their war decorations. The woman said “Something stinks”. Sukoro agreed “That is the fish and rubbish the crocodile is eating.”

The men in the canoes slapped the water with a piece of limbum then and the canoes shot out into the open. Sukoro took a spear from his bundle of spears and told his wife to sit down in the canoe when she came close to him in her fright. Sukoro danced in the canoe firing arrows and told her to paddle the canoe to the bank near some trees. They landed and he said “Right woman – follow this bush through to the village. Do not wait, get out of here.” He stayed and fought a rear-guard action.

But the woman did not do as he said. She did run away, but turned back and hid, waiting for Sukoro. He fired his last arrow and then ran in the direction he had sent his wife carrying his last spear with him. But from behind him he heard.

“Aah! Sukoro, they have speared me.”

“I thought you had run ahead”

“No, I waited for you”

Sukoro came back and laid on her breasts, and they killed him.

The garamut was beaten to tell the people we had harvested yams mamis and that we had been raided and that deaths had occurred. Mutbel said “It must be Sukoro. He and his wife went alone to get sago. The name of the garamut used was Wobnauluk [it was later purchased by the Catholic Mission.

The people thought of a payback, but Oum and Hauna were not close. The daughter of Sukoro is now [1974] an old woman at Kubkain. Rigiei [their son] died recently. Rigei had gone to Mutbel and said “I am going to Kubkain. You can stay here” He, in addition named four men of his father’s age class – Komnasi, Liabup. Nariorwur and Numbrahuni’ So Rigiei caused the Leptigon clan to be at Kubkain. Rigiei had four children living in 1974 Mutbel, Butju’umei and Gaukoro.

The origins of Kombuliap clans.

#7 Masaninyon clan.

God created the ancestors at Yiu and Koga, Two hills behind [south east of] Swagup and between Wagu and Nigiru. They originated with some of the Swagups, who came down the channel called Yamnam to reach Swagup. Our ancestors came down the channel called Amal, which has its mouth [junction with the Sepik] just above present day Yambon.

They paddled up the Sepik after leaving the Amal channel and came to Sirimbu and they called out. "Are there friends up there or not?" An old man made a noise by pulling his lime stick out of his lime gourd, and coughed. "I am here" he said.

"Can we come in or should we avoid you?" "Come here, this is the place." The people there were part of the Masaninyon clan, of the Yambon group. They met there. The ancestor Wurimbi said, "We cannot stay here. Some of us must go further up". So Wurimbi and some of the line moved further up the Sepik, leaving some clan members at Sirimbu. They came as far up at Swagup. There they stood a ceremonially decorated paddle in the ground. There is a big Kwila tree there now. They left two men there. Their descendant there now is Karumap.

The Inoion clan had come ahead of them from Swagup. They came up a channel from Swagup that used to join the Sepik. The Inoion had placed tambu targets ["do not enter signs"] on the channel to stop the Masaninyons. They cut inland to avoid the signs and came on and found more of them. They used a big kina shell to cut the vines and a ceremonial paddle to dig the channel and the canoes came along that channel and out onto the Sepik again.

The true ancestors of Kombuliap were Gei and Giruiu. The Masaninyon came and settled at Kombuliap and have stayed there since.²

[#3 Nabusion clan and Giru]

There are branches of the Nabusion clan at Kutbug, Kumti and at Kombuliap. Their story is told earlier in this chapter.

Biguruhion clan. [See clan #13 at Kubkain – Chapter 41]

The origins of Kumti clans.

#8 Dembelion clan.

The places of our ancestors were Domui, Rowusus and Salapei which are upstream of Nakek [on the Sio River]. These places of origin were in the Nakek and Mabua waterways. The reason for moving was a fight over the pitpit we eat. The fight involved all three places of origin and some of the people went and stayed at Woultam [described as being about four miles upstream of Sio village] and Malifa [Begapuke] and one man remained in the village. He had gone to hunt birds in the big ficus tree, and remained to boss the place.

When these four original groups had moved out, my group, a fourth came. The ancestors of this fourth [my] group were two men, Suriki and Manambel. They walked down to the river downstream of Nakek, which was our point on the water. They made the waterway as they came. They walked on the ground, whereas the Suwaion came by canoe.

Qn. To which clan did Suriki and Manambel belong?

Ans. The Masaninyon clan, which is now at Kutbug. They came from Maso. The Suwaion originated at Bitahuk.

The first move was when the Masaninyon [See #7 above] came from Maso at the very headwaters of the Nuwa [Sio River]. They made their canoe from sago. They cut the sago and it came down the mountain and they made a canoe from it. The sago pith them removed and this gave

rise to the big sago stand at Maso. They made their canoe from a big sago palm and they came. All the can came in canoes except my clan which came [by foot] on the ground.

My line met them at Nakek/Mabus. The Masaninyon [also pronounced Manaiyon] saw us and said "Oh yes brother, let us go now, you can follow us down." "But how will we follow?" wood.

"We are making the road with a big tortoise...and with a digging stick which has broken. You can cut a stick to replace it." The ancestors cut a stick and gave it to them. They came and met the Suwaion close to Sio. The Suwaion carried dogs with them as their ancestors were dogs [in our language 'Suwano' means male dog and 'Dogantu' means bitch]. The Suwaion came and saw us. They made canoes from the white timber with much fruit; a tree we call Douag.

They came singing war songs; it was not another song, it was a war song – a killing song. They had no other work. They just sang and played a wooden trumpet made of Douag. They came on – travelling in their canoes in the waterway, singing and doing no work.

The Masaninyon worked very hard digging the waterway as they came. When they came close to the place Biaga [Kumti] two lines were waiting – The Umas and the Buleilion [they argued with each other] Umas asked Buleilion "Have you caught the rat?"

"No, we have not caught the rat." Buleilion replied and Umas said

"Look. We have caught the rat and brought it with us"

"Why did you bring that rat? It steals, do not bring it. We left it because it steals" Buleilion said

"No, we will carry it with us." They said and they brought the rat.

We came on the ground, running along the edge of the waterway. My ancestor's name was Kolowei'domumoi'ledin. He came on and arrived in the Kalok bush [Kubkain] and he hear the noises of a man carving a canoe.

[Here the myth continues with the story from Kubkain #1&2 of the man carving a canoe with his teeth, but with the following variation]

...He saw that these people had no anus and their bellies were very distended. So, from hiding he fired arrows at them, piercing them and creating anuses. The shit came out and the people said "Oh yes, we are very happy you came and did this...we are well again." These people unable to shit were the Uraiyon clan.

Kolowei'domumoi'ledin came back from there and arrived at Kumti. The Suwaion and Masaninyon clans came to the mouth of the channel and went into the place. The Giruii clan people were the original settlers and they invited the other clans to come ad gather at Kumti.

#9 Giruiurion of Giruii clan

The big swamp behind this place [Kumti]is called Buru'uwan'Inulion'Giruwion, a brother and sister Nau and Kamnautu came from there. They came and came until bush prevented further progress. They discussed what to do about that, and they had sex and this made the bush clear away. They came further and the bush again prevented them continuing. They had sexual intercourse again and the bush cleared again, and so they came and finally arrived at the place we call Kumti. So, all the swamps are theirs. The men of the two rivers migrated down and lived with them [Niksek (April) and Nuwa (Sio/Wogamush)]

#10 Numbruhion clan

Yaknalis { Isumbu - Giruni - Suoni [born 1940]
Buguretu [F]
Nihambel } Migrated to Kubkain
Uluhunei }

Yaknalis place was Yessan. There was a fight. Yaknalis wanted a leg bone from a cassowary to make a dagger. When he was not given the bone, he fought. He came then and stayed at Wogamas. He married here and had a family. One man was left at people Kombuliap from this migration, the Biguruhion clan. This migration, as you can see, is recent. [Bragge note 1974 This is the line that Swagup call Bodif.]

The people from this family who went to Kubkain, went because of an argument over the bride price paid for their sister. Their father would not allow them a share of the price – so they went to Kubkain.

#11 Apkesion clan

My ancestors originated at Kanteto, which is near Guru, the upstream hamlet off Bitara. [on the Niksek river]. Guru was our mouth road [access to the river?]. Kanteto was on a mountain in from the west bank of the Niksek River. They came when they heard the wooden trumpet of another clan, the Liahauwu [which is also known as Watitam]. Our ancestors were Kop and Wolisauho. Kop migrated and Wolisauho remained. You heard of this branch of the clan when you were at Bitara.³ Kinok is descended from Kop and I am descended from Wolisauho.

{	Kop	-	Name unknown	-	Kaiopisei	-	Natui	-	Kinok
	Wolisauho	-	Yukoh	-	Marei	-	Bogo	-	Kenti [informant]

Kinok claims to be of the Henatam clan, but he is in fact of my clan. His father's wife came from the Henatam clan.

The ancestors heard the wooden trumpet of the Liahauwu and we came. They made a bamboo raft and they drifted down the Niksek river. They made the raft with separate divisions for the men and a place for the women. They played bamboo flutes as they came down the river. My ancestor [Wolisauho] walked down the bank of the Niksek River following the raft that had gone on ahead. We came to the mountain in the Bitara area called Yaburuk [and presumably settled there].

The clan called Apkesion of Wogamas called out to us and asked we wanted to live on a mountain and they called us to come to Wogamas. They said there was enough bush and a lake [called Bogohoiap] and you can have the Nohaiap sago stand. We then came to Wogamas.⁴

#12. Liahuwut clan, also known as Wadeitam clan.

The ancestors of this clan were Ligdup and Swasarnabul. They left Galbatamten mountain near the Sitifa River and came down the Niksek River in a raft made of bamboo. They fenced it making a separate area for women and a separate area for men. They played bamboo flutes as they came down the river.

The story goes that the lime they ate, they took from the vaginas of their women. Do not ask me to explain. That is just the story we heard, and I am passing it on. That was how they ate their betelnut with that lime.

They came and settled on the mountain called Nibuk'bak, and they fought with the ancestors of Wagu and Yigei [the Bahinemo language group⁴]. They ran away and drifted down the river, until a family [clan] called Suwaion hooked their raft in and settled them, saying "Drift no more. The place is here, come in and settle."

The men of Kumti wanted to fight them, but the Suwaion "If you fight them, look out for our sorcery" so the Suwaion looked after them and they joined the Kumti ward Kumiung.⁵

⁴ To fight with Wagu and Yigei raises geographical questions – probably they fought with Bahinemo ancstors on the Niksek River – where Bahinemo speakers still reside at Nigeru and Kagiru.

PS concerning the ward system. During World War 2 The Japanese, being unable to identify the Sepik group responsible for attacking and killing all members of a Japanese patrol, took revenge on Wogamas. [See Sepik 3 Chapter 64]. Following this incident, the ward system broke up as the people returned to their ancestral lands in the Niksek River area. After the war the wards were not re-established with most of the Wogamas men going out to work as indentured labour.

ooo000ooo

Enemies of Wogamas.

Fights against Palu.

Palu [of Balu or some pronunciation between P & B] and Wogamas have always been each other's enemies. The eagle that flies high above is the cause of the trouble; it makes our stomachs angry. It also makes our stomachs cold and reassured after we have killed Palu. When we go stupidly into their area seeking to make friends, they kill us in payback. After they repay us, we start again. Then after a year or so we go back to fight again. Then we try to make friends again. Our canoes go and stay along one bank and the Palus along the other bank [Of the Sio River].

Both groups fasten tangets to sticks and throw them over the water. When the tangets are agreed we will come to make friends, but the eagle will have confused the thinking. We go to trade, but we fight instead, and so it went.

Palu had no fire. They tried to make fire using cane, until their hands hurt, but the fire did not light. The mountain of the Palu is on the other side of the Sio River. We [our ancestors] called out to the Palu side seeking fire and the Palus came out of the bush and they were handing over tobacco – leaf by leaf. Then the Palu said in their own language “This is the last tobacco leaf.”

Our people already had the fire that they wanted. Kwati said “lets get out of here – they intend to fight.” But the Palus were too quick. They grabbed Kwati and dragged him up the bank. And stabbed him with bone daggers while the other Palus fired arrows at the Kumtis [Biagas]. Kwati bit his assailants and stamped on their feet. He ran and jumped into the water. The Palu fired arrows at him and he was hit a number of times. The Kumti paddled their canoe in and picked him up. Kwati was badly hurt.

The Luluai's brother Kavia knew about fight ginger and how to extract arrows and cure the wounds. He ate the ginger and spat the juice and took the arrows out of Kwati. He fitted the arrow heads into a piece of bamboo and put them aside, as is our fashion for a later day for pay back. The Japanese came and went and our Luluais [village officials] were appointed [by the Australian civil administration]. The Tultul's father sent a tanget – the Palu were to come to the Biaga big place on the Sio River. It was a time of floods. Word was sent to my line who were living on the Niksek River near Bitara. We all came and assembled a day before the Palus were due.

The Palu canoes drifted down the Sio River ^{AND} ~~and~~ arrived at about 8am. Then the Palu big man Wisibosi was spoken to by the Tultul's father “Wisibosi – these broken arrows here. Did you attack Kwati?” “Yes, that was me.” he replied. At this their canoe was overturned and the men went into the water and were speared with hand spears. Wisibosi, his wife and child and a man called Minibi were killed. After killing them that settlement was abandoned and the people came back to Kumti. There was a big ficus tree at Kumti and it was there that the four heads were left to rot. After the headhunting singsing they went back to the Biaga settlement on the Sio River and stayed there for four or five years. Then the last fight occurred when Palu paid us back.

A Kubkain man came at stayed at Biaga, I was a child at the time [15-20 years prior to 1974]. The Kubkain man had a trading tanget from Palu. From Biaga we heard a buttress root of a tree being thumped by the Palus. The Kubkain said “They have come to trade. They want dried fish

from me in exchange for tobacco.”. They took canoes and went [upstream to trade] Tuti and others went. Tuti still has arrow wounds in his back. The Palu had broken [prepared] bad lime against the Biaga people, this [magic] prevents the victims from thinking clearly, and makes them easy to kill.

The Biagas said “They will kill us. The Kubkain, whose name was Kalion, disagreed, but the Palus held him. My uncle was stabbed by the wife of the Palu leader Kora. My Uncle, who you will meet tomorrow, jumped into, he dived deep to avoid the Palu arrows. Tuti was wounded a number of times but survived. The Kubkain was held down while his throat was cut and his stomach cut open. He died. That was the last fight. After it that Biaga settlement was abandoned and the place called Melia was established.⁶

Fights against Swagup.

The story of a decisive fight against Swagup in which the Swagup ward called Sanokwion /Budul was annihilated, is told in the Swagup Chapter. Sepik 1 Chapter 39.

Fights against Hauna [Yauenian].

A man called Magau’o of Hauna was killed in a hidden killing done by a Kumti man called Wiliohonei. Magau’o was sick in the head. The Haunas had made magic and his mind was turned. He did not stay long at Hauna. He would come to Kumti and the men of Kumti would take him back to Hauna. But after a night or so he would come back to Kumti. The Hauna big man Staua sent word.

“If Magau’o happened to get lost on the road, there would be no talk. Hauna has already written him off, it is only his skin you see moving around...”

After this Kumti took him back again. Then he was met again on the Sepik near Muria, the Sio/Sepik junction by Wiliohonei. Wiliohonei was fishing and he had his small daughter Napgututu in the canoe with him. They heard a canoe approaching and Wiliohonei took up his spear. Napgututu asked “What is it?” “Shut up, a pig – meat.” “Yes Papa, lets shoot the pig now,”

When Magau’o’s canoe came into sight Wiliohonei coughed and asked “Where are you going?” “I am going to the village” “Go on”

Then Magau’o asked “Wiliohohei have you fire?” “Yes, come and get a light.” He came and the two canoes were side by side. They talked for a while as a fire was lit for Magau’o. Then as Magau’o was leaving, Wiliohonei grabbed his paddle, causing him to fall into the water where Wiliohohei speared him. He went down and when he came up again Wiliohonei speared him again. When he was dead, the daughter said in excitement “Papa, that is meat, let us eat.” “Yes, child it is meat.”

They took the body into their canoe and towed Magau’o’s canoe. They took the body into the swamp and out it and the body under the grass and left it there. His forked paddle, the feathers from his hair and his bamboo phalocrypt were placed in his own canoe. Wiliohonei was just leaving the swamp when he met his big brother Sowasi, who asked

“What have you done? Did you get permission from the village?”

“You know me. I did not ask anyone. It was just of my own strength that I did it.”

“That is all very well, but you should have asked the village first. It is alright – go.”

Wiliohonei took Magau’o’s things to his house and put them in there. The village as a whole did not know what he had done. The phalocrypt and the paddle he gave to Nesukoro, as he could not carry them around himself as he, at that time was not yet of the Komaptan class [i.e. a Homicide]. He was waiting for a raid, for him to make an official kill [in order to gain homicide status].

After some time, in the time when our fathers were children, they killed a married couple from Palu and he earned his [homicide status] black paint. The man killed was Hwasi, and his child

was also killed. With the victims were Migiu and Wadar of Sio and Hwasi's wife who was also a Sio. They said "The crocodiles have come." They [The Sio people] refer to us Sepiks, as crocodiles.

A Kumti man had a target arrangement with Hwasi, and when he came to the bush Monok, they surrounded Hwasi and killed him.

When Migiu and Wadar had heard of the intended killing of Hwasi, they took up their bows and arrows and called out "Who kills our in-law will need to be a strong man, as he will have to kill us also."

The raiders were of the Dembalion and Suwaion clans and they argued with the Sios "If you help the Palu, we will kill you." The two Sios thought they would kill their sister who was married to Hwasi. The Dembalion and Suwaion said "We will kill only the Palu and his child, we did not kill your sister."

"We do not believe you. That is not how you do things. You will kill his wife as well – our sister."

The argument went back and forth with the Sios saying "If our inlaw is killed, we will be killed also fighting in his defence." To which the Dembalion and Suwaion replied "If that is how you want it, you can die with him".

Hwasi went up onto the roof of the house and they fired arrows at him and he was wounded. He moved back and forth trying to find a way out. Then the ancestor Marhei speared Hwasi and he fell down. The child was small, about three years old, M'isbol killed the child. The Sios Migiu and Wadar and their sister were not killed. The raiders told them: We have eaten what we came to eat, and that is all." They cut the heads off and carried them to the village and the singsing was held back. That was how Wiliohonei took on the status of Komaptam, the full homicide.

Fights with Kagiru. [a Niksek River Bitara language group]

Four Kagiru men came to Kumti. They were Taimu, Kamkamin, Kimbe and Malip. The man who brought them was Bibtoul of Bitara. With these five men at Kumti, the men of Kumti, Kutbug and Kombuliap sent messages back and forth about killing them. But the Dembalion and Suwaion clans were opposed to killing Taimu, but the other three Kagirus could be killed.

In the early morning our fathers and grandfathers took the war canoes up the Niksek river to where there was a huge garden belonging to Dabkoro of Kumti. They took the canoes beyond the garden and hid them. The men came back and waited in ambush in the garden. The garden was located at Selketa and it was abundant in taro, bananas and sugar, so the ambush was hidden behind a wall of garden produce leaves.

The four intended victims, the Bitara man and Buang and Weni of Kumti came together in a canoe, after the Kumtis warned "It is not good that you go alone. We will come with you." So, they went, and when they came to the garden they saw Dabkoro standing in the garden. He called to the two Kumti men "Come in for a minute and get some taro..." The Kumti men called back "Yes we are going to bring them to bush Nauni and then come back." The Bitara man, at this point started to worry, sensing something was wrong.

The canoes came into a high bank and Dabkoro dug taro and tossed it down to the canoes while the ambush remained in hiding. Malip was splashed when a taro went into the water near him and he became angry as this was not the way to give a friend taro and he moved about in the canoe, disturbed by his suspicion that a fight was about to erupt.

Buang and Weni called out in our language, so the victims would not understand "Hey! Do not wait too long. This man is angry, spear them now." Dabkoro speared Kimbe with a spear called Yendi. Kimbe had been leaning over to pick up a taro from the water and he leapt with the spear

through him. Malip was also speared. Kamkamin leapt into the water and Magnasi killed him from another canoe. With three killed, they cut off their heads. The other two Dibtoul and Taimu were held by Buang and Weni. They were taken to Nauni [also pronounced Nouhi] bush and let go to walk to their place. The Kumti then sang their way back to the village. The Kagiru did not back this fight.

The forbidden relationship – no fighting with Chenapian.

Chenapian has the same clans as we do and we cannot marry Chenapians, even now. We cannot, and have not fought Chenapian. They like us are descended from the ancestor Wonion. The Chenapians originated at Similia on the Sio branch of the Nuwa River, at its headwaters. Their canoe prow is called Nababu. They broke a pig skull and they took one half. The other half was left at Kumti, and this is the reason there is a law against fighting them.

Qn. But Woion is of only one of the three Kumti wards. What about the other two wards?

Ans. Yes! We are of a single place, so none of the Kumti wards can fight Chenapian. The Prohibition also cover Kombuliap and Kutbug. Kubkain can fight Chenapian.

Headhunting and it's relationship with ficus trees.

Heads were left on the roots of ficus trees for 20 days. On the 15th day, the ancestors took fire to get ready to paint the killer's faces. Before they have taken a head, they can put on only black paint. They wait for the heads to rot, waiting for only the white bone to be left. Then they can paint the skull in black paint and red earth colour paint. Then the killers are also painted as the skulls have been painted. The red paint cannot be placed on the face of a man who has not killed.

The figus tree is used as it has many roots and branch roots, and these accommodate a lot of insects and ants which work at cleaning the skulls. These insects are not found at the base of Kwila or Erima trees.

Qn. Did you model the skulls like the lower/middle Sepiks did?

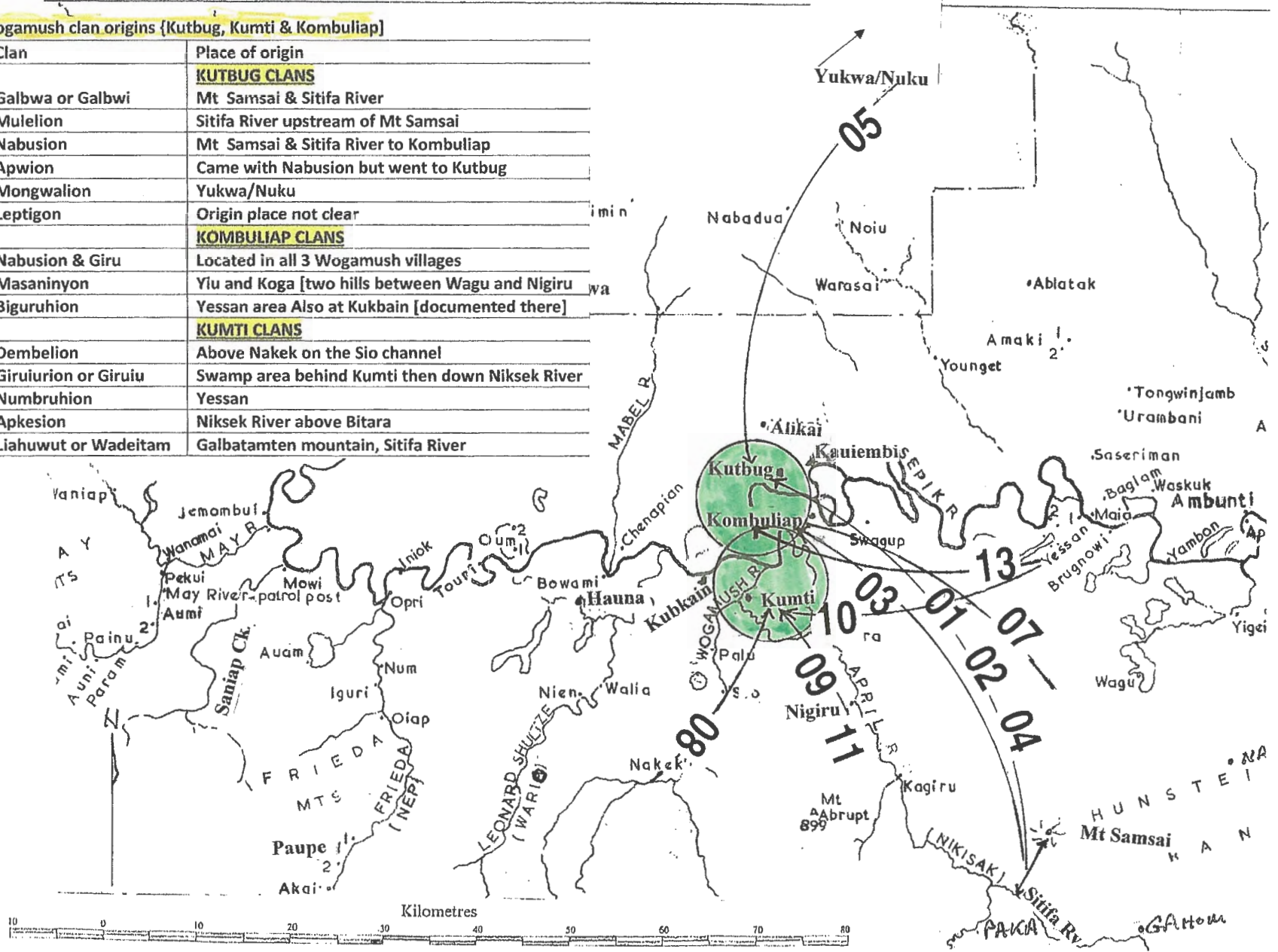
Ans. We put the skulls in the haus tambaran as the lower/middle Sepiks did. We hung them from the beams and under the eaves of the haus tambaran in their paint. People could come and point to the different skulls taken in different fights. The heads would stay there until the skulls broke up or until the haus tambaran fell down.

Qn. Remodelling described.

Ans. No we did not do that, we just painted them... We also used Yellow paint, which we made by chewing mango leaves and mixing the result with lime in a coconut shell. This paint was applied in a dabbing motion, making spots on the Skull.⁷

Chapter 38 Wogamush clan origins (Kutbug, Kumti & Kombuliap)

Map No	Clan	Place of origin
KUTBUG CLANS		
1	Galbwa or Galbwi	Mt Samsai & Sitifa River
2	Mulelion	Sitifa River upstream of Mt Samsai
3	Nabusion	Mt Samsai & Sitifa River to Kombuliap
4	Apwion	Came with Nabusion but went to Kutbug
5	Mongwalion	Yukwa/Nuku
6	Leptigon	Origin place not clear
KOMBULIAP CLANS		
3	Nabusion & Giru	Located in all 3 Wogamush villages
7	Masaninyon	Yiu and Koga [two hills between Wagu and Nigiru]
13	Biguruhion	Yessan area Also at Kukbain [documented there]
KUMTI CLANS		
8	Dembelion	Above Nakek on the Sio channel
9	Giruiurion or Giruiu	Swamp area behind Kumti then down Niksek River
10	Numbruhion	Yessan
11	Apkesion	Niksek River above Bitara
12	Liahuwut or Wadeitam	Galbatamten mountain, Sitifa River



Sepik 1 Chapter 41 Wongamusen Kubkain.

The pre-contact [pre-World War 2] social structure of Kubkain

<u>Ward</u>	<u>Clans</u>	<u>Totems</u>	<u>Haus Tambaran</u>
Kalok	Uraiyon	Large wild fowl	Nonkoro
	Wiabion	Osprey	
	Inoion	Coconut	
	Wusmion	Bitternut	
	Nemnuyion	Black Cormorant	
	Mamelion	Large Bamboo	
Munkoswi	Kwolion	Erima [tree]	Hawap
	Wahuno [extinct]	Erima	
	Nandehion	Pidgeon	
	Buno	Pidgeon	
	Nasidion	Large Tortoise	
	Leptigion	Black and White Cockatoo	
	Mongwalion	Black and White Cockatoo	
	Komiap	Breadfruit	
	Nabusion	Banana	

The clans are listed in the stated order of their arrival. The first four clans of the Kalok ward [Uraiyon, Wiabion, Inoion and Wusmion] are regarded as the true owners of the Kubkain land. Kwolion clan is regarded as the founder of the Munkoswi ward.¹

Origins of the Kubkain Clans

#1 & 2 Uraiyon and Wiabion clans

Both clans lived at Gusok [soft K]. The ancestors did not have fire. They left the meat out in the sun [to cook]. The ancestors made canoes by cutting the wood with their teeth. They had no stone axes. The Wutmiug clansman Wuluhunei came quietly and watched from hiding, while my ancestor Gilam carved a canoe with his teeth. Then, as he watched, a tooth broke. Gilman sat down and said "Sorry, my tomahawk is broken. What other tomahawk can I use now?"

Wuluhunei came out into the open and Gilam said "Ah friend, you were watching from hiding and that caused my tomahawk to break." Wuluhunei wondered in awe. "You make canoes by cutting the wood with your teeth? He said to Gilam "Here, take this stone axe and make your canoe. Do not use your teeth." They sat down together and Wuluhunei asked "What shall we eat.?"

"Here is food. I have put it in the sun to cook."

"Where is your fire?"

"I have no fire. The sun is my fire."

Wuluhunei gave him fire and the axe. Then we went back to his place Kwatba Diuiyug in the swamps. Wuluhunei [then] went to Wogamas. From our place Gusok, close behind Kubkain we came and settled at Kalok – the present Kubkain village site, in ancestral times The Inoion and Wusmion clans came first and joined us here.²

#3 Inoion clan

My ancestor came from Swagup to Gusok and asked Uraiyon and Wiabion clans if his line could live with them. But they said there was not enough room to settle there. The ancestors of the Uraiyon and Wiabion clans said "Go to Kapka and ask the man of the Nemnuyion clan.

So, the ancestor came to the hill called Kapka and asked the Nemnuyon man Nimnuwal, and another man Yenoagei if his line could settle there. They agreed for my clan to settle with them at Kapka. My ancestor who came from Swagup was called Ingapwar. He and his line left Swagup so they could make baskets and bilums and be productive. Part of the family remained at Swagup making pottery.

The Nemnuyon clansmen asked what our ancestors ate. They said “we eat leaves and what we can find. We do not have good food.” “Alright, come into the house”. The Nemnuyon ancestor’s wife made hot water sago for my ancestor and his line to eat. Then they came out onto the veranda of the house and Ingapwar was shown the sago stand by Nimnuwal. “The area over there you can cut and eat. This side, and going up there is mine.” He divided the sago stand thus. The name of the stand was Magikom. We still use that sago stand. We were living here and later the Wusmion clan came down and settled with us.³

#4 Nemnuyon clan

People were at the Nembiangwa lake when a big flood came and covered the people killing them. The bodies swelled and burst and maggots formed. The maggots turned into the ancestors of the Nemnuyon clan.

#5 & 6 Wusmion clan and Kwolion clan

Two groups Kilion and Wusmion migrated from the head of the Leonard Schultze River. Kolion came overland and Wusmion came in a canoe. The Leonard Schultze River was not there yet. Dibkel the Wusmion leader took a stone shaped like an axe head from a hole in the ground and put it on the front of his canoe. The stone was known as metou made a path for the canoe as it moved on water that flowed from the hole. Thus, the Leonard Schultze River was formed. The men in the canoe used pieces of limbun to clear away debris. There was also a cassowary called Rusuwa in the canoe.

Upon reaching the lake called Bitoma, the limbun broke, so they used a pig bone ‘Sokob’ to clear the debris. They cut through a mountain called Wuwun with the pig bone. The cassowary went ashore and ate and it excreted, and the sago grew from the excreta. The men in the canoe cut the course of the Leonard Schultze River until they reached the Sepik River and floated to Kubkain where they made their village.

Yimsilki, the eldest son of Dibkel gave a small amount of the disputed land to Neingi, an ancestor of Hauna, on the river bank of the [Sepik] river for the Hauna to hide from the Oum, with whom they fought. No payment for land or sago was made...

The Kwolion people lived at Koia [also known as Ilu] for a very long time. Chenapian came for a singsing and a Chenapian man commented on the huge size of size of one of the Kwolion women’s vaginas. A sub group of the Kwolion, known as the Kolgul sent a tanget for the Chenapian to visit again and ambushed and killed them. The Kolgul then fled to the Leonard Schultze [Walio] river for sanctuary from the Chenapians. Basipa, son of Kolidian, the Kwolion leader went to live at Kubkain.

Writer’s note: *This history of the Wusmion clan was presented in evidence before the Lands Titles Commission [LTC] hearing of the “Ilu” land dispute between Kubkain and Yauenian [Hauna] in October 1970. The writer registered the dispute a riot over it resulted in twenty- two men being each gaoled for three months in early 1970. The reason for the registration was the probability of deaths resulting unless something if the dispute was allowed to further escalate*

The LTC decision in the Ilu dispute was that Yauenian [Hauna] was awarded the land along the Sepik River bank and Kubkain was awarded the sago stand in from the river bank, and rights of access through Hauna land to get to the sago.⁴

#7 Mamelion clan.

Our ancestor Mamuk came from Kambauwi [Upper Yessan]. He was away in the bush when the people of the village killed a cassowary. They allocated a bone, but no meat for Mamuk. He was cross about this "Why give me just the bone?" [He left Kambauwi in disgust] His sister Bugru'tu came with him. They left, saying to Yangwat and Nanis "You remain."

They came to Swagup. Th Swagups had killed some of our ancestors and the few that were no left are of Councillor Biko's line. The survivors ran away again and came to Wogamas. The men of Masanion and Yambanumbu told the ancestors "Come and sleep here"

In order to give some idea of the time frame, Mamuk's grandson was born in 1926.
Mamuk – Gudmarekei – Gutmambel [born 1926]

My¹ father Nihimbel was born at Wogamas. His sister Malbi married there and he did not get a share of the bride price. [As a result] he came to Kubkain and was taken in by the Wusmion and the Inoion⁵. They looked after him and he married. I was born here [at Kubkain.]

#8 Nasidion clan.

My ancestor came from Yamban in the Nuku area. He came, but he did not have a tomahawk to cut wild sago for food. They² came and settled on the Wudeinuk channel. Our houses were called Nesitgutsju and Nesitgudwup. These were spirit houses, they were not men's houses. The Wudeinuk channel is close behind Chenapian, and part of our clan is at Chenapian. They made the Chenapian haus tambaran called Hukbowi.

Then the men of this ground here [Kubkain], Kalok, Kupka and Gusok called out for us to come and settle with them. We came and settled as requested.

Qn. *Why did your ancestors leave Yamban? Ans* We do not know.⁶

#9 Nandehion clan #10 Buno Clan & #11 Wahuno clan [extinct]

My ancestor came from Yauenian [Hauna] – from their original place Warui [Warui was said to be north of the Sepik River between Tauri and Oum] Two women, Kiltu and Miatu followed the tracks of a python. They came and came and came ashore ["ashore" in this sense is taken to mean ceased their journey] at Yauenian's ancestral place Iliku Duhion. The women ancestors Kiltu and Miatu asked "Python, are we just going to stay here? Will you not make a road to go out to the Sepik?"

"I was just waiting for you to suggest it" said the python. The python went underground and the two women came after him, clearing the channel as they went. They came to where Borowami is [and met] all the Kwolion clan who had come ahead. "Are you waiting? Come on! lets go" [said the two women].

"You go ahead, slowly down river. We want to wait for part of our line called Buna, which has not come yet" They [the Kwolion] relied. [But] when the Buno line arrived, that found that the Kwolions had gone ahead. They saw where they had cooked food, and then gone down the Sepik. They followed them... They passed Brasui and were going to settle at Sirimbu in the Yambon area.

Kiltu and Miatu said "Enough! Let us go back up river." They came to Swagup, but the men there said "You cannot stay here. Come ashore and eat then go on upriver." They came then to Kubkain and the Urayon and Wiabion asked them in, saying "Come in here. This is the original place. People assemble here." Kiltu said "Miatu, I think you should stay here with these people Urayon and Wiabion. I will go and make baskets at Yauenian. You stay here and grow yams and

¹ Informant Namaus – born 1935

² "They" indicates that more than one single ancestor came

*mamis and make business with them. If we both stay together here, we will not have any rest.” So Kiltu went to Yuenian. These two women gave rise to all our three clans. We all have the same story.*⁷

12 Komiap clan

Nalio, born 1934 was the last surviving clansman. He knew little about his clan story except his grandfather Lambingi came from Nukuk [which he pronounced “Nakuk”]. Nukuk is part of Waskuk-on-Sepik, Lambingi came and married at Kubkain.⁸

13 Bigruhion clan [note the overlap with #7 Mamelion clan]

I will speak of my inlaw’s clan. Their ancestors were Minibiyei and Watagum. They came from Kumbauwi at Yessan. They came and slept at Noksiba. The Swagups attacked them and killed some, while others came up river. The Masanion [clan?] ...invited them in. Their brother/friend Wirimbi’s [ancestor of Masanion] descendants, are still here.

*In our grandfather’s time children went to wash and they lit some pandanus fronds to burn some wasps out of a hole in a house post. That house and other houses burned down along with the ancestral items in them. The men of Kambuliap [one of the three Wogamas villages] wanted to kill the child. The father, whose name was Wuliumbul, of this line took them all to Kubkain. Yeno and Wumsi took them in at Kubkain. Wuliumbul’s brother Kamkam stayed at Kambuliap, and there is only one man of this clan here [at Wagamas] now.*⁹

14 Leptigion clan & # 15 Mongwalion clan.

They came from Yukwa and Manengsi in the Nuku area. The origins of these clans are described in Chapter 38.

#16 Nabusion clan.

*Yelba and Malsin were the places where we originated. Both places are on the same big mountain, where Begapuke is [middle reaches of the April River]. Our clan was Nabusion, our sister clan from the same place was Apwion. Both clans originated together and migrated together.*¹⁰

ooo000ooo

Kubkain settlement patterns.

As described above, the clans settled at Kalok, Gusok and Kupka. They then moved in ancient times to form Kubkain village with its two wards. The Kalok ward was from this [present village site of] Kubkain hill, where the haus tambaran Nonkoro was located. Inland, following the higher ground was the Munkoswi haus tambaran Hawap.

Between the two haus tambarans were the married houses of both wards. Kalok was originally on a lake off the Sepik, but the river kept cutting in, and now we are not on the river and there is no longer a lake. The ground Munkoswi was originally slightly up river, but it has been washed away and is no more, so the area now called Munkoswi was given the old name. Initial contact was with the Germans. Kubkain was then located at Kalok.¹¹

ooo000ooo

Fighting with Palu [also pronounced Balu – or somewhere in between “P” and “B”]

The fighting with Palu was commenced Wunu of Kwolion clan. Wunu elder Bulu’s [born 1933] great grand farther.¹² Palu had also always been the enemy of Wogamas. The Wogamas and Kubkain fighting against Palu is covered in full in Chapter 38.

Fighting against Chenapian

The Chenapians used to come and block the Ulgi channel and spear the fish. We did the same and as a result a dispute arose over the ownership rights to the channel. At the time when Kubkain

wanted to open a new *haus tambaran*, they had their party and there was plenty of talk about going to fight.

A man called *Apkisel* of the *Wogamas* clan *Masanion* was here [*Kubkain*] with us. In the morning we went to the *Nebgubag* lake, as he had a target to meet three *Chenapians*, - *Dugukramal*, *Ugwuniar* and *Glagen*. They had gone in to make a garden. He went and saw them and came back out and told the *Kubkains* where they were. The *Kubkain* decision to fight had already been taken. They put their weapons into the canoes and went to the sand bar near the mouth of the channel. They went into the *pitpit* there are waited. The three *Chenapians* had no idea this was happening, so in the afternoon they came out, unsuspecting.

They paddled past the sandbar. Then *Sesumbel* threw the first spear from close quarters and it went through one man's hair. All three fell into the water. The *Kubkains* then went in their canoes and killed all three. They were brothers, sons of one man. The bodies were laid out in the bush and the *Kubkains* came back down.

Qn. Were the heads taken?

Ans. No. They came from a close-by place. We laid the bodies out with care. We did not want the *Chenapians* to get upset and come and cut off *Kubkain* heads. This fight was not paid back. This was a pay-back for the previous killing of *Negub* and his wife and child. They were killed while gardening at *Nambud*. This was a long time ago.¹³

Fight against Sio

Bitara men killed *Nuhumbel* and *Nigdelo* in about 1925. Although *Bitara* did the killings, *Sio* went to *Bitara* to celebrate the killings. *Kubkain* heard this and was offended as *Kubkain* are of the same ancestor as *Sio*. The *Sios* [involved] were *Bakiul*, *Bai* and *Yuwes*...they called to *Nainmul* and he went and picked them up and brought them back to the village. The *Kubkains* killed them in payback. The heads were taken and the bodies thrown into the water. The *Sios* did not back this fight.

Fight against Walio.

Kubkain women went to... see a *Mongwalion* man pass through the homicide *singsing* ritual [*Kamaptan*]. They were highly impressed by his appearance. They came back, saying that if *Wunu* made a kill he would look like that also. The ceremony they had watched was at a *Waskuk-on-Sepik* camp called *Dolbeg*.

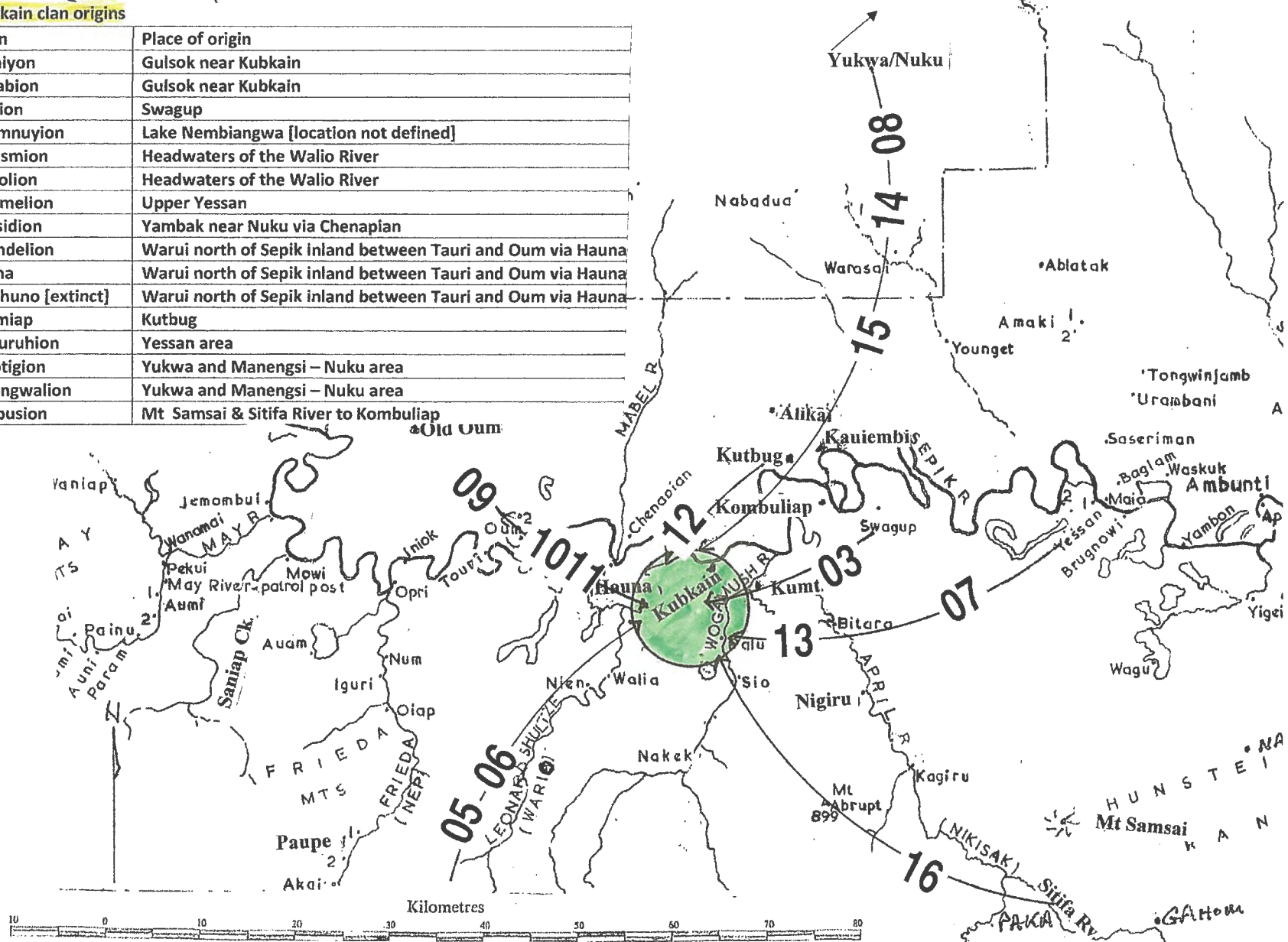
The women talked and the men heard their concerns. The men went into the *Walio* River area and they called for a man. He came out and they held him and *Wunu* speared him. *Wunu* was the *Kwolion* clan leader. He did not select enemies to kill, the man he killed was one of his own family... The *Walios* have not repaid this killing.¹⁴

Qn, Which places have come and attacked *Kubkain*

Ans, None.

