An Analysis of the Material Culture of the Trobriand Islands
Based upon the Collection of Bronislaw Malinowski

By

Frank Albert Norick

A.B. (University of California) 1959

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Anthropology

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Approved:

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Committee in Charge

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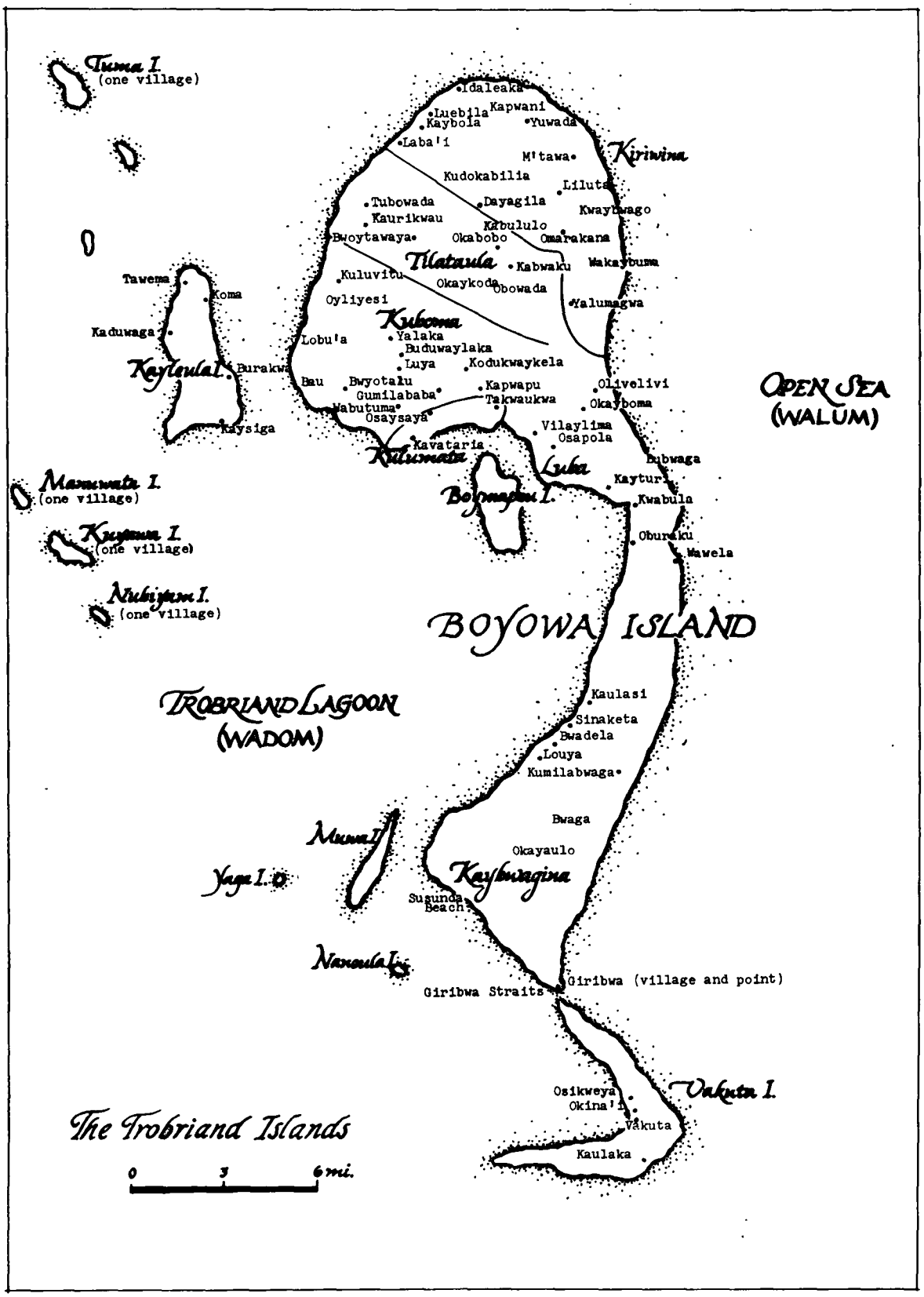
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Ever since the Malinowski collection became part of the permanent collections of the Lowie Museum, the staff has received countless inquiries regarding the extent and nature of the collection. Those who have come to the Museum with the expressed purpose of viewing the collection include professional ethnologists, art historians, "primitive" art buffs, and seemingly endless legions of graduate students. Depending upon the background and specific interests of the visitors, reactions to the collection have ranged from unconcealed disappointment, or indifference, to unabated enthusiasm.

The name of Malinowski is still revered in the anthropological world and many who came to examine this collection were, in effect, attracted by its association with a great name. Those with a serious interest in the collection were invariably disappointed over the limited research and study potential of the material. Until recently, the collection was unorganized and uncatalogued, and had to compete with other Oceanic ethnographic collections for space; in this state it appeared to be no more than just another disorganized, jammed hodge-podge of ethnographica. If anything, the lack of documentation has been the reason why ethnologists have demonstrated so little interest in the collection. When Malinowski's personal Trobriand collection arrived in the Lowie Museum in 1965, not a shred of documentation accompanied it -- no field notes nor even a register of the artifacts.



MAP 1. THE TROBRIAND ISLANDS WITH PRINCIPAL VILLAGES

The collection remained in an uncatalogued limbo because no one wanted the personal responsibility for cataloguing the artifacts without all the pertinent information at hand.

In 1971, about six years after the Malinowski collection came to the Lowie Museum, I assigned myself the task of cataloguing it. The impetus to do so came from the realization that documented or not, the collection would be of little use to anyone until it had been properly described, numbered, and integrated with existing Melanesian collections. About this time I learned through other channels that a comparable collection made by Malinowski was in the British Museum, and rumor had it that the collection was documented. It seemed appropriate, therefore, to postpone temporarily cataloguing the Lowie's collection of Trobriand material pending an investigation into this new source of information. I subsequently applied for, and received, a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts which enabled me to examine, photograph, and study the Malinowski collection in the British Museum.

The original intent in undertaking this present study was a simple one: to bring together two widely separated collections of Trobriand ethnographic material collected by Bronislaw Malinowski, to analyze the artifacts comprising them, and to produce an illustrated corpus. As conceived, the project seemed to be relatively straightforward. My initial optimism was based upon the notion, which proved erroneous, that the Malinowski collection in the British Museum was thoroughly documented, so that the task before me would be to analyze both the field notes and the objects, and to organize the resultant

data into a corpus which would serve as the definitive guide to the material culture of the Trobriand Islands.

All expectations of finding Malinowski's notes in the British Museum, which I had assumed had been deposited there in 1922 along with the other half of the Trobriand material, were dashed following a check with the officials of the British Museum. What Malinowski did leave in the way of documentation with the British Museum was a catalogue of sorts in which the objects are roughly ordered according to categories of use or function. With few exceptions, to be mentioned later, none of the specimens therein listed had more than a one or two word description.

In my further efforts to locate Malinowski's "missing" artifact documentation, which I was still certain existed, I contacted his daughter, Mrs. Helena Malinowski Burke, who, I learned, was gathering material for a biography of her father. She, too, shared my belief that a man of such meticulous habits and who had such a concern for recording the totality of culture would most certainly have taken copious notes on the material culture of the Trobriand Islands (personal communication). But Mrs. Burke also failed to locate the field notes. One is forced to conclude, then, that there are no field notes extant to document Malinowski's collection.

Since none of Malinowski's published writings could be described as a study of material culture, it is not surprising that in all that has been written about him and his contributions to anthropology no one has ever evaluated his work as a field collector, i.e., as an ethnographer concerned with the collecting and recording of material objects.

With the possible exception of segments of his earlier monograph on the natives of Mailu (1915:474-707), Malinowski never displayed any consistent interest in material culture or technology. In his monograph on the Mailu he does devote considerable space to the description and analysis of Mailu material culture; by comparison with his later works on the Trobriand Islands, the Mailu study is a veritable treasure-trove of data on objects, their manufacture, and function.

Malinowski's ethnographic interests seem to lie elsewhere than in the study of material culture per se. True, he does give us an extremely detailed study of the Trobriand bwayma or yam house (1935(I): 240-272); and his account of the building of an outrigger, or waga, is equally detailed (1922:124-145). But in these accounts as well as in others which dealt with technology, Malinowski showed little interest in the material subject for, as he says, "...I am interested in technology only in so far as it reveals the traditional ways and means by which knowledge and industry solve certain problems presented by a given culture" (1935(I):240). And again, he states with respect to his chapter on the construction of the bwayma, "...thus,...I did not treat the drab, everyday, minor events with the same love and interest as sensational, ceremonial, large-scale happenings; and I did not maintain a constant interest in the use of an object as correlated with its structure and form" (1935(I):241). In none of his seven monographs on the Trobriand Islands which appeared between 1922 and 1935 did he treat material culture as a worthwhile subject. Those interested in the material aspects of Trobriand life are either disappointed by the lack of technological data or else frustrated by the incompleteness in what Malinowski does offer. In his study of fishing (1918), for example,

Malinowski reports little on the technology of net making even though he took the time to collect one example of each type of fishing net. In another article dealing with the subject of war and weapons (1920a: 10-11), he shows an overriding interest in the ethnohistory of warfare and its social implications in the Trobriands, but presents only the briefest of explanations on the weapons themselves.

This is not to say that Malinowski could not and did not collect detailed descriptions concerning the manufacture and use of material items. To be sure, in his published writings many of the Trobriand artifacts are described in the context within which they were made and used. His unpublished notes on the technology of the dobe (British Museum 1922:F:I-XXI), for example, were organized and complete enough to enable one to write a reasonably coherent and detailed analysis of dobe manufacture. But, except for the published technological accounts already mentioned and the dobe notes left behind in the British Museum, there exists little for the student interested in the material culture of the Trobriands.

In a hindsight evaluation of his own field work Malinowski shows that he is well aware of this shortcoming. After patting himself on the back for his success in giving a fairly accurate description of the structure of a storehouse (bwayma), he admits to a lack of competence in one respect -- that is, technology -- but then hurries to mention that the lack "...has not, perhaps, resulted in an inadequacy within its own domain" (1935(I):460). Malinowski himself best expresses his attitude toward the study of material culture when he reports,

> As a sociologist, I have always had a certain amount of impatience with the purely technological enthusiasm of the museum ethnologist. In a way I do not want to move one inch from my intransigent position that the study of technology alone and the fetishistic reverence for an object of material culture is scientifically sterile. At the same time, I have come to realize that a knowledge of technology is indispensible as a means of approach to economic and sociological activities and to what might be adequately called native science (1935(I):460).

Again, in discussing his study of gardening he notes that "I do not regard my technological account of gardening as half as good as that of the ceremonial which surrounds it, and that is a terrific indictment of my material" (1935(I):460).

Technology was important for Malinowski but it never displaced his fascination for the "dramatic, exceptional and sensational" (1935 (I):462). After all, Malinowski the self-critic made a careful analysis of Malinowski the ethnographer and found the latter wanting. He consoled himself with the knowledge that functional field work, which began to a large extent in the Trobriands, now includes as proper domain for study all elements of culture including the drab, commonplace, and, presumably, the material (1935(I):462).

Because of Malinowski, the Trobriand Islanders are perhaps the best known -- if not the most thoroughly studied -- of all the peoples of Melanesia. Yet aside from his occasional excursions into Trobriand technology, studies in the material culture of the Trobriand Islands or any of the Massim islands are conspicuously absent. To a large extent studies of material culture in general went out of vogue in

anthropology about the time Malinowski began his field work in the Trobriands.

Writing in 1914 -- the year Malinowski arrived for the first time in Australia -- Clark Wissler gloomily stated that "for some years the study of material culture has been quite out of fashion" (1914:447). According to Sturtevant, interest in material culture studies waned about 1900, regained a modest interest around 1910, and then fell sharply after 1920 (1969:626).

The anthropological literature on Melanesia is extensive, but works that deal exclusively or in part with material culture comprise a significantly small percentage of the whole, and they are almost entirely based upon field investigations conducted before the turn of the present century or during the two decades following. The more significant studies would include R. H. Codrington's The Melanesians (1891), which is a general account of Melanesia with special reference to the Solomons and the New Hebrides. Otto Reche's Der Kaiserin-Augusta-Fluss (1913) is still probably the most thorough study produced of the Sepik basin cultures, and Felix Speiser's Ethnographische Materialien aus dem Neuen Hebriden und den Banks-Inseln (1923) remains the definitive study of New Hebrides cultures in general. Although mainly concerned with social and religious life, C. G. Seligmann's The Melanesians of British New Guinea (1910) stands out as a comprehensive study of the cultures of eastern Papua. Malinowski's Argonauts of the Western Pacific (1922) is primarily an account of the kula exchange, but, in company with his Coral Gardens and their Magic (1935, 2 volumes), remains the "bible" for students of Trobriand culture and society.

For the Solomon Islands, we have W. G. Ivens' Melanesians of the South-east Solomon Islands (1927) and an earlier but significant account by H. G. Guppy, The Solomon Islands and their Natives (1887).

R. W. Williamson's The Mafulu (1912) is a fine survey of the whole culture of the mountain people in Papua, and a description of the material culture of a Trust Territory mountain tribe has more recently appeared in Beatrice Blackwood's The Technology of a Modern Stone Age People in New Guinea (1950).

For specific studies in technology we have A. C. Haddon and James Hornell's Canoes of Oceania (1936-1938, 3 volumes) and Bengt Anell's excellent surveys, Contributions to the History of Fishing in the Southern Seas (1955) and Hunting and Trapping Methods in Australia and Oceania (1960). Edge-Partington's three volume series, An Album of the Weapons, Tools, Ornaments, Articles of Dress, etc., of the Natives of the Pacific Islands (1890, 1895, 1898), contains a fairly comprehensive collection of Oceanic artifacts meticuously and accurately drawn, but which is largely undocumented except for general, and occasionally specific, cultural and geographic attributions.

A number of notable articles on New Guinea and eastern Papua have appeared in periodicals, especially the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Man; and Oceania, with relevant contributions made by Seligmann, Malinowski, Leo Austen, and others. These articles, too many to list here, are cited elsewhere in this study.

This present study grew out of a recognized need for a comprehensive guide to the material culture of the Trobriand Islands. I have tried to point out in the preceding paragraphs that ethnologists are

not complying with anthropology's mandate to study whole cultures when they ignore the material basis that underlies, limits, and to a certain extent determines social life. With all that has been said about Trobriand kinship, economics, religion, and ceremonialism, we are grossly ignorant about even the basic aspects of Trobriand arts and crafts.

There is hardly an ethnological museum in the world today that does not have at least several examples of artifacts that originated somewhere in the Massin, the area consisting of groups of islands immediately north and east of New Guinea. Yet, in the entire reservoir of objects from the Massim, one would be hard put to find but a small percentage which could be justly called documented. Even such an obvious designation as provenience is lacking. Older museum collections from the Massim are invariably recorded as having come from "British New Guinea," and objects acquired since Malinowski's time are almost always attributed to the Trobriands on the basis of stylistic features and the fact that in the minds of most museum cataloguers these islands are the only islands in the Massim.

Most studies that deal with the arts and crafts of the Trobriands, or other islands of the Massim, tend to concentrate upon the artistic qualities of the carvings but practically all studies ignore the ethnographic value of the artifacts themselves. Aside from Malinowski's inconsistent treatment of Trobriand technology, nothing really exists that could be called a Trobriand ethnography which, by definition, would include a study of the manufacture, function, and use of material culture objects and the roles they play in Massim society.

The major purpose of this study, then, is to round-out Malinowski's classic study of the Trobriand Islands by an analysis of the artifacts which he collected during his fieldwork and to relate the artifacts to other aspects of Trobriand culture and society. It will be demonstrated that the kula, which Malinowski saw primarily as overseas expeditions organized for the giving and receiving of kula valuables between gift partners, was also the means by which other socio-economic transactions were initiated and carried out. The trading of lower echelon items (non-valuables) satisfied the pressing needs of many islands and was crucial to their survival.

In spite of the paucity of documentation associated with the Malinowski collection, it is one of the few artifact assemblages extant from the Massim which is bounded by time and area. Its value lies in the realization that it was collected by Bronislaw Malinowski between 1915 and 1918, and presumably was collected in the Trobriand Islands. We may assume, therefore, that the artifacts are more or less contemporaneous. We may further assume that most of the artifacts originated in the Trobriand Islands proper, or came from other islands in the Massim which had direct or indirect trading relations with the Trobriands.

In this description and analysis of the material culture of the Trobriand Islands, I have incorporated the ideas and information provided by Malinowski whenever appropriate, especially as such data relate directly to the manufacture, use, and distribution of the objects.

Ideally, the artifacts should have been organized according to the natives' point of view, but Trobriand notions of classification

are sketchy at best and I was unable to fathom Malinowski's attempts to classify objects from the perspective of the natives who made and used them. Malinowski, for example, established ten principal types of lime spatulas (kena), most of which he identified by their native names (British Museum 1922:G:I-XIII). He did not, however, clearly describe the features which allied a spatula with one type or another, so that while his classificatory scheme for lime spatulas is probably based upon a native system, he fails to identify and explain the criteria.

In his treatise on "An Ethnographic Theory of Language" (1935(II): 3-73), Malinowski offers some tantilizing examples to underscore his idea that Trobriand terminologies represent native mental categories, but there are no real clues as to how or why the Trobriand Islanders segment and compartmentalize their material world.

Initially, I had intended to present the analysis of the artifacts according to a classificatory scheme devised by Lawrence E. Dawson and myself several years ago (see Appendix A, Classification Outline for Ethnographic Specimens). The system, based upon the concepts of function and use, was designed to facilitate both the physical arrangement of artifacts within the Lowie Museum and to organize the data that pertain to them for easy retrieval of information. The Classification Outline for Ethnographic Specimens, then, is nothing more than a heuristic guide for the logical arrangement of material culture objects and for the creation of a subject index to enable anyone interested in the Museum's collections to determine quickly the range and type of specimens contained within them, where they originated, and other relevant cultural/historical data.

While this material culture classification does serve the purpose for which it was designed, it proved to be cumbersome as a framework for the organization and presentation of the Malinowski collection. The stone artifacts, for example, posed a number of problems which could not be handled by this system. One problem is the fact that there are archaeological examples mixed in with the ethnographic ones. Since, however, the archaeological stone tools were used in an ethnographic context, I saw no reason to eliminate them from the ethnographic category. Furthermore, the shape and condition of a high percentage of the stone tools made it impossible to state precisely their functions, i.e., were they primarily agricultural implements, or woodworking tools, or both, or neither? There is always the danger of mistaking resemblances for morphological affinities, i.e., assuming that if two stone tools appear to be similar in form or use, they are necessarily members of one group. The analysis of stone tools requires a specialized experience, familiarity and knowledge which go beyond my abilities. I have, therefore, treated the stone tools as a special class ("Stone Technology"), rather than attempting to divide the tools according to their known or probable function.

Similarly, other artifacts posed problems. Rather than adhere rigidly to the Classification Outline for Ethnographic Specimens and separate the axes and adzes into ones used in a secular context, i.e., tending of gardens, and into ones which are ceremonial in nature, I have subsumed all of them under the heading of "Garden Implements," and treated them as a single class of objects within the general category of "Garden and Woodworking Implements, and Tools used in the Manufacture

of Objects." Likewise, baskets and wooden bowls have each been treated as a single group even though the objects in each class fall functionally into several categories. Under "Ornaments" I have included objects worn as personal adornment, those worn as part of ceremonial regalia, those which figured in the kula exchange (armshells (mwali) and necklaces (soulava)), as well as articles worn during the mourning ritual. Properly speaking, the combs (sinata) would be treated under the heading of "Toilet Articles," but here I am considering them as personal accoutrements under "Ornaments."

Domestic implements, logically, should include objects used mainly for domestic pursuits such as food preparation, but for convenience sake I have included in this category mats, headrests, and carved house ornaments which rightfully belong to related, yet different categories.

In short, the inconsistencies in the organization of material objects mentioned above, as well as for other objects, were deliberate and done for clarity of presentation and for practical reasons. In Appendices B and C I have assigned each object in the Malinowski collection to its appropriate function/use category. Since some objects will have utilizations that make them classifiable under more than one category, the object is coded according to its primary use. To be sure, many objects in the Malinowski collection served more than one purpose, so that assignment of a multi-purpose artifact to one category or another had to be an arbitrary one. One of the canoe bailers (kwayuya), for example, is made of a univalve gastropod shell (Melo diadema) and is employed on the smaller class of canoe, in which case it would be classified under "Transportation" (File Code 1.4). The same kind of

shell, however, was also set up in the gardens as a wind-rattle (kaygogiwa'u) to frighten away birds, in which case it should be classified under "Agriculture, Horticulture, and Animal Husbandry" (File Code 1.3). This particular specimen (M-532) is identified in the British Museum Register as a bailer, so its assignment as an object associated with "Transportation" poses no problem. Yet, under "Agricultural Implements" (File Code 1.3) I have listed the Melo diadema shell as used as a bird scarer.

The Malinowski collection contains 2,191 catalogued specimens; 672 objects, or about one-third of the total, are in the British Museum. Several of the more aesthetic pieces and many of the ethnographically unique objects in the British Museum could not be examined nor photographed presumably because Mr. B.A.L. Cranstone, the Keeper, had removed them some years previously to include in his short Melanesian ethnography (1961); during my visit this important material had not been re-integrated.

The photographs of the Malinowski artifacts that accompany this study represent but a fraction of the total that were taken. The 290 photographs comprising the final selection are the result of three separate efforts at reducing the number to a realistic size. These 290 prints, however, are representative of the material in the Malinowski collection. Anyone interested in photographs of pieces not illustrated in this study will find all the negatives and contact prints on file in the Lowie Museum.

Specimens with a catalogue number bearing the prefix M- ("M" for Malinowski) are in the British Museum; those specimens with the prefix 11- ("11" for Oceania) are in the Lowie Museum of Anthropology.

CHAPTER II

THE KULA CYCLE AND THE TRADE OF UTILITARIAN OBJECTS

The kula, an elaborate system of exchanges between tribesmen of eastern New Guinea and the neighboring archipelagoes, was first described in detail in, and was the principal subject of, Malinowski's Argonauts of the Western Pacific (1922).[1] From the natives' point of view (which was the way Malinowski presented his study of the kula), the most important aspect of the kula was the complex, highly ritualized, and regulated exchange of non-utilitarian "valuables," called vaygu'a, rather than the exchange of basic utilitarian objects and subsistence goods. Two kinds of objects, symbols of the reciprocal relationships of all the trade partners who are linked participants in the kula ring, circulate in opposite directions within the islands of the Massim region. Armshells (mwali) made from conus shell and worn by men as bracelets for the upper arm and necklaces (soulava) for women and made of strands of spondylus shells were the principal gifts. In one sense these articles had no real value other then their

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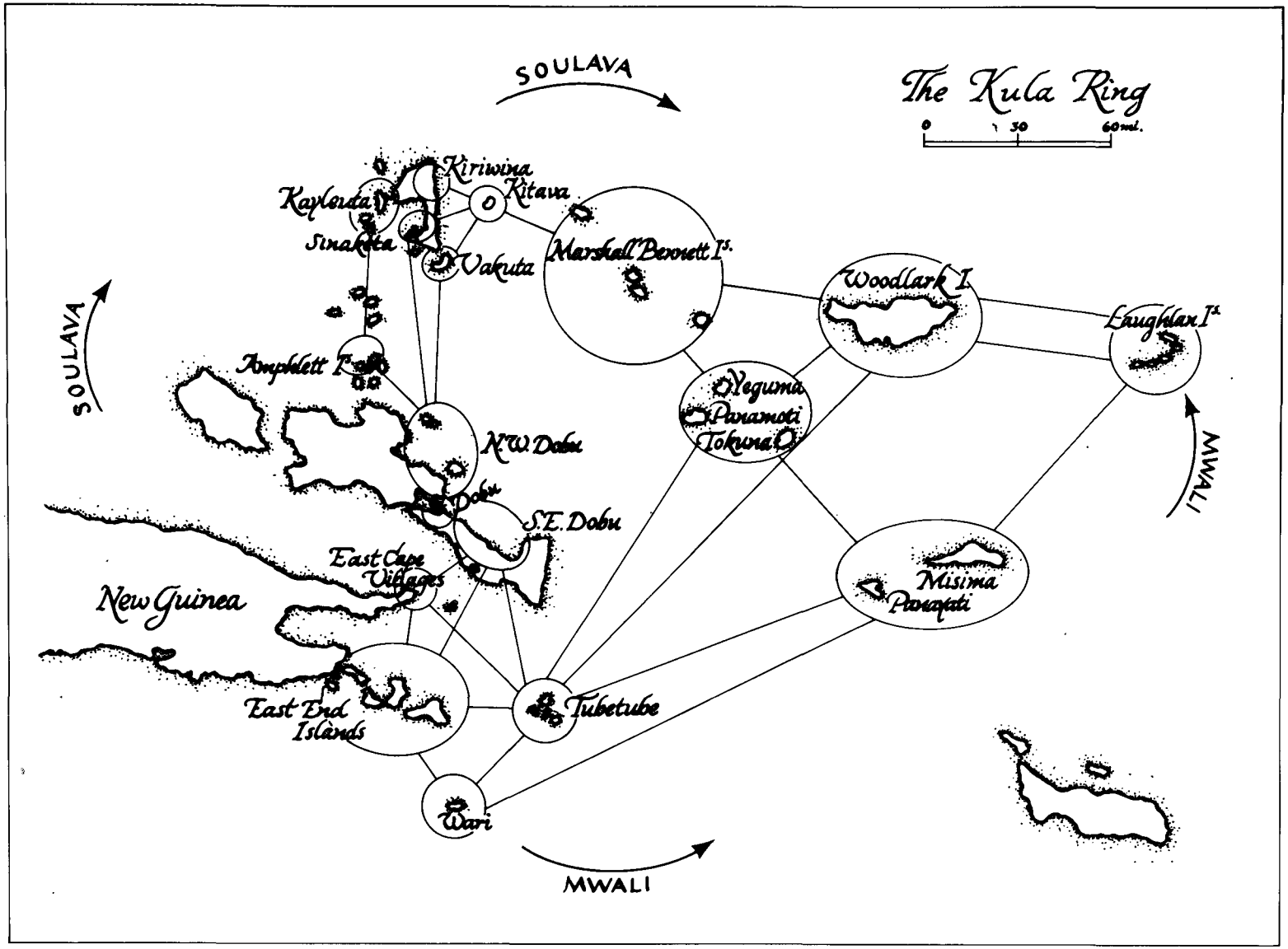
[1]As nearly as it can be determined, the kula exchange cycle was first mentioned in print (although not by name) by the Rev. M. K. Gilmour in the British New Guinea Annual Report for 1904-05 (these annual reports, incidentally, are important sources of information, particularly for demographic and economic data for the islands of the Massim). Seligmann, with his publication of The Melanesians of British New Guinea in 1910, described the trading aspects of the kula, but like Gilmour failed to recognize the significance of the kula cycle with all of its ramifications.



MAP 2. ISLANDS OF THE MASSIM PARTICIPATING IN THE KULA TRADING SYSTEM

significance in the kula, but the personal prestige of the owner and his village was greatly enhanced by the possession of a really fine specimen of a mwali or a soulava, each of which had its own history and name.

> A Kula community consists of a village or a number of villages, who go out together on big overseas expeditions, and who act as a body in the Kula transactions, perform their magic in common, have common leaders, and have the same outer and inner social sphere, within which they exchange their valuables. The Kula consists, therefore, first of small, internal transactions within a Kula community or contiguous communities, and secondly, of the big overseas expeditions in which the exchange of articles takes place between two communities divided by sea. In the first place, there is a chronic, permanent trickling of articles from one village to another, and even within the village. In the second, a whole lot of valuables, amounting to over a thousand articles at a time, are exchanged in one enormous transaction, or more correctly, in even so many transactions taking place simultaneously....The Kula trade consists of a series of such periodical overseas expeditions, which link together the various island groups, and annually bring over big quantities of vaygu'a (valuables) and of subsidiary trade from one district to another. The trade is used and used up, but the vaygu'a -- the armshells and the necklets -- go round and round the ring (1922:103).

A man from the village of Sinaketa, on Kiriwina, for example, would receive only the mwali from villages to the north and east of him, and in return he would present soulava. All of the villages of the kula ring are fixed in relation to their neighbors in this way, so that the exchanges bwtween them produce the often-described effect of circulating the soulava clockwise around the ring, and the mwali counterclockwise (Uberoi 1962:11).

In a brilliant analysis of the kula ring, Uberoi presents a convincing argument for the peace-keeping function of the kula suggesting it as a practical alternative to war. Relying heavily on Seligmann's data (1910:544-546), Uberoi shows how formal peace-making was established

between potentially hostile contiguous villages and between islands through the ceremonial exchanges of the kula, and concludes:

> Since war is more picturesque than peace, this inter-connecting function of the kula valuables emerges at its most vivid when the groups which it serves to make friendly have only just completed a round of hostile activities. The ceremonial exchange of these valuables is then most obviously a pipe of peace (1962:135).

There was, moreover, a more utilitarian aspect to the kula aside from the ritualized exchange of symbolic objects and its attendant peace-making. The establishment of peace through the kula's ritual ceremonies also established the peace of the market for the exchange of functional objects and food stuffs, and raw materials. Seligmann recognized the importance of this subsidiary trade associated with the kula (1910:536), while Malinowski, on the other hand, considered trading to be relatively insignificant. In his earliest account of the islands of the kula ring Malinowski remarked: "it is evident that exchange of goods had to obtain between them" (1920a:97) (emphasis mine). But, as Uberoi points out, in the five hundred pages of Argonauts of the Western Pacific, Malinowski completely ignored the "had to obtain" aspect of trading (1962:148).

Again, speaking strictly from the point of view of the Trobriand Islanders, Malinowski noted that "all the necessities of life are within easy reach of the Trobriand Islander" (1922:173), and that the Trobriands, Woodlark, and the D'Entrecasteaux had a surplus of food, while the Amphletts, Wari, Tubetube, and some of the Marshall Bennetts "are not self-supporting as far as food goes" (1920a:97). But even the opulent Trobriand Islanders were not so independent and well-off

that trade and exchange were of lesser importance to them than to natives of less affluent islands, for Malinowski reported that there was an "absence of certain indispensable raw materials -- stone, clay rattan, bamboo, and sago" (1935(I):8) from the Trobriands. Stone, of course, was an absolute necessity in a society where the stone axe (kema) or adze (ligogu) was of cardinal importance for the construction of houses and canoes, and in gardening (1935(I):62, 132, 244).

In short, all of the kula islands were, by necessity, bound together in a network of trade. This inter-island marketing of utilitarian objects and subsistence goods was important to the stability and maintenance of life for the islands of the kula ring. It is worth quoting at length from Seligmann's account of trading on Tubetube since much of what he has to say about Tubetube applies in a lesser or greater degree to other islands of both the southern and northern Massim region:

> The list given later in this chapter suggests that it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that everything in daily use, including food, was imported into Tubetube at one time or another. The exports from Tubetube are pots and shell ornaments; the pots made upon the island are traded over a wide area and a considerable number of the nose ornaments called wanepa are made locally, but with the exception of these two articles there are no local manufactures to exchange for the many articles imported into the island. The pottery industry is not worked on any such large scale as it is in the Motu villages of the Central District, nor is there any place to which the pots are regularly exported in large quantities year after year in exchange for a special commodity, as is the custom among the Motu. Thus Tubetube has become a trading community whose inhabitants are recognized as traders and middlemen over a very considerable area extending westwards beyond Basilaki (Moresby Island) to Rogea and eastwards to Tokunu (the Alcesters) and Murua. It is from the last mentioned islands that Tubetube obtains the majority if not all of the large built-up canoes called waga in which the trading voyages are undertaken.... (1910:526).

> Although Tubetube manufactures only pots and nose ornaments for export, the position of the islanders as middlemen has enabled them to have in their possession at one time or another almost every article made and used by the communities with whom they trade. I shall make no attempt to enumerate these, though a catalogue of the specimens collected from the island and presented to the British Museum[2] shows how varied were the articles imported. The following list is mainly prepared from this catalogue and includes only those articles which I have reason to believe are, or were formerly, imported with some constancy. All these articles made in the Trobriands come via Duau, and include wooden dishes, shallow bowls, lime spatulae and lime gourds, drums (large and small), wooden swords (keripa) and armshells of less value than masiwaru. From Duau come obsidian (nabuka), slivers of which were formerly used for shaving and sacrification, and the slabs of stone used for the hearth of fireplaces and also formerly as whetstones. A stone called patimomoni was also imported, fragments of which were formerly employed as points for the common pump drill of the district. Duau is also the place of origin of the reed called igo, which is made into a flute bearing the same name. A number of forms of basket are imported from Panamoti, the most interesting of which are the beautifully made baskets of small size called sinepopo. These were imitated locally with but indifferent success. From Panamoti are also imported the model waga used as toys and which are faithful reproductions in miniature of the waga built by the northern Massim.
>
> Certain kinds of wood were imported from Duau and Basilaki as well as the semi-fossilized wood called tari used for blackening the teeth.
>
> Lastly pigs and many forms of vegetable food are imported in large quantities (1910:536) (emphasis mine).

The point to bear in mind is that while everything revolves around the exchange of mwali and the soulava between kula partners, other articles including canoes, a wide variety of wooden implements, baskets, food stuffs, including pigs, sago, and yams become involved in are are part of the ritual exchange characteristic of the kula.

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[2]Which now comprises the Cooke-Daniels Expedition Collection of the British Museum, and catalogued as Ethnological Documents 1010. (writer's comment)

Malinowski presents a vidid picture of the trade of the kula in his chapter on "Tribal Economics in the Trobriands" (1922:146-194). Before venturing on their kula trip south to Dobu, the natives from the villages of Vakuta or Sinaketa must replenish their stock of needed goods:

> ...Kuboma is the industrial district of the Trobriands, where are manufactured most of the useful articles for which these islands are renowned in the whole of Eastern New Guinea.... From Kiriwina it is only a few miles walk, but to reach it from Sinaketa or Vakuta it is necessary to sail North...to Kavataria, and from there walk inland to Bwoytalu, Luya, Yalaka and Kadukwaykela where they make their purchases. The inhabitants of these villages also when they hear that the Sinaketans are anchored in Kavataria, bring their wares to the canoes. A brisk trade is carried on during the day or two that the Sinaketans remain in Kavataria. The natives of Kuboma are always eager to buy yams, as they live in an unfertile district, and devote themselves more to industrial productions than to gardening. And they are still more eager to acquire coconuts and betelnut, of which they have a great scarcity. They desire besides to receive in exchange for their produce the red shell discs manufactured in Sinaketa and Vakuta, and the turtle-shell rings. For objects of great value, the Sinaketans would give the big clay pots which they receive directly from the Amphletts. ...From Bwoytalu, they get the wonderfully fashioned and decorated wooden dishes of various sizes, depths and finish, made out of either hard or soft wood; from Bwaytelu, Wabutuma and Buduwaylaka, armlets of plaited fern fibre, and wooden combs; from Buduwaylaka, Yalaka, and Kadukwaykela, lime pots of different qualities and sizes. From the villages of Tulatauia, the district Northeast of Kuboma, the polished axe blades used to be acquired in the olden days (1922:165-166).

These collected objects, i.e., the wooden bowls, baskets, lime pots, combs and so forth are exchanged on Dobu for coconuts, bundles of betel or pieces of sago. So,

> The natives of Sinaketa act as intermediaries between the industrial centres of the Trobriands and Dobu, whereas their hosts play the same role between the Sinaketans and the men from the outlying regions (1922:364).

Even on their return journey from Dobu, the Sinaketans stop to fish in Sanaroa Lagoon for the very important spondylus shell (kaloma), the raw material required for the manufacture of discs and necklaces.

Interposed between Sinaketa and northwest Dobu is the kula district of the Amphletts (1922:267), the inhabitants of which were described by Malinowski as a "numerically weak tribe," who barely eked out a living from their rocky island, but who were recognized for their great skill in pottery, for their outstanding skills as seamen, and lastly for their central position half way between Dobu and the Trobriands, and "they have succeeded in becoming in several respects the monopolists of this part of the world" (1922:46).

By monopolists Malinowski meant that the inhabitants of the Amphletts were the sole manufacturers of pottery for a very wide radius: They were the only supplier to the Trobriands, to the peoples of the Marshall Bennett Islands, and to Woodlark. The Amphletts exported clay pots to the islands in the south, to Dobu, Duau (Normandy), and as far away as Milne Bay on mainland New Guinea. "The best Amphlett pots owe their high quality to the excellence of their material as well as to their workmanship. The clay for them has to be imported....from...a quarry on the Northern shore of Fergusson Island...." (1922:282-283).

Flowing toward the Amphletts were imports of food, including sago, pigs, coconut, betel-nut, taro and yams. Furthermore, states Malinowski, in olden days one very important article imported into the Amphletts was the stone -- usually finished blades -- for implements which came via the Trobriands from Woodlark Island (1922:287).

The Amphletts were highly dependent upon the Trobriands for wooden dishes from Bwoytalu; lime-pots from Kuboma; the famous three-tiered baskets and the folding baskets, manufactured in Luya; and ebony lime pots and mussell shells, which came principally from the village of Kavataria. Payment for these articles included, of course, the pots, followed by turtle-shell earrings, nose sticks, red ochre, pummice stone and obsidian, all of which could be procured locally. From Fergusson Island, the Amphlett natives obtained, for the Trobrianders, wild banana seeds for necklaces, strips of rattan used in the manufacturing of belts and for lashing, feathers of the red parrot and the cassowary, used for dancing decorations, and finally plaited fiber belts, and bamboo and barbed spears (1922:287).

The trading carried on eastwards from the Trobriands was done between the Trobriand district of Kiriwina and Kitava Island. First the Kiriwinians went to Kuboma to collect the articles previously listed, and these articles were then transported by the Kiriwinian kula expedition to Kitava. Imported items from Kitava were grass skirts of coconut leaves, urn-shaped baskets, small hand baskets, specially bleached pandanus mats, conus shell ornaments, ebony spatulas, walking staves, and sword-clubs; included also was an aromatic black paint made from charred sandal wood (1922:480).

The accounts of the early ethnographers demonstrate how intricately intermeshed were the islands of the Massim that participated in the common trade of the kula. Different islands had special products, or sole access to needed raw materials, and by the process of exchange were able to keep all areas supplied with a selection of the products of each area. As Fortune pointed out, "the kula exchange of ornamental

valuables, useless enough in itself, helps to maintain annual exchanges of other objects that serve more utilitarian ends" (1932:xxvii).

Ceremonial exchanges between any two contiguous districts of the kula ring consisted primarily of one group exchanging its ornament for the ornament of the other group; "refusal to make such an exchange would mean, if not war, certainly isolation, and the extinction of trading connections with adjacent districts and beyond. Even without war this would be sufficient sanction" (Uberoi 1962:156).

The peace-making aspects of the kula did not eliminate violence. As Uberoi stresses, "within one district, armed fights sometimes occurred between the different villages on islands, but destructive raids of serious violence did not" (1962:158). As I thought about the social, political, and economic aspects of the kula I saw a parallel between this South Seas exchange system and the modern efforts to establish what we know today as the European Common Market. As originally conceived, the European Common Market sought to bring together the population (in excess of 160 million people) of six nations and to remove gradually all barriers to the movement of goods, people, capital, and businesses across their borders (Cabot 1963:427). There was clearly another reason, besides the economic, that gave impetus to the birth of the ECM and that was the realization that a repeat of the devastations of World War II would obliterate Europe. New patterns of trade in Europe, then, as in the Massim, would at least lessen the likelihood of declared war, although they would not necessarily halt occasional "sword rattling" or even minor acts of violence. In establishing a more closely knit trading world, the participants of the European Common Market and,

later, other European nations, would weld themselves closer together in friendlier political relations, which is exactly what occurred in the Massim through the kula exchange.

Is the kula cycle with all of its attendant functions nothing more than a Western Pacific Islands version of the European Common Market?

Thus, each district had extensive and obligatory trading connections via its neighbors; and all of the districts of the kula ring were interwoven by a network of trade.

For the modern museum specialist, ethnographer, and art historian, this network of trade creates certain problems for the study of decorative styles and for the study of the material culture of an island, or group of islands which form a social/cultural uniformity. The long-range effects of inter-island trade did produce a homogeneity of art style. For this very practical reason the so-called "primitive art" books consider all of the islands of the Massim as sharing a fundamental style of decoration, and this style, characteristically, is labelled "Massim."

This levelling of style differences was, as we have seen, the direct result of many years of inter-island trading; the diffusion of non-utilitarian and utilitarian artifacts probably took place with unbelievable rapidity, so that it is impossible to limit one's interest to the study of the products of one island. Any effort, too, to find ultimate origins for certain artifacts and their stylistic treatment is bound to be futile for the changes in form and content are nearly unlimited.

Even the Malinowski collection contains articles imported from other islands. In some cases these non-Trobriand objects were so identified by Malinowski, but there remains a sizable number of articles which he erroneously assumed to be Trobriand or were recorded by him without provenience. The best one can say about the Malinowski collection is that it was collected in the Trobriand Islands, and that a certain percentage of the artifacts was probably manufactured there.[3]

The trading of utilitarian objects and foodstuffs followed a route approximating that of the kula cycle. The destinations of trading expeditions which originated in the Trobriand Islands were determined by geographical and meteorological factors. For example, the canoes of Vakuta and Sinaketa districts sailed with the easterly winds and traded with islands to the south, principally the Amphletts and the D'Entrecasteaux Islands, especially Fergusson Island, but also with the smaller adjacent islands, venturing as far as the north side of the Dawson Straits, returning home to the Trobriands with the south or southeast winds. Since Kavataria, in the Kulumata district, was located further westward, these natives had easy access to the eastern end of Fergusson Island and the lee or protected islands of the Amphletts. The inhabitants of the island of Kayleula situated somewhat west of Boyowa, had relatively easy sailing to the north of Goodenough Island. Sailing expeditions eastwards via Kitava Island originated in the district of

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[3]It should be noted that the Lowie Museum's collection of Malinowski material arrived with several non-Oceanic artifacts, including a Hopi wicker basket, a cherry wood pipe of European manufacture, and two human trophy skulls.

Kiriwina with the village of Omarakana playing the most important role. Vakuta Island, too, sent expeditions to the islands eastward.

Articles of trade reaching the D'Entrecasteaux Islands from the Trobriands were carried east part Duluna Point, the most northerly point of Duau (Normandy Island), southwards to Tubetube and probably to Wari Island. The current of trade continued from Tubetube in a northern direction to the Alcester Islands (Tokuna Group) and to Wooklark Island (Murua). Trading relationships were also established to the islands west of Tubetube which would include Rogea Island, Sariba, Sidia, and Basilaki, the latter island being an important source of certain woods including tari wood for blackening teeth (Seligmann 1910:530).

The kula cycle itself was envisioned by Malinowski as a ceremonial exchange of valuables which were kept in perpetual circulation around a fixed ring of islands -- the soulava moving in a clockwise direction and the mwali counterclockwise. While all inter-island trade was conducted under the umbrella of the kula expeditions, it apparently could and did function independently of the rules of the kula. As previously noted, this common trade was of critical importance for the survival of lesser affluent islands like Tubetube and the Amphletts where food supplies were always short, but even the more self-sufficient islands like the Trobriands were obliged to import certain commodities not the least of which was the stone for the manufacture of axe and adze blades which had to come from Suloga on Woodlark Island. Even the special sand for polishing stone tools had to be imported from Fergusson Island to the south.

The network of trade extended in every direction so that every island had extensive trade connections with its neighbors. One could almost diagram the trade network as a triangle with Woodlark Island in the east forming one base, the Trobriands in the west the other, and with the great middlemen of the Massim, the Tubetube Islanders, at the apex.

The network of trade is not clearly understood and it would be difficult to ascertain the inventory of goods imported and exported by each and every participating island. Thanks to the observations of Malinowski and Seligmann we do have a fair idea of the range and type of material which was carried into the Trobriands as well as what they exported.

The following list of articles, including implements, raw materials, and foodstuffs, exported from and imported to the Trobriand Islands, is by no means exhaustive. It does, however, contain the major items which figured in the trading network of the Massim region.

1. Trade Exported from the Trobriands East to Kitava Island, Marshall Bennett Islands, Woodlark Island and to the Alcesters: Combs; plain lime gourds; decorated lime gourds; wooden bowls and dishes; plaited fiber armlets; shell scrapers; bagi; soulava; coconuts; wooden lime spatulas; spondylus shell discs, necklaces and belts of disc beads; turtle shell rings and earrings; three-tiered baskets and folding baskets; stone blades (usually finished); mussell shells; creeper (for lashing); bananas; wood (timber for canoe parts).

2. Trade Exported from the Trobriands to Islands in the Southerly Direction, including the Amphletts, D'Entrecasteaux (Goodenough Island, Fergusson Island, and Normandy Island (Duau), Adjacent Islands, including Dawson Straits) to Tubetube Group: Combs; wooden bowls and dishes; plain lime gourds; decorated lime gourds; plaited fiber armlets; three-tiered baskets and folding baskets; stone blades; turtle shell rings and earrings; mussell shells;

spondylus shell discs, necklaces and belts of disc beads; wooden lime spatulas; mwali and other shell arm bracelets of lesser value; doga (pig tusks), and shell imitations; mats; grass skirts; canoes; drums.

3. Trade Imported to the Trobriands from the East, via Kitava Island: Grass skirts of coconut leaves; small baskets (sinepopo type, from Panamoti Island); urn-shaped baskets; rain mats and specially bleached pandanus mats; conus shell ornaments; doga (pig tusks), and shell imitations; bone lime spatulas; mwali, and other arm shell bracelets of lesser value; bunadoga shell; wooden lime spatulas; pulata (wooden swords/clubs); stone for blades (in the rough); fighting spears; black face paint (charred sandal wood); yams; pawpaw; coconuts; walking sticks.

