Yet we still know few details about modes and ways of fighting. Even the bird of paradise hunters could not give me real descriptions that were not contradictory.

Paul Wirz, 1928

To evoke shields is to evoke war, which today we see as the dark side of our self, relegated to the subconscious. Shields, therefore, take us into a deeply human realm. Despite our heritage of the past fifty years, steeped in the idea of the universal rights of man—the rights and duties of the individual towards society and vice versa, based on the notion of respect for others and their right to civil differences without recourse to violence—war still exists. We are still preoccupied with physical power, the instinctive desire to fight, to defend what man believes to be his territory and those he holds dear, even if it means aggressing others. Instead of closing our eyes or letting our desire for harmony take over, we would be wiser to consider certain conditions of human life.

Every society tries to socialise and civilise its members, but none have yet managed to fundamentally transform the genetic code of Homo sapiens sapiens into a conditioned animal, every woman and man into peaceful philosophers. Reflection on the risk that the human species might self-destruct is too recent. To fight off the threat of a veritable end to our history requires knowledge and understanding of the multitude of creative solutions that mankind has amassed since the end of the last ice age or, somewhat more modestly, the domestication of animals, horticulture, agriculture, and the techniques linked to the art of fire making. All accomplished, in not more than seven thousand years. From this aspect, New Guinea is an extraordinary laboratory for study and observation.

War, domination, power, social presence, and representation of the strengths of the community all hold great positive and aesthetic value in New Guinea. Anthropology has recently understood that here the definition of personality is not based solely on relations with others nor the limits of real social manifestations, or merely on references to those who lived before: the deceased, ancestors, mythical heroes, and gods. In the end, there is neither a strict before nor a strict after in New Guinean thinking on temporality; the notion of time is non-linear. The "time before" is always there, it continues alongside the present, and its members can return at any moment: this is true for some dead people
(who are still personally remembered) and certainly for most ancestors, be they heroic or not, well-meaning, entreating, or even threatening. During this extraordinary moment when the aggressor acts out his aggressiveness, he belongs to the ancestral or divine world: it is as though he passes from one stage to another, from one landmark to another. His body and personality become an integral or
Cat. 176
Atkom archer’s shield, FNG, sources of the Sepik River, Telefol linguistic area, Mountain Ok group.
H: 154.5 cm. Inv. 4069-1.

integrated part of a perceptible superhuman body: the crocodile returning to devour initiation candidates; the moment when men board a canoe to launch an attack; the time when the mask of war takes over; when the community of men (and women) ready to fight becomes aware of a superindividual identity; when the warriors’ bodies integrate the ancestral body; and, finally, when the remembered victims of ancestors’ battles reappear in the real bodies of those being attacked, subdued or killed.²

Critics of this thesis, however, refer us back to the material reasons behind the conflicts: the control of resources and lands, access to paths, and the balance of power in marriage alliances and exchange networks. The fact, that for those in power the anguish of the victims simply becomes an ancestral way of life, is an idea that offends our way of thinking, irritates, and provokes us. This fatalistic submission to divine destiny that is asked of victims seems too close to a totalitarian ideology for us to be able to accept without reservation.³

There are two debates to be held on this subject: one is anthropological, the other is fundamentally political. Can one deem anthropologically reliable the notion that a “mask of war” not only potentially involves a spiritual conditioning of any village or resident community, but also that the victims of aggressions should be integrated into it? This debate is still not closed. Yet many ethnographic documents support Simon Harrison’s hypothesis that the state of warlike aggression is a ritual, uncommon state carefully recreated each time.⁴
Cat. 177
Ponku archer's shield. PNG, West Sepik Province, Torricelli Mountains, Wapei-Paeli group.
H.: 105 cm. Inv. 4089:3.

Illus. 3
An archer wearing his shield on his shoulder takes aim and flexes his bow. PNG, West Sepik Province, Torricelli Mountains, Lumi region, Maul village.
© Archives Museum der Kulturen, Basel. (F)Vb 10475.

The purported aim of this ritual is to control or even tame individual inclinations for aggression, not by denying them but, on the contrary, by transposing them into another register, i.e., in establishing the fusion of spiritual forces within the ritual community. For the Manambu in the Sepik region, aggression is seen as a negative element that expresses a fully socialised individual's refusal of sociability and conviviality. It is through the magic of war that each
of the initiated men find themselves fired with ancestral forces so “hot” they become permeated with an individual emanation of the ancestral world. They become “deaf”, more “closed” to everyday tasks than during other rituals. Even their faces express this; they are transformed, adopt “bad” features, and become a “mask of war”. This transformation is noticed in the small meshwork and shell mask (cat. 69) which the Big Men of the region wear on their chests.