Chapter 39 Kubkain clan origins

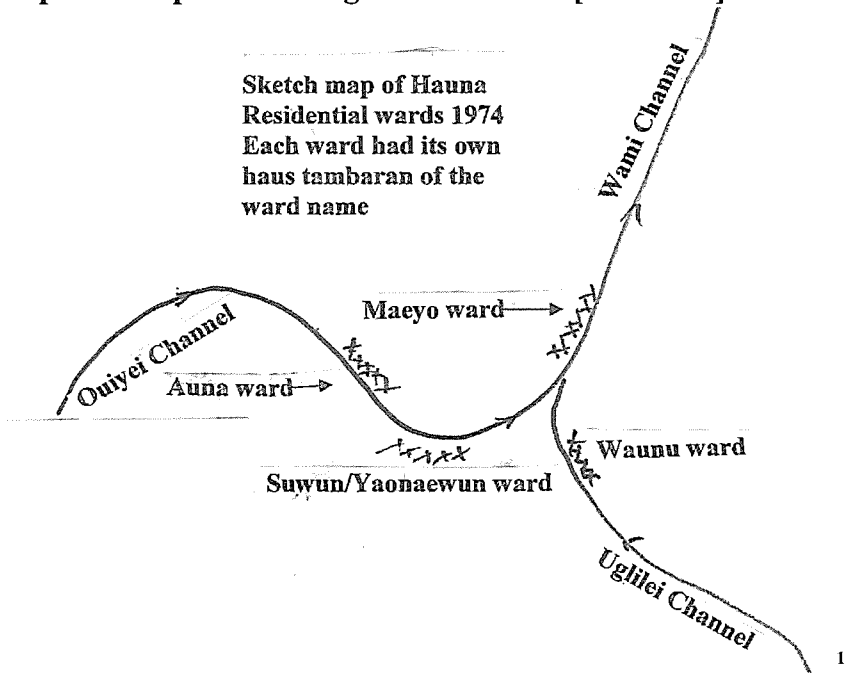
Map No	Clan	Place of origin
1	Uraiyon	Gulsok near Kubkain
2	Wiabion	Gulsok near Kubkain
3	Inoion	Swagup
4	Nemnuyion	Lake Nembiangwa [location not defined]
5	Wusmion	Headwaters of the Walio River
6	Kwolion	Headwaters of the Walio River
7	Mamelion	Upper Yessan
8	Nasidion	Yambak near Nuku via Chenapian
9	Nandelion	Warui north of Sepik inland between Tauri and Oum via Hauna
10	Buna	Warui north of Sepik inland between Tauri and Oum via Hauna
11	Wahuno [extinct]	Warui north of Sepik inland between Tauri and Oum via Hauna
12	Komiap	Kutbug
13	Biguruhion	Yessan area
14	Leptigion	Yukwa and Manengsi – Nuku area
15	Mongwalion	Yukwa and Manengsi – Nuku area
16	Nabusion	Mt Samsai & Sitifa River to Kombuliap



End Notes Chapter 41

-
- ¹ Councillor and elders of Kubkain. Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 page 478
 - ² Yamkanu of Kubkain - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 page 478
 - ³ Nesukwak of Kubkain - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 page 478/9
 - ⁴ Ambunti Patrol No 8/1970-71 – In Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 117
 - ⁵ Namaus of Kubkain - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 page 479
 - ⁶ Nihilaugus of Kubkain - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 page 479
 - ⁷ Suwunu of Kubkain - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 page 479-480
 - ⁸ Nalio of Kubkain - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 page 480
 - ⁹ Councillor Wuvu of Wogamas - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 page 458
 - ¹⁰ Gamseri of Wogamas - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 page 457/8
 - ¹¹ File note - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 page 480
 - ¹² Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 page 481
 - ¹³ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 page 482
 - ¹⁴ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 page 482

Sepik 1 Chapter 42 Wongamusen Hauna [Yauenian]



<u>Ward</u>	<u>Clan</u>	<u>Totem</u>	<u>Place of origin</u>
Waunu	Omkamun	Pig	Walio village Walio Rv.
	Naenium	Catfish	Wusok village Walio Rv.
	Yaemun	Kwila	Upper Sepik
	Waunu	"Kumba" tree	with Omkamun clan
Sowun/Yaonaewun	Tunakuin	Erima tree	Upper Sepik
	Yaonaewun	"Op" tree	Karok – Kubkain
	Wewin	Parrot	Biaga
	Somum	Pig	Yawa
Maeyo	Naowin	Eagle	Mowi
	Maeyo	Crocodile	Hauna
Auna	Naewaiwun	Dog	Yawa Channel
	Auna	Duck	Auom
	Nuomun	Duck	Nadek bush – Hauna
	Inokum.	Erima tree	Wanium
	Wasiwun	Duck	Chenapian
	Naubai	Hornbill	Yawa Channel
	Braiwun	White Cockatoo	Sinen – Walio River
	Husok	White Cockatoo	Sinen – Walio River

Notes: Braiwun clan used to be in Waunu ward but moved to Auna. Also, Yaemun is possibly the same clan as Yaewun.

Origins of Hauna clans and migrations

#1 Omkamun clan.

Ancestor Gaubu of Omkamun left Walio village and came down the Uglilei channel to the junction and then went up the Oniyei channel [also pronounced Ounei] to the land called Mongowa. He stayed there a long time.

The ancestor of the [#2] Tunakuin clan came and joined them there and settled. The two clans made a haus tambaran called Makalbobin. They lived there and then the [#3] Naenium clan came down the Walio River, then up the Uglilei channel to Mongowa. The men there saw the

newcomers and said “Where are you going?” “We are looking for a place to settle.” They said. “Settle with us” they replied. The [#4] Naenium ancestor was a snake. Then came three clans together, the [#5] Naowaiwun, [#6] Maeyo and [#7] Naubai clans.²

[#6] Maeyo clan

Maeyo clan left their place of origin Biasum, at the present Hauna site and went down into the Sepik, turned upstream and into the Yawa channel [below Oum], where they met the other two clans drifting down the Yawa channel. They were making a singing as they drifted. The [#5] Naowaiwun had migrated after a fight after a new haus tambaran was made in the Yawa area. The population disbursed and went to Yawa, other Lumi villages and Oum, which was then inland, in the bush from their present village site. The Maeyo came up the Sepik, into the Yawa, [then back down] to Mongowa where the ancestor Gaubu invited them in to live. Gaubu distributed land to the clans as they arrived at Mongowa.

Gaubu – Aruwasi - name not known – Aruwasi – Naingin – Kudoeo [50 years old in 1974]

The singsing they made as they came, we still sing now. The [#2] Tunakuin clan took the [#5] Naowaiwun, and [#7] Naubai clans to one house [in Mongowa] and they married the women from the clan in the house. The [#6] Maeyo were taken by the [#1] Omkamun to the Omkamun house and they all slept in the same mosquito net [basket presumably]. The Omkamun gave the Maeyo some land upon which to build a house.

The Inokun clan came with the [#2] Tunakuin clan, and [#8] the Wewin and [#9] Naowin clans came with the [#10] Somum clan.³

[#10] Somum clan

The Somum clan came from Yawa, by walking down the channel to Oum and they took paddle canoes from Oum and came to Mongowa, where the ancestors gave them land and they settled. They left Yawa after a fight.⁴

[#11] Auna clan.

The Aunas came from Auom. The Auna ancestor Bomgomwai left his [brother/kinsman?] Wosimar, who said “You go and I will remain” He [Wosimar] stayed and gave rise to the Auom people. Bomgomwai came and settled at Mongowa where the Sumum gave them land [Bomgomwai apparently brought his people with him.]⁵

[#12] Husok and [#13] Braiwun clans.

Husok and Braiwun [originated at Sinen on the Walio river] clans came to Birui lake and slept there one night. Next dawn they followed the Sobi channel down. Bomgomwai of Auna clan met them on the channel as he going upstream seeking food. He asked where they were going and invited them to Mongowa. They settled there saying “we have no water or land rights here.”

The ancestors said “Just live here and seek food on your own land. Here there is no fear of enemies. You can stay here and if you die your descendants can say ‘They did not die without cause, they were killed by enemies’”. They replied “That is alright, we seek land. Enemies do not worry us.” The Braiwun ancestors were:

Woki – Name now known – Swai'ai – Sonowai – Warbi [born 1928]

The Husok ancestors: Tuiar – Name unknown – Auwandu – Miu – Wambimar [born 1918]⁶

[#14] Wasiwun clan They came from Chenapian, we do not know their details⁷

[#15] Yaemun

Ancestor Inasi came from Wanium on the Saniap Creek. The ancestor's totem was the Kwila tree. They cut the Kwila and it fell into the water. The ancestors put their belongings on the Kwila

and it drifted down to the Sepik River and came into the Hauna channel to the place Mongowa, where a Tunakuin man asked "Friend, where are you going?" "I am looking for a place to sleep." "Come ashore and sleep with us." They landed and the ancestor of the Tunakuin gave them land and a place to build a house. He asked "Friend, what is your clan totem?" and the Yaemun replied "It is Kwila." "True! My totem is Erima. It would seem we are brothers, of the same clan¹" [Kwila and Erima both being trees]. So, it is today, we are both of the same social grouping.

The Yaemun ancestor then left the Mongowa settlement and went to the lake called Mowi, where he met two young women of the Maeyo clan and he said "So you two are here? Do you have husbands?" "No" they replied "We are single, we looking after our old father." He slept with the women in the bush called Niei. The women had a very large pig called Nari, which they looked after. The Yaemun had a very large dog called Yeminoi.

The girls said "That dog or yours could not beat our pig." He replied "This pig could not beat my dog" They said "Try it." The man told the dog to fight the pig, which it did, killing it. They cut the pig up and smoked the meat... The Yaemun ancestor had brought a bundle of sago with him... He saw these girls did not have good sago. They were cutting and washing the pith of Kavevi palms [A poor species of betelnut]. The food was not good, it was just hot water they were eating.

They slept the night, and during the night a large rain storm and wind came. The ancestor made a singsing over the sago and threw it into the wind, disbursing it, and a huge sago stand grew where the sago fell. Then he made a singsing on the mountains, and so when the lightening flashed you could see the mountains were very tall, almost reaching the clouds. Hey shortened the mountains with another singsing until he was satisfied and then he slept.

In the morning the girls woke up and the man pretended to be asleep as he listened to them talking. "Hey, before we did not live like this. Now we hear the sound of the sago fronds moving in the wind. And this mountain has come." They were very happy and they saw that the sago palms were at all stages of development, some had flowers, others were ready to flower and some were very young.

They looked at the mountains and at the large Erima tree close to their house. The house itself was now a very good house. The girls that morning heated two very large stones until they were red hot and put them on the sides or the neck and chest of their old father, who got up and was sitting on the veranda of the house, where he died. They buried him. The girls then asked what the man intended. "Are you going back or will you remain?" He said "I will not remain" "In that case," they said "You had better marry us both." So, he married the big sister and then he married the smaller sister. He took one of them to the bush and had intercourse with her and came back and half an hour later he took the other to the bush and had intercourse with her.

On another day he cut the Erima tree and made two canoes. When the canoes were carved, burned and decorated the girls asked "Who are these for?" "For you two." He replied. These canoes, the sago and the mountains I have provided for you, is in exchange for the bride price, I have not paid. Later, my children will not say 'This land and sago is mine'. Your children will be able to say 'the land and sago is theirs.'"

Writer's note. This seems to mean the land and sago would not be inherited by the Yaemun descendants of the male ancestor, but by the girls' clan Maeyo descendants.

The man and his two wives then went by canoe up to Wanium and found that vines had grown over his house. He took a hook and with it pulled the vines down and cut them off at the roots and cleaned the area around the house. The three of them stayed for about a month in the house, and

¹ "Clan" is roughly translated here from the Pidgin "Lain", possibly meaning is "Social grouping."

they gathered all the man's possessions and put them in the canoe and came back again. They did not go again to the bush called Neie, they went and settled at Mongowa.⁸

[#15] Yaonaewun [Yaemun] clans.

The ancestor of [#4] Naenium clan was not a man, but a snake which had the power to turn into a man at will. He went in his man form to a singsing at Tauri, and two women came, but they were not the same as him. They danced with him until dawn, but at dawn the women did not see him anymore, as he had turned back into the snake and gone to Oum, where he attended another singsing in the form of a man. Again, two women came up, but they were not the same as him. He was tall and they were short and he did not desire them. They danced with him until dawn, but then they did not see him anymore, as he had turned into the snake and gone to a singsing at Mangi...The story goes on in this repetitive form to singsings in turn at Kutbug, Kumti and Chenapian. The story then resumes:

He came to Kubkain and attended a singsing where he saw two young women and was pleased to see they were tall like him and he decided to marry them both. These girls were from the [#15] Yaonaewun clan. At dawn, after the singsing the man was still there and the girls said to him "Here, sit on this limbum" But he said "No I will not sit on limbum."

"Sit on this chair." "No, I will not sit on that chair."

So, the girls wove a mat for him. "Here sit on this mat." "No, I will not sit on that mat." They gave him a piece of canoe timber upon which to sit, but he sat on the ground. His will won over theirs and he sat on the ground. This was the reason why the Kubkains and Haunas have different languages. Had he sat on the limbum, the chair, the mat or the canoe timber, the languages would be the same.

The two girls talked together "Which of us will marry him first?" The younger sister said "I am too young to marry before you." So, the big sister married him first. So, these two Yaonaewun women left Kubkain and came up the Sepik River with all their possessions, rings, mats etc, with the first wife sitting in the front of the canoe and the second wife sitting at the rear. The man's paddle was decorated with black and white feathers.

They paddled into the mouth of the Hauna channel, which was very overgrown. They tried to go under the foliage and the man asked "What will we cut it with? – we do not have a knife with us." The wife said, "I have a big kina shell, with which we can cut our way." They cleared the channel with this kina.

They came to an area of bush called Susuwi and they sat down there. The man did not eat hit water sago, he just ate betel nut and he threw the husks into the water. The women ate hot water sago and threw the leaves, in which it was wrapped, on the ground. The leaves grew into a sago stand, which is still used. They left Susuwi and came passed Biagum and came to Mongowa.

His [the Naenium ancestor]'s friend there, Gobo said "Hey, look at my friend. He went and now he now he is coming back with two women. Leave him, it is our strength," When the ancestor came ashore Gobo asked "Where did you get the girls?" "From Kubkain, they are of the Yaonaewun clan.

He stayed with the women one night and next morning they paddled up to the big lake called Waruwi, spearing fish as they went. Now, as they came up the Sepik the ancestor did not have intercourse with the younger sister. He was bringing her home to give her to his big brother [unidentified]. They speared fish as they came into the lake and he heard the white cockatoo calling out. He called back "Who are you? If you are my elder brother, you must come out into the clear." He stopped speaking our language and asked in other languages, Kubkain, Nuku...but still there was no reply. But when he asked in the language of the Walio River there was a reply in the same language "Yes small brother, it is I" "so you have arrived?"

“Yes” The two of them went to an area of bush called Siginep where the younger brother said “Elder brother, I have had sexual intercourse with the elder sister, but the younger sister here I have not touched. I have brought here for you. I want you to marry her.” “No, I will not marry. You can have her.” Replied the big brother.

They gave him a chair to sit on. But he refused. He also refused a mat and a piece of stick. He sat on the ground and thus the people of Neir² speak a different language to us. The two brothers held a meeting. The elder brother said “I will control the sago, fish and baskets. If I am short, I will trade with you. If you are short of sago, send me a tanget and I will trade with you.”

This trade relationship still exists. We sometimes make sago ourselves and we sometimes sent talk to Neir and they make the sago and trade it with us for fish and baskets.⁹

ooo000ooo

The clans thus assembled and lived at Mongowa and the four wards were established there. They lived thus until an incident occurred when a man called Aou wanted to marry a widow called Mision. But he was unlucky as Worogomogu married her.

Aou took coconut fibre used for washing sago, panggal [palm frond used in making sago] and he fastened these things together with cane. This [magic] eliminated the strength of the people of Mongowa for fighting; their strength was gone.

Aou sent to bound objects to Oum, and they came with Manki villagers and they fought at Mongowa. They killed many people of the village, which by this time had adopted the name Hauna. The people of Oum and Manki came many times to fight and because of the power of Aou, the Hauna people were unable to defend themselves. They abandoned the village and came to settle at the present village site on land called Biasum; the ancestral lands of the Maeyo clan. They set up the four wards as they now are. They set about making war canoes. They made ten of them. Then they gave a tanget to Manki to come and singsing at Hauna. The Hauna strength for fighting had returned and the Hauna men had become strong warrior.

The Manki people came then for the singsing. Two women went in canoes down the channel towards the Sepik, pretending to be fishing. They went ashore at bush close to here, called Sanulka, where two men took the canoes and went to Chenapian to get the Chenapians to come and ambush the channel to fight the Mankis. They came in 20 war canoes; they came with ginger, shields, spears and bows and arrows. They came to Borowami where they ate, then they went further up the channel and stayed at the bush called Pombiniok, from where they could hear the singsing in progress at Hauna. They heard this and they took hot water sago and meat they had with them and threw it into the water, and they took lime and threw it about.

They left Pombiniok then and came stealthily before dawn and took up positions at Sanulka, where they divided their force and lay in ambush on both sides of the channel. They waited; dawn broke. The Mankis who had been singing, went to climb a coconut tree. But a Hauna man called Waimi had taken croton leave and put “forbidden” signs on the coconut palms, he said “If you take the coconuts I will not give gifts of fish, baskets and saucepans to you.”

This was enough to prevent the Mankis climbing the coconuts, from where it was feared they might see the waiting Chenapians. The singsing finished and the Haunas gave them fish, baskets, spears, kinas, lime saucepans and they put these things down into their canoes. They went then to the houses of their friends. The Chenapians came then and beat the garamut at Hauna. The Mankis

² The names Neir and Sinein seem to be used interchangeably here. Both are Walio River villages which reside close to each other and both speak the Walio language.

thought it was one of their men beating the garamut, and they said "We have not seen our friends yet. We are not yet ready to go."

The Mankis left the houses and they came and went as they called out for the five big men Mario, Naingi, Nimili, Wigam and Talimau of Hauna. They were going to spear these men as they were the strength of Hauna. The five did not come. Then a man of the Manki line called Nauri was going down into his canoe and Wanaulba speared him. He jumped, with the spear through him, into the water. His brother Auguk said "look, my brother has been speared. That is what we get for raiding the Haunas in their bush".

As he said this the Chenapians attacked them. The Mankis went to the other side of the channel, but there were Chenapians there waiting for them. They could not come back up stream because the Haunas were there. They were finished, except for two men, who lay there with broken spears pressed to their sides as if they were dead like the rest. The Haunas and Chenapians thought they were dead. These two ran through the bush to the Sepik River, where they took dry Kumba raft. They went ashore at their place, where the women asked "Where are our men?" The two said "They are coming later."

They took a young woman, removed her skirt and raped her. The women cried and slept and next morning some went to Yawa, some went to Oum, some went to Tauri. The young and attractive women remarried, the old and useless were killed. Thus, Manki village ceased to exist. Their village site is on a channel joining the left [north] bank of the Sepik below Oum. The man Naingi, mentioned above had a son called Kuto, who was still alive in 1974.

This annihilation of Manki occurred pre-World War 2. After the fight the Chenapians came back to Hauna and came ashore. The Haunas gave them fish, grass for making mats, kina shells and lime. They put these things into their canoes and tied their canoes together and went downstream singing as they went back to their village. The Haunas had a singsing here which lasted for a month, at the end of which they ate Mangen fish and left the haus tambaran to return to the married houses.¹⁰

ooo000ooo

Headhunting and Cannibalism.

We did not take heads like other villages down river. We just left the bodies where they were. We did not eat human flesh either. After killing the singsing lasted a month. The singsing ended with the eating of Mangen fish. To eat them earlier, or to have sex relations with women would result in a weakening of the village strength, which had been acquired through the ginger used in the fight; the village would be open to attack and when fighting we would not be strong.¹¹

ooo000ooo

Enemies of Hauna.

Fights against Oum.

Shortly before the Japanese came, the Oums went down to Kubkain for a singsing. Sadibi of Hauna was coming from Chenapians and he saw them. He came to Hauna and said. "The Oums have gone down to sing at Kubkain. Tomorrow we will wait in ambush for them." They all agreed. In the night they went and told the Chenapians, who agreed "In the morning we will come." The Hunas came back and slept at Borowami and in the morning the Chenapians came to Nuti, where the Haunas met them. The line was divided to watch both sides of the Sepik River.

They watched the Oums come up river, and as they passed Nuti point two of their men went down with spears through them. Those two men were Taur and Inai. Then Ninoudi was speared and the fourth and last man they speared was Warumai. It was then about 6pm and the Oums called.

“Enough. We did not sleep in the night, we were singing. Clear the road so we can go home now. “The Oums went on their way and we stopped fighting them. Both Oum and Chenapian came back to Borowami. The Chenapians, who had not speared one man, went back to their village. The Haunas who has speared four sang their wayup te channel to their village, and sang for a month.

The Oums killed Sutak at Mongowa [Sutak’s nickname was “Moran” (python) as he had a swelling next to his eye]. [In response] Hauna prepared nine war canoes and five smaller canoes. They burned and carves these canoes, and ten they went to Oum. It was low water, there was a lot of black water about and there was a lot of fish. Two men of Oum, Maipaimu and Worikam were spearing fish on their lake Oumi. The Hauna raiders speared them and put ginger in their mouts before they died. This ginger was administered with the point of an arrow into their mouths. They swallowed it. The ousms made platforms upoin which to put the bodies to rot. The ginger would rot with the bodies and the smell of it and the smell of the bodies would go around the place and kill the people there.

The Haunas came back then. The Oums had paddled to a point and waited there in ambush for the Haunas. They did not attack the first in the line as the ones coming behind would be able to fight them. They waited for the last canoe to come abeam of their position and threw spears, [one of which] hit Wein in the back. He did not die and is still in the village here. The Haunas cut the spear and removed it. The Haunas made a raft of their canoes and sang their way back to the village, where the month’s singsing took place. Shortly after this, the Government’s first patrol arrived [1949].¹²

Fights against Sinein.

We used to fight them when we lived up at Mongowa. But there has been only one fight since we have lived at the present site. In that fight we killed one woman of theirs. They have not repaid that killing but have set ambushes on lake Waluwi, but without success.¹³

Fights against Iniook.

We did not fight Iniook as we are of the same common ancestor as them.¹⁴

Fights against Tauri.

We did not fight Tauri apart from the once when Iniook asked us to. Minas of Tauri speared Ugur of Iniook, and the Iniooks did not pay back for this. Later Hauna went to Iniook for a singsing. At dawn after the singsing the Iniooks gave the Haunas some food. They also gave ginger anda bunch of betelnut and a bundle of spears which they placed on the dance ground. The Iniooks were crying when they gave these things to Hauna.

It was requested that Hauna repay the death of Ugur. The Haunas came down river and a woman of Iniook called Namabi came with the Haunas. She covered herself with morning clay an took off her skirt, so she was totally naked in the canoe. The Haunas saw this and were inspired to fight for Iniook. And thius they took their food and threw it into the water. They went into the Tauri lands and cut some betel nut without permission.

The Tauri man Minas saw the betelnut had been taken and he warned the Tauris.

“Do not go to Hauna. They have cut our betelnut and this is the way of an enemy.” But the man Inowaia said “You men from the fringe groups remain, But I, whose ancestor came from Hauna must go and find out what this is all about.”

Inowaia came to Hauna with two wives and a child – Ino, Namukur and Nonau respectively. Upon arrival at Hauna, he sat with his friends who gave him betelnut. But when he ate it he felt feverish and reached to thr back of his neck for his bone dagger, with which to kill his friend. But he was too slow, and Wogolio speared him. Sagumoi finished him off with another spear. Three men

then went up onto the village. Owinwo killed Nonau, Miu killed Ino and Namukur was killed by Yamuro. This occurred before the Jaapanese came. Tauri has not backed this fight.¹⁵

Fights against Pi.

We did not fight Palu as a group, but at times they werewith Pi when we fought them. Kaikai, a Hauna man went to find food in the bush called Kaidumai on the right [east] bank of the Walio River, where he heard the sounds of Pi people making sago. He returned to Hauna and told the people. The men of the village agreed and they went after them after making hotwater sago. They went up the Walio River to the land Kaidumai. They walked upstream and saw where the Pi people had taken clay to make stoves. They went further and saw two men of the Pi group cutting trees. They did not spear these two, but avoided them. They split their line and surrounded the camp nearby. The Hauna man with the bag of ginger threw his speak and killed a Pi man. The fight was then underway. Twenty one men and women of the Pi group were killed in this raid. Thenraiders came back to Hauna and sang for a month. This fight was before the Japanese came. Mario was the fight leader: Mario – Sabiri [born 1919] – Councillor Motam.

The Pi payback.

Nermuto, a woman of Hauna, and her two chidren went to collect mussels at the Walio River. Waru of Pi was watching in ambush near the bush Kubuwi. After they had collected some mussels the mother climbed a breadfruit tree. While she was up there Waru came and killed the two children with arrows. The woman cried out and climbed down and Waru ran back to the bush Kubuwi. She put the bodies of her children in her canoe and paddled them back to the village and they were buried here.

A Hauna big man called Bunginiu, during a flood was wasking sago on the land Kaidumai, near the Walio River. As the sago falm fell Hblei of Pi was watching. As Bunginiu was cutting the sago fronds. Hblei fired an arrow through the fronds, striking Bunginiu in the chest, but not killing him. Bunginiu called for his two children to bring his spear. But he was not able to use the spear. He felt the pain and lay in the water.

He was still alive, and his children put him in the canoe and came and found a big brother of the wounded man called Ous, who asked "Why is father lying down? What has happened?" The Pi shopt him" they replied. Big brother cried then and cut around the barbed arrow which was still embedded. Towambobia was called by big brother Yimgiwai to come and pull the arrow head out. But Towambobia said 'No. If he dies, there will be talk against me.'" But big brother insisted so Towambobia set his teeth on the protruding arrow head and dragged it out. The blood poured out from the wound and Bunginiu died. If the arrow had been left in there to infect and work itself out with the puss, the blood wouod have been stopped and the man would have lived. They brought him back to the village and he was buried here. This happened after the Japanese, but before we were visited by the administration in 1949.¹⁶

Fights against Walio

The Walio people are of the land called Ilu. Where they live now is the land of the Wosiak people. The population of the place called Walio is a mixture of Walios and Wosiaks. The Haunas came up and speared the Walios in the Wosiak place. The previous night both the Walios and Haunas had slept at the Wosiak place. At dawn the Haunas attacked the Walios, killing a man called Kwaia and a women of Walio called Masien, Agwori, Youri and an old woman Mauwari.

Writer's note: This was about 1930-35 by genealogical reckoning.

The Wosiaks did not help Walio at this time because they have clansmen at Hauna in the Naenium clan. This as the last fight and the Walios have not paid it back. We now live in friendship and peace with Walio, but there were many fights with Walio in the ancestral times.¹⁷

Fights against Kutbug, Kumti and Kombuliap

Our grandfathers fought them about 40 to 50 years ago. We do not know the reasons or the ways these fights took place.¹⁸

[About 40 years ago] Paso was making a garden on land called Nhudga, which is inland from Nuti point. The Chenapians came and killed and his two wives and child – Minaugun, Uganuf and Oubobia [male child] respectively. The Haunas mourned for them until Yakambol of Hauna said “Stop mourning. Let us go and steal their canoes.” In the night they went and stole five long canoes and two short canoes from where the Chanapians had moored them near their place.

The Haunas returned with the canoes. Then in the afternoon they went back again and made temporary shelters at Nuti point. They intended to set an ambush, but the rain fell and washed them out...they went again the next night but the rain came again and so on the next night. The men of the Amuhan age class were sick of it and they came home with some of the Yeinan age class, leaving only some Yeinan and the Uran age classes there to ambush the Chenapians.

They were hiding along the channel when they heard pitpit striking the plank sides of the canoes signalling that the Chenapians were coming. The Chenapians were allowed to pass, then our canoes came out to follow. A limbum was slapped on the water to signal the start of the fight. The Chenapien canoe nearly capsized and turned into the shore. One of the Chenapians fired an arrow which struck Fakaia in the left arm. Urababo of Hauna said “Give me a bow and arrows, it is not just they who have bows and arrows.” And he shot a Chenapien in the forehead.

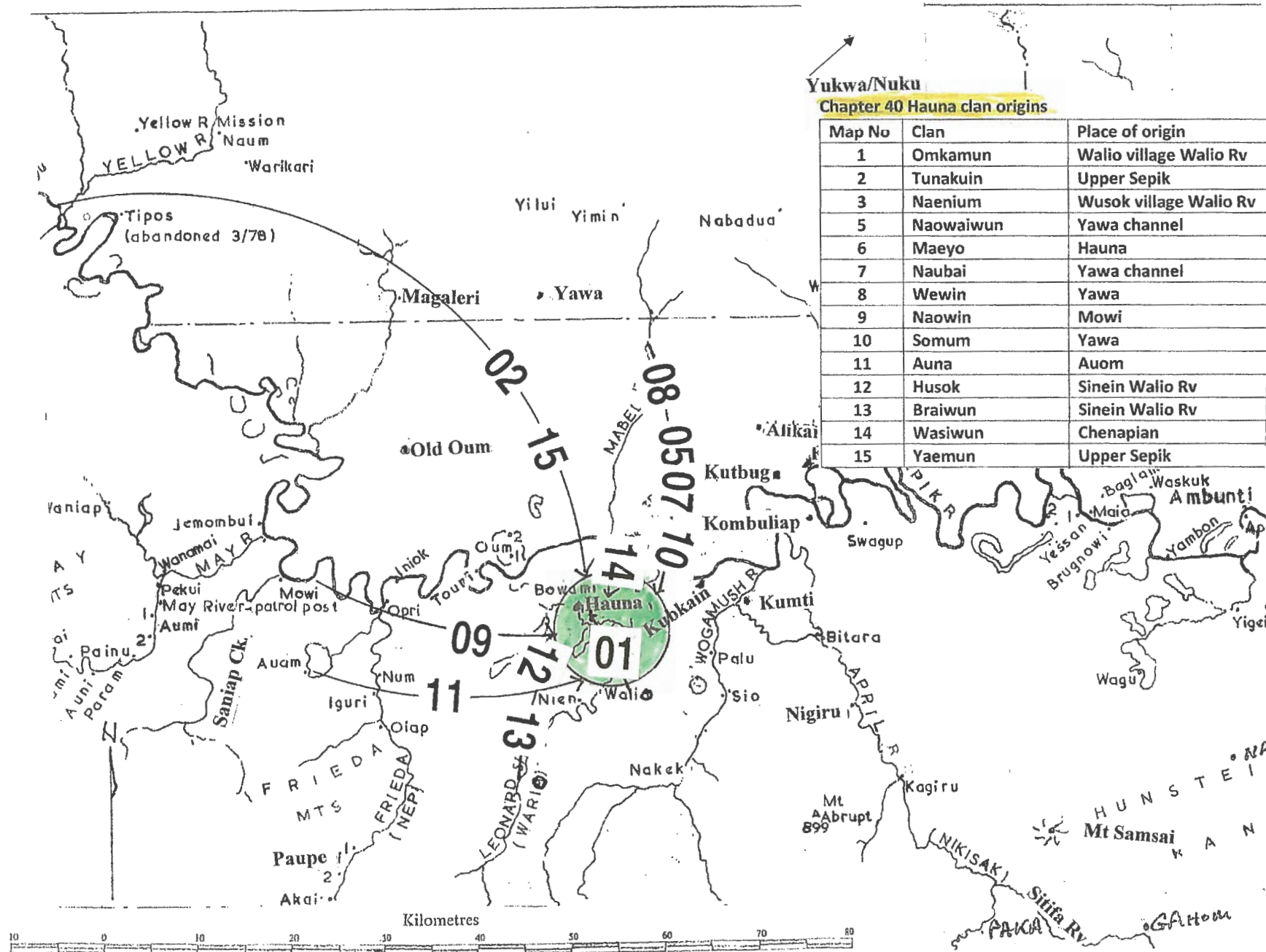
The Chenapians including the wounded man went ashore and into the bush. In the bush they killed four Chenapians, whose names we do not know. The Haunas paddled out onto the Sepik and the Chenapians were pursuing them...they turned downstream to avoid the Chenapians and went into the Walio River and into the channel to Hauna village. As they came around the last point, their singsing was heard in the village and the people knew the youths of the village had killed Chenapians. The elder age classes did not say anything...The Chenapians did not back this fight.¹⁹

The migration from Mongowa to Hauna.

This migration was in Mario’s father’s time. Mario was born at Mongowa and he was of the Yeinan age class when the move was made. Mongowa was close to Oum. People going to Oum tomorrow will paddle up the channel to the old village site, leave their canoes there and walk out to the Sepik and call to the Oums to bring their canoes over to the Sepik to pick them up.²⁰

The Germans did not contact us, or at least if they did, the elders have not told us of it. [Hauna does appear on Dr. Behrmann’s map of the 1912/13 Sepik exploration.]

We did not meet the Australians pre-war, although Oum did, and had labourers working on plantations. The Japanese came here from Chenapien. There were six of them and we took them to Iniok, who in turn took them to Mowi and we did not hear any more of them. At this time, a party we took to be Japanese, three in number, drifted down the river and fired on people in a garden at Nuti point. No one was hit and we did not go into our canoes. Our first contact with the Australian Administration was post-war.²¹



End Notes Chapter 42

-
- ¹ Sketch map and clan table . Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pagen 483. Councillor Motam prompted by elders.
 - ² Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pagen 483/4. Councillor Motam prompted by elders.
 - ³ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pagen 483/4. Councillor Motam prompted by elders.
 - ⁴ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pagen 484. Councillor Motam prompted by elders.
 - ⁵ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pagen 484. Councillor Motam prompted by elders.
 - ⁶ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pagen 484. Councillor Motam prompted by elders.
 - ⁷ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pagen 484. Councillor Motam prompted by elders.
 - ⁸ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pagen 489/90. Councillor Motam prompted by elders.
 - ⁹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pagen 490-91. Councillor Motam prompted by elders.
 - ¹⁰ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pagen 484/85. Councillor Motam prompted by elders.
 - ¹¹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pagen 485. Councillor Motam prompted by elders.
 - ¹² Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pagen 485/6. Councillor Motam prompted by elders.
 - ¹³ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pagen 486. Councillor Motam prompted by elders.
 - ¹⁴ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pagen 486. Councillor Motam prompted by elders.
 - ¹⁵ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pagen 486. Councillor Motam prompted by elders.
 - ¹⁶ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pagen 486/87 Councillor Motam prompted by elders.
 - ¹⁷ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pagen 487. Councillor Motam prompted by elders.
 - ¹⁸ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pagen 487. Councillor Motam prompted by elders.
 - ¹⁹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pagen 488. Councillor Motam prompted by elders.
 - ²⁰ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pagen 491. Councillor Motam prompted by elders.
 - ²¹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pagen 491. Councillor Motam prompted by elders.

Sepik 1 Chapter 43 Wongamusen Chenapian.



Chenapian village was once on the left bank of the Sepik River, but the river changed course, in the 1920s or 1930s, leaving Chenapian on an Ox-bow lake. The village lay out looked as follows and the wards on the shore of the lake looked as they once did on the river bank.¹

Ward	Haus Tambaran	Clan	Totem
Gwunmak	Gwunmakouwi	Kirurien	Pig / Kwila
		Bagalion	Pig / Kwila
		Mogusien	Pig / Kwila
		Gwes	Pig / Kwila
		Nubusion	Banana
Bauwi		Gwigwar	Cockatoo
		Mongi	Ground, Red Croton, Fire
		Dauri	Eagle, Cassowary, Hornbill, wild Black Palm
Kokbauwi ¹	Ouwikul	Nesilion	Possum, Black bird
		Debigen	Possum, Black bird
		Lileimok	Bamboo, Pottery [saucepan], Waterbirds – Garagara, Jilau and Kanai
Ambesagau	Suiamo	Guraion	Wild fowl
		Mosuiyen	Wild fowl, Cane with prickles, Lime gourd

The origins of clans

#1. Nesilion

Nesilion clan came from down river. Their line broke and the Sengo people and established Sengo, while the rest came up river. We do not know the name of their place of origin, but we believe it was in the Waskuk Hills.

They came up river and went in to where Kutbug is now, but they did not find anyone there, only a morota [thatched] house. They paddled back onto the Sepik and came up river. Their paddles were decorated with feathers of a white bird and a ring and gam [shell money] attached to the top of the paddle. They came and came, but found no place on the Sepik where they could settle. They came into the channel called Nobur, which is close to here. There were some Kubkains settled in there. They avoided this camp and came on and made a house and waited there for another clan that was

¹ Swagup has a ward called Kokobauwi. No mention was made either at Chenapian or Swagup concerning a relationship Chenapian's ward Kokbauwi.

coming after them. That was the #2 Lileimok clan, which came and joined them and they stayed at Nobur channel.

While there, they discussed where they could find a good place where they could make camp and settle down. They agreed and went off in search of such a place. They went north into the area where Yawa is now at the head of the channel where we live now, the Aimun channel. The channel itself does not belong to the Nesilion, #3 Debligen and Lileimok clans, but the land does. The sago also belongs to these clans as they brought the sago with them.

The ancestral singsings we now perform. There is a story about them. The singsings came with the clan ancestors, when they came. They covered them up in two limbums [bark containers] and carried them. The first limbum, they kept and we use. The second singsings we took to Kutbug and we gave singsings to them and to Kumti and Swagup. So now these four places have the same singsings.

Kokbauwi was the first ward formed. They settled there and decorated their paddles with the ring and the gam on them. They planted the clumps of bamboo at Kokbauwi. It was the type of bamboo with branches on it, and in the wind, it makes the same noise as the ring and the gam on the paddles. The paddle they planted to stand up was a male paddle with the fork. The actual place the paddle was planted was Bauwi, where the second camp was established.

All the other clans that came did so at the request of these two groups [wards] They were living at these two camps when they heard the sound of the Gwigwar tambaran in the sago swamp called Nobu. The Nebilion and Lileimok sent talk saying "It would be better if you came outside. We are here and we have made a village." They [the #4 Gwigwar clan] came and they brought with them their tambaran Nebneskau. They came and established themselves at Bauwi. They made a haus tambaran, and the posts of that house are still to be seen.

Thus, the four clans lived together. The other clans had not come yet. They were circulating through the bush near Oum. When Gwigwar clan came to settle, the four clans got together and each told the others what their totems were and they formed alliances, which were to become residential wards.²

#5. The Mongi clan [Hauna pronounced it Monki]

Our ancestors came from the Yellow River area. There was a big Erima Tree, but it was not really an Erima tree, it was an ancestor. The Sepik was formed by this Erima tree as it drifted down and the water issuing from the tree as it came and the water flowed behind it. The water is the sap or blood of the Erima. On the buttress roots of the Erima, they painted the short banana and the tall banana palms and also the type of sugar cane which has the patterned stems. We still plant all these things in our gardens the sugar has a red stem.

The tambaran of this group, a bamboo flute, is still here. They played it as they drifted down the Sepik. The Erima broke the ground and formed the Sepik as it came. The Erima tree went as far as the sea. So, it is that we Mongi clansmen do not have land in the bush, but all the river banks are ours. We plant our gardens on the river banks. Mongi clan has two bird totems. One is a water bird. The other has black feathers and a white stomach, a very small bird.

We settled in the bush close to Oum. That is our true ground. Other clans did not originate on the banks of the Sepik; they originated in the bush, on mountains. Just Mongi came from the banks of the river. We came and we came and we left a part of our line near Oum. There was a channel on this side of the river [north bank [presumably?]] down from Oum. But the grandfathers of the Hauna and Chenapian finished them all off in warfare.

Mongi was the name of the place. The ancestors came to the bush called Yaiiu, which the Haunas now claim; all of the Yaiiu land. It was only in 1971 that the big men of Hauna started using that Yaiiu bush. There is a lake of ours there also, called Wiaba, near Yaiiu. Our ancestors also came to Nuti point which is our land. The hill of ours there is called Hgusutop. The ancestors, as they came, ate hot water there and threw the leaves in which the hot water sago was wrapped onto the banks of the Sepik and the sago stands grew from these leaves.

Then the ancestors of the #6 Kirurien and #7 Gwes clans went and greased the Mongi ancestors, saying "As you have no bush and no land, it would be better if you came and lived with us." The Mongis went with these two clans gave them land and the Mongis settled with them and from that time on these three clans have not fought and have lived peacefully together. Our friendship even prevents marriages between Gwes clan and Mongi clan. The Kiruriens and Gwas clans gave Mongi the lake called Minesini. The ground we acquired is called Jambangwa. Our own ancestors only land here is at Nuti point, the remainder has been given to us by other clans.

Gwiru was the tambaran ancestor [spirit ancestor] who drifted down on the Erima tree. He was our first ancestor. He made the work of digging the Sepik as he drifted down. The water originates from the Erima. Our ancestors are now up at Yellow River, and the wind that is blowing does not do so without reason, it is our ancestor. If the wind is blowing wildly and a Mongi clansman goes out and spits ginger into the wind, the wind will stop blowing. Rain is of another clan.³

Writer's note. Based upon the Hauna description of the "Monki" community, I formed the opinion they were a separate entity, rather than a clan of the Chenapian people. The description of "Mongi" above as part of Chenapian suggests that after Mongi was heavily defeated and all but, annihilated at Hauna by combined Hauna and Chenapian forces, that Mongi survivors were taken in by Chenapian as refugees after the event. The Mongi statement sounds like a plea to the kiap for recognition of Mongi as a clan in its own right.

#8 Dauri clan, also known as Tauri

Our place of origin is Ausei. Our first ancestor was called Kongiasu. His sister was called Gungiaskotu. Ausei is in the Yawa area. There was a big eagle which used to kill off and eat the young men and women. Nice young girls with breasts standing up would be snatched and taken up into the branches of a Kwila tree, where she would be opened up, the liver eaten and the body dropped to a heap of bodies at the foot of the tree.

As the population became short Kongiasu said "I think I will kill the eagle. Can I succeed?" He made a bow and arrows and he made a multiple pronged spear called Miwar. He tested the bow by firing at a limbum palm and the arrows penetrated the hard wood "Pung!". Kongiasu was confident that if the arrows could do that, it could kill the eagle.

He went then and made a hide under the branches of the Kwila tree, there he hid and waited. The eagle snatched and young girl and took her to the branch where he ate her and threw the body away. Kongiasu fired his arrow and it hit the eagle "Pung". The wounded eagle flew away with the arrow in it and eventually fell into a garden of two women of the Yawa area. Now, before Kongiasu shot the eagle he had attached a long string to the arrow; a string made by his sister Gungiaskotu. The eagle flew, dragging the long string behind it.

At dawn next morning, the two women came to their garden. They were naked, as was the fashion of our ancestors before. Kongiasu was following the string he had attached to the arrow. He went and went and when it became dark he slept on the way. He had a line attached to himself and as he went his sister fed out the line. [Meanwhile] the women saw that damage had been done to their garden. "Has a tree fallen onto our bananas, or has a man cut them down? What happened?"

As they were looking Kongiasu came and finished the eagle off and the women helped him. Then they plucked the eagle, being careful not to let any of the feathers fall down, but one feather drifted away and it became the eagles we have in the sky now. If the feathers had not been collected, I think we would still have these man-eating eagles now. Then they cut the eagle up and the women worked at smoking the meat. After they had set the smoking racks up Kongiasu told the women to dispose of the entrails.

He really wanted to get away because he feared that they would kill him. When they had gone, he cut into the cane strings of the women's bows, not enough to break them, but enough to weaken them. The women came back and took their bows to shoot Kongiasu, but the bow strings broke.

Kongiasu had sex with each of the women and then, when they were friends he asked them "Will you two return to your homes now, or will you come with me?" "We will come with you." When the meat was smoked, they fastened it into packages and started out towards Kongiasu's camp. They slept on the way twice and arrived at the camp in the night. His sister called out "Who is that? Is that you brother? Just you?" "Just me" he replied. "So, you are back, I thought you had died in the bush" She said as she stoked the fire and saw that he had company. "Hey, where did you get these two women. It is good you brought them. I am happy.

She saw they were naked and gave them skirts to put on. She sat by the fire with them and gave them food to eat. They talked about events with the eagle, then they slept. In the morning they unwrapped the eagle meat and distributed it to the Ausei people. The two women became Kongiasu's wives.

Ausei is on a channel that enters this lake [the lake upon which Chenapian is located], the channel runs back up towards Yawa. That land is ours. Recently, since Oum has been interested in crocodile hunting, Yenak and his people have gone into the upper reaches of Ausei channel and taken crocodiles, planted betelnut, bananas and sugar, cut sago and made a bush camp. But that bush belongs to Dauri [Tauri] clan. There is part of the Tauri line at Yawa.

Kongiasu gave the two women many children. There were no other groups which originated on this land Ausei. The children of the first wife married the children of the second wife and there were more children, and so the line multiplied. This was how it was done in the ancestral times. They expanded to form the big clan called Tauri. The village became large and the village site is still marked by the laulau [Malay apple] trees with red flowers.

Then there was a fight within the Tauri line. They threw spears back and forth until blood was drawn, and then the line split and half went up to Yawa, while the other half followed the channel down and made camp near the mouth of the Ausei channel where it enters the lake. Their camp site there was called Niagwen.

In our grandfather's time, the grandfathers of the Chenapians sent talk to Kubkain and Kutbug "If you want some easy kills, come and kill the Au sei near us. There are not many of them and they are terrified of any sounds, even that of panggag [fronds] breaking, or of a flying fox. If you attack, they will run away, but they have no where to go. They are an easy target" [My notes say "easy meat" but that gives the false impression of cannibalism]

The Kubkains readied their spears and came to attack the Ausei camp Niagwen. They came into the channel at night and found the channel clear. They surrounded the village. Once they were inside the channel two Ausei men quietly floated a large piece of driftwood across the mouth of the channel behind them, so the channel was blocked. The two Ausei men then awakened the men of the village. "Men, enemies have come into our channel. They have come to finish us."