4. Trade Imported to the Trobriands from the D'Entrecasteaux Islands and from Tubetube: Coconuts; fishing spears; betel nut; nose ornaments; red parrot and cassowary feathers for dancing; sago; clay pots; kwasi (small fiber armlets); large bagi; soulava and necklaces of lesser value; plaited fiber waist belts; pumice stone; sand for polishing stone blades; red ochre for paint; strips of rattan; bamboo; wild banana seeds; obsidian for drilling points; reed for flutes; certain woods.

In the sections to follow which deal with the study and analysis of artifacts, I make frequent reference to Ethnological Documents 1010, which is the Cooke-Daniels Register of the British Museum in which is catalogued the material objects from Tubetube and Waga-Waga, collected by Seligmann.

Much of the material collected by Seligmann on Tubetube was recorded by him to have been imported from the Trobriand Islands, while other objects were recorded as being Trobriand in type. Through the good graces of the British Museum I was fortunate to acquire a microfilm of the Cooke-Daniels Register which I had printed for easy reference. The drawings in the Cooke-Daniels Register were sufficiently well done so that I could, in time, learn to recognize objects of Trobriand manufacture. In many respects, the Cooke-Daniels Register was infinitely more valuable to the research than Malinowski's all too brief or imprecise

notes.

CHAPTER III

MASSIM DESIGN

Anyone even passingly familiar with the material culture of the Massim region can identify the decorative style peculiar to the area: a strong preference for curvilinear designs expressed in spirals in a multitude of forms, asymmetry, use of dots, dotted lines, the dotted circle, and the ubiquitous wavy band or streamer motif, the latter most often composed of curved or slightly rounded lines rather than sharp or anuglar lines.

Human beings, birds, snakes, and other animal forms also figure prominently in Massim designs. Human forms, as we shall see, frequently lack the detail to determine whether a figure is male or female.

With few exceptions, those writing on the material culture of the Massim region are convinced that all designs, natural or abstract, can be identified and labelled. Consequently, many "primitive art" specialists, art historians, and some ethnologists see in Massim designs all manner of objects, e.g., clouds, bird's heads, eyes, butterflies, fish, and so forth. These investigators generally favor an evolutionary approach to the reconstruction of artistic designs, i.e., they assume that there was a gradual development from purely realistic forms to abstract geometric patterns. The evolutionary approach was favored

by early writers such as Haddon (1894 and 1895), and by modern ethnologists such as Cranstone (1961:44).

There are two major objections to the evolutionary method. In the first place, it depends primarily on chronological evidence. Haddon, for example, completely ignores the fact that both geometric and naturalistic forms existed side by side in the Massim. If we allow that an abstract design degenerated from an earlier natural form, then surely we would have to have a series showing the gradual development from the realistic to the abstract. Progressive or degenerative change is possible in archaeological interpretation where changes through time can be demonstrated empirically. But in studying ethnographic collections, where the time element is relatively short, it is only under certain circumstances (as in societies where rapid acculturation is taking place) that one can demonstrate the gradual change from purely realistic forms to abstract ones, or even vice versa.

To be sure, there are many abstract designs in the Massim that resemble human forms, animals, trees, birds, plants, and clouds, but to argue that these are the most recent expressions of naturalistic ancestral forms is sheer nonsense especially when the natural form is contemporaneous with its supposed abstract relative. More than showing just the ethnocentrism of the investigator, such thinking denies the fact that the "natives" are capable of making abstractions.

The second objection to the method lies, I think, in the apparent need of evolutionary investigators to interpret forms, and once having determined the "meaning" of a form, they act as though the interpretation is final. In his The Decorative Art of British New Guinea, Haddon

devotes considerable space to the discussion of the Massim birds' heads (1894:185-186). In one scroll pattern described by Haddon as a serial interlocking of the birds' heads (1894:fig. 52, 186), I just as easily saw a series of octopus heads with bulbous eyes and extended tenticles. The point is that any interpretation of design elements, patterns, or their combinations is valid since it stems from a purely Euro-American viewpoint. Reichard, in her discussion of the bird's head motif, pointed out that one investigator who worked thirty years among the Bukaua made a great effort to get the "natives" interpretation of the element, and found that the informants were indifferent about interpretation and inconsistent in naming the element; one informant called it a maggot, another a scar (Reichard 1933:5).

In his analysis of Massim canoe ornaments, Seligmann (1909) attempted to identify the names of the birds represented in the carvings. Some of the bird forms suggests (to Seligmann) reef herons, frigate birds, terns, cockatoos, and others, but informants interviewed by Seligmann were not always consistent in the identification of species. In one case, an informant identified the crested bird forms as <u>makarakea</u>, or terns, and when Seligmann pointed out that terns did not have crests and suggested that these carvings might be cockatoos or cocks, the informant replied they were nevertheless <u>makarakea</u> "...and refused to consider my suggestion that they were, in fact, cockatoos" (1909:34).

In another paper published after his death, Seligmann made an effort to identify and name the design elements on D'Entrecasteaux canoe attachments (1946). Intent upon proving derivation of a design from natural forms, Seligmann accepted accounts of a former government

anthropologist stationed at Papua, and of Dr. Geza Roheim, both of whom derived part of their information from "native" informants.

One gets the distinct impression that Williams (the government anthropologist) and Roheim unconsciously used the canoe attachment as a sort of Rorshach, asking the informants for their interpretations of the various designs. The informants, of course, provided the names (often contradictory). Once it was established that the principal figure on a series of splash boards was Matakapotaiataia, a wide-spread New Guinea culture hero, then it was a relatively easy task to link up the other designs on the splash board with elements from an origin myth. Working from Williams' and Roheim's descriptions, Seligmann was able to identify most forms on the canoe carvings and provide each with the native name. Alas, as recently as 1967, a major museum in the eastern United States published a guide to its New Guinea art collections, and cited Seligmann's fanciful interpretation to explain all the elements on a Woodlark splash board (Newton 1967:14).

If it is true that the Massim carver abhores a vacuum, it is also true that the carvers prefer ornamentation to naturalism. In their over-whelming preference for curvilinear designs, the artists sacrifice naturalism to the point where even features, including arms and legs on human figures, are represented with scrolls, circles, and other curvilinear elements.

Actual representations of animals, including humans, do occur, but they are not common motifs. What seems to happen is that the carver would much prefer executing a scroll to suggest a bird rather than carving a true image of the bird itself. Even when the outline of a

figure is undeniably a bird, the feathers, beak and eyes are rendered by scrolls, dots, and circles, intricately interwoven. The squatting figure or twin figures which serve as finials on walking sticks and on lime spatulas show but a token effort on the part of the carver to represent the human body as such. Generally speaking, the carved human head approximates reality, although even here the eyes, ears, mouth are indicated by circles, scrolls, and a wavy-band, respectively. The body of the human figure would, in most instances, be unrecognizable were it not for the head. The arms and legs are nothing more than cleverly arranged "U" or "S" scrolls.

It is also true that the finest carvings -- those that exhibit well-executed and complex designs -- are made of the harder wood; the carvings made of the softer, mahogany-type woods (méku) rarely attain the sophistication of the gai carvings. Perhaps these lesser carvings were intended for sale to tourists (non-Massim folk) or may have been manufactured for export to other islands in the Massim, i.e., intended solely for trading purposes.

I fully agree with Buhler, Barrow and Mountford (1962:120) that Massim carving is decorative on the whole rather than having a religious or magical connotation. This raises a question though which has to be dealt with: why are certain design elements more or less restricted to one or several types of objects? Or to put it another way, who do certain design motifs rarely, if ever, appear on certain objects? Why, for example, are certain identifiable motifs such as the "hanging snake" and the wavy-band almost always found on lime spatulas, clubs, mortars, pestles, walking sticks, axe/adze handles, and other implements,

but hardly ever appear on canoe prows, splash boards, and dance paddles? If we allow that there is no symbolic significance to designs and their occurrence, and since any psychological interpretation is doomed to failure from the start, then I think we have to consider a purely functional explanation. As we shall see, there is a correlation to be found in the analysis of designs and their occurrence, and that is the statistically significant coupling of asymmetrical designs with certain objects.

What probably accounts for the asymmetrical aspects of Massim ornamentation can be explained as a function of space and its shape. Curvilinear designs tend to produce triangular zones or gores and it an artist is attempting to do a series of connecting coils the first coil will be larger than the second precisely because he lacks the space to make the coils the same size. The asymmetrical aspects of ornamentation on kaidebu, lagim, and tabuyo specimens then is due to (1) the basic shape of these objects, i.e., round in contour, and (2) the presence of a prescribed motif which invariably consists of a large spiral. Once the central motif has been executed, there remains odd-shaped zones for further ornamentation, and these zones do not permit the placement of symmetrical designs.

Certain designs occur with predictable regularity. Excluding for the moment the basic coil and scroll and their variations, we can say that it is the wavy-band or streamer motif which is probably the most common design found on Massim carvings. Its principal function seems to be as a border design within whose boundaries other designs are executed, although frequently on objects where the space to be decorated

is limited -- as in the case of the edges on wooden bowls -- the wavy-band is the only ornamentation. The wavy-band also serves to separate one zone of design from another.

"Hanging snakes" do not appear on kaidebu and rarely occur on canoe parts. They generally occur on those objects that are long and narrow (relatively) such as lime spatulas, axe/adze handles, and clubs where the long axis is considerably greater than the width. Given this space to fill, the artist is apt to prefer something simple, like a single "hanging snake" or a series of them. The "hanging snake" motif seems to be regarded as a space filler and in some cases, such as on kema handles, it follows the shape of the kema.

The lime spatulas (kena) show the greatest variation in shape and ornamentation. It is almost a truism that no two lime spatulas are exactly alike. On the other hand, the tabuyo, the lagim, and kaidebu all show a more formal or conservative approach to ornamentation in the sense that there is a prescribed or nearly rigid adherence to a formula for ornamentation. The lobes on each half of the kaidebu, for example, consist of a volute which, in some cases, resembles the "bird's head" and spirals out to form another "bird's head" which rests on a cross-piece whose decoration suggests another animal form. The basic spiral design creates odd-shaped zones which preclude symmetrical ornamentation. Interlocking unequal coils and scrolls with coils of unequal size cover the face of each volute. On the tabuyo, the front scroll is always a spiral with a bird head-like design in the center. The lagim also show precious little deviance away from a format with the mid and lower "bird's head" motif radiating into a spiral.

Scrolls carved on the face of the relatively parallel-sided clubs (pulata) have nearly equal-sized coils; here, too, the zones of decoration are in rectangular bands which allow for the execution of equal-sized coils or other motifs. Such isn't possible on surfaces that are round in contour such as kaidebu blades, lagim, or tabuyo parts, where the scroll is the dominant element and which creates other space that is not equal or divisible into rectangular or square zones, so that the carver is forced to carve unequal coils, arcs, or other asymmetrical designs.

In short, once the dominant element has been carved, as on a tabuyo, then the space left undecorated is of peculiar shape which allows the carver every license to experiment with curvilinear designs, most of which are asymmetrical.

Design elements, and their variations, will be described as they occur as relevant subjects in the analysis of the objects themselves. But first of all, it is necessary to isolate and identify the basic design elements and their more common variations. The geometric motives of the Massim district to be treated here will include triangles, zig-zags, wavy-bands, the scroll and spiral -- which represent the most complex and greatest number of permutations of any design -- circles, concentric circles, ovals, "star," and a few of the many "realistic" motives including birds, bird's heads, the hanging snake, and the human figure.

Triangles, zig-zags, and wavy-bands. One can concur with Reichard that triangles, zig-zags, and wavy-bands are such simple elements that

it is not surprising to find them used as decorations in just about every place in the world (1933(I):126). Yet in some parts of the world, the employment of the single triangle in subtle arrangements and combinations leads to a number of other motives which can be quite complex. In a sense, one could analyse the wavy-band motif as a secondary design since it consists of a top and a bottom row of carved-out triangles in which the apexes of the triangles in one row point to the bases of the triangles in the other. It may be true, as Outram suggests, that the Massim carver is emphasizing the incised, lime-filled triangles that have been cut into the wood, rather than the resultant relief pattern, or the wavy-band itself (1974:6). Still, our eyes are accustomed to "seeing" the wavy-band as the dominant element.

From my observations of the various design elements in Massim artifacts, I am forced to conclude that the wavy-band or streamer is the dominating element. As I pointed out earlier, the wavy-band serves principally as a border decoration, as on wooden bowls and dishes where it runs completely, or nearly completely, around the entire rim. The wavy-band also functions to separate one zone of decoration from another. On many of the smaller wooden objects such as lime spatulas, betel-nut mortars and pestles, it may be the only decoration occurring as a single band, or in a series of two or three stacked bands.

Single rows of triangles are not common (see Figure 1a) and seem to occur where limited space on the surface of the carving -- usually along the edges -- precludes the carving of an opposing row of triangles.

In Figure 1 the most common forms of wavy-bands are b, c, and d, where the corners are rounded and the band runs in scallops instead of

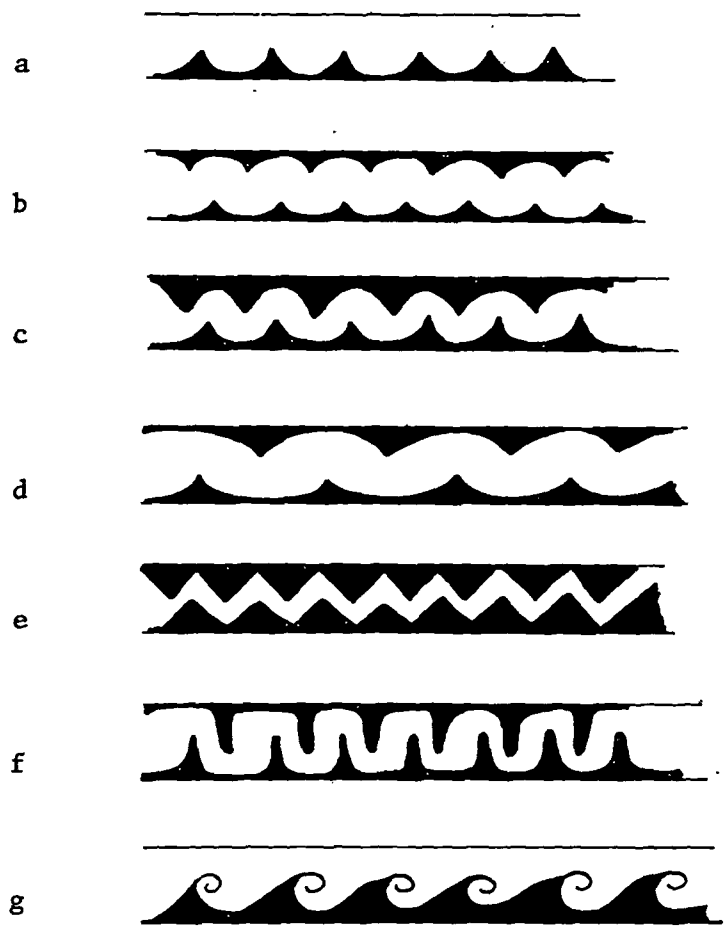


FIGURE 1

TRIANGLES, ZIG-ZAGS, AND WAVY-BANDS

points as in Figure 1e. A favorite variation found in the Massim area is Figure 1g, which is a single line of scallops with the apex of the triangles showing a hooked effect.

Coil and spiral (scrolls). The spiral is perhaps, as Reichard suggests, the most characteristic design element of Oceanic art (1933: 129). Certainly in the Massim area, the carvers have a strong preference for curves which becomes especially evident in the fertility of ideas in the use of the spiral. The variations on the use of the spiral are virtually unlimited. As we shall see, it is the same imaginative use of the spiral motif which, in some instances, results in designs strongly reminiscent of birds and snakes. The simplest coil is the hook pattern (Figure 2a). A somewhat more complete coil has one and one-half turns (Figure 2b) and a complete coil has two and one-half turns (Figure 2c). The basic design is a double spiral or scroll with coils of equal or unequal size, either facing or reversed (Figure 3a-d).

To carve a scroll with facing coils of equal size, the carver would start with two dots or circles connected by a straight line (Figure 4a). The next line starts on the inner side of one circle, hooks around and runs to the inner side of the opposing circle (Figure 4b); the final line is executed in the same fashion (Figure 4c).

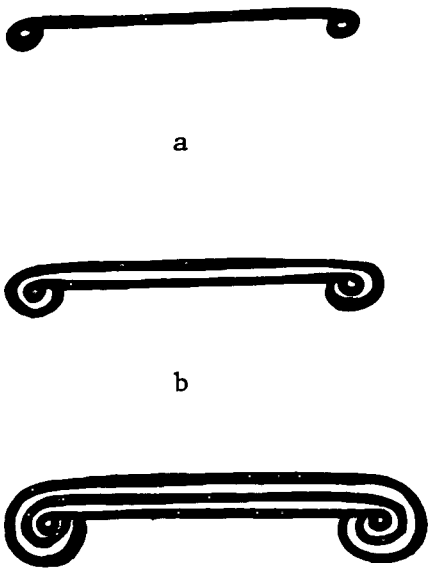
To carve a scroll with reverse coils of equal size the carver begins with dots or circles (Figure 5a). The first line starts from the circle and hooks to the outside of the opposite coil (Figure 5b). The next, or center, line hooks to form the innermost arc on the opposite coil and is the only line to occupy the same relative position

a b c

FIGURE 2

a b c d

FIGURE 3



a

b

c

FIGURE 4

COIL AND SPIRAL (SCROLLS)

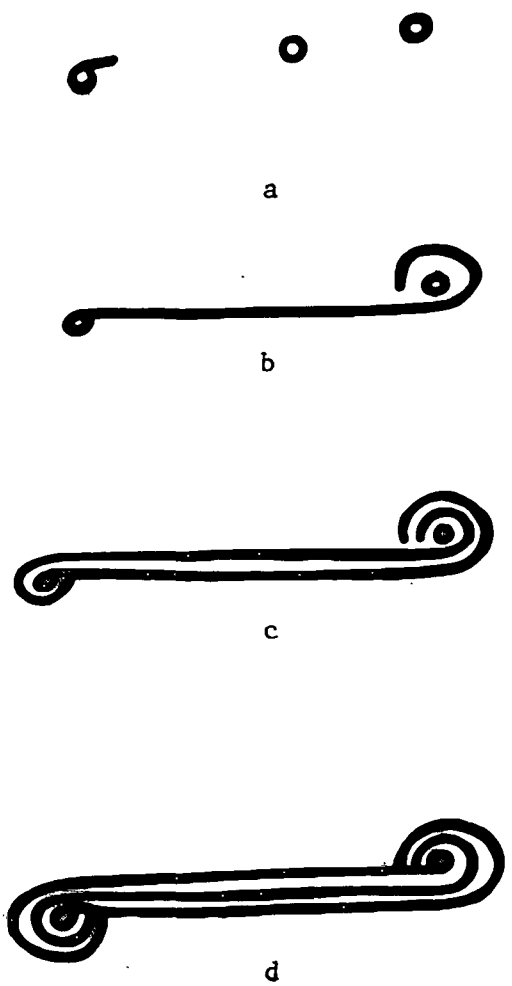


FIGURE 5

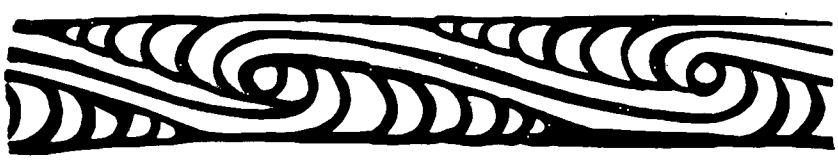


FIGURE 6

COIL AND SPIRAL (SCROLLS)

on both coils (Figure 5c). To complete the scroll, the outermost line of one coil is hooked to connect with the starting circle of the other (Figure 5d).

The greatly embellished looped connected scrolls executed within narrow zones of decoration to produce an elaborate design which is nothing more than the filling in of the gores with arcs (Figure 6). Simple "S" designs can be formed around circles to produce scrolls with incomplete coils and embellished with arcs (Figure 7). Scrolls may also be executed with a series of nearly-completed "S" designs which do not form around a dot or circle (Figure 8).

"Snake head" and "hanging snake" motifs. The "snake head" and "hanging snake" motifs are extremely common design elements which may be simple or very complex in execution. The simplest rendition of the "hanging snake" consists of nothing more than a circle within a hanging loop (Figure 9), while a more realistic snake is accomplished by adding an additional circle to form the other "eye" and a crescent below to suggest a mouth (Figure 10). The basic "hanging snake" head is heart- or shield-shaped with large circles, sometimes concentric, for "eyes," below which are usually triangular elements (Figures 11, 12, 13). The more curvilinear and abstract examples of "snake heads" consist of cleverly arranged scrolls (Figures 14, 15); not infrequently, the tightly curved ends of the scrolls substitute for the circle "eyes" (Figures 16, 17).

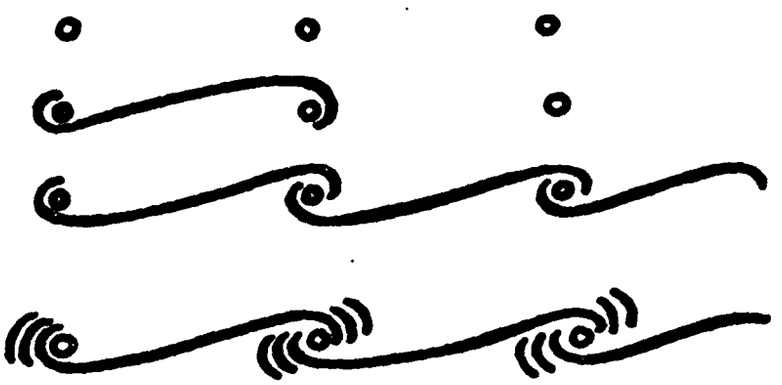


FIGURE 7

FIGURE 8

COIL AND SPIRAL (SCROLLS)

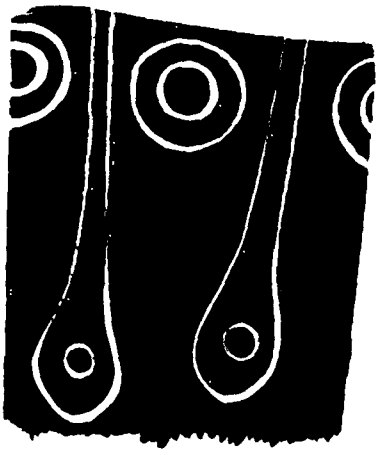


FIGURE 9

FIGURE 10

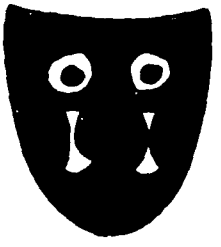


FIGURE 11

FIGURE 12

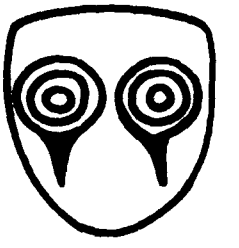


FIGURE 13

FIGURE 14

FIGURE 15

FIGURE 16

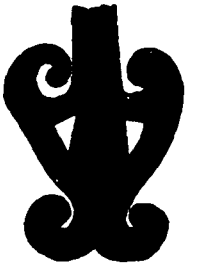


FIGURE 17

"SNAKE HEAD" AND "HANGING SNAKE" MOTIFS

Circles, ovals, rectangles, and squares. These geometric design elements in a nearly infinite variety of arrangements and compositions appear on practically every carving, particularly on such objects as sword/clubs, lime spatulas, and walking sticks. Figures 18-26 show the most common variants on basic geometric motifs, but do not exhaust the possibilities. Circles with four, three, and two points appear as frequent designs (Figure 27); usually they are found on such objects as lime spatulas, sword/clubs and on fighting shields. Frequently, as in Figure 28, the points will terminate in a scroll. Large circles are common motifs on fighting shields. These consist of two concentric circles (Figure 29); a central dot, or circle, is surrounded by two or four irregularly shaped or bean-shaped elements (Figure 30).

Bird figures and bird heads. The bird and "bird's head" appear as a decorative motif on just about every object produced in the Massim. The details of bird portrayal are anything but standardized. When a bird is recognizable as such, it is depicted with wings folded and as though floating on water (Figure 31).

In most designs suggestive of birds and bird heads, the figure is combined with other shapes in which the characteristics of the "bird" practically disappear. Long sweeping curves terminating in scroll ends, as on lagim and tabuyo objects, do, I admit, strongly suggest highly abstract and unconventional bird forms. Scrolls with reverse coils do remind one of bird heads, especially when there is an innermost circle on the larger coil which suggests an eye, and the opposite, smaller coil turns under giving the impression of the beak of a frigate bird. The

FIGURE 18

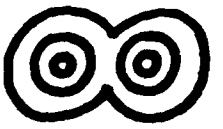


FIGURE 19

FIGURE 20

FIGURE 21

FIGURE 22

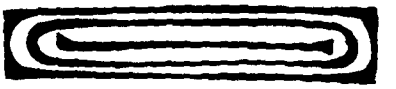


FIGURE 23

FIGURE 24

FIGURE 25

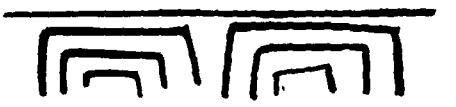


FIGURE 26

CIRCLES, OVALS, RECTANGLES, AND SQUARES

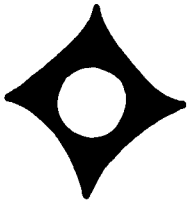


FIGURE 27

FIGURE 28

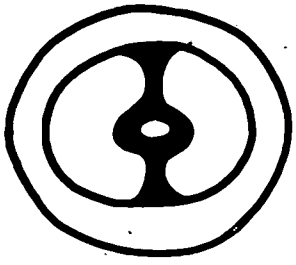


FIGURE 29

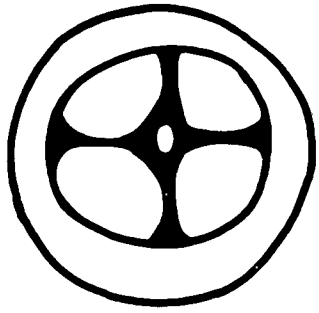


FIGURE 30

CIRCLES, OVALS, RECTANGLES, AND SQUARES

"bird" motifs in Figures 32-43 by no means exhaust the seemingly endless varieties of bird-like renditions, but they do form a representative sample of the inventory.

Human figure (tokualu). The squatting figure or twin figures motifs which serve as finials on some walking sticks, lime spatulas, and other objects, leave little doubt that they are, indeed, human representations. In general, the carver endeavors to execute a realistic human head. The limbs, however, only approximate reality. The arms and legs are merely variations of scrolls and coils (Figure 44).

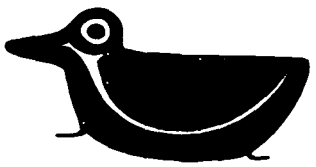


FIGURE 31

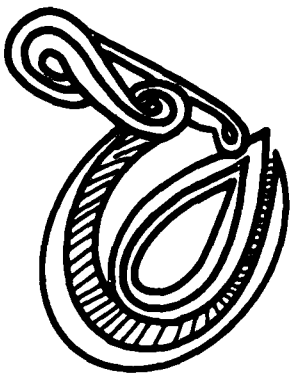


FIGURE 32

FIGURE 33

FIGURE 34

FIGURE 35

FIGURE 36

FIGURE 37

BIRD FIGURES AND BIRD HEADS

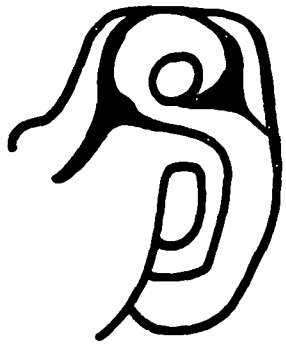


FIGURE 38

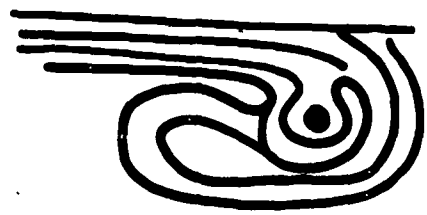


FIGURE 39

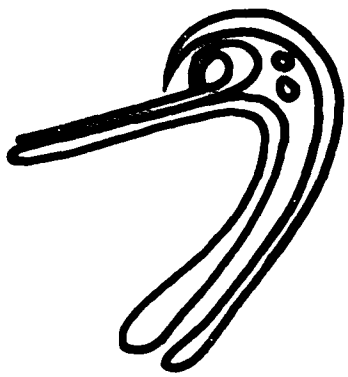


FIGURE 40

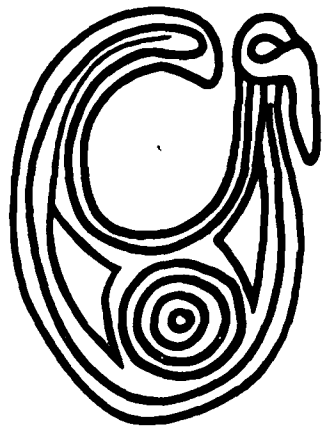


FIGURE 41

FIGURE 42

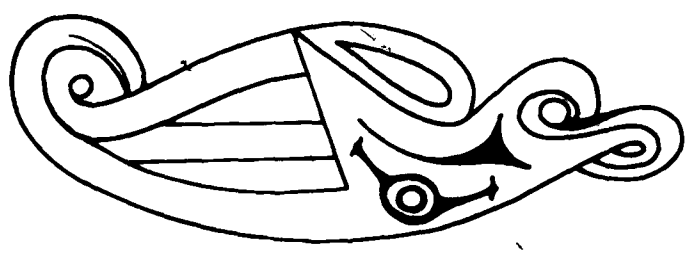


FIGURE 43

BIRD FIGURES AND BIRD HEADS

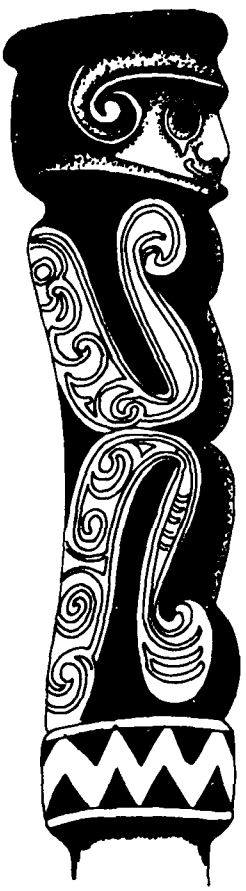


FIGURE 44

HUMAN FIGURE (TOKUALU)

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE: STONE TECHNOLOGY

Seligmann (1906) was the first to establish that in the whole of eastern New Guinea there was but one site where the stone for tools was quarried, and that was at Sulogá on Woodlark Island (Murua). Characteristically, he was also the first to note that Sulóga quarried blades were traded, hand to hand, for hundreds of miles stretching northwards to the Papuan Gulf and to the west of Cape Nelson (1910: 15). In addition, Seligmann pointed out the distinction, made by the natives, between functional axe and adze blades and those manufactured exclusively as ceremonial blades. To a certain extent, both types of blades entered the trading system via Tubetube, but most blades exported from Woodlark Island journeyed westwards to the Marshall Bennett Islands and the Trobriands, and then to the Amphlett and D'Entrecasteaux Islands (Seligmann 1910:530-531).

Writing on the subject of stone technology 25 years later, Malinowski was able to add considerably to Seligmann's highly important account of the manufacturing and trading of stone tools (1934). Restricting his observations and comments to the Trobriand Islands, Malinowski presents an informative but sometimes vague account of Trobriand lithic technology, a subject which he considered to be "distinctly

antiquarian" and, I surmise, of but little interest to him. (1934: 196).

The difficulty in acquiring the stone from Woodlark, a distance of over 60 miles, coupled with the rapidity in which the tools were worn out in the course of everyday use, placed a high value on the stone objects. Since some of the stone specimens exhibited streaks of lighter color which had a strong appeal to the Massim islanders' sense of aesthetics, it followed that some blades were worked for their aesthetic qualities alone, and became objects of "consensed wealth" (1934:190). Many of these streaked or banded stones attained great value and were prized even above the mwali and soulava. However, unlike the arm bracelets and neckalces, the streaked blades were not traded, but were regarded and treated as heirlooms (vegutabula), and were retained by one lineage (1934:190).

Stone tools have been entirely replaced by European-made steel or iron, a change that had almost run its course during Malinowski's time in the Trobriands (1934:192). Even European axe handles were adopted by the islanders, although old style adze handles (ligogu) have been retained for hafting adze and planing blades. Malinowski points out that steel implements did not require the careful use demanded of stone blades, and yet the craftsmen employed steel tools in the same manner as stone implements, i.e., they cut, plane, and scoop out by means of exceptionally weak and exceedingly numerous strokes, working very slowly, nibbling away the material (1934:192). Such a slow and careful approach to work explains how the Trobriand craftsmen were able to work very hard wood with relatively brittle and blunt stone blades, hafted to light

wooden handles, and barely secured by rattan wrapping. To employ such a tool the worker could not put undo strain upon it, and each stroke had to be made with deliberate precision and dexterity. Not surprisingly, it was necessary to re-sharpen dulled or broken blades with great frequency, and, as Malinowski says, when important work was being done, there was, for cutter or planer, another man or two sharpening replacement blades (1934:192).

Both Seligmann (1906:354) and Malinowski (1934:190) took independent steps to have the flakes and rough and polished blades from Woodlark Island analyzed, and each found that two geologically distinct kinds of stone were worked: one a volcanic ash, and the other a lava. Malinowski's analysis, actually performed by a Professor of Geology at Melbourne University, was far more specific (1934:190). He determined that petrologically speaking, the harder and more homogeneous specimens are consolidated volcanic augite andesite ash or tuff. It is this material which supplied the rare and highly prized streaked examples which were formed by irregular bedding of the volcanic ash. The other material, of smaller specific gravity and less homogeneous, is formed from basaltic rocks, olivine andesite, formed by lava flow.

Stones were imported into the Trobriands from Woodlark to the east in a roughly hewn and chipped shape. The initial roughing-out was done at the quarry site. The final shaping and polishing of the stone was always done in the Trobriands.

The center of Trobriand stone chipping and polishing was the Kiriwina province of Tilataula, especially the villages of Obowada, Kaurikwa'u and Okobobo (1935(I):14). The polishing was done on a large

coral boulder of a special grain, cut out from a live reef, and was used with a very fine sand procured from a special beach. The art of stone polishing required great skill and patience, a tradition which demanded a concerted effort on the part of the craftsmen to spend weeks on end hunched over their polishing apparatus. These craftsmen worked mainly for chiefs of rank who paid for the service with periodic gifts of food (1935(I):15).

Malinowski prepared a list of stone implements (British Museum 1922: N:1-10) in which he identified ten types of stone tools, although for only six did he provide the native name. In no instance was the description very explicit. Fortunately, in his article on stone technology (1934), Malinowski did give a more detailed description of the major types, but failed to account for all of the types and their variations. Some of the stone objects were marked with Malinowski's type number and a percentage of these were found to correlate with his listed types. There were, however, many discrepancies which could not be resolved by reference to Malinowski's types, and these I must assume were either marked erroneously in the first place, or else Malinowski knew of additional discriminating data which he neglected to include in his descriptions.[4]

---

[4]At some point Malinowski changed his numerical type system, because we find that half of the stones tagged with Roman numerals do not correlate with the types designated by Arabic numerals in the Ethnological Document. The lithic specimens in the British Museum collection have type designations that do correspond to the types listed on the Ethnological Document. The stone implements acquired by the Lowie Museum are mostly untagged, but those that are marked with a type number do not always correspond to the types in the Ethnological Document.

For purposes of this study, the lithic objects have been divided into two groups: The first consists of those stone artifacts which comprise the type sets based upon Malinowski's categories, i.e., the objects themselves were identified by label or marking as belonging to a specific type. The second group includes those stone artifacts which lack identification and therefore had to be attributed to one type or another on the basis of degree of conformity to known types. Admittedly, the attributions for many objects in this second group are somewhat arbitrary, and therefore must be considered tentative. The major difficulty in making proper attributions lies in the condition of the objects themselves. In many cases, the specimen is badly worn, evidencing hard usage and changes in form, size, and even function, so that it is nearly impossible to say what the function of the object was when it was first manufactured, and what subsequent roles it might have played in Trobriand technology.

Type 1, tanged blades (M-209, 255-265). No information at all accompanied this interesting class of object. Unfortunately, all Type 1 specimens are in the British Museum, and at the time I handled these specimens, I paid insufficient attention to their technique of manufacture. Consequently, I had to rely solely on the photographs for whatever information could be derived. Strangely enough, nothing like these tools appear in published works, which seems peculiar in light of the fact that they are uniquely shaped specimens, which would indicate that they might have had a specific function. The evenness of the polished edges suggests that they were intended to be axes; the tang

would facilitate hafting into a socketed handle. It is not beyond the realm of possibility, though, that these tanged blades might have served as hoes.

Type 2, beku (M-182, 244-247, 254, 11-40352-40361). Ceremonial axe blades. These blades were manufactured purely for purposes of ornamentation and were associated with large unwieldy handles of a ceremonial type. The largest beku blades were so broad at the base that they could not be inserted even in the largest of the ceremonial handles in existence (Malinowski 1934:194). Each beku blade, however, had its own handle regarded as its counterpart and on occasions of ceremonial display would be placed immediately against it.

The beku "ceremonial blades," which Malinowski preferred to call "tokens of value" (1934:194) had then no technological use whatever, nor were they worn over the shoulder as ornaments as in the case of some smaller, unable blades made of exceptionally fine finish. These smaller ornamental but usable blades were called by their functional name kasivi (planing blade) or ligogu (adze blade). While the small ornamental blades and the larger beku blades were both regarded as vaygu'a (valuables), the natives recognized a sharp line of distinction between them. Beku, then, were of a size, shape, and quality which precluded any practical employment.

Beku blades were the only objects representing tokens of value or condensed wealth produced in the central districts of the Trobriands where political chieftainship was well developed. As previously noted, the blades entered the Trobriands from Suloga. They were imported, not

as finished not even near-finished articles, but arrived as enormous kukumali,[5] so large in some cases that one man found it difficult to lift them.

Even during Malinowski's time, there were only a half dozen specialists who spent inordinate amounts of time (up to several months) working over one beku blade (1934:195).[6] A man who owned a large beku, or a number of them, acquired ipso facto power, so naturally the chief saw to it that no commoner acquired an excessive number of these "tokens of value," i.e., too much influence. The chief, therefore, was the only person permitted to import the roughed-out beku blades.

The fortunate owner of beku would, on certain occasions, display the blades. Once a year, for example, everyone would exhibit his valuables and offer them to the spirits of the departed, which, at a certain season, were supposed to visit the village. When friends or even strangers came a long distance for a visit, they would be privileged to be shown these tokens of wealth. Certain mortuary ceremonies, too, required that the beku be displayed. So highly prized were these beku that they were hidden away, oftentimes buried deep in the ground as protection against theft.

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[5]The term, kukumali, requires some explanation. The word first appears in Argonauts of the Western Pacific, and is described only as roughly-shaped pieces of green stone (1922:481). Malinowski notes, however, in his types of stone tools (British Museum 1922:N:1-10) that every type of tool -- adze, axe, beku, plane, etc. -- had its own kukumali. Kukumali, then, means a roughed-out blank whose final shape and function would depend upon the quality of the material (the finely streaked stone reserved for beku) and upon the whims and needs of the craftsmen for a particular tool. The term is not to be confused with idagondu; the latter turns up occasionally on tools written in Malinowski's illegible hand-writing but apparently means "half-finished." Alas, I was unable to see any difference between say, a kasivi marked as "kukumali" and another kasivi labeled "idagondu".

Of the sixteen *beku* collected by Malinowski, only five were identified as completed *beku* (M-254, 11-40355-40356, 40360-40361). Specimen 11-40355 has the well-defined streaks, is ground and polished on both sides, and measures 23.5 cm. in length. *Beku* 11-40356 lacks the desired streaking and high degree of polish on both surfaces; it measures 14.5 cm. in length. *Beku* 11-40360 is streaked and partly polished on both faces and, like the preceding specimen, is relatively short, measuring only 15 cm. in length. A worn and faded label attached to this *beku* reads, "small value-typical *beku* form." The largest *beku* collected by Malinowski, M-244-247, measure 32.3 cm., 31.5 cm., 27 cm., and 30.5 cm., respectively. None of these large *beku* was considered to be complete example; they were labeled by Malinowski as Type 2b, or *beku* in the *kukumali* stage. Three other blades fall into the *kukumali* or unfinished category (11-40357-40359), and each shows evidence of slight polishing on both sides, and each is considerably shorter in length than the large *kukumali beku* in the British Museum, measuring 16 cm., 14.5 cm., and 21 cm. in length. *Beku* blades 11-40352-40354 are polished on one side only, and each has a barely legible label identifying it as "*idagondu* stage," which means, as we have seen, "half-finished." The three *idagondu beku* measure 17.5 cm., 24 cm., and 16.5 cm. in length.

White traders in the Massim realized quite early that to acquire really fine pearls they had to give in exchange what the natives regarded as objects of wealth -- *mwali*, spondylus shell discs, and large ceremonial *beku*. Malinowski reports that shortly after the turn of the century an enterprising firm of European stone-cutters (Holland, England,

or Germany, hypothesized Malinowski) made an attempt to produce large stone blades of European schist or slate and flooded various Southern Seas districts with them. These fake blades were discarded by the natives as dirt (1935(I):19). A certain acquaintance of Malinowski, one Mr. Brudo, had one or two pieces of original Suloga stone polished in Paris; it, too, was rejected by the Trobrianders (1935(I):19-29).

Malinowski collected at least one example of fake beku (M-243). Measuring approximately 36.5 cm. in length, the fake beku conforms in shape and size to the highly prized native-produced article, but lacks the fine glossy polish, and the striations of the genuine beku. Very likely, this fake beku is one of those introduced by White pearl traders.

Attributed beku (11-40414-40416). These three blades are fragments but each shares characteristic features with other beku: both sides ground and highly polished, and the presence of the aesthetically pleasing streaked surface. The fragments measure 9.5 cm., 10 cm., and 23 cm., respectively, in length. When in their original condition each must have measured somewhere in the neighborhood of 25 to slightly over 30 cm. in length.

Type 3, utuviya (M-214-221, 248, 252). These are large stone blades used to fell large trees for the construction of canoes (Malinowski 1934:191). Canoes were extremely important to the Trobrianders for their overseas expeditions. The large built-up canoes as well as the smaller craft employed for fishing and lagoon transport required a substantial tree trunk for their construction. Prior to the introduction

of steel blades, the large sized trees selected for canoes were cut down with the utuviya stone blade inserted into a large handle shaped like an axe.

These tree-felling blades can be described as being thick and substantial almost to the cutting edge. Only specimens M-214-217, and 252 are identified as completed utuviya. They range in size from the longest of 25 cm. (M-216) to the shortest of 15.5 cm. (M-252) and average approximately 20 cm. in length.

Malinowski states that only the longest utuviya were used to fell large trees for canoes, whereas smaller trees required for yam-house logs and planks for flooring or for canoe gunwales were cut down with a smaller and wider variety of utuviya (1934:191). Malinowski left no clues as to how to differentiate between the two utuviya, but after an examination of all utuviya (including both the completed and kukumali), it appears that wider examples generally are less than 20 cm. in length.

Five utuviya blades were labeled by Malinowski as kukumali (M-218-221, 247), and these are relatively rough and unpolished. Only two of the examples would, by arbitrary decision, fall into the category of large tree-cutting axes (M-219 and 247) since their overall length measures 20.1 cm. and 31 cm., respectively. Axe blade M-218 probably represents the smaller variety of utuviya, having a shorter length, 19.2 cm., and being proportionately wider than the larger variety. The remaining two kukumali utuviya (M-220 and 221) are fragments, but each piece is broad and stout indicating that they were undoubtedly large utuviya blades.

Attributed utuviya (11-40402-40403, 40406-40407, 40409, 40411-40413, 40418, 40420-40424, 40475, 40524). Fifteen of these utuviya blades are sufficiently long and stout enough to be considered the larger heavy-duty blades (11-40402-40403, 40407, 40411-40413, 40418, 40421-40424). They range in size from 28.5 cm. (11-40411) to 20 cm. (11-40424), averaging approximately 26.5 cm. in length. Only one of the attributed utuviya lacks polishing on both faces, and should be appropriately considered as an unfinished; or kukumali utuviya (11-40423). Specimen 11-40475 shows some of the features that make classification of Massim stone tools to be other than an easy, straight-forward matter. This blade conforms in all respects to the larger utuviya, but the edges on both sides are fractured and battered, which indicates that at one time or another it also served as a hammerstone.

Four of these larger utuviya (11-40402, 40407, 40411, and 40418) have the unmistakable patina of age, indicating that they are archaeological specimens which were probably recovered from the ground and used in an ethnographic context.

By process of elimination, the remaining five attributed utuviya may be classed as the smaller blades employed for lighter work (11-40406, 40409, 40420, 40475, and 40524). They range in size from 18.5 cm. to 12.5 cm. in length, and average about 15.7 cm. in length.

Type 4, kasivi (M-222-227, 253, 11-40371-40376, 40401). These are planing blades (adzes). After a tree was felled it was hewn all around in order to obtain the desired shape, whether for a canoe, house log, or a flat board. Kasivi blades are less stout, less heavy than utuviya

blades, and have a straight, thin cutting edge, usually concave on one side and convex on the other. The adzes are mounted in handles (ligogu), and bound with rattan strips.

In terms of size, the largest kasivi are about the same length as the smallest of the utuviya. In general, the kasivi are ground and highly polished on both surfaces.

Seven of the adze blades are identified as complete kasivi (M-222-224, 11-40371-40374, 40401), and they range in size from 15.7 cm. (M-223) to 10.5 cm. (11-40374). Seven kasivi are in the unfinished or kukumali stage (M-225-227, 253, 11-40374-40376) and are characterized by rough flaking with little or no grinding and polishing of the surfaces.