The main crux of the other debate is our relationship to violence: how to master our human urge for violence that rapidly gets out of control? What means—social, economic, technical, cultural—should be put in place to succeed better as a society, both today and tomorrow?

Ethnographic knowledge on the shields of New Guinea and the contexts in which they are used will perhaps help us to understand an aspect of this significant dynamic, when humans fight to find themselves while risking an encounter with death.

Fighting Technique
Fighting technique can present itself in quite diverse forms which correspond to different habitats. The techniques of war, notably the role played by shields, vary greatly depending on the environment: in an open landscape with stretches of grassland and scattered trees, a shield loses its utility, except to defend oneself against a surprise attack, but then the shield would have to be readily at hand. Not everyone has—or had—this means of
protection, however. During an attack or an organised defence, the shield served to protect several men from their opponents' arrows and spears. An individual who needed a shield would make it himself, cut to size from the sapwood of a tree with thick and rapid growth. The Wahgi people chose the tapi (Albizia sp.) tree because it belonged to the realm of an ancestral spirit, tapi mam, the great tapi, or the mother of the tapi. The Wahgi today acknowledge that before battle, they were capable of carrying their shields (each weighing up to nine kilos) great distances thanks to the support of the ancestral spirits. Shields in the Highlands (cats. 180, 184) were either gripped by means of twisted creepers threaded through holes at the top and the bottom and manoeuvred using the left thumb and a plaited strap; or else, hung over the left shoulder with strips of vegetable fibres.
SHIELDS

Cat. 180
Shield worn on the shoulder and incised with criss-crossed circle motifs. PNG, Eastern Highlands, Simbai Valley, Karam (or Kalam) group. H.: 107.3 cm. Inv. 40692.

Appreciation and Morality
In the Highlands shields generally have a decorative design constructed using large dimension elements such as triangles (cat. 184), circles (cat. 190), and zigzage. It is important that these structures, such as punctuated lines in the wood, be brightly coloured, with painted lines and surfaces, but, especially, with feathers attached to the shield. This does not mean there is any symbolism linked to the colours, which stand rather as identifying signs in chromatic shades. For the Wahgi, for example, it is important that the black obtained from the coal, which the warriors paint themselves with, be "rich, but at the same time, bright and shiny," like the yellow-coloured feathers of the common bird of paradise (Paradisea raggiana) or the red of parrot feathers. A matte or "ashen-coated" appearance would indicate the warriors' lack of preparation and cohesion, thus predicting the death of a group member or the failure of their mission.

In the Highlands, any appearance of groups of men or women with fully adorned bodies is a declaration of political and military power (Illus. 10). Shields play only a partial role, except in the much ritualised formal meetings that include duels between the leaders and also movements of large groups of adorned men carrying shields. The latter, free the small groups of archers from the weight of these instruments of defence, while ensuring their protection so that they can fire their arrows and attack. In his study on the shields of the Maring, which are similar to Simbu and Wahgi shields, Lowman quotes the observations of Leigh G. Vial, one of the rare eye-witnesses of the moment of first contact in a conflict.
In action there is an impression of great massiveness and strength, for the shields look much bigger than a man, yet the fighters move at high speed, advancing or retreating and manoeuvring for position. Even when seen from a mile away, the sight of these dark oblongs of shields on the skyline of some ridge, moving about in two lines, is sufficient to make you be glad that you are not facing them, though the shield is no protection against a bullet.\textsuperscript{10}

This emphasis on the aesthetics of martial or persuasion displays\textsuperscript{11} (as they are referred to in local terms, i.e., the power of ornaments, positive thinking and focus on social customs by excluding witchcraft and harmful pacts) is quite widespread in societies of the Highlands, whose numbers, we will recall, have grown steadily since the introduction of the sweet potato, approximately three to four hundred years ago. Michael O’Hanlon has followed and described the aesthetic creations in the practice of bodily ornamentation during Waigi performances and displays; his text proposes “a reading of the skin”. Robert Gardner’s film, \textit{Dead Birds}, shot in 1961 on Dugum Dani lands at the other end of the Western New Guinea Highlands, highlights the same preoccupations, though the Dani do not use shields\textsuperscript{12} (illus. 10). They feature among the groups who wear armour, either woven or by wrapping themselves in creepers.