They got up quickly and took their bows arrows and spears and rubbed the spears with tree oil and then made fires of light wood and heated the oiled spears over the flames. At about 6am The Kubkains sounded a slap of limbun to signal the start of the fight. The Auseis were ready and attacked the attackers and killed them all but two who escaped back to Kubkain where they reported "Why did Chenapian tell us it was so easy. We listened to their grease us and all we did was send our bodies to Ausei." The Auseis thus survived and remained.

The grandfathers of the #9 Guraion clan and the #10 Mosuiyen clan and our fathers went to collect the Ausei and settle them here. The #5 Mongi, #7 Gwes and #6 Kirurien clans had made a camp and they were playing flutes there. Then, as was the fashion, the tambaran was aroused and indicated he wanted to eat his enemies, indicating the Ausei. [Tauri refugees]. But the #9 Guraiyon and #10 Mosuiyen said "Sorry Gwes, these people did not come because they wanted to, they came because we invited them. We did not invite them here to be killed. We gave them some of our land and they came to settle." They came to settle, but they do not live well. They are frightened all the time that they will be killed.

They were reassured when the Chenapians have one of their men a young girl with upstanding breasts to marry. Her name was Mosutauna and she married Mogutam. The Auseis settled down well then, and they bred up numbers of people. When they first came, they spoke a language we did not understand, but they learned our language and became part of Chenapian.

Writer's note: The Tauris of Chenapian, in 1974 still had a paddle, spears, bamboo flutes and a tree kangaroo bone fish hook from when they lived at Niagwen and migrated. The fish hook was photographed – photo since mislaid. I offered to buy it, but the offer was declines. They [rightly] want to retain their relics as evidence in resolution of land disputes. They have great faith in material evidence, which does indeed seem to impress Lands Titles Commissioners.

The ancestor who migrated from Niagwen was Mogutam, who married Mosutauna.

Mogutam - Jenami - Gosmei - Nenguskebi — { Sauwutnian - Yanami [born 1959]
 Jabarasi
 Neisowimul⁴

#6 Kirurien clan, #11 Bagalion clan, #12 Mogusion clan and 7 Gwes clan.

The ancestor came from Mangambi. There was a big Kwila tree. Two birds; the black cormorant and another bird called Mondubu carried the Kwila tree through the air. The cormorant carried the base of the tree while Mondubu carried the head of the tree. But the Kwila was awkward to carry, so they changed places as they flew carrying the Kwila. Now have you seen the lake that the Sepik has broken into, just above the mouth of the Walio river on the Chenapian side? [north side]

The two birds flying with the Kwila went very high in the air where they talked together, and when they agreed, and they let go of the Kwila and it fell and hit the ground and broke in the middle, and where it hit the lake formed. Now there are many spirits in the water of that lake. But the Sepik broke into the lake and the spirits have escaped into the Sepik and gone away. Now it is just a lake.

The lake was formed thus, and the ancestors then left mountain Mangambi and came to the late, and upon arrival they discussed which way they should go next. They saw the mouth of the Gwiauwi channel, but it was not a channel then, they dug the channel as they came up to the place where Kokbauwi and Bauwi were established.

When they left the mountain Mangambi, they brought many things with them. They brought mosquitoes. They brought the small flies that eat at your sores. They brought puss that comes from sores. They loaded their canoes and were ready to depart when one of the ancestors said "We have

forgotten something – flies. If sores develop on our bodies what will eat away the puss [Jam bilong soa] So they brought the flies. Then they remembered that they had forgotten to bring switches [brushes] to brush away the flies. They did not bring dogs with them and they did not bring possums either. These they left at Mangambi by the Sio River.

These people were different from us, they had tails. These tails were in fact sago palms which grew out of their asses. Then as they came down the Niksek River, they cut the tail off and threw it onto the ground and it gave rise to the sago stands there; the sago that man planted as opposed to the wild sago. They came and came and arrived and made camp at Gwunmakouwi ward. But they did not settle. They cleared the bush and then they fought with Satan [the Devil] that lives in the ficus tree. Then they ran away. The name of the devil they fought was Diu. They ran away and made camp at the place where they cut the Kwila [Right bank of the Sepik below Nuti point.] They camped in the bush called Masanamba and Nobono. The bush that Hauna now used, but which belongs to us.

They moved back and forth without a good place to camp as the ground was wet and swampy. They took their tambaran flute Siauwi with them. They took a betelnut palm and broke out the pith [presumably from the middle of the palm stem] and covered their tambaran with it in the canoe. A woman had gone into the canoe and the men told her. “You must not open this and look at it. It is a bad thing. Leave it alone.”

The tambaran directed the canoe straight to the haus tambaran at the place Buwarrambu. Then they came back the way they had come and they found the prawns, which are another totem, following in their tracks at the channel they had made, and the prawns we call Sinilan, were following the smell of the pig. They settled then at the camp Gwunmakouwi and they are still there.

There were no flies etc before these people came. The Guraion moved so there would be land which they gave to the newly arrived clans Kirurien, Gwes etc.⁵

The significance of pig totems of Kirurien, Bagalion, Gwes and Mogusien clans

In ancient times through until the present, when we go to the bush hunting pigs. The men of Wogamas [Kutbug, Kumti and Kombuliap] and we of Chenapian cannot get together to cut a pig up. If a Wogamas dog kills a pig in the bush and they carry it out and want to cut it up, the men of Chenapian must get out of the way first and hide in the bush and when they have finished cutting it up the Wogamas can call out and the Chenapians can come out again. The tradition is that the pig's head must not be broken. The meat of the pig can be taken, but the neck up must be left alone and the head must be cooked as a whole.

We have the same ancestors as Wogamas. If we have a boil or sore on our skin we cannot cut it or treat it at their place, we must come home first. Similarly, if a mosquito sucks the blood of a Wogamas and it swells with blood on his skin we cannot swat it or touch his blood which is spread.

Similarly, Chenapian women must not menstruate at Wogamas. If she starts to menstruate, she must immediately return to Chenapian. These prohibitions apply all the way down the river as far as Swagup, as we are of a common ancestor. When these villages come for a singsing, they must bring the head of a pig with them. The singsing starts with a mock battle. They do not quickly throw their spears. They must first bring the pig's head to the place of the singsing and prepare to cut the head open, saying “If you agree, I will break the head of the pig.” The other men by then are standing ready to throw their spears [in defence of the keeping the pig's head intact.] We still do this when we attend a singsing elsewhere.

About mosquitoes: If a mosquito gets fat with blood, I cannot swat it in the presence of Wogamas people. No injury, sickness or defect must be observed by others.

Qn. *You cannot swat a mosquito? Ans.* Yes, I can, but a Wogamas cannot [swat on my skin]

If this prohibition is broke – if for example, I took a razor and cut the skin of a Kumti man, a fight would immediately result.⁶

#10 Mosuiyen clan

This clan originated on the mountain called Weinebei in the Walio River area. Their ancestor dug the Walio River course as he came. The ancestor was not a man, he was a snake that formed the river and gave rise to the populations along it – Sinein, Nein, Nekiai, Waswari, Numwaswari, and Walio. After these people were established, they sent the snake and it gave rise to the population of the Mosuiyon clans here and at Hauna. It is thus that our languages vary; if it had been a man who gave rise to these populations, we would all speak the same language.

The Haunas went in along their own channel and the Mosuiyon clan continued on, forming the Walio River until it came to the mountain Gwunwun and there they found some of our own people, or the Erima totem. The Gwunwun [people] stopped them with a rope; a mustard vine, but the rope broke and part of the line drifted on downstream to the mountain Kalok, where they fastened it again with another young mustard vine. That vine also broke and part of the line drifted to Yambon. This is how the Mosuiyon clan disbursed.⁷

#9 Uraion [Guraion] clan.

This clan came from Gulsok and they came and met the Mosuiyen clan in some land which has now been washed away; land called Mauwanjatop. They met there and made houses from trees which have flowers, trees we call Degwan. Degwan is a totem of this group. Then they left Mauwanjatop and followed the route of the pig [Kirurien, Bagalion, Gwes and Mogusien clans]. They also found the prawns Sinilan following the pug up the channel. They came and came and arrived at the place [Chenapian] and went down to the last haus tambaran Ambesagau [ward] and they settled there.

Now the sago the Kubkains cut and eat is not theirs; it belongs to the Mosuiyon ancestors Kwadibop and Kwadimaui. We used that sago until recently when the Sepik changed its course and went over to Kalok. The Kubkains have no right to our bush that they are using along the Walio River. We have mangoes and laulau trees growing there.

***Writer's Note:** The people are upset about a tambu notice placed at the mouth of the river prohibiting Chenapians from entering. They were even more upset because they cannot read, and so do not know what the writing on the sign meant. But their understanding of the meaning was pretty accurate from my reading of the sign.*

More about the Mosuiyen and Uraion clans.

The ancestor Gwituk had a wife called Nami and the ancestor Murula had a wife called Namak. The women were having a singsing. Murula had a cold and he made a bed over the stove and lay on the bed. His wife told him, "We are not old people, we are young. We should not stay in the house, we should be outside enjoying ourselves. We should have a singsing." So, she went out and had a singsing and he stayed inside heating his skin over the fire.

The singsing went through until dawn. Murula took off his skin, which was like a set of clothes and left it on the bed to heat. He decorated himself and put lime on his body and went and sang. Dowsi and Dowinap, his two dogs ate the skin while he was singing into the night. When he came to get his skin, he found that the dogs had eaten it. He killed his two dogs.

Murula then set about digging a hole. The hole went down to the depth of eight ladders and at the bottom of the hole he found a very nice clean place with red flowers and other flowers. When he finished this work, he went back to his house. He took up his barbed spears and his bow and arrows. He drew the bow back and shot his wife. The other woman got up so he killed her also.

He prepared all his things, and as mentioned, he had had readied his place down in the ground. He held a lime gourd and red betelnut and a piece of split bamboo, which we strike when we are singing. Murula said "Gwiruk, you remain here, and eventually you will die. Me? I have a road I will go down, I have found a way" Murula went down and called out to the Chenapians of the past "You big men and big women, where ever you are, come and see me go down. I am ready to go down now." The people assembled and saw him disappearing down into the ground. As he went down, he knocked each ladder and the people above counted. He hit each ladder with his lime gourd. At the eighth ladder and there was no more and they did not see him again. There was much noise, like thunder and the hole closed over him. He did not die as we do now, he is still living. Now we die at the end of our lives. It was Murula who started this fashion of dying.⁸

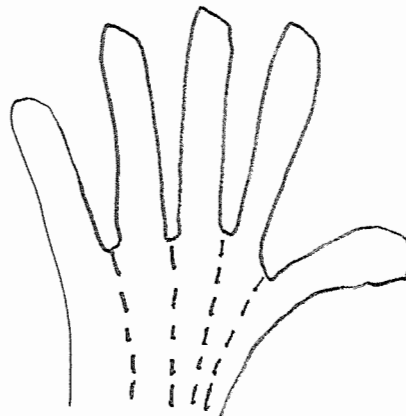
Enemies of Chenapians

We did not fight seriously with Kubkain, Oum, Tauri or Hauna. They were our good friends. With regard to Hauna, only the wards Kokbauwi and Ambesagau fought them. We did not fight Wogamas or Swagup as we are of the same ancestor.

Fights against Yawa.

Yawa we fought. The last fight was when they killed eight of our women after we had seen four patrols and kiap Mert [Brightwell] was at Ambunti [1956]. The women had gone to fence the channel and position fish baskets, then drive the fish down into the baskets. They had started work on this when the Yawa bowmen attacked. The women killed were Degenguthi, Duagbantu, Nesitkantu, Biauwei, Gononudbi, Nulumutu, Ulenjugu and Monamboto. The wounded women who survived were Suiyando with arrows through the right upper arm, right thigh, shoulder and back of the head. Sinibalan with arrows in the buttock and right through the upper thigh and Mongiliap with an arrow through the upper arm.

Tauno and other women escaped unharmed and came back to the village and told the men, who went and collected the bodies, but no payback was made. The hands of each of the dead women had been cut between the fingers down to the wrist. The vaginas of the women had also been slashed. The Tawas, like ourselves are not head hunters or cannibals.



In January 1974 the Yawas came and damaged a Chenapians garden, cutting and pulverising two banana trees. The ground in question is called Malabi. Walking time Yawa to Chenapians is three days.⁹

Chenapians comment on the killing of three Chenapians by Kubkain.

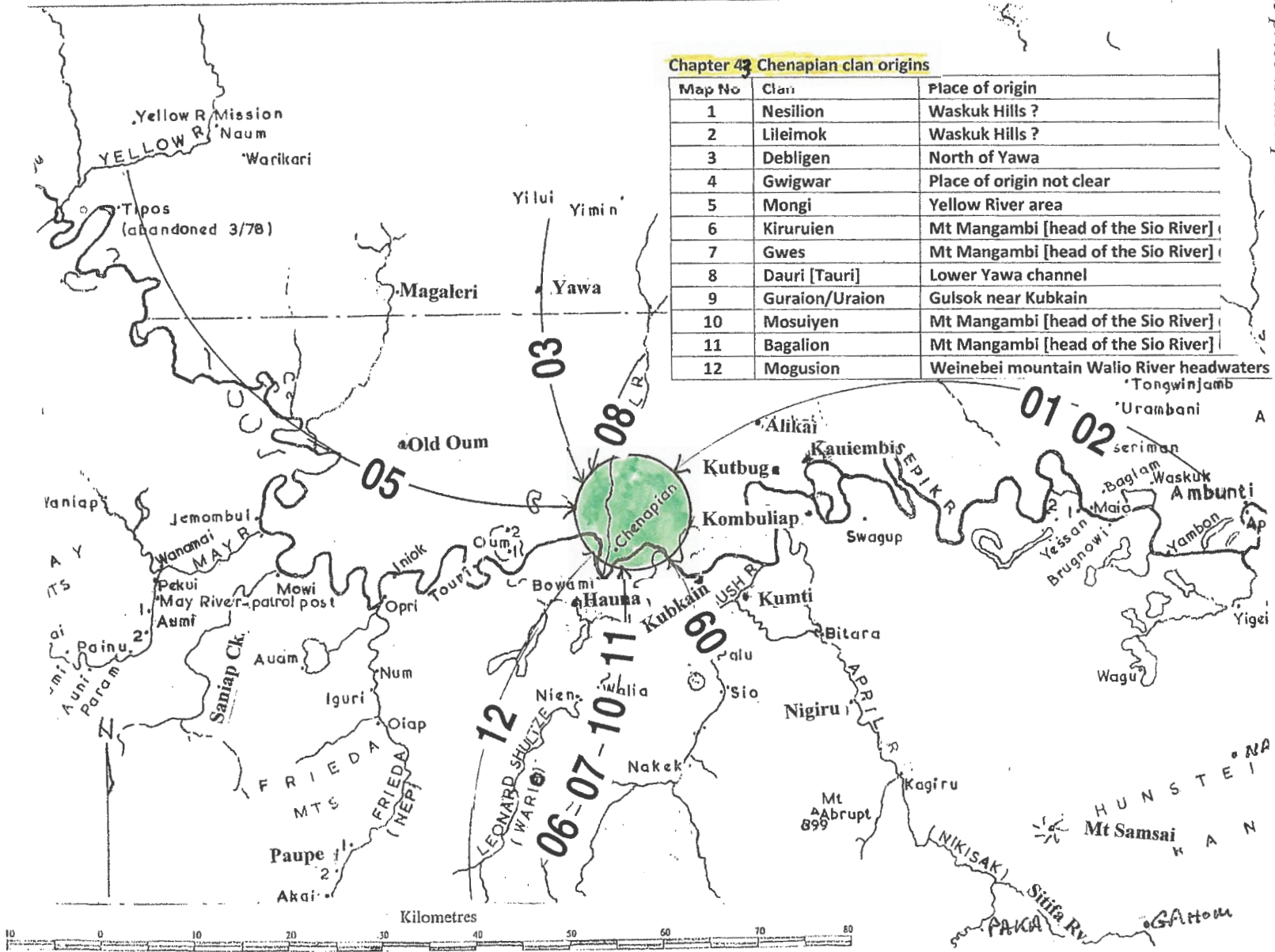
Bad talk about Kubkain, made at Chenapians was reported to Kubkain by a half-cast of theirs who here. They came and killed three of our men; three brothers. The heads were not taken, just the ears were cut off.¹⁰

Chenapian marriage customs.

Our fashion is to marry our enemies. Friendly clans do not marry into each other. E.G. Guraion and Mongi clans are enemies, so they marry each other. Gwes is a friend of Mongi, therefore marriage is not allowed. If we marry by sister exchange as is sometimes done, a formal bride price is also paid.¹¹

Chapter 43 Chenapian clan origins

Map No	Clan	Place of origin
1	Nesilion	Waskuk Hills ?
2	Lileimok	Waskuk Hills ?
3	Debligen	North of Yawa
4	Gwigwar	Place of origin not clear
5	Mongi	Yellow River area
6	Kiruruien	Mt Mangambi [head of the Sio River]
7	Gwes	Mt Mangambi [head of the Sio River]
8	Dauri [Tauri]	Lower Yawa channel
9	Guraion/Uraion	Gulsok near Kubkain
10	Mosuiyen	Mt Mangambi [head of the Sio River]
11	Bagalion	Mt Mangambi [head of the Sio River]
12	Mogusion	Weinebei mountain Walio River headwaters



End Notes Chapter 43

¹ Councillor Mapia of Chenapian, spokesman for elders. Bragge Sepik Research notes Vol 19 Page 51W0

² Cr Mapia et al with an unnamed Mongi elder Vol 19 P 510-11

³ Cr Mapia et al Vol 19 P 511-12

⁴ Cr Mapia et al with an unnamed Dauri/Tauri elder Vol 19 P 512-13

⁵ Cr Mapia et al Vol 19 P 513-14

⁶ Cr Mapia et al Vol 19 P 514-15

⁷ Cr Mapia et al Vol 19 P 515

⁸ Cr Mapia et al Vol 19 P 515-16

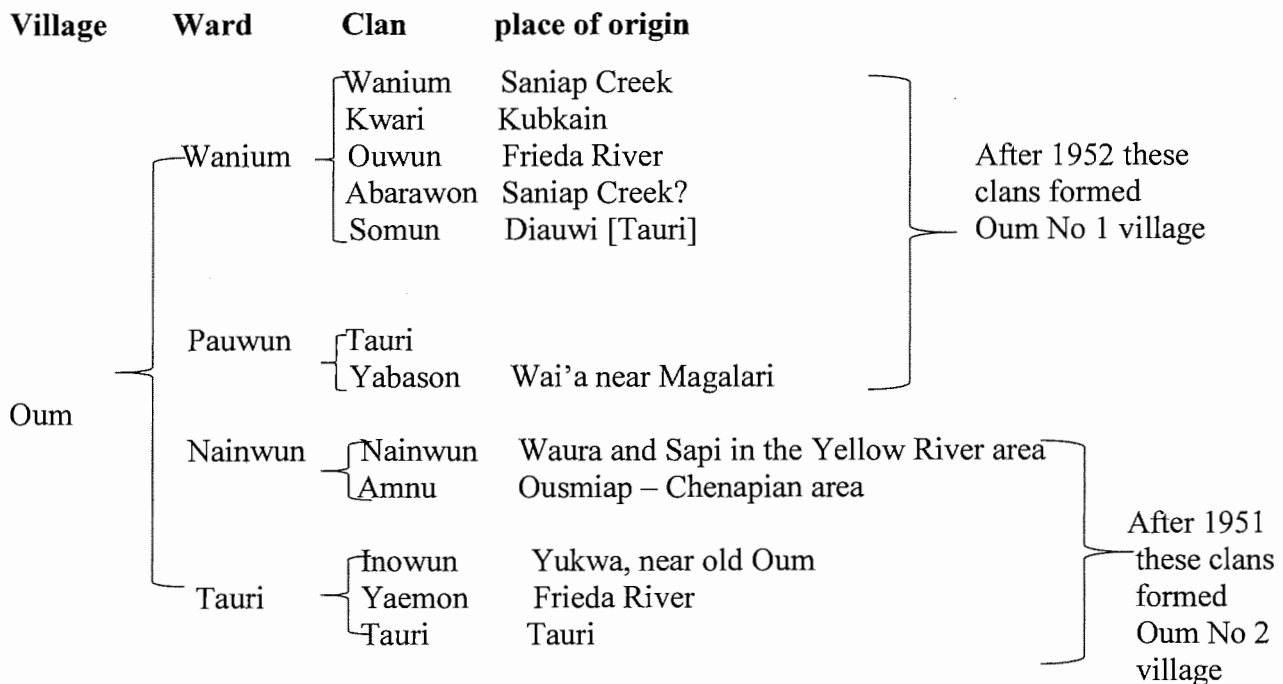
⁹ Cr Mapia et al Vol 19 P 517

¹⁰ Cr Mapia et al Vol 19 P 517

¹¹ Cr Mapia et al Vol 19 P 517

Sepik 1 Chapter 44. Wongamusen – Oum.

The ancestral village of the Oum people was called Oum and it was located on the Yabiei channel, which drains swamp lands to the north of the Sepik River in the direction of Margaleri. The Yabiei channel drains into the Oum Lagoon, which was formerly the course of the Sepik River. The lagoon was created by a Sepik River course change after world war 2. The ancestral village was about 10 miles north west of the Oum lagoon. The village was in low-lying grass swamp country, which flooded early in the wet season. The village had four residential wards. The social structure looked like this:



Head hunting and Cannibalism.

Our people did neither. The people we killed we just left where they were killed. We used to cut the chest and stomach open and smash the heads to make sure they were dead... We were revolted at the thought of eating human meat.

Haus Tambarans.

Wanium and Pauwun wards shared a single haus tambaran and each has separate doors and sections of the haus tambaran. Wanium's section was called Midumi and Pauwun's section was called Yimguru

Nainwun and Tauri wards also shares a single haus tambaran. Nainwun's section was called Yimgwi and the Tauri section was called Yaubagaiwei.

#1 Nainwun clan.

The ancestor was called Maranwei, whose first child was Ainei, second child was Mango. Maranwei's wife was called "xxxxxx"¹

[There was about 10 minutes of discussion before this name was called. It was explained that if other families heard this name, they could make sorcery against the clansmen of this

¹ It would be inappropriate to record the name here as it was told to the writer in confidence. Anyone desperately in need to know it will find it on page 493 Bragge Sepik Research Notes vol 19

woman ancestor. Thus, the informant whispered the name to the interpreter, who in turn whispered it to me several times, to make sure I got it right].

Their camp was called Waura [the pronunciation is closer to Oura – very soft “W’]. They made their house high in a kwila tree. The two children were born in this house. Waura is at the head of the Yabiei channel near the Oum ancestral place.

The eldest son wanted to go to the bush to hunt...The younger brother dreamed his brother would shoot a big pig. He awoke and told his mother and father. His parents said the dream was false, but the elder brother did shoot a big pig and carried it back. The younger brother said to the parents “You said I was lying, but here he comes with the pig.”

They cut the pig up and distributed it between the four people of the family. The father asked the eldest son “What about this pig? I think I will take a piece of pig and go somewhere else. What do you think?” The children said “It is alright – Mother and Father, you can go. We shall remain.”

The parents took a canoe and paddled away from Waura and came to the Wauiam channel, near the and made camp on the Yabiei channel near the Tauri camp. They did not see the Tauris, they thought it was empty bush. They cut a tree and the Tauris heard the sound of the cutting. The Tauris came and asked the two Nainwun ancestors “Where have you come from?” “We are Nainwuns and we have been here a long time.” The Tauris replied. “But you have not seen our marks?” – “That is so we have not seen your tracks, but look at this stump, I cut it and shoots have formed.

The Tauris were surprised. “And we thought it was empty bush – you can go ahead as the first line and we will follow.”

Writer’s note: This exchange is important in that it establishes who is the principal land owner and who has secondary rights. In terms of land tenure this equates to the proprietorship of a hotel. Those with secondary rights equate to tenants of the hotel – who, no matter how long they reside in the hotel, will always be tenants and never attain proprietary status.

The Nainwuns asked “Shall we both share the same haus tambaran?” The Tauris agreed. The channel upon which the Nainwun made their camp was called Wansabi. The ground [region] was Yombu. Both clans made a large haus tambaran and they lived together.

Then a piece of firewood belonging to a Nainwun man was taken by a Tauri...The Nainwun came and asked “Who made this fire?” ...

The Tauri man went back to his camp and later sent talk “We will have two haus tambarans if the house is too small. If it is large enough we will have separate sections for each of our clans. The Nainwuns said “We are not angry, we can both stay in the same haus tambaran.

Before there was exogamy between these two clan, but now we can marry between the clans¹.

#2 Amnu clan – totems Coconut, Eagle, Pig and Tulip

*This clan came from the Oumiap channel near Chenapian. They did not sleep at Chenapian, but simply travelled through the Oumiap area. They did have a camp at Liwutup * ground/bush. Their ancestors were Burugu [male] and Augwan [female]. They had no children. They left that camp and they came and made camp at Angaiyok [where] they had a son and a daughter. The first born was the man Nauar and the daughter was called Woniarasmi. In this Mongi area, the bamboo flutes originated.²*

#3 Inowun clan of Tauri Ward. – totems eel, shark, Erima tree, and Biu snake

My ancestors Painau [female] and Meiowi [male] left the bush Yakwa, which is near the ancestral Oum village., Paabaro and Baimo. The ancestors went and settled with the Tauri clan ward of Oum.

Then Meiowi [and his wife] returned to Yakwa to collect some hot water sago. When he arrived at Yakwa, they did see the two men who had been left behind. Then they returned to the Tauri ward with the canoe heavily laden with sago a storm of wind and rain upset the canoe. His wife said, "We have no food now. But her husband took the hot water [sago] from the lake and said "We can eat this" and he ate it. If he had not done so, we would be now forbidden from eating hot water sago. They made a house and lived in the Tauri ward, with the agreement of the Tauris who had taken them in. They had a son Nimsonei and daughter Namno and a she was sent to the Nainwun clan to be married and the clan developed from there.³

#4 Tauri clan – crocodile, cockatoo, tree kangaroo, red parrot and tortoise [Huhud]

Aiwun was the Tauri camp. The ancestor Wasegar made friends with and sex relations with a devil woman who lived in a ficus tree. Her name was Lopai. This devil woman put sago needles in her vagina and the ancestor Wasegar was badly impaled by sago needles which broke off in his penis. At dawn he saw his penis was swollen with infection

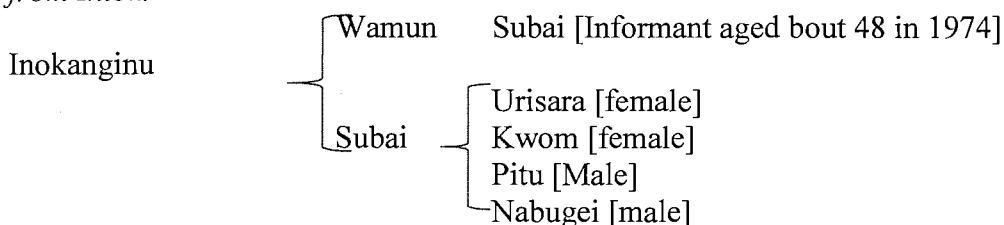
The wife of that ancestor's big brother saw the injury and asked what had happened and he told her. She said "Wait while I prepare hot water sago. When the water was boiling she took the sago she prepared the sago and she called to Wasegar. "Come here and sit by me" He came and faced her over the limbum container of sago. She raised her skirt and said "look at my vagina." He did so, and this achieved the required outcome, an erection. The sago needles fell out of the erected penis and fell into the hot water sago. He was alright then and he said to the wife of his big brother "You can wash sago now. I am alright now."

He prepared to pay back the devil woman Lopai. He took his bow and arrows and he shot her, the arrow hit Lopai and she fell, but she got up again. Where she fell the land turned into a channel. He left the place Aiwun then in pursuit of her. They left the bush and the sago and went out into grass lands. He shot her again and she fell into the water in the channel, and he also fell into the channel. The channel is called Aruyok.

They, [Wasegar and Lopai] were then spirits and they bred a line of warriors. They had a son and a daughter – Ninau and Ne respectively. Ninau and Ne came out of the channel and bred many warriors at the old Oum village on the Yabiei channel.⁴

#5 Yaemon clan. Totems: cassowary. hornbill, ficus, kwila, goura pigeon

When I was small, my father died and there were no clan elders of this clan still alive to tell me the full story. What I know is this: The ancestor, name not known, came from the Niep River [Frieda River] and went to settle with the Inioks. This was a spirit ancestor. The human migrations were from Iniok.



Iniok and Tauri were short of game and Oum had plenty. This family moved to Oum for this reason Inowun clan ancestors took them in and the Yaemon clam became part of the Tauri ward, Inowun clan gave Yaemon land and some sago stands. There are Yaemon clansmen also at Tauri, Iniok, Hauna and Mowi. Clans people from all these places are exogamous with us. We cannot marry Yaemon clan people from anywhere.⁵

6 Wanium Clan –

Totems: house, opossum, sun, moon, tree species [Ouwat, Mwi, Yabarin, Mou and Wut], snake [red], called Anein sugar, taro, banana, bird species [Paluwau, Aneikaikiri, Plover, and long-legged water bird – Osprey?]

The ancestor Weinasiwei came from somewhere in the Saniap Creek area. He came down to the Sepik River and came ashore on the left [i.e. the northern] bank below where Iniok is now. Where a passage called Pasowi joins the Sepik. He took two sago shoots with him from Saniap and planted one of the sago shoots at Pasowi, and then he came down the Sepik and went into the old place that Tauri has now abandoned. And went to the bush called Aikowi and made camp. Our ancestors had not yet met the Tauris. He planted the other sago shoot there.

He made three canoes and when he was ready to leave that place, and he tied the three canoes together and he came down the Yapiei channel, singing as he came to the big passage in the Yapiei channel called Kaikugwaiko. There, he turned the canoes and made an ancestral singsing called Yandambwas.

A man called Wangalio and his wife Kap, went down to the water and became water spirits at this passage. Having left these two behind, Weinasiwei went on down stream and he slept in the bush where the Tauri old place would later be established; a place called Masui. He made camp there and this place became the original camp of the Waniums

Weinasiwei went into the bush and found Tauri ancestors, whose names we do not know. He brought them down and established them at his camp, which was to become the Tauri big place. They lived together, and then the Tauri and Wanium children fought...and a Tauri child's eye was injured and the child died.

This incident made our ancestors and the Tauri ancestors think about moving. The ancestors fought each other and Wanium paid compensation for the dead Tauri child. Wanium then got up and said "This is the first settlement, and I am leaving you here now, I will go up and settle with the Nainwun clan". They then moved to Oum, where they asked the Nainwun ancestor. "Is there land here for me to take and build a house upon?" An area of uncleared land was indicated and they settled there. That bush was called Waibi, and we are still at Oum.

Weinasiwei had a child at the camp – a boy called Inae. Inae in turn had two boys Nino and Bumini Bumini's wife was a Tauri clan woman called Yapi. Her descendants include at least three generations – the third of which was a man called Kasien, who was 50 years old in 1974.

At Oumi, near the present site of Oum No 1, Nasowei and his wife Ogou originated. They came to Keisu, the site of Oum No 1, where they met the spirit ancestors of the Kwari clan. The man and wife [Nasowei and Ogou] were of the Wanium clan]. After meeting the Kwari clan they went back and consulted with Weinasiwei, who said "You can stay here" They settled on land called Ambis. When they settled, the Kwari clansmen settled with them.⁶

#7 Pauwun clan – Totems. Breadfruit, pitpit, mangas [fish], betelnut, daka [mustard], Small black bird that sings at night called Ouwa, fire, frog, white pig [of ancestor times, which we do not find anymore.] Totems are shared between Wanium and Pauwun clans

My ancestor got up from Oumi and he went to the bush called Mabunei. The ancestor of the group who made this migration, was Wowos, he was a single man. He carried a sago shoot which he planted at Mabunei – close to Iniok, on the left bank of the Sepik River. He left Mabunei and came

back again and went to the Oum big place [ancestral village] and met the Nainwun clan there and settled. He arrived at Oum in the night, and he saw the fire of the Nainwun, so he took a piece of firewood and beat the side of the canoe to attract attention. The Nainwun ancestor asked who the new comer was and took his bow and arrows, ready to fire. After some discussion the Nainwun ancestor said "I think we can both live here." So, they settled together. The Nainwun ancestor allocated land so he could build a house. When this was done the Nainwun ancestor called him back to clear a singing area. They established their boundaries then...this was the Nainwun/Pauwun ward boundaries.⁷

#8 Abarawun clan

This clan is now extinct. They originated at a small lake close to the Oum Oxbow lake and they went from there to the Oum ancestral place. Their ancestors were Taru and Walio. They joined the Wanium ward at Oum in the spirit time. Nomon was another Abarawun ancestor and he gave rise to the Abarawun population, but now they have lived and died. The Abarawun land and water rights have been taken over by Wanium.⁸

#9 Kwari clan

This clan is now [1974] represented by one child only [Baimu]. We and he do not know their history. They originated at Kubkain and came to settle at the place called Mongi [Kubkain is called Kobu by Oum]. Their ancestor came and settled where Oum No 1 is now. Another area of their land is where the mission school is located. This was a hunting and gathering area, not residential.

The Kwari ancestor was called Siowei and his wife was Ogo. They left here with the Waniums and went to the Oum ancestral place. Later the Kwari clan left Oum and went to settle at Mongi [also pronounced Mangi]. They previously had been there but had not settled. Hauna and Chenapian tricked them with a target [invitation] and they went to Hauna to sing, and the Chenapian and Haunas killed them all in the early morning. The only Kwari person here is the child Baimu. Baimu is now regarded as a Wanium clansman.⁹

#10 Ouwun clan -Totems. Cassowary, goura pigeon, hornbill and ficus tree

My ancestor came from Paupe on the Frieda River. He came down river and slept at Ongum near Iniok. He drifted down of a kwila² tree. He had with him a kundu[drum]and a bamboo flute. His name was Waimanuwei. He stayed and lived with the Inioks in the spirit time. In the time of humans, we migrated down to from Iniok. Yakwei came down with his wife Nina'uguk. They came into Oum and joined the Wanium clan and ward there. Informant Naip was Yakwei's great-grand son.¹⁰

#11 Soumun clan – Totems: python. pig, garamut, the oil tree "Iwak", waterlilies

My ancestor [name unknown] left Yawi in the Tauri area, in the swamps away from the [Sepik] river]. They lived at the old Tauri place which was established by Wanium. In our grandfather's time Oum went to fight with Tauri. The fight was at dawn at the Tauri village site. It was not a sneak attack in the sago. Some Tauris were killed and most scattered. The grandfathers found a child in one of the Tauri houses. My grandfather Wubili, heard sounds from the house and upon investigating, found the child, who gave his name as Mwaisimora. The child was frightened of being killed, but came out of the house slowly. Wubili took him by the arms and lifted him off the house steps. The other three wards wanted to kill him, but Wubili protected the child and brought him back to Oum and looked after him until he was a man. Then Wanium clan sent him to Yabasun clan who gave him a girl to marry – By 1974 Mwaisimora had grand-children. [listed on P 497] These are now listed as being part of Wanium.¹¹

² Remarkable – as Kwila does not float. Put it down to mythological license.

#12 Yabasun clan – Totems: bird of paradise, small clack bird called “Ouwo”

Our camp was at Wai’I on the upper reaches of the Yabiei channel...on a tributary called Piri, which is close to Magalari. A tree called Hubei was what the ancestor built his house in. He left there and came to Piri and he came down the Waiium channel and made camp in the bush called Yaptui. This ancestor’s name was Elekun. A cripple called Ambiam was Elekun’s elder brother. Elekun left him at Yaptui [also called Yabsu]. He came to Mabi and he walked to Wausu near the Yabiei channel. While at the Wausu camp he had a son and a daughter – Bwamgu and Si respectively. The genealogy looks so: and so is n [Si, being a girl must have married out and so is not listed.

Elekun – Bwamgu {
 Neieiska – Wobgi – Agias [Agias in 1974 was working in Rabaul]
 Aubwi
 Auwei

After the birth of his children Elekun joined the Pauwun clan.¹²

The order of migrations to the Oum Ancestral village were: *Nainwun, Pauwun, Tauri, Wanium and Abarawun. The order in which the other clans arrived is not regarded as important by Oum alders as they simply joined established clans to become parts of wards.¹³*

ooo000ooo

The enemies of Oum. *Oum’s enemies were Hauna [Yauwniam], Chenapian, Auom, Yawa, Mowi, and in more limited fighting Iniok and Tauri*

Auom [also known as Oum No 3]

Iniok sent a spear and ginger [the fight totem] to us, via a Tauri man who came hers and gave it to us, saying.

“If you have strength [Bun] come and see us. If you do not have strength, do not come and see us.” To which Oum replied. “Enemies are out food³. Do not fret about the ‘meat’ in your area.”

Iniok replied “We are not fretting, just come.”

We prepared. We washed properly and took nettles and rubbed our skins with them. Some of this nettle rubbing was done in the village and some we took the village of the enemy.

In the morning we left in eight canoes up the Sepik. The Tauris came with us in six additional canoes and Iniok came with three canoes. There were seven [Iniok] women in with their warriors. They were to grease and re-assure the Auoms that we were not going to fight.

The raid was in payback for Iniok men and women who had been killed by Auom. All the canoes came to where the present Iniok camp is. At that time Iniok village was inside, away from the river bank. They cleared a large camp site [for the visiting warriors] on ground called Mowei

They ate ginger and nettles and rubbed their skins until they were stimulated. At about 4 pm they left the camp and went into the Frieda River, then up to the big lake called Yui, arriving there about 7 pm. They paddled on through the night until about midnight, when they assembled to decide upon the course of action.

Some Oums went into Iniok canoes and two Inioks came into the Oum canoes. The Tauris and Inioks went down the channel close to Auom village. The Tauris and Inioks occupied either side of the channel.

³ This was figuratively speaking - Oum claim not to have been cannibals, although their May River neighbours were

Some of the Iniok men and women remained outside. In the morning they were to blow their wooden trumpet to signal a friendly group coming to Auom in peace. At 4 am Oum took up positions surrounding the hill upon which Auom village was located. Then at 6am the trumpet sounded and the Auoms heard it and called out "That is all we have been waiting for. We can live in peace now."

The people of Auom came down off the hill to meet the Inioks. The signal to hold the Auoms and kill them with axes was to be when the Inioks spoke of food. The axes were the short handled steel axes we had traded for at Yellow River with dog's teeth. The Europeans had not come to our village at that time.

At the signal the Inioks axed to death two women and three children, and the Auom men ran back to their village. The Oum men who had surrounded the village then attacked the village site. Men, women children dogs and pigs were all killed. All the houses of the village were burned.

The Tauris did not participate, but watched from a distance. The Iniok's who were related to the Auoms [Oum 3] rubbed clay on their skins in mourning...

We came down [returned home] playing flutes and we samsamed [war dance] in the canoes. We counted up the Auoms we Oum had killed and the total was 45. The present group called Auom came and settled from Iemombui. The Tauris killed 23 Auoms when they went to the other side from where the Tauris were watching.

We came down to our haus tambaran at old Oum. The spears that had taken life were put up against a post. Scrapings from these spears [together with] ginger, scented bark and nettles [the black variety], were eaten. This mixture heats the stomach. This mixture was made and eaten the day after the raid. The ceremony in which this mixture is eaten is called Wabuabubusinasina. Nettles were rubbed on the stomachs throughout the month we stayed in the haus tambaran.¹⁴

NB Chapter 45 describes this raid in detail, and Yenak Yenak's part in it and his initiation.

Fights against Yawa.

I⁴ do not know all the details of the fights our fathers had with Yawa. In the last fight only, I was involved.

Magaleri had a payback to make on Yawa, for a Magaleri man killed by Yawa. Magaleri sent a spear to Tipas [in the Yellow River area] and another spear and ginger to Oum with a tanget [a number of croton leaves to mark the number of days until an event was to take place]. When the tanget was finished [when the due day arrived] We prepared. Two men from Oum went to Magaleri to show them the way to Oum. The Tipas came with the Magaleri to Oum. They slept in the Waura bush on the way. Oum warriors went to this meeting place. Tipas and Oum ate each other's ginger and both ate Magaleri ginger. But as Magaleri is the same as our ancestor, so Magaleri did not eat ginger.

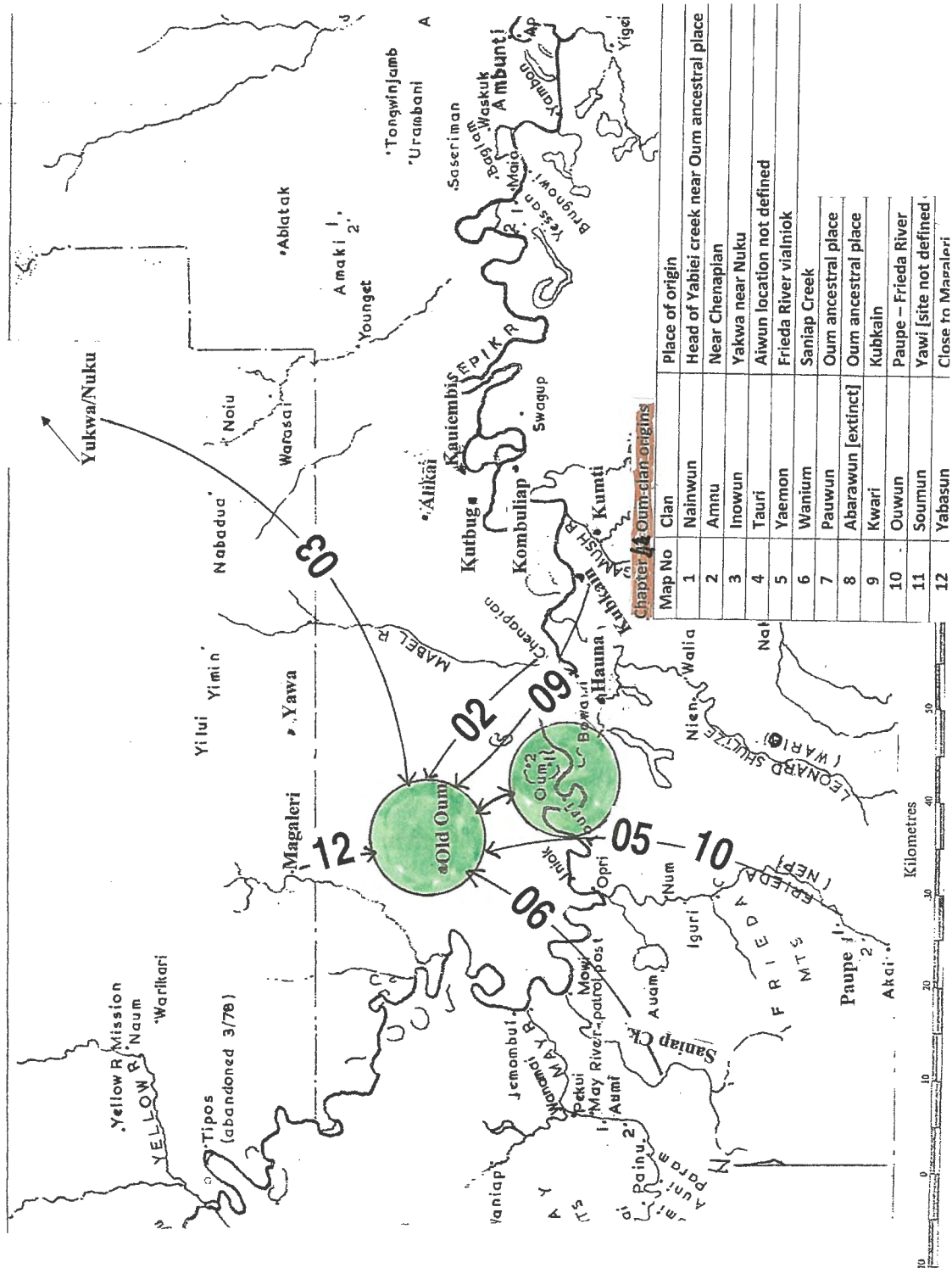
The combined force was very large. We walked to the Tuliap river in the Yawa area where we heard a stone axe cutting sago. The combined force surrounded these people... Magaleri killed two men and one woman. We were going to burn Yawa, but the raisers were satisfied with the three kills.

The Magaleris followed their custom and cut the right arms off all three victims. This was not for cannibalism purposes, but to show the women. Magaleri and Tipas went back on their track and we came back to Oum big place in the swamp.¹⁵

⁴ Yenak/Yenak of Oum

P.S. None of the Germans, pre-war Australians or the Japanese visited Oum. The village remained isolated until some Oum men paddled their canoes down to Angoram and were recruited and sent out to work as plantation labour. The village was first visited by ADO Ormsby by ship in about 1950, according to informant Yenak.

In 1951 the Nainwun and Tauri wards left the village and came to establish themselves where the Oum school is now [i.e. in 1974] ...In 1952, the other two wards followed to form Oum No 1. The first two wards to move then became Oum No 2.