One kasivi specimen (11-40401) is, strictly speaking, probably not a woodworking tool. This specimen is a fine, streaked, dark gray stone of approximately 11.5 cm. in length, and has exceedingly finely polished surfaces; this blade, when hafted, could have been carried about for decorative purposes. It was mentioned in the introduction to this section that beautifully polished implements were considered to be of great value and, therefore, were displayed and used as ornaments rather than treated as functional implements. Malinowski mentions that such was especially the case with the adzes (ligogu), which were carried over the shoulder. All natives who reached mature age and those of rank and influence were rarely seen at feasts and ceremonies without a ligogu over their shoulders. In olden days, according to Malinowski, men of rank would have fine, streaked, well-polished blades of the planing type (kasivi) inserted in their handles (1934:193). This particular blade (11-40401)

represents the only so-called ceremonial blade of the kasivi type as described by Malinowski, i.e., it is a fine specimen, streaked, and polished to a degree far beyond any functional necessity, and to my mind was undoubtedly carried as a sign of dignity and social position.

Attributed kasivi (11-40405, 40461, 40464-40474, 40522, 40541-40543, 40533). A remarkably high percentage of these kasivi have the unmistakable patination of archaeology. Of these eighteen attributed kisivi, ten are archaeological specimens, two of which show definite evidence of having been re-sharpened after recovery from the ground since some of the patination was removed during the re-grinding process (11-40472-40473). It is not unlikely that a good number of the kasivi in the British Museum collection are archaeological specimens; unfortunately, at the time these artifacts were studied and photographed I did not have the presence of mind to look for, nor note, evidence of patination.

The attributed kasivi specimens range in size from 16 cm. (11-40468, which is probably a kukumali or idagondu stage) to 7.5 cm. (11-40461), and average approximately 10.8 cm. in length, which conforms more or less to the average length of the completed kasivi.

Type 5, kavilali (M-238-241, 249-251, 11-40362-40370). These are adze/axe blades used for hollowing out convex sides of logs for canoes (Malinowski 1922:132). Narrower than the utuviya and kasivi, these are thick-sectioned blades with a curved cutting edge. These blades were set in a wooden mount that could be swiveled to cut transversely, as with an adze, or in the plane of cutting as done with an axe, or at any other

angle. The handle employed for the hafting of kavilali blades was known as valapata (see M-143 and 11-40329).

The sixteen identified kavilali blades range in size from 26 cm. (M-238) to 13 cm. (11-40368), and average 19.1 cm. in length. The kavilali are relatively easy to differentiate from the kasivi and utuviya blades. They tend to be almost twice as long as the kasivi, but approximate the utuviya in length; but neither the kasivi nor the utuviya blades are as narrow as the kavilali, nor do they have the plano-convex shape so diagnostic of the latter. At least four of the kavilali blades (M-238, 11-40368-40370) are in the unfinished or kukumali stage; the three kukumali kavilali blades in the Lowie Museum collection are patinated, indicating that they are archaeological specimens.

Attributed kavilali (11-40404, 40408, 40410, 40425-40460). In all respects, save one, the attributed kavilali conform to their identified counterparts. The attributed specimens are considerably shorter, averaging about 13.2 cm. in length, or about 6 cm. less than the finished forms. Of the 39 attributed specimens, 30 have a definite archaeological patination, and on seven of these part of the patinated surface has been removed by re-polishing (11-40430, 40433, 40436-40438, 40444, 40452). It is curious that the archaeological kavilali should be noticeably smaller than their ethnographic cousins. Perhaps they naturally wore down by long and heavy usage, and then were discarded. Or, one might infer that in times past the canoes manufactured in the Trobriands were of a smaller and lighter construction and, therefore, there was no need for large scooping adze/axe blades. Or, it may be a simple case of

selective preference for smaller tools by Trobriand craftsmen in the past. More weight could be given to one or another of the inferences if the archaeological kavilali in the British Museum collection (assuming that there are some) were found to be appreciably smaller than the ethnographic forms.

Type 6, ginesosu (M-228-237, 11-40378-40380). These are relatively thick, sharp, and, at the same time, a fairly stout chisel implement used in the construction of yam houses and canoes, i.e., to cut out holes and grooves. Since the ginesosu blade had to be firmly fixed in the handle, it was usually polished along a wider surface than the larger blades (Malinowski 1934:191-192). In appearance, they are like the kavilali, only smaller.

The largest of the identified ginesosu measures 18.2 cm. in length (M-232), and the smallest measures 8.5 cm. (11-40378), and the average length comes out to be approximately 13.4 cm. Six ginesosu represent the unfinished state (kukumali). Only two of the ginesosu evidence archaeological patination, but, interestingly, they are the second and third smallest of the ginesosu. Regrettably, there is no way to tell from the photographs which of the ginesosu in the British Museum collection are archaeological specimens.

Attributed ginesosu (11-40477-40507). The 31 attributed specimens are, on the average, about 4 cm. shorter than identified ginesosu. The sides of two specimens (11-40477-40478) show evidence of secondary use as a flaking hammer; both are also kukumali, and on two others (11-40485, 40487) the ends show the effect of having been used as hammerstones.

There are, in addition, two other attributed ginesosu (11-40492, 40501) with unique features: there is a cutting edge on both ends.

Seventeen of the 31 specimens have archaeological patination, and whereas the group of attributed ginesosu average 9.2 cm. in length, the archaeological specimens predictably average a smaller size which, in this instance, is 7.4 cm.

Type 7, utukema (M-176-181, 183-207, 11-40381-40391). The implements are used to cut away small scrub in clearing soil for gardens. Utukema are small and thin blades with a long cutting edge. In many respects, utukema did not greatly differ from the kasivi, or planing blades; in fact, in many cases, utukema were made from worn-out kasivi blades. According to Malinowski, they were named by the generic name for blade, kema, or utukema, uta- being the prefix for "cutting" (1934: 192). They were used in adze or axe handles indiscriminately.

Many, if not most, of the 42 identified utukema were blades originally manufactured for other functions. Malinowski noted that worn-out kasivi blades were frequently re-worked to produce the scrub-cutting utukema, yet, the fine finish and high polish on some of the utukema suggests that these finely worked blades were once utuviya, ligogu, and even beku blades.

The largest of the utukema (11-40387, 40391) are a scant 10.5 cm. in length, and the smallest example measures a modest 3.2 cm., with an average length approaching 7.0 cm. Three utukema have archaeological patination (11-40382-40383, 49387), three show evidence as having been used secondarily as flaking hammers (11-40386-40387, 40389), and one

(11-40391) was also used as a hammerstone. Only nine of the examined utukema were in a sufficiently unfinished stage to be classified as kukumali (M-202-207, 11-40386, 40389-40390).

Attributed utukema (11-40462-40463, 40508-40521, 40523, 40525, 40527-40532, 40534-40538, 40540). It is not unlikely that many of the attributed utukema have been mis-classified. The average length of the attributed blades is 8.5 cm., appreciably larger than the 7.0 cm. average for those identified as utukema. An utukema, is, after all, a worn-out tool originally made for any one of a number of woodworking projects, and it is impossible to say for sure at what point a kasivi was considered unsuitable as a woodworking adze and was re-shaped and employed as a scrub-cutting implement. Only four of the attributed utukema lack archaeological patination (11-40527-40528, 40538, 40540) which, in itself, is an interesting fact, but which also defies explanation. Given the shape and size of both the documented and attributed utukema, there is no reason to doubt that most were made from discarded planing adze blades (kasivi), and not unreasonable to assume that a high percentage of the kasivi blades were modified forms of utuviya blades.

Sago adze blades (11-40393-40400). While not the mainstay of Trobriand diet, prepared sago was regarded by the Trobrianders as a great delicacy which they made into little cakes or boiled into dumplings (Malinowski 1922:378). The sago palm was not indigenous to the Trobriand Islands, and the supply came in the form of trade from Sanaroa, one of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands (1922:377). The natives of Dobu travelled the short distance to Sanaroa to gather and prepare sago, a process which

Malinowski observed and noted with great interest during a stay in the D'Entrecasteauxs in March of 1918:

> ...I came upon a party of local natives from Sanaroa, who were pounding sago pulp out of a palm, and sluicing it with water. A big tree had been felled, its bark stripped in the middle of the trunk in a large square, and the soft, fleshy interior laid open. There were three men standing in a row before it and pounding away at it. A few more men waited to relieve the tired ones. The pounding instruments, half club, half adze, had thick but not very broad blades of green stone, of the same type as I have seen among the Mailu natives of the South Coast (1922:377-378).[6]

The Mailu native name for the sago adze is Otá (Malinowski 1915: 600); it was hafted and firmly fixed to a bent handle. No information nor any reference to the sago adzes was included in the Ethnological Document (British Museum 1922). The eight examples collected by Malinowski were probably not acquired in the Trobriands; rather, he most likely collected them during his 1918 visit to Sanaroa. Therefore, these stone implements should be properly regarded as non-Trobriand made artifacts.

The sago blades, like almost all lithic artifacts from the Massim, were made from metamorphosed basalt, quarried at Suloga. Most specimens are highly polished, thick adze blades ideally suited for pounding sago. The sago adzes range in size from 13.5 cm. (11-40398) to 6.5 cm. (11-40397) and average about 9.5 cm. in length.

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[6]See Malinowski's Memoir, "The Natives of Mailu," in Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia, Vol. XXXIX, Pp. 598-600.

Hammerstones (11-40377, 40392). These are stone percussors used to strike flakes from a core or mass. Specimen 11-40377, which measures 13.5 cm. in length, was a woodworking bi-faced polished adze blade that either broke during manufacture or from use; all edges show unmistakable usage as a flaking hammer. Specimen 11-40392, 19 cm. long, has a somewhat cylindrical shape. The pattern of wear and usage shows this to be a pounder and flaking hammer; the extreme smoothness of some of the surface, coupled with its cylindrical shape, is indicative of some use as an abrading stone in working arm shells (mwali).

Attributed hammerstones (11-41432-41497). This group of 66 lithic specimens all show evidence of hard usage as percussors. Although unidentified as to type, they cannot logically be placed with any of the other lithic specimens.

Small adze blades (11-40544-40643). Each one of these 100 adze blades is considerably smaller in size than those already presented. Why Malinowski felt compelled to accumulate such a great quantity of these adze blades must remain a mystery. The blades range in size from 8.7 cm. to 3.5 cm., and average approximately 5 cm. in length.

New blades in process (11-40644-40648, 40650-40653, 40655, 40657-40663, 40665-40675, 40677-40680, 41376-41431). Each one of these 87 specimens is a raw state kukumali, barely worked into shape and lacking any diagnostic feature that would assign it to any of Malinowski's types. None of the specimens shows flaked or polished edges. Every conceivable type of tool is undoubtedly represented many times in this group. The

specimens range in size from the largest of 22.5 cm. (11-40647) to the smallest of 5.2 cm. (11-41427).

Abrading stones (11-41498-41511, M-266-267). These roughly cylindrical stones are mostly micaeous material which is ideally suited for rasping and smoothing wooden objects, especially smoothing out holes in such things as reeving blocks. Several were undoubtedly employed to smooth the rough inner surfaces of arm shells. Two specimens within this group (11-41498 and 41499) are thin and very brittle slabs of slate (?) whose function can only be guessed. The evenly polished surfaces suggest that they were intended as polishing bases for small shell beads.

Battered blades and chunks (M-208, 210-213, 242, 11-41512-41859). This group of material actually falls into Malinowski's Type 8 class, which he describes as consisting of shapeless stones and fragments of broken blades, used as hammers and pounders, generic name, kema (British Museum 1922). Most of the stones in this group are so amorphous in shape as to defy description. Even the blade fragments are nearly beyond recognition, with only the polished surfaces to testify that they were once adze or axe blades.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE: OBJECTS OF MULTIPLE UTILITY

Ropes and strings were made from a number of different vegetable fibers, with the size (gauge) of the finished product being the only factor which determined how it was used. Stout lashings, however, made from a creeper called wayugo, were employed solely in the lashing of canoes (1922:136),[7] although other heavy-duty ropes were also used for boat riggings and in shark fishing. Cordage next in size, apparently, was used to tie bundles, and the thinner cordage was used for a variety of purposes including construction of bird traps (sikuna), fish nets, house joints, and the fastening of handles (British Museum 1922: K:I-VI).

Malinowski collected a variety of rope and string smaples -- some complete and others in the process of making -- but only six out of over 20 examples were labelled, so the identification of the unlabelled cordage was difficult.

Both two and three strand cordage are represented, although the latter is the most common. Interestingly enough, the direction of twist

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[7]Malinowski also reports that coils of lashing creeper were an important article of subsidiary trade, and were the most important item imported into Kitava from the Trobriands (1922:480-481).

for all specimens, save one, is "Z"; specimen 11-42146 shows an "S" twist, and is atypical.

Ini cordage (M-622-625, 11-40290-40291, 42134). The best twine and strings were made from this fiber which was obtained from the root of the pandanus tree (kaybwibwi) (British Museum 1922:K:I). The completed strings and twine were known as kuwa (British Museum 1922:39). Strings made of ini fiber are easy to recognize. The material breaks down into numerous single fibers, is pliable, very soft, and glossy, with an almost silk-like quality. The strings are rolled on the thigh and made from two or three strands. One ball of ini fiber string (11-40290) was used in the construction of bird traps and is called nawari (British Museum 1922:K:II). The thinnest of the ini fiber cordage was used to fasten handles; no examples of the finer string were collected. One bundle of string (11-40291) appears to be ini fiber, but the string is so darkened from handling that it is difficult to say for sure. Thicker than 11-40290, because it has three rather than two strands, it is still remarkably pliable.

Gayasu cordage (11-42135-42136). This cordage is described by Malinowski as being made of the finely teased inner bark (gayasu) of the lokua'i tree; both strings and ropes were produced from this bast (British Museum 1922:K:III). The pithy, lace-like quality of the bark is virtually indistinguishable from the inner bark of the inva'i tree which also provides raw material for cordage. The gayasu bark, however, is lighter brown in color and produces a "fuzzy" finished product. Malinowski collected one large bundle of three strand gayasu cordage (11-42135) neatly tied which probably measures well over 20 M. in

length. He also collected a small sample of the bark which is partially worked into two ply cordage, showing the technique of manufacture (11-42136). Among other things, strings and cordage of gayasu bark were used to separate the teeth on combs (sinata).

Iova'i cordage (11-42137-42144). This cordage is identified by Malinowski only as ropes made from the inner bark (bast) of the iova'i tree (British Museum 1922:K:VI). Specimens include two samples of the bark in the process of being worked into rope (11-42137-42138) and six examples of various sized rope (11-42139-42144). This bark is hardly distinguishable from the gayasu bark, i.e., it has the same lace-like quality. The finished product, however, lacks the "fuzzy" appearance of gayasu cordage, and is a darker shade of brown. All iova'i rope specimens have three strands, but they vary in size from 9 mm. in thickness (11-42139) to 3 mm. (11-42143).

Gum'guam' cordage (11-42131-42133, 42145-42158). The gum'guam' bark lacks the lacey appearance of the iovaii and gayasu barks and is reddish-brown in color. Most of the rope specimens collected by Malinowski appear to be made of the gum'guam' bark (British Museum 1922:K:V). These rough but very strong ropes are unlike any other collected by Malinowski. Even after 60 years they have retained a remarkable degree of pliability and elasticity, features not present in the other cordage specimens.

The heaviest of the thick, and yet comparatively flexible, ropes were made by twisiting 3 primary strands and rolling them into final ropes. In both examples, the rope varies in thickness from a maximum

of 2.2 cm. to about 1.2 cm. Specimen 11-42131 measures over 10 M. in length, and 11-42132 is approximately 9 M. in length.

Other ropes of varying thickness were tentatively identified as made from the inner bark of the gum 'guam' tree. The fourteen examples (11-42145-42158) range in thickness from 8 mm (11-42145) to approximately 5 mm. (11-42153).

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE: GARDEN AND WOODWORKING IMPLEMENTS, AND TOOLS USED IN THE MANUFACTURE OF OBJECTS

The Trobrianders have a limited inventory of tools and gardening implements. An exhaustive list of garden tools would include the dayma, or digging stick, kema, axe, ligogu, adze, kaniku, mussel shell, kayeki, mother-of-pearl shell, and yama, the human hand.

Dayma (11-39895-39896). The noun dayma is a specific word designating any stick from one to two meters in length sharpened at one end. As a garden tool, it is used for turning up the soil at planting and thinning, at harvest and weeding. Two photographs in Coral Gardens and Their Magic show the dayma being used in planting and tilling the soil (Malinowski 1935(I):pls. 43, 44).

Malinowski points out that the definition of a dayma is functional rather than formal, referring rather to the use of the stick than to its shape (1935(II):133). The short dayma used by women or children might just as easily serve as a stake in the fence, in which case it would be indistinguishable from the digging stick. A pole picked up and used on the way to the gardens as a staff could be sharpened and employed as a dayma. Dayma, then, is a generic term for any digging

implement: graves, trenches to drain off the water when a village is flooded, holes for laying the foundations of a house or yam house are all dug with the dayma.

While the gardeners would always carry with them a cutting tool or two, the dayma was never taken from the village to the garden. Any straight and long stick found in the field would suffice, and after use it would be left in the garden, because another could easily be produced were it stolen or lost. So, in spite of the fact that the dayma is the main agricultural implement, it never has attained the status of a permanent possession (Malinowski 1935(I):133). The best dayma were, according to Malinowski, made of strong red mangrove wood (1935(I): 291), although the two dayma collected by him are of palm wood. Both are heavy and stout, roughly finished, and have relatively flat spatula-shaped sharpened points. They measure 175 cm. and 169 cm. in length, respectively. The tips on both implements are smoothed, and somewhat polished through heavy use.

Kema (M-146-155, 11-40307-40321, 40338-40346). The term kema (axe) has a wide application and some explanation is in order. It is the word for the finished, sharpened, mounted and trimmed implement, but it also is used to designate one special shape of the finished blade, as opposed to the ligogu, or planing blade, kavilali, chisel, and beku, ceremonial blade. Kema is applied to the material from which Trobriand stone tools are made, i.e., the volcanic tuff obtained from Woodlark Island and imported into the Trobriands. In this sense any tool made of this stone might be termed kema or utukema, the prefix utu- being associated with

implements used for breaking or cutting. The classificatory prefix of sharp cutting tools, however, is not utu-, but kavi- (1935(II):133).

Malinowski could not determine whether, from the natives' standpoint, the primary meaning of the word kema was volcanic tuff or axe (1935(II):133). However, the word does have two distinct meanings. One meaning refers to the material used, therefore distinguishing all implements made of tuff from Woodlark from those made of obsidian or conus shell or binabina, volcanic stone, from the D'Entrecasteaux Archipelago. Since the vast majority of implements are made of tuff, kema is sometimes a generic term for any stone tool. The other meaning differentiates an axe-shaped implement, of whatever material, from implements different in shape and function from the axe.

The axe (kema) is a multi-purpose tool consisting of a wooden handle with the blade lying in the plane of the blow. By Malinowski's time, the wooden handled, stone bladed kema had been replaced by an ordinary steel axe, or tomahawk (1935(I):132). In gardening, the kema is used to cut the roots and shootlets found in the soil. The kema is also an important tool used in the felling, lopping, and trimming of trees, and in the production of all sorts of wooden objects from houses and canoes to bowls, staffs, and smaller objects.

Malinowski collected a total of 34 kema, which fall into two major types differentiated by shape, design, and, I suspect, by function. Nowhere in his published works does Malinowski indicate special types of kema except to note that the large ceremonial kema with the beku blade is employed by the garden magician (towosi) in the performance of certain garden rites. All of the ceremonial kema illustrated by Malinowski (see,

for example, 1935(II)Lpls. 101, 102, 104, 106) are of the same form which, for lack of a better term, I call "garden kéma" or type I. The second type of kema, which I call the "common kéma" or type II, does not seem to be associated with garden magic nor perhaps with garden work at all although, admittedly, this assumption is based upon negative evidence. The type II or common kéma is most likely the work-a-day axe used in the felling and trimming of trees, and in the production of wooden objects, whereas the garden kema, or type I, is a special axe which, when fitted with the beku blade, is restricted to use in the performance of garden magic. It is also possible that some of the type I kéma may actually be used for every day garden work such as cutting roots and shootlets.

Seligmann (1910:517-521) recognized the two types of kema and illustrated an example of each (pls. LXI, LXII) and argues that both forms were made in Kiriwina and that their use was identical. He goes on to say that

> The distribution of the two types of handle is a matter of considerable interest which requires speedy investigation. Throughout that part of the Massim area visited (i.e., Tubetube, Milne Bay and the Trobriands) the preponderance of the slighter form of haft (type II) was very noticeable; indeed, I can remember seeing only one specimen of the heavier haft (type I), while many examples of the lighter form were seen and collected. This observation accords well with information subsequently sent me by Mr. Gilmour who tells me that the slighter form is 'the old Kiriwina handle simple called valela vaigua, "its wealth." The other is a form made further east and south, supposed to have come originally from Misima and called taramasima, "we went to our islands" or "we went to Misima"' (521).

Both kema types, then, when hafted with the large beku blade, were ceremonial axes unsuitable for all practical use (Seligmann 1910:520).

But in the Trobriands at any rate it appears that only the type I ceremonial kema is associated with garden magic for this is the only type which appears time and time again in Malinowski's photographs of garden rites. The slight handled ceremonial kema, type II, may have been used in other rites such as the construction of wagas and yam houses. It seems highly unlikely that two very distinct kinds of ceremonial axes had precisely the same function.

Type I, garden kema (M-146-147, 155, 11-40307-40313, 40338-40341). Three of the garden kema (11-40313, 40340-40341) have all the characteristics of the others of type I, save one feature: they are considerably smaller, and therefore may be models. Certainly, the sockets could never accommodate the large beku blades, so these miniature garden kema could not have any ceremonial function.

The large type I kema range in size from 103 cm. in length (11-40307) to 63 cm. (11-40311). The eight examples average 77 cm. in length. The three miniature type I kema average but 55 cm.

Except for specimen 11-40338, which is made from a mahogany wood, all type I kema are made from a lighter wood (acacia?) and stained black. The dome-shaped head and the ring-keeled base are both diagnostic of this type of kema. In summary, the six diagnostic features of type I kema can be noted. (1) Dome-shaped head. (2) Ring flange on the base with a keel finial. (3) The removable hafting wedge for the blade socket is cut from the left side, i.e., the side with the blade facing to the left. (4) With one exception, these kema lack incised designs; only 11-40312 has a coil design on both sides of the leading edge of the

handle. (5) The keel on most specimens is perforated with a series of holes through which are inserted short lengths of cordage knotted on both sides. (6) The blades are loosely attached and held in place with strips of rattan. The lashing may cover the entire handle in some instances.

Type II, common kema (M-148-153, 11-40314-40321, 40342-40346). These axes are made from the same light weight wood (acacia?) as the type I, and are stained black, but differ in almost every other respect. Lengths vary in size from 88 cm. (11-40317) to 57 cm. (M-148), the average length being approximately 75 cm. for the nineteen type II collected by Malinowski.

There are eight diagnostic features for the type II kema: (1) With two exceptions, the hafting socket wedge or cap is cut from the right side, i.e., when the blade faces to the left. (2) Only one side of the handle is carved with low relief designs, and in all cases this is the same side from which the hafting wedge is cut. (3) The top of the handle is capped with a dome-shaped finial which forms a tang or hook at the rear. (4) The handle terminates in a carved finial design similar in pattern to those on yam spoons or spatulas. The finials, in most examples, are of "bird's head" variety. (5) The blade sockets are wrapped with strips of rattan like type I but the binding is limited to the socket projection and does not continue down the handle. (6) The primary handle decoration consists of a raised median linear device which continues up to the base of the tang then follows the direction of the hafting projection and terminates at one or both ends in a "snake's head"

design and/or simple coils. (7) The entire surface of the handle or the edges are carved in all manner with curvilinear patterns, some of which are lime-filled. (8) Most type II kema have a series of perforations along the back edge for a short distance below the tang. Presumably, these perforations are for the insertion of fiber streamers or cordage (M-148).

Kailavala kema (M-154). Malinowski collected a "special" rare form, "kailavala:..ceremonial axe handle" which was identified in the British Museum Register as specimen M-154 (British Museum 1922:D:I and p. 13). This "special ceremonial axe" was not available for examination, but the drawing in the Register indicates that while it shared certain features with the type I kema, notably the presence of the ringed-keeled base, the shape is singularly unique. Measuring 82.5 cm. in length, it is made of the same light weight wood as the other axes and is also stained black. The socketed end lacks the removable wedge. Rather, the end of the socket projection is hollowed out for the blade which is held in place with what appears to be a shim of plaited fiber, evidently eliminating the need for rattan binding. The top or head of this kema is similar in shape to one form of adze (M-142, 144). The end of the projection of the blade socket is carved into quadrifid fins. While Trobriand adzes of this form and type were described and illustrated earlier by Edge-Partington (1895:pl. 181, nos. 1-3) and Cooke-Daniels (British Museum 1906:140; nos. 397, 398, from the Marshall Bennetts), this kema remains the sole axe of its type. Its origin and specific function are unknown.

Ligogu (M-142-145, 156, 11-40322-40337). The ligogu or adze is, perhaps, the principal tool used in the Trobriands. Along with the kema the ligogu is also employed in the production of logs, rods, stakes, poles, and sticks which are used for a variety of purposes. The adze is important for heavy work such as the felling, lopping, and trimming of jungle trees (Malinowski 1935(I):244). Logs brought into the villages from the jungle are worked by the craftsman with his adze, planing them into an almost perfectly cylindrical log. All woodworking in the Trobriands requires the use of the ligogu whether it is in the construction of a waga, yam house (bwayma), or in the production of kaboma (bowls) and even smaller objects.

In the practical aspects of garden work, the ligogu is used principally for the sharpening of the digging stick (dayma) although Malinowski noted that the steel trade axe was often used instead of the adze for sharpening (1935(I):132). The adze was also used to cut the stem of the taytu plant, a function since replaced by the trade knife (1935(I):171).

As a ceremonial object used in garden magic, the ligogu was nowhere nearly as important as the kema. At one time it was an integral part of the tum ritual -- inaugural harvesting ceremony -- during which the towosi or garden magician chanted a spell over the adze, around the cutting edge of which aromatic leaves of the lileykoya plant are fastened with a wrapping of a toughened banana leaf (wakaya). The cutting of the first vine, to inaugurate the main gathering of the staple crops, is carried out by the towosi with the charmed adze (1935(I):171). Prior to Malinowski's visit, the rite to charm the adze was performed over a

stone blade of the working variety (kasivi) mounted in an ordinary adze handle, and not over a ceremonial blade. By the time Malinowski appeared on the scene an ordinary adze with a steel blade had supplanted the older ligogu and stone blade (1935(I):170).

Malinowski collected a total of 20 adzes and combination adze-axes. Seventeen specimens are identified as ligogu of one type or another, two comprise a special combination adze-axe with movable head (valapata), and one unique specimen adze-axe with an immovable head.

The 17 traditional ligogu, i.e., those adzes with the blade permanently mounted at right angles to the plane of the blow, for convenience sake may be divided into four types, one of which may be further divided into two sub-types.

Type I, ligogu with quadrifid fins (M-142, 144-145, 11-40322-40328, 40332, 40336). Characteristic of these ligogu is the intersecting keels or quadrifid fins which form the shape of the head. The blade is inserted into a socket and held in place by the detachable socket-wedge which is cut from the socket extension. Most specimens are bound with rattan strips, although ini cordage and coconut fiber were also used as binding agents. The lengths range from the longest of 60 cm. (M-142) to the shortest of 46 cm. (11-40332), averaging about 54 cm. in length.

These ligogu may be divided into the simple or undecorated type and the decorated type. The simple or undecorated variety share certain features with the large type I kema: made of a lightweight wood, stained black, lacking surface decoration, and having handles that terminate at the base into simple knobs or the more characteristic ring/keel finial

(M-142, 145, 11-40322-40326, 40332). The three decorated types (M-144, 11-40327-40328) are unstained and elaborately carved. Specimen 11-40328, the most decorated of the three, has a human face in low relief carved on the top, with a design of continuous looped spirals along the outer edge of the handle. The center of several spirals is perforated for the attachment of narrow pandanus strips. The base finial on this ligogu is incomplete but undoubtedly was carved into one of the many curvilinear patterns. Specimen M-144 lacks the carved human face but shares the same form and decorative elements as the preceding ligogu, including the scroll work finial. Specimen 11-40336 resembles more the type II kema in form as well as in the placement of design motifs, although unlike the kema, both sides of the adze handle are ornamented. In this case, the head is covered with incised coil designs and the handle has a raised median ornament terminating at both ends in the familiar "snake's head." The base finial consists of carved coil and chevron designs.

Type II, adzes with conus shell blades (M-156, 11-40334-40335). These three adzes are the smallest in the collection averaging but 34 cm. in length. All are roughly finished, unstained and undecorated. Apparently, they were cut from the forked branch of a tree, and probably required little effort to be worked into a handle. The wood is an unidentified close-grained variety, and light in weight. The shell blades are held in place with a socket wedge wrapped and bound with strips of raffia. The relatively small size of these ligogu with their fragile shell blades suggests that they were limited to work on softer woods,

probably in the manufacture of canoe ornaments, dance paddles (kaidebu), and shields (va'yaulo).

Type III, valapata (M-143, 11-40329) (British Museum 1922:D:IV). This is a special ligogu which more properly should be called a combination adze-axe. Unlike other adzes, the valapata has a detachable, movable head. Rotating the socketed blade handle allows the cutting to be done at varying degrees to the plane of striking. While by no means certain, it is quite probable that the valapata was limited to the scooping out of canoes as Malinowski mentions (1922:132), although it is equally probable that the deep wooden bowls (kaboma) were also hollowed out with this same unique adze.

The bent "T"-shape handle is notched at both ends of the head for the binding, fore and aft, of the movable handle socket. The handle/socket itself has a detachable wedge to hold the blade firmly in place; the blade is bound in place with rattan strips. Neither of the two valapata is decorated in any fashion.

Type IV, long-handled ligogu (M-40330-40331). The only reference made by Malinowski to these novel types of adzes is entered in the Ethnological Documents: "...a special form, slightly slanting" (British Museum 1922:D:III). Whereas on most adzes and axes the angle of the socket and blade is nearly acute, the blade and socket extension of the long-handled variety is at an obtuse angle to the handle. Both long-handled adzes have a notched head for the insertion of the adze blade but neither has the removable hafting wedge characteristic of the other ligogu and kema. Rather, the short stone adze blade is wrapped with a

pad of coconut fiber and then bound to the socket with heavy rattan strips. Each handle has a short projection, or spur, at the back of the head to facilitate a tighter binding. The rattan wrapping, in both cases, extends a short distance down the handle. These are stout handled adzes made from a light-colored, close-grained wood, the same unidentified wood used in the manufacture of the smaller conus shell bladed adzes. Measuring 102 cm. and 101 cm., respectively, these adzes were meant for rough and relatively heavy work, ideally suited to the hollowing and trimming of canoe bodies, yam house logs, and similar shapes. Handles taper slightly toward the base and are undecorated. Cooke-Daniels illustrates a Wagawaga (Milne Bay) ligogu which was collected at Tubetube; with one exception, this specimen is remarkably similar in all respects to the long-handled type described above. The Wagawaga ligogu has a handle which measures but 55 cm. in length (British Museum 1906:140, no. 400).

Type V, adze-axe (11-40333). There is no reference by Malinowski to this peculiar tool handle nor is a comparable artifact illustrated or described in the literature. The striking place is neither parallel to the handle (axe) nor perpendicular to it (adze). It actually lies half-way between the two. Unless this tool is simply an oddity, it must serve some specific function such as working the interior side walls of canoes, a task not really suited for an axe; nor could the paring down of the interior walls be efficiently done by a regular adze, because the lack of free working (swinging) room would limit the adze stroke.

A craftsman using a tool of this type, however, could easily shape the interior walls since he would be working along the long axis of

the canoe, thereby gaining heavier and longer strokes.

Presumably the blade of this axe-adze tool was secured to the head with a detachable wedge and then bound with rattan wrappings. Although stained black, it is roughly finished and undecorated. This remarkable, and perhaps unique, tool measures 44 cm. in overall length.

Type VI, unidentified ligogu (11-40337). This curious "V"-shaped wooden instrument has all the characteristics of a mount for an adze blade and may be a special detachable type. The socket end is flattened for a blade and knobbed to facilitate the binding. The short handle is likewise flattened on one side and knobbed, suggesting the hafting for a longer extension. The short hook or spur at the top would allow the binding to get a better purchase upon the extension. Undecorated, this detachable ligogu head-handle measures 24 cm. in length.

In addition to the ligogu and kema for roughing out work, wood-carvers (tokabitam) employed a number of basic implements including hafted shark's teeth, wallaby bone chisels, mussel shells, boar's tusks, and sting ray skins. Some of these implements[1] are multi-purpose.

Shark tooth carving tool (M-664-665). This is a special finishing tool used by the master carver, tokabitam, to mark out designs and for fine carving. The two examples collected by Malinowski measure 25 cm. and 22 cm. in length. The tool consists of a wooden stick or handle on each end of which is hafted a shark's tooth, bound to the handle with ini fiber cordage (Malinowski 1935(I):244). It is used to etch out designs and for fine engraving on bowls, canoe ornaments, dance wands,

paddles, spatulas, and similar items (Cranstone 1961:52), and for incising the extremely fine designs on combs (Potts 1937:43; see also Encyclopedia of Papua and New Guinea 1972:718, fig. 3b).

Boar's tusks. An equally important tool for carving, engraving, and polishing was the modified boar's tusk. Although no tusk engravers were collected by Malinowski, a Trobriand specimen is illustrated by Cranstone (1961:52, fig. 11c). When worked to a point the boar's tusk made an excellent engraving tool (Cranstone 1961:53), and when the concave side was ground to an edge it made an efficient spokeshave for working down the shafts of spears and paddles, and for cutting down the uneven surfaces of bowls (Silas 1924:135). The tusk was also used to polish the surface of the finished article (Wilson and Menzies 1967:63).

Wallaby rib bone engraving tools (11-42165). This particular implement actually consists of a pair of rib bones, presumably wallaby, bound together with strong strands of vegetable fiber. The tips of each are ground to a fine edge and pointed, resulting in an efficient engraving tool. The natural curvature of the ribs would fit snugly into the hand of a tokabitam.

It is highly probable that what we have here is two wallaby bone engraving tools which were bound by Malinowski to keep them together. Or, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that the tokabitam used these tools, each in sequence, running one forward when the other became dull -- a sort of Trobriand jack-knife with an extra blade. These engravers were probably employed in the finer carving of decorated canoe attachments, shields, house parts, and dance paddles.

Wallaby bone chisel. None of the bone implements collected by Malinowski could be identified as a wallaby bone chisel. Presumably he neglected to collect any examples even though it was an important part of the tokabitam's kit. It was used with a wooden hammer (M-644) to carve or gouge shallow relief in soft wood. A master carver decorating a prow board with chisel and hammer is illustrated by Malinowski (1935(I):pl. 13).

Sting ray skin (kisi) (M-118). Shark or ray skins made excellent wood rasps and sanders and were commonly used throughout Papua. The finer examples, such as those from the Santa Cruz group, consisted of a wooden paddle covered with shark or ray skin (Cranstone 1961:fig. 11a). Apparently, Trobriand wood rasps or polishers (kisi) were used without the aid of a wooden paddle (Malinowski 1935(I):244). The one kisi collected by Malinowski is a single triangular-shaped ray skin measuring 29 cm. in length. Although principally used in woodworking, the kisi was also used to polish tortoise shell for earrings (United Church 1972b: 5).

Mussel shell scrapers (M-529). Mussel shells were employed as found or were slightly modified. They came in several sizes, and the larger variety were called kaybomatu (Malinowski 1935(II):134). The terms kaniku and kaybomatu were, according to Malinowski, used to define the shells as natural objects and not as functional implements (1935(II): 134). Furthermore, Malinowski states that the shells were used as they came out of the sea, i.e., unmodified (ibid.), and makes no mention of their being used as a woodworking tool, although Austen makes specific

mention of their use as wood scrapers (1945:197). Given the fragile nature of the shell, they were probably limited to work on the softer woods such as acacia.

Kaniku scrapers were described by Cranstone as "vegetable peelers" (1961:52). Austen says they were also modified to serve as coconut scrapers (1945:193), and Malinowski mentions their use in scraping banana leaves and for trimming tufts in the manufacture of the woman's skirt, or dobe (British Museum 1922:F:XXI, 1). The principal use of the kaniku was, however, to shave the stringy hair (nnu'unu) that covered the taytu tubers (1935(I):134).

According to an early account by Gilmour kaniku were an important item of export from Kiriwina to islands to the east (1905:72). Found principally in the Kiriwina lagoon, these mussel shells were traded by these lagoon people with the interior bush people for food (Austen 1945:193).

Malinowski states that the kaniku shell is held between the index finger and thumb of the right hand, the other fingers work forward along the surface of the tuber, and the shell follows, shaving off the hair. The shell was also used to cut the roots of the taytu (1935(II):134). Malinowski was also of the opinion that shaving tubers with a mussel shell had mainly an aesthetic value, since it took longer than most really utilitarian activities (1935(I):172). Usually it was the man's duty to dig out the roots and the woman's to clean the tubers; but this division of labor was by no means strict, as shown in a photograph of a girl, man, and a woman all cleaning and shaving tubers (1935(I):pl. 53), although interestingly enough, the girl is using a trade knife instead of a mussel shell.

Kayeki, mother-of-pearl shell (drava). (M-533-534, 537-538; 11-42160-42162). Mother-of-pearl shell, like the mussel shell, was used for a variety of purposes. The edge was sometimes ground and polished on a simata (polishing coral boulder), which made a fine tool for scraping the soil, for shaving the hair from tubers, and for cutting from edible roots the taro top which is preserved for replanting (Malinowski 1935(I):167). Two kayeki collected by Malinowski (M-537-538) have serrated cutting edges, and these functioned as coconut scrapers. In an unmodified state (11-42160-42162), kayeki were also used in rituals of adornment to stroke the skin following the anointing of the body with coconut oil (Malinowski 1929:354).

Pig-bone scrapers (M-601-603). Three bone implements collected by Malinowski were identified in the Register merely as bone tools with no information as to function or use (British Museum 1922:38). Ranging in length from 12 to 14 cm., they conform in size and shape to the pig-bone spatulas illustrated and described in Cooke-Daniels as coconut scrapers (British Museum 1906:172). Undoubtedly, Malinowski's three unidentified bone tools are coconut scrapers made from the shoulder blade of a pig.

Wooden knives (M-471). This interesting example of an acculturated form of knife, unfortunately, was not available for study. The wooden knife which measures 35 cm. in length may have been used to clean out the insides of coconuts which were to be made into water containers. The drawing of the handle indicates that even the "rivets" are represented and carved in the form of "bird's heads."

Gigi'u, or kaigigi'u (Silas 1926:226) (M-115-116, 11-40066-40068). While pump drills (gigi'u) were employed in a variety of woodworking activities, i.e., whenever holes had to be made, their principal use was in the manufacture of shell beads and rings.

The typical Trobriand gigi'u consists of a vertical rod with a stone or, by Malinowski's time, metal point. Around the upper end of the rod, which is notched, is tied a two-ply cord of ini fiber the ends of which are fastened to the ends of a second but shorter rod, which hangs horizontally. Above the point of the drill is a disk of wood held in place by friction. This disk, which sets 7 to 9 cm. above the point, acts as the flywheel. The drill is rotated so that the cord is twisted around it, thereby raising the suspended horizontal rod. Pressure on this unwinds the cord and rotates the drill. At the end of the downward stroke pressure is relaxed and the weight keeps the rod revolving, so twisting the cord and raising the horizontal rod. Renewed pressure then turns the drill in the opposite direction.

The two Malinowski gigi'u (M-115-116) in the British Museum were not available for examination. The drawings of each in the Register (British Museum 1922:11), however, suggest types not indigenous to the Trobriands. According to the remarks entered for M-116, this pump drill was both collected and used at Port Moresby. Judging from its relatively small size, the round but truncated shaped flywheel is probably made of stone, firmly lashed to the drill rod. The stone point is added confirmation of its non-Trobriand origin.

The drawing of the other pump drill (M-115) suggests a type equally foreign to the Trobriands, although the documentation neither confirms

nor denies this. The wooden flywheel is rectangular in shape rather than disk-shaped. The nail point is lashed to the rod with ample amounts of cordage which forms into a heavy ball, a feature not found on Trobriand pump drills illustrated by Malinowski (1922:pl. LI) nor evident on the three Lowie examples he collected (11-40066-40068).

Of the three gigi'u in the Lowie Museum, only one (11-40068) is complete. The mahogany rod on this specimen measures 54 cm. in length. The flywheel, which is made of lighter weight wood, measures 17 cm. in diameter and, though variable, measures 1 cm. in thickness. The mahogany horizontal pump stick measures 23 cm. in length; two-ply cordage of ini fiber, 60 cm. long, is attached to the notched ends of the horizontal stick. The end of the rod is split for the insertion of a metal point which is wrapped securely by two-ply ini cordage.

Pump drill 11-40066, which measures 55 cm. in length, lacks the horizontal bar but is similar in other respects to the complete gigi'u. The third pump drill (11-40067) is 53 cm. in length and, except for the disk flywheel, is missing its components including the horizontal bar, metal point, and ini fiber cordage wrapping.

CHAPTER VII

ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE:

DOMESTIC IMPLEMENTS

Kaboma (M-71-75, 77-87, 633-635, 11-40234-40265, 40279-40280). Boitalu village was traditionally the center of carving activities and Malinowski says that

> ...in wood carving, and especially in the working out of the wonderful, round dishes, in the manufacture of plaited fibre work, and in the production of combs, they [Boitalu villagers] are far more skilful than anyone else, and acknowledged to be such; they are the wholesale manufacturers of these objects for export, and they can produce work not to be rivalled by any other village (1927:67).

The bowls produced were an essential article of barter for foreign goods, when certain villages went on the kula expeditions to islands in the D'Entrecasteaux group (Austen 1945:193).

The wooden bowls, dishes, and platters collected by Malinowski come in a variety of shapes and sizes. The generic name for the wooden vessels -- decorated and undecorated -- is kaboma. Malinowski collected a total of 54 examples, 20 of which are in the British Museum and 34 in the Lowie Museum. Most of the vessels were carved from a brown hardwood, called meku, which closely resembles a mahogany, although a few pieces were apparently carved from a much softer and lighter wood of an unknown species.

Malinowski recognized six types of wooden vessels and gave the native name for each (British Museum 1922:C:I-VI). Unfortunately, his descriptions are too short and non-specific and it proved difficult to assign each and every vessel to one of Malinowski's types. Like the lime spatulas (kena), the wooden vessels show a great variation in shape, size, and ornamentation. A certain percentage of the vessels could not be definitely assigned as belonging to a type. Size, however, seemed to be the major criterion which determined the class to which a vessel belongs, with shape being a secondary factor. With one exception, none of the boat-shaped shallow bowls in the British Museum was identified by type. Specimen M-86, described in the Register as a canoe-shaped dish, is also identified as a koma kom' type (for diluting paint), but does not in any way conform to the description provided by Malinowski. Where there is doubt as to the type of bowl, I have so indicated by the use of a question mark after the catalogue number.

Almost all of the wooden vessels have carved designs on the border, and a number of examples have "handles" or ornamentations carved in low relief on the underside. The major design motif is the zig-zag or one of its numerous variations. Looped spirals, and reverse spirals, though uncommon, complete the range of design motifs on decorated wooden vessels. A few vessels show a combination of design motifs. Most of the border designs are lime-filled.

The "handles" or ornamented low relief carvings on the underside are variable. Doubtless in most cases these low relief carvings are purely decorative and were not intended to function as handles, although a few of the lighter and smaller vessels do have perforated handle-like

protrusions for the attachment of a small cord.

Type I, kaidodige (11-40246-40247). These are large, flat platters used for serving food on festive occasions. Neither platter has a decorated rim, although on the underside of specimen 11-40246 there is a carved spiral with coils of near-equal size. Malinowski showed platters of this type heaped with cooked yams intended as offerings to the garden spirits (1922:pl. LIX).

Type II, kailuva (M-74, 11-40258-40265). These are large, deep ornamented bowls used for serving food on ceremonial occasions and for making coconut cream. All examples have a zig-zag motif or a variant form around the outside border. These are the finest made and biggest of the wooden vessels, the largest being 48 cm. in diameter and the smallest with a diameter of 35 cm.

Type III, kayaya'i (11-40238(?)). Malinowski describes this type as a relatively small flat dish, used in everyday life for serving food. Curiously, not a single wooden vessel was identified as belonging to the kayvaya'i type. Being an everyday household vessel, this is the only wooden type which does not play some part in festive or ceremonial occasions, and one would think that Malinowski could have acquired numerous examples. I attributed the one example (11-40238) on the basis of its simplicity and because it does not seem to fit with any other type.

Type IV, kaikumugua (M-71-73, 78-79, 81-82, 84(?), 85(?), 87(?), 633(?), 634(?), 11-40234-40237, 40239, 40242-40245, 40248-40257, 40280(?)). This type includes the small, ornamented, round vessels similar to the

kailuva only smaller; less deep, and usually with an inferior finish. According to Malinowski, most of the oblong vessels also belong to this type. The kaikumugua are used for the preparation of coconut cream and for serving of food on ceremonial occasions.

Most examples have lime-filled zig-zag or variant motifs as a border decoration. Two have interlocking reverse spirals (11-40252, 40249); the latter example is a shallow plate carved from a very soft wood and also has a single handle on one side perforated and strung with a piece of two-ply cordage.

One bowl (11-40257) has a combination of zig-zag design and interlocking reverse spirals around the border, the latter motif running around three-quarters of the way. Two opposing low relief circles on the underside form the "handles." Another bowl (11-40256) has a variant of the zig-zag design below which is a short segment of incised triangles. Two smaller examples (11-40242, 40243) have, in addition to the modified zig-zag design, interesting forms of handles. The former has two opposing raised circles, the center of each being carved in the form of a rosette. The latter bowl has a unique single protruding handle, on the surface of which is a lime-filled curvilinear design. The oblong undecorated bowl (11-40280) has triangular "handles" carved in low relief. Two oblong bowls (11-40234, 40235) have notches incised around the outside rim; each has head-like handles protruding from the ends. The handles on specimen 11-40234 are perforated, as is one handle on specimen 11-40235. The last oblong bowl of this type (11-40236) is a finely made, little used vessel with a lime-filled zig-zag design around the border.