Even though the shield is first and foremost a means of protection, it must be noted that it is neither the only way to preserve one’s body, nor a privileged weapon, as proven by its absence from numerous New Guinea societies.
Concerning the use of shields, we have already mentioned the influence of habitat and the number of individuals united by sedentary, clan, or village unity. Use is entirely different on dense forestlands, in the regions where ceremonial houses are built. In these impenetrable regions, the task of shield-bearers, most frequently a few brave men per village, is to bar the way, leaving the younger, more swiftly moving warriors to attack with arrows, as Yabokoma, an elderly Kwoma from Saserman explained to the author in 1973. As a youngster he had witnessed the wars that took place at the time when the Germans arrived in Kwoma territory in 1912. There are also regions covered in mangrove or sago swamps and forests, deep in the heart of which archers each carry their shield individually, as do the Asmat in Western New Guinea as well as some of their neighbours.

Ethnographic data on the shields of New Guinea, again highlights the differences between the regions and even the multiple contradictions between general rules and local realities. We have just mentioned the
absence of shields in numerous inland societies, from the western tip to the sources of the Sepik River, where elements of armour (body armour, barks, creeper spirals, etc.) are extensively developed. Data also exists to contradict this; however: the Yali, who live in the same region as the Dani of the Western Highlands, have made the shield into a conspicuous and eminently sacred object. In the Torricelli mountain region, shields are used along with the armours (cat. 177, illus. 3); in the mountains south of the Sepik, archers are protected by liana vines coiled into spirals, but also by a hardwood shield.

We are lucky to have access to several studies that provide observations on how shields are made. Two basic processes have been documented: the first, widespread either in mountain forest or swamp regions, used the lateral root of a tall tree. A plank was cut out of this root and three to four holes pierced in it, to attach closed straps. Note, however, that these flat shields were not all made from aerial roots. The other method entailed chopping down a tree with a trunk wide enough to make a shield out of the sapwood (or the outside of the heartwood, which is less resistant in tropical woods). There are numerous solutions for obtaining a firm, manageable handle that is easy to grip. In general, the handle or, in the majority of cases, only its clasps in the shape of vertical crests, have been sculpted in the shield wood, allowing horizontal prehensile stalks adapted to local use to be attached to it. The making of convex shields, which share numerous features with the sculpting of canoes, has many variants. Special methods were developed to curve the wood, which was
stretched horizontally using a system of creepers and fixation branches then dried on the fire. Creating a shield often involved a phase of relief sculpture or carved sculpture to apply a design comprising two or several motifs. Lastly, regardless of its origin, the shield was almost always painted, either for a parade or before the ultimate preparation for battle (Illus. 6).

**Protective Tool or Object of Prestige?**
The following questions can be asked: what protection does a shield made of more or less lightweight wood offer? Is it really a means of physical defence or is it an ostentatious sign? Is it a visual expression that makes the enemy quiver? An ornament that must make the ancestors happy, like the decorations on the mesh bags used as dance shields by Kwoma women? The functions certainly intermingle. But what do the clues incorporated in the designs on the shield refer to? Is it simply the bearer’s physical presence and the collective strength of his group? Does the decorated shield enhanced by bright pigments and feathers carry a message for the opponent? Or, is it a simple expression of the joy and satisfaction procured by the group’s perfect mastery of internal relations and strengths? Is it the ancestor gazing down or is it the gaze of a glowing divine force whose visual expression intimidates the adversary and provokes gut-wrenching anxiety?