End Notes Chapter 44

-
- ¹ Assembled Oum Elders – Bragge Sepik Research Vol 19 Page 493
 - ² Assembled Oum Elders – Bragge Sepik Research Vol 19 Page 493/4
 - ³ Assembled Oum Elders – Bragge Sepik Research Vol 19 Page 494
 - ⁴ Assembled Oum Elders – Bragge Sepik Research Vol 19 Page 494
 - ⁵ Subai of Yaemon clan– Bragge Sepik Research Vol 19 Page 494
 - ⁶ Kasien of Wanium clan. – Bragge Sepik Research Vol 19 Page 496
 - ⁷ Piabu of Pauwun clan - – Bragge Sepik Research Vol 19 Page 496/7
 - ⁸ Assembled Oum Elders – Bragge Sepik Research Vol 19 Page 497
 - ⁹ Assembled Oum Elders – Bragge Sepik Research Vol 19 Page 497
 - ¹⁰ Naip of Ouwun clan – Bragge Sepik Research Vol 19 Page 497
 - ¹¹ Kasian of Souwun clan - Bragge Sepik Research Vol 19 Page 497
 - ¹² Wabki and Piabu - Bragge Sepik Research Vol 19 Page 498
 - ¹³ Assembled Oum Elders – Bragge Sepik Research Vol 19 Page 498
 - ¹⁴ Yenak/Yenak of Oum – Bragge Sepik Research Vol 19 Page 495.
 - ¹⁵ Yenak/Yenak of Oum – Bragge Sepik Research Vol 19 Page 498

Sepik 1 Chapter 45. Yenak/Yenak of Oum – Wongamusen area Upper Sepik.

Yenak/Yenak seemingly stepped directly from Sepik Pre-history to meet the writer in 1974.

Although Yenak's descriptions were of recent origin, they are not only valid renditions of Sepik pre-history, they provide unique information not recorded elsewhere.

ooo000ooo

Yenak/Yenak of Oum was born in 1930 according to the census book. He [in 1974] was the elected Local Government Councillor for the Oum Ward of the Ambunti Local Government Council.

Yenak's word was law in Oum. Anyone wanting to speak with the visiting Assistant District Commissioner cleared what he wanted to say first in local language with Yenak, before addressing the ADC. Similarly, if a question was asked of someone, the answer was first cleared in local language with Yenak who nodded before the pidgin English answer was given.

Yenak stepped up to the census table with his seven wives and many children. His seventh wife was a very young 14 year of age, with practically no breast development. I ordered that she return to her parents until she grows up. Yenak nodded. My notation in the census book would in normal circumstances have resulted in my decision being obeyed, because if it was not, charges under the criminal code, could earn Yenak seven years with hard labour. In reality, this was somewhat pointless. Girls as young as 12 have apparently been marrying here since the beginning of time, and it seemed very doubtful that a decision made during 1974 annual census was going to have must impact on the course of history in Oum.

Yenak claims six kills to his credit. He told his story thus: *I was of the Uran age class – uninitiated. I went with my father whose name was also Yenak. Yenak senior had seven kills to his credit. Uran age class boys were taken along [on raids], not so much as a fighting force, but more as an educational experience in the ways of fighting ...and if possible to be given a kill to earn the right to wear black fac paint.*

At the time of the Auom raid I was not yet shaving¹. I followed my father as we took up positions surrounding the village. I was carrying a bow and arrows as it the fashion for the Uran age class, and I had one spear. Father had his war shield and a bundle of black-palm spears. Father had told me to move quietly and to stay with him and learn. We took up our positions and sat down waiting for the dawn, the weather was fine that night. At first light father gave me some sago, saying "Eat this to strengthen your stomach."

Then about 6 am the Inioks² called out and the Auoms went down to the Inioks. We quietly advanced upon the village, moving up the hill upon which it was located. When the Inioks made the first kill, the Auoms ran back up to the village, father said to me "Come on, stay behind me."

We attacked the Auoms. I stayed behind my father as he speared a man through the ribs, and the spear came out the other side of his body. Father's second spear went through the man's neck. The deceased did not tremble or struggle much. He died very quickly. The other man father killed was a cripple, unable to flee. He got out of the house, but did not get far from the bottom of the steps. Father killed him with a cassowary bone dagger, stabbing him in the side of the throat. The second stab was through the eye. The eyeball came out and this man was dead.

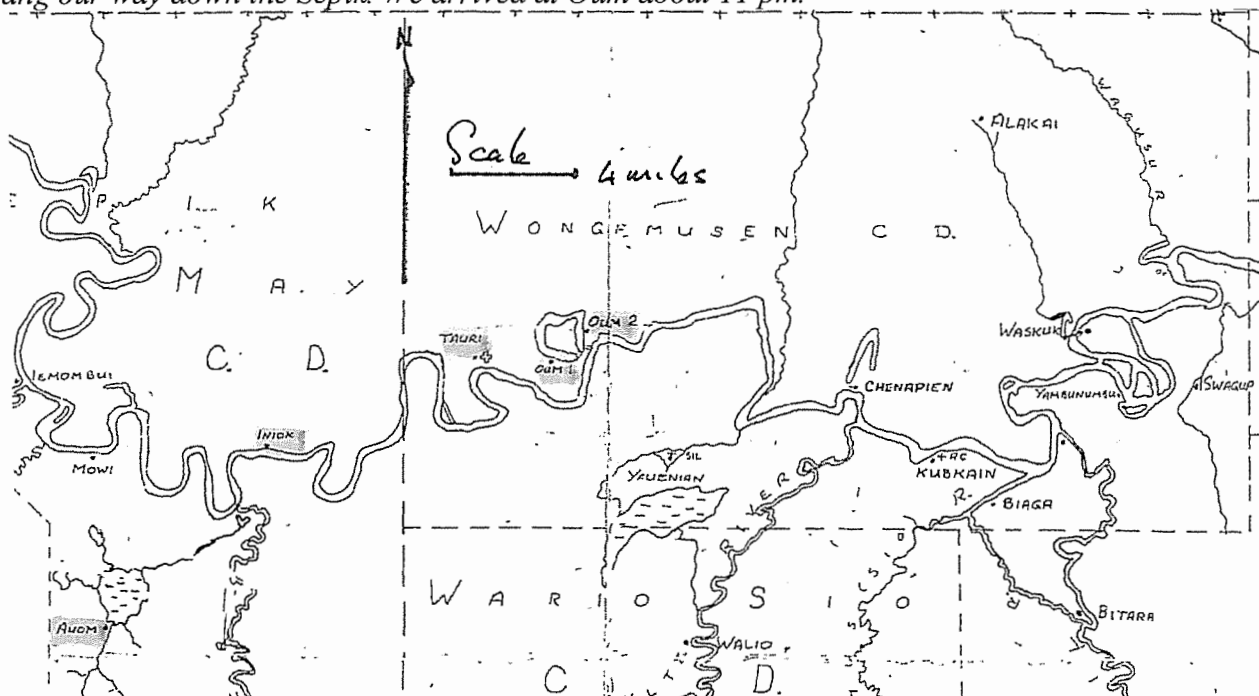
¹ Unlike Highlands, warriors who pride themselves on their flowing beards. Sepik warriors at first contact did not have beards. The question, as to how "shaving" was done in ancient times at Oum, was not asked

² Iniok and Tauri are Sepik River villages, which was apparently allied with Oum in this raid

We went and saw a woman throwing small children over the edge of the hill, into a hiding place. Father called me to him "You can kill these five children". The mother was running away and father threw a spear after her. It hit her in the small of the back and came out of her stomach. She was still alive and he ran to her and rammed his hand into her vagina up to his forearm and pulled out her internal organs and she died.

I killed the five children with a bone dagger. They were tiny babies unable to walk or crawl. Father found another woman and held her alive. He called me and said "Kill her". I took a bone dagger and stabbed her in the side of the neck while father still held her and then I stabbed her in the ribs under the arm next to the left breast. Then father finished the killing by stabbing her through both ears and through the solar plexus.

The bodies were laying around and we went and burned the houses of Auom. Then we came paddling down the Sepik with Iniok and Tauri. Just the Inioks sang as we came. When the Inioks turned into their place, the Tauris sang their way down and when Tauri went into their place, we sang our way down the Sepik. We arrived at Oum about 11 pm.



We did not sleep we sat in the haus tambaran. The men who did not make a kill went to the married houses, the homicides only remained in the haus tambaran. At dawn the elders in the homicide group ate ginger, and we, of the Uran class ate scented bark which we call Bais. The mixture of ginger and scrapings from the killing spears, was eaten by only by the big men. We of the Uran class did not have any of it.

In the afternoon after we had a feast of fish, sago and tulip³. The fish eaten was catfish. Mangen and big-mouth were forbidden. Then the singsing started about half past four and went on to dusk. This singsing was called Idigmwai which is the song/dance accompanied by garamuts, [slit gongs] flutes and kundus [hand drum]. At dusk we slept. This went on for two weeks – repeating this ritual in the haus tambaran.

Then [after the two weeks] we started the singsing, which would leave the haus tambaran and go outside and be followed by a big feast. This singsing was called Indipwasita. There were no

³ Tulip [Two leaf] edible greens rich in iron

garamuts, flutes or kundus used in this singsing. This was a singsing of the mouth only, no accompaniment.

We sang through until dawn and then we washed and were free to go to the married houses. Our routine in the village was normal then, except we had to act as runners, bringing food etc to the big men in the haus tambaran. The big men slept on beds of black stinging nettles for the whole month.

It ended when all the men decorated themselves. The singsing then used flutes, kundus and garamuts and a feast was held with it. Then the big men and we Uran class went into an enclosure of limbum palm fronds. This enclosure surrounded space only, there was no haus tambaran in there. The fronds were to prevent vision from the outside.

About six very old men remained outside singing. The Uran and Yei-nan age classes called out then, saying "Hey big men, why have you called us? We are from Tauri" [The big men replied]. "Are you from Tauri? Are you real men?"

The men in the enclosure replied "We have not plenty of mothers. Just one mother gave birth to us." The red fruit we decorate haus tambarans with; the red fruit that floats on the water like a ball, were taken into the enclosure. Now, one piece of this fruit was thrown over the enclosure in the direction of the big men. Then one man from the Yei-nan age class left the enclosure carrying a spear while the elders stood watching in mock amazement or as if startled. The Yei-nan man then went back into the enclosure. Then a second time, fruit is thrown and the process is repeated.

The yei-nan man upon returning to the enclosure, makes as if to threaten the men within the enclosure with the spear...All of them now have nettles in their mouths, held between their lips and they run out shouting [Yipping is a better indication of the sound indicated by the informant.] around the dance area. Garamuts accompany their yipping. Then all the men went and washed. All the ginger and decorations are heaped inside the haus tambaran. The men then return to the married houses and put on their normal attire. The men are allowed to eat, but not to associate with the women for a period of two weeks, then the sex prohibition is lifted

About six weeks later, I was initiated as a yei-nan. Then I went to work at a plantation for the first time. This was in 1952.

Yei-nan Initiation.

There were about 15 Uran age class initiated with me. At the same time there were about 25 from Oum 1 initiated⁴. On a set night we left the village and went to the bush. We went ahead. The big men from the Amun and Biawei Isuwei age classes came the next day during daylight. They brought nettles and beat us with them and then the big men took the grass, which cuts; grass called Towam and forced it down the eye of our penis' several inches and worked back and forth when it had gone right down as far as it would go, the Amun and yei-nan of a clan brother [in my case being an inogwun (age class), of the Nainwun (clan, called) Kwaian] holds the penis firmly in his right hand and pulls the grass out quickly cutting the inside of the penis. The grass is then put aside

The same day, the same man took a bamboo knife and made an incision in the head of the penis, after pushing the foreskin back. The incision is enough to make the blood run. Then the men took the vine Urit, which has many little hairs on it which makes it stick to your skin if you brush against it. The result is strong irritation. This is also fed into the eye of the penis as far as it will go and pulled out while the penis is firmly held. This tears out flesh from inside the penis. Finally nettles

⁴ As shown on the map on the previous page, there are two Oum villages, Yenak was apparently from Oum 2

[the black variety] are wrapped around the penis and puled away, then rewrapped and pulled away many times.

By this time there was a lot of blood issuing from the penis. Then we were allowed to go and wash and decorate ourselves. This was all done on the one day, and then we were Yei-nan age class. After decorating ourselves we ate black nettles with betel nut.

A raft of many canoes was then fastened with an enclosure on it. We were placed on this raft and the big men paddled us back to the village. If my place was at the end of the village, as the raft came abeam, my uncle [mother's brother] would call out [from the raft] "Hey Binokom. I think you did not see your son's face, he hid yesterday and went to the bush. He is calling out now for hot water sago."

In this exchange he called out both my name and my mother's name. Mother would have prepared a new grass skirt and she would have a lime gourd with a serrated lime spatula. [Upon being called] she would samsam [dance] out – dancing and calling "My child used to be an Uran, but now he has gone to the haus tambaran. I am very happy." The big men on the raft would also singing. We went then to the haus tambaran and stayed there for a month and out mothers could not see us.

When the month was finished, we went back to the bush where we were initiated and we washer. Then the four processes – grass, vine, bamboo knife and nettles were applied again. We washed, decorated ourselves and returned to the village in a long line of canoes. At the village we were allowed to return to the married houses. The ceremony was over then.

Urinating after this penis operation was very painful. The urine came out of the incisions made until the wound healed. The injury healed after about three weeks.

Fights against Chenapian.

After Hauna⁵ and Chenapian attacked us at Nuti⁶, when we were returning from a Kubkain singsing, we planned to pay-back Chenapian. After one month, a Chenapian man came to Oum. He was Worembibi and he had come to visit his bush and to see his relatives. He was also mourning the deaths of Oums who were his relatives. He stayed with us two days, and the big men said "We have a debt unpaid, we will kill him." Wupki from Oum 1 killed him with a stone axe. We sang for two weeks, but we did not eat ginger, only the scented bark. The day after this killing an old Hauna woman came by canoe to Oum and we killed her also. The Nainwun clan killed her.

After another two weeks we went to Chenapian and hid in positions at the mouth of the Dwei channel. The Chenapians came to get cane, there were three large canoes of them. The Oums took up fighting stances, but the Chenapians saw us from a safe distance and so we fought in the open, with the surprise element gone. We killed two men, whose names I have forgotten. There were wounded men on both sides.

The Oums played their wooden trumped as they came home again. The Chanapians went home mourning. At this time the singsing was only two weeks, no ginger was eaten, only scented bark.

After washing we went to attack Hauna. We went in the day time, pretending to be friends. We met one Hauna man who was old and sick. He was fishing in the Paisu channel, which goes down to Hauna past their old place. He saw us and we asked "Who are you?" He said "Me" and

⁵ Hauna is also known as Yauenian – as shown on the map on page 2 above

⁶ Date unknown, presumably early 1950s

called his name, which was Masenwo. And he asked "Why have you come?" "We have come to be friends" we said but he replied "You lie, you will kill me."

He paddled over to us then and said "Hey, you Oums, give me some hot water" [sago]. But as it was enemy times⁷, we did not give it to him. One man said "Go and get hot water from him" and pointed. As the old man turned to look he was speared in the back by the man who had pointed. The old man with the spear through him, fell into the water. He and the spear drifted down the channel.

We went down the channel and saw another man making a fire and we called out

"Hey, who are you?"

"Miau, why have you come?"

"We are going to your village"

"Good I will come with you."

He paddled out, and went into the canoe of a half-caste Hauna/Oum by the name of Au...Siwei speared him in the back. Undi threw a second spear, and the Hauna died then. The Oums then turned back for home and reached Oum at about 4 pm. Next day we did not eat ginger, just bark and the ceremony lasted two weeks.

The Haunas paid back. They went into the other channel where Oum no 1 is now, and they went further on to another lake called Oumi and set an ambush there. During the mourning period, two Oums came seeking food. The elder brother came ahead and he saw the ambush and he called back to the other Oum "you wait, I want to get something from the house." He was trying to run away, but the Haunas were not fooled. They pursued and killed both men. I was a yei-nan then and in Lae. This was not paid back as the white men came then.¹

ooo000ooo

Writer's note. Yenak/Yenak's story, fascinating as it is, presented me with problems to ponder. He had just confessed to six wilful murders – offences against Section 301 of the Queensland Criminal Code as adopted in New Guinea, punishable [on paper at least] with the death penalty. Department of District Services and Native Affairs policy was not to prosecute crime which happened in tribal communities before contact⁸ with the outside world.

While there is no statute of limitation⁹ of the crimes of murder and wilful murder, while a prosecution might have been appropriate soon after the murders took place, it would have been counter-productive for me to lay charges so long after the event. My other role on that patrol was political education in preparation for Independence a year later, and Yenak displayed the quality of leadership that would benefit his people in an independent sovereign nation.

End Notes Chapter 45

¹ Yenak/Yenak of Oum. Bragge Sepik Research Volume 19 pages 498-501

⁷ While treachery was accepted as a regular strategy in warfare, it was widely accepted that once on offering of food had been provided, the situation between enemies was safe. E.G. In Sepik 4 Chapter 40 while making peace with the Mianmin, they indicated that they did not want to fight by displaying broken bows and the offer of freshly baked taro.

⁸ "Contact with the outside world" really means **effective** contact with the outside world. At the time these crimes were committed the Oum people would certainly have known of the outside world. But that contact would not have been "effective" until an Administration officer explained the law and the consequences of breaking it.

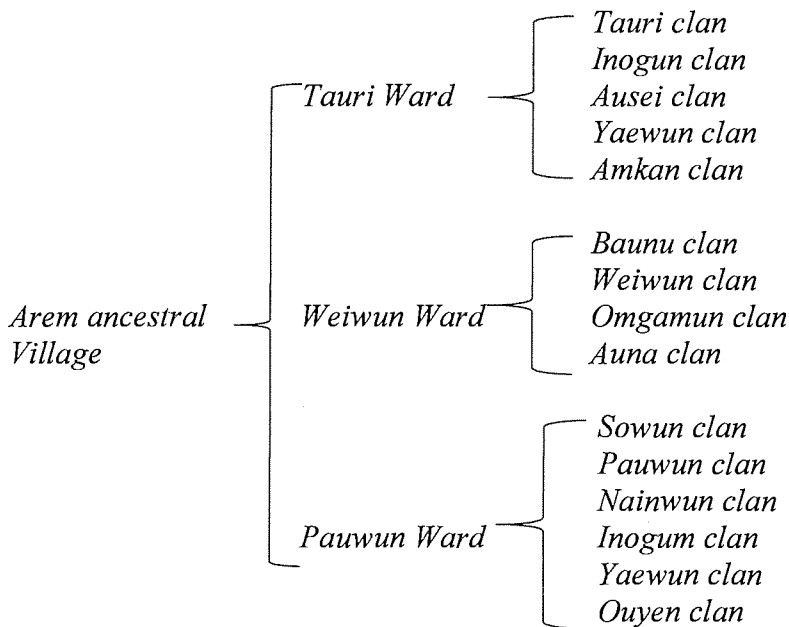
⁹ Legally, Yenak could still have been tried in 1974 for killings committed decades earlier

Sepik 1 Chapter 46 – Wongamusen – Tauri.

Our [Tauri] ancestral place is north of the Sepik River on a channel that joins the Sepik on the north facing bend immediately upstream of Tauri Village. The ancestral place was called Arem and was in a grass swamp, like the swamp at Tongwinjamb. The houses were on very tall posts. We lived there and did not abandon that site until 1954. The attraction to stay so long was that it was our ancestral place. But that was over-ridden by contact with the Government, and we came outside to be accessible.

Traditionally Arem had three wards, each with several clans. When Yemgi here [an elder indicated – census book states he was born in 1910] was a lad under 10 years old, a Pauwun ward sorcerer called Waian killed a man of the Tauri ward by sorcery. In return the Tauris killed Waian with spears. The people of Pauwun secretly began to make houses at a place called Iniokwi. They moved quietly until the Tauris made comment, after which that moved quickly. They are the Iniok village people of today. Before that there were no people at Iniok.

The Arem village ward structure and clans:



Haus Tambarans [Yabiei, Yabsu, Waniap and Saniap]

There were four haus tambarans, and the clans associated with each did not match the ward structure around which the housing was organised.

Yabiei HT – Tauri, Weiwun, Inogun [Tauri ward section], Baunu, Yaewun [Tauri ward section] clans.

Yabsu HT – Ongamun, Auna, Ausei, Amkan clans.

Waiap HT – Mowun, Inogun [Pauwun ward section], Ouyen clans

Saniap HT – Yaemun [Pauwun ward section]. Pauwun, Nainwun

#1 Tauri clan.

The place of origin was Wai'i. not far from Magaleri. The ancestors left Wai'i and came to a place called Eikwi. This lone ancestor was called Nasenuwap. After was there for some time he took his bow and went hunting. He found a man of the Amkan clan. "Where do you live?" They asked each other. The Amkan clansman said "My place is close to here". They exchanged targets then, for them to meet again in the future. Then they parted.

The Weiwun clan came up then to the Amkan clan, who asked where they had come from. "I came from the Waniap channel". They settled together. Then the tanget came due, and the Tauri went to meet the Amkan. They slept together and next day the Tauri returned to his camp. The Amkan remained. Then later the Amkan went up to the camp of the Tauri.

The Tauri and the Weiwun had a village together, and the Amkan came and went freely to this place and from this place which was called Wuri. This is in the area we now dispute with Mowi.

The Amkan showed the bush people from Tauri and Weiwun had to use canoes, paddles nets and fish spears. After learning this the Tauri and Weiwun people then made a big canoe. Then a Weiwun had an adulterous relationship with a Tauri woman, who reported the fact to her husband. The husband then sharpened a spear and asked her "Where do you meet for sex?" She said "We go to an area called Naumi, you will see the Ai'iu tree where he cuts firewood, and you will see some Limbum – That is where we go.

The husband went in the night and hid in this place. In the morning the wife went after her husband, and the lover seeing the women going, followed her. They had sex relations. The husband then came out and speared through both bodies and they both died. He pulled the spear out and carried the body of his wife and put her in an old canoe and he took the canoe to his house, where he other old canoes and enclosed his house with the planks so acquired.

He prepared sago and water and food supplies, and then he told his old mother. "Go and rouse all the leaves and firewood from the canoe." She did as she was told and found the body of the wife. She called out and cried.

The husband called out in the haus tambaran "You can carry your male pig. I have already brought my female pig here." The men talked together, trying to find out who he was talking about. Then they finally decided who it must be. They went then, and they collected the body of the man. After burying the man, they started fighting. The fighting went on until after dark.

The Weiwuns got up then as they were hungry. In the night the Weiwuns cut the canoe they and the Tauris had, into two halves, and in the night, the Weiwuns came to Yapsu. At dawn the Tauris saw that the Weiwuns had gone and they followed the Weiwuns to Yapsu. The Weiwuns asked "Why did you follow us. Why did you not stay?"

The Tauris said "You left us and we worried. We should stay together" The anger between them was ended. A man from Oum walked to Yapsu, where he saw the Tauri and Weiwun clansmen and asked them "Where have you come from?" – "We came from up there" They indicated.

"Do you think this place is suitable to settle? No this is not a good place! I want you to come with me and settle with us Waniums" said the Wanium clansman from the Oum group. He went back, but the Tauri and Weiwun people remained. The Wanium man then went to a singsing at Yapsu, with the intention of greasing the Tauris and Weiwuns. After the singsing, they came to settle at Masiu. They lived together there until a Wanium child killed a child of the Tauris. A fight developed and the Waniums ran away and settled at Oum. They are still there. This left Weiwun and Tauri at the Masiu camp.

The Amkan clansmen came to Yapsu and saw the place was abandoned. They saw the spears sticking out of the houses and thought an enemy had attacked the place. Later they heard a woman cutting the top off a sago palm, and assumed it must be their vanished friends. They decided to investigate next day. At dawn the Amkans went into their canoes and came down the Sepik and found their friends. Masiu used to be on the Sepik river bank, but now it is well inland. The Amkans went back to their place and remained there. Then the Inoguns arrived at Masiu.¹

#2 Inogun clan.

Inogun clan came from Albiap, at the head of the Leonard Schultze River. It was not men who came, but two female dogs. These two dogs returned with the men who had been hunting with them in the bush. They came to the man's wife and smelled under her skirt, because they smelt that she had had sex with another man while they were away.

She brushed them away, and the two dogs ran through the bush between the Leonard Schultze and Frieda Rivers [Walio and Niep]. In the middle of the bush they turned into two human females. In the bilum of one of these, females, Wadpi, there was an ancestral stone, used for beating sago, she took this, as it resembled a penis, and put it into her vagina; This turned Wadpi [also pronounced Walpi] into a man.

This man and the other woman who was called Kakasesia, came on through the bush. They became hungry and Walpi climbed a tulip tree. They are tulip as they came. Walpi tried at having intercourse with his sister Kakasesia. They came to the Unwi channel which joins the Sepik's south bank between Iniok and Tauri. They saw the Sepik, but had no way to cross it. They cut a garamut tree and made a canoe. They followed the Sepik downstream and met the Tauris at Masiu.

The Tauris threw a cane and fastened the canoe. They went into the haus tambaran and the Tauris asked "Where did you come from?"

"We came from Abiap [Albiap]"

"Will you return there?"

"We cannot go back. We have no way to go."

"Alright, you can stay with us then"

Tauri allocated areas of bush and sago to them, and they were thus established at Tauri, in the Tauri ward. The group of Inogun in the Pauwun ward are clansmen, but from a different ancestor.²

#3 Ausei Clan.

Ausei clan originated at the place now called Walio [The Leonard Schultze River]. They came out onto the Sepik and followed it upstream to Masiu, the camp of the Tauris, where the Tauris invited them to settle. The Tauris told the Inoguns to give some of their bush to the Auseis. They did that and now the Auseis are still at Tauri. Their full name is now Ausei-Tauri. We do not know much about this group's origins as there are no Ausei elders alive now³.

#4 Yaewun clan.

Yaewun clan came from Nowi, which is in the bush between Wai'i and Arem. Heoi ["Hay" said with rounded lips] is a type of limbum palm with big leave. A spirit man lived in the Heoi limbum. He used to kill and eat all of the children of the village. The parents would return from the bush and see the children were gone. It was always like that.

On one occasion, all the men and women had gone to the bush except one woman who recently gave birth and remained in the village. She saw this large man-spirit emerge from the limbum and kill the children and then return to the limbum. The adults then returned to the village and asked "Where have all the children gone? It is always like this." They asked the woman with the new-born child, what she had seen. She whispered "You see that huge limbum there, there is a man in that tree."

The men heard this, and agreed to cut the limbum palm down. They took their stone axes than and cut the tree until it was dark. But at dawn they went and found that the trunk they had been cutting was perfectly unmarked. They started cutting the limbum again, and slept again when it became dark. Nest day the tree was found to be free of marks.

They then talked about their next move. They prepared firewood then, which they heaped around the trunk and set fire to it. The fire went until darkness fell. They another group of men came and replaced the day shift. The fire went on until dawn and the people saw that the palm was ready to fall, in a particular direction. They planted a line of spears in that direction then. They tied two canes to the top of the limbum and the men pulled in the direction of the spears. But the limbum resisted, and fell the other way into the lake, breaking two canoes.

They did not see him [the spirit-man] any more. The village broke up and the people disbursed; Some to Magalari, some to May River, some to Mowi, some to Hauna, some to Waniap, some to Auom. [In other words – migrations to populate the Iwam world] The ones who came here were the last to leave. They came down the Yabia channel in canoes and came to the Tauri camp at Masiu. The Tauris allocated them land for house construction and they settled.⁴

#5 Amkan clan.

Earlier in this chapter, we met the Amkan clan when they showed the Tauri and Weikum ancestors how to use canoes. The story of the Amkan clan resumes here:

The Tauris went to a singsing, in informant Owis' grandfather's day [in 1974, Owis was in his mid-30s]. After the singsing the Tauris told the Amkans "You are few in numbers, an enemy could easily finish you off." The Tauris convinced them and brought them back to Masiu, where they allocated bushland to them.

The Amkans then said "Right our Amkan bush, we Amkan and Tauri can share communally. We will not set internal boundaries; the land is too distant for that." This is the bush we are currently disputing with Mowi."

Qn "Did Mowi's fight the Amkans?" the logic behind my question was to learn if the Mowis had driven the Amkans from their land and therefore won the land by conquest.

Ans. "No. Tauri greased them and they came. There is only one Amkan man now [1974] living".⁵

Writer's note. I sensed some level of attempted manipulation – pre-positioning for a future Lands Titles Commission hearing of a Tauri/Mowi land dispute. No such dispute had been registered by the time I left Ambunti.

#6. Bauna clan

This clan originated close to the present Tauri village site at Ombisuaugwi. This is the land and lake off the north bank of the Sepik, north of Tauri. The mountain at Panewai, which we call Ombwit, used to be here at Ombisuaugwi. The mountain moved from here to Panewai.

The Baunu ancestor, Baimiwap, thought to himself "I used to live well when I lived on the mountain. But now it is gone, where will I go and settle? If I go down river, it will be a long way. I will go this way instead." He followed the Sepik a short way and came to the mouth of the Yabia creek. He followed the creek and discovered it was an anabranch of the Sepik. He came to Masiu, where the Weiwun ancestors took him in and asked where he had come from. He explained and they asked him to settle there, which he did.⁶

#7. Auna clan

In a conversation between informants and the writer at Tauri in 1974...*Near where we saw the first kwila today [two miles West South West of Tauri], if we had gone inland a little further, we would have seen a lake with an island in it. The Island is called Keigumo and the lake is Witap. Auna clan came from the Island. The reason they moved was due to an old man who was married to two young women.*

In the morning he and his two wives went to check their basket fish traps. In the night the of child this family did not sleep due to the pain from a sore on his leg. [Meanwhile] the men in the haus tambaran spoke in hidden terms "The two paddles are alright, but the old bamboo is no good." The child was not asleep, and thus he heard his parents being discussed.

The child got up and when the men saw him, their heads went down in shame when they realised he had heard what they said.

When his parents returned to the house the child also went to the house and asked them. "Did you go and have success? Tell me, did the three of you work hard together? Or did just the mothers work?" His father asked "Have you heard something that makes you ask such questions? The child then told them what he had heard and then he asked "Did you hear the men laughing as you three departed. They were laughing at you and asking why an old man should have two young wives, and why that should be so." The old man heard this in silence.

In the morning he cut a limbum and carves bow, and when it was finished, he put it in the house. He cut more limbum and made arrowheads and put them in the house. He continually sought the feathers and excreta of birds, which he fastened into the bindings of his arrows. When this was done he made a singsing and at dawn he put fire into the prongs of a supsup [pronged arrow] and fired it into the thatch of his house. He Samsamed [war dance] around the house. The house burned down and gathered up his possessions and was ready to depart.

The men of the village laughed at him saying "So you are going. Do you expect us to get up and go with you?" But the men were under the power of the spells he had cast during the singsing, and they got up and also left the village. Some went to Hauna, other to May River, Mowi, Auom, Wanium [Waniumumbi as it is known in Tauri]. The old man and family went to the Pauwun group at Masiu an settled with them.

The men of Auna died out until there were only three children and their mothers⁷ left. The Omgamun clan of the Tauri ward, then married one of the women and adopted the children into their clan.⁸

#8 Omgamun clan.

The ancestor was a child and he came from Nein [middle reaches of the Leonard Schultze River]. His father remained at Nein. This spirit ancestor was not like a man, but like a snake; a big python. The father's wife had two children; a man and a snake. The human child remained at Nein and the snake came down to a lake called Waruwi, which is now in the Hauna area. The lake itself was formed by the snake moving around [boring the lake]. The snake came to the lake's entrance which was called Nai'ie, and there it turned into a true.

He built a house, and then he went down the channel where the Haunas live now. The channel was covered over with vines. Went as far as Kubkain. The Kubkains were singing and he went and watched from hiding and then when the singsing was underway, he went out into the open until the singsing slowed down and then he went under the Kubkain haus. When they started singing again he came out into the open again and saw the two women. They also saw him and liked him. [Manga long em – hungry for him]. They met and they asked "Where did you come from?" He told them and then asked "Will you two come with me?" They said "Yes. We like you." So, in the night he brought the two of them, and they returned back to his place at Nai'ie, where they stayed for some time.

They left Nai'ie and came up the Sepik to Arem. Arem was just inland on a channel from the Sepik at that time. The Sepik laid down silt and Arem is now well inland from the Sepik. [At Arem] the men of Weiwun asked where he had come from and he explained he had come from where Hauna is now. Where was he going? He was not going anywhere, that he would stay at Arem. He took a

cane and fastened his canoe. The Weiwun showed him a piece of land upon which he built his house, and they settled.⁹

Comments on the Pauwun ward clans.

#9 Pauwun.

We heard came from Wanium. They came when Tauri was at Arem. The Waniums of Oums and the Pauwuns were on this land before the Tauris came with the later clans. These two families the Waniums and the Pauwuns were the first.

#10 Mowun

came from where Auom I now at a place called Waiap.

#11 Nainwun –

They came originally with the Weiwun and they lived with the Weiwuns. Weiwun came from Waniap and Nainwun came from Tuniap [The May River itself]. The Weiwuns went ahead and the Nainwuns came after them following the same route and they met the Weiwuns again at Arem and lived there with them. Then there was no more space to live or to moor their canoes, and so the Nainwuns went down and stayed with the Pauwun ward.

The Inogun section of the Pauwun ward.

This line was separate from the Inogun clan in the Tauri Ward. This section came also from the Tuniap [May River]. They followed the Sepik down and came to Arem. They came and settled with the Abarasinwon ward which is now extinct. The rest of this ward was dying out, and when they were gone and finished as a ward, the Inogun clan went and joined the Pauwun ward.

The Yaewun section of the Pauwun ward

From the time Wap was a small illegitimate boy, he was neglected by the people. His sister and he lived in the Tauri ward, and then his sister went to live with her husband in the Pauwun ward. There was no one to look after him, so he went with his sister to the Pauwun ward, and she looked after him. He grew up and remained with the Pauwun. He married there and his descendants are the Yaewun section of the Pauwun ward.

#12 Ouyen clan.

We do not know much about this group. They cut a Kwila tree near Paupe on the Frieda River, and drifted down to here on the Kwila. The Frieda River mouth [into the Sepik] used to be below Iniok, near the Iniok/Tauri boundary. They came out onto the Sepik there and settled there with the Mowun clan.

ooo000ooo

The extinct Abarasinwon Ward.

Of the clans of this ward, there is only one man still alive. He is an Abaren clansman and he lives at Tauri. They had their own haus tambaran, but we do not know what its name was. The Abaren clan, we believe originated at Panewai. Other clans, now extinct that were in this ward were the Kamtan clan which also came from Panewai.

Tuniap clan, also extinct, and also came from Panewai. They and settled with Amkan at the Wuri camp, and they came with the Amkans, when the Tauris came to collect the Amkans. They [the Tuniaps] then settled with the Abaren clan. The story of this clan is now lost as they are extinct.

Inubremtiu and Urubon clans were also of this ward. We know nothing of their origins; their stories are lost with their people. This ward just died out. There was no fight that finished them off. It was a very large ward. Sorcery must have been made to end them.¹⁰

ooo000ooo

Enemies and wars involving Tauri.

The real enemies of the ancestors were the Yellow River people above Panewai – the Tipas. The last fight was after the Pauwuns and Weiwuns went and established Iniok. The Weiwuns, after settling there, thought better of it and came back to live at Tauri. They were still at Iniok, however, when the Yellow River people came down to fight. One cripple here saw them. The Japanese had not yet come when this fight occurred.¹

The Inioks left their place and came out onto the Sepik, probably looking for food, when they saw the Yellow River people waiting in ambush for them. The Inioks blew their wooden trumpet then and all the people in their village heard it. They came and fought the Yellow River people, who went into their canoes and paddled up river around the point where the island is above Iniok. They were tired [After having paddled many miles to reach their ambush position, and then having to paddle home against the current]. They went ashore there at the sago stand and abandoned their canoes and walked back home overland.

They feared that had they stayed in their canoes, the Inioks would have overtaken and defeated them. They did not come back to fight after that. There were no people killed on either side in that confrontation.

Fights against Mowun, a former occupant of Auom.

Auom was the third enemy of our ancestors. The second enemy was Inu of the Wabia channel. The story of fights with Inu will be told later.

There are two hills at Auom, and there was a place there called Mowun. Our anger with Mowun was the same as our present anger with Mowi [a land dispute]. The land we disputed with Mowun was called Wiyap. It [the disputed land] extended from the mouth channel to the lake and through to the place Mowun. They used the land, and we used the land and we pushed back and forth.

Then the occasion arose when men of Tauri and Mowun met in the bush under dispute and a fight broke out. In this fight a man called Aukam was killed. He was a Mowun clansman of the Pauwun ward of Tauri and Mowuns from Auom killed him. Both sides broke off the fight and returned to their respective villages.

Later the Mowuns of Auom came to a singsing at Arem. Arem said we will not quickly payback the death of Aukam. The Mowuns believed the Arem not to be strong and felt they had won. The singsing passed and the Mowuns returned home without incident. After a long time, three men of Mowun came down to Arem. They slept the night, and in the morning the Mowun clansmen of Pauwun ward sent talk to Weiwun and Tauri saying “Three pigs have come down and arrived.”

The men of Weiwun and Tauri, also the men of Mowun and Paubu got up then. Weiwun and Tauri went and watched on the anabranche, on the point upstream of Tauri village. The ambushers called to the three Mowuns “Are you going now?” “Yes, we are going now” “Yesterday we waited for you, but you did not come, now come in and get some tobacco.” called the Tauris. The Mowuns who had been on the other side of the waterway, now came across to where the three were killed.

The Mowuns at Auom waited for their men, then they heard our garamuts. A very long time passed after this payback. Then a Mowun man called Papi came down to stay at Iniok and he had sex with an Iniok woman called Namapi, and then Papi returned to his place.

¹ This note indicates that the fight was relatively recent - not long before the second world war

Then the Inioks went to see the Mowuns at their place, to be friendly with them. The Mowun's killed two men and a woman; Luwaugum, Yagu and Nanasugwon respectively. They were killed in the village just before dawn. They were each speared in separate houses where they were staying. Some Inioks escaped and ran home.

Time passed, a long time; ideas and thoughts of fighting passed from minds. Then Iniok and Tauri tried a trick. They pretended to be friends with Mowun. Then, on one occasion the Inioks and Tauris assembled together and went to Mowun. The Tauris went and hid themselves in ambush near and around the Mowun village site. The Inioks went into the village as friends, then when the Mowuns came out to mix with the Inioks, the fight broke out. The Mowuns were killed and their houses burned. The fight started in mid-morning, not at dawn and the Mowuns were annihilated.

The adulterer Papi ran away and went to Paupe on the Frieda River. The [Tauri] Councillor's father participated in this raid before the Councillor was born [This probably dates this raid to the 1920s or early 1930s]

ooo000ooo

Qn. *Was this the raid the Oums told me about, When Iniok Tauri and Iniok went?*

Ans. *No. This was before that, I will tell you about it."*

The men of Waniumonbi [Wanium] then came and settled on the village site of the Mowun. They settled and they were half friends to us [Gamon pren na koros pren – False and angry friends] Their numbers grew until they were a separate village from their main community [See Chapter 42 – Wanium Ward and clan at Oum]. The Iniok sent tangets to Oum and Tauri to go and fight these people at Auom.

The reason for this was that the original three people of Iniok killed at Mowun had actually been killed by Wanium visitors to Mowun, and not the Mowuns themselves. With this in mind, we went to fight the Waniums at Auom

Each place [Oum and Tauri] had been sent a set of ten tangets – ten days to rest and to prepare for the fight. Then after the tangets were finished they went. Chenapian, Oum and Tauri assembled at the mouth of the Frieda River. It was a very large fighting force; it was black with men. Most of the people were killed, not many escaped.

The present Auom population More Waniums came after this and have re-settled at Auom and are still there now. The Oums think they are Ieumombwis, but they are Waniums.²

ooo000ooo

Fights against Inu.

Our grandfathers and great grand-grandfathers fought these people on the Yabia waterway. We can only tell you what we know as some of the story is lost. The basic trouble was over a land dispute concerning bush called Yabia. The Inus came originally from a river called Yaniap, which joins the Sepik's north bank between the mouth of the May River and Panewai. Magaleri is at the head of that waterway and Inu was lower down on the same stream.

The Inu came overland through the bush and settled on the Yabia land where they made a large village. The fighting was not clear cut, but consisted of numerous small raids back and forth. The whole population was not finished in any single fight. The Tauri fighters who commenced

² Obviously, there is some background to this unusual claim, which the writer's fleeting visit to these villages did not reveal.

hostilities against Inu was Baduwo³, also and Mamonguguwei and a later two from Ongamun clan. These were physically huge men, apart from being great fighters.

The survivors of these raids moved away to get out of Tauri reach. They moved to Muri and were living there when raids from Yellow River finished them off. Kouru was the line that finished them. They lived near the Yellow River patrol post site.¹¹

Fights against the Iwams of May River and particularly Ieumombui

This fight started in the time of Councillor Owis' grandfather Nemino. Nemino and his wife Eigu visited Ieumombwi. Nemino slept in the haus tambaran, while Eigu slept in one of the married houses. The Ieumombwi saw Eigu and desired her. They were visiting Nemino's friend Einu.

While Nemino slept in the haus tambaran, Einu was having sex with Eigu in the married house. Next morning Eigu told her husband. "I did not sleep well. We must not remain here, lets go home." Nemino heard this and they left. Eigu sat on her husband's spears so he was unable to fight the Ieumombuis. They arrived back at Arem.

Then the man Einu came down to Tauri and Nemino saw him and wanted to fight. Einu sat in the haus tambaran and Nemino went to wash and to arouse his fight magic. Nemino came with his spear, up the steps into the haus tambaran and confronted Einu, saying "Its Eigu" and speared Einu through the chest. There was no more talk. Ieumombwi hear our garamuts and knew what had happened. This ended that incident.

Another incident involved two Tauri men called Namanud and Nimigi. They wanted to go to Mowi after the death of Einu. They arrived and a Mowi man informed Ieumombwi of their presence. The Ieumombwi then set an ambush at the mouth of Mowi channel, where it enters the Sepik. The two men from Arem [Tauri] were killed in this ambush.

At Arem, people awaited the return of the two men, and when they did not come, took two canoes and went upstream looking for them. Then they heard the Ieumombwi garamuts. They returned to Arem, and on the way they saw the body of Nimigi, which had drifted onto a log-jam in the River. They found him by the smell. They left the decomposing body there and paddled their way downstream crying as they came.

After a long period of time elapsed, the Ieumombwis came to a singsing in the haus tambaran of Pauwun at Arem. Talk was sent to the haus tambarans of Weiwun and Tauri. Talk was also sent to Oum. [When] the Oums came the three groups set an ambush, surrounding the Pauwun haus tambaran. An elder of Weiwun made the magic singsing of fight magic through until dawn. At dawn the Ieumombwis were attacked and killed. They were easily identified from the Pauwuns as they were decorated for the singsing and the Pauwuns were not. The Pauwuns also worked at killing Ieumiombwis. Seven men and one canoe only survived to return to Ieumombwi.

These survivors and the Ieumombwi women and children abandoned their village and went to Pekwi, Aumi, Abagaisu and other places in the May River. When the children had become men, they returned to Ieumombwi and re-established their village. This fight occurred before the fight with Mowun. The elder Yemgi was a small child when this fight occurred.¹²

Fights against Oum. Limited hostilities only¹³

Fights against Mowi. Was an enemy. There is a current land dispute with them, so we do not want to make feelings any worse, by opening old scars.¹⁴

ooo000ooo

³ Baduwo was Councillor Owis' great-great grandfather

Conclusion.

Contact with the outside world for Tauri occurred when ADO Ormsby came up river in a about 1949. We came out to see him, he did not come into Arem. We have no memory of either the Germans or the Japanese.