Type V, kaikweiwosi (M-75(?), 77(?), 80, 83(?), 635). This type is described by Malinowski as a deep dish, used as a washing basin for the ceremonial washing of sick people and infants. Only one bowl, M-635, conformed completely to Malinowski's description, and this was identified in the Register as a kaikweiwosi bowl (British Museum 1922: C:V). This bowl is oblong, approximately 58 cm. in length, and has an elaborately carved rim. In all important respects it is similar to specimen M-83 which is described in the Register (British Museum 1922) as a kaikumugua type. Considering other errors made by the Cataloguer, I am inclined to think that M-83 is most likely a kaikweiwosi bowl. I have strong doubts about specimen M-75 which is described in the Register (British Museum 1922) as a kaikweiwosi; it could just as easily belong to the kaikumugua type. Another bowl, specimen M-77, is not identified as to type, but it does share the salient features of M-83 and M-635 and it is most likely a kaikweiwosi bowl. The last remaining bowl in this group, M-80, is labelled as kaikweiwosi but it was not available for study. I see no reason to exclude it from this group.

Type VI, koma kom' (M-86(?), 11-40240-40241, 49279). These are described as small dishes, used for diluting red or white paint. Two examples in the Lowie Museum (11-40240-40241) were identified by old labels as koma kom' bowls, each exceptionally small, 7.0 cm. and 8.9 cm., respectively, in diameter. The one example identified in the Register (M-86) in no way conforms to Malinowski's description. Being a boat-shaped, shallow vessel it could be an entirely different type; for the time being, however, I have left it with the koma kom' group. The last bowl assigned to this group (11-40279) is a puzzle. It is a round,

relatively small (14.1 cm. in diameter) but deep bowl with an ornamented rim similar to a couple of kaikumugua bowls. There are, however, the remnants of red paint in the interior of the bowl, and for that reason I have tentatively assigned it to the koma kom' group.

Baskets (M-124-136, 593-596, 11-40292-40306, 41860-41870). With one exception, none of the baskets in the British Museum's collection of Malinowski material was identified as to type. Malinowski listed eight types of baskets, descriptions for which were too brief and, in most cases, non-explicit to allow for positive identification. Fortunately, several baskets in the Lowie Museum's collection of Malinowski material retained their original labels and these could be correlated with Malinowski's notes (British Museum 1922:H:I-IX).

Bewaya (11-41862). Although this basket is not identified as a beyawa type it does conform to the description provided by Malinowski as the large, sturdy circular basket carried on the head by women (British Museum 1922:H:I). It has the typical square start for a two-element twill plaited basket made from coco palm leaf. Specimen 11-41862 measures approximately 42 cm. in diameter.

Peta (M-128). This basket was unavailable for study. The Register description (British Museum 1922:12), however, strongly suggests that it is the peta described by Malinowski as the more usual form of circular baskets, carried as the beyawa, but it is smaller, measuring only 28 cm. in diameter. Like the beyawa, it is twill plaited, and made from the leaf of the coconut palm.

Vataga (M-130-132, 595, 11-41863, 41866). These are the work-a-day folding baskets which, according to Malinowski, are manufactured in a matter of minutes and discarded as soon as they are not actually in use (British Museum 1922:H:IV). The vataga are simple, plaited baskets made from the split rachis of a coconut frond (which forms the rim), with the off-shooting leaflets forming the plaiting elements.

The vataga baskets are used by men -- in fact, Malinowski calls them "male baskets" (1935(I):162 and pl. 77) -- mostly to carry yams, although Malinowski mentions that vataga baskets were used to gather spondylus shells for the making of kaloma (1922:373). The basket is usually carried on the two ends of a pole, called katekewa (1935(I):179), supported on the arm. The length of the oblong-shaped vataga varies between 50 cm. and 35 cm.

Pepe'i (M-596). This type of basket, according to Malinowski, is used by both men and women to carry their personal possessions (British Museum 1922:H:V). Approximately 40 cm. long and 23 cm. high, it is best described as a pouch similar in shape to the vataga, except that the technique for making the pepe'i is plain diagonal twill plaiting. The pepe'i, too, are also made from strips of the coconut palm leaf.

Ka'uya (11-41868-41870). These are small pouch-like baskets made of riuriu grass, by both men and women, and used for carrying personal belongings. Also made with the twill-plaiting technique, the ka'uya are distinguished by their small size, about 20 cm. long, and by their unfinished appearance: the elements hang down from the bottom of the pouch like a fringe.

Nabwodawa (11-41867). Malinowski provided little information on this basket. Aside from mentioning the native name (nabwodawa), he states that it is made of liuriu grass (also spelled liuliu) and was imported to the Trobriands from the east (British Museum 1922:H:VIII). Presumably, Malinowski meant that the basket originated in one of the islands forming the eastern branch of the northern Massim area, perhaps the Marshall Bennett Islands, Woodlark Island (Murua), or Laughlan Island (Nada).

The basket itself is finely made in the diagonal twill plaiting technique, with the elements trimmed on the inner face near the rim. A fringe, which is actually the uncut elements, covers the exterior and interior base. The basket is misshapen but measures approximately 13 cm. high, and 18 cm. in diameter.

Tanepopo (M-124-127, 593-594, 11-40292-40306). This important class of twill-plaited basket almost went unidentified. Malinowski's description reads, "Three-tiered circular basket, used for carrying about personal belongings by men of rank" (British Museum 1922:H:VII). Actually, the tanepopo is a hand basket consisting of a series of three nested baskets.

The technology of the tanepopo basket is unique. The basket is round in shape, a form difficult to achieve with a plaiting technique since plaiting would produce square corners.[8] To achieve the desired cylindrical shape the basket maker worked around a form or mold of pandanus strip. The weaving elements (which would have to be very pliable) were then

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[8]Square-cornered baskets definitely wear out much faster than round-cornered ones.

plaited and molded around the inserted molding band. The technique would leave the weaver with a hole in the base. The hole, however, was covered by running the elements across, plaiting them, and they tying them off in a braiding technique.

The larger tanepopo, or bottom-most baskets, have woven strap handles (M-124-125, 11-40294). Several others have two-ply ini fiber string handles. The interior of practically all of the baskets has the reinforcing band which is stitched to the basket wall. Two examples, 11-40295 and 11-40306, have long since lost their mold/reinforcing band, collapsed, and lost their cylindrical shape.

Both Malinowski and Seligmann commented on the tanepopo baskets: "In the Eastern end of New Guinea a type of large basket, with three layers, manufactured in the Trobriands, was especially popular among people of consequence, because one could hide away one's small treasures in the lower compartment" (1922:97). And Seligmann has this to offer: "The Rev. S. B. Fellowes says, 'Luia people make the hand baskets (three tiers, with strong handles), which are used to carry a lime bottle and small articles. This manufacture is almost exclusively confined to Luia'" (1910:669). Malinowski also mentioned that manufacture of the tanepopo is restricted to a few Trobriand villages, especially Luya (Luia) and Buoytawaya, and is widely traded over the whole of the Massim (British Museum 1922:H:VII).

Unidentified basket (M-129). Unfortunately, this singularly fine basket is undocumented. A well-made, plaited type, it has a loose strap handle with bands of openwork around the body. Its deep and solid construction suggests it was probably used to carry relatively heavy objects

such as stone or stone tools. The basket has a non-Trobriand look about it, and I suspect that it may have originated on one of the islands further to the east.

Tuwebi (head pads) (M-133-136, 11-41860-41861). Many occupations in Trobriand society are strictly assigned to one sex or the other. The manner of carrying loads is one noteworthy example. Women have to carry the special feminine basket, i.e., the bell-shaped basket (beyawa), or indeed any other kind of load upon their heads; men must carry only on the shoulder (Malinowski 1929:19-21). The carrying pads, or tuwebi (United Church 1972b:3, g), provide a buffer between the head and the basket. The manner of use is well-illustrated in a photograph by Malinowski which shows five women resting at the wayside with loads off, but with the pads remaining in position (1929:pl. 6). The pads themselves are doughnut-shaped rings made of various plant materials. Malinowski collected four complete tuwebi (M-133-135, 11-41860) and two incomplete examples (M-136, 11-41861) to show the process of manufacture.

The tuwebi are excellent examples of the art of basketry and were probably manufactured in the village of Luya, noted for its finely plaited basketry (Malinowski 1935(I):16). The foundation, or interior ring, is formed of banana strips (wakaia) held in shape by strips of bark (kio). The ring is tightened with additional strips of pandanus. The plaiting material on the exterior is probably lalang grass (gipware'i), a fine grass which grows in the swamps of northern Kiriwina (Malinowski 1935(I):21). The tight and compact nature of the tuwebi

was probably obtained by soaking in water and drying. The four completed tuwebi (M-133-135, 11-41860) measure 46 cm., 56 cm., 59.5 cm., and 50.5 cm. in circumference, respectively, and each of the two incomplete examples (M-136, 11-41861) measures approximately 21 cm. in diameter.

Kaineva (11-39856-39880). These artifacts are special wooden spatulas used for stirring taro or yam dumplings (mona), which are stewed in large clay pots (kuria) (British Museum 1922:L:I). With several exceptions all the large spatulas are made of a dark mahogany-type wood. Specimen 11-39856, one of the longest examples, is made from a very light wood, perhaps acacia.

The sizes range from 165 cm. (11-39856) to 65.4 cm. (11-39878). The finials on several specimens are missing and one kaineva is missing the greater portion of the spoon end, so an average length can only be approximated, which would be about 100 cm.

The characteristic shape of the kaineva is that of a long, thin, paddle-like object not too dissimilar in form and design from some of the kena, or lime spatulas. One class of kena, the takaineva, described by Malinowski is supposed to be made in imitation of a cooking spoon, and many kena surely appear to be miniature cooking spoons. However, rather than thinking of an implement as being a larger or smaller variant of another class of object (which Malinowski is prone to do), it seems more expedient and certainly less confusing to consider each class of object on its own merits, and then discuss similarities or contrasts evidenced in the comparison of one class of object with another.

Almost all of the kaineva share the same features of material, shape, and decoration. The paddle, or stirring end of the spatula, is, in almost all cases, separated from the upper part and handle by a band carved in relief. Only the longest kaineva (11-39856) and all of the shortest examples (11-39861, 39860, 39874, 39875, 39877, 39878, 39879) lack the middle relief band. Eighteen examples have a band; of these, fourteen have bands that are incised with various designs of spirals or zig-zag streamers. Two kaineva (11-39856, 39879) have an incised long panel directly above the middle band. These designs are reverse spirals with equal and unequal coils and streamers or zig-zags with rounded tips.

With few exceptions, all kaineva have a carved, incised finial which may or may not be lime-filled. Only one example (11-39870) has a finial in the shape of a human figure, in the typical Trobriand attitude, i.e., squatting with hands under the chin. Asymmetry is characteristic of almost all finials with "bird's head"-like motif being the most common design. Incised curvilinear designs cover the flat surfaces of the finials. These design motifs include zig-zags, coils with two and one-half turns, spirals with facing coils of equal and unequal size, reverse spirals with equal and unequal coils, continuous looped spirals, and incipient spirals. Several kaineva have the "hanging" snake motif (11-39869) and one example has a round flat finial on which is carved a pair of coils with one and one-half turns closely resembling a snake's head (11-39870).

Kaitilawa (anvils) (British Museum 1922:L:II) (M-117,647). Kaitilawa are perfectly smooth wooden pounding boards or anvils on which taro is pounded when it is made into the mona, the favorite pudding on festive occasions (Malinowski 1935(I):154-155).

Specimen M-117 is made from a thick piece of hard wood (gai?) 23.5 cm. in length; it is club-shaped, i.e., having a rounded front end which gradually tapers toward the base to form a handle, and terminating in a carved zoomorphic-like finial. Additional ornamentation in the form of coils is added along one edge for a short distance up from the base. The front end is deeply indented, almost cup-like, from pounding.

Kaitutu (beaters) (M-641-646). These are the wooden mallets or beaters used with the kaitilawa to pound taro into small dumplings which are subsequently stewed in large clay pots (kuria). Except for the general shape, no two of the six mallets collected by Malinowski are exactly alike. The mallets are carved from a single piece of hard wood with the round head comprising about one-half the length, the handle proper forming the other half. They average about 30 cm. in overall length. Four of the kaitutu are undecorated, while two (M-645, 646) are elaborately carved with raised bands of zig-zags and various coil designs which, on M-646, are lime-filled. On this same mallet the curvilinear designs cover the entire face of the hammer.

Although not identified in the Register (British Museum 1922) as woodworking mallets, it is more than likely that one or two of the six kaitutu, especially specimen M-644, were in reality mallets (kaigilagela) (United Church 1972b:5) used in various carving activities along with a bone chisel made from a wallaby bone.

Kuria (clay cooking pots) (M-672). Malinowski collected only one example of the cooking pots (called kuria in the Trobriands, but gure'va in other parts of the Massim (Malinowski 1915:627)), which was not available for study.

No pottery vessels were made locally in the Trobriands but were traded from pot-making centers such as the Amphletts, East Cape, and Panaeti. The finest and most famous pottery was produced in the Amphletts and exclusively in the village of Gumawana (Malinowski 1922:46; Silas 1926:49). Malinowski describes the Amphlett potters as the monopolists in that part of the world, with all the main characteristics of monopolists: "grasping and mean, inhospitable and greedy, keen on keeping the trade and exchange in their own hands, yet unprepared to make any sacrifice towards improving it" (1922:46). He is quick to point out that this impression of the Amphlett natives is shared by the Trobrianders (1922:47). In any case, Amphlett pots are widely traded throughout the Massim, principally in two directions, northwards to the Trobriands, and southwards and eastwards to Milne Bay and the neighboring islands (Seligmann 1910:531).

The clay has to be imported into the Amphletts from Yayawana, a quarry on the northern shore of Fergusson Island, about a day's journey from the Amphletts. Only a very inferior clay can be found in the islands of Gumasila and Nabwageta, good enough for small pots but quite useless for the big ones (Malinowski 1922:283).

The making of Amphlett pots is exclusively woman's work. Malinowski shows the technology of pot-making in a series of four photographs (1922: pls. XLIV, XLV) with brief explanatory captions. The pots are made

entirely by modelling. The potter starts with a thick ring of clay which is drawn upwards and inwards with the hands until there is only a small opening at what will be the base or bottom. This opening is closed with a piece of clay. It is then lightly patted with a wood implement, and sometimes scraped with a shell to thin the walls. After this, it is left for a few days to dry. Then it is turned mouth upwards, resting in a basket; the rim is formed, and usually decorated with incised designs while the clay is still plastic (Encyclopedia of Papua and New Guinea 1972:732). After sufficient hardening, it is placed on some dried sticks, mouth downwards, supported by stones put between the sticks. It is surrounded with twigs and pieces of wood on its outside, the sticks below bake it from the inside, and those from above on the outside (Malinowski 1922:285).

Judging from the illustrations of these pots, the shape is not quite semi-spheroidal; it is rather half an ellipsoid, similar to the broader half of an egg, cut off in the middle. According to Malinowski (1922: 286) these pots are called kuria in the Kiriwinian language, kuyana or va'ega by the Amphlett Islanders, and gure'va elsewhere in the Massim. The largest specimens are about a meter across the rim, and approximately 60 cm. deep; these are used exclusively for the ceremonial cooking of mona and are called kwoylamona, examples of which are illustrated in Argonauts of the Western Pacific (Malinowski 1922:pl. XLVI).

The second size, called kwoylakalagile, are used for ordinary boiling of yams or taro. A smaller vessel, kwoyligwawaga, is used for the same purposes. One special size, kwoylamegwa, is used in sorcery. The smallest pots, which Malinowski never saw used in the Trobriands though

he noted a Trobriand word for them (kwoylakekita), are used for every day cooking in the Amphletts.

The only pottery vessel collected by Malinowski (M-672) is described in the Register (British Museum 1922:42) as an unglazed bowl, approximately 30 cm. in diameter, with the outer rim decorated with a zig-zag line of impressed dots. Since the Ethnological Document (British Museum 1922:L:I) lists a kuria for the stewing of yam or taro dumplings, this sole vessel, to judge by its size, is probably the kwoyligwawaga type, or smallest variety of cooking pot.

Kwoyviga (British Museum 1922:L:III-IV) (M120-123; 592, 639-640; 11-40219-40231). According to Malinowski the coconuts in the Trobriands were neither numerous nor very good (1935(I):301). In spite of their scarcity and poor quality coconuts were commonly made into a variety of containers including water bottles, soup ladles, cups, bowls, scoops, heating pots, canoe bailers (Silas 1926:181), and occasionally even lime containers (yaguma). Even the triangular sections removed to make openwork containers were frequently salvaged and made into scrapers (M-629). Even though Malinowski collected 20 coconut shell vessels of various types, he mentions only two types, the water bottles (lukwava) and the soup bowls (kwailubwa), with only the latter positively identified.

Fortunately, the brief descriptions in the Trobriand Crafts Ethnic Catalogue (United Church 1972b:3) enabled me to identify the function of several coconut vessels in the Malinowski collection, and to make tentative identifications for the others.

I have chosen the word "kwoyviga" as a generic or class term for containers made from coconuts since this term translates simply as "coconut shell" (Malinowski 1935(II):110).

Lukwava (M-592, 11-40219-40220). These are water carriers made from whole coconut shells with a single plugged opening. These were intended to be carried about like canteens, to store water for household use (Silas 1926:pl. 7), and for the storage of drinking water on long sea voyages (Malinowski 1922:204). Both 11-40219 and 40220 are simple undecorated containers, while M-592, identified in the Register (British Museum 1922:37) as a lukwava, is incised with lime-filled curvilinear designs around the entire top half of the shell. A similarly decorated coconut container (M-119) half-filled with lime is identified as a type of yaguma. Since the gourd is traditionally used as a lime container, it may well be that the decorated coconut vessels with lime were used to transport lime for trading purposes or as storage vessels for lime to refill the gourd yaguma.

Viga (M-639-640, 11-40222-40223). These are cups or bowls made from one-half of a coconut shell. Two examples (11-40222-40223) have slightly raised ridge on one end which is perforated for a short section of two-ply cordage, presumably for hanging the cup when not in use. None of these viga is decorated in any fashion. The principal use was for ladling soup (British Museum 1922:L:IV).

Kwailubwa (11-40224-40225). These are a form of viga made from about three-quarters of the coconut shell, and are more bowl-like in shape. Specimen 11-40224 is decorated with a band consisting of a series of

lime-filled spirals with facing coils of equal size. The rim is decorated with the zig-zag or streamer motif, also lime-filled. Specimen 11-40225 lacks the incised decorations but the lip is cut into a saw-tooth pattern. Kwailuba are used at meals for soup (United Church 1972b:3).

Kwailugubugwabu (11-40221). This is a vessel made from three-quarters of a coconut shell and similar in most respects to the soup bowls. It is devoid, however, of any decoration and is badly charred on the exterior. The Trobriand Crafts Ethnic Catalogue (United Church 1972b:3) describes a similar coconut bowl and states, "Used like a small pot to heat water to be drunk by a woman in labour," and gives the name kwailugubugwabu. This may be a fanciful attribution, but since information is not forthcoming from Malinowski or from other sources, it seems reasonable to accept this as a tentative attribution.

Strap-handled water-scoops (M-120-122, 11-40226-40231). The most characteristic feature of these nine coconut shell containers is the strap or carrying handle. The simplest variety (11-40226, 40228) is made by cutting off the top of the shell except for a curved strap which is left to serve as a handle. Except for the saw-tooth band cut around the entire edge, neither example is decorated. Specimen M-121 is carved from an ovate-shaped coconut and has a single strap. The upper half of the body is covered with elaborate curvilinear lime-filled designs, and is remarkably similar to Tami coconut cups illustrated and described by Reichard (1933(I):80, fig. 47a).

The complex handles on the other types (M-120, 122; 11-40227, 40229-40231) are made by cutting away three or four triangular sections from the upper portion of the shell. A zone below the edge, and the strap as well, is intricately carved with lime-filled curvilinear designs, consisting mostly of concentric circles, coils, and variations of the zig-zag or streamer. The "hanging snake" motif is evident on M-122, and present but less defined on specimen 11-40231.

Because of the openwork these plain and fancy handled shells would not serve well as water carriers or storage vessels. Most likely they were used to scoop water from wells (United Church 1972b:3) and perhaps secondarily served as simple drinking cups.

Miscellaneous coconut containers (M-123). One specimen collected by Malinowski is made from an immature or green coconut. Atypical in all respects to the other coconut shell containers, it is, nevertheless, ideally suited for use as a drinking cup. Three bands of lime-filled zig-zag designs decorate the body.

Fire-making (M-157-158, 329, 669a,b, 670a,b, 671a,b). In the Trobriands, as elsewhere in Melanesia, fire was made by friction, with a hearth and plough. A length of soft dried wood is placed upon the ground and a smaller bluntly pointed piece of harder wood, held in both hands, is worked backwards and forwards along the grain to form a groove. After a time smouldering dust accumulates at the end of the groove at which time the operator rubs very fast, causing the dust to ignite. The smouldering matter is then placed in the middle of some inflammable

material and is blown upon until it bursts into flame (Silas 1926:143-144; Cranstone 1961:90).

According to Malinowski, instruction in fire-making, discussions about how to make a fire, often lead to disputes and quarrels and are as frequent in the Trobriands as anywhere else where fires are made in the open and where everybody thinks that he is a special expert in the art (1935(II):50).

By Malinowski's time, commercial matches appear to have displaced the hearth and plough method of obtaining fire although, as Malinowski points out, old technical implements or processes survived under certain conditions, and fire-making by friction was still the method employed by garden magicians in the performance of rituals such as the burning of gardens (1935(I):283).

Malinowski collected four hearths (M-157, 669a 670a, 671a) but none was available for examination. According to the Register (British Museum 1922), they varied in length from 85 cm. to 122 cm., and averaged about 100 cm. Of the five ploughs (M-158, 329, 669b, 670b, 671b) only three (M-158, 329, 670b) were available for study and photography. Measuring 13 cm., 15 cm., and 25 cm. in length, respectively, the ploughs, like the hearths, are amorphous in shape and except for the blunt point are indistinguishable from scrap wood.

Mats (mo'i) (11-42125-42130). There was no information on mats in the British Museum Register nor any reference to them in the Ethnological Documents (British Museum 1922). None of the six mats collected by Malinowski was labelled or in any way identified.

The largest example (11-42125) measures 120 cm. X 36 cm., and the smallest (11-42130) 91 cm. X 23 cm. While the mats vary slightly in size, their construction is the same: a double thickness of heavy pandanus strips carefully stitched with a bone awl along the sides, tops, and bottoms, suggesting that these particular specimens may have served as containers. Wherever a tear or natural opening occurred anywhere on the face or back, it was carefully sewn with patches of the same material.

These specimens probably represent objects of household and general utility, used for a variety of purposes including, perhaps, even a role in garden magic (Malinowski 1935(I):95, 99, 274). Folded mats, like these, were used as coverings for personal apparel and food (Malinowski 1922:150), as canopies for parts of the waga (Malinowski 1922:390), as sleeping mats (Malinowski 1929:pl. 8), as thatching, for the construction of doors and partitions, and to line walls of dwellings (Malinowski 1935(I):300; Silas 1926:13).

According to the Trobriand Crafts Ethnic Catalogue (United Church 1972b:4), pandanus matting was used for sleeping mats (moikanukwenu), as rain mats (moikanunuva), as shrouds (mwaikapula), and as walling for a chief's house (niniva).

Headrests (M-56). A curiously shaped wooden object (M-56) is described in the Register as a "wooden carving for a canoe" (British Museum 1922:6). An examination of Malinowski canoe photographs in Argonauts of the Western Pacific (1922:pls. XXI, XXIV, XXVII) offers no clue as to either the placement of this object on a waga nor its probable function. Carved and darkly stained on both sides, and measuring approximately 43 cm. in width, it is best described as saddle-shaped, with

asymmetrical bilobed ends. It is unlikely that this carving is either a variant tabuyo or lagim since nothing like it appears in Haddon and Hornell's definitive work (1937). On the other hand, the saddle-shaped object does resemble the wooden headrests (pillows) so common to the Massim region. In spite of its attribution as a canoe attachment, I feel that it is a poorly carved headrest. In comparison to Massim headrests illustrated in the literature, this specimen hardly measures up to the highly carved and finely made examples that appear in "primitive art" books. An ornate, but more "typical" example of a Trobriand headrest is illustrated in Erwin O. Christensen's Primitive Art (1955:fig. 267).

Carved house ornaments (M-49-51, 57-58, 62, 88-89, 91, 363, 651-657, 11-41286). Trobriand yam houses (bwayma) were constructed of carefully prepared structural elements; certain parts were well-carved and painted, especially if intended for a chief's bwayma and, according to Seligmann, only the chief's dwelling had carved and painted boards (1910:674). Malinowski noted that in the old days all of the bwayma gable boards, front boards, and most of the logs were carved (1935(I): 244), but by 1918 carving and painting of house parts was beginning to disappear (1935(I):245).

The really carefully planed, polished, and carved structural elements included the liku, or logs of the structure; the po'u, logs similar in shape to the liku but functioning as the highest and lowest beams of the log cabin; the kavalapu, or the front and back boards framing the gable wall; and the bisiya'i, or base board of the gable, laid at the

bottom of the front gable end (Malinowski 1935(I):245). Carved figures, usually bird forms, called mwamwala, and ring-shaped ornaments were attached to the upper ridge pole (Malinowski 1935(I):261), or protruded from the house front (British Museum 1922:41, remarks for M-653).

The boards and logs were carved by the master carver, tokabitam, who would labor over them for days and weeks, and paint them with red ochre, charcoal, and calcareous earth (Malinowski 1935(I):244-245).

Presumably, carved and painted house boards would be relatively difficult to acquire, yet Malinowski collected both decorated boards and ornamental house attachments, but all without a shred of documentation.

Some of the decorated boards collected by Malinowski are not likely to have come from dwelling houses or the bwayma, and their function must remain unknown for the present study.

Some of the bird figures, carved in the round, which were tentatively identified in the Register (British Museum 1922) as house ornaments, i.e., roof attachments, may be rope blocks (okanado), net floats, or simply carvings with no special function.

Bisiya'i (11-41286, M-89, 91). The carvings on two of the three gable base boards are remarkably similar suggesting that they were carved by the same tokabitam. Specimen M-91, which was not available for examination, may also represent the handiwork of the same carver as suggested by the drawing in the Register (British Museum 1922:9). The largest bisiya'i, M-91, measures 158 cm. in length, and specimen 11-41286 is slightly shorter at 132 cm. The smallest of the three gable

boards is specimen M-89, and is likely to be the companion piece to one of the two larger base gable boards, i.e., the one mounted above the base board as described by Malinowski (1935(I):262). All three are carved from mangrove wood and show remnants of black, red, and white paint. Design elements are typically curvilinear. Specimens 11-41286 and M-89 are carved on one side only. Specimen M-91, according to the description in the Register (British Museum 1922), is similarly decorated on both sides, a fact which suggests that perhaps this latter board may not be a bisiya'i. Nothing, however, in Malinowski's notes or in the literature offers an alternative function for the board, and, if not a gable base, it is at least a house part.

Mwamwala (M-49-51, 58, 62, 88, 653-657). Strictly speaking, mwamwala, or "ornament of ridge pole," is a ring or a carved representation of a bird, attached to the upper ridge pole of the bwayma (Malinowski 1935(I):261). Only one of the bird carvings collected by Malinowski (M-653) was identified by him as a "house ornament in the form of a mulubina(?) bird, used as a decoration protruding on the house front" (British Museum 1922:41). This specimen along with seven other bird carvings conforms in all respects to the house ornaments described and illustrated by Seligmann (1910:685, fig. 48). One other specimen, M-58, has all the characteristics of a ring ornament although it is not identified as such in the Register (British Museum 1922).

All but three of the bird carvings have a perforated basal tongue for attachment to the ridge pole. It is possible that three of the bird carvings (M-49, 50, 655), which lack the basal tongue, are simply

carvings in their own right and were not made to be house ornaments.

The bird mwamwala range in size from 49 cm. in length (M-49) to the smallest of only 14 cm. (M-656), the eight examples averaging approximately 25 cm. in length.

The ring ornament (M-58) is a simple disc, about 20 cm. in diameter, with a short extension on the base for attachment to the ridge pole, and is carved and decorated on both sides.

In addition to the ornaments which adorn the ridge pole, there is a second type unnamed by Malinowski but described by him as "carved ornaments which are inserted into protruding ends of rafters, to adorn the front of the house" (British Museum 1922:5). The two examples are long, tapered carvings with the front end carved in one instance in an openwork, curvilinear design (M-88), and in the other with a human head in which the hands, in characteristic fashion, are propped under the chin (M-51). Each is approximately 70 cm. in length.

Miscellaneous and unidentified carvings (M-57, 363, 651-652). Specimen M-57 is a board 47 cm. in length and which is carved on both sides with a series of intricate curvilinear designs. This may have been the base board for a gable, although it is impossible to say for certain since both ends are weathered and eaten away.

Specimen M-651 is a curious board, 30 cm. in length, and carved on both sides. Too short for a house part, it may be a canoe attachment; this, however, is but a guess and is unsupported by any direct evidence. The surface is covered with lime-filled spirals, scrolls, and zig-zags. The front part is carved to represent what is unmistakably a bird, while

the base is carefully cut with a series of five notches suggesting that the panel was intended to be firmly attached to something. It is quite possible that this carving, as well as the piece to be described below, is a master carver's practice piece and was never intended to serve any purpose.

Specimen M-652 shares many features with the carving just described and may, indeed, be a part of it. The general workmanship more than suggests that it was made by the carver who executed M-651. More or less boat-shape and measuring 28 cm. in length, it is also carved on both sides with lime-filled coils and spirals.

Specimen M-363, which was not available for study, is, like the preceeding specimens, somewhat of an enigma. The Register (British Museum 1922) describes this piece simply as "a wooden carved ornament." The rough illustration in the Register shows an intricately carved, but crooked, board approximately 165 cm. in length, one end of which terminates in a scroll-like panel. The function of this board is uncertain, but its length and extensive decorative carvings does indicate that it may be part of the chief's house (the most likely guess), a yam house, or may be the practice work of a master carver.

CHAPTER VIII

ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE: WEAPONS

Spears (M-161, 351-352, 355-362, 11-39850-39855, 39882-39892, 40249). The only weapons used in regular fighting were the shield for defence and the spear for offence (Malinowski 1920b:10). All Trobriand spears are of the same general type -- stout with round points and unbarbed. Barbed spears (M-352, 360) were sometimes imported from the D'Entrecasteaux Islands and from the neighborhood of Dawson Straits, the Amphlett group, and parts of Goodenough Island (Malinowski 1920b:10). Apparently, barbed spears were seldom, if ever, used in regular warfare.

The spears are of varying size, ranging in length from 171 cm. to 334 cm.; the average length, including the two barbed D'Entrecasteaux specimens, is 240 cm.

Malinowski mentions that the longer the spear, the lighter the wood, and that the spears were made of only two kinds of wood: ebony (Diospyros variety) and a hardwood, the latter unidentified but probably a mahogany. Eight spears, however, were found to be made of palm wood (11-39882-39889).

In typical Massim fashion, the majority of spears are decorated, either with low relief curvilinear designs forming a band around the center of the spear, and/or with the butt terminating in a knob, or a series of carved rings. Several butts are perforated, presumably for the attachment of a plain or beaded cord. In almost all cases, the decorated zone around the center is slightly above or below the point of balance. The incised designs are either plain or lime-filled, and in one instance, painted red.

All of the fighting spears (M-351, 355-359, 361-362, 11-39882-39892) are known as ka'yala (British Museum 1922:I:III-IV), and the two barbed examples (M-352, 360) imported from the D'Entrecasteaux or elsewhere are called kailaka'ukuwa (British Museum 1922:I:V).

Malinowski lists another type of spear, kai'lepa, described as a smaller variety which is carried about as a weapon of defence, or used as a ceremonial staff in the performance of garden magic (British Museum 1922:I:VI). None of the Malinowski spears in the British Museum or in the Lowie collections was identified as a kai'lepa type. A worn, fragmented and partly legible label attached to specimen 11-40349 reads, "Kailepa--//////wand used in a g//////ceremony then//////struck with it to////////." Fortunately, in Coral Gardens and Their Magic, Malinowski does describe the kai'lepa's function: "Kaylepa a magical wand used in garden ceremony, then the ground is struck with it, to inaugurate the gardening cycle" (1935(I):93).

This palm wood object, which more closely resembles a billy club than it does a spear, measures 59 cm. in length, including a grip of 12 cm. long. Toward the slightly tapering end is a short series of

incised, opposing, lime-filled triangles. It is conceivable that the wand may be the remnants of a spear that was broken and then modified for secondary use as a ceremonial staff in the performance of garden magic. Specimen M-161, which was not available for study, is described in the Register as a "garden magician's wand; double specimen wrapped in a mat, in which form it rests through the year, until it is wanted in the proper season" (British Museum 1922:14).

There are also six pointed staffs made of a pale reddish wood which could be the kai'lepa, or small spear, carried for defensive purposes. All examples (11-39850-39855) are exactly alike, averaging 120.4 cm. in length, with a finial of a legless human figure, wearing a knob on top of the head. The figures are block-like, unlike the rounded figures on the canes, and are covered with lime-filled circle designs, "hanging snakes," and bands of curvilinear designs.

Sword/clubs (pulata) (11-39789-39815). Pulata were, apparently, made at Kitava Island and were one of the principal items imported by the Kiriwinians (Gilmour 1905:72). The heavy wooden swords and sword clubs were, strictly speaking, ceremonial weapons used in village brawls, arguments over gardens, pigs, women, sorcery and breaches of etiquette. Sometimes they are carried in mortuary ceremonies and annual feasts, but they are never used in regular fighting (Malinowski 1920b:12; British Museum 1922:I:IX). Like so much of the Massim cultural items, these weapons illustrate the natives' passion for display, i.e., the decorative effect of these artifacts far outweighs their efficacy as weapons. Incised lime-filled curvilinear designs fill the upper part of the blade, and several examples have additional "hanging snake" designs.

There is a total of 27 pulata, all of which are in the collections of the Lowie Museum (11-39789-39815). Most of the pulata are made of the hard and heavy ebony wood, or a mahogany-type wood, with several examples made of palm wood. The 27 specimens range in length from 110.9 cm. (11-39811) to 47.8 cm. (11-39790) with an average length of 73.4 cm. and 8.3 cm. in width.

The swords and sword/clubs can be divided into four main groups: (1) The most typical, and presumably aboriginal kind, is sword-like with a truncated tip which looks like a cricket bat. The blade itself, which is ovoid in cross section, tapers toward the hilt to form a sword guard. The hilt ends in a large pommel. The pommels on pulata are symmetrical in shape, an uncharacteristic feature. Asymmetrical finials and handles are typical of lime spatulas, cooking spoons, and steering rudders. Most of the pulata collected by Malinowski are of the type just described (11-39789-39805, 39815). (2) Saw-tooth bladed swords: These sword/clubs (11-39806-39809) are similar in shape to the first type, but are distinguished by the presence of saw-teeth along both edges of the blades. With the exception of specimen 11-39808 these weapons also show cruder workmanship than the truncated variety. (3) Machete-shape swords: Both examples (11-39813-39814) were made of palm wood in a decidedly acculturated form. The model for both was probably a European machete or cutlass. In cross section, both the blades are triangular with only the flattened side decorated with curvilinear and geometric designs. Both hilts are European in form. (4). Leaf-shape sword. These swords (11-39810-39812) may or may not represent acculturated forms. The long, leaf-shaped blades are reminiscent of a European variety but the shape may

have a purely indigenous origin, such as found on steering rudders and paddles. All three have triangular-shaped pommels -- a feature not found on other pulata.

Kaitukuwa (11-39816-39841, 39846-39849). This is a class of objects of multiple functions -- sparring clubs/walking sticks/swagger sticks, described briefly by Malinowski as "short walking sticks used sometimes as light weapons in village brawls" (British Museum 1922:I:VII). They are best described as a decorated stick carried by men as a cane, "swagger" stick or handy weapon in case of an argument; they may also be carried in mortuary ceremonies and annual feasts. All 30 examples are in the Lowie Museum collection. With the exception of three sticks which are made of mahogany-type wood (11-39847-39849) all are made of dark, heavy ebony wood. They range in size from 122.5 cm. in length to the shortest specimen of 69.2 cm.; averaging about 99.3 cm.

The most common finial is two opposing squatting human figures, similar in all respects to the tokualu figures of certain kena. Several have a single human squatting figure, and one stick (11-39836) has a human head carved on one side. Two sticks (11-39825-39826) have interesting human male figures carved in the round. Both figures are depicted sitting on a stool holding a child. For specimen 11-39825 the name "Sam" is carved on the chest of the figure, and on specimen 11-39826 "Sam" is carved on the stomach area. This latter stick also has another human figure with legs wrapped around the body of the cane, and grasping the feet of the seated male. Specimen 11-39847 has a single standing human figure with hands under the chin.

The "hanging snake" motif is commonly engraved and all sticks have wide zones of curvilinear designs, e.g., reverse spirals with coils of unequal and equal size, continuous looped spirals, spirals with facing coils of equal and unequal size. The zig-zag appears with corners rounded, with the streamers running in scallops instead of points. Round or elongated knobs form the finial for many sticks, and several have stylized "frigate birds" as finials or carved in relief along the length of the stick (11-39846). The finial on specimen 11-39831 is like the four-vaned finials found on one type of kena. One stick appears to be an acculturated form (11-39841). The curved handle on this specimen may have been copied from a European cane. Below the handle is a band of incised curvilinear designs.

Lewo (M-162, 11-39842-39845). Lewo are described briefly by Malinowski as short throwing sticks, used as a light weapon in village brawls (British Museum 1922:I:VIII). None of the sticks was identified as lewo, but one example in the British Museum (M-162) and four sticks in the Lowie Museum (11-39842-39845) appear to be lewo. Specimen M-162, unidentified in the Register (British Museum 1922), measures 73.5 cm. in length, is knobbed on both ends and is decorated with a series of carved rings below each knob. Length, material (ebony) and shape strongly suggest that it is a throwing stick. The four examples in Lowie run in length from 59.6 cm. to 75.4 cm., and average about 68.5 cm. None of the lewo has elaborate finials or relief designs, although all have incised curvilinear bands or dentate designs. The absence of carved finials, such as those common to the kaitukuwa, indicates they were meant for hard use,

such as throwing. With the absence of any definite information, these sticks have been attributed as lewo.

Va'yaulo (shields) (British Museum 1922:I) (M-92-97). All of the shields collected by Malinowski were left with the British Museum, but none was available for study.

Shields are made of a single piece of thick, light acacia wood, oval in outline, but broader below than above, and curved from above downward. They were made in various sizes, but those collected by Malinowski appear to average about 80 cm. in length.

The most commonly used shield was undecorated. Ironically, the type of shield most associated with the Trobriand Islands, and the type most surely to be represented in museum collections, is the highly ornamented, painted variety which was hardly ever used in times of war except by the bravest and most distinguished warriors. To have one's shield painted was a challenge, since it was a great honor to split such a shield or to kill the man who carried one. Therefore, as Malinowski points out, a painted shield attracted many more spears than a plain one, and it was distinctly dangerous to use this form of bravado (1920b:11).

Typical of the decorated type is specimen M-95. Specimen M-94 is apparently carved with lightly incised scroll designs but unpainted. The three remaining shields, M-92, M-96, and M-97, are undecorated examples but are stained black or light brown. All of the painted variety of shields illustrated in ethnographies, "primitive" art books, and similar publications show designs of a highly conventionalized sort, painted black and red on white ground, which varied only within very narrow limits.

CHAPTER IX

ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE:

CANOES AND CANOE PARTS

Canoes. Years before Malinowski described the trading patterns of the Massim, Seligmann (1910:526-540) presented a valuable account of the trade carried on between the peoples of the northern and southern Massim regions; and even his account was partly based upon the earlier observations on the Trobriand trading expeditions by M. K. Gilmour (1905:71-72). A study of the Massim trading system is important for an understanding of the ethnography of this extremely complex area. With reference to the Trobriands, Seligmann says:

> The whole of the southern Massim, including such almost self-supporting communities as Wagawaga [in Milne Bay], relies upon the northern Massim for the manufacture of certain articles of great value and upon the middlemen of islands such as Tubetube for their supply....The Trobriands appear to be the chief centres of manufacture of all these ornaments (1910:528-529).

Trading, then, both practical and ceremonial, was mainly from the Trobriands to the Amphletts, Fergusson, and adjacent islands, and to the northern side of Dawson Straits. From the D'Entrecasteaux Islands the trade went to Tubetube and then to Wari. From Tubetube the main current of trade went to the Alcesters and Woodlark.

Malinowski's detailed presentation and interpretation of the kula ring has already been summarized, but briefly it is the circulation in definite directions of certain articles of great value, and is also associated with ordinary trade. This system of the exchange of valuables is traditional, public, and ceremonial and is accompanied by magic rites. The area to the north encompassed by the kula system runs from the Trobriands to the Amphletts, and especially to Dobu, the only island of the D'Entrecasteaux group with which the Trobriand men have kula relations. Ordinary trade relations, however, exist between the natives of Kataria (a village on the north side of Trobriand Lagoon) and Kayleula (an island east of Boyowa), and the Koya of Fergusson and Goodenough (Malinowski 1922:231, 500). The kula system in the southern Massim includes the Marshall Bennetts, Woodlark, and Nada. There is also a kula cycle from Woodlark and Nada to Misima and Panaiete, and from Woodlark to Tubetube, the latter a great trading center with direct trade with Woodlark and Dobu. Indeed, practically every island in the northern and southern Massim is represented by material objects collected on Tubetube by the Cooke-Daniels Expedition (British Museum 1906:186).

Crucial, of course, to the maintenance of the kula system are the canoes (waga) and all of the magical and ceremonial practices connected with the stages in their manufacture. Malinowski devoted space to the subject of waga (general designation for all kinds of sailing craft), their construction, value, and importance, and the emotions they arouse in those who use or own them. Well over 100 pages of Argonauts of the Western Pacific is directly concerned with the waga.

Three types of waga are constructed and used in the Trobriands, each type being used for a specific purpose. There is a fourth type of waga once prominent in the Trobriands but manufactured elsewhere which will be considered separately.

Kewo'u is a simple dugout, connected with a float, lacking strakes and carved boards; it has few booms, no more than six, and as a rule there is no platform. The kewo'u is used for coastal transport in the Boyowa Lagoon. This canoe is owned by an individual and has no magical or mythological associations (Malinowski 1922:112).

The kalipoulo is a larger dugout which functions essentially as a fishing canoe. It has pointed ends which are usually carved and painted. The fore-and-aft sections have a splashboard (lagim), and a prow board (tabuyo). A washstrake (koumwali) is attached to each side. The straight booms vary in number -- up to 10 or 12. When numerous, the booms are close together and form a continuous platform. The float (lamina) is almost as long as the hull. Each kalipoulo is owned by the headman of a fishing group who performs the fish magic; minor myths are associated with them (Malinowski 1922:122; Haddon and Hornell 1937: 267).

The masawa is a large trading and seagoing waga which Malinowski describes as the most technically elaborate, the most seaworthy and carefully built of the waga (1922:112). In Malinowski's opinion, the masawa represent the greatest achievement of Trobriand craftsmanship (1922:112). Technically, they differ from the kewo'u and kalipoulo in the amount of time spent over their construction and the care given to details, rather than in essentials. All parts are finished and fitted

more perfectly, lashed together with a better creeper (wayugo), and more thoroughly caulked. The carving, which on the fishing waga is often indifferent, here is perfect (Malinowski 1922:113).

Constructed in the same manner as the kalipoulo, the masawa has two, rather than one, washstrakes (koumwali) on each side. Fore-and-aft are the type I lagim and tabuyo first described by Haddon and Hornell (1937:276). The booms number 20 or more and are covered by a continuous platform (pitapatile); each is connected with the long float.

The best centers for masawa building are found in the islands of Vakuta, south of Boyowa, and Kayleula to the west. The island of Kitava is the traditional building center, and in Malinowski's time the finest canoes as well as the best canoe carvings came from there (1922:121).

Each masawa has its own name. A masawa is constructed by a group and owned and used communally according to recognized rules forming a definite canoe sociology (Malinowski 1922:113-122).

The nagega is an eastern type of a large waga. Larger and more seaworthy than the masawa and with high sides, it is consequently of greater carrying capacity (Haddon and Hornell 1937:269). According to Malinowski, these waga could sail closer to the wind; consequently, these eastern-built canoes could beat, therefore allowing for a greater independence of the wind direction (1922:144).

The nagega is used on a section of the kula ring, beginning at Gawa, the most southerly island of the Marshall Bennetts, and ending at Tube-tube. It was made in few places, the more important being Gawa, a few villages on Woodlark, Panaiete, and perhaps on Misima. From these places, these waga were traded all over the district and were one of the most important articles of trade.

Malinowski presented convincing evidence that the nagega was once manufactured in the Trobriands and used exclusively there (1922: 145). He estimates that sometime during the past two or three generations the nagega had been replaced by the smaller waga, the masawa, which in terms of weight and seaworthiness was inferior, but swifter, and less difficult to build (1922:145).

With this brief introduction to the waga, we now turn to a consideration of the various hull attachments and waga equipment collected by Malinowski.

Tabuyo M-29-34, 43-48, 52, 54, 63, 334-337, 11-39731-39747, 39757-39762). The tabuyo is a median, vertical, carved and painted end-erection which runs along the top fore-and-aft of the canoe, and which supports the transversal board or lagim. The full-sized tabuyo (32 in all) range in size from the longest of 66 cm. (M-52) to the shortest, 35 cm. (M-63), and average approximately 48 cm. in length. With the exception of several of the model tabuyo, all were carved and painted (red, white, and black) on both sides. Even the most weather-worn and used tabuyo show some remnants of paint, usually only the white (lime encrustation) paint surviving. On two examples, M-30 and 11-39736, a bright blue paint has replaced the traditional black.