Is it the alarming, convincing presence of the individuals assembled or of the clan’s mythical fathers? From the outside, it is impossible to say one way or the other; it would even seem that contradictory answers can be considered valid and, as far as the fighters are concerned, this author feels that the

**Illus. 7**
differences that preoccupy anthropologists are of no consequence.

A shield, thus, always signals a specific social identity which it asserts for its bearer. While specific cases do exist—where the figure at the top of the shield indeed represents the enlarged face of the ancestor of the clan in question and the motifs on each side identify the clan and the lineage—we would be wrong to generalise this model (cat. 81). The Kwoma (and even their opponents, the Manambu) have a different interpretation for the central face. While it too belongs to the ancestral realm as the figure of a spirit-ancestor from the aquatic world, the reference to a clan or even to a specific lineage is only expressed quite modestly through the paint added to the outer surface of the shield, like the bearer’s second or third skin (if we consider the shield itself to be the second skin). The case of the Kwoma and the Manambu is an example of groups who fight while protecting themselves behind shields that display almost identical carved figures, differentiated only by the paint. This standardisation of shields did not stop the battling warriors from respecting members from the same totemic clan during combat, along with those living in opponent villages but belonging to an allied lineage through marriage. Direct conflict between related or allied individuals had to be avoided—as far as the ancestral forces would permit.

Motifs and Abstractions—Spiritual Functions
In observing the multitude of rich and ornate shields, it is easy to note that the intimidation they

Cat. 183
Kuala archer’s shield. PNG, Gulf of Papua, Elema group.  
Formerly J. Hooper collection. (before 1927). H: 81 cm.  
Inv. 4265.
convey comes as much from their physical presence—the graphically strong signs spark fright in the adversary (cat. 91)—as from a spiritual level; the presence of superhuman forces invoked through a carved face (cat. 182), individualised through added paint, that appears to come from a humanless world. The motifs are very diversified and the variations as numerous as the groups that carry them, i.e., the totemic clans.

It is very interesting to note that there are two ways of considering the motifs that adorn the outer face of shields in New Guinea. The first concentrates on figuration by analysing all the known variants; the second evaluates the graphic potential of the motifs and their layout. The shields of the Sepik region (cats. 179, 182) lend themselves more easily to the first approach, while the second prevails for shields of the Highlands or the Asmat people (cats. 180, 184).

The reciprocal relations between these two interpretative models have been the source of debate between several ethnologists. The respective positions of Meinhard Schuster, Barry Craig, and Michael O’Hanlon are at once pertinent and complementary. At an exhibition at the Basel museum of ethnography, Schuster presented the possible range of motifs illustrating the main variations on shields from the Sepik region. The full set presented all the intermediary stages between figuration and abstraction. Later, he specified his analysis of the forms:

Looking at the symmetry of the surfaces of the shields—confirmed by rare asymmetrical cases—we note that it is also strongly determined by the

Illus. 8
An archer from the Highlands wearing a shield cut out under the arm.
From J. G. Gordon, 1936,
Papuan Wonderland, p. 172.
Cat. 184
Shield with polychrome geometric design. PNG, Western Highlands, Mendi Valley.
H.: 80 cm. Inv. 4099-6.

Iconic motif. Among the motifs, the human face plays a predominant role, perhaps because it is of symmetrical appearance, divided by a perpendicular axis, even though in reality the two sides are never identical (cat. 179). [...] In the Sepik region this dominant figure can be placed—as our selection of nineteen shields attest—either in the middle or at the top of the shield, or else it can cover almost the entire surface of the shield through the addition of a second symmetrical element; in this case, the face is reflected on a horizontal axis, the chin of the top figure meeting the chin of the one below. When the motif is a single face, the figure tends to turn into an ornament, especially when it is placed in the middle of the shield, where it evokes a certain internal symmetry between the top and the bottom. This tendency for disfiguration is not as strong in the examples where one face is placed at the top of the shield, thus evoking an association with the idea of a man who is standing. 17

As he develops his arguments, Schuster gives a step-by-step demonstration of the transformations between the figurative model and the abstract ornamental elements that constitute an equivalent to the figurative components on the shield's surface.

The axial layout makes transformations easy, notably, in cases featuring a central element: the presence of a face, a circle, or a rhombus with or without two pairs of opposite spirals, creates a surface use dynamic, reinforced notably by the application of paint. The second, dual-faced type is, according to Schuster, closely related to the design of the shields
created by the mountain Ok groups (cat. 176), particularly, those living in the region of the Sepik River sources; through its structure featuring pairs of double spirals. Field research undertaken in several parts of the Upper Sepik region have enabled Gisela and Meinhard Schuster to understand that, since the motifs have become more ornamental, local experts no longer name them as a determined entity representing such and such a spirit or ancestral hero. This is obvious among the Telefol tribe. Barry Craig, known for his lengthy field research in the Upper Sepik and the Highlands, confirms Schuster’s interpretations. However, he admits reservations about the iconic value of the motifs. In his work, he has, on several occasions, established his own definition of the structural models of the Ok groups in the mountains, and then finally expanded them:

In general a design consists of a centrally placed motif surrounded by minor, bordering design elements. The designs bear little direct resemblance to any natural phenomena, animate or inanimate; they appear to be non-representational and are geometric in character. [...] The most striking structural feature of the designs is their symmetry. They are almost always completely symmetrical around the vertical axis, with only minor infringements of symmetry around the horizontal axis. [...] Careful analysis reduces most shield designs to combinations of just five bordering elements and three central motifs and their variations.19

To study these variations, Craig analysed one hundred and twenty Ok shields and grouped them into three primary types, thus confirming the typology he
had developed for the central elements of house facades. Telefol informers denied, however, that one or several names for the combined designs that Craig’s analysis had listed could exist. The names collected seem to list a succession of chance similarities, with no systematisation at play. According to these lists, rhombuses or circles in the centre are often called vagina, human or spider’s body, liver, solar plexus, heart, navel, or stomach. Diagonal lines ending in spirals are called men’s, spiders’, crocodiles’, or lizards’ extremities. Pairs of spirals placed at the top of the design are said to be assimilated to men’s, lizards’ or birds’ eyes, or else, are called the curled tail feathers of the royal bird of paradise (Cicinnurus regius). The relatively frequent motif of open-topped triangles placed tip-to-tip (cat. 176) are purportedly identified with the wings of a flying fox bat.\(^1\)

To sum up, Craig only researched anthropomorphic interpretations for a limited part of the region, notably among the Durannmin people. Their large X design represents a person with the heart in the middle, the eyes at the top and the toes along the base of the shield; the character’s ribs are represented by zigzags on the sides. Quite like in the Middle and Lower Sepik regions, the existence of a specifically anthropomorphic form symbolises one or several ancestors, notably, when used with magic to win a war. The American researcher R.I. Lohmann recently bore witness to this symbolism among the Asabano-Duranmin people, thus confirming information on the ritual use of shields among the Faiwol, i.e., preservation of the metaphorical heat of the ancestors through direct contact between the shield and the ancestors’ skulls.\(^2\)

Michael O’Hanlon\(^3\) supplies a description of his own research that favours interpretation with no definitive support from model images. His work set out to prove the existence of a coherent local mode of iconic interpretation of shield designs. He did not succeed. To demonstrate this negative result, he describes the full extent of variations employed by the Wahgi, both historically (before 1979) and in more contemporary times, marked by the reinvention of so-called tribal wars. These conflicts have been developing since the 1980s and the period is characterised by the arrival of new types of ornamentation, including
references to the local beer (shortened to SP for South Pacific Lager), notes in the form of sallies (e.g., an indirect announcement thrown into the river telling enemies that they are going to be hunted like fish) or the image of an eagle, an allusion to the presence of a pure force. The visual power of the signs used is the link between the variations of this second, rather non-iconic tradition of seeing.

**Surfaces to Be Transformed**

In general, shields and their ceremonial equivalents which are made by weaving, meshing, or aligning painted sago palm leaf stems, offer the most extensive compact surfaces for expression, aside from the pediments and interiors of ceremonial houses. These supports that we qualify as “aesthetic” expression provide a surface for creation. The historical coexistence of shields presenting a rich but structured ornamentation alongside an architecture of ceremonial houses that solicit the imagination did, no doubt, not come about by chance, neither along the northern coast and the entire region of the Sepik river and its tributaries, nor in the east of the island and the Trobriand archipelago (cat. 91), the Gulf of Papua (cat. 183), and the southwest.

Keen to preserve the expression of their identity, locals stepped up shield production as soon as merchants or other interested European parties arrived in their region. This phenomenon is tinged with a certain irony: at first contact, the European agents, especially the individuals sent by the colonial administration, were intent on demonstrating their power. In regions where shields were still
customary, the demonstration consisted of placing a shield on a central stage, then inviting the crowd to gather round and witness the shooting power of a gun fired at this symbolic target.\textsuperscript{22}

Nevertheless, while shields lost their powers of protection against the world of Whites and their police, they became a way of making money. They offered sculptors an especially large surface on which to project their social and cultural identity. The artists most familiar with this creative process lived in the Asmat region and the surrounding vicinity (southwest of Western New Guinea, now named the Papua province, part of the Republic of Indonesia); other sculptors lived in the region of the Upper Sepik and its tributaries. Shields produced during this period of contact often have dimensions and design layouts that go beyond traditional models.