Artefacts at Tauri:

#1 Phallocrypts woven from Limbum fibre [Two in the stone display cabinets] These are called Luwap and are worn by the Uran age class [uninitiated boys]

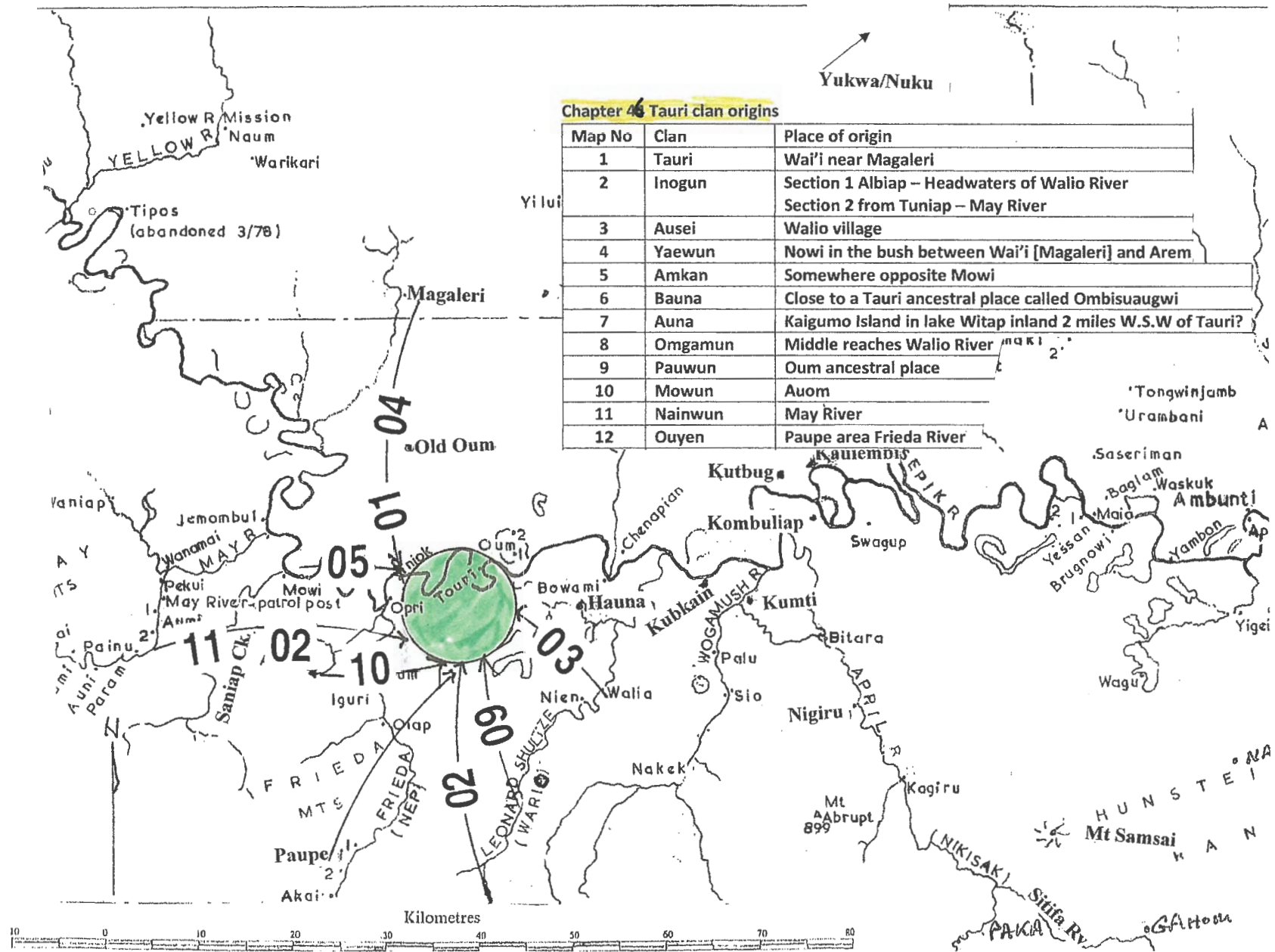
#2 Carved bamboo phallocrypts – called Maget. Work by Yeinan age class – no example on hand

#3 Coconut, and gourd phallocrypts and bat wings are/were worn by higher age classes. Specimens in the stone display cabinets

#4 The “Buffalo horn” shaped pig tusk ornament – called Kognas, was worn around the neck, and hanging down the back. Worn only by homicides. An excellent specimen is in the glass display cabinet with the Mat River human teeth necklace.

#5 Pig bone belt – called Nagu. It is worn only by homicides – a specimen was acquired, but its location is not known.

#6 Dogs teeth necklace called Luwabik, can be worn by any man, but not women.¹⁵



End Notes Chapter 46

-
- ¹ Councillor of Tauri and Tauri elders. Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 Pages 502-503
 - ² Councillor of Tauri and Tauri elders. Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 Pages 503
 - ³ Councillor of Tauri and Tauri elders. Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 Pages 504
 - ⁴ Councillor of Tauri and Tauri elders. Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 Pages 504
 - ⁵ Councillor of Tauri and Tauri elders. Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 Pages 504
 - ⁶ Councillor of Tauri and Tauri elders. Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 Pages 504
 - ⁷ Their mothers – in patrilineal society as at Tauri, were not members of Auna clan. The children, of course were.
 - ⁸ Tauri Local Government Councillor and Tauri elders - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 Pages 505
 - ⁹ Councillor of Tauri and Tauri elders. Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 Pages 505-506.
 - ¹⁰ Councillor of Tauri and Tauri elders. Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 Pages 506
 - ¹¹ Councillor of Tauri and Tauri elders. Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 Pages 508
 - ¹² Councillor of Tauri and Tauri elders. Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 Pages 508/509
 - ¹³ Councillor of Tauri and Tauri elders. Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 Pages 509
 - ¹⁴ Councillor of Tauri and Tauri elders. Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 Pages 509
 - ¹⁵ Councillor of Tauri and Tauri elders. Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 Pages 509

Sepik 1 Chapter 47 – Wongamusen – Alikai

Alikai is culturally a Nukuma village, but because of its remote location, and for ease of access via Waskuk-on-Sepik, it has been included in the Wongamusen Division. Dr Laycock's Preliminary classification of Sepik languages, lists Alikai as speaking the Mayo [Maio] language and notes that "All villages [in this language group] except Maio and Yessan, speak a different dialect, called Warasai, but preferably known as Yau¹. Warasai is yet another remote Nukuma village, while Yau refers both to the dialect as a whole, and also to the people of Yaunget/Marua.

Further confirmation of Alikai's Nukuma origins is also found in their legend of origin of their ancestors.

God created them at a hole in the ground at Amaki, called Kwasimbei-Kambank [also known as Wanmai]. From there, they [the ancestors] went to Pfobei and Kabakwi. The whole population gathered at Nakmi on the Kouiembai hills and the population disbursed from there:

Yessan went to Kwilis Kwataur,

Giriu [Yaunget also known as Yau and Murua] went...

Moninga [later Alakai] went to Moninga

Asawur went with Giriu and later became a broke-away of Giriu [Yaunget]

Warasai went to Kwasawala²

While many of these names of ancestral settlements mean nothing to the writer, they will be known Alikai descendants, should they happen to read these pages. Effectively the "pre-contact" history of Alikai did not end until October 1953, when Patrol Officer P.B. Wenke passed through Alikai during Ambunti Patrol No 1/1953-54, an overland trek from Amaki to Yellow River.

Photo. The Alikai haus tambaran as the writer saw it in February 1974



Alikai history continued: *The ancestors stayed at Moninga for a long time. A hand place [daughter village?] of Moninga was Bamblu. They were at Moninga from ancestral times until very recently.*

While they were at Moninga. The ancestors of Kwaka, Nageri, Amaki, Waiawus, Ablatak and Wani [local name for Amaki and Kwaka], fought them. They fought and fought as far as Ban and Sugitambo. The former inhabitants of Moninga came to live at these two places at these two places in the swamps.

Writer's note. The story of Alikai is taken up at this point from a Wogamush perspective via an informant from the village of Waskuk-on-Sepik:

When my father was luluai of Waskuk [the Wogamush “Waskuk”, not the Kwoma one] he and his dog went hunting, and he found their tracks. He followed the tracks as they were on his land. He came as far as Bam and Sugitambo, where he heard their garamuts [drums]. He came back to a creek junction and set up a defensive position.

They [the ancestors from Moninga] came with spears and pig skin shields, and on the other side were the Waskuks – ready to fight. But father made magic to make the people quieten down, to cool their livers down. He made this magic on both opposing groups.

He told the Waskuks “I will go ahead, and if I am killed, you can back the fight.” But they did not fight, they made friends. They, the Yaus, explained “We have no place to find food, on every side, we have enemies”

Father gave them permission to use our land, which they had already occupied. They went back [to Bam and Sugitambo] and then targets were exchanged and markets were held. We have them sago and fish in exchange for yams and mamis.

Father sent talk to Yessan and Maio, who in turn sent talk to Tongwinjamb and Urumbanj, who in turn again, sent talk to [the Nukuma villages enemies of the Yau] Kwaka, Amaki, Nagri, Waiawus, and Ablatak. The message sent was: “The area known as Yau is to be peaceful. If there are any more fights, the Luluai of Waskuk [on-Sepik] will court you and you will go to gaol.” The fighting slowed and peace came to Bam and Sugitambo. My father then sent me to live at Bam and Sugitambo. I stayed a year and learned their language. Yaukwa became my classificatory father, he now [1974] lives at Marua [Yaunget]

ooo000ooo

Writer’s note; Around this time, or possibly very soon afterwards, the Yau, in an alliance with Alikai, initiated a raid, against Kouiemi. This raid and its consequences are the subject of Chapter 1 of Sepik 4.

ooo000ooo

Then father asked me whether I had identified a large area of land. I said yes...the area called Salu. Father agreed we [the Yau at Bam and Sugitambo] should go and settle there. Magitom came first and made his house at Salu [Alikai’s village location]. We came and cleared the bush. I worked with them until the gardens were planted, and then, while they were building their houses, I went down and reported to father, and then returned to live here...³

ooo000ooo

P.S. Alikai history progressed into the post contact era.

Men from Musin and Woswori [upper Leonard Schultze River area] also came and assembled at Alikai, [resulting in a party coming] with black face paint, cassowary feathers, fighting ginger, and their weapons. They shouted as they came and at about 4 pm they made an ancestral singsing. The Yaus made a singsing also. Both singsings were physically close together, but held separately.

This situation was defused amicably. As so often happens when decisions relating to land are made by elders from previous eras, later there are problems between the benefactors and beneficiaries. The informant Gairiga, who was a Waskuk by birth and who lived among the Alakai as one of them, was recruited as an indentured labourer in Rabaul. Upon his return, presumably some time in the early 1960s, he was surprised to discover the village of Alikai abandoned. He earned the people from there had returned to their ancestral lands at Bamlu and were living there. He went to investigate and learned:

...many of their people had died at Marua [Yaunget]. The Murua's were angry and disputed their rights to cut sago, use the streams for fishing and other food gathering...the people were dying mysteriously from Marua sorcery, and they could not combat that.

Gairiga then arranged for representatives of both sides of the dispute to accompany him to Ambunti where the situation was discussed with ADC John Corrigan [the writer's predecessor] and Patrol Officer Peter Colton. There is no official record of this meeting in the Ambunti files, but Gairiga was satisfied with the outcome.⁴

Reading between the lines: Whereas the Yau's who fled originally to Bam and Sugitambo had proven unable to withstand overt aggression from the surrounding enemy villages in pre-contact times; and were driven from their ancestral lands; with the coming of peace, they seem to have decided to re-occupy those ancestral lands under the protection of the "rule of law" provided by the administration.

Unfortunately, the ancestral lands Bamlu and Moninga, would appear to have been won by right of pre-contact conquest, and now the "conquerors" objected to the exploitation of the resources from those lands, by anyone other than themselves. Given the "Rule of law" was known to come down heavily upon anyone who contravened its provisions, the "conquerors" avoided overt violence, and resorted to the proven sanction that the "Rule of Law" had proven itself incapable of effectively countering – sorcery.

The solution reached. Independently of the above events, the Administration established the Ambunti Local Government Council in 1967. It was decided that the Yau people who in pre-contact times who had fled from Moninga and Bamlu to eventually be located at Alikai, would form a ward of the Waskuk-on-Sepik constituency, rather than the Yaunget/Marua constituency. That being the case, the community re-established itself at Alikai.

End Notes Chapter 47

¹ Laycock. D.C. Sepik Languages – checklist and preliminary classification ANU 1973 Page 22

² Gairiga of Alikai – Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 Page 474

³ Gairiga of Alikai – Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 Page 475

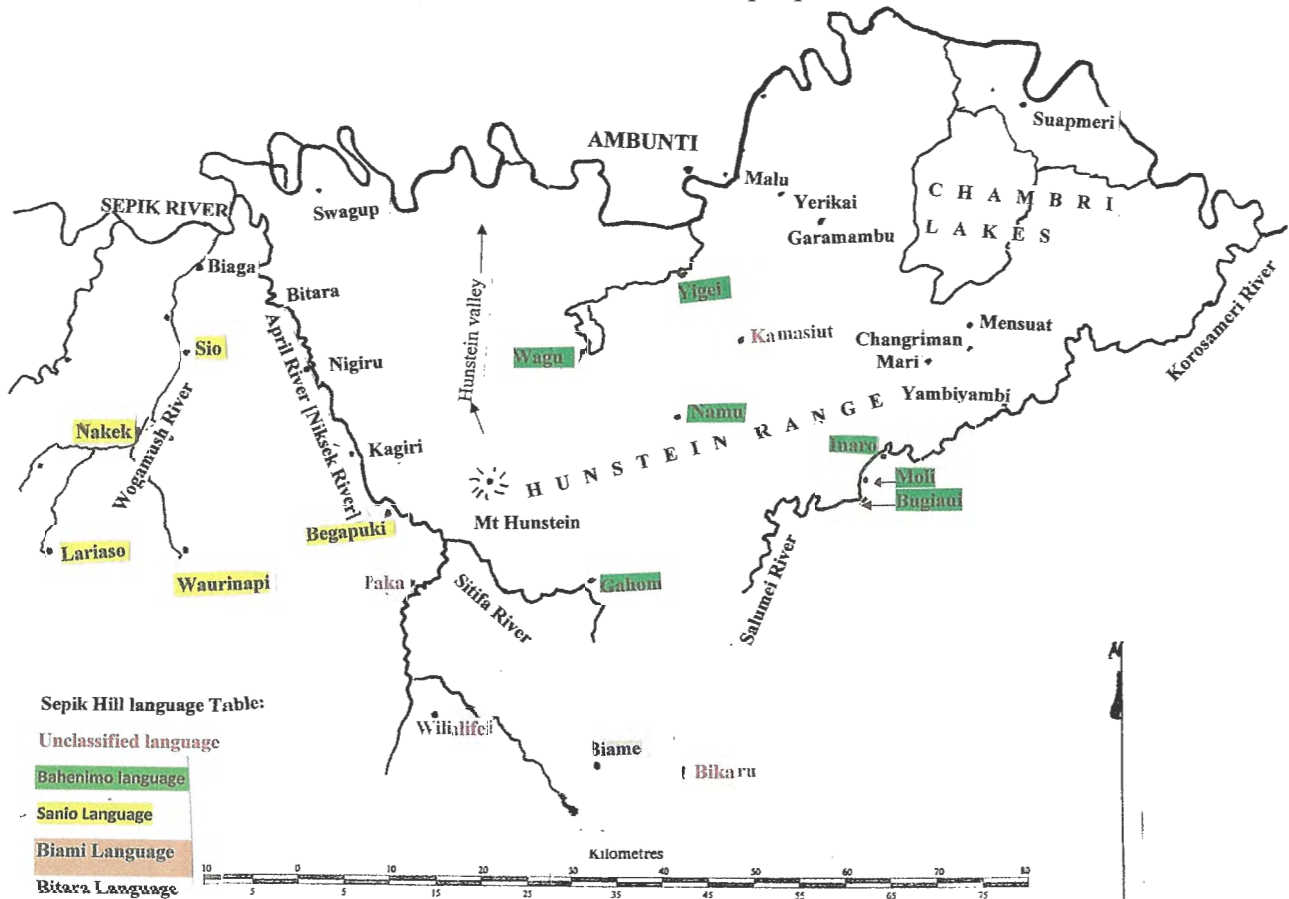
⁴ Gairiga of Alikai – Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 Page 475

Sepik 1 Chapter 48. Sepik Hill language speakers of the Hunstein Range, April and Sio Rivers.

Chapter 32 provides an introduction to the Sepik Hill languages, which occupy thousands of square miles of inhospitable country where four PNG provinces meet – West Sepik, East Sepik, Enga and Southern Highlands. The current chapter covers only those languages in the East Sepik.

ooo000ooo

The Hunstein Range are bounded in the north by the Sepik River, in the west and south by the April river and its tributary, the Sitifa, in the south east by the Salumei River and in the east by the Chambri lakes. Mt Hunstein, which is known to local people as Mt Samsai, is 1,544 metres tall.



As indicated by the colour coding on the map this chapter deals with four Sepik Hill languages:

Bahinemo, including Wagu, Nigiru, Namu, Yigei, Gahom, Inaro, Bugiaui and Moli villages.

Sanio includes Begapuke, Lariaso, Nabisi, Nakek, Nekiei, Saurunapi, Sio, Sowano, Tauanapi, Waurinapi and Yabatauwe.

Piami, The Piami [Biame] #4 Bikaru, and #4 Wiliilife were initially contacted by the writer and Bruce Robinson during Ambunti patrol No 4/1970-71.

Bitara, including. Bitara, Biaga, Kagiru, [Plus¹ Bayamo. Pegi, Pisi, Yanaut, not seen during Ambunti patrol 11a 1973-4]

Bisis, Yambiyambi, Mensuat, Changriman plus extinct groups Peliagwi and Manabi in Chapter 32.
Mari, Big Mari, Small Mari, Milae and the extinct Yagisimari, are documented in Chapter 32.

Unclassified Languages, including #1 Kamasiut [the Kamasiut were annihilated by their neighbours in 1943]

#2 Paka. Although Dr Laycock, classified Paka as a separate Sepik Hill language.² His explanatory notes indicate the community was uncensused and *a brief word list compiled by L. Bragge and included with Patrol Report No4/1970-71 Ambunti...shows at least 36% cognates with the Sanio list published by Dye and Townsend, and maybe Paka will prove to be a dialect Setiali.*

Village and hamlet communities which appear to speak Paka language include Sumwari, Yarimuo 1 Yarimuo 2 and Paka.

#3 Wilialifei

#4 Bikaru.

ooo000ooo

The writer's Ambunti patrol No 11a/1973-74 at Appendix H states:

The aim of this appendix is to set down historic information of migrations and settlement patterns, as a starting point for the settlement of land disputes in the area...This is not a conclusive statement of facts; rather, it is a village by village collection of stories of migrations and settlements.

Wabei – The Bahinemo ancestral place.

Wabei is located in the general area of today's Gahom.

Nisei of Gahom was cutting sago to get sago grubs when another man challenged his right to do so. A fight followed in which the people of Wabei took part. Wabei provided the ancestors of Wagu, Nigeru, Namu, Yigei, Gahom, Inaro, Bugiaui and Moli.³

Legends have it that the population disbursed after this fight over sago. In all cases the name of the ancestor who migrated is remembered, but the genealogical links back to him are lost. It would seem that Wabei was still in existence in the early 1950s [see Moli, Inaru and Bugiaui below⁴]

ooo000ooo

Wagu – The Wagu spirit ancestors, Siaba or Dugunbi¹, left Wabei and during the time from then until first contact, they and their descendants settled and lived in a sequence of camps or villages as follows: Kiliefu – Nuguram – Migiom – Baruwai – Yabagu – Tawut [also known as Nabigam] – Waguwagu – Nobosuwai – Nuwa – Mubugi – Konasoai – Dimi – Nonsion – Bansi – Birimsua – Lagansoari – Fatima [The present village site, which is also known as Wagu.]

Of these settlement locations Waguwagu, Birimsua and Konasoai were apparently the most important as they were each reoccupied several times. All these locations were in or around the Hunstein river valley, which the Bahinemo people know as Yarapa or Yarafa, and the Yambon know as Sangarap.

Writer's note: The many Wagu camps in the Hunstein [Yarapa] valley suggest that the Yarapa valley was the "tribal" land of the Wagu, and that, initially they occupied it as semi nomadic hunter gatherer extended family groups. This existence would have been typical of that Dr Hatanaka described for the Saiyolof. The Wagu ancestors, like the Saiyolof probably occupied a fortified communal house with a clearing around it for defence. They probably stayed in one area until they had exhausted the game and edible plant resources there, and then moved on to a new area and built themselves another communal house.

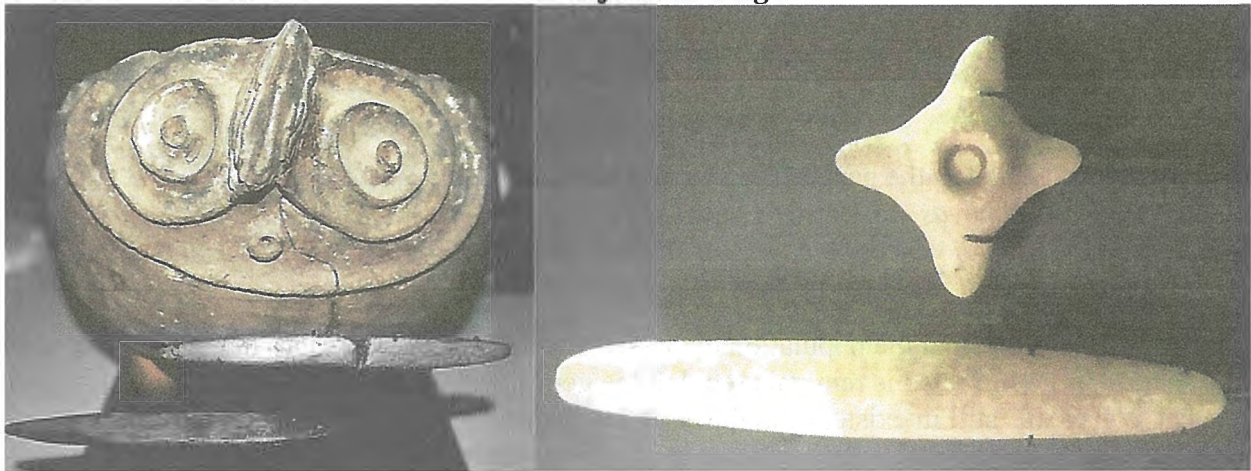
As with the Saiyolof, the Wagu ancestral groups would have been very fluid, with extended family groups, constantly dividing because of population pressure, or dying out with surviving remnants being taken in and cared for by relatives and others.

¹ It is not clear to the writer whether Siaba and Dugunbi were two men, or two names for the same man.

During their history, the Wagu and other Bahinemo speaking communities were in contact with their more culturally advanced neighbours, the Manambu, Yerikai and Chambri. They began adopting cultural and magico-religious ideas and rituals from these people. These ideas and rituals included headhunting and the use of haus tambarans as the focus of their religious life.

The haus tambaran, as a fixed religious asset, was also a reflection of a transition from a semi-nomadic, to a sedentary life style. But this transition was not as abrupt as it may seem. The people continued to exist in mobile extended family groups to an extent that an unannounced visit to the village would usually find it more or less deserted, with the people making sago or hunting in remote places. For census revisions, for example, the writer learned to send word ahead for the people to assemble on a designated day.

The tambaran “Kubi” and other ancestral objects of Wagu.



Informant Yarapei of Wagu explained - “Kubi” is the name of the clay pot. “Bangei” is the name of the female stone which is about five inches long and “Kwambitep” is the name of the male stone broken into two pieces. In times of fighting, they used

Kubi and the stones came from the old place Waguwagu and have been handed down in my family. In the night, I hear the three stones rattling together in their wrapping. In times of fighting they used to rattle, so we would know from the stones, how the fight was going.

The story is that Kubi came from the east. There is a stream there called Kubi and I think it came from there. The story is that Kubi came in the night shedding its own light, like a fire and Wamuna saw it when we went outside to urinate.

Yarapei, prompted by others stated further: Tigapi was scooping water out of Kubi creek to catch fish and found Kubi on the creek bed. Tigapi was of the Kamasiut group. The Kamasiut and Waguwagu people were of the same ancestor [Informant now was Wafio, with Yarapei in the background nodding agreement]. In the past Kamasiut and Waguwagu did not fight each other, they just fought Malu and Yambon [Manambu cultural villages from the Sepik River.

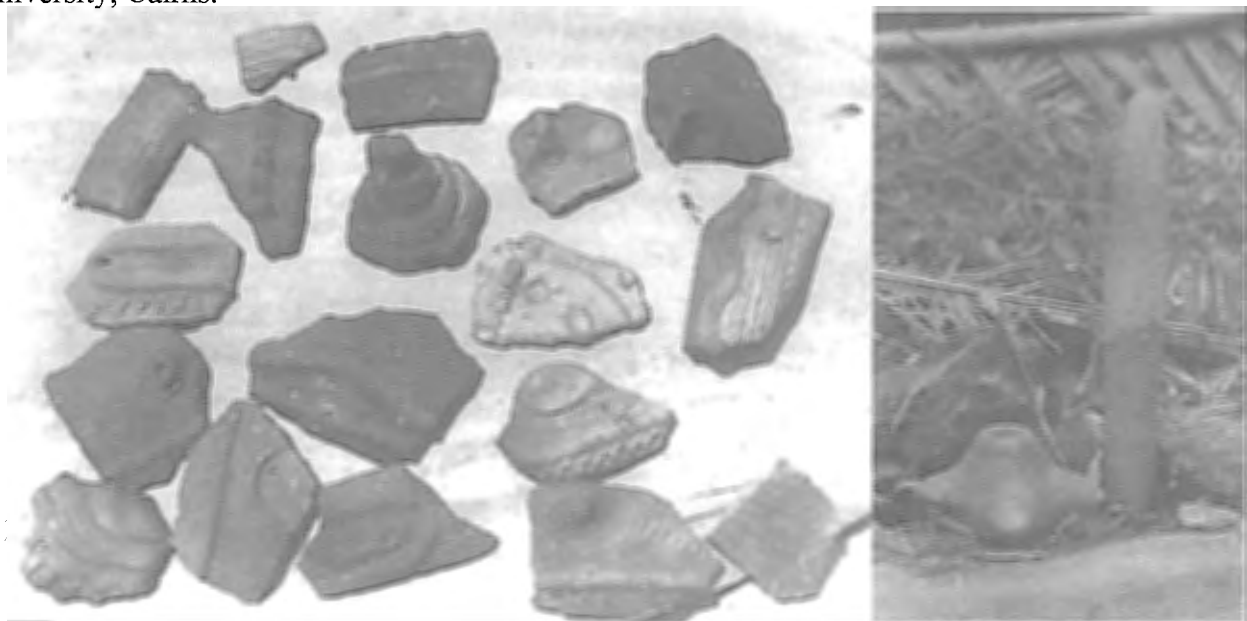
Tigapi – Mobu { Taba – [no issue]
 Nabari – Gleni [born 1930 according to census register

The Kamasiuts used to come to Waguwagu to see Kubi, and it was agreed that when there was a singsing, Kubi must be painted... Kamasiut and Wagu came and went like that. But then the Namu and Yigei ancestors agreed to fight Kamasiut. Wagu opposed this saying *What about Kubi at Waguwagu? It would kill us! So, the village communities of Waguwagu and Nangum [Nugaram?] declined to fight as Kamasiut were their friends.*

Kubi was kept in the haus tambaran, but the haus tambaran collapsed and broke one of the faces on Kubi [nus bilong em – its nose].⁵

Wagu’s language. My people originally spoke a different language to the language we now speak, which is the language of Yigei.

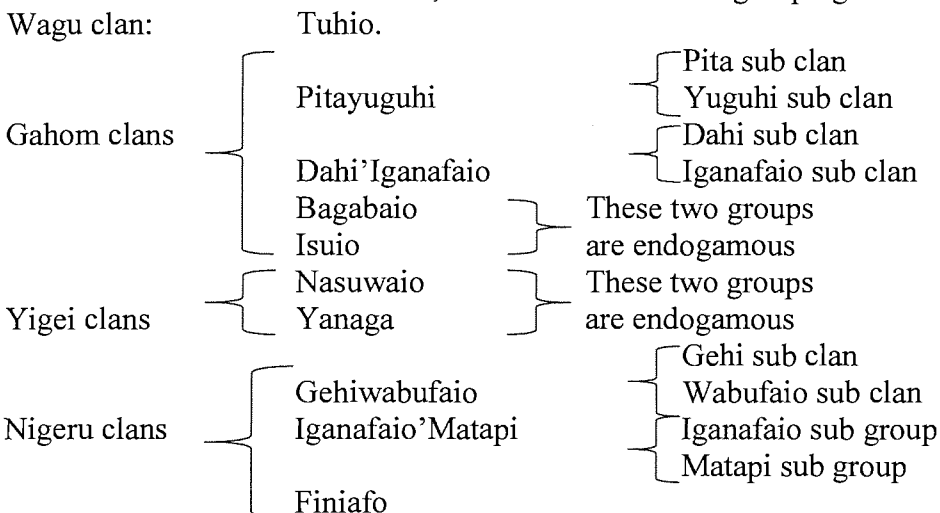
Writer’s note: An ancient Aibom pottery style: Kubi is of the Aibom pottery style, but with fine ornamentation that is not found on contemporary Aibom pottery. This includes fine filigree work and ornate handles. Many shards of this pottery have been found both at Aibom, Milae, Yerikai and on ancient village sites of the extinct Amei and Dau people [See Chapter 32]. To the writer’s knowledge, Kubi is the only complete pot of this pottery style still in existence. Collections of these shards, the pot Kubi and associated stones can now be seen in the Bragge collection at James Cook University, Cairns.



Wagu’s unfinished star-club head and Sago palm felling blade. These two items were observed outside the Wagu haus tambaran in 1970. The Bahinemo people have not been known to use stone headed clubs, so this specimen and others found in the area presumably relate to earlier populations. The club head, as seen on the previous page, is incomplete, being only partially drilled through.

Wagu and wider Bahinemo social structure as at 1974.⁶

For want of a better word, the Bahenimo “social groupings” in this section are called “Clans.”



Writer's note made in 1974. Informants had to think and discuss at length in order to list these eleven exogamous groups from a total [Wagu] population of just 104 people. It seems therefore that the term "clan" probably should be "extended family". Wider analysis would be necessary to establish this.

A glimpse of post-contact Wagu. The Yigei people resident at Wagu moved there when the Summer Institute of Linguistics established themselves at Wagu. Some Gahom people at Wagu have been there for a long time, but the majority migrated there in 1967 after they and Wagu conducted shotgun murders at Begapuke. A police investigation resulted in the gaoling of 22 offenders.

The trend for far flung groups to migrate to Wagu is being encouraged, as the Wagus do not object, and this brings the people closer to educational and medical services [The 1974 census revision of the Bahinemo people of the Samsai division showed a natural decrease in the population of 10% per annum⁷]

ooo000ooo

Nigeru. The Nigeru ancestral spirit Nabiu left Wabei and came to an island called Bugumuna which is between the April [Niksek] River and Wagu. Later, but still in the distant past, the Nigeru people moved to Mitiau, in the same general area. They remained there until 1964, when they moved to Wagu. The Nigeru people were initially contacted by ADO Des Martin in 1961.

ooo000ooo

Namu/Yigei. Spirit ancestor Nabiu left Wabei and came to Namu. He left people at Namu and came on to establish Yigei at Yetesui.

Another version of the myth had a man called Kubio leaving Namu over dissatisfaction with the distribution of meat from pigs killed, and it was he who established Yigei at Yetesui.

Namu's central village site has remained unchanged, part from the result of a Post-World War 2 head hunting raid by Mari, which burned the village. The new village was built further up the same ridge.⁸

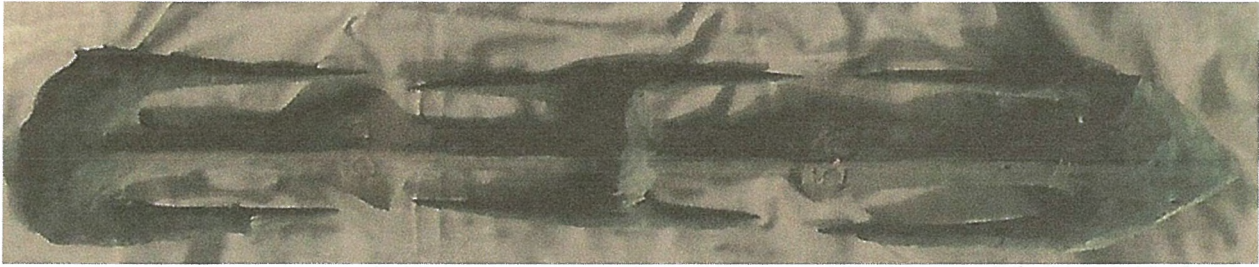
The origin and distribution of Tambarans. There is an Island in the Sitifa River called Nawai and/or Nolowai. [1974 note: Both pronunciations were used by the same informant, practically in the same breath.] is the place of origin or the Tambarans. On that island lived a man called Sugoro. He made many tambarans. [Hunstein hook carvings]. He placed them on a raised platform on Nawai Island. The tambarans became too heavy and the platform collapsed and the tambarans fell into the Sitifa River. The river took the tambarans to all the places down-stream.

Haibagai, [also spelt Kaibagai] a man of Nolowai Island took our tambaran out of the water. The tambaran's name was Babufa. Haibagai took Babufa to Wabei and copied its marks. Of the tambarans that fell into the water, we [the Bahinemo people] obtained the variety with the hooks. All the people of the Bahinemo language copied the marks of Babufa, and so we have tambarans now.

A man of Namu called Korupuwei made the Namu tambarans. He also cut bamboo and made a hole in it with fire [thereby making a flute]

The tambarans give strength to men to fight. Ginger of the red variety is placed between the tambaran's teeth when we go to fight...Before 1962 [initial contact at Namu] Namu had the following tambarans: Wudei, Numui, Nu'umbia, Koko, Uru, Baiap, Nimui, Kogar and Ya'oimbia. Ginger was given to all nine tambarans before a fight.⁹

The only "tambaran" figure the writer saw at Namu in 1974 was that pictured on the next page. The figure does not have a name, but is said to represent the skeleton of a frog.



Unlike Namu, **Yigei**, has had a number of camps, but always returned to Yetesui. The present Yigei camp is located at Yakumba [a couple of hours travel from Yetesui].

ooo000ooo

Gahom. Spirit ancestor Nisei moved from Wabia to Ibia, a mountain near Wabia. Nisei's descendants remained at Ibia until relatively recently and then moved to Yageiwei on the same ridge line as Ibia. This was about the same time as the first indentured labourers returned from plantations in the 1950s. The first patrol to visit Gahom was in 1962 [Jim Hunter P.O.]. Gahom at that time was still at Yageiwei.

Burial at Gahom: *The bodies were left of platforms with limbum fronds over them. They were left to rot. The bones were later buried under the haus tambaran. Garamuts played and a singsing was held. The skulls were buried around the haus tambaran with faces downwards.*

Qn *Why face downwards?*

Ans *That was how the ancestors did it.*

Qn *Were the skulls of just Gahom people, or were enemy skulls also buried this way?*

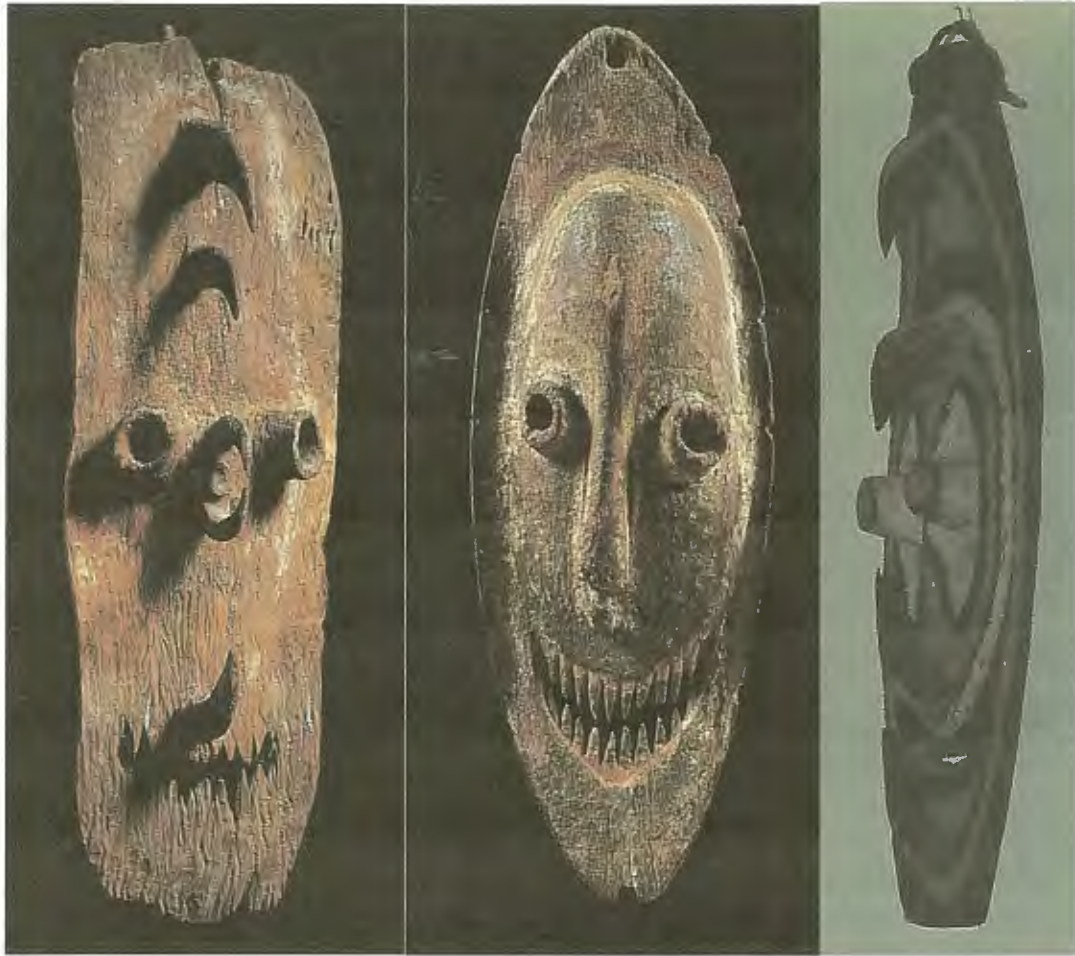
Ans *Enemy skulls as well. Heads were taken in fighting. The name of the haus tambaran was Madiau at Ibia.*

When we saw the elders were dying off, we left Ibia and stopped this fashion [skulls in the floor of the haus tambaran] at Yageiwei. Our present [1964] camp is at Hogobusui. Despite thus statement Kosbi/Marik of Waskuk told me

He visited Gahom in the 1960s and saw skulls in the haus tambaran, like cobble stones in the floor of the haus tambaran beyond the garamuts. He said he saw more than 20 skulls. He explained that he tried to dig some of them up. Kosbi planned to take the skulls home to remodel them in clay and shells for sale. Not only did he not get them, he and his party did not sleep that night for fear of being attacked.¹⁰

The sacred art of the people of Hunstein range and the April River is known as Hunstein Hooks. Of the photos overleaf, the left and central pieces were collected at Gahom and are part of the Jolika collection, which is the subject of Chapter 8. The hook on the right was collected at Gahom by the writer and is now part of the Bragge collection at James Cook University.

Writer's Note. The two Jolika collection items were radio carbon dated at 1320-1450 and 1410-1630 ad – left and centre respectively. Such early dates came as a surprise to the writer. It would be fascinating to know the full history of these pieces as the present Gahom settlement is of only establishment.



ooo000ooo

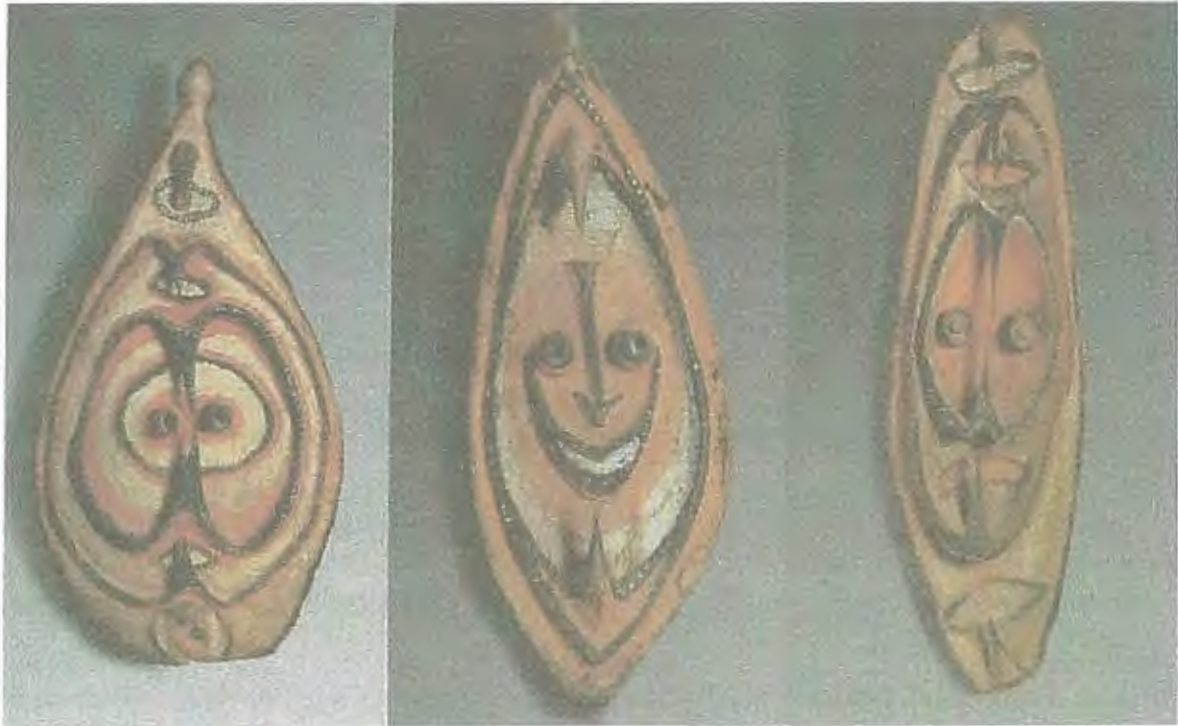
Moli. Spirit ancestor Taiasoa moved from Wabei to nearby Inesui, where the Moli people remained until about the 1950s, when the first indentured labourers returned to the village and brought back steel axes and stories of the outside world. They, along with Inaru and Bugiaui left Inesui and settled on the banks of the Salumei river. Then in 1971, Moli began moving back to their ancestral lands after a sago dispute with Inaru. Mowi's present [1974] camp is on the Sitifa river about 25 minutes by canoe from Gahom.¹¹

ooo000ooo

Inaro and Bugiaui. These people left Wabei and settled at Mosu and Osui respectively. Both these locations are on the same ridge line as Wabei. Both stayed there until approximately the mid-1950s before moving out.

Bugiaui moved from Osui to their present village site -Lisimai – on the Salumei River in the mid-1950s.

Inaro moved to Winimta on the Korosameri River between Watagataui and Bisorio. Then due to deaths in the village, move back to Kumuti on the Salumei River. In the early 1960s¹². Ambunti patrol No 19/1970-71 accompanied by Sir David Attenborough visited Inaro, where Sir David purchased three tambaran masks [see over leaf], which in 2018, he donated to the Australian National Museum in Canberra.¹³ Sepik 4 Chapter 46 describes the filming of the documentary by Sir David during Ambunti patrol No 19/1970-71.



ooo000ooo

Bitara language group – Bitara, Kagiru and Begapuke of the Sanio language - April River.

All three listed villages claim their origins to be from Cassowary feathers, in accordance with the Cassowary myth – see Chapter 37. All three villages also claim ancestral places on ridge lines inland from the left bank of the April River. Each ancestral place was established beyond the reach of human memory. The ancestral places were Kaltitu, Paiemu and Begapuke respectively. Kaltitu is on the Bilha creek, a tributary of the Sio river near Nakek. Paiemu and Begapuke are each three or four miles inland from the present villages of Kagiru [Yusua] and Begapuke [Malifa] respectively.

Following initial contact 1960-61 and 1962 these groups started establishing settlements on the banks of the April river. Prior to that time, they were unable to do so for fear of attack by their enemies, the Bahenimo people of Wagu, Yigei, Namu and Gahom. The lands they settled were lands they had always claimed and used for hunting and gathering purposes...¹⁴

Kagiru sacred “Hooks” – Bragge collection, donated to James Cook University Cairns



Writer's 1974 note. There are few elders in Kagiru village, none of whom speak pidgin. There also seems to be a distinct lack of knowledge of cultural matters among the young...The notes below have been placed into a slightly more logical order, than it was given to me by the informant [Milito of the Guria clan² at Kagiru.] and later informants of the Kokomo clan.¹⁵ Milito's story goes as follows:

Kagiru has two distinct clans – the Kokomo [Hornbill] and the Guria [Goura pidgeon]. Within the present Kagiru village, which is called Yesua, the Kokomo clan lives at the southern [upstream] end and the Guria clan lives at the northern end. Yesua village is on Kokoma clan land, while Guria clan and is downstream to the north and north west at Nikaium...Each clan has its own sago stands, streams and gardening land...

Haus Tambarans. Kagiru has just one haus tambaran. The tambarans of both clans were kept in the haus tambaran. Kokomo clan had three tambarans, the names of which were Khoromi, Kilpi and Demimi. These tambarans had short teeth. The Guria clan had two tambarans – Tugunip and Tdin. All five have since been sold.

In the haus tambaran there are two major garamuts, belonging to the Kokomo clan and two smaller garamuts belonging to the Guria clan. All four garamuts stand vertically, tied to posts. The major garamuts have their heads protruding through a curtain of stripped fronds [Bragge personal observation]

Haus Tambaran Names: The following names were given for the three haus tambarans:

Usiatmali	Begapuke haus tambaran
Edmal	Kagiru haus tambaraaan
Winerumal	Bitara haus tambaran. ¹⁶

Our origins are in the story of the sago. The base of the sago is Wagu/Yigei. The middle of the sago trunk is Nigeru. Kagiru and Bitara. They [the ancestors] cut the sago and they heard the languages of the trunk, and they heard our language from the middle of the trunk, so the Kokomo and Guria clans come from the middle section of the sago trunk.