The shape of the tabuyo is generally the same for all examples. The major feature consists of a large scroll pattern spiraling out from the center terminating in front with an incurved smaller scroll in the shape of a "bird's head." In all cases, the "head" and "beak" face toward the rear of the tabuyo. The entire surface is carved with variations of the coil pattern, although the so-called "bird's head" motif

seems to dominate. No human figures appear on any of the tabuyo, but along the base of specimen M-34 is a series of four carved animals, presumably pigs. Both the paddles (kaidebu) and the finials on several lime spatulas (kena) have this openwork, "bird's head" scroll pattern, although the embellishment and complexity of the carvings are more conventionalized in the case of the kaidebu and simplified in the spatula finials.

Kuyuwa (M-348-349). Listed as type VIc under the heading of "Diminutive carved boards made for model of canoes" is the kuyuwa which Malinowski mentions as being "both lagim and tabuyo" (British Museum 1922: B;VIc). But he failed to indicate to which object he was referring. Nothing described in the British Museum Register nor any of the objects in the collections was identified as a kuyuwa. There are, however, two examples of a model canoe ornament which may be Malinowski's elusive kuyuwa (M-348-349). These are "L"-shaped wooden carvings which appear to be composite prow ornaments not unlike the fore-and-aft canoe carvings from Gawa drawn by the native artist Nabur (British Museum 1906: no. 641). The bases of these Malinowski objects are notched like an inverted "T" for insertion like the tabuyo. The vertical portion is hollowed on top for the insertion of an additional element which is much like the lagim in function but generally is called a sakusaku elsewhere in the Massim region. The sakusaku was not used in the Trobriands but it is found on canoes from the Marshall Bennett and Woodlark Islands. Malinowski's comment "kuyuwa, both lagim and tabuyo," undoubtedly refers to these two model canoe ornaments which were probably acquired in trade

from Woodlark. This attribution is reinforced by the presence of three sakusaku (11-39755-39756, M-37) which Malinowski states are from boards of the Woodlark Island type of canoe (British Museum 1922:B:IX).

Each of the attributed kuyuwa models is similar in shape and design. The forward part is carved in the form of a sharp-billed bird's head (frigate?). The surface, typically, is covered with curvilinear designs, again suggestive of bird's heads.

Koumwali (M-90). One wooden carving described in the Register (British Museum 1922) as a "carved ornament for canoe" was not available for study or photography. The drawing of this object, however, conforms in all important respects to the koumwali described by Malinowski and quoted by Haddon and Hornell (1937:267). A koumwali is a washstrake lashed to the sides of a canoe, i.e., along the top edge, for greater free board and supported inboard by pairs of "knees," called gelu. The carving drawn in the Register (British Museum 1922) measures about 120 cm. in length, carved and painted on one side only, with an upward curved tapered front end. On top, and toward the front, are what appear to be back-to-back frigate birds, with hollowed bodies; the head of the rear-most bird is missing. The frigate bird carvings function as blocks through which are pulled sail sheets or heavy lines used in shark fishing.[9] The curved and tapered shape of this object along with the

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[9]Comparable hollow bodied bird carvings are illustrated by Edge-Partington and each is identified as a block for reeving rope (1890: pl. 277, figs. 5 and 6; pl. 276, fig. 4). These three-dimensional hollow bodied bird carvings are frequently confused with the bird carvings employed as house ornaments; but the latter lack the hollow.

frigate bird blocks more than indicates that this object is a koumwali.[10] As in the case of the lagim, only the side facing in toward the boat is uncarved and unpainted.

Sakusaku (M-37, 11-39755-39756). These are carved wooden finial ornaments with a long flat blade or tang generally associated only with Haddon and Hornell's type I tabuyo (1937:276). The sakusaku (more properly called munkuris) is either attached to the side of the tabuyo for-and-aft with lashings, or else inserted into a socket at the top of the tabuyo.

There is some confusion about where the sakusaku originated and which islands in the Massim use them as waga ornaments. Haddon and Hornell (1937:276) maintain that the type I end-erection with the sakusaku is common to the Trobriand Islands, and cites Lewis' photograph (1925: pl. 33) of a Trobriand sakusaku as evidence.

While Lewis' example may have been collected in the Trobriands there is no evidence to indicate that it was manufactured or used there. Nowhere in the literature are there photographs of Trobriand waga with type I tabuyo with or without the sakusaku finial. Malinowski illustrated only the lagim and tabuyo already described (Haddon and Hornell's type III), and for the three sakusaku he collected he gives Woodlark Island as provenience (British Museum 1922:B:IX). Seligmann (1910) states that the munkuris (sakusaku) were made only at Tokunu, one of the Alcester Islands (1910:35), which is considered to be an ethnographic annex of Murua (Woodlark) (1910:673). While common enough in the Massim area,

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[10] On the larger waga, the masawa, there are two washstrakes or koumwali on each side (Haddon and Hornell 1937:267).

the sakusaku was not adopted nor made by the Trobrianders. Like many non-Trobriand artifacts, the precence of sakusaku in the Trobriands can be explained as items of trade.

The three sakusaku collected by Malinowski are similar in most respects although only the British Museum example (M-37) is in relatively good condition. The base of the sakusaku is formed by the conjoined bodies of two long-beaked fird carvings (perhaps boi or reef herons). Above the base are two opposing comma-shaped designs -- as in the case of M-37, or large spirals as on the Lowie examples -- which spring from the beaks of the boi birds. The top is a carved panel with finials consisting of a row of carved birds. The finial birds have been broken off on all three sakusaku, and only specimen 11-39756 has one remaining. Both sides of the sakusaku are carved. Although the sakusaku are badly eroded and worn, remnants of black, red, and white colors are still evident.

Lagim (M-35-36, 38-42, 53, 55, 64-67, 11-39240, 39748-39754; models: M-338-344, 345a,b, 346a,b, 347; 11-39763-39772). Malinowski collected a total of 21 lagim and 23 lagim models.

The lagim is a wooden (probably meku wood) transverse prow board which shuts the well of the canoe at both ends. They are placed behind the tabuyo. Generally, the lagim has two slots cut into the back which fit onto the gunwale boards for added stability.

The base of the lagim may or may not have a short extension. Approximately one-half of the examples collected by Malinowski have the extended "tongue" which undoubtedly serves to stabilize the lagim when

set into the gunwale. Difficult as it is to prove that Malinowski's lagim were all manufactured in the Trobriands (some may be imports) it is interesting to note that none has the perforated extension which characterizes the lagim from the D'Entrecasteaux Islands. All D'Entrecasteaux lagim illustrated by Seligmann (1946:pl. F) show a sizable hole in the extension, a feature absent in all of the Malinowski lagim. The D'Entrecasteaux type inserts onto the gunwale and is secured to the tabuyo with a wooden plug or spike through the hole.

Seligmann also noted that an added projection on the right or left volute (usually the left) is present on many D'Entrecasteaux lagim but absent on all Trobriand examples (1946:129). This projection to which Seligmann referred takes the pattern of the in-curved end of the volute (in one specimen, womewhat diamond-shaped). However, while this singularly distinct feature may be present on most D'Entrecasteaux lagim, it does occur on examples made in the Trobriands (see M-339, 340, 344, 345). It is true that the extra projection is less pronounced on the Trobriand lagim, but is, nevertheless, present. One may assume, then, with some degree of certainty, that a lagim with a pronounced projection on one of the volutes and having a perforated basal extension is likely to be a product of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands.

The lagim and the tabuyo (the latter the prow ornament which is set parallel to the long axis of the canoe and is set forward of the splash-board, or lagim) are the two objects usually represented in museums with Oceanic collections and are much sought after by collectors of "primitive art." With the possible exception of the decorated Trobriand shield, va'yaulo, and the dance paddles, kaidebu, these canoe ornaments

embody all those features associated with the art of the Massim region, i.e., aesthetically pleasing shapes with intricately and skillfully carved surfaces covered with every variation of zoomorphic, anthropomorphic, and curvilinear designs which, in newer examples, are brightly painted in red, white, and black.

The lagim show a tendency to bilateral symmetry, although in typical Massim fashion the two lobes or volutes are of different sizes producing a slight, and sometimes extreme, asymmetry. When facing the decorated and painted side of the lagim, it is the right volute which is usually the larger. Fifteen out of 21 lagim have larger right side volutes.

Sizes vary considerably. Excluding those lagim identified as models or meant for toy canoes, the sizes range from a maximum of 75 cm. in width (M-55) to the smallest in width of 27.3 cm. (11-39748), the average width being approximately 55 cm. Since the Trobriand Islanders, like their other Massim neighbors, manufactured canoes of different lengths and construction for different functions, it is safe to assume that the larger lagim were made for the large oceangoing canoes (masawa), and the smaller variety used on the intermediate waga, or kalipoulo, a more seaworthy canoe used for ocean fishing (Malinowski 1922:112).

The face, or decorated side, of a typical lagim is divided into three zones or panels: the left and right volutes, including the area directly below each, and the middle section. The most distinctive feature of the middle zone is the presence of either a single human figure or twin figures which occupy the center of the upper portion of the lagim. The single figure occurs on 16 lagim, while the double

figure is limited to five examples. The model lagim also show a preference for single figures, occurring on 15 examples. Twin figures are present on four model lagim, and two have no figures at all.

The exact significance of the human figure(s) is shrouded in confusion. Malinowski offers no interpretation for the figure nor for any of the designs. While Malinowski attaches no magical significance to the carvings themselves, Seligmann does offer a highly fanciful argument for the meanings of the designs, their magical importance, and for the presence of the human figure (1946). Seligmann analyzed lagim from Morima (Fergusson Island) and from the D'Entrecasteaux with data supplied by Geza Roheim (1934:179-180). According to Seligmann, the figure on the Fergusson lagim is called wama'ea, or "baby," or "newly-born child" (guama), or sometimes Matakapotaiataia, the name of a typical Massim monster-killing hero (1946:129). Given Seligmann's unrealistic interpretation of other design elements -- interpretations which are fanciful and have little or no basis in data solicited from native informants -- one is reluctant to accept his identification of the human figure as a culture hero. What Seligmann has done is to recount Roheim's published story of Matakapotaiataia (the Massim hero who is born of a woman left behind when pregnant by her people as they flee from their country in fear of a cannibal monster, often a man-eating pig) and to find elements in the myth which can be correlated with specific design motifs on the lagim. Consequently, Seligmann "identifies" the human figure as a newborn child, and the design on each side represents the breasts, or tattoos on breasts. The uncarved lightly colored (white) vertical column supporting the child is seen by Seligmann as the body of Matakapotaiataia,

and the circular prominences on the dark, uncarved field at each side are his eyes. Each side of this area is "rainbow" while the carving on the volute and on the lateral lobe represents his extra eyes (1946:132). He goes on to identify other features as "clouds at daybreak," a "sting-ray," "eagle claws," and so forth. Where these symbols are greatly altered or conventionalized and therefore hardly representational, Seligmann argues that the confusion "...might easily result from fatigue or lack of interest, which experience shows arises easily in Papuasians" (1946:132); and again, in reference to the rendering of the human figure by a non-anthropoid design, e.g., a triangle, Seligmann states

> It may perhaps be inferred that some lingering memory of the human figure persists, and that a new series of conventional non-realistic patterns having been evolved or adopted -- perhaps more probably the latter -- the new designs were equated with the parts of a vaguely memorized body, although there is no visible likeness to an anthropoid pattern in either the intaglio or the carving it carries (1946:134).

The problem, as always, in describing Trobriand Island carvings lies in the multiplicity of variations in motifs and their placement on the object as a whole. "Birds' heads" frequently form the volutes but on many examples the volutes are simply coils or their variants. Aside from the human figure and the numerous "bird's head" motifs, the only design which occurs on the lagim with any regularity in shape and placement is the "T"-shaped pattern with the top bar forming equal sized coils strongly reminiscent of the tortoise-shell lime spatulas from the Louisiades.

Paddles (viyoya) (M-350). Malinowski collected only one paddle and it was not available for study nor photography. Little has been written

about paddles but enough examples have been illustrated to warrant a classification of canoe paddles into two main types, the major differences being the kind of wood used and the width of the blade. Paddles appear to vary in size -- variations which are probably correlated with the type of waga -- but all examples conform more or less to the same shape. The typical paddle, or viyoya, is either narrow or broad leaf-shaped.

The blades of the narrower or first type are divided into four panels, each zone alternately painted red and black. The narrow blade viyoya in the British Museum measures approximately 128 cm. in length, which is somewhat shorter than a similar paddle illustrated by Edge-Partington (1890:285, fig. 1) which measures approximately 170 cm.

The second type is a heavier broad leaf-shaped paddle; an example of this type, made of ebony, was recently acquired by the Lowie Museum (11-40764). This specimen measures 157 cm. in length. The blade is a long pointed oval, the tip of which is thickened for added strength. There is a slight median ridge which extends downward from the base. The junction of the shaft and blade is carved with typical lime-filled curvilinear designs. The tip is also carved, lime-filled, and has the appearance of a reptilian head. Comparable type 2 paddles from the Marshall Bennett Islands are illustrated by Cooke-Daniels (British Museum 1906:139, nos. 372-374).

The handles on most of the illustrated Trobriand viyoya terminate in a carved finial similar in design to those forming the apex in certain lime spatulas, clubs, and cooking spoons. Neither of the viyoya just described has carved finials.

In addition to mentioning the leaf-shaped steering paddles, Malinowski also describes another type, the kuriga, more properly a steering oar than a paddle. In describing the Trobriand method of sailing, Malinowski (1922:227) writes: "It takes two men to steer, one has a large elongated steering oar (kuriga) and he sits at the stern, the other handles a smaller leaf-shaped steering paddle (viyoya)...." Malinowski did not collect any examples of the kuriga but, as in the case of the viyoya, there are published illustrations to give us a good idea of their size, shape, and decoration. The blade of the kuriga runs fully two-thirds the length of the oar and has nearly straightedge sides which taper to a rounded point. The one illustrated by Edge-Partington (1890: 294, no. 1) is characteristic of all Massim kuriga, although this particular specimen has no provenience. It measures 290 cm. in length, and is decorated with an openwork scroll "S" finial.

Kwaduya (canoe bailers) (M-69-70, 649, 532). Bailers are simply scoops for bailing out bilge water. The production of wooden bailers was limited to the village of Boytalu (Malinowski 1935(I):15). The most common bailer used throughout the Msssim is a form in which the handle is within the cavity of the scoop, its free end either directed forward, as exemplified by M-649, or joined to the bottom of the scoop, as in examples M-69 and M-70. The three wooden bailers collected by Malinowski measure 37 cm., 49.5 cm., and 25.5 cm., respectively.

The upper rear portion of the bailers is covered with incised, lime-filled curvilinear designs. Presumably these scoop bailers are the oceanic type described by Haddon and Hornell (1938:12) and used on the larger waga.

A smaller bailer, made of a univalve gastropod shell (Melo diadema) (M-532), was collected by Malinowski and presumably its use was restricted to the smaller class of waga. The shell measures only 13.5 cm. in width, and except for a pair of perforations along one side, perhaps for the hafting of a handle, it is unmodified and undecorated. Although identified as a bailer in the Register (British Museum 1922: 33). this Melo diadema shell could be a wind-rattle (kaygogwa'u) set up in the gardens to scare away birds. Malinowski does mention that wind-rattles were made from any empty Melo diadema shell, which is bound to a kamtuya, i.e., a stem left standing in the garden after the cutting. A stone is put into the shell and a pandanus streamer or a broad piece of wood is attached to it so that it catches the wind (Malinowski 1935 (I):299).

CHAPTER X

ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE: FISHING

Fishing. Fishing in the Trobriands is highly developed, and after gardening[11] is the most important economic activity. Since neither pigs nor fowl provide sufficient supplies of meat, the Trobriand Islanders must rely on fish as the principal source of flesh for their diet.

Many of the villages have direct access to the sea, and from the other villages can obtain fish by means of a well-regulated system of barter (Malinowski 1918:88).

Fishing is done in the shallow waters of the lagoon, on the fringing reef, or in open water. Hand nets are employed for fishing on reefs or in shallow water. The seine net, which is a long net with wooden floats (ku'tiga) along the top edge and sinkers along the bottom, is especially typical of eastern Papua (Encyclopedia of Papua and New Guinea 1972(I):426).

Malinowski collected and briefly described six kinds of nets employed in the catching of fish. Unfortunately, not all types were available for study. Apparently, though, what distinguishes one type

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[11]Haddon (1894:237) says that fishing, especially the capture of sharks, is the chief employment of Trobriand males.

of net from another is the fineness of the ini fiber two-ply cordage, the gauge of the mesh, and the size of the sinkers and floats.

Netting shuttles (niuli) (M-614-618) and mesh gauges (matila) (M-616b, 619-621). The only implements required to make nets are a netting shuttle and a gauge for maintaining an even mesh.

Each of the five wooden shuttles is a finely-made and finished specimen. The largest shuttle (M-617) measures 71 cm. in length and was probably used to manufacture the largest fishing nets (okanado) (M-607), to be described shortly. The other shuttles vary in length from 19 cm. (M-615) to 31.7 cm. (M-618). Shuttle M-616a has a turtle-shell mesh gauge (M-616b) attached with a strip of pandanus.

The mesh gauges (matila) are either made of turtle-shell (M-616b, 619) or of tortoise shell (M-620-621). The largest mesh gauges (M-616b, 619) measure approximately 9 cm. in length, and the shortest (M-621) measures approximately 6.5 cm.

Otilapewo (M-604, 11-40284). This is a fine, small mesh net, described by Malinowski as the smallest net used in shallow water fishing (British Museum 1922:M:I). The two specimens are approximately 5.5 M. and 6 m. in length. Small wooden wedge-shaped floats, made of iova'i or busa wood and called ku'tiga, are attached along the top of the net; the average width of the floats is about 1.5 cm. The longer and somewhat fancier floats, interspersed, are called kaibubu'na. The bottom edge of the net is weighted with sinkers, kalava'tu, which are made from toririu shells (a variety of drupa). Otilapewo are sometimes used in conjunction with a poisonous concoction made from the root of a creeper,

tuva. Freshly pounded tuva root is inserted into coral patches and stuns any hidden fish. The stunned fish float to the surface and are caught in otilapewo which are spread over the coral patches (Malinowski 1918:88). Frequently, these nets are stretched between two canoes.

Osukualu (M-605, 11-40285). Approximately the same length as the otilapewo, this type of net is also used for fishing in the shallow waters of the lagoon. The ini fiber cordage is three times the thickness of the cordage used in the manufacture of otilapewo. The osukualu nets, too, are weighted down with shell sinkers but they are somewhat larger than those attached to the otilapewo; the wedge-shaped floats, too, are barely larger, averaging about 2 cm. in width.

Ogorego're (M-606, 11-40286). Malinowski states that these nets, which are about 3 m. in length, are used on the lagoon for minor fishing (British Museum 1922:M:III). The ini fiber is heavier yet, and the mesh is larger than in the preceding types. The net is weighted with a variety of shells including bunadoga, piu'ia (species of walum?), and tumeli. Several wedge-shaped floats (ku'tiga) are attached along with the longer kaibubu'na variety.

Okanado (M-607). These are the largest mesh nets used for fishing on the lagoon and on the reef (British Museum 1922:M:IC). This particular specimen seems somewhat short, only 122 cm. in length, to have been used for reef fishing since Malinowski describes the reef net as long and narrow and requiring two men to handle (1918:88). It is possible, however, that this okanado net was intended for use by one man. Like

the other nets, the okanado is weighted with shells (clam shells in this instance) and it also has large wooden wedge-shaped floats attached.

Gumam' (M-608-610, 11-40281-40283). These are triangular shaped, fine-mesh nets, attached to two-piece wooden handles and used for hand fishing in the lagoon (British Museum 1922:M:V). Hand nets are frequently used in connection with the longer and larger types (Malinowski 1918:89).

Odi (M-611). This is a small, fine-mesh dual-purpose net used for catching birds as well as fish. This specimen is made of susu string(?) although Malinowski notes that nagara(?) or takoi string is sometimes used. Neither of these materials is described in Malinowski's notes or publications. The odi net in the British Museum is approximately 55 cm. wide, and is described as an old specimen (British Museum 1922:39).

Shark fishing. Shark fishing is done in the open sea, far beyond the reef, and in special small and light canoes (Malinowski 1922:112). According to Haddon, shark fishing is a source of great pleasure to the men (1894:237). One fisherman mans each canoe, and is equipped with a wooden shark-hook, a rattle, and a cudgel -- all the equipment necessary to land a shark.

Bali (M-159). The only example of a wooden shark-hook brought back by Malinowski was unavailable for study but, fortunately, it was illustrated in Cranstone's Melanesia (1961:pl. 18b). The description in the Register (British Museum 1922) and Cranstone's illustration, however, are explicit on the important points. The hook itself is made from a

single "v"-shaped piece of wood, with one end terminating in a single barb; the loop for attaching the line is formed of a second piece of wood which is looped and attached to the shank with heavy two-ply cordage. The length of the hook is over 52 cm. Shark hooks are very reluctantly parted with (Haddon 1894:237).

Kaivaye'i (M-160, 612). Both shark rattles were unavailable for examination. The rattles consist of coconut shell rings threaded on a length of wood which is formed into a loop, the two ends tied together with strong cordage. The two specimens are approximately 140 cm. and 107 cm. in circumference.

Once the bali is baited, the rattle is sounded under water. The rattle gives an excellent imitation of the noise made by a shoal of fish jumping out of the water. A shark, attracted by the noise, approaches the boat and snatches at the bait (Malinowski 1918:89).

Leuwo (M-613). This is the wooden cudgel, about 45 cm. long, which is used for hitting the shark after it has been caught on the bali and pulled toward the boat.

Fishing spears (M-353-354, 11-39897-39898). While Malinowski has a great deal to say about fishing (1918) he mentions nothing about the employment of fishing spears in the Trobriands. It is unlikely that the failure to mention fish spears was an oversight so we may conclude that fishing spears were of minimal importance, if they were used much at all.

Multi-pointed barbed and unbarbed spears were common enough in New Guinea and undoubtedly were used in parts of the Massim region. Malinowski collected four examples (M-353-354, 11-39897-39898); the two barbed examples in the British Museum are listed and described as fishing spears (British Museum 1922:22).

All four spears may have been imported from other islands in the immediate area and as far away as Wagawaga (Milne Bay) and Tubetube. Similar spears called bonori from these localities are described in the Cooke-Daniels Register (British Museum 1906:158). These, then, are probably imports.

The four spears are similar in construction: each consists of a long, hard brown wood (meku) shaft (Wilson and Menzies 1967:63) which tapers to a sharp point. Approximately 15 cm. below the point is a tapered pad of coconut fiber about 15 cm. long which is lashed to the shaft with two-ply cordage. Long barbed or unbarbed points, eight to twelve in number, are attached around the pad with plaited fiber rings. The tapered pad, with the widest part toward the center, allows the ring of points to splay outwards. The splayed, multiple points help to counter the deception of refraction and to hold the fish firmly.

Specimen M-353 is 246 cm. in length with eight barbed points attached; all points are barbed the full length. Specimen M-354 is 275 cm. long and has ten points which are barbed for approximately one-third their length. The two specimens in the Lowie Museum are similar to those just described, but they lack the serrated or barbed points. Specimen 11-39897, 129 cm. long, has ten sharpened points attached to the padded shaft with eight plaited fiber rings. Specimen 11-39898 measures 112 cm.

in length and has twelve points. This last spear is in poor condition, lacking the plaited rings to hold the points firmly to the shaft. It does, however, make it easier to examine the construction and placement of the coconut fiber pad.

None of the spears is decorated in any way.

Sting-ray barbs (11-42166-42168). Three sting-ray barbs turned up in the miscellaneous section of the Malinowski collection. Malinowski makes no reference in any of his publications or in the Ethnological Documents (British Museum 1922) to the employment of sting-ray barbs. The three specimens under consideration (11-42166, 42167, 42168, which measure 24.5 cm., 20.0 cm., and 20.2 cm., respectively), are undoubtedly spear points evidenced by the deliberate shaving of the distal ends to facilitate hafting to a shaft. It is unlikely that these very sharp, lethal, and efficient barbs were used in warfare, but they would have served admirably as fish spears. It is known, for example, that the Admiralty Islanders made fine triangular-sectioned blades of obsidian and also used the naturally barbed spines of the sting-ray.

Fish poison. In addition to nets, fishhooks and, occasionally, the spear, poison was also used. Malinowski mentions the use of a poisonous root of a creeper (tuva) for fishing in coral patches in the lagoon, e.g., places which afford especially good opportunities for catching fish by this method (1918:88). Fish poisoning (really "drugging") is the easiest and most reliable way to catch fish. Several men paddle in a canoe to a place above a coral patch and cast a net completely over the area. A small bundle with freshly-pounded tuva root, probably genus

Derris (Cranstone 1961:77), is attached to the end of a long stick. One of the men dives and inserts the stick into one of the cavities with which all coral patches are riddled. Any fish in the cavity, or close to the poison, come to the surface and float inert on the water or try to escape and become entangled in the net. No examples of the tuva root were collected by Malinowski.

Fishing kites. In his short treatise on fishing and magic in British New Guinea, Malinowski (1918) makes no mention of the fishing kite, nor did he collect one. Presumably, as in the case of the fishing spears, this mode of fishing in the Trobriands was little practiced or economically insufficient to warrant Malinowski's attention. Yet, kite-fishing was widely practiced in the Admiralty Islands and locally elsewhere in the Bismarck Archipelago and the adjacent Huon Gulf area, and throughout the Massim district (Cranstone 1961:81). An interesting example of a fish kite is described in the Cooke-Daniels Register (British Museum 1906:125, no. 43). This specimen was collected on Tubetube but was imported from one of the Marshall Bennett Islands, adjacent to the Trobriands. Curiously enough, the Marshall Bennett kite is exactly like a recently acquired kite collected in the Trobriands (11-41284a,b). The Cooke-Daniels kite measures 91.5 cm. in length as compared to the Lowie example of 87 cm. The shape and construction are the same for both: strips of what appear to be coconut fiber sewn together and strengthened by two transverse bars of thin wood. The center strip is similarly supported with a longer stick and extended to form the tail. Each end of the transverse bars has a feather-shaped leaf attached to serve as a stabilizer. A string of fine two-ply cordage is attached to the point

where the top transverse bar joins the longitudinal bar. The cordage is wrapped around a wooden cleaver-shaped "reel" the handle of which terminates in a scroll or "bird's head" design (11-41284b).

In describing the kite from the Marshall Bennett Islands, the Cooke-Daniels Register (British Museum 1906:125) states that it was used to catch garfish, a statement supported by Cranstone (1961:81). These kites were intended to be flown from a canoe. A line is supposed to hang from the tail ending in a pad of spider's web which is jerked along the surface of the water, and in which the fish's teeth become entangled.

Interesting reports on kite-fishing in the Trobriands and elsewhere in the Massim were published by Balfour (1913:583-608), Grims (1910: 313), and Anell (1955:31-32).

Floats (M-59-61, 650). From the limited information noted in the Register (British Museum 1922) there are apparently two types of net floats, the ku'tiga, roughly trapezoidal or wedge-shaped in form, and the kaibubu'na, which are longer and narrow in form.

Both types are made of the light weight busa wood. As noted in the discussion of nets, the floats vary considerably in size. On the fine mesh smaller nets, i.e., the otilapewo and the osukualu, used in shallow water, the net floats are numerous and small, measuring about 2 cm. in width for the ku'tiga type, and approximately 9 cm. in length for the kaibubu'na.

In his monograph on Trobriand fishing, Malinowski says nothing about net floats nor does he have anything to report on nets and their construction (1918:87-92). Like most Trobriand wooden objects, the larger

net floats are well-carved and highly decorated artifacts. Some of the Massim floats illustrated in Cooke-Daniels resemble the intricately carved handles on lime spatulas and cooking spoons (British Museum 1906: 161), and others resemble the bird finials that adorn chief's houses (British Museum 1906:161).

The few larger floats collected by Malinowski were probably attached to the largest of the okanado nets which were used for fishing on the lagoon or on the reef. All four floats are of the ku'tiga type and generally conform to the same wedge-shape, although the sides on specimen M-650 are more rounded or lobe-shaped. Specimen M-650, the smallest float, measures 9 cm. high; specimen M-59, the largest example, measures 18 cm.; and M-60 and M-61 measure 16 cm. and 14 cm., respectively. Each is perforated on one end for attachment to the net. Both sides on each float are decorated with either simple line incisions (M-60-61, 650) or with typical curvilinear designs (M-59).

CHAPTER XI

ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE: SECULAR DRESS AND ACCOUTREMENTS, AND ORNAMENTS

Women's skirts (dobe) (M-163-175, 528-530, 586-590, 626-631, 11-40266-40278). The so-called "grass skirt" (dobe), which is in fact usually made from strips of shredded leaf doubled over a waist cord, is the women's dress[12] throughout Melanesia with some local exceptions.

Malinowski collected 25 dobe specimens, 13 of which are in the British Museum (M-163-175), and twelve in the Lowie Museum (11-40266-40277). Although his notes on the technology of the dobe (British Museum 1922:F) are incomplete, he did attach small labels to some of the dobe which, in some cases, contain additional and valuable information.

Dobe are made of three kinds of material: coconut leaves, leaves of the pulapola palm, and banana leaves. The first two materials are rarely used in the Trobriands proper, although (according to Malinowski) they were much in vogue in Kitava Island and probably in the Marshall Bennetts and on Woodlark Island. Almost all dobe in the Trobriands proper are made of banana leaf, a tall variety, waka'ia, being used almost exclusively.

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[12]Malinowski does report that men sometimes wear the dobe, especially in certain dances. Still, the dobe is regarded as female garb (1935(I):23).

There are two stages in the manufacture of banana leaf dobe: (1) the preliminary stage, where the various forms of material are prepared and (2) the piecing together of these materials.

Only a few materials are necessary to make dobe: a strand of bast, a string, tufts or fringes of frayed banana leaves, and trimmed pieces of bleached pandanus leaf. Since the frayed banana leaves and the bleached pandanus leaf are materials specific for dobe, only the preparation of these will be described here.

There are two kinds of prepared banana tufts, the plain undyed ones, called saipwana (M-586), and the ornamented variety which dyed or undyed, are made into bundles called nununiga (M-587-590). The saipwana tufts are prepared by scraping the fleshy substance off the top of the banana leaf, usually with a mussel shell (kaniku) (M-529), but scrapers of melo shell (M-630-631) or ones made from a section of coconut probably were also used (M-629); then the fibrous tissue of the leaf is frayed with either the teeth of a puataili fish or with a piece of crab's shell, called keli (M-528). The frayed tufts are ready for use after they have been dried in the sun.

The preparation of the ornamented tufts is considerably more involved. Once the fleshy matter has been scraped off the top of the leaf, the latter is then scratched with plain geometric designs. The scratching of the designs is done on a smooth, oval-shaped board, called kaida'waga (M-626-628), with a small shell (M-530) (noriuriu or kidonatu). The pieces of leaf are then tied into bundles, nununiga (11-40278), and as partially prepared material, dyed and undyed, play an important role in the sagali ceremonies (mortuary distributions) (Malinowski 1922:489-493).

Only the nununiga or scraped leaves are dyed either red (M-590) or purple (M-589). A red dye is made from a liquid obtained by scraping the roots of the noku plant, and then mixed with lime. The purple dye is obtained by boiling the nununiga leaves with the bark of the mua-dogu tree.

A particular species of pandanus, called by the Trobrianders va'oma, is used to trim the dobe.

The pandanus leaves are bleached by placing them in front of a fire, then they are cut into shape on a kaida'waga board. The cut and trimmed pieces consist of long and broad tabs, also called va'oma, which reach to about one-half the length of the dobe, and of very short tabs, called lopidi, which are shingled or overlapped to form the ornamentation that completes the top of the dobe.

To make a dobe, a woman takes a double strand of bast, called woita'bula, round her waist and binds the two ends together with an extra length of bast or string, the latter called kapikokuwa, to form a ring. She then inserts the ends of the various layers between the two strands of the woita'bula. In this way, the dobe is completely finished by the time she has gone from one end to the other.

Different forms of dobe. The undyed dobe (M-164-165, 174, 11-40268-40269) are called saipwana (the same name as the material of which they are made). These are the daily garb, worn during the non-festive seasons. Then the saipwana dobe become badly worn or soiled, they are worn as a sort of underwear under a better dobe. Old and worn saipwana are also used when grimy work is to be done, or during rainy weather, and while

bathing. Contemporary Trobriand Islanders refer to the saipwana as the long, coarse dobe worn only by widows (United Church 1972b:I6a, III4c).

There is a variety of decorated dobe which is worn during the festive seasons, on visits and on other ceremonial occasions (Malinowski 1922:149). All decorated dobe are worn over one or two plain dobe. They are classified by the Trobriand Islanders according to the manner in which the decorative layers are placed, one on top of the other. The bottom layer is always longer than the top ones and shows from underneath, and is always made of the undyed saipwana tufts.

If on top of the undyed saipwana layer there are several other undyed layers, a shorter on top of the longer ones, forming a kind of staircase design, then the dobe is called tagiki'sa (M-173). If on top of the saipwana layer there is only one purple (or as the Trobriand Islanders call it, "black") layer, the dobe is called buabua'u (literally, "black") (M-172, 11-40267). A dobe with a layer on top of the purple, or vice versa, is called selatula (M-166, 169, 11-40271-40272, 40266). The selatula is by far the most popular form. One example of the selatula (M-166) has a belt of cowry shells (bunadoga), and this dobe is worn only by women of rank, who are called guya'u.

If the red and purple material, instead of being used in superimposed layers, are in alternating segments, then the type is called kakasa'sa (M-167-168, 11-40266, 40270, 40273, 40275). If the alternating layer of purple and red is laid on top of a red layer, then the dobe is called takula'kola (M-170-171, 11-40277). In especially fine specimens, the two superimposed layers of colored fiber are divided by a larger one of bleached pandanus leaf (11-40274, 40277). For some

reason, this form of takula'kola is not given a new name.

One dobe, called a seio'iu (M-163), is described as a double fringed skirt, made of coconut leaves. According to Malinowski (British Museum 1922:F:I) this type of dobe is made in Kitava (one of the Marshall Bennett Islands) and probably in the other islands to the east of the Trobriands, and is seldom used in the latter. The only other "foreign" dobe in the Malinowski collection (M-175) is made from pulapola palm leaves, called a sepulapola, and most likely originated in Kitava or or Woodlark Island. It is seldom worn in the Trobriands and then only on festive occasions.

As a final decoration a row of va'oma is added. These broad strips of bleached white pandanus leaf take different forms and accordingly, each is given a specific name: takakavaku (rounded at the bottom, M-168-169), tabuaimala (square at the bottom, 11-40274, 40277), takaku (square, frayed into long fringes, M-172, 11-40267, 40274, 40271-40273; 40276), tabulabola (square short strips over long fringed ones, 11-40266). As mentioned earlier, the small square pieces of va'oma, which form a shingled fringe on the top of the dobe, are called lopidi.

Manufacture of kaloma disc beads (M-300-302, 305-308, 331, 11-40070-40072). By far the most important articles collected by the Trobriand Islanders themselves are the spondylus shells (Spondylus ducalis). These shells are the material from which the small perforated discs (kaloma) are made, and which also serve to ornament almost all the objects of value or of artistic merit which are used within the kula district. The native name kaloma (in the southern Massim area the more recognized word

sapi'sapi is used) describes both the shell itself and the manufactured discs (Malinowski 1922:367).

While the shells are found in a number of localities, the finer specimens, i.e., the more colorful shells, come from the coral outcrop of Sanaroa Lagoon where they are more readily accessible. According to Malinowski, the villages of Sinaketa and Vakuta, in southern Boyowa, are the only localities in the district that manufacture the discs (1922:367).

The spondylus shell consists of two parts: the larger segment which resembles half of a hollowed pear in shape, and the lid which is a small, flat segment. Only the first part of the shell is used to manufacture kaloma. The unworked shells vary in size, but average about 8 cm. in length and 5 cm. in width (11-40070a-i, M-300-302). First the shell is broken into small segments with a hammerstone, called an utukema, which is imported from Woodlark Island (Malinowski 1922: 371); specimen M-309 is probably an example of the hammerstone. These smaller pieces show the stratification of the shell (11-40071, a bag of 306 pieces). There is the outer layer of chalky substance under which is the layer of red, hard calcareous material, and then an inner white, crystalline layer. To get to the red material the outside and inside of the shell fragment must be removed, but first each piece must be worked into a roughly round shape with a small hammerstone. Then this thick circular lump (11-40072) is put into the hollow of a wooden cylinder (M-308) which is about 8 cm. long and serves as a handle. The lumps are then rubbed on a large sandstone slab (M-307) until the outside and inside layers are removed exposing only the red material which

eventually becomes a flat tablet, polished on both sides. A hole is then drilled through the middle of the polished shell with the use of a pump drill (gigi'u) (M-115-116, 11-40066-40068). A number of drilled, polished discs are strung on a length of "thin, tough stick" (M-306) (British Museum 1922:19), which Malinowski calls tidu (British Museum 1922:E:VII-6). This cylinder roll is rubbed round and round on the sandstone slab until its form is perfectly symmetrical. For an illustration of the process see Cranstone (1961:58, fig. 15). A number of polished symmetrical spondylus discs were threaded on a length of cane (M-331) preparatory to stringing.

The gathering of the spondylus shell is done by men as is the breaking and drilling; the polishing is usually done by women (Malinowski 1922:372, pls. La,b, LI, LII). Malinowski also provided a box full of loose spondylus shell discs (M-305).

Soulava. Malinowski collected only one example of the soulava (sometimes called bagi), specimen M-332, which is described in the Register (British Museum 1922:21) as "the real kula article." The Malinowski soulava had long before been removed for exhibit and study purposes and was not available for examination or photography. A comparison of the rough sketch of the necklace in the Register (British Museum 1922) with a soulava illustrated by Malinowski (1922:pl. XVIII) confirms its status as a genuine soulava; the Register description reads,

> Shell necklace, the red discs interspersed with black banana seeds; pendant cowrie to which is attached large shell ornamented with glass beads and banana seeds, pandanus leaf, and chains of white beads terminating in mother O' pearl, 2 ft. 6 in long (British Museum 1922:21).

A number of things distinguish the real soulava from its common counterpart, the katudababile. First of all, soulava necklaces are exceptionally long, measuring two to five meters in length (Malinowski 1922:87), and are made of very thin spondylus discs, much smaller in diameter than those on the common necklaces, which are even in size from one end of the necklace to the other. The design of the soulava necklaces appears to be the same for all examples illustrated in the publications: two strands of beads are joined to a large bunadoga (cowrie shell), from which hangs a short single strand of kaloma terminated at each end with a wild banana seed. The single strand is joined to a conical-shaped mass (11-40107) which is cut from one of the protuberances of the shell, Cassis conuta (Seligmann 1910:514). Several perforations around the outer rim serve to tie additional wild banana seeds. Around the bottom edge of the conical shell is a series of perforations -- 20 holes in the Lowie example -- from which hang short lengths of strung kaloma beads and banana seeds terminating in pendants of nacreaus shell.

Katudababile (M-312-314, 317-318, 11-40078, 40080-40082, 40085-40096). Necklaces made of larger and coarser disc beads are manufactured in the villages of Sinaketa and Vakuta. They do not play any important role in the kula (Malinowski 1922:358, pl. XVIII). These necklaces are sometimes exported to Dobu as kula gifts, and, like the mwali, travel in a counterclockwise route. The katudababile, however, never complete the kula ring, as they do not return to the Trobriands from the east. They may be absorbed into districts outside the kularing, and some come back to Sinaketa (Malinowski 1922:358).

As noted, only one of the spondulus shell necklaces collected by Malinowski is a genuine soulava (M-332). The remaining spondylus necklaces are either of the katudababile variety, or short strings of beads, with one or more cowrie shell pendants, more properly described as necklets, which barely encircle the neck. The latter type is especially worn by young girls and boys. All of the spondylus shell necklaces -- short and long variety -- will be treated here as one type.

There is a total of 21 spondylus shell necklaces (excluding the soulava), five of which are in the British Museum (M-312-314, 317-318) and 16 in the Lowie Museum (11-40078, 40080-40082, 40085-40096). In all but four examples, the spondylus shell disc beads are strung on a fine two-ply ini cordage made from the root of the pandanus tree (British Museum 1922:K:I). Three necklaces (11-40078, 40080-40081) have large spondylus disc beads in a shingled arrangement tied to a braided cord. One necklace, specimen 11-40082, is a series of large spondylus discs tied with ini fiber to a blue cotton cloth band.

Most of the strung disc bead necklaces have a cowrie shell pendant (Amphiperas costellatum) although in one example the shell is identified as Cypraea eburnea. A few necklaces have composite pendants consisting of a cowrie shell and a piece of nacreous shell. Additional ornamentation includes banana seeds and red, blue, and white glass trade beads. In the finer necklaces, the cowrie pendants are wrapped on one end with tied strings of small spondylus discs or glass trade beads (11-40088 and 40094, for examples).

Miscellaneous necklaces (M-326-327, 579-582, 11-40139-40145). Banana seed necklaces may consist solely of wild banana seeds strung on a length of fine two-ply ini fiber (M-581, 11-40139, 40141) or include several glass trade beads (11-40140). The British Museum has two more elaborate examples (M-579-580) which have bunadoga shell pendants decorated with glass trade beads. One four-strand necklace, M-326, consists of a series of white glass trade beads alternating with lengths of a black stalk prepared from the titibia plant (British Museum 1922: E:XVI,B). Two long, single strand necklaces (M-327, 582) consist of blue, red and white glass trade beads and sections of the iovilakeda, an aromatic creeper whose fruit is similar to betel pepper fruit. Malinowski says that women are particularly sensitive to the smell (British Museum 1922:37). Specimen M-583 is a single strip of European-made textile approximately 42 cm. long on which are sewn flat disc beads of mother-of-pearl shell (drava). More than likely this specimen was a makeshift necklace to which no special significance was attached.

Mwali (M-333,550-556, 11-40123-40138). Far and away the most important ornaments are the conus shell armlets, the mwali which, together with the soulava, constitute the principal articles of exchange in the kula. The coastal people of Kavataria on Kiriwina and those on Kayleula Island to the west have an exclusive monopoly in the collecting and manufacturing of mwali (Malinowski 1922:502; Austen 1945:25).

Mwali are made from the shell of Conus millepunctatus and probably other closely allied species of conus (Seligmann 1910:513). The ornament is made of a section of the shell cut out nearest to its base. In

a short description of the making of a mwali, Malinowski states:

> With a stone, the natives knock out the circular base along the rim[M-540], and they also knock out a circle at some distance from the base and parallel to it, by which the broad band of shell is severed, from which the ornament is to be made. It has then to be polished, and this is done on the outside by rubbing off the soft calcareous surface on a flat sandstone. The interior is polished off with a long, cylindrical stone [M-266] (1922:503).

The size of a mwali determines the class to which it belongs. The largest, and most valuable, are those that would fit the arm near the shoulder yet would require string to keep them on; these are known as muligibagebila. In descending order, the classes are mulitaitu, tokululu, kaikeketatula, kasikeyarakwatota, kasikeyaramigumwasila, tupona, tututu, kauia. The last three are smaller than a man's wrist (Austen 1945:25).

There is no way to classify the mwali collected by Malinowski. The largest examples (M-552-553, 555-556) have an inside diameter of about eight cm. which, according to Seligmann (1910:513-514) would be of sufficient size to regard them as the highest grade of mwali, at least among the Tubetube Islanders. The remaining mwali (M-550-551, 554) have internal diameters ranging from 6.2 cm. to the smallest of 4.5 cm.

Two of the largest mwali (M-555-556) are perforated and hung with four long strands of white, red and blue glass beads, banana seeds, cowrie shells, nacreous shell and terminating with strips of pandanus leaf. About half of the smaller mwali have no perforations, and of those that are perforated, only two are ornaments. Specimen 11-40138 has three strands of blue, red and white glass beads, several kaloma discs, and banana seeds; one strand terminates in a large blue glass bead attached

to remnants of a pandanus streamer. Specimen 11-40137 has four banana seeds tied to the shell, each seed containing three small red glass beads.

Nuripuapua (M-321-322, 557-558, 11-40117-40122). This is a class of decorated armshells consisting of narrow and short segments (three to six) of polished Conus shell, bound together at the joints with fine ini cordage and decorated principally with small red beads. According to Malinowski, the nuripuapua were decorated, in pre-European times, with kaloma discs although by 1918 glass beads were becoming fashionable (British Museum 1922:E:V). The most decorated example (M-322) is made of six segments and has a series of hanging bead strands with banana seeds, terminating in pendants of nacreous shell.

Kwasi (M-137-138, 11-40174-40179). Neither of the examples in the British Museum was available for study. The descriptions in the Register (British Museum 1922:12) apply equally to the kwasi specimens in the Lowie Museum. All are fine twill plaited armbands decorated with dendrobrium (orchid) stem fiber. Malinowski has little to report about the kwasi armlets except to note that the name kwasi comes from the native name for the fiber (British Museum 1922:E:XIX). Seligmann, however, casts some light on fiber armlets when he says that only certain chiefs, i.e., those of the Tabalu family, have the right to wear fiber armlets on the wrist (called kwasi tilawa (United Church 1972b:6)), although all paramount chiefs and commoners alike may wear kwasi over the biceps (1910:696). The narrower kwasi armbands (11-40177-40178) which are about 5 cm. wide, worn on the upper arms and called kwasi

kaiwa, are worn by men, and the wider bands (11-40179), which are about 10 cm. in width, are worn by women (United Church 1972b:6).

Coconut shell armlets (M-472-473). These two ornaments made from coconut shell are unidentified, but presumably were intended to be worn as simple arm decorations. Neither specimen is decorated in any fashion.

Doga (M-315-316, 320, 474, 559-564; 11-40079, 40108-40116). All but one of these breast ornaments are made of the flat base of a Conus shell in imitation of a circular boar's tusk (British Museum 1922:E:VI). Specimen M-474, which is made of a boar's tusk, is the only "real" doga collected by Malinowski.