**Object of Art or Object of Testimony?**

Two distinct intentions have been observed in the behaviour of shield collectors. The first consisted of documenting the range of motifs and pinpointing the artistic solutions of a specific region, as conceived at the time of the collection. This can be witnessed in the collections of the museums of Berlin,\textsuperscript{23} South Australia,\textsuperscript{24} and Basel.\textsuperscript{25} The other endeavoured to acknowledge the most authentic examples in terms of form, ornamentation, and function. On this level, private collectors have assembled a magnificent range of material, as Harry Beran and Barry Craig's recent volume on the shields of Melanesia proves. Their publication includes two specimens from the Barbier-Mueller collection.\textsuperscript{26}

Several social changes, on both a local and a regional level, first led to shields disappearing from the general lifestyle. Shields did reappear again in a few regions, bigger and more impressive than ever, but for a limited time that ended when rifles were introduced.

To read these large-scale works and styles, reference to contemporary advertising language provides the key to deciphering the graphic forms. This approach, applied by Michael O’Hanlon, starts with a simple reading of the shield design and excludes all reference to the significance of the words or the text, often written in Pidgin and included in the graphic signs. These shields were used in the late 1980s during formal fights where a prior agreement stipulated the exclusion of guns. On these shields, new types of signs translate the traditional message into another language. According to Michael O’Hanlon’s analyses, motifs referring to sports, beer, cigarettes, and even Pepsi Cola have been incorporated into shield designs to reinforce the presence and cohesion of the fighting group. According to J.D. Muke, an expert on Wahgi shields and fighting, Superman and the Phantom “the man who cannot die” and his skull—adulated heroes straight out of comic books—are among the “good guys” who figure in the set of motifs used. These two characters enhance the moral stature of the warriors who must also be irrefutable if they are to win the battle.\textsuperscript{27}

Two series of these modern shields have been acquired by public institutions. The first is split between British museums (the Pitt Rivers Museum
in Oxford and the British Museum in London); the second series is owned by the Tjibao cultural centre in Nouméa as part of the Pacific contemporary art collection. These shields now allow us to read the expression of their bearer’s identity on several levels. This becomes especially obvious when you look at the messages written on them. They contain allusions to rugby teams. As an example, the meaning of the following simple notification, “Six 2 Six” (originally from “six to six”, a party that lasts from 6 pm to 6 am.) has been adapted to express the strength of the warriors ready for combat, which will last from six in the morning to six in the evening. As this anecdote reveals, detecting the original context through the hidden discourse that accompanies the presentation is a preoccupation for those who like to decipher the messages linked to—or enclosed within—shields.

Notes
1 Wirz 1928: p. 345, speaking of his experiences in southwest New Guinea from 1916 to 1922 with the Mambir-rini and their neighbours, as well as a brief stay with the Asmat.
2 The term “mark of war” is here borrowed from Simon Harrison’s book The Mark of War: Violence, Ritual and the Gulf in Melanesia. Manchester: Manchester University Press (1993), which deals with this question in detail for the Marambui society of the Middle Sepik.
5 O’Hartan 1989: p. 64, 93, referring to John Muir, an expert on the Wangi.
7 O’Hartan 1989: pp. 118-120 and pl. 16.
9 Vial 1942: pp. 5-6.
15 Already demonstrated with the help of several series of shields arranged on printed plates by E.W. Schmidt 1956: pp. 174-177 and pp. 139, 151.
21 The Museum der Kulturen in Basel conserves an Asmat shield made of gourd fragments which, given the traces of a destructive force, might have been used for a demonstration of this nature. Paul Wirz only mentions a “shell found in pieces beneath a dwelling” built very high in a tree. Wirz 1928: p. 307; the power of the gourd was also often demonstrated by shooting at a pig.
23 For example, Craig in Beran and Craig (eds.) 2005: pp. 43-44, 47-48, 66, 169, 184, 188, 192, 195, 206.
24 Schuster 1968: figures 30-32, 34-42, 44-48; as well as, by the same author 1966, with five colour synoptic plates.
Illus. 10
A Dani archer wearing a headdress and shell ornaments bends his bow. Indonesia, Papua Province, Baliem Valley. Photo Josette and Charles Lenars.