The Guria ancestor was Sababok. He lived in the Nigeru area. He was a great fighter who fought Wagu, Gahom and Milae, but he did not fight Nigeru. He died at Gahom from an arrow wound. His body was brought back by his cousins and placed on a burial platform at Kensalu creek.

Sababok – Puskup – Parik	}	Nowi – No issue
		Lafa {
		Nabi
		Notuwei - child [12 years old in 1974]
		Kono

Both Kokomo and Guria clans lived at the ancestral place Paiemu. But spent most of the time on their own clan lands hunting and gathering. They would meet and mark set days to return to Paiemu village to conduct rituals in the haus tambaran.

Kokomo ancestry descends from Wadaibok, who lived at Paiemu.

Wadaibok – Melsi – Selia – Olomi – Asiali [8 years old in 1974]

ooo000ooo

Bitara. Yomoi of Bitara explained - Neither we nor our grandfathers or ancestors practiced either Head hunting or cannibalism. Also. our enemy, Wagu, did not eat human flesh. We used to kill, but that was all.¹⁷

² "Clan" is used here, only for want of a better description of these social groupings.

The origins of the men's cult.

Informant Yomoi continues - A man and his sister heard a flute playing. It was just a flute playing, there was no-one playing it. The sister went to investigate, but she could not find the source of the music. She became ill and her body withered, so she went back to her brother and said "You go and find it. It must be a men's thing, not for women. I became ill seeking it. It must be my place to just prepare sago while you seek the flute."

The man went and found the flute. From then on women took no part in ceremonial affairs.¹⁸

Bitara initiations and nose piercing. A detailed description appears on pages 399-401 of Bragge Sepik research notes Vol 19 and need not be repeated here.

ooo000ooo

Sanio Languages – Hunstein River [Sio river] The writer did not patrol this area, and so, apart from Begapuke village, which he visited, and reading every patrol report on file at Ambunti concerning the Sanio region, he has no first-hand knowledge of it.

Begapuke. The ancestral place of Begapuke was called Begapuke. The name refers to the mountain where they lived. The Begapuke people call themselves Lu Towofei ["Lu" being Men and "Towofei" being a ridgeline on the mountain Begapuke]. The actual village site on the ridge was called Dobwei.

Begapuke was established by an ancestor called Keiaui, who also established the Eagle and Kokomo clans³ Keiaui's father was Tibana of the parrot clan. Keiaui lived on Lisoa mountain, which is the sharp pointed land mass inland from Kagiru.

Begapuke's Cassowary myth of human origins. The informants told an elaborate version¹⁹ of their origins via the cassowary myth [see Chapter 37 for the cassowary myth of origin]

Begapuke headhunting and cannibalism. Neither were done here, but in the distant past the ancestors ate human meat.²⁰

The origins of sacred flutes. Insects made a hole in bamboo, then the river current cut the bamboo in two places, making a flute, which drifted downstream and fetched up against a log jam in the water. A woman who was gathering firewood saw the bamboo. Her sister tried to play it, but her body withered [sikin ilus] and she became ill. She told her brother to try to play it and see if he could become fat and healthy by so doing. He wore armbands, but his muscles so expanded that the armbands broke.

Upon seeing this, the woman said "it is yours now. My job is to make hot-water sago". This is still true. Ritual is for men to do, and if women see the tambarans and ritual, they will die.²¹

Writer's note. Beliefs in tambarans are still strong. The two tambarans [Hunstein hooks] I purchased at Kagiru [see photos in Kagiru section above] were unloaded from the canoe onto the rest haus veranda. I was asked to take them inside so the women could not see. Secondly, during the interviews, when I asked about the power of the tambarans, children and uninitiated males were asked to leave before the answer was given.²²

Enemies of Begapuke. Our enemies were Wagu, Yigei, Namu and Gahom [i.e. the closer of the Bahinemo speaking villages]. We used to ally with the Sio villages [i.e. other Sanio speakers] also with Paka, Bitara and Kagiru. We did not raid our enemies, but they came here and raided us.²³

³ Again, the term "Clan" is used here to indicate a social grouping, the nature of which is not clearly defined.

Water transport of Begapuke. We and Gahom have always had canoes. Paka is the first place going upstream on the April River to have used rafts. Paka has some canoes now.²⁴

Writer's note from personal observation and experience. The April River is swift, but navigable as far upstream as the Sitifa junction. The Sitifa, although narrow, is a placid stream and navigable as far upstream as Gahom. The April above the Sitifa junction to Paka and beyond is shallow and very swift flowing. Except in times of floods it is not navigable to outboard powered canoes, and dangerous to paddle canoes.

Other observations relative to Paka/Begapuke comparisons. Paka is also more agriculturally orientated than Begapuke. They have large taro and banana gardens, while we rely more on sago. Before contact, our gardens were minute. While we now plant more than we did, our main food continues to be sago.²⁵

Begapuke Burial and related hunting magic. Traditionally, when a man died his four major leg bones were buried in the flood of the haus tambaran. His other bones were left in the hollow trunks of Ficus or Garamut trees. Sometimes the skulls were placed in burial caves, and sometimes we kept them in our dwelling houses, hanging in a corner. The reason for this was for hunting magic.

If you want to kill a pig, you wash the skull carefully and place the magic ginger for pigs in the eye sockets. Next morning, go hunting and you will kill a pig nearby. The pig will have been drawn by the magic.²⁶

Begapuke women's work.

QN. Is there a ceremony for girls at their first menstruation?

ANS. Yes there is, but we do not know about it. It is something for women only. We hear their singsings. If men were to find out about this, we would suffer from lung infections and arthritis.²⁷

ooo000ooo

Patrol reports reviewed:

Ambunti patrol 6/1952-53 – Upper Sepik, Leonard Schultze and Wogamush Rivers - P.B.Wenke.

#1 Report notes small nomadic population in the April River areas met by Europeans during WW2, but it is difficult to track them down.

#2 PO Wenke was amazed by the size of male genitals. It was explained that nearly every day salat [stinging nettles] is rubbed on the genitals, causing extreme irritation and swelling. The purpose being to enlarge the member.

#3 As females near puberty, they are cut about the back with bamboo knives. [cut by whom and for what reason, was not stated.] No design results from the scars.

Ambunti patrol 2/1967-68 – Wario/Sio⁴ and Samsai – R.Treutlein

Ambunti patrol 1/1968-69 – Wario/Sio – M. Tomlinson.

Initial contact with Oboro people. Murder investigation.

Ambunti patrol 2/1968-69 – Wario Sio & Niksek – M.Tomlinson & D.Pennefather.

#1 Initial census of Pai,ari, Yarino, Arusu. Namoswari, Usunwari/Mowinari, Afio, Oboro, Winari, Hariawa, Erisi/Ibau, Bunai, and Terei – a total population of 468 people. [12 – 14 communities with an average population of 33 - 39 people]

#2 Murder investigation and arrests.

Ambunti patrol 17/1969-70 Wario-Sio – J.White

Ambunti patrol 2/1971-72 & 3/1971-1972 Wario-Sio – D.Mahar

#1 Murder investigation and arrests.

Ambunti patrol 6/1972-73 Wario-Sio – B.Robinson.

⁴ Wario or Walio is the local name for the Leonard Schultze River and Sio is the local name for the Hunstein River. For convenience, patrols visit both together in the Wario-Sio census division.

Ambunti patrol 11/1972/73 Wario-Sio – B.Robinson & Gigmai
Ambunti patrol 14/1972/73 Wario-Sio, part Sepik May and part Wongamusen – Walker

ooo000ooo

Concluding comments.

The Sepik Hill speakers north of the Sepik/Strickland part of the New Guinea Central Dividing Range are roughly classed into five groups, which span a region of the East and West Sepik Districts, in an east to west pattern as follows;

#1 Southern Chambri Lakes hinterland. Bisis and Mari language groups [Chapter 49]

#2 Unclassified languages – Chambri hinterland, Hunstein Range and upper April Rv.
[Chapters 48 and 49]

#3 Hunstein Range and Salumei River – The Bahenimo language group.

#4 Middle and Lower April River -Begapuke village Sanio speakers & Bitara speakers

#5 Sio River -Sanio speakers.

From the perspective of a patrolling officer of the 1970s, I found the relative cultural sophistication of these groups to vary from highest among the Bisis and Mari peoples, to lowest among the Bitara and Sanio. This superficial analysis was based upon ability to speak Pidgin, to clarity of perceptions of their traditional religion and oral histories, to the nature of their lifestyles, and their murder rate as record up to 1974-5.

Murders among the Bisis were a distant memory from the past. Among the Mari, the last murder recorded was the Yagisimari massacre of 1952. Among the April River people, and particularly the Sanio murders were a regular occurrence

The following chapter includes a wider analysis of Sepik Hill and other Sepik communities.

End Notes Chapter 48

¹ D.C.Laycock – 1973 page 30

² D.C.Laycock – 1973 page

³ Yanoei/Yapfu and others of Gahom. Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 Page 411

⁴ L.W.Bragge - Ambunti Patrol Report 11a/1973-74 – Appendix H Page 13

⁵ Informants Yarapei and Wafio of Wagu – Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pages 416-417

⁶ Consolidated inquiry of Mt Hunstein Bahinero groups – Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pages 416

⁷ Inside cover of Report cover, with census figures Ambunti Patrol Report 11a/1973-74

⁸ L.W.Bragge - Ambunti Patrol Report 11a/1973-74 – Appendix H Page 14

⁹ Elders of Namu - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pages 414-415

¹⁰ Kosbi/Marek of Waskuk - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pages 411

¹¹ L.W.Bragge - Ambunti Patrol Report 11a/1973-74 – Appendix H Page 15

¹² L.W.Bragge - Ambunti Patrol Report 11a/1973-74 – Appendix H Page 15

¹³ L.W.Bragge – Sepik 4 *Coming to grips with the future*. Chapter 46 A blank on the map.

¹⁴ L.W.Bragge - Ambunti Patrol Report 11a/1973-74 – Appendix H Page 16

¹⁵ L.W.Bragge - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pages 402.

¹⁶ Begapuke informants - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pages 407a

¹⁷ Yomoi of Bitara - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pages 398.

¹⁸ Yomoi of Bitara - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pages 399.

¹⁹ Luluai and others of Begapuke - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pages 405-406.

²⁰ Luluai and others of Begapuke - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pages 406.

²¹ Luluai and others of Begapuke - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pages 406.

²² Luluai and others of Begapuke - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pages 407

²³ Luluai and others of Begapuke - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pages 406.

²⁴ Luluai and others of Begapuke - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pages 406.

²⁵ Luluai and others of Begapuke - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pages 406

²⁶ Luluai and others of Begapuke - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pages 406

²⁷ Luluai and others of Begapuke - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pages 407

Sepik 1 Chapter 49. Sepik stone axe/adze manufacture and trade – Leonard Schultze Headwaters.

Writer's Note: The people of the Leonard Schultze headwater during the 1960s and 1970s, and [probably also in the 21st century] were semi-nomadic people, who were not far removed in their lifestyle from our hunter-gatherer fore-bears. The current chapter spans two of the writer's visits to this region. The first, as described in Sepik 4 *Coming to grips with the future: Chapter 37 The exploration of the Sepik-Strickland Divide 1966*. And the current Chapter which describes meeting these people 23 years later, while leading an adventure tourism expedition from Daru to Madang in 1989.

While the first visit found the stone axe/adze industry, it was the second visit, with better communication that allowed the research to be undertaken for the current chapter. A documented collection of stone implements was made and presented to the PNG Museum. This chapter relates to the section of those survey notes relating to the headwaters of the Leonard Schultze River.

Stone axe, adze blades, and where applicable, cigar shaped stones used for felling sago palms and sago mallet blades for pulverising the heart of sago palms, were essential tools in the Sepik in all other PNG communities prior to the arrival steel tools. Because stone of suitable quality for the manufacture of these tools occurs only in very few places, two factors tended to evolve for the people who controlled these rare resources.

Firstly, they developed manufacturing skills including professional secret knowledge and beliefs passed down through the ages. Over time, the manufacturer's skills resulted in the development of superior quality and highly sought-after tools.

Secondly, the controllers of the rare resource became wealthy traders; people of high standing in the eyes of others, and such regional status must have gone back far into antiquity. People came from far and wide with valuables to trade with the manufacturers for stone blades. Most recipients of stone blades lived far away, and received the tools through trade with middle men, who themselves had probably traded with other middlemen. Equally the axe makers and traders were also middlemen in the trade of bows and shell wealth they earned in exchange for their stone implements.

ooo000ooo

Our 1989 trek brought us progressively through indigenous communities who had traded both in blades from the Leonard Schultze headwaters quarries and in black palm bows and shell jewellery from the Kiunga area of the Fly River far to the south.

At GAUA (an Oksapmin village on the western lip of the Strickland gorge). The people remembered the axe blades but had no recollection of where they were traded from, but they remembered salt was traded from Lake Kapiago via Yokona. Bows came from the lowlands of the Western District around Kiunga via Bimin.

Good blackplam for bows does not grow in the highland areas of Oksapmin and Telefomin and must be traded in

From Gaua we moved on to Oksapmin where informant Aramin/Aipi of Divanap sold me an axe blade, he stated was from Tau river¹. Also, freshwater mussel shell necklaces traded from Kiunga via Bimin. Mussel shell necklaces are called DIAMBARA.

¹ "Tau River" blades here should be taken to mean blades made in any of the Walio [Leonard Schultze River] headwaters quarries.

Oksapmin was a trading centre for Leonard Schultze River headwater blades. Very large axe blades were not used for cutting, but were kept as ceremonial objects and circulated in ceremonial exchanges. The smaller blades were used for work and bush clearing gardens etc. Such work Axes are known in Oksapmin as MEINAMO

The ceremonial exchange axes had two names. MAHRAPE and KANIA – Although the Oksapmin people use the words, they do not know their meaning, as they are from the language of the axe makers and traders. The fact that the words were remembered through time, presumably indicates the level of importance with which such ceremonial objects were regarded.

Neither are the Oksapmin people able to differentiate between Mahrpe and Kania blades, which look similar but apparently originated from different quarries.



Photo: [from previous page] Freshwater mussel shell necklace -Traded from Kiunga, and called DIAMBARA.

In 1966 stone axe blades were abundant in the Oksapmin area as, although a few steel axes had been traded through from Telefomin in earlier times, it was only after Oksapmin Patrol Post was established in 1961 that steel axes began to replace their stone counterparts in daily use.

Another item of trade in the Oksapmin area were tall Kundu drums called WARON. The drums were traded in from Kutik River area in the north and from Bimin in the south. Such drums were used by the Oksapmin people but not made by them.



From Oksapmin, our party descended to **Yoliape**, a Sisimin hamlet near the junction of the Om and Lagaip Rivers. (Sisimin language). The Sisimin, who know themselves as the Saiyolof, apart

from being active in the North to South trade in stone blades, were also key players in the East to West salt trade from the Upper Lagaip River.

As guides for our crossing of the Strickland/Sepik Divide, the patrol officer at Oksapmin had loaned me three Sumwari men,² on the understanding that they would have jobs, to come back to after they accompanied us into their tribal lands in the Upper Leonard Schultze River area. The Sumwari men were excited at the prospect of returning home. At Sisimin's "Kneebone" airstrip beside the lower Lagaip River the Sumwari men talked among them-selves in pidgin and told me their thoughts were travelling far ahead of their bodies; and were already in their own home on the Sepik River fall of the central range.

They told how sago palms were felled with stone axes, using the bruising technique the Sepik's used with the cigar shaped stones, of the "Wako" type we had collected weeks earlier from Kasigi on the Upper Wawoi River south of Mt Bosavi.

Initially I was told that the cigar shaped stones are not known at Yoliap. But later discussion revealed that they are remembered as **Fai Meseni** in Sisimin language and as **Kae** in the Sumwari language north of the central divide in the Leonard Schultze River area. No one present has seen one of these, but have heard them described.

Stone axes are not effective in felling sago palms, which are a tall trunk of very hard bark, or rind, encasing a soft centre of sago starch – like a Swiss cheese. The ancestors had devised a heavy cigar shaped stone with a point about a square centimetre in area which, when fitted into a typical stone adze handle, were used to bruise the lower bark of the palm, until it fell.

ooo000ooo

As our expedition neared the Leonard Schultze headwaters source of the stone tools, I experienced a level of anticipation at being able to see and document, what had, until recently been an important indigenous industry and trade centre; not previously been seen by the outside world. It was timely to review documentation of what the world knew of this pre-contact industry and trade: My own 1966 patrol report, and Pamela Swadling's book on Ok Tedi¹.

Oksapmin Patrol Report No 1/1966-7 stated: Para 56. Trade in bows, shells and stone axes: Shells that were used as phallocrypts, entered the area presumable from the April River through Unagabmin [Kabian] and are traded through the Hapi River [the Upper Leonard Schultze or Walio River country] and over the range to Emiapmin...Some other shells enter the Om River system from trade with the Akiapmin [Tuwari] via the Karu River [an Om River tributary] via Duranmin and Akiapmin [Karu River camp].

Both Oksapmin, being limestone country, and the Om River system lacks suitable stone for making stone axes. The Akiapmin people were the source of trade in this respect. They made the axes in the headwaters of the Tau River and traded them into the Om to eventually go to Oksampin [and beyond].

Throughout the Telefomin Sub District black palm bows are difficult to acquire. The main source of bows is from down near Kiunga in the Western District [traded in exchange for Leonard Schultze River stone axe blades]. Some trade in Kiunga bows goes as far as the

² During Oksapmin patrol No 1/1966-67 I made initial contact with the Sumwari. The patrol report diary of 12th September 1966 reads in part:

...The Sumwari leader showed no fear of the police but seemed terrified of the writer and had to be physically held from running away... 13th September 1966...The Sumwari deserted the one house hamlet during the night for some undisclosed reason.

Hapi River, especially to the Akiapmin [Tuwari] of the Tau and Halinau tributaries of the Leonard Schultze. Some suitable black palm grows in this area, and some local production of bows takes place.



Photo: One our carriers chose to wear the bare essentials.

In 1983 The PNG National Museum published Pamela Swadling's *How long have people been in the Ok Tedi Impact Region?* Of the Upper Walio stone axe industry she wrote:

Most of the stone adzes and axes used in the Ok Tedi impact region are obtained by trade. There are three main sources in the Ok Tedi impact region. The most important is in the headwaters of the Wario [Walio – Leonard Schultze River]. The other Two sources are on the Stolle and the Tan De Bom mountains located in the Eastern headwaters of the May River. The Mianmin utilized the former and the Iwam the latter...The majority of the stone adzes used in the region came as finished implements either from the Walio or from across the Indonesian border.²

The Upper Wario [Walio] source.

There are a number of sources in this area. It is thought that the local people made adzes from stones of Gufug gneiss found in the headwaters streams of the Walio River. There is no report of a single major quarry site. Brumbaugh (n.d:b) was informed that the Tuwari obtained their stone from a source on the Tau River and the Paka got theirs from a source on the Mabufe. Whether the latter is the same as the Mapu River marked on the 1:1,000,000 Walasi topographical map is not known. The Tuwari and Paka say they made disc-shaped stone clubs from the same stone sources. Gufug gneiss is described as:

*A spectacular suite of glaucophane bearing schist and gneiss with associated eclogite cropping out as fault wedges within the metamorphic of the Salumei Formation...*³

The adzes are apparently made and finished in the vicinity of the stone sources, as there is no report of any rough outs or suitable sized stones being traded...Little is known of the people who live along the upper Walio River or the Hapi as it is locally known...The first mention of this stone source in archaeological literature on PNG is Hughes (1977) He was informed by Hatanaka that the people of the Om Strickland confluence refer to their adze suppliers as the Hapi.⁴

Writers Note: Were all the blades finished on site?

Nothing that I heard from the Walio River axe makers indicated that anything other than completed blades was traded. However, on the 3rd August 1966 as Oksapmin Patrol No 1/1966-67 descended into the Om Valley, on a ridge crest between the Kutik and Kondit Rivers a huge block of sandstone was found with pot hole in it that was filled with water.

The sandstone was marked with many grooves where stone axe or adze blades had been sharpened. The local Kamagoiana people said this was where the spirits sharpened their blades and the water in the pothole was spirit urine. They said they knew of no human use of sharpening stone.

The possibilities would seem to be that sometime in the past this area contained a huge population with many blades to sharpen, or, being on a trade route from the stone axe/ adze makers to the consumers and traders of the heavy Oksapmin population nearby to the south that unfinished blades were finished here by a class of middle men and traded on.



The presence of sandstone in such a region of the Om Lagaip land scape is geologically logical. This is what is known in the petroleum industry as Toro sand stone; the petroleum reservoir rock that underlies the limestone cap rock, which in this area covers Oksapmin and the Victor Emanuel Range. Petroleum seeps exist near Bimin and across the Strickland north of Lake Kopiago at “Kerosene Creek”. Further south east, from the same geological structure the Lake Kutubu oil has been exported since 1992 and a major gas project has since been launched.

ooo000ooo

Sisimin on Trade Continued: Girigiri and Tambu shells were traded down the Lagaip River for axes and bows. Most bows came via Oksapmin from Kiunga. For some reason black palm of suitable quality does not grow here – or is it that given the demand for axes that bows are traded in – thereby obviating the need to make them locally? (This question was not asked.)

Our party next moved to **Yatu’om [Emiapmin]** settlement on the Nene River [North East of Yoliape and close to the mountains of the central divide]

The local Hewa people of Emiapmin do not remember anything of the stone tools that were used here just 20 years ago. Memory is not helped by the fact that there are no old Hewa people. Few of them live into their 50s. It is sad that knowledge of their heritage is so easily lost, and all the more important that notes such as these are recorded.

ooo000ooo

The crossing of the Strickland/Sepik divide – the New Guinea Central Range was difficult, when I first did as a 24-year-old in 1966; Twenty-three years later, fit as I then was, I thought it would kill either me, or one of my adventure tourists. Fortunately, we all survived.

Our Sumwari guides Philip, Sames and Levai led the way down to Kabian, where we spent the night. Next morning, we followed the headwaters of a stream northwards. Eventually the stream, which by then was a sizeable river, turned westward. This was the Hapi [the Upper Leonard Schultze River] and we made camp on the river bank. Next morning, in quest of the first stone axe quarry we turned south into the Mapu River tributary. The “Quarry” we saw was an outcrop of rock just seven minutes walking up from the Mapu/Hapi junction. The swirling grain of the rock and its green colour is identifiable as the Gufug Gneiss that blades from this region are made.



Gufug Gneiss outcrop/ stone axe/adze quarry – Mapu tributary of the Upper Leonard Schultze [Walio] River.

Two sides of the outcrop show where large slabs of rock have been removed. On the river side of the outcrop our informants told us the people used to build and position and tether rafts with clay hearths on them, so large fires could be lit to heat the rock. Such fires were kept stoked for a week, and then large stones were used to break flakes off the outcrop. The outer stone where it was

weathered was not used. Only the hard, inner rock was good enough for the blades. Stones from the river gravel itself was not used for axe blades, but was used for making sago mallet blades

The flakes or slabs of rock, once removed, were taken away and chipped into shape and later ground into axe blades. This outcrop was used by the Kabian and Setiali people and they traded the blades far and wide. Axes were traded for pigs, shell wealth, bride price valuables and bows. Our informants were too young to have seen the axes made and they have no idea where the chipping or grinding was done. We saw no evidence of axe grooves in rocks, apart from what I saw on Kutik in 1966³. The informants said here is only one living axe maker. His name is OIFENAI. He is from Setiali, and is now living at Sumwari.

There is another stone axe source, a quarry called MEI'AI at the crest of the Mei/Mapu divide, near a creek called SO'A'EI. The stone is believed to be the same type as that from the Mapu River. The Setiali boundary is the right bank of the Walio River, while Kabian's boundary is the Matifei/Olifei divide, otherwise known as the MOLIMEI range.

Sumwari – Sumwari language area. Language No 21 since leaving Daru

Writer's Note: When I asked the Sumwari people whether any of the elders still living used to make stone axes, they really did not know. Someone said he did hear a story once about stone axes being made, but he did not know much about it. When (Daniel) Setiafenai was identified as a former stone axe maker, he was visibly pleased that someone wanted to talk to him about the old times and his expertise. The young people also showed a lot of interest and were keen to hear what the elder had to say. Again, I was struck by how quickly such traditional knowledge is lost. I had been here just 23 years before, but it might just as well have been 2,000 years ago.

Informant (Daniel) SETIAFENAI/MAKAPOE of Setiali: interviewed through interpreter.

QN. How did you make the stone axes?

An: We used to make the axe blades and trade them to many places. We built a fire on top of the stone and heaped plenty of firewood on it until the stone exploded and then we collected the pieces and made the axes from them. Sometimes the fire would take 2 weeks before the stone broke.

QN. Did the stone just break, or did you break it?

An. After the fire caused the stone to explode, there were lots of cracks and we struck these with stone hammers to break more away. The pieces we broke from we tied with bush rope to take them to one side – the rock was too hot to handle.

QN. How big were these pieces?

An. Up to three feet across [indicated]. When the stone had cooled we chipped the rock into axe blanks which we put into bark containers and took them home. The general name for stone axe blade is SUWELI, but blades from the different quarries have their own names:

Blades from Lower Mapu river quarries – we call KANO

Blades from Upper Mapu river quarries – we call PAKAI

Blades from Penei river quarries - we call HOTOM

Blades from Tau river - we call ABEI

QN: Did you make tools for felling sago palms?

An. Yes, we made three types.

1. SUWELI – axes for cutting timber
2. KEE – for felling sago palms

³ Photo Appendix E page 5 - Oksapmin Patrol Report No 1/1966-67 Vol 2 Bragge notes

3. OFOLU – for pounding sago

QN: After you had taken the stones home in the bark containers, what did you do?

An: Before we took them home we chipped them to a small size in the shape of an axe. When this was done we set aside the hammer stone and took the axe blanks home. At home we ground the blanks on a stone that is abrasive like a file. We used water on the stone. There stones are usually in the water, there are plenty of them in the river gravel

QN: are there any of these grinding stones that we can see?

An: Yes, there is one near the top of the airstrip⁴, we can see it tomorrow. (But when tomorrow came it was too late to go and see it in the late afternoon.)

When the blades were finished we made handles for them and bound the blades in with cane. We cut trees with them.

Trade in axes: Some we carried away to trade and some people used to come here to trade for axes. They traded pigs, bows and shell wealth from the south – Sisimin.

From the Sepik, they traded shell wealth.

Salt came from the head of the April River [presumably over the range from the Lagaip River] – black salt.

QN. Were the axes traded with handles, or just the blades?

An. Both – some of each. All the blades traded were completely finished. They were sharpened. The people who received them resharpened them when they became blunt.

QN. Are the stones from the different quarries all the same colour?

An. Yes (described as “half black and half green”), but some show some variations.

QN. Where did you trade the stones called KEE?

An. It (KEE) was a long thin stone. (He indicated the shape of his finger, someone else indicated the shape of a banana) We made them with the same techniques we used in making axes.

QN. Where did you trade the stones called KEE? (For some reason this question was not answered and it was not pursued as to do so might have interrupted the good flow of information)

An. Same sort of trade items we got for the axes.

QN. Do you still have any KEE?

An. No. We have been using steel axes now and they (KEE) are lost

QN: is MABUFE the MAPU River?

An. Yes, it is the same place – Mabufe is the correct name.

QN: Did you make club heads (Page 101 Swadling 1983 shown)

An: No! No! No!

QN: are there any other quarry regions other than the three – MAPU, TAU and PENEI?

An: HELINAU river between PENEI and TAU was used by the Tuwari people

QN: did you ever use loose stones from the water, or just the ones acquired by fire from the big outcrops?

An: Only the ones we burned. We did not use smaller stones as they are rubbish. Occasionally we took stones from the ground and made them into all three types of tools.

QN how big was the biggest type of axe you made

An: 14 inches (indicated), but we made smaller ones as well for women to cut bush. The larger ones were for cutting trees. The middle-sized ones were for splitting firewood.

QN: Which places used the MAPU quarry – Kabian, Setiali – anyone else?

An. Setiali owns the Mabufe, but other places came to help with the work. They were Kabian, Kwatifafei, Yarimuo and Unsainome. When Setiali worked, all these places would come to help.

QN: what time of the year did you make the axes?

⁴ In the late 1970s the New Tribes Mission made an airstrip on the air drop site cleared by Oksapmin Patrol No 1/1966-67 in September 1966.

An: No particular time, no special season.

QN: Did one person do all of the work on one axe blade or did his brothers (for instance) help?

An: After the axes were placed in the bark container we paid out some of the blanks to the people who helped with the firewood and tending the fire and other work. The “Boss” – master axe maker takes and big flakes/slabs and breaks them into smaller pieces and chips them into shape. He may distribute one or two to each of the people who helped him.

QN: How many axe blanks would you normally take back to the settlement?

An: Plenty, perhaps 200 (a few metres marked on the ground to indicate how many blanks, laid side by side.) Axe blades have two names:

1. HOTOM – made by axe maker Saiuro Wakiau of Sumwari, and
2. KANO – made by the informant Setiafenai of Setiali.

The blades look the same, but have separate names depending upon who made them. Manufacture is secret. Saiuro does not know Setiafenai’s techniques and vice versa.

ooo000ooo

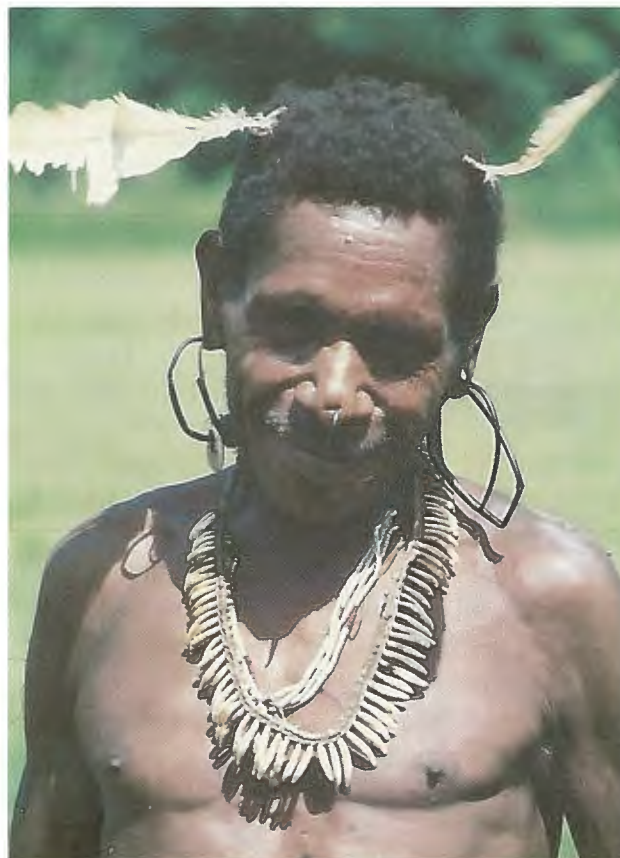
In order to rest our weary legs, the party inflated their air mattresses and were swept downstream by the swift current. We learned that 90 minutes rafting in this way was a full day’s walk for the carriers, and adventure tourists who did not have air mattresses. And so, it was that we arrived at Setiali, to the surprise of the village people. They helped us ashore and said they would make wooden rafts for our continued journey downstream as the way we were doing it was unsafe.

“Why unsafe?” I asked.

“Crocodiles” same the reply. I had no idea they came this far upstream.

“Log rafts it is.” I agreed “Thank you.”

ooo000ooo



Informant SAIURO/WAKIAU axe maker of Setiali [photo on previous page] – interviewed through an interpreter

The working tool or hammer stone is called HAIBE

The axe blade is called HOTOM (Blades specifically of Saiuro manufacture)

There are no different names for the different stages of work in making a stone axe. I.E. all are SUWELI. The axe blank [a blank acquired] ready for grinding came from the outcrop in the cold area of the Penei River and for this one we use only green firewood, not dry firewood because there is none in the cold [high altitude area].

QN: When did you stop making stone axe blades?

An: (Interpreter) He does not know years. He was still making them when the first patrols came through here (Barclay 1965 from Ambunti, Bragge 1966 from Oksapmin). At that time, we had only a few steel axes. We stopped making stone axes when his son Salawal was born – Salawal was seen in 1989 to be in his mid-20s.

QN: where did the first steel come from?

An: Nakek [Upper Wogamush or Sio River]. The first outside things we saw were small glass beads, and then a knife and then an axe.

QN: Please tell the story of how he finished making stone axes and why.

An: I accumulated a number of stone axes (over supply) and at the same I could see the edge of the steel axe was different (superior?), so I could no longer see a reason to go through the hard work of heating the rock and chipping the stone blades.

QN: What effect did this have on the trade?

An: When we traded we would wait for the traders to come with all the things they wanted to trade for our axes – pigs, shells, bows. I would lay out my axes and they would select and negotiate – one pig for one axe or whatever. They also wanted the axe blades to be used in their bride price payments. Stone axe blades were the most important (valuable) thing.

QN: The arrival of steel axes destroyed your stone axe industry then. This must have been bad for your industry.

An: (When this was translated SAIURO looked at me askance and shook his head) The trade routes still existed and we traded the steel axes and knives through to the people who did not yet have them. Then when every place has steel the traders did not come here anymore.

QN: Where do you get your sea shells now?

An: We do not use them very much now, but sometimes we go to the beach and collect them.

QN: Did Telefomin come here for SUWELI?

An: Yes. Sometimes they came to trade and sometimes they came to fight and to pick up the axes when we ran away. They came to both here and Tuwari in the time when the axes were being made. The Telefomin people used to eat people, but the Sumwari did not. They killed one man just past where the airstrip is. They cut his legs off and took them away. They killed one woman down at the far end of the airstrip and took her legs away to eat.

QN: The stone for lighting fire is called what?

An: It is called “YEP” – end of interview.

Sumwari – stone axe practical demonstration – with Saiuro/Wakiau.

Saiuro and some younger people took us downstream along the Leonard Schultze River to where the Peneifei River enters the Leonard Schultze (Walio) River. This is the Sumwari source of stone axe material. Saiuro explained they Sumwari used to get their blanks from outcrops miles upstream.



He started looking and soon identified a green boulder beside the river. He explained that this was the stone that he used as his hammer stone, as there was nothing harder. If there was anything harder then, he said, he would have made the axe blades from this and used the harder stone as his hammer. He smashed the boulder and selected two fist sized pieces which he chipped into the shape he desired for his hammers. Next, he located a large flat green stone. He indicated that this was the stone axe material [which he would have obtained through heating the outcrop]. He started chipping the flat stone with his hammer stones. He demonstrated how he held the future stone axe in one hand, resting it against his foot to shape it. He explained that if he rested it against another stone, the future axe would break in two. Having said that he now struck the axe edge against a hard rock which was embedded in the ground to flake away more chips. When he had reduced the original stone to half its original size it had now taken on an elongated shape. He packed it and the hammer stones into his billum to finish the job at home. Once there, he hammer-dressed rather than flaking the stone away, soon he was covered from head to toe with green dust. The blank, the hammer stone and a completed adze head were added to the collection for the PNG museum.

Writer's note. It was sad to leave the old axe makers, who had been so excited that someone wanted to know about the days of making and trading stone axes. As far as I know, only my 1966 and 1989 visited and reported on the stone implement industry of the upper Leonard Schultze River.



At Setiali your loyal guides and carriers were paid off and allowed to return home, back the way we had come. Their last task was to help the Setiali people make several rafts to take us downstream to where I expected a pre-arranged motorised canoe to be waiting, which it was.

Our expedition moved on downstream stopping and researching with the village communities we met along the way. These people had traded for the stone implements we were researching. I will note down the tables of implement names in this chapter, as the shocking rate at which traditional knowledge was being lost in 1989 makes me sadly confident that this knowledge is already lost to these people.

The Wusumai/Woswari language – further down the Leonard Schultze River

Item	Pi language	Wusumai language	Nekiai language
Cigar shaped stone	WOIYE	AIYA	IPEI
Sago mallet	SIFU	OMUSAI	FIASEI
Stone adze	OO	SOLU	HOWEI

A fortnight or so later our expedition found itself in the Chambri Lakes where we enjoyed researching Chambri Island stone axe manufacture which is the topic of Chapter 10

End notes Chapter 49

¹ Swadling P. How Long have people been in the Ok Tedi impact region? Museum of PNG 1983

³ Dow et al – Bureau of Mineral Resources, Geology and Geophysics – The Geology of the South Sepik Region of New Guinea 1968. Page 57

⁴ Swadling P 1983 Pages 79-82.

Sepik 1 Chapter 50. The Sepik's semi sedentary, semi nomadic hunter gatherers.

Writer's Note: Between 1966 and 1974 the writer led nine patrols into the territories of these people. During my 10 week-long exploration of the Sepik/Strickland Divide during Oksapmin patrol 1/1966-67 I experienced and photographed the local people in very early stages of their contact with the outside world. I recorded what I saw and concluded that the people were shy, but friendly. Beyond that, my research was limited by communication problems, as the only available interpreters were two murderers who learned to speak pidgin while in prison in 1963/64.

Dr Hatanaka¹ arrived to study these people in 1967. I learned much from her research as recorded in *Habitat, Isolation and subsistence economy in the Central Range of New Guinea*. Oceania September 1973.

In 1974 in preparation for a murder investigation in North Hewa [Sepik 4 Chapter 53], in the Lake Kopiago Patrol Post office, I found a 1971 thesis entitled *Neighbours and Killers* by Lyle B. Steadman concerning the "Hewa" people. This document painted a very different picture from that by Dr Hatanaka.

It became clear to me that there must be many different cultural traits and historic experiences of these populations. More recent studies of the Asabano, by Roger I Lohmann shed even more light on these people. The Asabano reside at Duranmin, and when the writer met them in 1966, they were known as Duranmin. With the passing of time a clearer, but far from complete picture emerged of the Sepik's semi nomads

ooo000ooo

All human beings subsisted by hunting and gathering until about 10,000 years ago. Hunter gatherers currently constitute less than 1% of the total human population. New Guinea is no longer included in the above group...New Guinea highlanders began to practice horticulture 5,000 years ago [Golson et al 1967]. However, most populations probably had "intermittent" cultivation, but were largely nomadic relying mostly on hunting and gathering before the introduction of the sweet potato [Ipomoca batatas]. People living in remote isolated areas did not much change their subsistence practices undertaken through millennia of isolation until Government contact. We will consider this kind of people, mainly the Saiyolof², living in the southern foothills of the Central Range of New Guinea.¹

These semi-nomads include some Sepik Hill language peoples, the people classed as the Birua³ in the May River area, also, Non-Sepik Hill groups the writer met during his exploration of the Strickland Divide – the Asabano of Duranmin, the Akiapmin and Suanmin

The Sepik/Strickland divide people were within raiding distance of Telefomin itself and from Telefomin people of the headwaters of the Frieda River, the Nenataman. The Birua were within raiding distance of the Mianmin.⁴

Bands of both the Telefomin and Mianmin warriors sought these small remote communities in order to kill the men and abduct women and girls as spouses. The bodies of those killed were

¹ Sepik 4 Chapter 42 describes Dr. Hatanaka's work among the Saiyolof

² Although not specifically named, the Saiyolof speak one of Hewa languages within the Sepik Hill language family and stock, itself being within the Middle Sepik Super Stock.² As the Sepik Hill languages are found in four adjoining PNG provinces, I have provided an Introduction to them at the start of Chapter 32.

³ See Sepik 4 Chapter 18 *The exploration of the May River area*.

⁴ The Mianmin raided all groups on their boundaries – including the Telefomin and Atbalmin

butchered and the meat was carried off for later feasting, as described in Sepik 4 Chapter 24 The Suwana massacre of 1959.

Such raids also acquired land for the victors, as fear of them pushed neighbours away from the Telefomin and Mianmin lands boundaries.

ooo000ooo

Returning now to the Saiyolof and related Sepik Hill languages:

The people in our discussion do not form tribes or clan groups as most highlanders do. Their primary social grouping is limited to an extended family, which is also a unit of movement. Each such kin-group, called rei, has its own name. These people are called “Sisimin” and “Hewa” by Australian Government officials, although they call themselves “Saiyolof”. The Saiyolof believe their ancestors separated from the Saiyo people of the upper Lagaip and migrated to Sai raro [the Lower Lagaip.]²

Recent⁵ pacification [in the late 1960s] altered the Saiyolof life style to alter from semi-sedentary to a sedentary way of life.

In the semi-sedentary stage, the size of community in which men were able to live was governed by supply...accordingly, the individual group did not exceed 20 to 30 people.³ The environment was capable of providing sufficient food for such a number of people. If more food was required to feed more people, the greater area of land required would mean the hunter gatherers could not return to their secure dwelling for the night. Thus, the size of the rei was limited. Once a rei became too large, it divided into two.

Population sizes limited by supply also made these hunter-gatherers easy victims of the cannibal women seekers from Telefomin. A prerequisite for the development of Saiyolof society was caused by the end of warfare and the introduction of the sweet potato.

Writer’s note: These people were so mobile, that in the 1960s and 1970s, in order to identify where they were then living so his patrols could meet them, the writer chartered aircraft to over fly their country.

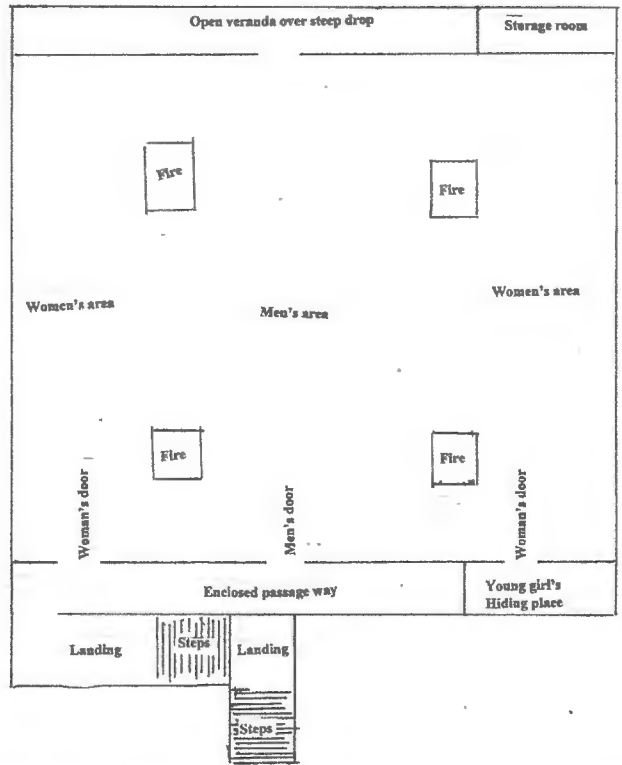
Tradition: a fortress style communal dwelling of the Sepik Hill language people



This house was photographed during Oksapmin Patrol No 1 of 1966.67 at Yarimuo on the north side of the Sepik Strickland Divide. The floor plan overleaf, shows four fireplaces, with racks

⁵ “Recent” needs to be read in association with the 1967 commencement of Dr Hatanaka’s residency among the Saiyolof.

over each to store large quantities of firewood. The area between these fire places and the outer walls was the women's area, and between the fire places was the men's area.



I was talking to a man and his wife in this house, until she told the interpreter she must not stay where she was; we were in the men's area, and people would become ill she stayed there.

The external walls of the house were made of split timber, and were arrow proof. All door ways were low and small. The Yarimuo house did not have a landing and the entrance was up through the floor of the narrow front passage...entry here, and through men/s an women's internal doorways required being on hands and knees, and therefore defenceless. It would be impossible to enter if the people within, did not want you to do so.

At Wabiadang, Bilasep/Yanopnok, the fight leader of the enemy of the Sepik Hill people explained: *When fighting against people in these houses, his people would get close to the house, staying behind their shields and firing the occasional arrow, until the people in the house had finished their supply of arrows. Then the job was less difficult. He emphasised that anyone who got too close was asking for trouble...the people stored stones for dropping on people...*⁴



Photos. People of the Sepik Strickland Divide area – taken from Oksapmin Patrol 1/1966-67.

Above left: The leader of the Tomiana No 2 people, initially contacted during Oksapmin patrol 1/1966-67. The language of this group appears to be unrelated to either Hewa or Telefomin. Note the array of weapons and the shell penis cover.

Above left centre: Porogu men, wearing Telefomin style penis gourds and cane girdles.

Previous page right centre: A man of Gabiano – north of the central divide. The nose decoration and feather headdress were of a type that was not seen elsewhere during patrol No 1/1966-67.

Previous page right: Gabiano men wearing Telefomin style cane girdle and Hewa style shredded croton leaf genital covering

Current page left: Gobi women, from south of the Om River, wearing Oksapmin style grass skirts.

Current page right: A woman of Yarimuo, north. The Om River people of Duranmin also sometimes shave the heads of their young woman in this style. This photo also shows the skin infection *tinea imbricata*.



Indications of Traditional Religious beliefs.



There was a question in the writer's mind during the exploration of the Sepik Strickland Divide, concerning the traditional religious beliefs of these people as their mobile lifestyle did not allow them fixed assets such as haus tambarans – the traditional churches of the people. PNG people retain close relationships with the spirits of their dead, and I satisfied myself that this also applied with these people. In the photos on the previous page, the Saiyolof man is wearing his brother's jawbone as a hunting charm. He believed that the spirit of his dead brother assists him in hunting.