The armshells -- mwali -- are accompanied by the doga in the stream of the kula. In olden days, reports Malinowski, the doga were almost as important as the mwali, but during Malinowski's stay in the Trobriands Islands hardly any at all of the doga were to be found as kula articles (Malinowski 1922:357). He cites one main reason for this change in the importance of the doga in the kula cycle. First of all, he suggests that with the immensely increased intertribal intercourse, there was a great drainage on all kula valuables by other districts lying outside the kula, and on the mainland of New Guinea the doga were especially valued. The drainage would affect the doga more than any other kula articles since both the soulava and mwali are more readily and easily produced to replace any losses. Doga, on the other hand, are extremely difficult to reproduce since they are the result of a rare freak of nature -- a boar with a circular tusk (Malinowski 1922:357).

Only one of the shell doga in the Lowie group is suspended from a necklace (11-40079). A series of shingled kaloma discs is tied to a length of two-ply fiber, probably ini, with the cordage itself tied to the Conus shell with a strip of blue cotton cloth. Two doga (M-315-316) in the British Museum group are similar except that these have additional ornamentation: specimen M-315 terminates in a pendant of nacreous shell, and M-316 terminates in two hanging strands of small glass beads.

Several of the remaining doga are ornamented with glass beads strung on fine braided ini and attached to perforations drilled through the top of the shell. These beads may be strung tightly around the top of the shell or hung suspended in one or two lengths of fine cordage. Most shell doga have from one to seven drilled holes at the top for attachments. The three specimens that are not drilled were probably still in the process of being ground down. The only finished example is M-563, with M-559-562, and 564 in various stages of completeness.

The diameter of the "real" doga (M-474) is 11.5 cm.; of the Conus shell doga, the largest has a diameter of 10 cm. (M-316), and the smallest (11-40116) measures 5.5 cm. in diameter. The average diameter seems to be about 7.5 cm. Malinowski acquired one complete Conus shell before it had been cut to produce the breast ornament (M-531).

Wa'waiga (M-475). Although Malinowski indicated that he collected a "dancing ornament of cassowary feathers" (British Museum 1922:A:II, E:XXI), no object was definitely identified as the wa'waiga. One curious object (M-475) was tentatively attributed by the British Museum cataloguer to be the wa'waiga, and since no other unidentified object in the

Malinowski collection remotely resembles a dancing ornament, I am inclined to accept the British Museum's attribution.

The object is made from a section of bamboo which is cut longitudinally and decorated with pyroengraved designs similar to those on some of the fancier lime gourds (yaguma). Around the upper third of the specimen is attached a strip of fine animal fur to which are affixed a series of red, white, and green feathers, probably parrot and cassowary. According to Malinowski, the wa'waiga (also called véga) feathers were imported from Dobu, and the ornament was worn as a frontlet in war or in dance (British Museum 1922:E:XXI). Hardly suitable as a head ornament, this specimen was most likely intended to be worn as a breast ornament, which is probably what Malinowski meant by "frontlet"; the length of string in the back would just allow the ornament to hang from the neck. The attributed wa'waiga measures 20.0 cm. in length.

Duriduri (M-139, 476, 11-40180). The three examples average approximately 35 cm. in length. The belts are made of fine kwasi fiber cordage, and are decorated with orchid stem material, which is the same material used to make the plaited armlets. Malinowski says nothing about the restricted use of these belts, so they were probably worn by both chiefs and commoners.

Wakala (M-569). For this kind of belt there is only one example, which is 33 cm. long, consisting of 32 large cowrie shells perforated and strung on two-ply ini cordage. Several of the shells are decorated with two hanging strings of red, black and white glass beads terminating in banana seeds. According to Malinowski (British Museum 1922:E:XII)

wakala were considered as objects of wealth (vaigu'a) and, as such, were not likely to have been worn by commoners. These were most often worn as a lower belt.

Puruwaiwo pendants (M-572). Bunadoga shell belts are worn by women of rank (British Museum 1922:F:V); an additional sign of rank consists of two larger bunadoga shells bound together and hung suspended from a belt. Such a pendant is called puruwaiwo (British Museum 1922: E:XI). One dobe (M-166) has both the belt and puruwaiwo pendant. A puruwaiwo pendant, consisting of a large number of the bigger white buna shells (Amphiperos ovum) were also intended to hang in the door of a chief's house as a mark of rank (M-572); these large shells, perforated on one or both ends, were also used to ornament the prows of wagas (11-42169a-x).

Bunalapi belts (M-570-571). These belts are made of small cowrie shells (bunadoga) and are described by Malinowski as entirely worthless (British Museum 1922:E:XIII) meaning that they are not considered as vaigu'a nor as an indicator of rank. These were probably worn principally by commoners.

Kaipwesi (M-310-311, 11-40083-40084). These are belts of shingled spondylus disc beads, arranged in three rows, and attached to a woven cord band of ini fiber. In the case of belt 11-40083 the spondylus discs are attached to a blue cotton cloth band. Curiously, Malinowski does not mention these belts. Seligmann, however, mentions waist belts of shell discs being possessed by one of the members of the Tabalu

family, i.e., the family providing chiefs (guaya'u) (1910:668). Seligmann also states that the chiefs of the Tabalu family alone have the right to wear a belt covered with shell discs hanging down from the back of the hair, although paramount chiefs and commoners may wear a shell disc belt around the waist (1910:696).

Presumably, then, these belts could only be worn by the guaya'u, a suggestion reinforced by a reference in the Trobriand Crafts Ethnic Catalogue (United Church 1972b:6) which describes a class of kaloma disc belts that have a number of lines of discs which are determined by the chief's rank in society, the maximum being five lines on a broad belt, as worn by a Tabalu chief. The same reference, though, calls these chief's belts katudababile, a name, according to Malinowski, which refers to that class of non-soulava spondylus disc necklaces that play but a minor role in the kula (1922:87). There is no doubt that Seligmann's kaipwesi and the katudababile of the Catalogue are one and the same belt. In order to avoid confusion, I am using Seligmann's term kaipwesi.

Calf ornaments (M-568, 573). Malinowski describes the luluboda kaikila as a calf ornament made of shells worn only by the guya'u (British Museum 1922:E:XI). The two examples in the British Museum consist of a series of large cowrie shells (12 in each ornament) strung on fiber. In one case (M-573) the two end cowries are decorated with red glass beads, and hang suspended from the rest of the strand.

A comparable leg ornament is reserved for wear by the commoners. The only difference is the use of a different shell, one of the Cyprea

genus. These common ornaments are known as luluboda waikela (British Museum 1922:E:XXII). No examples were found in the Malinowski collection.

Kaisapi (M-319, 574-578). There is some confusion over these specimens. The Register (British Museum 1922) describes each of them as a "kaisapi," which is a large bunadoga shell covered with small kaloma disc beads and meant to be used as single ornaments--worn on the wrist and leg, plaited into the hair, made into belts, and used as basket ornaments--worn only by the guya'u (British Museum 1922:20, 26). But the Trobriand Crafts Ethnic Catalogue states that kaisapi is the name for wrist ornaments (bracelets) which are made of small cowrie shells (United Church 1972b:6). It may be that in Malinowski's time both leg and wrist ornaments were sometimes made from shells like M-319; probably in more recent times smaller shells were used and kaisapi became a generic name for bracelets.

Earrings. There are several types of earrings: paya, which are broad, flat tortoise shell, 6-7 cm. in diameter, decorated around the edges, on both sides, with small white glass beads (M-565). These are usually further decorated with pendants (M-566) of small kaloma discs linked into thinner rectangular-shaped tortoise shell pieces called kuoma kuoma (British Museum 1922:E:XA). Samples of kuoma kuoma were also collected and strung on thin lengths of fiber (M-324-325). Seligmann has an interesting account of ear-piercing on Tubetube where the tortoise shell earrings are called komakoma (1910:490-491).

A second type is an earring of kaloma discs attached to one comparatively large tortoise shell ring (M-567), the latter being inserted into the pierced lobe.

A third type (M-323), which was not available for study, is made of thin discs of tortoise shell which are mounted with small kaloma discs. According to the Register, this type is known in Kiriwina as kaisaisu'io, a Dobuan form (British Museum 1922:20).

Kula kula (M-513-515). These are toupets made of human hair and are worn by bald or shaved men as an ornament, or by men with dark hair, as these toupets are usually made of fair or reddish color hair (British Museum 1922:E:XX).

Nose pins. Malinowski mentions that nose pin ornaments are made from the shell of the giant clam (Tridacna gigas) and from the lip of the cassia shell (British Museum 1922:E:I-II).

Laduata (M-283-288, 541-542, 11-40020, 40031-40065). These nose pins are made from the shell of the giant clam (damua'u), are white in color, and range in size from 6.9 cm. to 20.3 cm. All are pointed on both ends and some examples are ornamented with wrappings of a black fiber (tutu).

Na'u'u (M-277-282, 543-544, 11-40017-40019, 40021-40030). These orange colored nose pins are generally shorter than the clam shell variety, ranging in size from 6 or 8 cm. to 13.5 cm. A few examples are decorated with wrappings of tutu fiber.

Malinowski also collected a cassis shell (tauyo)[13] (M-545) and the severed lips of the shell (M-546-549) to illustrate the successive stages in the manufacture of na'u'u nose sticks. Only the whole cassis shell and the first stage in the process were available in the British Museum's collection.

According to Seligmann's account of nose piercing and the wearing of nose sticks on Tubetube, the practice was extremely wide-spread (1910:491). In a discussion of mortuary practices in the Trobriands, Seligmann also mentions the use of nose pins which he calls "nauwa" (1910:708, 715). Malinowski reports that at the time of his first visit to the Trobriands (1914), nose pins were very rarely worn which probably accounts for the absence of nose pins in any of his published photographs (1922:151). Nose pins are, however, still made and offered for sale (United Church 1972b:7).

Kimuala (M-298, 499-501). Kimuala are human mandibles which are worn as a relic. When an individual dies his mandible is worn around the neck by his widow (respectively, her widower) or his mother (Seligmann 1910:715; British Museum 1922:J:I). According to Malinowski, the mandible is decorated with kaloma disc beads or with aromatic herbs. Only one of the specimens (M-298) is still covered with kaloma discs but it was not available for study. Two of the other kimuala have remnants of vegetable fiber wrapping (ini) to which the kaloma discs were once attached.

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[13]Tauyo is also the Trobriand word for shell trumpet.

All of the mourning objects collected by Malinowski were obtained from rack shelves in native houses where skulls, mandibles, and all other relics are placed after they have been discarded, which accounts for these mandibles having lost their original decoration. Many of the objects described below have lost their original shape for the same reason.

The kimuala is worn around the neck, suspended from a kuwa necklace, for about two to ten years, according to the status of the deceased, and then it is discarded.

Kuwa (M-502-508). Kuwa are mourning necklaces made of imu fiber (pandanus) which is woven into a thick string, then charred with black coconut fiber (kuoisalu) mixed with coconut oil (British Museum 1922: J:II). Usually, the kimuala relic is suspended from the kuwa necklace, although, as Seligmann reports, the necklace may be worn by itself (1910:717). The kuwa are plaited and average about 40 cm. in length. Both ends are fringed and several specimens terminate with a few small glass beads.

Berry necklaces (M-584-585). There are two necklaces made of four strands of berries strung on fine fiber. Neither the berries nor the fiber were identified, and Malinowski only mentions that berry necklaces are worn during mourning.

Human hair ornaments (M-509, 526-527, 330). A number of objects, presumably made of the hair of deceased relatives, was collected by Malinowski. Several examples (M-509, 526-527) are described as breast

and shoulder-pads of amorphous shape which are decorated with kaloma disc beads. According to Malinowski, a mass of human hair is made into different shapes and worn as relics (British Museum 1922:J:IV:VII). One object (M-330) unidentified, is described in the Register (British Museum 1922:20) as a hair bead bracelet and consists of a series of balls formed by human hair strung on a fiber twist and further decorated with three red glass trade beads. Measuring approximately 10 cm. long, this specimen is presumably a mourning bracelet.

Saisai (M-511-512). Saisai are "pigtails" of human hair about 50 cm. in length which are braided and worn suspended from the occipital fringe of hair. The head is clean-shaven in mourning, but persons of rank leave a fringe of hair at the base of the occiput (British Museum 1922:J:VI). Presumably, then, saisai may not be worn by commoners.

Other objects of human hair include strings and balls (M-516-525). Malinowski has little to say about these mourning objects except that the hair balls are kneaded with grease and soot and made into large beads, which are worn as a necklace (British Museum 1922:J:VII).

Sinata (combs) (M-478-489, 11-40146-40173). Malinowski collected 39 combs (sinata); twelve of which are in the British Museum (M-478-489), and 27 in the Lowie Museum (11-40146-40171, 40173). All of wooden variety, carved either from ebony (gai) or a hard brown wood, are in the British Museum, while almost all of the common sinata are in the Lowie Museum.

All combs are called sinata (British Museum 1922:E:VIII), and they fall into two types: (1) the plain or rarely decorated variety made from the aerial root of the pandanus palm, and (2) the decorated sinata made from ebony or a hard brown wood. The latter combs, like so much of the Massim material objects, show great variation in the decoration of the handles.

The everyday sinata were used by both sexes to tease the hair, and young men sometimes wore them as hair ornaments (United Church 1972:8, 2a,b). To make a plain comb, a length of pandanus root, about 22cm., is split down the center, each piece providing the material for one comb. Malinowski supplied two pieces of the unworked pandanus as examples (11-40172a,b). The vascular bundles distributed throughout the pith allow for a strong, flexible, yet easily-worked material. The outer surface of the root section is covered by a bumpy, tough skin which is easily peeled or scraped off. Once the skin is removed, the root is shaved and sanded to a desired form and thickness. A series of splits are cut into the root halfway up to make the teeth or prongs; the number of teeth varies between ten and 13, the majority of combs having twelve; the number of teeth, of course, depends upon the width of the root.

The teeth are separated by two rows of "s"-spun, "z"-doubled, two-ply twine which is probably made from the fine inner bark (gayasu) of the ɬokua'i tree (British Museum 1922:K:III). The first or bottom row (toward the handle) of twine is wrapped over two teeth, and back over one. The second or top row of twine is wrapped over three teeth, then back over two. Once the teeth have been separated, the running

ends of the twine are wrapped around the handle for several centimeters to give added support.

Two pandanus root combs in the British Museum (M-488-489) have simple carved finials and constitute the only decorated examples of this type.

Like the common comb, the more ornamented type was used to tease the hair and worn as an ornament. No two wooden sinata are alike. With the exception of specimen M-482, all the wooden combs are decorated in some fashion. One specimen, M-482 (not available for study), has an elaborately carved lime-filled handle, with two well-defined birds forming the apex. The oval finial of specimen M-483 is reminescent of the dance paddle (kaidebu), and specimens M-479-480 have short, but wide handles covered with incised curvilinear designs. One specimen, M-485, is made of seven thin palmwood sticks, each about 37 cm. long. The sticks, which form the teeth, are separated by a wrapping technique like that used for the plain sinata. The handle, which is formed by plaited twine, is topped by a string of banana seeds and red and blue glass beads.

Mixed in with the sinata acquired by the Lowie Museum is a palmwood comb (11-40173) made in the same manner as the pandanus root specimens. The handle tapers to a near point, and is serrated on two sides.

CHAPTER XII

ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE: STIMULANTS AND NARCOTICS

Kena. In many respects, the lime spatulas (Kena) which are used to convey lime to the mouth from gourds when chewing represent one of the most interesting -- if not best known -- artifacts produced in the Massim area. They come in a variety of shapes and sizes and in varying degrees of decoration. With the exception of those spatulas which are too large and cumbersome to have functioned as lime dippers, the average length of the kena is about 30 cm.

The carving in most cases is well done and includes a number of motifs both natural and stylized: human figures, birds of all types, animals, scrolls, and circles. Birds and the so-called "bird's heads" especially seem to dominate as the principal zoomorphic motif. If one is to believe Cranstone, even the abstract interlocking scroll pattern is a stylized head of a frigate bird (1961:44, fig. 7).

The "hanging snake" pattern follows the "bird's head" motif as a close second decorative element. This is a common motif found on almost all spatulas, especially the cruciform or Malinowski's tasorina type to be discussed shortly. The "hanging snake" and "bird's head" motifs, as well as other decorative patterns, are discussed in greater detail in the section on Massim design.

Some of the elaborate openwork spatulas and most of the bone examples are, or were originally, decorated with strings of glass trade beads, banana seeds, and the more traditional spondylus shell disc beads (kaloma). Most of the decorated wooden kena, both the simple and complex, are lime-filled, which gives the kena the black and white contrast so characteristic of Massim carvings.

Malinowski established ten principal types of lime spatulas based upon variations in "the top of the handles" (British Museum 1922:G). For seven of the types he gave the native name. Unfortunately, only four types could be positively identified, and two other types with lesser degree of certainty. In most cases, Malinowski's description of a type was far too vague, incomplete, or unreferenced which made identification next to impossible. For example, one type of spatula which Malinowski states is made with the tabulabola pattern is described by him as "...traditional, having no relation to nature" (British Museum 1922:G:IV). Even working by the process of elimination, this description could apply to any number of spatulas, perhaps as many as 25 per cent of the total.

Incomplete entries in the British Museum Register further contributed to the difficulty in working with Malinowski's classification. Only the easily identifiable spatulas were classified according to his system. In all fairness to Malinowski I fully believe that he provided the British Museum with an example of each type properly labeled so that it could be correlated with his type descriptions. One of the spatulas in the Register is described as a takaine'va type (M-455) which Malinowski states is a pattern made in imitation of a cooking

spoon (British Museum 1922:G:XI), while elsewhere in the Register another spatula (M-453), similar in all the important respects to specimen M-455, is described as patterned after a steering rudder (takuriga) (or patterned after a dance paddle). There are other contradictions in the Register which lead me to believe that the spatula types, so named in the Register were, in some cases, "guesstimates" made by the cataloguer.

At the time the British Museum acquired the collection from Malinowski (1922), there must have been an exhibit of Melanesian lime spatulas because Malinowski makes reference to certain types on display. For example, the statement just quoted for the tabulabola spatula also reads, "Compare Case 17, Nos. 19 and 19a" (British Museum 1922:G:IV). Apparently, there was a lapse of time between the acquisition of the Malinowski collection and the cataloguing of it by the Museum staff, for none of the spatulas in the Register is identified as belonging to the tabulabola type; the kena on display must have been returned to storage long before the entries were made in the Register.

It is apparent that Malinowski sorted the lime spatulas according to some major characteristic and where appropriate labeled each type with a native name. In looking over the array of kena one can easily separate some of them into a number of distinct types based upon some major feature. Malinowski, for example, defines the tokualu type as spatulas carved with human figures (British Museum 1922:G:IX). The tokualu spatulas are easy to identify as are several other types he describes. Once the easily-recognized spatulas are segregated, however, there remains a large group which cannot be classified because of the

great variety of shapes and patterns. Furthermore, some spatulas share features with several classes. Malinowski must have pondered what to do with the untypable kena for he defines one of his type groups as "Mixed lime spoons without any definite pattern" (British Museum 1922:G:X). There are also two types which Malinowski's notes fail to consider at all: the all-important bone spatulas, and the combination spatula/mortar.

In an earlier effort to classify lime spatulas, Haddon (1894:202-212) devised a classification similar to Malinowski's. Both Haddon and Malinowski, however, had problems in classifying the bulk of their respective spatula collections because of the great variety of types. As Haddon states, the Massim carvers "...have let their fancy have full play in the carvings of their spatulas, consequently the variation which obtains is very great" (1894:203). In short, while some spatulas can be divided into groups, i.e., classes based upon salient features, there is yet a greater number which defy classification, or at least challenge the imagination.

Another real problem is the lack of provenience noted for most Melanesian spatulas found in museum collections, the Malinowski collection not withstanding. Spatulas, like nearly everything else in the Massim area, were widely traded and it is hardly surprising to find spatulas which originated along the New Guinea coast or somewhere within the Massim in use in the Trobriands. Consequently, as Haddon mentions it is very difficult to allocate different types of spatulas to their proper localities (1894:203).

I suspect that a thorough study of documented spatulas collected

before the turn of the century and with known provenience would show that each island in the Massim produced a distinct type or types of kena. The large, crescent-handled spatulas of the Louisiade Archipelago are quite distinct and nothing analagous was produced elsewhere in the Massim even though they have been collected on islands far removed from the Louisiade's. The lens-shaped spatulas which Malinowski calls "tautukuaki" or "takubuana" are found elsewhere in the Massim, and according to the Cooke-Daniels Register originally may have come from Bartle Bay (British Museum 1906:142). I am not suggesting that the tautukuaki spatulas collected in the Trobriands by Malinowski necessarily originated in Bartle Bay (although it should not be ruled out), but their presence in the Trobriands at least indicates the Trobriand carver's inclination to copy and integrate "foreign" spatula styles and shapes.

Tokualu (M-414-438, 11-39901, 39926, 39929-39936). This type is the easiest of the decorated spatulas to recognize. Malinowski describes the major feature as being the carved human figure. Some examples have a single squatting human figure (M-421-436, 11-39927), others show a pair of squatting figures (M-414-420, 437-438, 11-39929), and one shows a pair of human heads (11-39936); occasionally, two heads may be superimposed as on specimen M-424.

According to Malinowski's notes, the tokualu type was not so popular with the natives in the "olden days" (pre-1912) as it was during his stay in the Trobriands when the majority of the lime spoons were made for trade with the white man (British Museum 1922:G:IX). The tokualu are the most intricately carved and decorated of the spatulas,

and constitute the longest ones in the kena collection, with one specimen (11-39901) measuring 77.5 cm. in length. These extra long spatulas were ceremonial instruments carried by women in dances and would be too awkward for actual use as lime dippers.

In 1901, Mrs. P. A. Hearst presented to the Lowie Museum a collection of Massim artifacts which she acquired from Mr. Nathan Joseph, Propriator of the Old Curiosity Shop in San Francisco. The collection, which predates Malinowski's collection by 15 to 50 years, contains many examples of lime spatulas, but not a single tokualu of the type collected by Malinowski. Human figure spatulas in the Hearst-Joseph acquisition are not common, but on the only two specimens (11-671, 757) the figure is carved in the round, in a more human form, and represented in a less exaggerated squatting position. There is little doubt that the tokualu spatula was, in Malinowski's time, the most common type being produced to satisfy white traders. Tokualu spatulas most likely were exclusively made in the Trobriand Islands but, in time, were copied on other islands. The carved human figure became popular, for example, on D'Entrecasteaux (Jenness: 1920:200) and on Tubetube (Seligmann 1910:529). Both Seligmann and Jenness credit this type of spatula to the Trobriand Islands.

The figures on the Malinowski tokualu spatulas show a great diversity in style and rendering of the features. Legs, arms, hands may or may not be present, and oftentimes as in specimen 11-39927 they are suggested by a scroll pattern. Usually the figures are carved in a squatting position with the arms resting on the knees and with the hands underneath the chin (11-39929).

Some figures are topped by an elaborate finial suggestive of a headdress (M-432-435, 11-39901, 39926), others are surmounted by stylized "bird's heads" in openwork carving (M-416), while still others are capped by plain or complex designs (e.g. M-417).

Tautukuaki (11-39953-39954, 39957-39958). These are spatulas carved in imitation of a fruit, and are also called "takubuana," "carvings in form of the morning star" (British Museum 1922:G:III). Haddon labels this type as solid lens-shaped handled spatula (1894:207). Good examples of the "morning star" motif are specimens 11-39953 and 11-39554. The two remaining spatulas (11-39957-39958) classified as tautukuaki or takubuana lack the four "points" of the star, but are similar in all other respects. The "morning star" motif also figures prominently in other carvings, noticeably in the decoration on war shields (va'yaulo), six examples of which were collected by Malinowski and left with the British Museum (M-92-97), but none of which was available for study or photography. (For an example of one of the decorated shields with the star motif see Cranstone 1961:44, fig. 8).

It is highly likely that these lens-shaped handled spatulas originated outside the Trobriand Islands as suggested by Cooke-Daniels (British Museum 1906:142). A finely carved example, with no provenience, illustrated and described by Lindblom (1943:143) is similar in the important aspects to one illustrated in Cooke-Daniels (British Museum 1906:142) which is reputed to have come from Bartle Bay. The tautukuaki collected by Malinowski may actually have been traded into the Trobriands from Bartle Bay or elsewhere in the Massim district.

Tasorina (M-404-408, 410-413, 439, 442-447, 451, 460, 11-39899-39900, 39902-39925, 39927-39928). Malinowski says that these spatulas are characterized by square handles topped by a band (British Museum 1922:G:VI). An old tag attached to specimen 11-39918 easily identifies the tasorina type, although what Malinowski describes as "square handled" is better described as "four keeled" or "cruciform" handled spatulas. Strictly speaking, only eight spatulas in the Lowie Museum and four in the British Museum can be classified as tasorina type. There is a greater number of cruciform-handled spatulas which are not only topped by a band, but are also capped by a finial such as a stylized bird (M-410, 446; 11-39915), scroll "S" and scroll "6" (M-411-413, 11-39902, 39910), and stepped tiers or cones (11-39904). Presumably, Malinowski would exclude the capped finial variety from the tasorina group; to do so, however, would leave the finial variety in an inclassifiable limbo. It makes more sense to include all cruciform handled spatulas (with one exception) as belonging to the tasorina type, since the major feature of these spatulas is the cruciform-shaped handle and not the presence or absence of a finial. The only exception to this rule would be certain tokualu or human figure type spatulas. There are two spatulas with paired squatting human figures that have cruciform handles (11-39901, 39926); but in these spatulas, the major characteristic is the presence of the human figure and not the shape of the handle.

Takakupuana (M-409, 461, 11-39959-39964). This is a type of spatula "characterized by a longitudinal slit of the handle, hence its

name" (British Museum 1922:G:V). As in the case of the tokualu and tasorina spatulas, the slit handled variety was easy to distinguish. A typical example is specimen 11-39961. To slit a handle in this fashion requires a thicker piece of ebony and, with few exceptions, all takakupuana spatulas have heavy, thick, and relatively wide handles. Not all takakupuana have a longitudinal split; a number of examples in the Malinowski collection and in the Hearst-Joseph acquisition are not split all the way through. Others such as specimen 11-39964 and M-461 conform in all respects to the takakupuana but lack the slit. These latter spatulas probably represent unfinished forms.

Curiously, Malinowski does not offer any reason for the slit itself. It is tempting to see a parallel here with split-stick rattles which certain California Indians used to keep rhythm and musical beat for singing and dancing. To my knowledge, only Haddon and Jenness reported on the use of this peculiar spatula. In his study of Massim art, Haddon stated that the most common form of spatula is the "clapper" type, i.e., takakupuana, and then went on to confirm the clapping function of the split handle: "It is said that the natives are very fond of emphasizing their conversations by striking these spatulae on their legs" (Haddon 1894:204). Jenness reports that the natives of D'Entrecasteaux really have only two musical instruments, the drum and the clapper, the latter a "limestick handle split at one end" (1920:165). There is another clue, more elusive perhaps, which further strengthens Haddon's observation on the secondary use of the takakupuana, and this lies in the name itself which is onomatopeoic.

A few takakupuana spatulas in the Malinowski collection (11-39960,

39964) have handles that terminate in what is maybe a stylized snake's head. In the Hearst-Joseph acquisition, which predates Malinowski, a high percentage of the spatulas are of the takakupuana type, and most of these have a vaguely recognizable "snake head" handle (see, for example, 11-678 and 690).

The handle is often decorated with some form of scroll or coil pattern, included within longitudinal bands, analagous to the pattern (e.g. M-461) on the clubs. Most of the takakupuana collected by Malinowski have plain handles.

Most of the takakupuana have a bracket on the neck. These may be elaborately carved, as in the case of specimens 11-39961-39962, or plain as in specimen 11-39963. The bracket seems to be a favorite device for the highly ornamented spatulas, and although less frequently found on other types, the bracket is a well-defined addition on examples M-417, 448 and 449.

Four-vaned handled spatulas (11-39241, 39965-39976). Nothing in Malinowski's notes identifies for certain this unique and clearly recognizable type of spatula. There is a type which he labels "tabulabola," and describes as "...traditional, having no relation to nature" (British Museum 1922:G:IV), but there is no way to ascertain if the four-vaned spatulas belong to Malinowski's tabulabola type.

Typical of this type of spatula is specimen 11-39970. There are a number of variations to be noted; for example, some have no finials (e.g. 11-39973), others have a small knob finial (e.g. 11-39969), or terminate in a wavy band finial (e.g. 11-39968). One example is

dominated by a large knob (11-39967). With the exception of specimen 11-39241, which is highly decorated, the four-vaned spatulas are, by and large, almost entirely devoid of carved designs.

It is interesting to note that in the Hearst-Joseph acquisition there is no example of a four-vaned spatula. One could speculate that the cruciform (tasorina) type might have evolved from the four-vaned type. Since both types exist in the Malinowski collection, i.e., they are contemporaneous, it rules out the possibility that one type is an earlier ancestral form of the other.

Spatulas made in imitation of larger technological items (M-450, 452, 455-457, 11-39952, 39955-39956). Malinowski describes one class as spatulas with "Patterns in imitation of a cooking spoon (Takaineva) or of a steering rudder (Takuriga)" (British Museum 1922:G:XI). The British Museum Register identifies specimen M-450 as a takaineva and M-455 as a takuriga (British Museum 1922:28). These two types of spatulas are indistinguishable. Although the Malinowski collection does not contain an example of a steering paddle nor any of the larger cooking spoons, examples of both are illustrated by Edge-Partington (1890:293-294; 1895:159, 160). The variation in ornamentation for spoons and paddles is extensive and not mutually exclusive so that some spoons and paddles share a similar decorative handle. The distinction can be clarified, I think, by reconsidering Malinowski's statement for this category which reads "Patterns in imitation of a cooking spoon (Takaineva) or [emphasis added] of a steering rudder (Takuriga)." I had assumed that Malinowski was describing two types of spatulas, one based on handles copied from

cooking spoons and the other based on steering rudder handles. Actually, I think that all Malinowski meant was that there is a class of spatulas which have decorated handles similar to the designs that characterize cooking spoons and steering rudders. What he should have said was that the top of some spatulas are copied from the designs that serve as finials on rudder handles and cooking spoon handles, designs which, in fact, are to be found on other technological objects. Some clubs have finial decorations indistinguishable from those on cooking spoons (British Museum 1925:pl:VI). Indeed, even spatula M-455 bears a closer resemblance to a canoe prow (tabuyo) than it does to a steering rudder. The finials on specimens M-452, 456-457, and 11-39956 strongly resemble the lobes of the kaidebu (dance paddle), and indeed, the carver may have intended to produce a kaidebu lobe finial, in which case, to be consistent with Malinowski's terminology, these should be called takaidebu types.

Specimens M-455 and 11-39955 have relatively wide oar-shaped blades and these spatulas may be what Malinowski regarded as the "steering-oar" or takuriga type (British Museum 1922:G:XI). Specimens M-450 and 11-39952 bear a close resemblance to the cooking spoon and may have been intentionally modeled after one.

Bosu (bone spatulas) (M-289-294, 11-41871-41875, 11-42101-42108). There appear to be two main classes of bone lime spatulas, those made from human bones, and those made from the bones of other animals, especially whales and pigs.

In writing about human bone spatulas from the Marshall Bennett

Islands, Seligmann (1910:718-719) pointed out that such spatulas were more ceremonial than functional. A spatula made from the bone of a dead chief was used by the chief's father, children, and sisters' husbands. When a paramount chief dies, his brother-in-law takes out the fibula and makes it into a lime spatula. When the son of a paramount chief dies, one of his paternal uncles removes and uses the dead man's fibula. When the first wife of a paramount chief dies, one of her brothers-in-law removes a bone from her forearm which he makes into a lime spatula. Seligmann also points out that lime spatulas of human bone were not actually used, and the Marshall Bennett natives fervently believed that to do so would cause one's teeth to fall out (1910:722), although the spatula was lightly passed between the lips.

Malinowski also mentions that the radius, ulna, tibia, and other bones of deceased males were carved into lime spatulas, but offers no additional information (Malinowski 1929:156 and 160).

None of the bone spatulas collected by Malinowski was identified by him to be of human bone, and subsequent analysis did not reveal any to be human.

Decorated whale bone spatulas (M-289-292, 11-42104-42108) (bosu), especially the larger examples, were highly prized by the natives (British Museum 1922:D). The finer examples travelled in the kula in the same direction as the mwali and played an important part in gift exchanges, and even in Malinowski's time were few in number and rarely seen (1922:358).[14] Whalebone bosu were ornamented with spondylus shell

[14]Several spatulas illustrated in Cooke-Daniels (British Museum 1906:13) are described as made from dugong ribs and imported from Duau (Normandy Island) in the D'Entrecasteaux group, where they were manufactured. Accord-

discs attached to small perforations made at regular intervals around the periphery of the handle. Only three of the bosu (M-289-291) still had shell discs attached to the handle, but all, save two, were perforated for attaching the discs. The largest of the nine bosu (11-42104) measures 51 cm. in length and the smallest example (M-292) measures 21 cm. The nine specimens average approximately 34.5 cm. in length. The spondylus shell discs (kaloma) on the decorated bosu are attached with fine two-ply ini cordage, and specimen M-289, the best decorated of the bone spatulas, has, in addition, a string of very small discs dangling from a center perforation, and strings of equally small kaloma on both edges which terminate in clam (oyster?) shells.

The eight pig bone bosu (11-41871-41875, 42101-42103) are considerably shorter and narrower than the whale bone variety, ranging in size from approximately 15 cm. to a maximum of slightly over 21 cm. Three of the pig bone spatulas (11-41871-41873) are perforated around the periphery of the handle, and four others (11-41875, 42101-42103) have a single perforation at the top. The most highly polished of all the pig bone bosu (11-41874) measures 21.2 cm. in length and has not been perforated.

Miscellaneous kena (M-403, 441, 448-449, 453-454, 458-459, 462-468, 11-39937-39951, 39977-39979). In any classification there are bound to be specimens which are atypical and which do not conform to one type or another. The spatula collection contains a small number of such examples.

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ing to the Trobriand Crafts Ethnic Catalogue (United Church 1972b:#3a) spatulas are still available in bone, although most are made from cassowary bone imported from mainland New Guinea; occasionally, pig bones are used today.

Most of the kena that I have placed in the miscellaneous category have one thing in common: the tips or blades are well-worn and encrusted, suggesting that perhaps these examples, as opposed to the ones previously described, may actually have been used by the natives and not made intentionally for the tourist trade. Another feature shared by almost all of this miscellaneous group is their relatively flat appearance, reminescent of Western-style wooden letter openers, and definite tendency to be conservative in decoration.

A few of the kena in the miscellaneous category deserve special consideration. Specimens M1403, 469-470, 11-39978, for example, are combination spatula/mortars (kena/kaipeta), the top of each being hollowed out for the grinding of the betel-nut. Spatula 11-39979 has a tapered, four-sided handle which suggests an affinity with the tasorina type and, indeed, may be a variant form. Specimen 11-39937 still bears the remnant of a tag on which Malinowski noted, "No. 9, Tacepo." The decorative band separating the handle from the blade itself is strongly suggestive of the bands on the cooking spoons (kaineva), and perhaps this particular spatula might be one of the takaineva to which Malinowski alluded.

Intermixed throughout the spatula collection -- those which are classified and those included in the miscellaneous category -- are undoubtedly specimens which were made solely for sale to foreigners: seamen, missionaries, government administrators, and traders. Excluding the longest examples which were carried by women in dances, there remains a large group of long, thin, unwieldly spatulas which are intricately carved and frequently embellished with strings of shell and glass beads.

These spatulas, too long and therefore too clumsy to have served as lime dippers, may have been manufactured for the tourist trade for, in fact, as a class they seem to incorporate just about every decorative device and motif one associates with Massim decoration.

Malinowski must have observed that much of what was produced in the way of material objects was intended for sale to non-natives, yet he has little to say on the subject. This is surprising because, years before he appeared in the Trobriands, the natives of these islands had already gained a notorious reputation as purveyors of shoddy goods.

In a popular account published in 1909, Colonel Kenneth MacKay (a member of the Royal Commission based on Samurai) described his visit to Kiriwina and his efforts to collect "genuine" native handicrafts; Colonel MacKay's experience is worth quoting in full:

> They [Kiriwinians] also show considerable skill in carving wooden lime spoons....I regret to say, however, that they have failed, if indeed they ever attempted, to prevent the spirits of Brummagea (evil spirits) from entering into themselves, for even as we walked by the village we saw them in feverish haste fakeing up lime spoons and native weapons for our special benefit. Spirit of commercial dishonesty, where may men hide from thee, where truthfully declare that thou are not? Thou hast dishonoured Japan, fouled Africa, poisoned the very heart of India, battened on our soldiers from Sebastopol to Pretoria, and lo, I found thee once again on a lonely island of the Pacific brazenly proffering me, as a genuine old betel-nut discoloured lime spoon, a piece of dyed stick, the knife-marks still fresh upon its ill-carved handle (1909:69-70).

This spirit of "commercial dishonesty" has been responsible for the forest of lime spatulas, weapons, and other wooden objects carried away from the Massim by collectors, destined for museums and private collections, 60 or 70 years before Malinowski set foot in the Trobriands.

I suspect that a re-classification of the lime spatulas into two

basic divisions, based upon whether the spatulas showed any evidence of use, i.e., worn and patinated blades, would quickly identify those specimens produced for the likes of Colonel MacKay.

Without re-examining the spatulas in the British Museum, I cannot ascertain which ones evidence use (my notes are incomplete on this point). It is, however, my considered opinion that the lime spatulas, produced in such prodigious quantities, hold the key to our understanding of the directions of change in the art and crafts in the Massim. The more "traditional" spatulas seem to be shorter and less decorated, and, therefore, more functional than the longer, grossly but well-carved and ornamented variety which seem to predominate.

Betel-nut chewing and apparatus. Betel-chewing is practiced widely in Papua, along the north coast and in the lower Sepik basin of the Trust Territory, in the Bismarck Archipelago, throughout the Solomon Islands and as far as the Santa Cruz group. The betel mixture consists of the nut of the areca palm (often erroneously called betel-nut), the fruit or leaves of the betel pepper (Piper betle and allied species), and lime produced by burning coral or shells or by grinding limestone. In the Massim district, the lime is kept in decorated gourds, yaguma, and is transferred to the mouth by a decorated spatula, kena, of wood or bone. Most mortars and pestles are small enough to fit inside the shoulder bag, kanya (Cranstone 1961:93-94).

Old people, who cannot chew, pound the nuts in small wooden mortars, kaipita, with a wooden pestle, kaimili.

Mortars, like the pestles, are usually made out of ebony (gai),

although other woods are frequently employed, especially the hard brown mahogany type (meku).

Mortars (Kaipita) (M-364-391, 11-39993-40016). As in the case of all utilitarian objects manufactured in the Massim, the kaimili and kaipita are carved with various lime-filled curvilinear designs. Great attention is given to the decorations on the kaipita, whereas some kaimili have no ornamentation at all.

The most common and typical kaipita consists of a wide mouth tube, with collared rim, which tapers toward a collared base ending in a decorative finial. The tubular kaipita range in size from the longest of 15.1 cm. (11-40016) to the smallest of 5.2 cm. (11-39994); the average length of the 45 tubular mortars is approximately 10 cm. The rim and base on most examples are collared (M-368-370, 11-40008), although on a few examples the rims are simply cup-like (M-379, 11-39998). Collared rims vary in shape from simple raised bands (11-39996) to large mushroom-shaped varieties (11-40013).

Bases, too, are generally collared and terminate in a variety of finials, including the "T"-shaped or keeled types (M-380, 11-40009, 40015), which are miniature forms of those keeled basal finials found on the large axes, kema (see, for example, 11-40339). One tubular kaipita (M-385) has a small openwork handle on one side which gives it the appearance of a miniaturized version of a small dancing drum, katunenia (see for example, M-490-498), which, I am sure, it was intended to represent.

The larger and more elaborate mortars are best described as

boat-like in contour and having one or two tubular mortar holes. Specimens 11-39993 and M-391 have two tubular mortars set on a curved boat-shaped base, the ends of which are carved in what is unmistakeably meant to imitate canoe prows. Specimen M-390 has a similarly shaped base terminating in canoe-prow finials, but only one centrally placed tubular mortar. Specimen M-386, a more globular boat-shaped base lacking the carved prow-like finials, also has a single tubular mortar. Three other boat-shaped mortars, M-387-389, have the mortar holes cut into the body. Although, with the exception of M-386, these boat-shaped kaipita have "bird's head" prow finials, only the finial on M-389 is recognizable as a bird's head.

Practically every incised design found on Trobriand carvings appears on the kaipita, i.e., coils of every variation, streamers or zig-zag ribbons, "bird's heads," and "hanging snakes." Only five ebony tubular mortars were undecorated (M-364-365, 381; 11-40007, 40002), but even these have at least rim and basal collars. In the main, the smaller kaipita have the least decoration, limited in some examples to a small zig-zag ribbon around the rim and/or basal collar, or along the long axis of the mortar (11-39996). On the larger tubular mortars not only are the rim and basal collars incised with designs, but also the area between them is covered with designs of all sorts. The most elaborately carved mortars are the large boat-shaped variety. With few exceptions, all kaipita have lime-filled designs, and in some cases red paint is evident (M-391).

Pestles (kaimili) (British Museum 1922:G:II) (M-392-403, 11-39980-

39992). The 25 pestles collected by Malinowski range in size from the longest of 28.5 cm. (11-39992) to the shortest of 11 cm. (11-39982), averaging about 15 cm.

The majority of pestles are carved from ebony; although one-third of the total were carved from the more common mahogany. Only two pestles are totally void of any decoration (11-39989-39990) while eight others have a simple knobbed finial giving the pestle an overall appearance of a large nail. Seven kaimili have carved human head finials, one of which is topped with a "bird's head" motif (11-39985). The more decorated pestles (M-397-399, 402-403, 11-39993, 39980) have elaborately carved finials and/or coil and zig-zag designs over most of the handle.

Specimen M-403 (entered as a "combination mortar-pestle"), if the British Museum Register is to be believed, must be classified as the world's most frustrating artifact. Carved from a single length of ebony, this object is topped with a mortar, and the distal end is shaped like a pestle. While combination mortar and spatula artifacts are not uncommon (see M-469 and 470) and are cleverly functional, this pestle/mortar must either be the most dysfunctional artifact produced in the Trobriands, or a cataloguing error. I feel secure that M-403 is a well-worn and used combination mortar and spatula.

CHAPTER XIII

ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE: OBJECTS RELATING TO SECULAR AND QUASI-RELIGIOUS RITES, PAGEANTS AND DRAMA

Harvest dance shield or paddle (kaidebu) (M-1-28, 68, 11-39773-39786, 40347). The following statement by Malinowski best describes the harvest festival and the role of the dance paddle (kaidebu) in the celebrations:

> Dancing is done only at one time during the year in connection with the harvest festivities, called milamala; at which season also the spirits of the dead return from Tuma, the netherworld, to the villages from which they hail. Sometimes the dancing season lasts only for a few weeks or even days, sometimes it is extended into a special dancing period called usigola. During such a time of festivities, the inhabitants of a village will dance day after day, for a month or longer, the period being inaugurated by a feast, punctuated by several more, and ending in a big culminating performance. At this many villages assist as spectators, and distributions of food take place. During an usigola, dancing is done in full dress; i.e., with facial painting, floral decorations, valuable ornaments, and a headdress of white cockatoo feathers. A performance consists always of a dance executed in a ring to the accompaniment of singing and drum-beating both of which are done by a group of people standing in the middle. Some dances are done with the carved dancing shield (Malinowski 1922:56-57).

The kaidebu, or dance paddle, consists of a single board which is carved into two discs each about 25 cm. in diameter joined by a handle; the discs are decorated on both sides with elaborate curvilinear designs, partial openwork, and painted in red, black, and white. Most of the

"lobes" on the kaidebu are carved in spiral patterns which, at first glance, do not seem to differ from one kaidebu to another. A closer examination, however, will reveal that each kaidebu is a unique and individual carving. As Malinowski reported above, the kaidebu is used as part of the dancing equipment. Dancers, 30 or 40 in number, move in a slow circle, holding the kaidebu by the central handle and imparting a rapid vibration to it by a rotating motion of the hand.

The majority of kaidebu are about 60 cm. in length although a few examples are more than 70 centimeters in length. The kaidebu models (for example, M-28) are exactly like the full size version but measure about 34 cm. in length.

Kaidebu are carved from a relatively soft wood, which is probably acacia, the same wood used in the manufacture of defensive shields (va'yaulo). Most examples have a complete or partial string (for hanging) attached made of two-ply cordage, probably ini fiber.

Many examples have a finial on one or both ends of the disc. These finials are easily identified in some instances as a bird form (M-21) or merely as scroll patterns (M-22).

Kaidebu, like other larger carvings, were made with a stone bladed adze (ligogu). The finer work, i.e., the marking out of the designs, was accomplished by a tool consisting of a length of wood to each end of which was hafted a shark's tooth (M-664-665). The boards were polished and smoothed before the engraving with a rasp of wood covered with shark or ray skin (kisi) (M-118). A boar's tusk was used for further smoothing and engraving.

Few remarks about the kaidebu were left behind by Malinowski. In

the Register (British Museum 1922:1, 2) four kaidebu (M-6, 9, 17, 25) have comments entered, in quotes, in the remarks column. Specimen M-6 is described as a "Good kaidebu. Note the row of Dokas." Specimen M-9 is described as a "Good kaidebu with many Dokas rimmed with susawili motif or a pronounced Guni spiral in the apex of which there is a Doka." For M-17, the statement reads "Old kaidebu carved with a wallaby bone. See rubbing." Finally, for specimen M-25, the comment reads "Good child's kaidebu, note the many Dokas, no pronounced spiral."

These comments in quotes lead one to suspect that Malinowski provided other information on the kaidebu and, presumably, for other objects as well. The Doka, incidentally, is a bird commonly represented on lime spatulas.