The ossuary shown on the previous page shows ancestral skulls have been painted and shell wealth has been provided. This clearly relates to some ritual in honour of dead ancestors, or to placate them. This ossuary was seen in the upper reaches of the April River during Ambunti patrol No 19/1970-71. It was located between the tribal area of the Biame and the Bikaru people, and we were unable to determine to which group it belonged or specifically what the paint represented.

This mystery was explained by other Sepik Hill speakers at Begapuke village, April River in 1973/4. *Sometimes the skulls were placed in burial caves, and sometimes we kept them in our dwelling houses, hanging in a corner. The reason for this was for hunting magic. If you want to kill a pig, you wash the skull carefully and place the magic ginger for pigs in the eye sockets. Next morning, go hunting and you will kill a pig nearby. The pig will have been drawn by the magic.*⁵

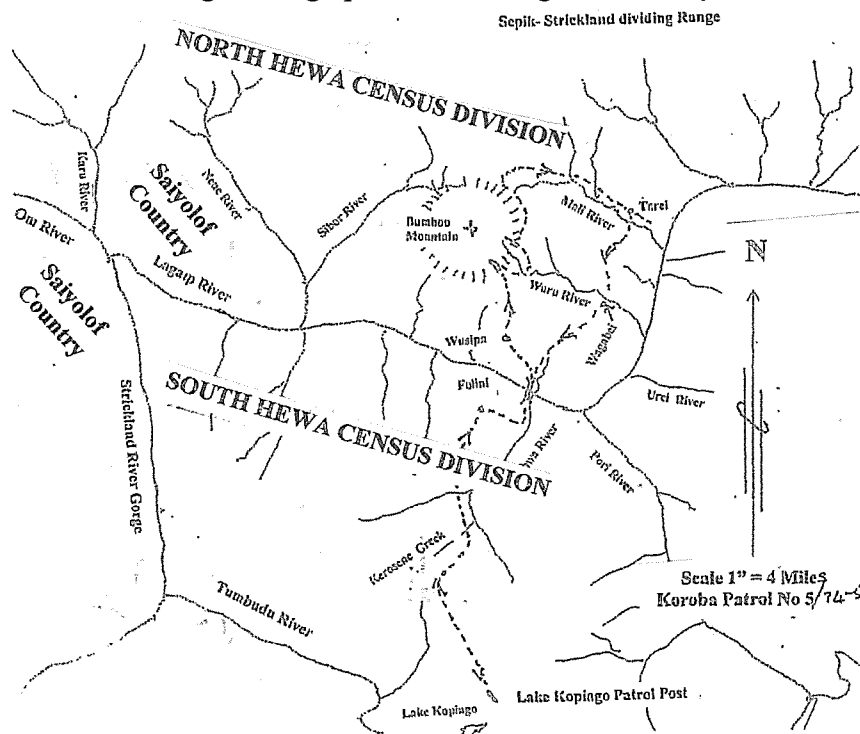
Concerning the Asabano of Duranmin.

*Before contact with the West, the Asabano...treated human remains differently depending on the type of relationship survivors planned to have with the deceased. Traditional methods included corpse exposure with curation or disposal of bones, disposal of corpses in rivers, and cannibalism ...the deceased who are biologically but not, according to the Asabano, socially dead.*⁶

ooo000ooo

The "Hewa" of Lake Kapiago – Southern Highlands.

"Hewa" a Huli word meaning "Lowlander". Dr Laycock in his 1973 publication⁷ lists "Hewa" as a Sepik Hill language. The map below⁸, more accurately shows "the Hewa" is a tribal area, which the Administration had divided into two the north and south Hewa census divisions. The boundary between the two being the Lagaip River. No linguistic survey is known for the Hewa area



Lyle Steadman's Neighbours and Killers. The following extracts were taken as background information for the writer's Koroba No 5/1973-74 shows the "Hewa" characteristics and history as:

Page 2. Patrol Officer J.R.Black shot and killed one Hewa in 1939 [Sepik 2 Chapter 46]

Page 7. Hewa cultivation is between 2,300 and 2,600 feet above sea level

Page 11. House occupancy ranges from 2 to 16 people.

Page 15. Nearest cultural link is with Sepik Hill people. The difference is sago subsistence.⁶

Page 16. **Trade:** Stone implements from the north [See Sepik 1 Chapter 50]

Salt from the East.

Bows from Oksapmin [who acquired them in trade from Kiunga]

Page 190 Most trade is conducted between affines [people related to you through marriage] The

Hewa marry over wide distances and thus increase trade prospect. This also offers refuge in times of need,

Page 16 **Descent:** North West Hewa claim descent from an Oksapmin man

South East Hewa claim descent from a Duna man

Page 85. *Ai Lapi* refers to compensation for murder. This prevents payback. Compensation is usually paid in axes, bows, pigs and cowrie shells.

Page 124. There is a recognised cultural division: Yakamau is the area west of the Tabum River.

Nikopaiapa is the area east of the Tabum River. There is a slight cultural variation. The whole Area is divided into territories called "no" [known as: "rei" in the Saiyolof area.] Each no averages four square miles in area. These in turn are divided into sites, each of 50 acres average size

Page 126. 17.8 people and 2.6 houses per "no"

Page 127. **Residence.** 56/109 men live in their own no.

10/109 men live in wife's no

43/109 men live in neither their own or their wife's no.

Writer's note. Mr. Steadman uses the term "clan" to describe the population of a "no". The writer believes these social groupings, as in the adjacent Saiyolof, to be extended families.

Page 135

"Clan" identity of assailants
In 80 known killings."

"Clan" of at least one

Of the killers.

Male victim

Female victim

"Clan" of victim

2?

11

"Clan" with shared name

3

2

"Clan" of spouse

4⁹

7¹⁰

All of unrelated "clans"

30

24

Total victims

38

42

Page 137 **Residence** – Men usually live in their own "no" except for some months with father in law
Women change residence more regularly.

Choice of residence is most free for unmarried men because they produce more than they consume.

Page 164 **Marriage and kinship.** Man's relations with his in-laws – lifelong indebtedness & respect.

Man's relationship with his wife is that of owner.

⁶ Mr Steadman was apparently unaware that the "Hewa" are Sepik Hill language speaker. Sago subsistence relates to the northern Sepik Hill languages – Bisis, Mari, Bahenimo, Bitara and Sanio

Page 167

Table of Hewa Marriages

	Good	Not good
Female never Before married	ifaa anima [with Father’s consent]	lati anima [arm pulling – without Father’s consent.]
Female married At last once before	wain anima [widow getting] no consent other than her own needed	eti fanema [wife stealing without husband’s consent.

Page 168 **Female sexual misconduct** – Penalty, she is usually killed by her own brothers. Also, the mother’s brother relationship is strong.

Page 170 **Status of Hewa women.** They marry at 8 to 10 years of age.

Page 171 They are dominated, but prized by men.

- Intelligent individual females try to dominate males.
- In anger a wife may take off her skirt and wrap it around her husband’s face.

Page 172 Marriage rules are acknowledged, but are often contravened. Males must not marry a female of any of his four grandparent’s “clans”

Page 176. There is no known marriage custom of sister exchange in Hewa.

Page 203

Killing and Witches

Ate ima [waterwent] is the only form of suicide known.

Page 205 Steadman could not find a man who had not participated in killing. Killing is invariably a group action.

Victims and when they were killed	Male	Female	Total
Date unknown	5		5
Pre 1959	6	10	16
1959	3	3	6
1960	7	5	12
1961	1	3	4
1962	5	3	8
1963	1	1	2
1964	2	5	7
1965	2	4	6
1966	2	1	3
1967	1	2	3
1968	1	3	4
1969	2	2	4
Total	38	42	80

Killings percentages according to alleged motive.

Pisei [witchcraft]	38%	78%	61%
Fight or retaliation	41%	3%	19%
Adultery or “incest”	7%	13%	10%
Intentional, other than pisei of adultery	7%	5%	6%
Not intended victim e.g. child with mother	7%	3%	4%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Widows, un-married females, or women with weak husbands were the victims killed as vile cannibalistic witches in most of the 31 witch murders.

Brothers who kill adulterous sisters do not suffer retaliation as their act is regarded as social control.

The Hewa killing rate 1959-1969 = 7.78 per thousand head of population annually.

- This is an under-estimate as memory of old events is faulty.
- Killing within the household group is very rare
- Killing between neighbouring households is rare
- Killing within the largest group [e.g. Folini] is not common
- Killing between the largest groups is common [e.g. Folini and Wanakipa]

- P229.
1. Men kill in groups. Women do not kill.
 2. Women are killed as individuals. Men are killed usually as members of a side in retaliation
 3. Witch killings are hazardous due to no retaliation deaths [meaning unclear]
 4. Victims are of groups with which one already has hostile relations.
 5. Witches are killed at a distance, not in one's own neighbourhood.
 6. Incest usually results in the killing of the female participant.
 7. Witchcraft usually broadcast well in advance of the actual killing.
 8. A witchcraft accusation is a test of power. The Accused may:
 - a. Challenge the accuser to fight and cause the accuser to withdraw.
 - b. Change residence away from the accuser.
 - c. Do nothing – this is usually a death sentence.
 9. "clanship" does not determine the killing group.
 10. Motives for killing – witchcraft, sexual misconduct and retaliation are the most common.
 11. Witchcraft may often be used as an easy excuse.
 12. Many witchcraft accusations may be delayed retaliation.
 13. Not just anyone can gain support to initiate fighting
 14. Series of killings occur between hostile groups.

P 234. Fight leader's attributes – [a] wealth in pigs etc, [b] has a number of brothers.

P 243. Crowding causes aggression – Hewa has little crowding. Hewa killing is as a result of Competition between people in contact with each other, but who do not have enough Experiences together to lead to the establishment of a dominance order and hence a restriction of aggression.

P244. **Witchcraft motive.** Gain support by displaying concern for the welfare of the whole community – the moral idiom. Ethical justification for an unethical act.

P245. **The Hewa Witch Pisei.** Is characterised by any unusual behaviour -particularly incest. Pisei eats humans – either openly or surreptitiously. I.E true cannibalism, or without leaving any marks on the body.

It is the class of people [i.e. the women in hunter gatherer societies] given least animal protein who are most likely to be accused of being cannibal witches.

"Since alleged witches are punished with death, not many people would want to procure their meat supply in a fashion that, if discovered, would entail such a punishment. On the one hand, the witchcraft idiom would actually inhibit the desire to satisfy meat hunger by cannibalism, no matter how hungry people are.

"On the other hand, people will tend to behave in such a way that they are not likely to be accused of being a witch. I.E. they do not show their greed, particularly for meat. The women who are the most likely to be most hungry for meat as they receive the least – will not readily complain against the taboo system or readily express their meat hunger. Thus, the punishment for alleged witches, secures the stability of the taboo system, which, in turn, maintains the conditions which maintains the conditions which foster the fear of cannibal witches."

Writer's note: What to make of "Neighbours and Killers?"

The writer understands [from Dr. Hatanaka] that Mr Steadman was not awarded a PHD on the basis of "Neighbours and Killers." The academic reasons for this are not known. As indicated, the writer used extracts from this thesis during a murder investigation in 1974 and can provide some additional information about the Hewa people.

1. Sepik 4 Chapter 53 indicates the North Hewa people attacked the writer's 1974 murder investigation patrol on three occasions. Based upon Chris Makin's successful in 1970, the North Hewa was de-restricted in 1971. But no follow up patrols consolidated Mr Makin's progress, so the people north of the Lagaip river reverted to their old ways.
2. Hewa aggression was also evidenced by injuries sustained by Administration interpreters¹¹:
 - a. Himau of Wanikipa received two arrow wounds. One in the left shoulder inflicted by Waunei people and one in the left hand inflicted by Wusipa people.
 - b. Pania – two arrow grazes inflicted by Wanikipa people – one to the face and a second under his nose.
 - c. Tulini - An arrow in the ribs above left kidney.
3. There is no evidence that the Telefomin cannibalistic/women abducting raids, described above, extended into the "Hewa" region, so a critical part of Saiyolof and other groups fear of the enemy in the west was probably not part of the Hewa view of their cosmos

Concluding comments concerning the Sepik's semi-nomadic hunter gatherers.

#1. Firstly, and most importantly, the reader needs to understand that all groups discussed in this chapter were experiencing extremely rapid social change, caused by the pacification of their region in the 1960s. History has been extremely lucky to have the observations of Sachiko Hatanaka, Lyle Steadman and Roger Lohmann who documented aspects of the social transitions before they were lost to human memory.

#2. These valuable observations offer intriguing glimpses of a "passing parade", and provide us with some idea, of just how much we will never know of the Sepik's hunter gatherer ancestors.

ooo000ooo

End Notes Chapter 50

¹ Sachiko Hatanaka and Lawrence William Bragge – Habitat, Isolation and subsistence economy in the Central Range of New Guinea. *Oceania* September 1973 – Introduction.

² S.Hatanaka and L.W,Bragge 1973 page 38

³ S.Hatanaka and L.W,Bragge 1973 page 40

⁴ Bilasep/Yanopnok of Wabiadang, as quoted in Oksapmin patrol report 1/1966-67 page 11

⁵ Luluai and others of Begapuke - Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 pages 406

⁶ R.I.Lohmann – The afterlife of Asabano corpses" relations with the deceased in Papua New Guinea. Abstract – *Ethnology* 44[2] April 2005.

⁷ D.C.Laycock – Sepik Languages Checklist and Preliminary Classification – ANU Canberra 1973

⁸ This map has been adapted from that In Sepik 4 Chapter 53 The North Hewa murder investigation 1974

⁹ One of these males was possibly killed by one of his own "clan".

¹⁰ Two of these females were also killed by her own "clan]"

¹¹ This information was collected in preparation for the 1974 murder investigation. None of these injuries were sustained during Administration patrols. Pania and Tulini were no longer employed as interpreters by 1974

Sepik 1 Chapter 51 Three Sepik Cave Systems of Possible Archaeological Interest

Given that caves are durable places in which Sepik ancestors may have lived or used as ossuary's, or sacred places, or places of retreat and refuge in times of warfare, such places may be of archaeological interest. This chapter records details of three such cave systems with which I had some experience :-

- #1 The Terauwi caves and rock shelters – west of Green River – West Sepik
- #2 The Karawari caves – East Sepik. The Karawari caves – East Sepik.
- #3 “Bipa” cave eastern Hunstein Mountains – South of Ambunti – East Sepik

#1 The Terauwi caves and rock shelters – west of Green River – West Sepik

My investigation of this site was written up as Green River Patrol Post reference 7-1-1 of 3rd June 1964, a memo which was submitted through DDS&NA channels, with Green River Patrol Report No 6/1963-64. Discussions with archaeologist Pamela Swadling during the 1980s indicated that the site had not been visited to that time, or I suspect, since.

These caves and shelters are located about two and a half hours walk east of the location of Terauwi village in 1964. It was not uncommon for villages to change location from time to time, and Terauwi village may have moved since my visit there. There was no track to the caves and we had to cut our way through the bush. The village people advised that these caves were used as places of refuge in times of tribal fighting, and were sometimes used by hunters and others who had gardens nearby.

We arrived at a large limestone outcrop surrounded by primary forest. The outcrop housed both caves and overhanging rock ledges, in which there was fire places and other evidence of human habitation. The main cave had a high ceiling and an uneven floor strewn with blocks of limestone, which has apparently fallen from above over time. The cave had entrances at both ends, and towards the centre there was no light, so I found it necessary to use a torch. Bats were in abundance. Close to one entrance was a passageway going off at an angle. The ceiling became so low that I could follow the passageway for only about 20 feet.

Next, I explored a long tunnel that branched off the main cave. This branch has a ceiling about eight feet above the floor. The branch varied between eight and fifteen feet wide. The floor was muddy with water dripping continually from above. There was no natural light and it was necessary to use a torch. There was no shortage of bats. I reached the end of this passageway after two right-angle bends. The end appeared to consist of a rock fall.

On the cave wall above a ledge I found some charcoal sketches and scratched in designs. The ledge was about six feet above the floor of the cave. As I recall, the back wall of the ledge was about two feet tall before reaching the ceiling. The sketched designs were located on the ceiling above the ledge. The sketches depict several lizards – with the lines being vague and somewhat difficult to pick out. A couple of the sketches had recently been re-touched with charcoal.

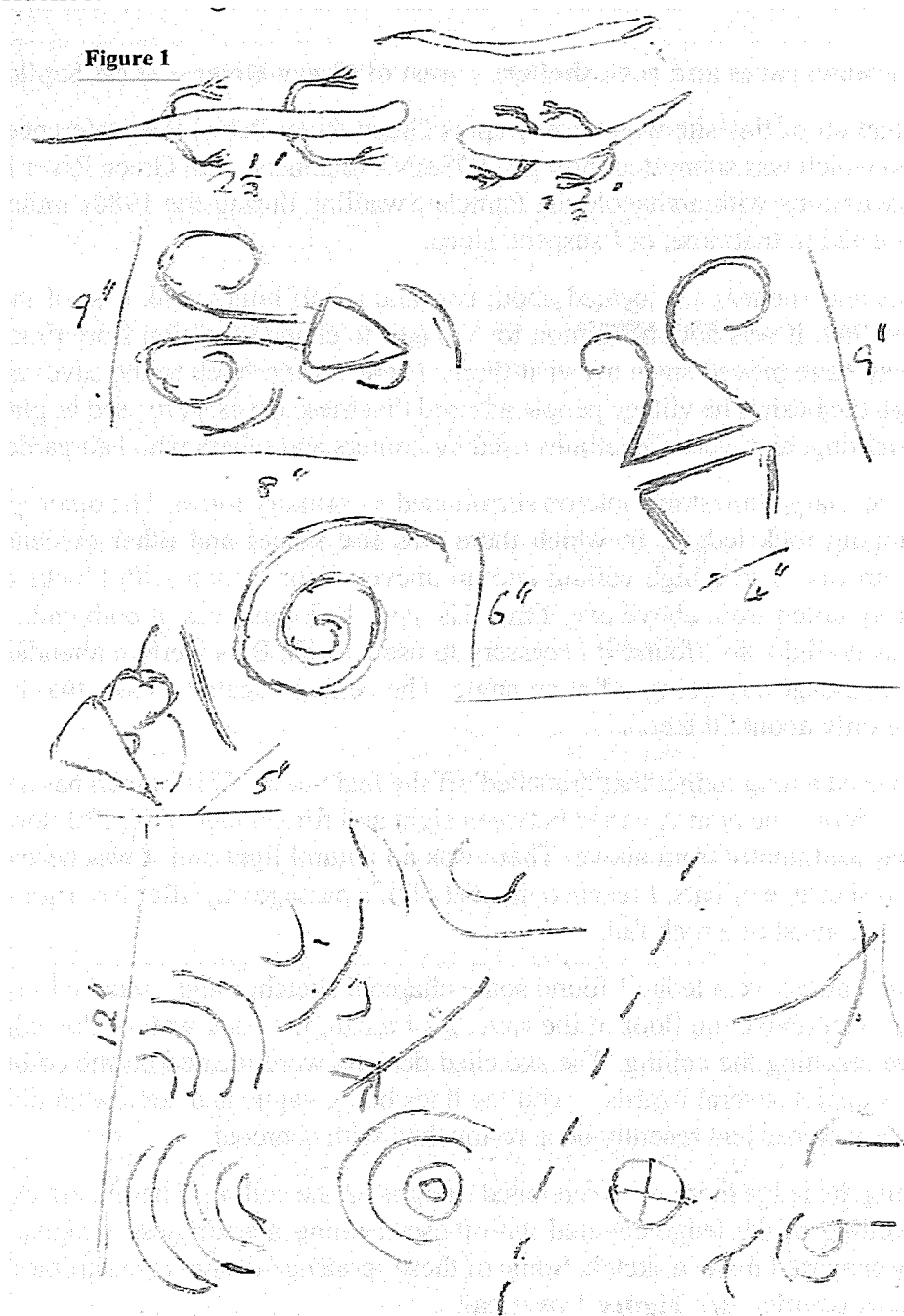
Further along the ledge there were scratched designs on the ceiling. These were extensive, with the whole of the ceiling of the ledge covered with these seeming meaningless designs. As I did not have a flash on my camera, I made a sketch. Some of these scratched designs are similar to the designs on Green River penis gourds – see **Figure 1** overleaf.

A second and third cave were located five minutes' walk to the east-south-east of the main cave. The second cave had a high ceiling and entrances at both ends as well as two other entrances with lower ceilings. I saw no sketches or scratched designs in cave no 2. **Figure 2** shows the cave's

floor plan. In cave No 2 I found what appears to be a trench constructed of stone pieces which were firmly embedded vertically in the cave floor, with reinforcing stones. The average width of this “trench” was seven inches, with the vertical stones standing an average four inches. On one side of the “trench”, a large flat stone has been positioned vertically with reinforcing stones behind it. My Terauwi guides stated this “trench” had always been there. They did not seem to attribute any importance to it

- see **Figure 3** *overleaf*

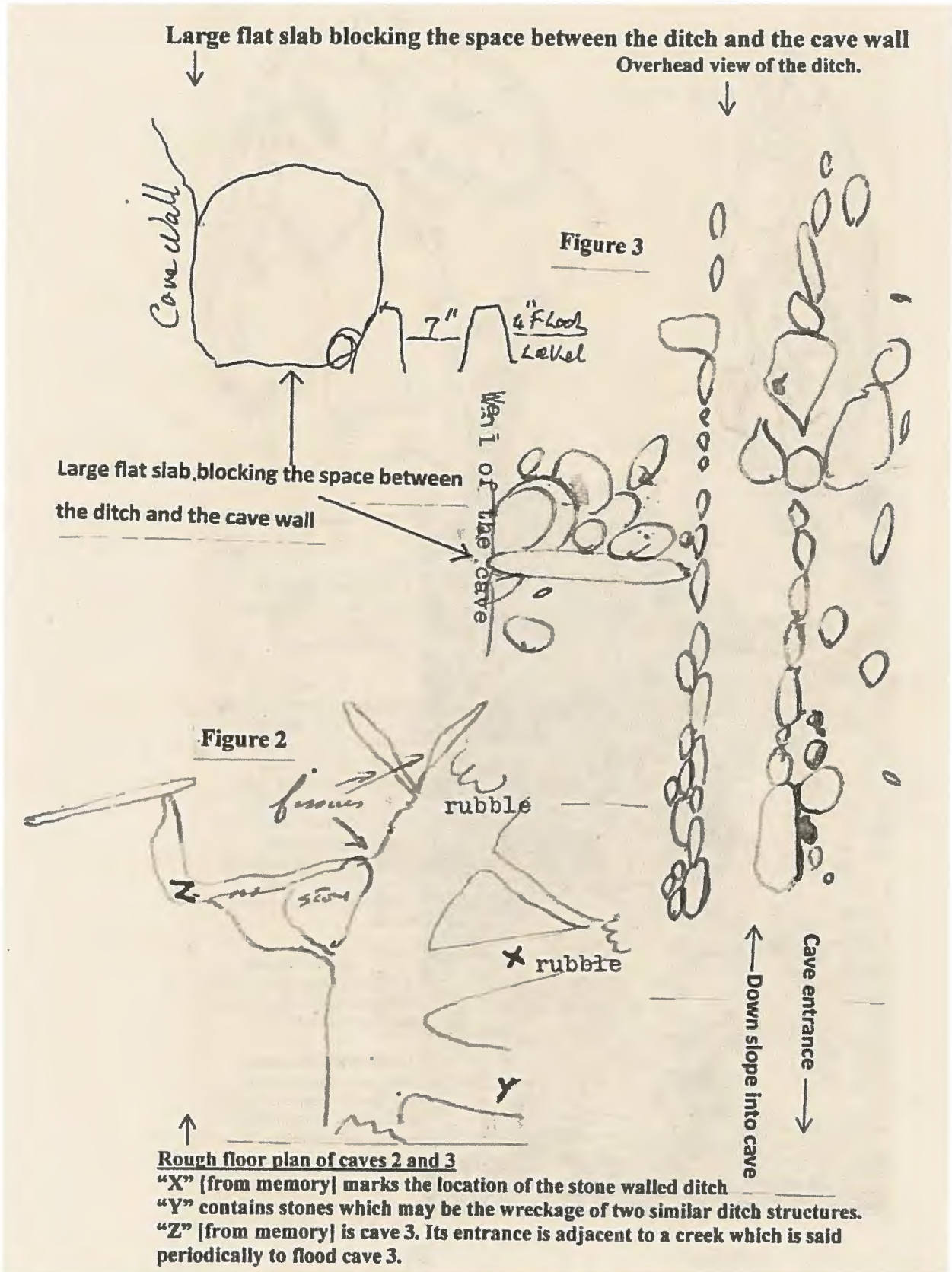
Cave three can be entered through a narrow crevice from cave 2. Cave 3 is completely without light. The ceiling is about five feet high and the cave walls about four feet apart. It has a large bat colony in residence.



The sketches to the left of the dotted line are in this organization in relation to each other. The sketched to the right of the line are random examples

Figure 1 - above

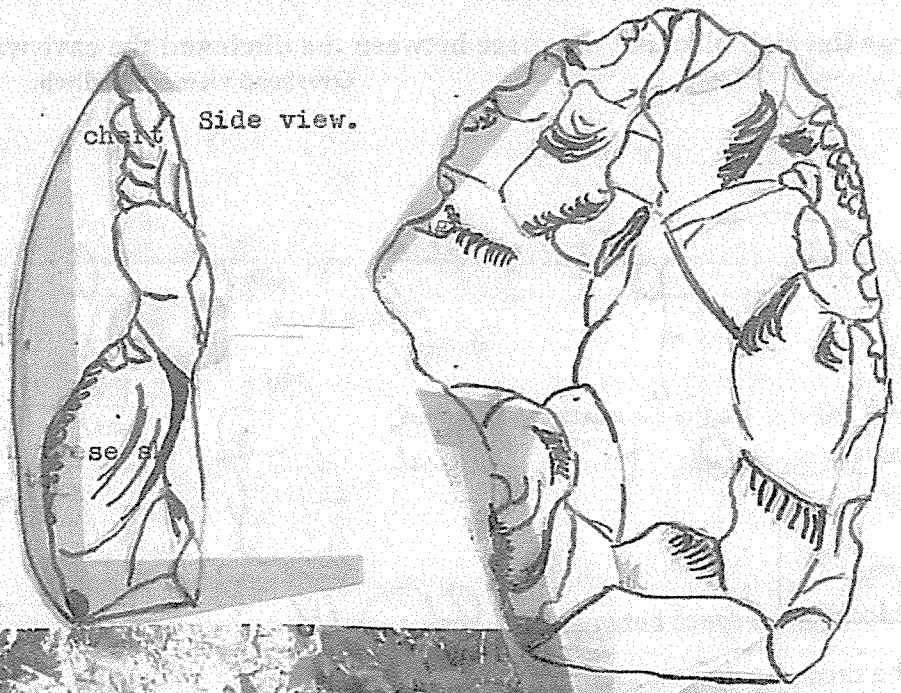
Figures 2 and 3 - below



Rock over hang shelter. To get to this shelter we followed a creek a short distance from the caves described above, then climbed steeply through forest with a limestone cliff towering above. During the

climb I found a chipped stone axe blade on the path – see detail of axe and cave site below and overleaf

The chert blade side and front views. The blade was sent in with the report to be lodged with the PNG Museum. The size of the implement is that of the front view, the sketch outline was obtained by tracing the edges of it onto paper.



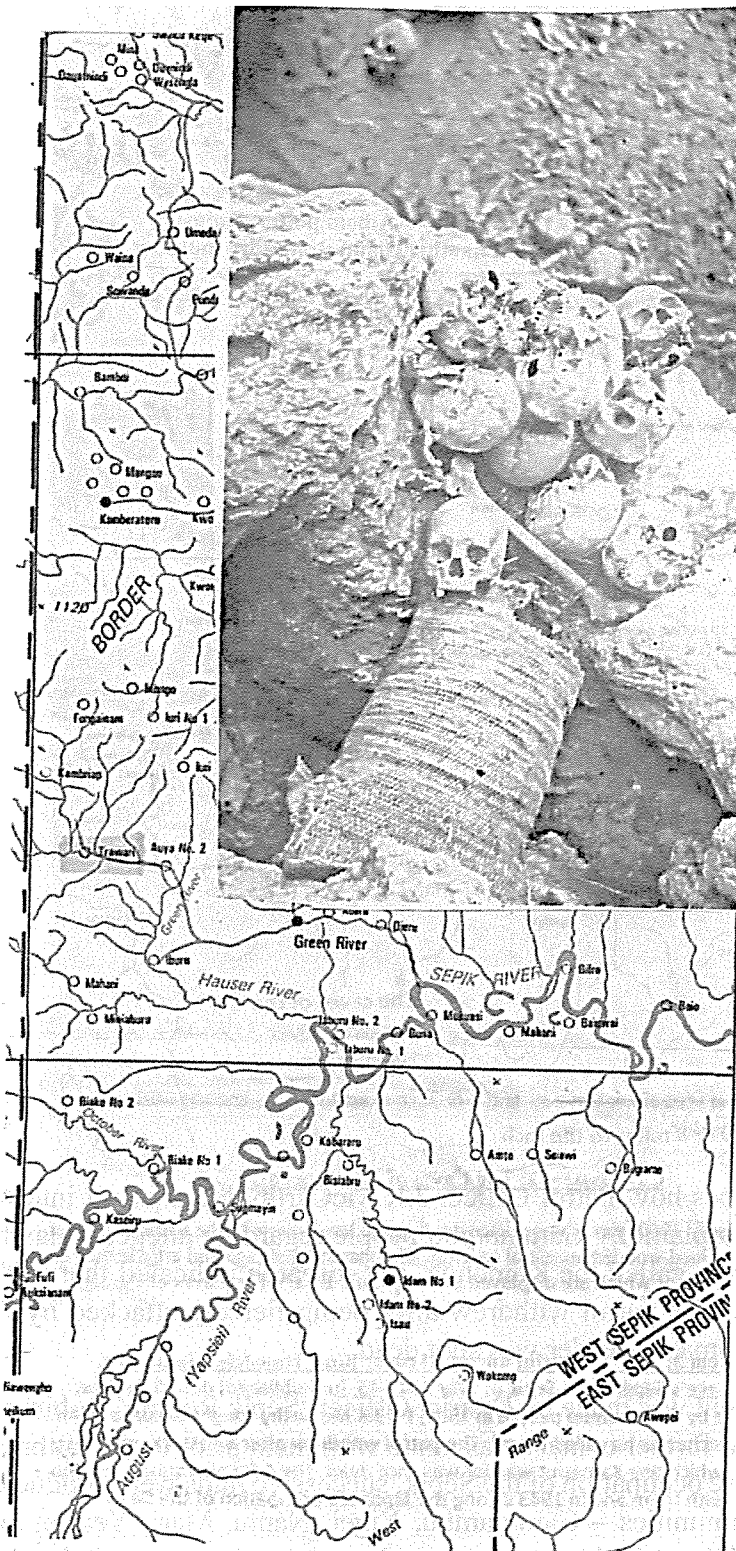
The rock overhand shelter opposite is a ledge about twenty feet wide. The timber and palm structure shows that it is still periodically used.

The ledge also housed an ossuary of human bones – Photo overleaf. Unlike the Sepik River people who protected themselves in tribal fights with wooden war shields, the Iuri warriors wore body armour made of cane. Presumably with the death of one old warrior, his armour was placed with his bones.

Ossuaries such as this [but without the armour] were also seen at Kambriap and Kamberatoro.

Conclusion: This is an extensive cave site with plenty of evidence of human occupation, presumably over a long period of time.

Below – Map of approx. location of Terumi caves near Green River, and detail of ossuary and woven cane body armour



#2 The Karawari caves – East Sepik.

In the early 1960s sacred objects of great age and artistic merit were removed from caves in the headwaters of the Karawari River system. One hundred and five of these objects are depicted in Haberland Eike’s 1968 publication *Caves of the Karawari*.

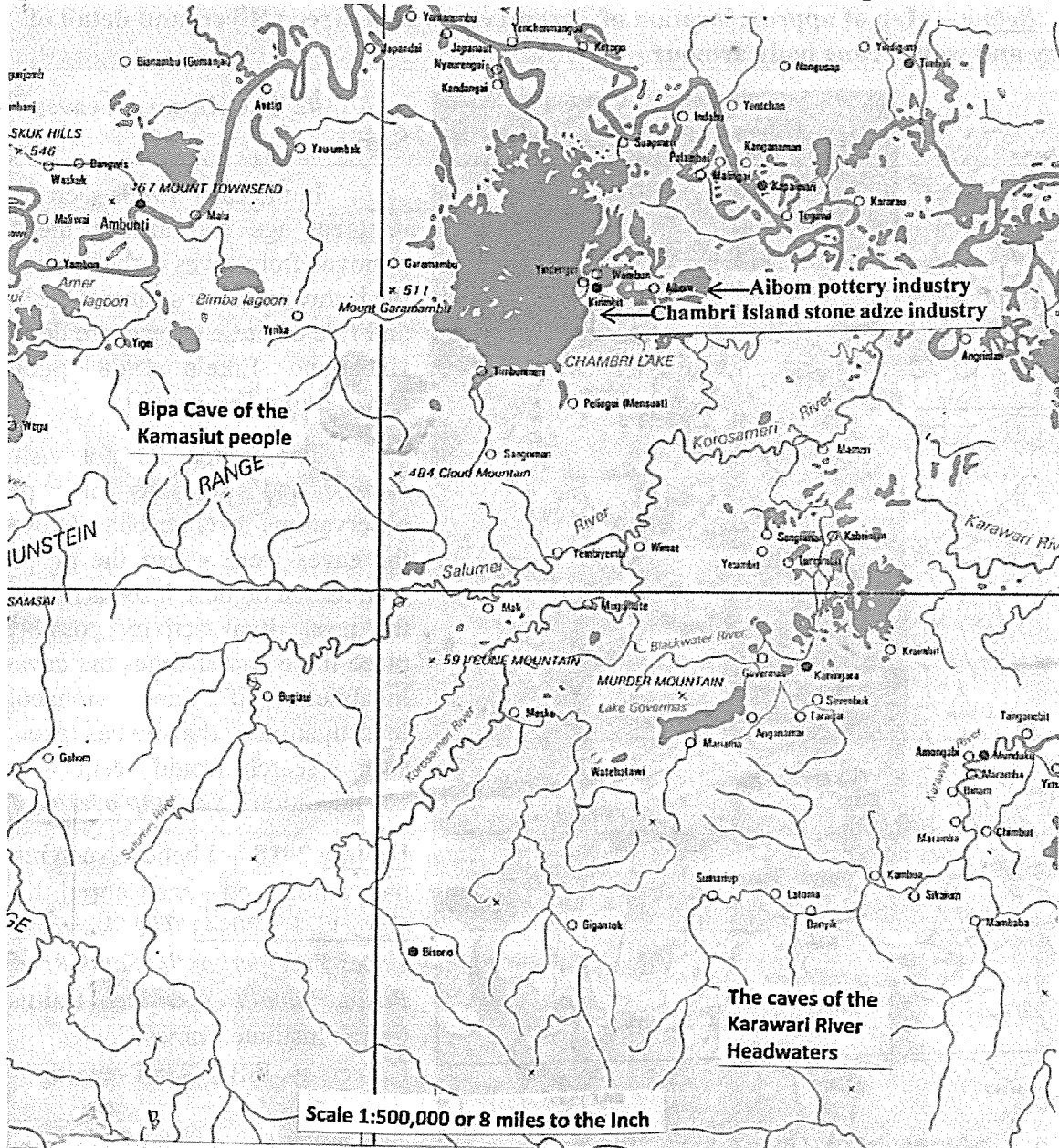
The writer did not visit these caves, and so has no personal observations to contribute. However as the caves were where the people kept their sacred objects, it seems likely that in the past, ritual activity possibly took place there and at times the caves were inhabited. If no archaeological investigation of the site has taken place, such research would seem worthy of consideration – *see map overpage*.

Update 2018 – I believe such research has commenced – see Gabriel, J., & Gorecki, P. (2014). *The ‘Karawari Caves Precinct’ of the Sepik River Basin, Papua New Guinea*. Cairns: The Cairns Institute, James Cook University. ISBN 978-0-9941500-7-3

From an Abstract introducing this book ... “ *In the [Karawari] limestone caves they buried their dead, initiated young men, and sheltered from their enemies. Common among the galleries of stencils are hands made by blowing, spraying or spitting a mouthful of ochre over an outstretched hand. The hand stencils are enduring personal signatures on the cave walls. These hands and other stencils (e.g. kina shells, cassowary feet*

and other prints) are yet to be dated but the extensive nature of the painted galleries that adorn the walls of these rock shelters, as well as other living traditions (haus tambarans, carved wood and stone figurines, bark paintings etc.) provide real insight into the culture and symbolic conventions of the semi-nomadic peoples who inhabited the caves... ”

#3 “Bipa” cave eastern Hunstein Mountains – South of Ambunti – East Sepik.



Sepik Volume 2 Chapter 38 describes how Patrol Officer J.K.McCarthy led a patrol into the eastern Hunstein Range to investigate a complaint by Garamambu people regarding alleged unlawful activities by an uncontacted group McCarthy called the Kamchua. My research indicated that in the 1970’s they were known as the Kamasiut. The patrol withdrew after being fiercely attacked by the Kamasiut. In the course of the attack the Kamasiut leader was shot dead.

One attempt to investigate the incident was made by District Officer ‘Sepik Robbie’ Robinson, but he failed to locate the Kamasiut, and no further contact was made with them prior to the outbreak of World War 2. In 1943 during the Japanese occupation of the Sepik, successive raids were conducted against the Kamasiut by surrounding communities – Garamambu, Yigei, Namu, Mari, Yerkai and Milae [Wagu declined an invitation to participate in the massacre, as they claimed a close relationship with Kamasuit]¹.

The final raid was at “Bipa”, the ancestral cave of the Kamasiut, to which the Kamasiut remnants had fled – *see map above*. Although the raiders believed the Kamasiut had all been killed,

by1974¹ none of them had attempted to occupy the conquered lands. In 1971, Garamambu people reported to this writer at Ambunti that they suspected some Kamasiut had survived and bred a fighting force which again was a threat to Garamambu security.

I spent part of the nine-day Ambunti Patrol No 6/1971-72 investigating the history of the Kamasiut and concluded that there was insufficient evidence to justify an expedition into the Kamasiut country.² I informed the Garamambu people that should any solid evidence be uncovered, I would go and seek out any Kamasiut survivors. No evidence was presented by the time I left Ambunti in 1974. I have since regretted not making the journey to the Bipa cave.

ooo000ooo

End Notes Chapter 51

¹ Yarapi of Wagu – prompted by other elders. Bragge Sepik Research vol 19 page 416-417 ² Ambunti Patrol No 6/1971-72 Pages 2 & 3.

Sepik 1 Chapter 52. How Sepik communities may have evolved.

Elders in the Nyaula villages of Kandingai and Yenchanmangua introduced the writer to a concept called “Free Time”. Knowledge of “Free Time” appeared to be widespread, but not taken very seriously, but as it describes how the elders perceived Sepik cultural evolution, it is a good place to start this chapter. The informants stated:

In the distant past there was a good time. At that time there was no fighting, there was no bride price, and there were few people. The people had no worries or responsibilities – food was plentiful and the people just came and went as they pleased. They ate and copulated and reproduced.

But when the population became large things changed. The people made villages and set out land boundaries. The boundaries were disputed and fighting started. Other variations of this story state that initiations and headhunting started at this time.

The over-all effect was the resulting system of traditional laws, taboos, fighting, sorcery etc, which existed from then up until and after contact with Europeans.

Now [mid-1970s] the elders believe the “Bad Time” or the “Namel taim nogut” [the middle “bad” time] is ending and the return of the “Free Time” will soon happen. Evidence of this, they claim, is the freeing of the younger people and the lessening of the restrictions of bride price and associated marital obligations.

At present [1972/73] string bands and teams of dancers from different Main River [Sepik] villages, tour village to village dancing at night. At Yenchanmangua, two marriages have resulted from associations formed through these parties, and the traditional formalities of bride price have become less important.¹[effectively bypassed.]

ooo000ooo

In 1970, when I, the writer, took over as Assistant District Commissioner of the Sepik’s Ambunti sub district, I was astounded that the sub district contained a spectrum which ranged from PNG’s most politically-aware people, to others, who, at that time, were unaware that a whole world outside the stone-age cosmos of their isolated valleys.

After four years at Ambunti and 20 patrols, involving interviews with hundreds of Sepik elders, a hypothesis began to take shape in my thinking. I found sound evidence to suggest that the elder’s “free time” might be fundamentally correct. This is best shown in a flow of five sequential parts:

- #0 Hunter/gatherer communities²
- #1 Semi-nomadic hunter gatherers with minimal use of cultivation.
- #2 Simple sedentary villages with few social groups and a single haus tambaran.
- #3 Complex sedentary villages with a haus tambaran in each of several residential wards.
- #4 “Nimba” – enclosures containing Mother, Daughter and Granddaughter villages.

ooo000ooo

#0 Hunter Gatherer communities. 10,000 years ago, all humans on earth were hunter gatherers³. Then, 5,000 years ago, hunter gatherers in the Highlands of New Guinea developed agricultural techniques. By the 21st century, New Guinea was no longer home of any true hunter gatherers. It follows that before PNG’s developed cultivation techniques, there must have been a hunter gatherer stage in New Guinea’s development; a stage of which we know little. But for the record, we need category #0 *Hunter Gatherer communities*.

The little we know of New Guinea's hunter gatherers, suggests that their development of agricultural, denied the migrating Austronesians the advantage that allowed them to overrun the hunter gatherers of the Philippines and Indonesia; these islands are now populated by hundreds of millions of Austronesians. New Guinea's independent development of agriculture saved it from the same fate.

The scant archaeology research information available, tells us that the Hunter/Gatherer phase of PNG history lasted for tens of thousands of years prior to the first evidence of agriculture.

ooo000ooo

#1 Semi-nomadic hunter gatherer communities. While PNG agriculture was apparently originally developed in the Highlands, this did not mean that people throughout the Island of New Guinea and its offshore Islands, immediately enjoyed the benefits of cultivating the soil. Many remote communities in the central range and the May River area were still primarily hunter gatherers with limited with very limited use of agriculture, at least until the Mid to Late-20th century.

These people were of intense academic interest as they offered glimpses of the lifestyles of the long-gone ancestors of the #0 Hunter Gatherer communities. Two academics in particular studied different semi-nomadic communities who resided in the Sepik Strickland Divide areas of New Guinea's Central Range:

Dr Sachiko Hatanaka studied the Saiyolof and adjacent peoples from 1967 through into the 21st century and Lyle Steadman studied the "Hewa"¹ north of lake Kopiago in 1971. Both Saiyolof and Hewa speak Sepik Hill languages, as classified by the late Professor D.C.Laycock. Hatanaka's and Steadman's works are described in more detail in Chapter 48. Some key points are as follows;

1. Fear of neighbours and the productivity of the environment limited group size, thereby increasing vulnerability to attack.
 - a. The Saiyolof unit of social structure was the extended family, known as the "Rei" Steadman described a similar unit of Hewa social structure as the "No"
 - b. Both "Rei" and "No" lived in similar fortified dwellings and shifted residence every 18 to 24 months to fresh gathering environment.
 - c. The size of communities was governed by supply.
 - i. Accordingly, the environment did not allow each Rei to exceed 20 to 30 people. If there were more people, the area required to provide sufficient food would be too large to allow all Rei members to return to the safety of their fortified dwelling by nightfall. As a result, the Rei divided into two
 - ii. Among the Hewa, house occupancy was from 2-16 people.
 - d. The enemy aggression factor against the Saiyolof and related groups came from Telefomin warriors who raided in order to capture women and girls as forced spouses and kill and eat males and unsuitable females. This aggression ceased after a murder investigation patrol by Arthur Marks from Oksapmin in 1963.
 - e. The Telefomin threat did not extend further east than Saiyolof into the Hewa area. The aggressors there, came from other Hewa groups.
 - f. The Mianmin raided on all sides including the May River and Telefomin areas in quest of women and human flesh.

¹ "Hewa" is a Huli word meaning lowlanders, and in particular people who did not enjoy the malaria free environment provided by the highland altitudes above 5,000 feet. Within that broad category, "Hewa" is the name used in Lake Kopiago patrol reports, involving the Sepik Hill language group and apparently adopted by Steadman. Finally, Dr Laycock identified Hewa as one of the many Sepik Hill Languages.

Both the Saiyolof and the Hewa were well aware of the huge Huli, Duna and Oksapmin populations to their south and the advantages of sedentary living based upon the cultivation of sweet potatoes. In my earlier discussions with Hewa peoples, I found that they looked down upon these sedentary people as those who could no longer live off their bows. That said, the Saiyolof, after peace was established, were quick to abandon their semi sedentary life style and adopt sweet potato subsistence. Their population then expanded very quickly.

How long did the Saiyolof, Hewa and some other Sepik peoples, live as semi nomadic, semi sedentary hunter gatherers.

#1 prior pacification by the Administration – probably thousands of years,

#2 after pacification by the administration – one to two years for the Saiyolof

#3 for the victim communities of the Mianmin – until derestriction of the West Mianmin in 1971. No specific evidence available as to how former victim communities evolved.

ooo000ooo

#2 Simple sedentary villages with few social groupings of population and one haus tambaran.