Geba (M-477). This specimen is a framework for a headdress and consists of tied coconut fibers bent into a "U" shape, intended to be worn over the head and tied below the chin. The geba (called payya in Morima where it was habitually used in dancing) is an import from the D'Entrecasteaux Islands and was hardly ever worn in Kiriwina (British Museum 1922:30). Cassowary and parrot feathers were undoubtedly inserted over the entire framework to make a splendid head ornament worn during the usigola, or dancing season (Malinowski 1922:57). The geba measures approximately 24 cm. wide.

Feathers and feather containers (11-42111-42124). Most of the nearly 100 feathers collected by Malinowski are of the white cockatoo variety, known in some parts of the northern Massim as katakea (Seligmann 1910:680). These cockatoo feathers were put into the hair

and worn as dancing ornaments (British Museum 1922:A:III). When originally acquired by Malinowski, the feathers were carefully packed into wallet-like containers, but the ravages of time, mis-handling, and poor storage conditions have contributed to the poor state in which we now find the packets and their contents.

There are several distinct kinds of feather containers. The most common (11-42112-42115, 42118) are those made of a folded length of a tough, heavy fibrous material, which is actually the base of leaf petrioles or stem of the palm leaf, which is folded once lengthwise. Another type consists of strips of banana leaf (wakaya) folded several times and tied securely around the middle (11-42119-42121), or secured at both ends (11-42111). Another packet is made from a single large leaf of a dicotyledonous tree, folded once, and which is skewered together with a long, thin, wooden needle (11-42116); feather container 11-42117 is made of two large dicotyledonous leaves bound together on both sides with the same type of thin skewers used on specimen 11-42116.

The feathers themselves have been badly eaten by bugs, and those that have remained intact are stained or faded. The white cockatoo hair ornament actually is made from the feathers of two birds, the cockatoo and an unidentified species. The cockatoo feather shaft is cut just above the quill leaving a hollow into which is inserted the proximal end of a different bird feather, now colored brown or reddish brown. These composite hair ornaments comprise about 95 per cent of the total feathers. Each of the folded pandanus leaf packets contained from 20 to 30 cockatoo feathers.

The heavier, single fold palm bark containers were, apparently,

reserved for one or up to three special feathers. Packet 11-42113, for example, contains the remnants of several brown colored feathers, to the barbs of which are glued small sections of bright red parrot feathers. All of these brown/red feathers are, or once were, attached to long thin skewers of palm spathe which were intended to be inserted directly into the hair of the dancer, or into a framework such as the geba (M-477).

Packet 11-42111 contains the remnants of what appear to be cassowary tail feathers, bound to a long palm spathe shaft. The thin shafts are further decorated with small bright red feathers. The careful manner in which these feathers were protected by a cover of banana leaf would suggest an ornament of high value.

The feather containers made of palm sheaths average about 30 cm. in length and approximately 6 cm. in width. The white cockatoo feather packets and those made of leaves also average about 30 cm. in length, but measure close to 12 cm. in width.

In addition, Malinowski collected five sections of a palm spathe (11-42124), each of which is split part way into a series of thin skewers, intended as hafting points for feather ornaments. Two bi-pointed thin skewers of wood (11-42122-42123) were found with the feathers and their packets, and presumably these are also hair ornament skewers.

slightly everted. On some drums collected before Malinowski's time, there is usually a broad, slightly raised band encircling the drum near the open end, which may be elaborately carved or plain (Haddon 1893/94: 110, fig. 4). On most of those collected by Malinowski, the decorated band is replaced by two opposing raised narrow ledges, each of which is perforated or slit for insertion of pandanus strips. Near the tympanic end, there is generally a small, raised carved "button," or simple device. Designs on drums are almost always lime-filled.

The large dancing drums, Kupi, range in length from 61 cm. to 67.5 cm. All three lack the broad decorative band described by Haddon (1893/94:110) but do have the perforated ridges for the suspension of pandanus strips. The kupi are played with several fingers.

Malinowski collected a total of nine finger drums, Katunenia, although one (M-498), which was not available for study, was described in the Register as "an ornamented buobaku, a recent import in the Trobriands and in Dobu" (British Museum 1922:13). This drum, which measures about 34 cm. in length, is made from a section of bamboo, lacks a handle, but has, apparently, an incised decorative band encircling below the middle of the body; designs are typically Massim. The base is also carved with an encircling band of streamer or zig-zag design.

Excluding the imported "Buobaku," the katunenia vary but little in length, the longest examples (M-490, 495) measuring 30 cm. and the shortest (M-494) measuring 27 cm. With one exception, all katunenia share the same diagnostic features: carved "bird's heads" handles, perforated ridges toward the open end, and raised, carved "button" designs toward the tympanic end. The exception is specimen M-497 which

lacks both the handle and the perforated distal ridges. This finger drum, however, does have a wide encircling band covered with spiral designs, a feature missing on the other katunenia.

According to the Trobriand Crafts Catalogue of Artifacts (United Church 1972a:9), the Trobriand Islanders today make three types of drums: the small finger drum, katunenia, 25 to 35 cm. in length; a medium sized drum, kaibela, measuring 45 to 50 cm. in length; and a large drum, kaiula, measuring 61 to 76 cm. in length. For comparative purposes, the Lowie Museum recently acquired one example each of the modern katunenia, kaibela, and kaiula (11-42032, 42038, 42037, respectively).

Malinowski mentioned only two kinds of drums, the differences between them being one of length and the method by which each was played, i.e., with a single finger, as on the smaller katunenia, or with several fingertips as on the larger kupi.

The katunenia drums described in the Trobriand Crafts Catalogue of Artifacts (United Church 1972a:9), range in size from 25 to 36 cm. and all of the katunenia collected by Malinowski fall within these dimensions (27 to 30 cm.). The larger kupi (kaiula) are described in the Trobriand Crafts Catalogue of Artifacts as ranging in size from 61 to 76 cm., and again, Malinowski's three kupi examples fall within this range (61 to 67.5 cm.). Whether or not the Trobriand Islanders in Malinowski's time recognized an intermediate sized drum, which the Mission folk call kaibela (United Church 1972a:9), is unknown. Since the drums collected by Malinowski conform in size to the small and large drums described by the Trobriand Crafts Catalogue of Artifacts

and since none of the Malinowski drums fall within the intermediate size, it seems reasonably safe to assume that an intermediate size, whatever its name, probably existed in Malinowski's days in the Trobriands.

After a lapse of nearly 60 years, the Trobriand Island drums have undergone considerable change. The modern katunenia (11-42032) conforms only in shape and size to the ones collected by Malinowski. The modern drum is a more finished product, sanded to a smooth finish and stained with a neutral oil to bring out the grain of the mahogany, very reminescent of modern "danish" furniture finishes. The handle still consists of two joined "birds" although the carving is flatter. The two opposing ridges toward the open end are no longer perforated for pandanus streamers, and the raised "button" design of the older drums has been altered to a row of three taller "buttons" on each side, each of which is inset with mother-of-pearl. The head is still of lizard skin.

The recently made medium size drum, or kaibela (11-42038), measures 44 cm. in length. This drum, when compared with its earlier counterparts, can only be described as a grotesque parody. It retains the cylindrical shape and the everted open end, and shows a meticulous attention to the carving of detail. The finish, like the modern katunenia, is smoothed and sanded to obliterate any knife marks or irregularities; an almost machine-made quality, the mahogany wood is covered with a semi-gloss dark brown lacquer. Embellishments abound. On two sides, below the closed end and opposite the handle, is a long, raised section, each about 15 cm. long, the bottom of which is a carved human face. Nearly encircling these elongated heads are incised

parallel lines flanked by saw-tooth designs which terminate in mother-of-pearl inlaid spirals. Directly below the elongated heads are mother-of-pearl inlaid rosettes, in high relief, which replaced the low relief "button" designs on earlier drums. The side opposite the handle has seven raised tubes each inlaid with mother-of-pearl. The slightly raised decorative band toward the open end has two pairs of openwork ridges, in high relief. The handle, which barely allows one finger for holding, is an arch of two "bird's heads" enjoined at the neck. The eyes of the birds as well as the point where their necks join are inset with mother-of-pearl as are the eyes of the "bird's heads" handle finials. It is not unlikely that the mother-of-pearl inlay technique was suggested by the inlay on guitar fret boards.

Panpipes (lilulia) (M-597-598, 661-663). Although no mention of panpipes appears in the Ethnological Documents, the Register does note the word, Lilulia which, presumably, is the Trobriand word for panpipes (British Museum 1922:41). Malinowski has little to say about the panpipes except to note that along with the jew's harp it was a popular instrument played by boys in courting (Malinowski 1929:312).

The panpipes consist of graduated reed pipes lashed in a row. The double-row panpipes common in the Bismarck Archipelago, northern Solomons and in the New Hebrides were unknown in the Massim.

The five panpipes collected by Malinowski are made from a reed identified in the Register as korupi (British Museum 1922:41), which is apparently a joint of some unidentified cane in the grass family. The pipes are lashed together by spiral lattice binding with a single

weft strand and a lattice element on both the work and back face. The number of pipes varies from a maximum of nine (M-597, 598), to eight (M-662), seven (M-661), and six (M-663). The pipes of the two larger panpipes (M-597, 598) are bound together with both pandamus (?) strips and ini fiber, while the smaller variety are wrapped with several strands of two-ply ini cordage.

Flutes (M-599-600). The two flutes collected by Malinowski were unavailable for examination. From the drawings and brief descriptions in the Register one can deduce that they were made of reed, probably the same korupi reed as the panpipes. Each measures approximately 61 cm. in length. The tube in each case is cut as to have a node left at one end which is perforated; along the barrel a short distance from the node are two holes. Although both end and side blown flutes occur throughout New Guinea, only the end blown variety occurs in the Massim.

Jew's harp. Bamboo jew's harps have a wide distribution on the New Guinea mainland, islands to the north, and in the Massim area (Encyclopedia of Papua and New Guinea 1972:736). Malinowski noted the presence of the jew's harp (1929:312) but did not collect a single example, and we have no idea how they were made or what they looked like. Malinowski and later writers report that both men and women play the instrument (Malinowski 1929:312; Silas 1926:92, 135).

Musical bow. Unlike the jew's harp, the musical bow seems to be more restricted in its distribution. Malinowski makes no mention of it but Silas, who visited the Trobriands in the early 1920's, did mention

its existence, although he noted that it produced a sound barely audible (Silas 1926:174-175). The bow itself, as described by Silas, is simply a string instrument consisting of a piece of fine but strong cord (ini?) stretched bow-wise on a thin branch, the cord being twanged with the fingers. No examples were collected by Malinowski.

Ta'uva. The conch shell trumpet (Cassis cornuta) played a significant role in magical rites as well as secular activities. To make the mouthpiece of the trumpet, the apex of the spiral windings at the broad end is knocked out (Malinowski 1922:340). The trumpet was used on important occasions to draw attention to an event: to announce the arrival or departure of a canoe or an important voyage; to herald the bringing-in of the harvest, or other harvest activities; to announce the giving of a gift or ceremonial exchange especially when connected with a chiefly family; to herald the approach of a high-ranking chief. It was also blown in time of war (United Church 1972b:4).

Again, as in the case of other sound-making instruments, no examples of the important ta'uva were collected by Malinowski.

CHAPTER XV

ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE: NOVELTIES, PRIMARILY FOR SALE TO TOURISTS

The word tokualu is defined by Austen as a generic term for wooden carvings of animals and humans (1945a:193). In a strict sense it covers only those independent figure carvings and does not include functional objects such as net floats, house ornaments, and rope-blocks in which human and animal figures are incorporated.

Although Malinowski collected several carvings of pigs and human beings, which would fall into Austen's class of tokualu, he did not provide the native name for the specimens nor did he document them in any way. In his analysis of the lime spatulas, Malinowski recognized a special class which he labeled tokualu (British Museum 1922:G:IX) and which he defined as spatulas with finials in the form of human figures. Presumably, then, the term tokualu as used by Austen must have come into vogue sometime after World War I, i.e., after Malinowski left the Trobriands.

Independent figure sculptures in the Trobriands were rare before Malinowski's time although, as noted above, human and animal figures were frequently incorporated into other objects, most often as finials on walking sticks, lime spatulas, pestles, and on canoe and house parts. Austen is of the opinion that the carving of wooden figures was an

autochthonous development of the late 19th or early 20th century (1945a:196). Austen further theorizes that the carving of larger tokualu originated around 1907 or 1908 when the Reverend M. K. Gilmour was stationed at Oiabia, and hints that the very beginnings of tokualu carvings must have coincided with the coming of the Wesleyan or Methodist Mission to the Trobriands around 1895 (1945a:196).

In a report which he submitted in 1905, the Reverend Gilmour provides a list of the items exported and imported by the Kiriwinians, but the list does not include carved wooden figures (1905:72). If the Kiriwinians were manufacturing tokualu carvings in the late 19th century, the total output must have been insignificant since early reports such as Haddon (1894), Edge-Partington (1890, 1895, 1898), and the Cooke-Daniels Register (British Museum 1906) do not mention nor illustrate tokualu figures, indicating that the industry must have started sometime between 1905 and 1915. It seems reasonable to go along with Austen's notion that the production of larger tokualu figures began at Boitalu around 1907-08 in response to the tourist trade:

> ...the people of Boitalu[15] realized that there was a ready sale for their manufactures. They therefore produced larger tokwalu pigs, birds and human beings than they had done in the past, when these carvings had been done more as an outlet for their artistic tendencies, and there was no sale for them in the villages. But once they found that the European would buy such articles, they began to create more (1945a:196).

Among the fanciful statements regarding the function of these tokualu comes from Silas (1926:205-206) who reports that the figures were carved as a protection against evil magic. He also cites the

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[15]According to the Trobriand Crafts Ethnic Catalogue (United Church 1972b:3), the men of Boitalu village are the most prolific carvers of figures.

explanation of his "cook-boy" that the tokualu were placed at the head of the bed of someone fearing assassination; should anyone then attempt to kill the owner, the tokûalu would come alive and kill the assassin.

The real impetus for the production of tokualu tourist items is credited by Austen to a Mrs. A. C. Lumley, a resident of Gusaweta in the Trobriands. According to Austen, it was Mrs. Lumley who, in 1921, took an active interest in the woodwork of Boitalu to the extent that she organized and promoted what was to become a commercially important trade in the Trobriands (1945a:196).

About the time (1921) that Mrs. Lumley developed her interest in Boitalu woodwork, the natives of this village were already producing larger and larger tokualu figures representing human beings until the figures increased in size to a height of 27 inches. These figures found a ready market in Samarai, where buyers -- presumably resident administrators, missionaries, and travelers -- fitted them into a base, using three of the figures as a stand to hold a Trobriand bowl.

As an agent of change, Mrs. Lumley instructed the Boitalu carvers in making pot stands carved from solid wood. As Austen states, "These were very crude at first but as time went on, and under Mrs. Lumley's guidance, the work improved" (1945a:196).

She then instructed the carvers to make bowls resting on tokualu figures which were cut out of the solid Melila (meku) tree trunk. In time, a table evolved with base and top joined by tokualu figures; the figures and table tops were incised with traditional designs.

The Trobriand Crafts Catalogue of Artifacts (United Church 1972a) still lists tables and stands as items for sale to tourists. These

include single figures up to three feet in height with a flat top "useable as a stand for drinking glasses and ornaments," (p. 4) and single piece tables consisting of one or two figures standing on a disc of wood supporting a second disc which forms the top of the table. These one-piece carved tables (Mrs. Lumley's legacy) vary in size from five inches in diameter and fifteen inches high to twenty inches in diameter and twenty-four inches high, although these latter are rarely obtainable (p. 4). Coffee tables complete the range of table types made today. These are described in the Trobriand Crafts Catalogue of Artifacts (United Church 1972a) as "attractive modern carvings ornamental rather than functional," the 3 legs being carved from a single piece of wood and arranged that they intertwine and link together at the point of intersection. The top is made from a single section of wood.

Human figure tokualu (M-591). The most noticeable features of human carvings -- whether on lime spatulas, walking sticks, or free-standing -- are the round face with little contour, the marking of features (except the nose) by line-engraving, the slight modelling of the chin, and the forehead carved to indicate some kind of headdress or cap. Arms and legs are usually bent, and in certain cases the fingers and toes are realistically carved, while in others they are merely part of the decorative pattern which terminates in a spiral. A prominent feature is the raised hands, meeting over the breast or resting under the chin. The breasts and the navel are usually indicated by circles. Many figures are covered with body ornamentation, such as incised

facial lines and spirals on the body. Sex is almost always indistinguishable. The sexless characteristic of Massim tokualu is not confined to the area. According to Reichard, the lack of sex determinants is also found in the Solomons and Geelvink Bay, and to a lesser degree in the Admiralty Islands (1933:143).

Malinowski collected only one example of free-standing carved human figure; this undocumented specimen is made from a piece of meku wood. Measuring 21.5 cm. in height, it represents a squatting male (?) on a base, with elbows on the knees and hands resting under the chin. The "T"-shape face, formed by the brows and nose, is typical. Features and parts of the body are decorated with lime-filled designs. The base is ringed with a zig-zag or streamer design, a motif which also forms a rough triangular-shaped band from the elbows up to the arm, down the sides, and up the legs to the knees. The lower arms and lower legs are decorated with a series of triangles. Each eye is represented by two crescent-shaped designs, and the mouth is formed by a series of triangles. Ears are modelled in low relief.

Pigs tokualu (M-114, 658-659, 11-40232-40233). According to one source, pigs have been carved for many years, and may even go back into the 19th century (United Church 1972a:3). It is more likely that wooden pigs, carved in the round, came into production at the same time as the other tokualu figures, or about 1908. Central as the pig is in any Trobriand ceremonial food exchange or mortuary pay back ceremony, it would occupy a large place in the mind of the carvers, and would, therefore, be a likely subject to carve.

Specimen M-114 represents two pigs, back-to-back, connected by the tail, and measures 30.5 cm. from tip to tip. Typical lime-filled zig-zag or streamer design forms an arc connecting the forelegs and hind legs. Eyes and ears are incised and lime-filled.

Specimen M-658 is a single pig carving 16.0 cm. in length. It is similar in all respects to M-114, although part of the tail is missing.

Specimen M-659, also a single pig, measures 26.5 cm. in length. Larger and somewhat better carved than the preceding examples, this figure has an elaborately carved tail.

Specimen 11-40232 is a single pig carving with the tail missing. Although it measures only 13.5 cm. in length, it is equal in all important respects to specimen M-114.

Specimen 11-40233 is a larger single pig carving, also with tail missing, and measures approximately 20.0 cm. in length. In addition to zig-zag designs with coils connecting fore and hind legs, there are also streamer designs on the back, terminating in coils, and a streamer design from the snout to the tip of the ear. All the tokualu pig carvings are carved from meku wood.

CHAPTER XVI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It is apparent from the range and type of material that Malinowski collected during his stays in the Trobriand Islands that he made an effort to acquire a representative collection of artifacts. While he may be faulted for a certain lack of thoroughness, one must admire the deliberateness he showed in obtaining variant examples of a single type of object. The lime spatulas (kena), garden tools (ligogu and kema), canoe attachments (lagim and tabuyo), dance paddles (kaidebu), ornaments, and other classes of objects all contain a myriad of examples of variations which, if nothing else, demonstrate that the Trobriand craftsman was anything but bound to a rigid formula in his production of material objects.

Earlier collections from the Massim, i.e., those acquired prior to the first World War, appear at first glance to be homogeneous and more conservative. This observation is more impressionistic than anything else, and is based upon cursory examination of artifacts illustrated in early publications. If Malinowski's collection is representative of the material produced during the period 1915-1920 then one would have to conclude that earlier craftsmen were more interested in producing a functional object for inter-island or intra-island use. The variety of forms and the super embellishments can probably be traced to the demands

of missionaries, traders, government administrators, sailors, and others who wanted to carry away mementos of their visit to the islands of the Massim.

I have already indicated elsewhere in this study that objects from the Massim that reside in museum collections the world over are monotonously similar. Lime spatulas, betel-nut mortars and pestles, bowls, "swagger-sticks," carved human and animal figures (tokualu), club/swords (pulata), ornaments and combs probably comprise the majority of these collections. Dance paddles, axes, adzes, canoe attachments, and small ornamental house parts are also numerically significant but not as commonly represented as the objects previously mentioned. The common, every-day utilitarian objects are rarely found in Massim collections. Full-sized canoes (waga), fishing nets, decorated house parts (gable boards), stone tools, carving tools, grass skirts, among other items, are, for the most part, conspicuously absent in the museum collections from the Massim.

The selective process involved is easy to understand. The most desirable items to collect were those which were small, portable, decorated (aesthetically appealing), and exotic. The ditty bag of the sailor and the traveling trunk of the missionary precluded the collecting of anything but the more portable items. For every dance paddle carried away by early visitors to the Massim, there must have been a thousand lime spatulas transported to America and to Europe. Aside from the impressive collection of stone tools in the Malinowski collection, I know of no comparable assemblage of lithic material from the Massim. Stone tools are not generally regarded as "collectables."

One can readily understand why a full-sized waga is not a common object in western museums. A canoe is a large and cumbersome object, difficult to pack, and prohibitively expensive to ship. Then, too, as Malinowski (1922) points out in the Argonauts of the Western Pacific, an enormous amount of collective effort and time went into the construction of a waga. Cranstone also mentions that even though canoes are essential to fishing and, in many communities (especially in the Trobriands), to commercial activities, their importance is more than economic. They are often the only link with the outside world, and are an inexhaustable source of pride and interest, providing an element of romance and adventure (1961:104). Consequently, the Trobriand Islanders themselves were probably reluctant to part with something as critical to survival as a canoe.

It is still puzzling as to why Malinowski did not collect models of the larger items. Canoe models, detailed and accurate to the last centimeter, were available and presumably for a modest sum. Malinowski has photographs showing young boys playing in the lagoon with these models, and yet he was content with acquiring only decorated parts of the model canoes. His treatise on the construction of a bwayma (yam house) is thorough enough so that a talented museum craftsman could re-construct a model of a bwayma. Still, it is surprising that Malinowski did not commission the construction of a model yam house.

The paucity of ceremonial regalia in the Malinowski collection (feathered headdresses and ornaments) may have been due to certain official prohibitions regarding their export. For many years, the administrators of New Guinea and Eastern Papua have had strict laws

regarding the exportation of exotic bird feathers, but whether such laws were in effect 55 or 60 years ago, I do not know. Malinowski acquired only one headdress frame (geba), devoid of feathers, and one feathered breast ornament, and a small collection of feathers neatly packed in storage pouches. The fact that he brought these latter items from the Trobriands leads one to believe that the laws controlling their export must not have been in force at the time. On the other hand, feathered objects do not pack well, are a favorite target of insects, and difficult to keep in good condition. Malinowski may have felt that the disadvantages of collecting feathered headdresses and ornaments far outweighed whatever merit their acquisition would have for museum collections.

The definitive study of the material culture of the Trobriand Islands has yet to be written. The material is available, but scattered throughout the museum collections of the world. Major collections of Trobriand material culture are currently housed at the British Museum; the Museo Pigorini, Rome; Museum voor Land-en-Volkenkunde, Rotterdam; the Field Museum, Chicago; The Museum of Primitive Art, New York; Museum of Science, Buffalo; Lowie Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley; Queensland Museum, Brisbane; National Museum of Victoria, Melbourne (which contains another portion of the Malinowski collection from the Trobriands); and Papua and New Guinea Public Museum and Art Gallery, Port Moresby. While there is no shortage of Massim material, the objects themselves are largely undocumented and even accurate proveniences, i.e., known place of manufacture or acquisition, are very unusual.

To examine these collections at first-hand and to ferret out and

evaluate whatever exists in the way of documentation would be an undertaking of no simple proportions. The material from the Cooke-Daniels Expedition which Seligmann acquired for the British Museum would be an excellent collection with which to begin the re-construction of the material culture of many of the islands of the Massim. Only recently I learned of the existence of a Trobriand collection in the National Museum of Victoria, Melbourne, and while it may be expecting too much to hope that Malinowski left further information with this collection, whatever is available -- artifacts or data -- could not help but strengthen some of the conclusions reached in this present study. Museum researchers are, in general, an optimistic lot and I firmly believe that an ethnographic survey of the material culture of the Massim, to include the Trobriands, is not only feasible but also inevitable.

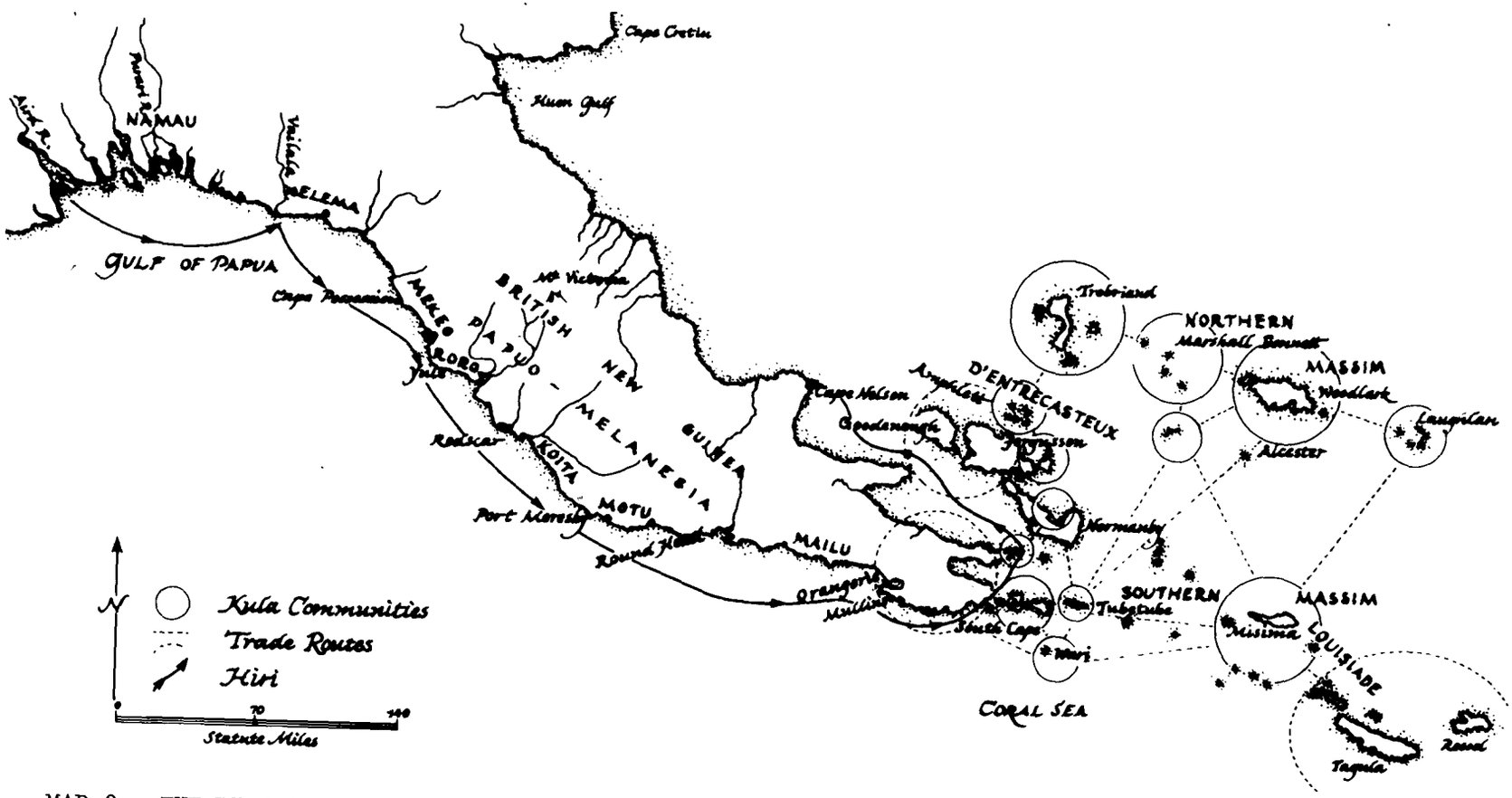
In the section dealing with the kula cycle and the exchange of utilitarian objects, I focused on the secondary aspects of the ritualized exchange of mwali and soulava articles. The trade of common goods was of vital importance to the existence of most of the islands that participated in this network, and we saw that each and every participating island was intricately intermeshed in this trading relationship. This constant trading of valuables and common articles has resulted in a nearly homogeneous technology for much of the material culture, and an art style which varies slightly from one part of the Massim to the other.

But even the kula ring did not provide a self-sustaining system for it, too, was linked to yet another trading system known as the

hiri. The hiri was the mainland New Guinea equivalent of the kula, and in terms of scale and complexity it rivalled the kula. As the kula shaped the lives of the people of the Massim area, so the hiri had a significant effect on the Motu people who live on the Papuan coast near Port Moresby. Each year, Motu seamen sent sailing expeditions to the northwest for several hundred miles across the Gulf of Papua to exchange pottery for sago produced in the west. According to Barton, these voyages were part of a larger cycle of intense trading that linked the people of many different villages in a network of ceremonial and economic exchanges (1910:96).

Traditionally the hiri was a vital link in the maritime trading network that extended along the Papuan coast from the Vailala River in the west to the eastern extremity of the New Guinea mainland and even reached to the Trobriand Islands and other islands of the kula ring (Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea 1972:527). As one would expect, armshells (mwali), necklaces (soulava) and other ornaments were the major items of ceremonial exchange. The center of manufacture for the hiri expeditions included the villages of Hula, Aroma, and the Mailu peoples east of Port Moresby. The armshells and other goods produced along the mainland were carried by the kula into the eastern archipelagoes.

What is not well-known, however, is the extent to which the hiri and kula linkage contributed to the distribution of goods over hundreds of square miles, and to what degree, if any, the art style of one area was affected by a style originating in a more remote part of New Guinea. It would be interesting to examine documented museum collections from



MAP 3. THE HIRI AND THE KULA, TRADING SYSTEMS OF SOUTHEAST NEW GUINEA AND ISLANDS OF THE MASSIM

the mainland of New Guinea for examples of artifacts of a type and style more appropriate to the Massim area. It has been my experience, however, that when a museum receives a collection of objects from a particular people or from a given area, there is a tendency on the part of the curators to separate out those objects which are thought to be atypical or believed to have originated in another area. If, for example, the Malinowski collection had arrived in toto at the Lowie Museum without a shred of documentation other than the belief that most had been collected in the Trobriand Islands, we would have certainly segregated such things as the large clay cooking pot (kuria) and placed it with the Amphlett Islands collection, thereby losing a valuable bit of ethnographic information.

A systematic study of ethnographic collections from groups that participated in the hiri would, I believe, reveal the presence of articles actually produced within the kula ring and secondarily with some effort one could ascertain the results of inter-island diffusion and the cross-fertilization of art styles. A study of this nature, properly done, would be a major contribution to Melanesian ethnology.

In the section on Massim design I barely touched upon the subject of design elements and their variations. This is a subject frought with complications and to be adequately handled, one would have to have a fresh and objective point of view free from the myths and meaningless clichés that now permeate the literature on Massim design.

Gladys Reichard's two volume classic, Melanesian Design, originally published in 1933, is a superb comparative analysis of the art styles of the Admiralty Islands and of Tami Island. In the space of perhaps

thirty pages she also deals with the general principles of Melanesian art, and in those few pages she offers more insights and more food for thought on the subject of Massim design than any other writer before or since.

A more recent treatment of Massim design is Catherine Outram's senior honors thesis, Massim Art (1974). Ms. Outram studied 159 Massim artifacts and from these she listed all the variations of different design motifs, and related these motifs to their occurrence on certain artifacts. Given the limited number of objects with which she had to work, Ms. Outram produced a thoroughly interesting and informative study. The most serious short-coming is her reliance on the credibility of native (Trobriand) informants regarding the identification and the naming of designs; she also relied heavily on contemporary Trobriand artifacts as a source for design elements, and made little or no distinction between elements from older artifacts and those obtained from newly manufactured ones. Nevertheless, Outram's study along with Reichard's earlier treatment of the art style of the Massim would provide the spring board for further investigation into a highly complicated and controversial topic.

Certain similarities between the distinctive Massim designs and those of the Maori of New Zealand are bound to strike anyone with even a rudimentary knowledge of Massim design. A half century ago, H. D. Skinner noted this very phenomenon and was impressed by the number of parallels that existed in the art (design) productions of New Guinea and New Zealand, and by the few relationships between the decorative art of New Zealand and other Polynesian groups (1924:241). In general,

designs of the Maori and people of the Massim are curvilinear, both peoples employ an openwork technique, and each prefers working with flat surfaces rather than rounded ones. I can only concur with Reichard that "Since the same facts [regarding designs] prevail in both the Massim District and New Zealand it is possible, in fact likely, that the relationship between the two areas is much closer than has ordinarily been supposed" (1933:135).

The Maori are known to be relatively recent settlers in New Zealand. In fact, they may not have been the first inhabitants of the islands. Eighty years ago, Haddon suggested that the Maori may have been preceded by a Melanesian population (1895:71). Nowhere in Polynesia can we find the antecedants for Maori art. Indeed, no close relationship exists between the art patterns of Samoa and Tahiti on the one hand, and New Zealand on the other, which is peculiar in light of the assumption that the Maori are supposed to have come from these islands. There is enough evidence extant to indicate Massim influence on New Zealand. An investigation into the relationship of the art styles of the Massim area and New Zealand would be a welcome addition to Oceanic ethnology.

In historic times, there was direct influence, of a sort, from Polynesia to islands of the Papuan region. In 1891, the Reverend W. E. Bromilow established a station at Dobu with thirty natives from Samoa, Fiji and Tonga. Samoan teachers started schools in Wari and Tubetube and a settlement was made at Panaete in the Louisiade Archipelago. In 1894, the Kiriwina missionary station was established followed by schools at Woodlark Island (1897) and on Goodenough Island

(Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea 1972:338). It would be fascinating to learn what influence these transplanted Polynesians had upon the native inhabitants of the Massim islands.

This present study of the Malinowski collection is the most preliminary of the steps toward a compilation of the material culture of the Trobriand Islands. The analysis is cursory at times and greatly inhibited by the lack of reliable documentation. With all that has been written about the Massim, precious little is to be found on the subjects of technology and material culture, and the dearth of information seriously impeded the quality of the analysis.

My stay at the British Museum was too short and harried to allow for much more than a cursory examination of the artifacts, and many times since I have regretted having only photographs with which to work. Photographs can reveal much valuable information, but nothing substitutes for having the real objects at hand. Fortunately, the Malinowski material at the Lowie Museum was readily available so that I could, as necessary, re-examine certain objects. Second and third re-assessments of the same objects frequently provided insights not apparent during the initial examination. Many of the gaps in this study could have been eliminated by a re-study of the material in the British Museum.

As I have indicated, a definitive and complete analytical corpus of the material culture of the Trobriand Islands has yet to be written. The beginning of this endeavor would have to start with those materials known to have been collected by Malinowski and deposited at the British Museum, at the Lowie Museum and at the National Museum of Victoria. The

research would also have to include the material from the Cooke-Daniels Expedition, and it is within this collection, yet unstudied and unpublished, that are to be found the "missing links" to our knowledge of the material culture of the Massim in general, and of the Trobriand Islands in particular. Whatever minor gaps that might then appear could be filled by reference to major Trobriand collections housed elsewhere.

APPENDIX A

CLASSIFICATION OUTLINE FOR ETHNOGRAPHIC SPECIMENS

by Lawrence Dawson and Frank Norick, May, 1975

	EXAMPLES
1. Utensils, Implements and Conveyances	
1.1 Hunting and Fishing	Implements and accessories used in the pursuit of game, fish and shellfish: weapons, poisons for arrows, spears, fish poisons, nets, snares, traps, hooks, bait, decoys, spears, spear throwers, boomerangs, throwing sticks, clubs, blowguns, bows and arrows, firearms, bolas, slings, wrist protectors.
1.2 Gathering	Equipment for gathering wild plant foods and insects: seed beaters, catch baskets, digging sticks, grasshopper baskets.
1.3 Agriculture and Animal Husbandry	Equipment for agriculture and animal husbandry: axes for slash and burn, planting sticks, machetes, cultivators, cowbells, milk pails, milk stools, ox goads; excluding implements under magical context, e.g. Abelam yam spades.
1.4 Transportation	Conveyances and utensils used for moving loads: boats and accessories, wagons, carts, travois, burden baskets, tump lines, burden nets, sleds, horse trappings, ox yokes, shopping baskets, crutches, canes, wheel chairs.

		EXAMPLES
1.5	Household	Equipment used mainly for domestic pursuits in the household or camp; food preparation and serving utensils, storage baskets, pots, mortars, metates, parfleches, fire making kits, boiling stones, beverage vessels, urine baskets, know scrapers; excluding objects made for decorative purposes only (see 4.1).
1.6	Manufacturing, Constructing, Craft and Professional Pursuits	Tools and accessories for professional pursuits and for fabrication, engineering and construction, and for crafts: smithy accessories, awls, hammers, tool boxes, needle cases, molds, drills, fiber scrapers, netting shuttles, looms, potters' tools, wood block stamps, trepanning tools, and surgical instruments.
1.7	Fighting, Warfare and Social Control	Offensive and defensive equipment for fighting and social control: swords, spears, armor, shields, wife beaters, shackles, execution equipment.
1.8	Toilet Articles	Accessories for personal grooming; combs, face paint, tattooing needles, depilatory tweezers, perfume, pill boxes.
1.9	Multiple Utility	Implements for varied use: string and rope, knives, straps, thongs.
1.0	Use not specified	
2.	Secular Dress and Accoutrements, and Adornment	
2.1	Daily Garb	Utilitarian articles for protection against the elements, and for modesty: garments, capes, shoes, snowshoes, snow-goggles, hats, penis sheaths, tapas, fly-whisks, hunting-visors, eye-glasses.

		EXAMPLES
2.2	Personal Adornments and Accoutrements	Articles worn or carried for everyday personal adornment: jewelry, labrets, necklaces, rings, fibulae, head ornaments, fans, purses, wallets, inro, wigs.
2.3	Special Ornaments, Garb, and Finery Worn to Battle by Warriors (excluding status insignia)	Pomo war belt.
2.4	Fine Clothes and Accoutrements not used exclusively for status or religious purposes	Peasant, church and market costumes; northwestern California womens' dress caps, fancy fans.
2.0	Use not specified	
3.	Status Objects and Insignia of Office	
3.1	Same	Articles denoting social status, political or military position, coup sticks, war bonnets, scepters, totem poles, flags, thrones, non-religious medals; chiefs' hats, trophies, shrunken heads, scalps, but excluding objects denoting pre-marital or marital status, puberty, age-grading, etc. (see also 5.3).
3.0	Use not specified	
4.	Structures and Furnishings	
4.1	Dwellings and Furnishings	House parts, tipis, windbreaks, hammocks, chairs, Navajo rugs, mats, headrests, and decorations or embellishments: paintings, lighting fixtures, decorated ceramics, samplers, and locks.

		EXAMPLES
4.2	Public Buildings and Furnishings	Altar pieces, temple parts, dancehouse furnishings, sweathouse accessories, house posts.
4.3	Storehouses, Graneries and the Like	Outbuildings, storehouses, granaries, bins, etc., including parts and accessories.
4.0	Use not specified	
5.	Ritual, Pageantry and Recreation	
5.1	Religion: Objects and garb associated with practices reflecting submission, devotion, obedience and service to supernatural agencies	Cult objects and images set up for veneration, and ceremonial paraphernalia: idols, sacred stones, churingas, ancestor boards and images, totemic figures, mythical figures, bear skulls, incense burners, prayer wheels, rosary beads, and objects of revelation and divination, e.g. divination bowls and moose scapula (Naskapi), priestly garb.
5.2	Magic: Objects associated with practices reflecting confidence in the ability to manipulate supernatural agencies	Magical accessories, charms and amulets serving to magically obtain desired ends through compulsion: charms, fetishes, curing outfits, diagrams, and agricultural implements used in magical context.
5.3	Objects relating to Secular and Quasi-religious Rites, Pageants, and Drama	Accessories of rites of passage: initiation outfits, age-grading, marriage garb and accoutrements including dowry valuables, mortuary articles; Japanese tea ceremony paraphernalia; dramatic paraphernalia: costumes, masks, shadow puppets and the like; quasi-military uniforms, e.g. Masonic garb.
5.4	Secular and Religious Musical Instruments	

		EXAMPLES
5.5	Stimulants, Narcotics and Accessories	Pipes, snuff tubes, beer equipment, betel chewing apparatus, lime containers, coca bags, samples of stimulants.
5.6	Sports, Games, Amusements; Gambling and Pet Accessories	Dice, hockey sticks, gambling trays, knuckle bones, balls, mankala boards, string figures, leashes, pigeon whistles.
5.7	Gifts, Novelties, Models, "Fakes" and Reproductions (excluding currency) and Commemorative Medals.	Objects made primarily as gifts (of minor utility) or novelties, or made for sale as such, such as "airport art"; models and miniatures not used in child training.
5.0	Use not specified	
6.	Child Care and Enculturation	
6.1	Cradles and Swaddling	Baby care articles: cradles, swaddling, headshaping apparatus.
6.2	Toys, Childrens' Utensils, Objects used in the Education of Children	Articles for childrens' amusement and enculturation: spinning tops, katchina dolls.
6.0	Use not specified	
7.	Communication, Records, Currency, and Measures	
7.1	Writing and Records (including religious texts)	Books, inscriptions, sealing wax and seals, ink sticks, maps, mnemonic devices, calendars, quipus, writing accessories.
7.2	Sound Communication	Signal drums, warning clappers, shell trumpets.
7.3	Weights and Measures	Scales, measuring apparatus, Ashanti gold weights, hourglasses, sundials.