As indicated in Chapter 49, in the lowlands and swamps immediately north of the Saiyolof, Hewa and related groups in the Sepik/Strickland Divide, there are five groups of Sepik Hill language speakers, who are no longer semi nomads and live in sedentary villages. To my observation, their life styles are not far removed from their semi-nomadic cousins. But there are some important differences. From east to west, these Language groups are:

#1 Bisis language group.

#2 Mari language group.

#3 Bahenimo language group.

#4 Bitara language group.

#5 Saniyo language group.

The example I have chosen for this section is Kagiru village of the Bitara language group. There is some confusion over the village name. The administration knows it as Kagiru, the language name, whereas the villagers themselves know the village as Yasua, the name of the land, upon which the village is located. If the community were to migrate, the new village name would be that of the land upon which the village was established, but the language name would remain the same.

The village has one haus tambaran which is called Edmal. The village is home to two social grouping which the people call clans: Kokomo [hornbill] and Guria [Goura pidgeon]. The village is on Kokomo clan land, with most Kokomo land extending further to the south, with the Guria lands lying some distance to the north.

Lifestyle changes between #1 Semi nomadic hunter gatherers and #simple sedentary villagers.

- **Sago as the basis of subsistence living.** The environment within which the five northern Sepik Hill language groups lived, was rich in stands of sago palms. This allowed stationary food security, and sedentary residence patterns.
 - Sago subsistence usually saw a number of sago shoots being planted for every palm harvested. This secured future supply and provided evidence of “ownership” of stands.
 - The “clans” continued hunting and gathering across a broad landscape usually containing a number of sago stands.
 - Actual land boundaries were far more difficult to establish as several clans typically owning intermingled sago stands in the same swamp environment.
- **Recognition of a wider cosmos via the sago myth.** The myth has it that the base of the sago palm is at Wagu/Yigei [of the Bahinemo language group]. The middle of the sago trunk is at

Nigiru, Kagiru and Bitara. The ancestors felled the palm and they heard different languages. They heard our language from the middle of the trunk.⁴

- **The transition from extended families [Rei] to clans.** My observation of Kagiru clans was that they were almost identical the extended family units of their semi-nomadic fore-bears. The people spent most of their time hunting, gathering and living in bush shelters on their own land. Two key differences are:
 - Whereas in “Rei” and “No” groups, the people know each and every other person in the group by kinship relationships, as the ascending generations seldom extend beyond grandparents. In “clan” groups, descent extending back in time, often beyond living memory; the people claim common descent, but may no longer be able to identify the specific linkages.

Also, the clans, as distinct from the extended families adopt totems such as Kagiru’s “Kokomo” and “Guria”.

- **The concept of land ownership.** Whereas “Rei” and “No” groups exercised rights over large tracts of land the concept of “ownership” in the western sense, was alien. The people regarded the land as a birth right handed down from the ancestors for the use of the current generation and to be kept in trust for future generations.
 - **“papa bilong giraun concept.** In our Kagiru example, the Kokomo clan was the owner of the land upon which village was established. The Guria clan, no matter how long they reside on Kokoma clan land, will never own it. The usual example given is that of Kokomo as the landlord of a hotel and Guria being a long-term tenant. No matter how long Guria is a tenant of the hotel, it will never own the hotel. It follows that, for the first time, interaction between groups defined the need for boundaries and the consolidation of the concept of ownership.

The reflection of “Free time” *When the population became large, things changed. The people made villages and set out land boundaries*

- **Traditional Religion.** There is evidence of the semi nomadic Saiyolof and “Hewa” religious beliefs, particularly related to worship of the dead, and associated sacred places such as ossuaries. But semi-nomadic lifestyles did not allow the construction of fixed assets such as haus tambarans; the churches of the people.

Once the people abandoned their semi-nomadic ways and lived in villages, haus tambarans were built in each. It is safe to assume that this was an outcome of experience with adjacent and longer established villages. Also, that religious borrowings were also made.

For example, in Chapter 6 there is reference to a myth... Three ancestral spirit brothers met their uncle in the bush, and one of the brothers left the other two and killed and decapitated the uncle. Their headhunting celebrations resulted in neighbouring groups hearing the garamut drums, who came to investigate and stole the head. They in turn held celebrations, which in turn were heard by others, who came and stole the head...so the adopted headhunting custom spread.

Of the five sedentary Sepik Hill language groups, the two most distant from the Iatmul head-hunters, [Bitara and Saniyo] did not participate in the mythical head stealing and as a result, headhunting was not practiced by these groups.

Tambarans, being spirit figures, or “gods” were the focus of worship in the haus tambaran. Kagiru’s tambarans: *We have sold all our tambaran figures. Kagiru had five of them. Kokomo clan had Khoromi, Kilpi and Dirimi. Guria clan had Tugunip and Tdin.*⁵

#3 Complex villages with a haus tambaran in each of several residential wards.

The best examples of such villages are Swagup, Kubkain, Wogamush, Hauna, Chenapian, Oum and Tauri [See Chapters 39-46]. Each of these villages is strategically located on a waterway – usually the Sepik River.

Each village community consists of a number of clans, which migrated in from remote areas including from the Sepik Hill language areas. Upon arrival the clans were taken in and adopted by the original clan that settled there; a clan thus recognised as “papa bilong giraun” [landowner]. The rules of exogamy were usually applied to the migrant clan and its adopting landowner clan. For convenience I refer to this wider social grouping as a phratry. Such phratries reside in a defined area; a residential ward within the village. The diverse languages of the new arrival clans were gradually lost in favour of the language of the host.

Fighting was one of the main functions that saw the phratries operate as units. Several villages might ally together to fight an enemy. In such circumstances the village broke into phratries, which in turn broke down into clans, which usually each operated a war canoe. Strategic deployment of forces was organised with a high military precision.⁶ Ambunti Patrol Report 11a/1973-74 sets out the residential wards, resident clans, haus tambarans and war canoes of each of the Wongamusen villages listed above.

Apart from warfare and village defences, the larger populations of these villages allowed for efficient cultural activities such as initiations and the building of haus tambarans. Food security was not a problem as the diet was based upon sago and fish from the surrounding rivers and lakes.

Section #3 above, described clearly remembered migrations from far and wide places in the Upper Sepik. By contrast memories of clan migrations in the Middle Sepik fade back into the uncertainties of ancient mythology. This situation prompted Anthropologist Jurg Wassmann to ask:

We are clearly confronted with the question whether there is in fact a connection between the “mental” migrations in the ancient times and the actual history of settlement... in other words: is the spatial aspect of the system just described, of historical quality?⁷

The answer to this question, based upon observations in the Wongamusen census division is a resounding “Yes”. Attachment 2 provides geological data which seeks to explain why the settlement of the Upper Sepik River banks occurred at a much later date than similar river bank settlement took place in the Middle Sepik.

ooo000ooo

#4 “Nimba” – enclosures containing Mother, Daughter and Granddaughter villages.

The situation in #3 complex villages, once food security is achieved, is continued population growth. This eventually leads to fragmentation, usually with the populations of residential wards breaking away from the mother village to form daughter villages, and eventually grand-daughter villages. Middle Sepik mother villages include the Iatmul’s Parembei, Woliaugwi² and Nyarengai³ [See Chapter 26], and Sawos’ Wereman, Torembei and Yamuk [Chapters 20,21 & 23], and Avatip of the Manambu Nimba [Chapter 28]

The typical situation that exists between mother and daughter villages is that the mother wishes to retain control of all lands within her original boundaries, while the daughter wishes to subdivide the original land in order to stand alone as a village in her own right. A strong example of conflict between mother and daughter is that between Parembei [mother] and Yenchan [daughter].

² Woliaugwi is not actually a village, but the name of the downstream Iatmul “Nimba”

³ Nyarengai is the mother village of the Nyaura Nimba. Administration report usually spell it Nyaula

Aggression in such disputes is limited, as all-out violence being reserved for the true enemy. I.E. while Parembei and Yenchan have occasional minor fights, they stand as one in the Parembei “nimba”, when facing the Nyaula nimba, their true enemy.

There is also a spatial consideration. By The mid-19th century, the Woliaugwi, Parembei, Nyaula and Manambu nimbases occupied the Sepik River banks for an unbroken distance of nearly 200 miles. Any attempt to settle these claimed river banks could be expected to result in death.

Case in point No 1. In 1917-18 the Korogo community of the Nyaula nimba had been expelled, and were facing death from the Nyaulas, entered Parembei nimba lands. There, they threw themselves upon the mercy of the Parembei mother and daughter villages. The assembled Parembei people decided that, rather than killing the defenceless Korogos, that in exchange for a payment of half a dozen Korogo teenage girls in bride price free marriage, they would allow the Korogos to settle there. [see Sepik 2 Chapter 22.]

Case in point No 2. In the Mid-18th the Sengo ward of Parembei feared extinction from sorcery. They migrated upstream to Yambon, which was the first Sepik river bank community which was not under nimba control. Yambon was considered a soft target, as remote clans had only recently assembled to form a simple village. Never the less Sengo was repulsed and fled downstream to take up residence in undesirable swamp country far from the desirable banks of the Sepik River.

The reflection of “Free time” The progressive cultural development described up until and including the “Nimba” stage, required the imposition of strong rules and customary measures to allow Sepik culture to continue to function. Headhunting requires that a youth needed to have taken a head before he could marry. The age-old custom of marriage by sister exchange was being replaced by fluctuating levels of bride price. Tensions developed in some sago/fish marketing systems. These were the daily complexities the Sepik people faced, and which caused them to think wistfully think to the “Free Time” of the ancient past, when their utopian visions of life seemed to be much simpler

End Notes Chapter 52

¹ L.W.Bragge Situation report No 4 Ambunti Patrol Report 8/1972-73 Page 1 – In Bragge Sepik Research Volume 5.

² This part is listed as #0 as no field research was possible; there are no true hunter/gatherers left in New Guinea.

³ Sachiko Hatanaka & Lawrence William Bragge – Habitat, Isolation and Subsistence economy in the Central Highlands of New Guinea – Oceania September 1973 - Introduction

⁴ Mitito of Kagiru – Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 page 402

⁵ Mitito of Kagiru – Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 page 402

⁶ L.W.Bragge – Ambunti Patrol report No 11a/1973-74 Appendix “I” *Social groups within the village*

⁷ Jurg Wassmann The Nyaura concept of space and time – in Sepik Heritage – Carolina Academic Press 1991

Sepik 1 Chapter 53. Pre-contact History of the Sepik - Unanswered questions and Future Assessments.

Writer's note: In documenting Sepik History, I left Sepik 1 *From the beginning of time to 1885* [or first contact] until Sepik volumes 2 to 5 were complete, as Sepik 1 was always going to be the most difficult to research and write.

Middle and Upper Sepik elders of the 1970s told me the oral histories of their communities from their understandings of the creation, until the 1970s. These rich sagas provided the unique backbone of Sepik 1. Added historic dates and references from the writings of a range of scholars, where applicable, align the elders' words with western knowledge and chronology. There is a huge gap between the western perception of time, and how illiterate elders see it. If care and understanding is not applied in dealing with oral history, valuable knowledge can easily be lost.

Having compiled 53 chapters on pre-contact Sepik history, I am left with two realisations;

#1. There is probably nothing on record to match these translated and documented interviews. This was brought home to me when I scoured my research notes in search of data from which to write similar chapters for the pre-contact eras of Amanab, Telefomin, Nuku and Aitape sub districts where I also served

#2. In recording what I know and assume concerning the pre-contact history of the Sepik, I realised that what we know is vastly out-weighted by what we do not, and probably never will know on that **topic**. What then, do I see as the best way to conclude this volume?

I am a believer that research endeavours produce the best results when they commence from a firm footing of established fact before probing the unknown. For the remainder of this chapter I shall identify, issues raised in the text and indicate **ways forward** towards resolving them.

ooo000ooo

Issue 1. To identify the mortar and Pestle traders

Chapter 3 indicates the Austronesian people arrived in the Bismarck Archipelago via Halmahera in eastern Indonesia some 3,600 years ago¹, and subsequently populated other parts of the PNG coast.

The same chapter documents archaeological evidence of an Austronesian presence that pre-dates 3,600 BP. Pig bones and pre-Lapita pottery were excavated at Lachitu and Taora near Vanimo dating from 6,120+/- 190 years BP². Also, that an Austronesian clam shell axe blade dating from 5,000 years BP was excavated at Frieda River³.

In the New Guinea Highlands a huge array of mortars, pestles, bird figurines and related objects have been discovered, and have been dated from between 8,000 and 3,000 years BP⁴. Chapter 4 provides evidence that these items were traded into the Highlands via the Ramu and Yuat Rivers, which, at that time, flowed into the Sepik inland sea where it lapped the foot hills of the Central range.

A next step – is to find evidence who the traders were, who delivered these objects to the shores of the Sepik inland sea. If they were [as the writer suspects] Austronesians, this would indicate an Austronesian influence in the Sepik lasted for perhaps 5,000 years. Such a discovery would open many more fields of research.

One research avenue would be to analyse the chemical composition of the stone from which mortars, pestles and related items are made and examine the history of such places for evidence of

the trade. It is understood that a mortar fragment excavated at Kuk, was so analysed and found to be made from volcanic rock, unique to Sumatra.

As the Sepik district has been subjected to a wide range of on-going environmental issues, including the progressive siltation of the Sepik inland sea, tsunamis, tectonic upthrusts of the coastal ranges and associated earth quakes and volcanic eruptions, the location of archaeological sites can be lost.

The caves mentioned in Chapter 51 and other cave systems with a history of human habitation, may be of interest, should archaeologists and the necessary funding become available. Aibom and Chambri islands would have been visited by Austronesian navigators in the Sepik inland sea. Both Islands are home to traditional pottery and stone blade industries, [see Chapter 30]. Archaeological research at Chambri and Aibom might prove rewarding;

ooo000ooo

Issue 2. -Carbon-14 dating.

Chapter 8 recorded the carbon-14 dating of many of the art treasures in the Jolika collection. This provided a unique insight into the antiquity of Sepik art.

A next step – To collate documentation of as many other Sepik art carbon-14 records and associated provenance documentation as possible and conduct analysis of the results. Such a next step could be achieved by an on-line desktop study.

ooo000ooo

Issue 3. – head hunting.

A number of Sepik elders state that headhunting commenced only in relatively recent times⁵. Headhunting, they said, was not conducted in the ancient past. Given that headhunting seems to have gone everywhere the Austronesians went⁶, it is difficult to conclude that headhunting was not introduced by them into PNG generally and into the Sepik in particular.

A next step – Conduct research into headhunting in order to confirm or disprove that it was the Austronesians who introduced headhunting into the Sepik.

This might be achieved through a desktop comparison of Austronesian and Sepik headhunting practices and a search for overlapping beliefs and customs.

ooo000ooo

Issue 4. – The legendary places of the creation Mebinbit and Wanmai. [Ndu and Kwoma]

While Mebinbit is known to be close to Gaikarobi, in the Sepik Plains, and Wanmai is known to be close to Amaki in the Numau Ablatak census division, the writer did not personally see either location, and formed the opinion that the Gaikarobi and Amaki people themselves may not know exactly where either place was located – indeed, Mebinbit was said to mean the direction “East”.

A next step – Get local guides to take someone to both Mebinbit and Wanmai. If either of both places are located, search for surface evidence – pot shards etc, and evaluate whether an archaeological investigation is warranted.

ooo000ooo

Issue 5. – The Yambon Gate.

260 miles upstream of the Sepik River mouth, the whole flow of the river is constricted to less than a 100-metre width as it passed between stone ridges. Attachment 3 describes this feature and argues that the gate created an upstream wet lands environment which may have caused the Upper Sepik to have experienced human habitation at a later time than did the downstream Middle Sepik.

If in fact the Yambon Gate at one time actually dammed the Sepik River, forming a huge lake, the shoreline of such a lake and its islands, would have provided a food rich environment for any indigenous peoples who existed at that time. A plotting of such an ancient shore line might reveal ancient habitation sites.

A next step – Seek any available scientific description of the formation and long-term impact of the Yambon gate. If no such study exists, alert the appropriate scientists, so a study, perhaps in the form of a PHD thesis, can be made.

ooo000ooo

Issue 6. Investigate evidence of Chambri Island Stone adze Blade manufacturing.

I was shown a creek behind Wambon village on Chambri Island, All along the creek were dish like depressions both in insitu bed rock and in loose bounlers, where stone adze blades had been ground, with quartz sand and water. I collected a number of adze blanks along the creek. There appeared to be a large number of “Dishes” suggesting to me that blades have been fashioned here for hundreds if not thousands of years.

A next step. – A survey needs to be done of all creeks on Chambri Island to document and count how many “dishes” there actually are. There are three Chambri villages Wombun Indingai and Kilimbit – each is understood to have been blade makers and traders. It is possible that blades may have also been made in creeks on *the* presently uninhabited south side of Chambri Island.

ooo000ooo

Issue 7. An sociological investigation and documentation of traditional prostitution in Kambaramba and adjacent villages

Sepik 4 Chapter 27 “*Wicked*” Angoram – *The Port Royal of the Sepik?* provides the reader with some insight into traditional prostitution that predated the arrival of Europeans – with the village people trading the sexual use of their women and girls for sago, their staple food. With the establishment Angoram sub district headquarters nearby, and the arrival of Europeans with money - prostitution flourished. To the writer’s knowledge there is no similar place and traditional sexual culture anywhere else in PNG, a unique research opportunity.

A next step. The opportunity exists for some qualified person to research and document works that could parallel and perhaps surpass those of Bromislaw Malinowski a century ago.

ooo000ooo

A glimpse into the Sepik culture of 1975 and beyond

Commencing soon after World War 2 “Service Camps” began to appear adjacent to towns such as Angoram and Wewak. These typically housed former New Guinean soldiers and retired policeman, who were more comfortable living among their colleagues, than returning to their home villages and the authority of village elders.

With advances in education, medical facilities and employment opportunities more villagers found it necessary to become squatters on land in close proximity to town facilities in order that students, patients and employees had family-based accommodation close at hand. These camps also became places of refuge for those who became village outcasts; criminals and others who no longer accepted the traditional authority of the village elders.

These trends fed upon themselves in many ways:

1. Those who received western educations tended to consider themselves superior to the old ways and ideas of the illiterate village elders, and traditional authority began to erode away.

2. Far from the sago and fish-based village subsistence – people needed money to sustain themselves.
 - a. Criminal activity increased in the towns.
 - b. The towns had a demand for prostitutes: the need for money and the remoteness from village values and authority provided opportunities for those so inclined, or who have no alternative.

Before the advent of mobile phones, there were two way in common use to contact people in the Sepik.

Firstly a “tok save” over Radio Wewak such a “Peter Janguan of Pagwi, please come to Wewak by the 4th to attend the funeral of...” If Peter did not hear this message, some relative would have, and relayed it to him.

Secondly, Nuigo squatter camp was the equivalent of Sepik directory. People from all over the district lived there and could make contact with people from any Sepik village. The sociology of PNG squatter camps could provide subject matter for many doctoral dissertations.

During the early 1970s, I had regular contact with an artist in Nuigo’s Kanganaman camp. In speaking with young people who lived there, I learned that none of them:

- Had actually been to Kanganaman. They had been born in the squatter camp.
- Spoke the Iatmul language, the language of their home village. They spoke only Pidgin.
- Knew anything of clan land rights, and assumed they no longer had land in Kanganaman.
- Knew the significance of the carvings they made and sold in Wewak hotels.
- Had been initiated.

Back in Kanganaman, the haus tambaran was in a state of collapse. The village had neither the manpower, nor the cultural determination to rebuild it. Instead, a submission was submitted to the government for funding. The haus tambaran was therefore in transition from being “The church of the people”, to a Government institution with no clear function, beyond providing a photographic curiosity for visiting tourists.

In terms of Sepik cultural development, there are indications that a turning point has been reached, and the Sepik’s cultural richness of the past is now behind us. In some Sepik cultures Christianity is being re-visited and re-interpreted by female mediums⁷, and visionaries. This poses the question whether Sepik culture is reverting to the distant past when according to mythology, women, rather than men were said to control the Sepik’s religious institutions and cultural life as described in chapter 17.

What ever the present and the future holds for the Sepik, will, in due course be recorded by historians and social scientists of the future. Sepik elders of the 1970s wanted me to document their knowledge, in order that future Sepik generations would know what they knew. The elders feared, as had happened in their past, that their oral histories would be lost each time one of them died.

Now in 2019, all my informants are presumably deceased, and all their oral histories are safely documented. The elders and I have each fulfilled our implied contracts with each other; The elders gave me their sacred knowledge, and I committed it to paper.

So, has the passing of time borne out the elder’s fear of the future, against which they wanted their history and sacred knowledge recorded? I believe it has. So, what of the “future” generations of yesterday; the current generations of today; are they interested in what their grandfathers told me?

Of the Papuan and New Guinean scholars and students I have met, I encountered keen interest. The written word is durable and will hopefully be read, analysed, and criticised far into the future. At least, as the elders requested IT IS WRITTEN!

End Notes Chapter 53.

¹ Baldick J. Religions of the Austronesian world – I.B.Tauris, London 2013 pages 2-5

² Ward H Goodenough – Pre-historic settlement of the Pacific – American Philosophical Society 1995 page 24

³ P.Swadling – The Sepik-Ramu, a PNG Museum Publication 1988 pages 19-20

⁴ P.Swadling – The impact of a dynamic environmental past on trade routes and distribution Pages 142-145

⁵ Kolion of Nogosop – Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 18 page 258

⁶ Baldick 2013 pages 175-180

⁷ Christiane Falck – The [Re-] Appropriation of spirit beings – Spirits of the dead and spirits of God in a Sepik Community. Oceania May 2018. And Dan Jorgensen – Rebaibal 1978-79

Sepik 1 Names of people, spirits, gods and others as they appear in Sepik 1 part 11

Chapter 34. The Creation of the “Min” World; the Story of Afek.

Robert Brumbaugh – author of *The old woman’s legacy*
Afek – The “Min” ancestress/God figure.
Utungmin spirit people
Ifitaman – the Telefomin valley
Telefol – the language of the Telefomin people
Olmoim [or Nanotim] Afek’s brother
Iuanku – the Oksapmin name for Afek
Manmanei – Oksapmin spirit ancestor
Uriabinim and his son Tiner conducted the last Oksapmin sacrifice
Yuan and Yuan-ku – other names for Iuanku
Babasebai [the Kabian - Upper Leonard Schultze name for Afek]
Arrow and Taro Moieties
Fortan – an extinct people who once lives in the Frieda River headwaters
Bial sanam – blackpalm club
Moyansil – the passage from life to death
Koyam – the opossum
Nicole Haley – Anthropologist
Barry Craig – Telefomin expert and editor of *Children of Afek*
Dan Jorgensen – Anthropologist
Barbara Jones – Anthropologist
Don Gardner – Anthropologist
George Morren – Anthropologist
Iligimin former enemies of the Telefol
Bilasep/Yanopnok of Wabiadang – informant.

Chapter 35. The Creation Myths and early history of the Kwoma and Nukuma.

Wanmai – the Kwoma/Nukuma place of the creation.
Apkili/Numbahapa – ancient enemies of the Kwoma
Jambiau – ancestral pig that led the people out of the hole – Wanmai
Ancestral village sites – Ugundu, Sigindamba and Imanguonolsai
Alternate ancient village sites – Gwarasibangatapa and Wusiambaiwat
Kamburunai – The ancestor of the Naiuri people
Kopu Gala [also spelt Kompon Ngalla] former Waskuk Hills inhabitants
Mokodu Gala – former occupants of southern Waskuk Hills
Souli Moganai – the Manambu name for the Kopu Gala
Kolobwi – an ancestral woman of Yerikai – also see Page 146 story cont.
Hombos cult hero
Yinamu – Hombos’ grand mother
Yina-ma Minja-ma and Nokwi sequential yam ceremonies.

Chapter 36. Pre-history and Demise of the Souli Mogani [Kompong Nggala].

Ross Bowden – Anthropologist
Kopu Gala – former occupants of the northern part of Waskuk Hills
Mokodu Gala - former occupants of the southern part of Waskuk Hills
Kompong Ngala – the name by which the Kwoma knew them
Souli Moganai – the name by which the Manambu knew them
Olu – Kompong Ngala leader
Maurimes of Tongwinjamb – LG Councillor and informant

Aragatump – Kwoma leader opposing Olu
 Margogweisa – Aragatump's younger brother
 Igeiweia – Aragatump's ill-fated dog
 Bugiau of Kwoma shot Olu in the leg with an arrow.
 Lat – Olu's wife
 Wambun – Kwoma haus tambaran
 Mankap – Olu's stockaded village on top of Mt Ambunti [Mt Townsend]
 Nauwi Sauninambi of Bangwis – former MP and informant
 Walasaka – Nauwi's elder brother
 Abudi – Gaya name for the southern part of the Waskuk range [= Ambunti?]

Chapter 37. The Cassowary myth of the creation

Karandaman of Malu – informant
 Harold Woodman ADO Ambunti
 Kwonji of Burui – informant
 Kwoigetagwa – Cassowary mother
 Woigwetagwa – mythical man child
 Sirimbit – mythical cassowary child
 Wulruwiangwet – mythical man child [Bitara version]

Attachment 2: Might then Yambon Gate have influenced the order of Sepik settlement?

D.B.Dow, J.A.J.Smit, J.H.C.Bain and J.Ryburn – Geology of the South Sepik Region New Guinea. Bureau of Mineral Resources Bulletin 133/Bulletin PNG 4 – Government Printing Service Canberra 1972. P 16 and 23

Chapter 38. The origins and early history of the Yessan/Maio and Naiuri.

Kabasuma/Kimandu of Yessan/Maio – Informant
 Wingaiup – Yessan/Maio's original enemy – lived where Tongwinjamb is now
 Yessan/Maio were cannibals, but not head hunters
 Kulgama was Yessan/Maio's first settlement after emerging from Wanmai
 Watamei – the Yessan/Maio name for Wanmai
 Rakir and Yinagir – Yessan Maio ancestors
 Apparent order of Yessan Maio settlements: Kulgama, Ogunda and Siangambir,
 Kugunuwanmei, Wilian, Monwanbesawongawi, Mino & Beglam, Melawei and more
 Kogundum of ancestor Yambon
 Kamnabor of Maio - informant
 Kaiwagalapai – Saseriman ancestor
 Naiuri, Kompongala, Kwoma, Numau/Ablatak, Akpili/Numbanbahata, Avatip [Manambu]
 and Yessan/Maio – the seven brothers to emerge from the hole at Wanmai
 Kamburunai – the Naiuri ancestor

Chapter 39. The origins and early of the war-like Swagup and the demise of Bodif

Bodif – Swagup's ancestral enemy, now extinct
 Namgualimbo of Swagup – informant
 Biko of Swagup – Interpreter and informant re Sago clan history
 Koropsua and Korawei ancestral canoes of Banap clan
 Baba – Swagup name for Mt Ambunti
 Fatak, female spirit who lived on Mt Ambunti
 Olu and Mamkol - Fatak's sons, still resident on Mt Ambunti
 Origins of head hunting -Olu and Mamkol killed a relative
 Galapu – Swagup name for Black River

Douglas Newton – author of *The Crocodile and Cassowary*
 Buhler – Anthropologist
 Nabau of Swagup – informant
 Kokup and Baso Swagup ancestors killed a Bodif woman
 Faksiba – the oldest Bodif settlement
 Gudmaruk – Bodif ancestor killed by Swagups
 Bugwaiok – a Swagup elder living with Bodif
 Lo'om a Swagup ancestor
 Nabusaur a light spear thrown by Lo'om that killed Bugwaiok
 Baio and Gusap – Swagup warriors killed by Bodif
 Nugudala of Swagup – informant
 Debglau – ancestor of Swagup killed Wapio of Bodif
 Baglei – Bebglau's nephew – killed a child whose mother was a Bodif
 Siwosa of Bodif
 Wabumok of Bodif
 Gagana an ancestor of Swagup
 Ulo – younger brother of Gagana
 Bedugura of Swagup was responsible to initiate Swagup ceremonies.
 Alkapa – Swagup ancestor made magic against a Swagup/Wagu raid on Malu
 Dorowap – the canoe used on the ill-fated raid against Malu
 Sebudep – Swagup ancestor who fought Wogamush [Waskuk on Sepik]
 Pidaul – a canoe used by Duonion in fighting against Waskuk on Sepik
 Ill-fated Swagup warriors involved included Welilyau, Alkapa, Marl and Walyamei
 The Waskuk warriors included – Nalio, Ifiabuk and Suisa, their canoe was Yambugunauwei
 Sanaugwi and wife Warumei went in search of missing sons – found headless bodies
 Sanokwion/Budul – a Swagup ward reported annihilated in this war
 Nesio – Informant of Kumti [?]
 Masiba speared by Swagup warriors
 Wogamush warriors of Kumti, Kombuliap and Kutbug assembled to fight Swagup
 Korora – Swagup ancestor arranged that Yessan Maio occupy Bodif's former lands.
 Nambusubol – aggressive warrior ancestor of Swagup – Killed Nanplus of Yessan
 Nanplus, of Yessan and his son Kambion
 Girauwi, nephew of Nambusubol earned black paint from Nanplus's death
 Wutukwi and Mingisiba and other of Swagup killed by in reprisal for Nanplus
 Dit, Dabulu, Nubief, Marakmush wounded by Yessan came home wounded, a fifth – Bunbiol
 died on the way.
 Elif of Yessan killed by Waikauwi of Swagup in reprisal
 Manganabol and Yau'un of Swagup and Yau'un's wife Gawi. And an insult that caused
 Yau'un to kill a Kubkain man - one of three Kubkains to die.
 Wango, Yau'ungdumai and Garuwagawa of Kubkain killed by Swagups
 Weiokwa, Yanbol and wife Bukauwei of Swagup all killed while visiting Kubkain

Chapter 40. The origins and early history of the Wogamas [Wogamush].

Wogamush consists of three villages.
 #1 Kutbug – also known as Waskuk on Sepik
 #2 Kumti – also known as Biaga
 #3 Kombuliap – also known as Yambunumbu
 Mt Samsai – also known as Mt Hunstein
 Buna a child from Swagup
 Bisu'u of Kombuliap

Sanuagrehei found and raised Buna
 Yukwa and alternate name for Nuku
 Yensalko – an ancestor of Mongwalion clan
 Nouliagak and Nyauwunbel – ancestors became channel making spirits
 Mutbel/Sukoro of Mangwalion clan migrated to Kombuliap
 Sukoro ancestor and wife of Leptigon clan killed by Oum and Hauna warriors
 Rigei – daughter of Sukoro caused a migration to Kubkain.
 Kamnasi, Liabup, Noriorwur and Numbrahuni – others of Mutbel’s age class
 Wurimbi, ancestor of Masaninstor of Masaninon clan
 Gei and Giruiu clans were the true ancestors of Kombuliap
 Malifa is an alternative name for Begapuke
 Suriki and Manambel – ancestors of Masaninyon clan – resident at Kutbug in 1973
 Naknalis ancestor of the Numbruhion clan [the people Swagup call Bodif]
 Kop and Wolisauho – ancestors of the Apkesion clan
 Kenti – informant and great great grandson of Wolisauho
 Ligdup and Swasarnabul ancestors of Lياهوwut clan
 Kwati – of Kumti wounded by Palu arrows
 Kavia of Kumti pulled the arrows and cured the wounds
 Wisibosi of Palu, his wife and child and man called Minibi were killed by Kumti warriors.
 Bad lime [daka] magic stops people thinking clearly making them easy targets
 Tuti of Kumti still has an arrow wound in his back
 Kalion of Kubkain said they were safe, but was drowned, his throat cut and chest cut open
 Koro – the Palu leader
 Magau’o of Hauna [a mental case nuisance] killed secretly by Wiliohonei of Kumti
 Staua – Hauna leader
 Napgutu – Wiliohonei baby daughter
 Sowasi – Wiliohonei’s brother discovered what he had done
 Komaptan [homicide] age class
 Hwasi of Palu and his child were later killed so Wiliohonei could qualify as Komaptan class
 Taimu, Kamkamin, Kimbe and Malip of Kagiru were brought to Kumti by Bibtoul of Bitara.
 Men of all three Wogamush villages plotted. Three were killed & beheaded.
 Bibtoul and Taimu were held and later released.
 Kagiru has not paid back for these killings

Chapter 41. Wongamusen – Pre-history of Kubka [Kubkain].

Kwolion clan was the founder of Munkoswi ward
 Uraiyon, Wiabion, Inoion and Wusmion were the first four clans of the Kalok ward
 Ancestor Wuluhunei gave ancestor Gilam fire and stone tools
 Nemnuyon and Nimnuwal – ancestors of Kubka
 Kupka is also known as Kubkain
 Ingapwar, an ancestor from Swagup
 Dibkel the leader of the Wusmion clan
 Metou, a stone Dibkel put in the front of his canoe to form the Walio River
 Walio river is also known as the Leonard Schultze River
 Yimsilki – eldest son of Dibkel
 Neingi an ancestor of Hauna
 Hauna is also known as Yauenian
 Basipa, son of Kolidian, the Kwolian clan leader went to live at Kubkain
 “Ilu” land dispute heard by Lands Titles Commission between Kubkain and Hauna in 1970
 Mamuk ancestor of Mamelion clan came from upper Yessan

Bugru'tu sister of Mamuk
 Gutmarekei, born 1926 – informant and Mamuk's grandson
 Yangwat and Nanis [Mamuk's relatives] were told by Mamuk to remain at upper Yessan
 Nihimbel born at Wogamas, did not get a share of Malbi's bride price [his sister], left
 Wogamas and came to Kubkain in disgust.
 Hukbowi, a Chenapian haus tambaran
 Kiltu and Miatu – both women followed a python to Hauna
 Nalio – last surviving [in 1974] clansman of Komiap clan
 Minibiyei and Watagum ancestors of Biguhion clan – came from Yessan
 Wuliambul of Kombuliap took his family to Kubka. They were taken in by Yeno and Wumsi
 Apkisbel of Wogamush's Masanion clan
 Dugukramal, Ugweniar and Glagen of Chenapian killed by Kubkain in payback for
 Chenapian killing of Negu and his wife and child, long ago
 Nuhumbel and Nigdelo of ??? killed by Bitara
 Bakiul, Bai and Yuwes of Sio went to Bitara to celebrate
 Nainmul [of Kubkain?] brought the three Sios to Kubkain where they were killed
 Wunu, leader of Kubkain's Kwolion clan

Chapter 42. Wongamusen – Pre-history of Hauna [Yauenian].

Gaubu of Omkamun clan
 Bomgomwai – ancestor of Auom
 Wosimar – brother of Bomgomwai
 Woki – ancestor of Braiwun clan
 Tuiar – ancestor of Husok clan
 Inasi – ancestor of Wanium clan
 Aou – an ancestor of Hauna desired Mision – a widow. But Worogogomou married her
 Mario, Naingi, Nimili, Wigam and Talimau – the strong men of Hauna
 Nauri of Manki village speared by Wanaulbi of Hauna
 Auguk, brother of Nauri
 Manki village annihilated by Chanapian on behalf of Hauna
 Kuto, son of Naingi
 Hauna, were neither cannibals nor head hunters
 Sadibi of Hauna saw Oum people going to Kubkain and arranged an ambush
 Taur, Inai, Ninoudi and Warumai of Oum were speared
 Satak of Hauna killed by Oum in response
 Maipaimu and Worikam of Oum killed by Hauna
 Ginger magic applied to kill more Oum people
 Minas of Tauri speared Ugur of Iniok. Iniok requested Hauna to pay back against Tauri
 Namabi a woman of Iniok in mourning further inspired Hauna
 Inowaia of Tauri went to Hauna and was speared by Wogolio and Sagumoi
 Owinmo killed Nonau [of Tauri?]
 Namukur killed Yamuro [of Tauri?]
 Kaikai of Hauna spied Pi people cutting sago
 Mario led Hauna in the killing of 21 Pi people
 Motam of Hauna – Informant and Local Government Councillor, grandson of Mario
 Nermuto a woman of Hauna's two children were killed by Pi arrows.
 Bunginiu an elder of Hauna cutting sago
 Hblei of Pi shot in the chest with an arrow, wounding him
 Ous, brother of Bunginiu
 Towambobia pulled the arrow out with his teeth, blood flowed and Bunginiu died

Minaugun, Iganuf and Oubobia – two wives and child of Paso of Hauna killed by Chenapian.
Yakambol of Hauna stole Chenapian canoes.

Chapter 43. Wongamusen – Pre-history of Chenapian.

Kokbauwi was the first Chenapian ward.
Gwigwar – a tambaran of the Gwigwar clan
Mongi clan [Hauna pronounce it Mangi]
Gwiru – spirit ancestor – Mongi clan’s first ancestor
Dauri clan [also pronounced Tauri]
Kongiasu – first ancestor of Chenapian’s Tauri clan
Gungiaskotu – Kongiasu’s sister
Laulau – Malay apple fruit
Mosutauna a girl was given in marriage Mogutam of Ausei clan
Tree kangaroo bone fish hook seen by writer, an exhibit in Lands Titles Commission case.
“Satan” called Diu that lives in the ficus tree
Kwadibop and Kwadimaui – Mosuiyon clan ancestors
Gwituk and his wife Nami, and Murula and his wife Namak – Mosuiyon clan ancestors
Dowesi and Dowinap – Murula’s dogs, which ate his skin
Degenguthi, Duagbantu, Nesitkantu, Biauwei, Gononudbi, Nulumutu, Ulenjugu and
Monamboto. Chenapian women killed by Yawa community
Suiyando, Sinibalan and Mongiliap were wounded and survived. Others escaped unharmed.

Chapter 44. Wongamusen – Pre-history of Oum.

Headhunting and cannibalism – we did neither
Maranwei - ancestor of Nainwun clan
Burugu [male] and Augwan [female] ancestors of Amnu clan
Painau [female] and Meiowi [male] ancestors of Inowun clan
Wasegar ancestor of Tauri clan of Oum
Lopai a devil woman lived in a ficus tree - sago needles in her vagina and impaled Wasegar
As spirits, Wasegar and Lopai had Ninau [male] and Ne [female]
Subai of Yaemon clan – Informant
Weinasiwei ancestor of Waniam clan
Yandambwas – an ancestral singsing
Wangalio and his wife Kap became water spirits in Kaikugwaiko channel
Inae son of Weinasiwei
Inae had sons Nino and Bumini
Wowos ancestor of Pauwun clan
Taru and Walio of Abarawun clan – [this clan is now extinct]
Kobu – the name by which Oum knows Kubkain
Waimanuwei – ancestor of Ouwun clan
Wubili of Soumun clan
Elekun ancestor of Yamasun clan
Ambiam crippled elder brother of Elekun
Bwangu [male] and Si [female] – Elekun’s children
Magaleri custom of cutting the right arm off victims – body count and to impress women
Ralph Ormsby – ADO Angoram

Chapter 45. Wongamusen – Yenak/Yenak of Oum

Yenak/Yenak. Local Government Councillor of Oum 1973/4 Informant
Uran age class – uninitiated boys

Yeinan age class – warrior class
Amun and Biawei Isuwei age classes – presumably senior age classes
Worembibi of Chenapian killed by Wupki of Oum No 1
Masenwo of Hauna was killed
Au, a Hauna/Oum half caste was speared by Siwei. Hauna killed two Oums in payback

Chapter 46. Wongamusen - Pre-history of Tauri.

Nasenuwap ancestor of Tauri village's Tauri clan
Owis – Informant and Local Government Councillor of Tauri
Owis' grandfather Nenimo
Eigu – Nenimo's wife
Einu of Ieumombui – speared by Nenimo
Namanud and Nimigi of Tauri killed in reprisal, while en-route to May River
Oum was called in to help ambush a large Ieumombui party in reprisal – many killed
Baimiwap – Baunu clan ancestor
Tuniap – alternate name for May River
Papi, a man of Mowun
Namapi, a woman of Iniok
Luwaugum, Yagu and Nanasugwon [2 men and a woman] of Iniok killed by Mowun
The Mowuns were annihilated by Iniok and Tauri in 1920s or 1930s
Waniumonbi, alternate name for Wanium clan
Baduwo and Mamonguguwei - great Tauri warriors of long ago
R.Ormsby ADO Angoram made contact with Tauri in 1949
Luwap [- woven fibre phalocrypt for Uran age class
Maget – Bamboo phalocrypt worn by Yeinan age class
Small coconut phalocrypys worn by higher age classes
Kognas – pig tusk decoration worn only by homicides around the neck and down the back
Nagu – pig bone belt worn only by homicides
Luwabik – dog teeth necklace – worn by any man, but not by women

Chapter 47. Wongamusen – Alikai

Dr. D.C.Laycock – Linguist
Yau – a segment of the Numau/Ablatak census division, including Alikai
Kwasimbei-Kambank – A hole in the ground better known as Wanmai
P.B.Wenke – Patrol Officer made initial contact 1953
Wani local name for Amaki and Kwaka villages
Bam and Sugitambo – early Alikai settlements, where Kutbug ancestors first met them.
Salu, an area of Kutbug land upon which Alikai was re-settled from Ban and Sugotambo
Gairiga – Kutbug by birth and Alikai by residence – Informant
John Corrigan ADO Ambunti
Peter Colton Patrol Officer.

Chapter 48. The Sepik's semi-sedentary, semi nomadic hunter gatherers

Dr Sachiko Hatanaka – Anthropologist
Lyle B Steadman – author of Neighbours and Killers 1971 Thesis
Golston – Archaeologist
The “Birua” Semi sedentary hunter gatherer May River area
Asabano of Duranmin,
Saiyolof of the Om/Lagaip river junction area

Bilasep/Yanopnok of Wabiadang Informant
J.R.Black – Patrol Officer 1938/39 Hagen/Sepik patrol
Pisei – Hewa language for witchcraft
Chris Makin Patrol Officer
Himau of Wanikipa – Interpreter at Lake Kopiago
Pania former Interpreter at Lake Kopiago
Tulini former Interpreter at Lake Kopiago
Roger Lohmann - Anthropologist

Chapter 49. Sepik Stone axe/adze manufacture and trade – Leonard Schultze Rv. Headwaters

Diambara – Fresh water mussel shell necklace traded into Oksapmin from Kiunga.
Meinamo – small stone adze blade for bush clearing etc in Oksapmin
Mahrape and Kania – ceremonial adze blades
Waron – Kundu drum, traded into Oksapmin from Kutik river area
Wako [Upper Wawoi language] – cigar shaped stone blade for felling sago palms
Fai Mesani [Saiyolof language] – cigar shaped stone blade for felling sago palms
Kae or Kee [Sumwari language] – cigar shaped stone blade for felling sago palms.
Upper Walio river, Mt Stolle, Tan De Mon [eastern May River headwaters and Irian
Jaya – quarries that supply stone tools to the “Min” tribal areas.
Oifenai – of Setiali – a surviving stone adze maker in 1989
[Daniel] Setiafenai/Makapoe of Setiali – a surviving stone adze maker in 1989
Saiuro/Wakiau of Setiali – a surviving stone adze maker in 1989

Chapter 50. Sepik Hill language speakers of the Hunstein Mountains.

Nisei – ancestor of Gahom
Wabei – ancestral place of Bahinemo language group
Ibia the next camp after Wabei
Madiau – the haus tambaran at Ibia
Yageiwei – Gahom’s former haus tambaran
Hogobusui – Gahom’s haus tambaran in the 1970s
Hunstein River – alternately known as Yarapa.
Sangarap – Yambon name for Hunstein River
Yarapei of Wagu informant
Kubi – sacred cook pot spirts
Tigapi discoverer of Kubi long ago
Nabiu – Ancestor of Nigeru
Des Martin ADO initially contacted Nigeru
Nawai and/or Nolowai Island in Sitifa River; place of origin of all Tambaran figures
according to Bahinemo mythology
Sugoro ancestral resident of Nawai Isl who made tambarans
Haibagai also known as Kaibagei of Nawai/Nogowai took Hunstein hook from Sitifa Rv.
Babafu was the original Hunstein hook
Korupuwap of Namu made the Namu tambaran hooks
Namu’s tambarans were: Wudei, Numui, Koko, Uru, Baiap, Nimui, Kogar, and Ya’oimbia
Taiasoa – Moli ancestor who left Wabei
Sir David Attenborough visited Inaro in 1970
Milito – Informant from Kagiru village’s Guria clan
Edmal haus tambaran at Kagiru – 1970s
Usiatmali haus tambaran at Begapuke – 1970s
Winerumal haus tambaran at Bitara – 1970s

Sababok – Ancestor of Kagiru’s Guria clan
Wadaibok – Ancestor of Kagiru’s Kokomo clan
Yomoi of Bitara Informant
Bitara were neither head hunters nor cannibals
Keiaui – the ancestor who established Begapuke Bipa Cave of the Kamasiut
Tibana, Keiaui’s father of parrot clan

Chapter 51. Three Sepik cave systems of archaeological interest

Pamela Swadling Archaeologist
Haberland Eike’s publication *Caves of the Karawari* 1968
Gabriel J and Goreicki P – *The Karawari Caves Precinct of the Sepik Basin* 2014
J.K.McCarthy – Patrol Officer 1930

Chapter 52. How Sepik Communities may have evolved.

The concept of “Free Time”
“Rei” the extended family
“Nimba” The enclosure; Mother and daughter villages
Dr Jurg Wassmann Anthropologist
“mental migrations”

Chapter 53. Many unanswered questions about the pre-contact history of the Sepik

Halmahara – Indonesia
Lapita pottery
Yambon Gate
Niugo Squatter camp Wewak