		EXAMPLES
7.4	Non-issued Media of Exchange, Symbolic Valuables, and Associated Containers.	Shell money, feather money, stone money, and money baskets; other valuables that represent wealth and status but are uncommonly exchanged, such as Klamath River obsidian blades, Yap stone money, and gold dust bags.
7.5	Issued Currency and Associated Containers	Paper money and minted coins issued by sovereigns or private enterprises; coin purses, money belts, and money clips.
7.6	Bogus Currency	Fake coinage, reproductions, counterfeits, tokens, etc.
7.0	Use not specified	
8.	Raw Materials	
8.1	Foods	Food samples: acorns, beans, corn, grasshoppers, roots, bulbs, salt.
8.2	Medicine and Hygiene	Samples of plants, minerals, animal matter, prepared decoctions used for medicinal and hygienic purposes, e.g. fumigants and deodorants (non-personal).
8.3	For Manufacturing	Fibers, clay, adhesives, ores and sinew, unfinished artifacts but not implements of manufacture; sets showing stages in manufacture.
8.4	Fuels	Samples of tinder, pitch, etc.
8.5	Multiple Utility	Seal oil, olive oil, lime.
8.0	Use not specified	

APPENDIX B

MALINOWSKI COLLECTION

(BRITISH MUSEUM)

Specimen #	Description	Native Name	File Code
M-1-27	Dance paddles	Kaidebu	5.3
M-28	Dance paddle (model	Kaidebu	6.2
M-29-34	Canoe prows	Tabuyo	1.4
M-35-36	Canoe splash boards	Lagim	1.4
M-37	Canoe prow attachment	Sakusaku	1.4
M-38-42	Canoe splash boards	Lagim	1.4
M-43-48	Canoe prows	Tabuyo	1.4
M-49-51	Carved house ornaments	Mwamuala	4.1 (4.3)
M-52	Canoe prow	Tabuyo	1.4
M-53	Canoe splash board	Lagim	1.4
M-54	Canoe prow (model)	Tabuyo	6.2
M-55	Canoe splash board	Tabuyo	1.4
M-56	Wooden headrest	------	4.1
M-57	Carved house board	------	4.1 (4.3)
M-58	Carved house ornament, float	Mwamuala	4.1 (4.3)
M-59-61	Net floats	Kutiga	1.1
M-62	Carved house ornament	Mwamuala	4.1 (4.3)
M-63	Canoe prow	Tabuyo	1.4
M-64-67	Canoe splash boards	Lagim	1.4
M-68	Dance paddle	Kaidebu	5.3
M-69-70	Canoe bailers	Kwaduya	1.4
M-71-73	Wooden bowls	Kaboma: Kaikumugua	5.3
M-74	Wooden bowl	Kaboma: Kailuya	5.3
M-75	Wooden bowl	Kaboma: Kaikweiwosi	5.3
M-76	Wooden bowl	Kaboma: Kaidodige	5.3
M-77	Wooden bowl	Kaboma: Kaikweiwosi	5.3
M-78-79	Wooden bowls	Kaboma: Kaikumugua	5.3
M-80	Wooden bowl	Kaboma: Kaikweiwosi	5.3

Specimen #	Description	Native Name	File Code
M-81-82	Wooden bowls	Kaboma: Kaikumugua	5.3
M-83	Wooden bowl	Kaboma: Kaikweiwosi	5.3
M-84-85	Wooden bowls	Kaboma: Kaikumugua	5.3
M-86	Wooden bowl	Kaboma: Koma kom'	1.6
M-87	Wooden bowl	Kaboma: Kaikumugua	5.3
M-88	Carved house ornament	Mwamuala	4.1 (4.3)
M-89	Carved house gable board	Bisiya'i	4.1
M-90	Washstrake for canoe	Koumwali	1.4
M-91	Carved house gable board	Bisiya'i	4.1
M-92-97	Wooden shields	Va'yaulo	1.7
M-98-111	Lime gourds	Yaguma	5.5
M-112-113	Boards for cutting and fraying leaves for dobe	Kaidawaga	1.6
M-114	Carved wooden pig	Tokwalu	5.7
M-115-116	Pump drills	Gigi'u	1.6
M-117	Wooden anvil for pounding taro	Kaitilawa	1.6
M-118	Sting ray skin (sanding)	Kisi	1.6
M-119	Coconut water container	Kwoyviga: Lukwaya	1.5
M-120-122	Strap-handled coconut water containers	Kwoyviga: -------	1.5
M-123	Green coconut container	Kwoyviga: -------	1.0
M-124-127	Baskets	Tanepopo	1.4 (3.1)
M-128	Basket	Peta	1.4
M-129	Basket	----	1.0
M-130-132	Baskets	Vataga	1.4
M-133-136	Basket rests or pads	Tuwebi	1.4
M-137-138	Fiber Armlet	Kwasi	2.2
M-139	Belt of kwasi fiber	Duriduri	2.2
M-140			
M-141	Ladle, formed from gourd	--------	1.5
M-142	Adze	Ligogu	1.6
M-143	Rotating adze	Valapata	1.6
M-144-145	Adzes	Ligogu	1.6
M-146-147	Garden axe, Type I	Kema	5.2
M-148-153	Garden axe, Type II	Kema	1.3
M-154	Axe	Kema: Kailavala	5.2
M-155	Garden axe, Type I	Kema	5.2
M-156	Adze, with conus shell blade	Ligogu	1.6
M-157	Hearth for fire-making	------	1.5
M-158	Plough for fire-making	------	1.5
M-159	Hook for shark fishing	Bali	1.1

Specimen #	Description	Native Name	File Code
M-160	Rattle, to attract sharks	Kaivaye'i	1.1
M-161	Garden magician's wand	Kailepa	5.2
M-162	Throwing stick	Lewo	1.7
M-163	Woman's skirt	Dobe: Seio'iu	2.4
M-164-165	Woman's skirts	Dobe: Saipwana	2.1
M-166	Woman's skirt	Dobe: Selatula	2.4
M-167-168	Woman's skirts	Dobe: Kakasa'sa	2.4
M-169	Woman's skirt	Dobe: Selatula	2.4
M-170-171	Woman's skirts	Dobe: Takula'kola	2.4
M-172	Woman's skirt	Dobe: Buabuau	2.4
M-173	Woman's skirt	Dobe: Tagiki'sa	2.4
M-174	Woman's skirt	Dobe: Saipuana	2.1
M-175	Woman's skirt	Dobe: ---------	2.4
M-176-181	Stone implements	Utukema	1.3
M-182	Stone implement	Beku	7.4
M-183-201	Stone implements	Utukema	1.3
M-202-207	Stone implements	Utukema kukumali	8.3
M-208	Stone implement, battered chunk	-------	1.9
M-209	Stone implement, tanged blade	-------	1.3
M-210-213	Stone implements, battered chunks and blades	-------	1.9
M-214-217	Stone implements	Utuviya	1.6
M-218-221	Stone implements	Utuviya kukumali	8.3
M-222-224	Stone implements	Kasivi	1.6
M-225-227	Stone implements	Kasivi kukumali	8.3
M-228-237	Stone implements	Ginesosu	1.6
M-238	Stone implement	Kavilali kukumali	8.3
M-239-241	Stone implements	Kavilali	1.6
M-242	Stone implement, battered blade/chunk	-------	1.9
M-243	Stone implement	Beku, fake	7.4
M-244-247	Stone implements	Beku	7.4
M-248	Stone implement	Utuviya	1.6
M-249-251	Stone implements	Kavilali	1.6
M-252	Stone implement	Utuviya	1.6
M-253	Stone implement	Kasivi kukumali	8.3
M-254	Stone implement	Beku	7.4
M-255-265	Stone implements, tanged blades	----	1.3
M-266-267	Stone implements, abrading stones	----	1.6
M-268-270	Stone fly wheels for pump drills	----	1.6
M-271	Perforated stone with cordage attached	----	1.0
M-272-273	Wooden fly wheels for pump drills	----	1.6

Specimen #	Description	Native Name	File Code
M-274	Lime gourd	Yaguma	5.5
M-275	Stopper for lime gourd	------	5.5
M-276	Wooden lime spatula	Kena	5.5
M-277-282	Nose sticks of cassia shell	Na'u'u	2.2
M-283-288	Nose sticks of clam shell	Laduata	2.2
M-289-292	Bone lime spatulas	Bosu	5.5
M-293-295			
M-296	Sting ray barb	----	1.0
M-297	False teeth (european)	----	1.0
M-298	Human mandible worn as part of mourning necklace	Kimuala	5.3
M-299	Bow and arrow for blood-letting	-------	5.2
M-300-302	Spondylus shell, raw material	-------	8.3
M-303	Fragments of Ageva shell	-------	8.3
M-304	Spondylus shell, fragmented, first stage in manufacture of beads	Kaloma	8.3
M-305	Loose spondylus shell discs	Kaloma	2.2
M-306	Thin stick, strung with polished disc beads	Uidu	1.6
M-307	Sandstone slab for rubbing strung disc beads (Used with M-306)	----	1.6
M-308	Wooden cylinder, to hold kaloma disc beads		1.6
M-309	Hammer stone, to break up shell	Utukema (?)	1.6
M-310-311	Belts of shingled spondylus disc beads	Kaipwesi	3.1
M-312-314	Spondylus shell necklaces	Katudababile	2.2
M-315-316	Breast ornaments of conus shell	Doga	2.2
M-317-318	Spondylus shell necklaces	Katudababile	2.2
M-319	Wrist ornament, bracelet	Kaisapi	2.2
M-320	Breast ornament of conus shell	Doga	2.2
M-321-322	Arm bracelets of conus shell segments	Nuripuapua	2.2
M-323	Earring, disc of tortoise shell	Paya	2.2
M-324-325	Earrings of tortoise shell linked with kaloma discs	Kuoma kuoma	2.2
M-326	Necklet of glass trade beads and stalks of titibia plant	----------	2.2
M-327	Necklet of glass trade beads and section of iovilakeka plant	----------	2.2

Specimen #	Description	Native Name	File Code
M-328	Strips of pandanus leaf, raw material	----------	8.3
M-329	Plough for fire-making	----------	1.5
M-330	Human hair bracelet, for mourning	----------	5.3
M-331	Spanylus shell disc beads threaded on cane, complete	Kaloma	2.2
M-332	Shell necklace, kula article	Soulava	7.4
M-333	Armshell, kula article	Mwali	7.4
M-334-337	Canoe prows (models)	Tabuyo	6.2
M-338-347	Canoe splash boards (models)	Lagim	6.2
M-348-349	Canoe prow attachments	Kuyuna	1.4
M-350	Canoe paddle	Viyoya	1.4
M-351	Fighting spear	Ka'yala	1.7
M-352	Fighting spear (imported)	Kailaka'ukuwa	1.7
M-353-354	Fishing spears	Bonori	1.1
M-355-359	Fighting spears	Ka'yala	1.7
M-360	Fighting spear (imported)	Kailaka'ukuwa	1.7
M-361-362	Fighting spears	Ka'yala	1.7
M-363	Carved house ornament (?)	Mwamuala (?)	4.1
M-364-391	Mortars for crushing betel nut	Kaipita	5.5
M-392-403	Pestles for crushing betel nut	Kaimili	5.5
M-404-408	Lime spatulas	Kena: Tasorina	5.5
M-409	Lime spatula	Kena: Takakupuana	5.5
M-410-413	Lime spatulas	Kena: Tasorina	5.5
M-414-438	Lime spatulas	Kena: Tokwalu	5.5
M-439	Lime spatula	Kena: Tasorina	5.5
M-440-441	Lime spatulas; misc. types	Kena:	5.5
M-442-447	Lime spatulas	Kena: Tasorina	5.5
M-448-449	Lime spatulas; misc. types	Kena:	5.5
M-450	Lime spatula	Kena: Takaineva	5.5
M-451	Lime spatula	Kena: Tasorina	5.5
M-452	Lime spatula	Kena: Takaidebu	5.5
M-453-454	Lime spatulas; misc. types	Kena:	5.5
M-455	Lime spatula	Kena: Takuriga	5.5
M-456-457	Lime spatulas	Kena: Takaidebu	5.5
M-458-459	Lime spatulas; misc. types	Kena:	5.5
M-460	Lime spatula	Kena: Tasorina	5.5
M-461	Lime spatula	Kena: Takakupuana	5.5
M-462-468	Lime spatulas; misc. types	Kena:	5.5
M-469-470	Lime spatulas; combination mortar/spatula	Kena:	5.5
M-471	Wooden knife; acculturated form; coconut scraper (?)	-----	1.5 (?)

Specimen #	Description	Native Name	File Code
M-472-473	Coconut shell armlets	-----	2.2
M-474	Breast ornament of conus shell	Doga'	2.2
M-475	Breast ornament	Waiwaiga	5.3
M-476	Plaited belt of kwasi fiber	Duriduri	2.2
M-477	Framework for headdress	Geba (Payya)	5.3
M-478-489	Combs	Sinata	1.8
M-490-498	Finger drums	Katunenia	5.4
M-499-501	Human mandible worn as part of mourning necklace	Kimuala	5.3
M-502-508	Mourning necklaces of imu-fiber	Kuwa	5.3
M-509	Human hair breast and shoulder pads, for mourning	----	5.3
M-510-512	"Pigtails" of human hair worn by persons of rank, in mourning	Saisai	5.3
M-513-515	Toupets made of human hair	Kula kula	2.2
M-516-525	Various objects of human hair, worn during mourning	---------	5.3
M-526-527	Human hair breast and shoulder pads, for mourning	---------	5.3
M-528	Crabshell, for fraying leaves for dobe	Keli	1.6
M-529	Mussel shell, scrapers for variety of uses	Kaniku	1.6
M-530	Small spiral shells for marking leaves (dobe)	------	1.6
M-531	Conus shell, complete, for making doga	------	8.3
M-532	Canoe bailer, Melo diadema shell	------	1.4 (1.3)
M-533-534	Shell (drava) used as vegetable peelers, coconut scrapers	Kayeki	1.5
M-535-536	Oyster pearl shells	------	8.3 (?)
M-537-538	Shell (drava) used as vegetable peelers, coconut scrapers	Kayeki	1.5
M-539	Perforated shells, function unknown	------	2.0 (?)
M-540	Shell disc, made from top of conus shell	------	8.0
M-541-542	Nose sticks of clam shell	Laduata	2.2
M-543-544	Nose sticks of cassia shell	Na'u'u	2.2
M-545	Complete cassia shell for manufacture of na'u'u	------	8.3

Specimen #	Description	Native Name	File Code
M-546-549	Examples of na'u'u in various stages of manufacture	Na'u'u	8.3
M-550-551	Armshell, kula articles, lower grades	Mwali	7.4
M-552-553	Armshells, kula articles, higher grades	Mwali	7.4
M-554	Armshell, kula article, lower grade	Mwali	7.4
M-555-556	Armshells, kula articles higher grades	Mwali	7.4
M-557-558	Arm bracelets of conus shell segments	Nuripuapua	2.2
M-559-562	Breast ornaments of conus shell; unfinished	Doga	8.3
M-563	Breast ornament of conus shell (only complete example)	Doga	2.2
M-564	Breast ornament of conus shell; unfinished	Doga	8.3
M-565-566	Earrings of tortoise shell	Paya	2.2
M-567	Earring of tortoise shell and kaloma discs	Paya	2.2
M-568	Shell calf ornament; worn by persons of rank	Luluboda kaikila	3.1
M-569	Lower belt of cowrie shells; object of wealth	Wakala (Vaigu'a)	3.1
M-570-571	Belts of small cowrie shells, worn by commoners	Bunalapi	2.2
M-572	Shell belt worn by women of rank; also hung in door of chief's house or on prow of waga	Puruwaiwo	3.1
M-573	Shell calf ornament; worn by persons of rank	Luluboda kaikila	3.1
M-574-581	Banana seed necklaces	--------	2.2
M-582	Necklace of glass beads and sections of iovilakeda	--------	2.2
M-583	Necklace of a strip of european textile with drava beads	--------	2.2
M-584-585	Multi-strand mourning necklaces of berries	--------	5.3
M-586	Prepared plain and dyed banana tufts, for dobe	Saipwana	8.3
M-587-590	Prepared ornamented bundles of dyed and undyed tufts for dobe	Nununiga	8.3

Specimen #	Description	Native Name	File Code
M-591	Carved wooden human figure	Tokwalu	5.7
M-592	Coconut water container	Kwoyviga: Lukwaga	1.5
M-593-594	Twill plaited baskets for personal possessions, carried by men of rank	Tanepopo	2.2
M-595	Folding basket made of coconut fronds	Vataga	1.4
M-596	Basket used by women to carry personal possessions	Pepe'i	2.2
M-597-598	Musical instruments: Pan-pipes	Lilulia	5.4
M-599-600	Musical instruments: Reed flutes	-------	5.4
M-601-603	Pig-bone spatulas, used to scrape coconuts	-------	1.5
M-604	Net, for shallow water	Otilapewo	1.1
M-605	Net, for fishing in lagoons	Osukualu	1.1
M-606	Net, for fishing in lagoons	Ogorego're	1.1
M-607	Net, fishing in lagoons and on the reef	Okanada	1.1
M-608-610	Nets, hand nets for fishing in the lagoon	Gumam'	1.1
M-611	Net, for catching birds and fish	Odi	1.1
M-612	Rattle, to attract sharks	Kaivaye'i	1.1
M-613	Wooden cudgel, for hitting sharks	Leuwo	1.1
M-614-618	Wooden shuttles for net-making	-----	1.6
M-619	Turtle shell net gauge	-----	1.6
M-620-621	Tortoise shell net gauges	-----	1.6
M-622-625	Cordage, in various stages of manufacture	Ini	8.3
M-626-628	Wooden boards for fraying and cutting leaves for dobe	Kaidawaga	1.6
M-629	Scraper made from section of coconut, probably to scrape leaves for dobe	---------	1.6
M-630-631	Scraper made from Melo shell, scrape leaves for dobe	---------	1.6
M-632	Unidentified shell implement	---------	1.0
M-633-634	Wooden bowls	Kaboma: Kaikumugua	5.3
M-635	Wooden bowl	Kaboma: Kaikweiwosi	5.3

Specimen #	Description	Native Name	File Code
M-636-638	Wooden serving bowls, long-handled	Kaboma: --------	1.5
M-639-640	Coconut shell cups or bowls	Kwoyviga: Viga	1.5
M-641-643	Taro pounders	Kaitutu	1.5
M-644	Woodworking mallet	Kaigilagela	1.6
M-645-646	Taro pounders	Kaitutu	1.5
M-647	Anvil for pounding taro	Kaitilawa	1.5
M-648	Lime gourd	Yaguma	5.5
M-649	Wooden canoe bailer	Kwaduya	1.4
M-650	Wooden net float	Ku'tiga	1.1
M-651-652	Carved wooden boards; probably ornamental house parts	--------	4.1
M-653-657	Carved bird figures; ornament upper ridge pole of bwayma	Mwamwala	4.1
M-658-659	Carved wooden pigs	Tokwalu	5.7
M-660	Wooden bows for blood-letting	--------	1.6
M-661-663	Musical instruments: Pan-pipes	Lilulila	5.4
M-664-665	Shark tooth carving tools	---------	1.6
M-666-668	Musical instruments: drums	Kupi	5.4
M-669-671	Ploughs and hearths for fire-making	----	1.5
M-672	Clay cooking pot	Kuria	1.5

APPENDIX C

MALINOWSKI COLLECTION

(LOWIE MUSEUM)

Specimen #	Description	Native Name	File Code
11-39240	Canoe splash board	Lagim	1.4
11-39241	Wooden lime spatula	Kena	5.5
11-39242	Dance paddle	Kaidebu	5.3
11-39731-747	Canoe prows	Tabuyo	1.4
11-39748-754	Canoe splash boards	Lagim	1.4
11-39755-756	Canoe prow attachment	Sakusaku	1.4
11-39757-762	Canoe prows (models)	Tabuyo	6.2
11-39763-772	Canoe splash boards (models)	Lagim	6.2
11-39773-786	Dance paddles	Kaidebu	5.3
11-39787	Dance paddle fragment	Kaidebu	5.3
11-39788	Canoe splash board fragment	Lagim	1.4
11-39789-815	Sword/clubs, sparring clubs	Pulata	1.7
11-39816-841	Sparring sticks, walking sticks, "swagger" sticks	Kaitukuwa	1.7
11-39842-845	Throwing sticks	Lewo	1.7
11-39846-849	Sparring sticks, walking sticks; "swagger" sticks	Kaitukuwa	1.7
11-39850-855	Fighting spears	Kai'lepa	1.7
11-39856-880	Wooden cooking spatulas	Kaineva	1.5
11-39881	Spear point	-------	1.7
11-39882-892	Fighting spears	Ka'yala	1.7
11-39893-894	Paddle-shaped implements (?)	-------	1.0 (?)
11-39895-896	Digging sticks	Dayma	1.3
11-39897-898	Fishing spears	Bonori	1.1
11-39899-900	Lime spatulas	Kena: Tasorina	5.5
11-39901	Lime spatula	Kena: Tokualu	5.5
11-39902-925	Lime spatulas	Kena: Tasorina	5.5
11-39926	Lime spatula	Kena: Tokualu	5.5
11-39927-928	Lime spatulas	Kena: Tasorina	5.5
11-39929-936	Lime spatulas	Kena: Tokualu	5.5
11-39937-951	Lime spatulas; misc.	Kena:	5.5
11-39952	Lime spatula	Kena: Takaineva, Takaidebu, Takuriga	5.5

Specimen #	Description	Native Name	File Code
11-39953-954	Lime spatulas	Kena: Tautukuaki	5.5
11-39955-956	Lime spatulas	Kena: Takaineva, Takuriga, Takaidebu	5.5
11-39957-958	Lime spatulas	Kena: Tautukuaki	5.5
11-39959-964	Lime spatulas	Kena: Takakupuana	5.5
11-39965-976	Lime spatulas; four-vaned	Kena:	5.5
11-39977-979	Lime spatulas; misc.	Kena:	5.5
11-39980-992	Pestles for crushing betel-nut	Kaimili	5.5
11-39993-40016	Mortars for crushing betel-nut	Kaipita	5.5
11-40017-019	Nose sticks of cassia shell	Na'u'u	2.2
11-40020	Nose stick of clam shell	Laduata	2.2
11-40021-030	Nose sticks of cassia shell	Na'u'u	2.2
11-40031-065	Nose sticks of clam shell	Laduata	2.2
11-40066-068	Pump drills	Gigi'u	1.6
11-40069	Unworked clam shells	------	8.3
11-40070	Unworked spondylus shells (for manufacture of kaloma)	Kaloma	8.3
11-40071	Broken spondylus shell (first stage in manufacture of kaloma)	Kaloma	8.3
11-40072	Pebble	------	1.6
11-40073	Blue glass trade beads	------	2.2
11-40074	String of kaloma disc beads	Kaloma	2.2
11-40075	Oval shell ornament; perforated	------	2.2
11-40076	Clam shell disc bead; perforated	------	2.2
11-40077	Amber glass trade bead	------	2.2
11-40078	Spondylus shell necklace	Katudababile	2.2
11-40079	Breast ornament of conus shell	Doga	2.2
11-40080-082	Spondylus shell necklaces	Katudababile	2.2
11-40083-084	Belts of shingled spondylus disc beads	Kaipwesi	3.1
11-40085-106	Spondylus shell necklaces	Katudababile	2.2
11-40107	Top section of cassis conuta	----------	7.4 (8.3)
11-40108-116	Breast ornaments of conus shell	Doga	2.2
11-40117-122	Arm bracelets of conus shell segments	Nuripuapua	2.2
11-40123-138	Armshells, kula articles	Mwali	7.4

Specimen #	Description	Native Name	File Code
11-40139-145	Banana seed necklaces	-----	2.2
11-40146-171	Combs	Sinata	1.8
11-40172	Raw material for combs	------	8.3
11-40173	Comb	Sinata	1.8
11-40174-179	Fiber armlets	Kwasi	2.2
11-40180	Belt of kwasi fiber	Duriduri	2.2
11-40181-212	Lime gourds	Yaguma	5.5
11-40213-216	Lime gourd stoppers	------	5.5
11-40217	(Non-Malinowski catalogue #)		
11-40218	Bamboo container with coconut fiber cap	------	1.0 (?)
11-40219-220	Coconut water containers	Kwoyviga: Lukwava	1.5
11-40221	Coconut container for heating water	Kwoyviga: Kwailugubugwabu	1.5
11-40222-223	Coconut shell cups/bowls	Kwoyviga: Viga	1.5
11-40224-225	Coconut soup bowls	Kwoyviga: Kwailubwa	1.5
11-40226-231	Strap-handled coconut water containers	Kwoyviga: -----	1.5
11-40232-233	Carved wooden pigs	Tokwalu	5.7
11-40234-237	Wooden bowls	Kaboma: Kaikumugua	5.3
11-40238	Wooden bowl	Kaboma: Kayaya'i	1.5
11-40239	Wooden bowl	Kaboma: Kaikumugua	5.3
11-40240-241	Wooden bowls	Kaboma: Koma kom'	1.6
11-40242-245	Wooden bowls	Kaboma: Kaikumugua	5.3
11-40246-247	Wooden bowls	Kaboma: Kaidodige	5.3
11-40248-257	Wooden bowls	Kaboma: Kaikumugua	5.3
11-40258-265	Wooden bowls	Kaboma: Kailuya	5.3
11-40266	Woman's skirt	Dobe: Kakasa'sa	2.4
11-40267	Woman's skirt	Dobe: Buabua'u	2.4
11-40268-269	Woman's skirts	Dobe: Saipwana	2.1
11-40270	Woman's skirt	Dobe: Kakasa'sa	2.4
11-40271-272	Woman's skirts	Dobe: Selatula	2.4
11-40273	Woman's skirt	Dobe: Kakasa'sa	2.4
11-40274	Woman's skirt	Dobe: Takula'kola	2.4

Specimen #	Description	Native Name	File Code
11-40275	Woman's skirt	Dobe: Kakasa'sa	2.4
11-40276	Woman's skirt	Dobe: Selatula	2.4
11-40277	Woman's skirt	Dobe: Takula'kola	2.4
11-40278	Prepared ornamented bundles of dyed and undyed tufts for dobe	Nununiga	8.3
11-40279	Wooden bowl	Kaboma: Kóma kom'	1.6
11-40280	Wooden bowl	Kaboma: Kaikumugua	5.3
11-40281-283	Nets, hand nets for fishing in the lagoon	Gumam'	1.1
11-40284	Net, for shallow water	Otilapewo	1.1
11-40285	Net, for fishing in lagoon	Osukualu	1.1
11-40286	Net, for fishing in lagoon	Ogorego're	1.1
11-40287	Slightly modified shell, Natica polita	----------	8.3
11-40288	Large cowrie shell; perforated	Bunadoga	2.2
11-40289	Unmodified bi-valve shell	--------	1.0 (?)
11-40290-291	Cordage (twine)	Ini	1.9
11-40292-306	Twill plaited baskets for personal possessions; carried by men of rank	Tanepopo	2.2
11-40307-313	Garden axes, Type I	Kema	5.2
11-40314-321	Garden axes, Type II	Kema	1.3
11-40322-328	Adzes	Ligogu	1.6
11-40329	Rotating adze	Valapata	1.6
11-40330-332	Adzes	Ligogu	1.6
11-40333	Adze/axe	------	1.6
11-40334-337	Adzes	Ligogu	1.6
11-40338-341	Garden axes, Type I	Kema	5.2
11-40342-346	Garden axe, Type II	Kema	1.3
11-40347	Dance paddle	Kaidebu	5.3
11-40348	Wedge for hafting axe	-------	1.3
11-40349	Garden magician's wand	Kailepa	5.2
11-40350-351	Mineral samples	-------	8.3
11-40352-361	Stone implements	Beku	7.4
11-40362-370	Stone implements	Kavilali	1.6
11-40371-376	Stone implements	Kasivi	1.6
11-40377	Stone implement, hammer-stone	------	1.6
11-40378-380	Stone implements	Ginesosu	1.6
11-40381-391	Stone implements	Utukema	1.3
11-40392	Stone implement, hammer-stone	------	1.6

Specimen #	Description	Native Name	File Code
11-40393-400	Stone implements, sago adze blades	-------	1.3
11-40401	Stone implements	Kasivi	1.6
11-40402-403	Stone implements	Utuviya	1.6
11-40404	Stone implement	Kavilali	1.6
11-40405	Stone implement	Kasivi	1.6
11-40406-407	Stone implements	Utuviya	1.6
11-40408	Stone implement	Kavilali	1.6
11-40409	Stone implement	Utuviya	1.6
11-40410	Stone implement	Kavilali	1.6
11-40411-413	Stone implements	Utuviya	1.6
11-40414-416	Stone implements	Beku	7.4
11-40417	Stone implement; unfinished	----	8.3
11-40418	Stone implement	Utuviya	1.6
11-40419	Stone implement; unfinished	-------	8.3
11-40420-422	Stone implements	Utuviya	1.6
11-40423-424	Stone implements	Utuviya	1.6
11-40425-460	Stone implements	Kavilali	1.6
11-40461	Stone implement	Kasivi	1.6
11-40462-463	Stone implements	Utukema	1.3
11-40464-474	Stone implements	Kasivi	1.6
11-40475	Stone implement	Utuviya	1.6
11-40476	Stone implement	Beku	7.4
11-40477-507	Stone implements	Ginesosu	1.6
11-40508-521	Stone implements	Utukema	1.3
11-40522	Stone implement	Kasivi	1.6
11-40523	Stone implement	Utukema	1.3
11-40524	Stone implement	Utuviya	1.6
11-40525-532	Stone implements	Utukema	1.3
11-40533	Stone implement	Kasivi	1.6
11-40534-540	Stone implements	Utukema	1.3
11-40541-543	Stone implements	Kasivi	1.6
11-40544-643	Stone implements; small adze blades	------	1.6
11-40644-680	Stone implements; new blades in progress	------	8.3
11-41286	Carved house ornament	Mwamuala	4.1 (4.3)
11-41376-431	Stone implements; new blades in progress	--------	8.3
11-41432-497	Stone implements; flaking hammers	--------	1.6
11-41497-511	Stone implements; abrading stones	--------	1.6
11-41512-859	Stone implements, battered chunks and blades	--------	1.9
11-41860	Basket rest or pad	Tuwebi	1.4
11-41861	Basket rest or pad; unfinished	Tuwebi	8.3

Specimen #	Description	Native Name	File Code
11-41862	Basket	Beyawa	1.4 (1.5)
11-41863-866	Baskets	Vataga	1.4
11-41867	Basket	Nabwodawa	1.4 (?)
11-41868-870	Baskets	Ka'uya	2.2
11-41871-875	Bone lime spatulas	Bosu	5.5
11-42101-108	Bone lime spatulas	Bosu	5.5
11-42109	Paint brush	----	1.6
11-42110	Palmwood flaking tool	----	1.6
11-42111	Hair ornament	----	5.3
11-42112-121	Feathers and folders	----	5.3
11-42122-124	Palmwood spathes and sticks	----	5.3
11-42125-130	Mats	Mo'i	1.5 (4.1)
11-42131-133	Cordage (rope)	Gum'guam'	1.9
11-42134	Bundle of fiber	Ini	8.3
11-42135-136	Cordage	Gayasu	1.9
11-42137-144	Cordage	Iowa'i	1.9
11-42145-158	Cordage	Gum'guam'	1.9
11-42159	Large univalve shell, Turbo marmoratus	---------	8.3 (?)
11-42160-162	Mother-of-pearl shell	Kayeki	5.3
11-42163	Roll of fiber material, possibly for basketry	------	8.3
11-42164	Sample of pumice	------	1.6
11-42165	Wood engraving tools; wallaby rib bones	------	1.6
11-42166-168	Sting ray barbs; for spearing fish	------	1.1
11-42169	Large cowrie shell; perforated	Bunadoga	2.2

308
197
V.2

PLATE I

TANGED BLADES. M-259-262

3082
1976
809
V.2

PLATE II

CEREMONIAL AXE BLADE (BEKU). M-254

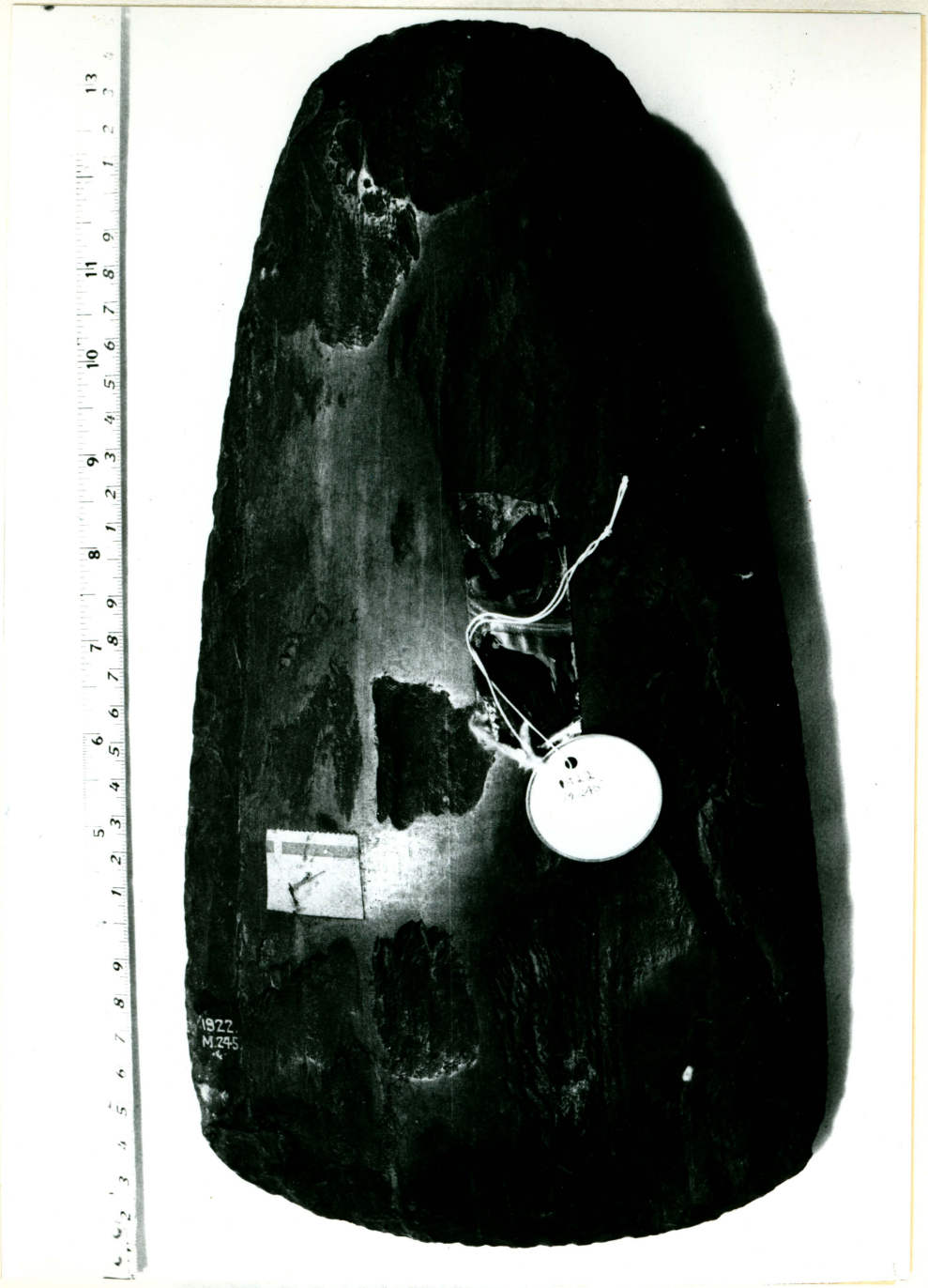


PLATE III

UNFINISHED CEREMONIAL AXE BLADE (KUKUMALI BEKU). M-245

PLATE IV

FAKE CEREMONIAL AXE BLADE (BEKU). M-243

PLATE V

AXE BLADE FOR FELLING LARGE TREES (UTUVIYA). M-215

PLATE VI

UNFINISHED AXE BLADE FOR FELLING LARGE TREES
(KUKUMALI UTUVIYA). M-218

PLATE VII

UNFINISHED AXE BLADE FOR FELLING LARGE TREES, SIDE VIEW
(KUKUMALI UTIVIYA). M-218

PLATE VIII

PLANING BLADES (KASIVI). M-222-224

PLATE IX

PLANING BLADE (KUKUMALI KASIVI). M-225

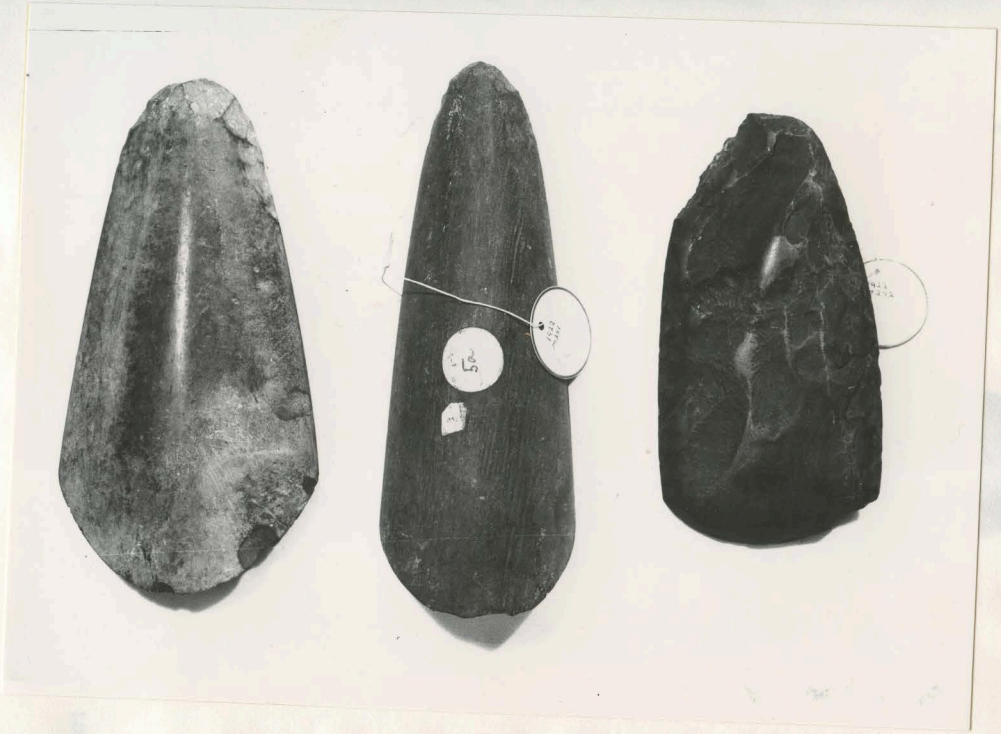


PLATE X

ADZE/AXE BLADES FOR HOLLOWING CONVEX SIDES OF LOGS (KAVILALI). M-250-251

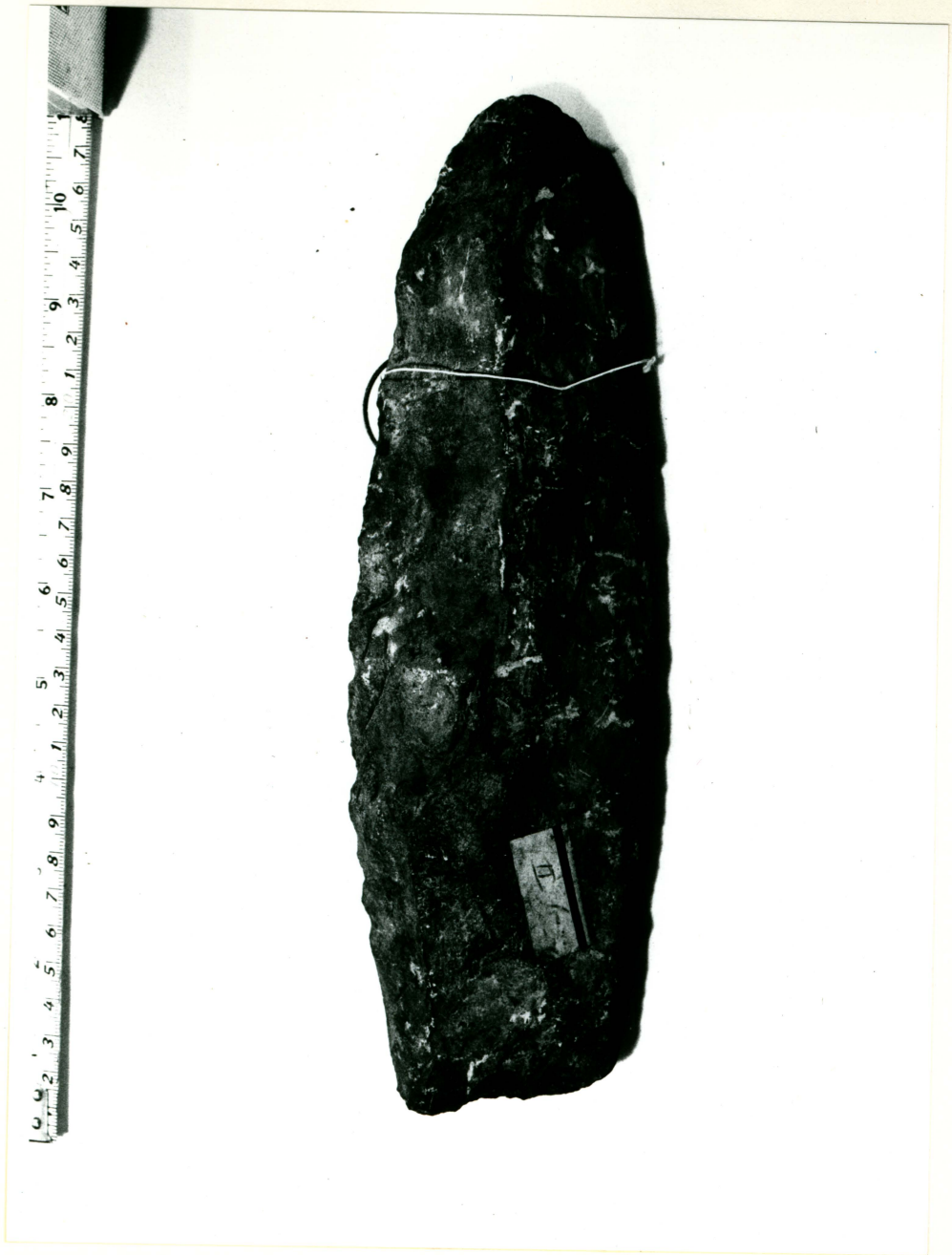


PLATE XI

UNFINISHED ADZE/AXE BLADE FOR HOLLOWING CONVEX SIDES OF LOGS (KUKUMALI KAVILALI). M-238

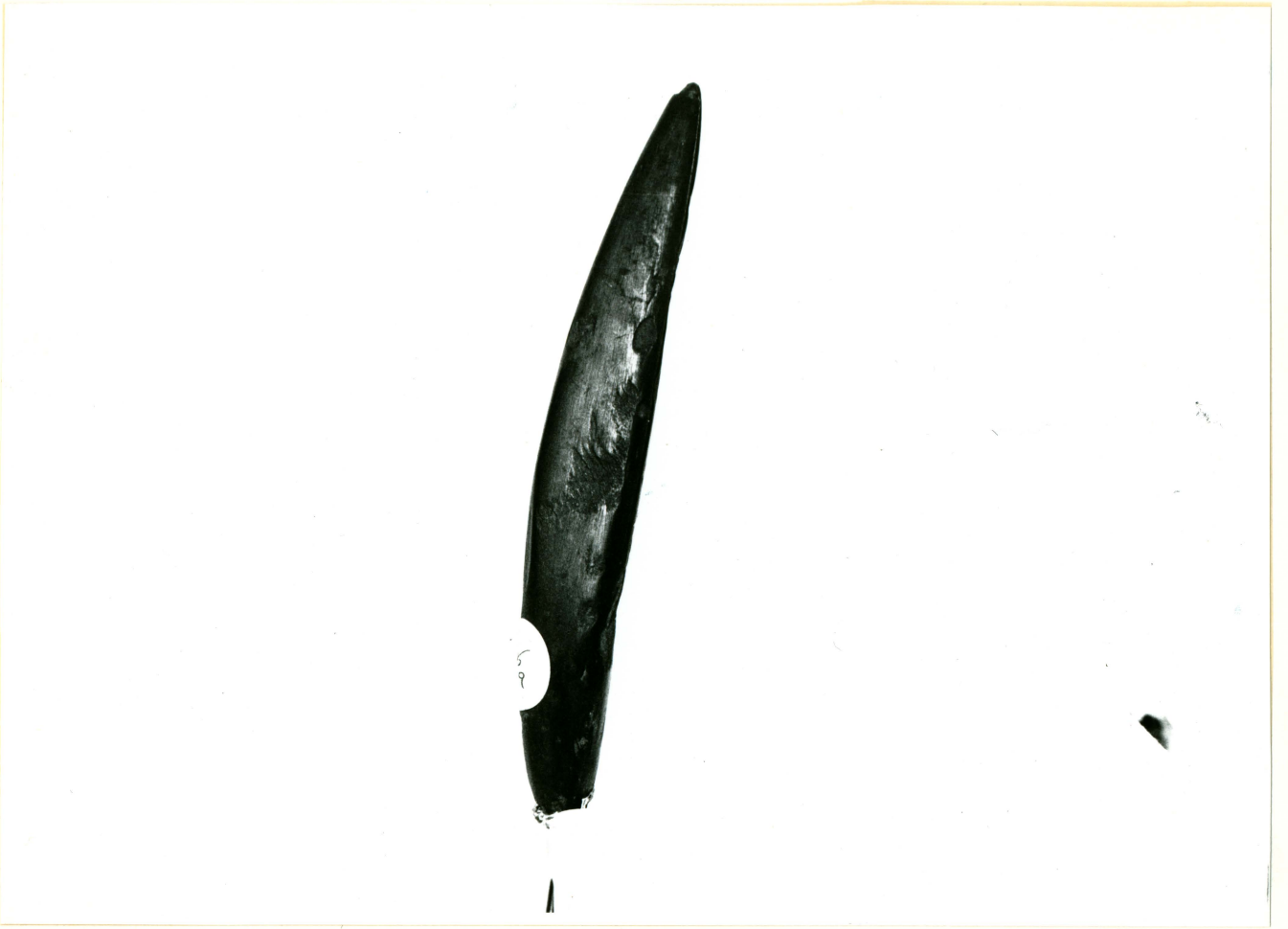


PLATE XII

CHISEL FOR CUTTING OUT HOLES AND GROOVES (GINESOSU). M-232

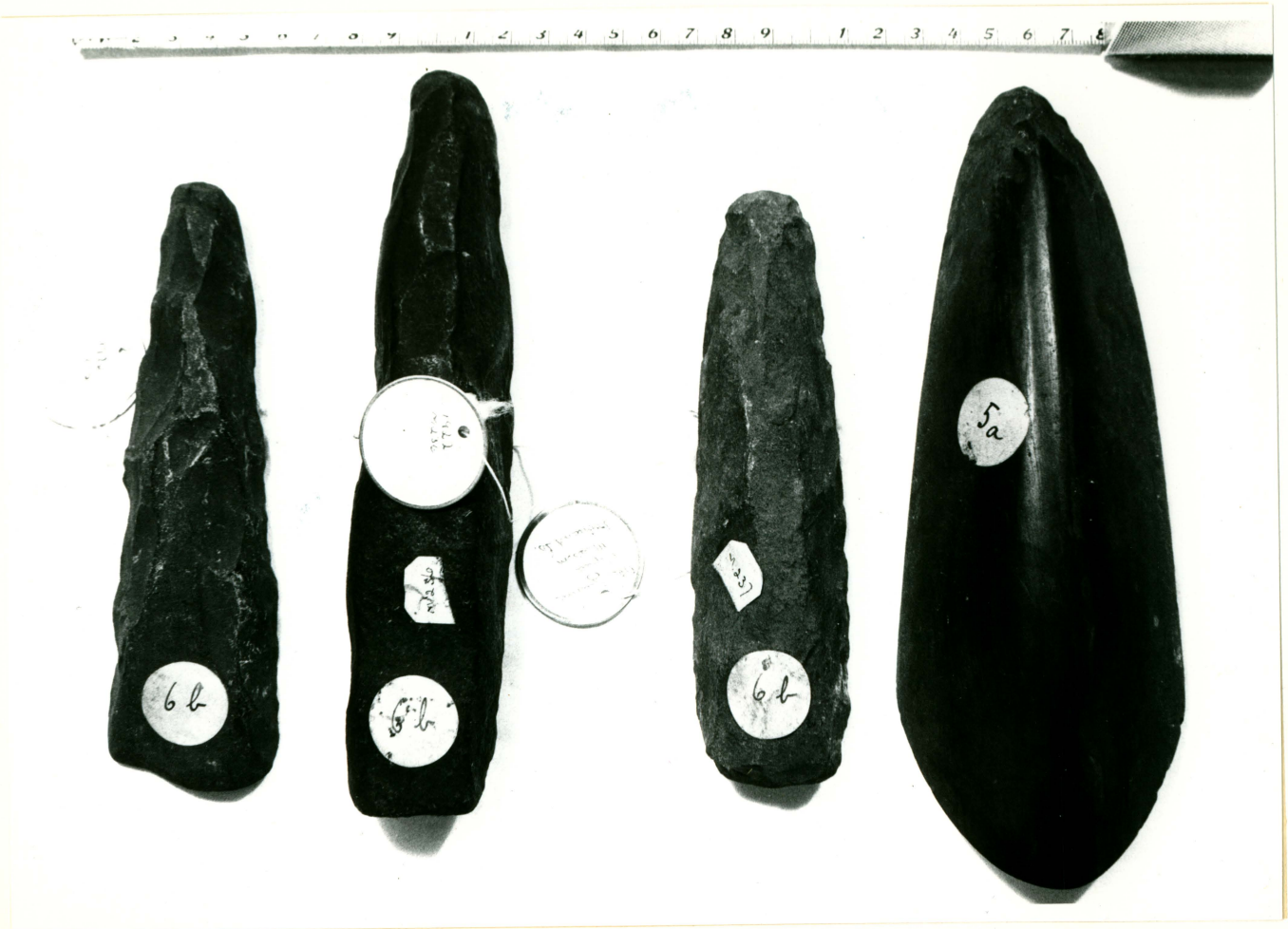


PLATE XIII

UNFINISHED CHISELS FOR CUTTING OUT HOLES AND GROOVES (KUKUMALI GINESOSU).
M-235-237, 239

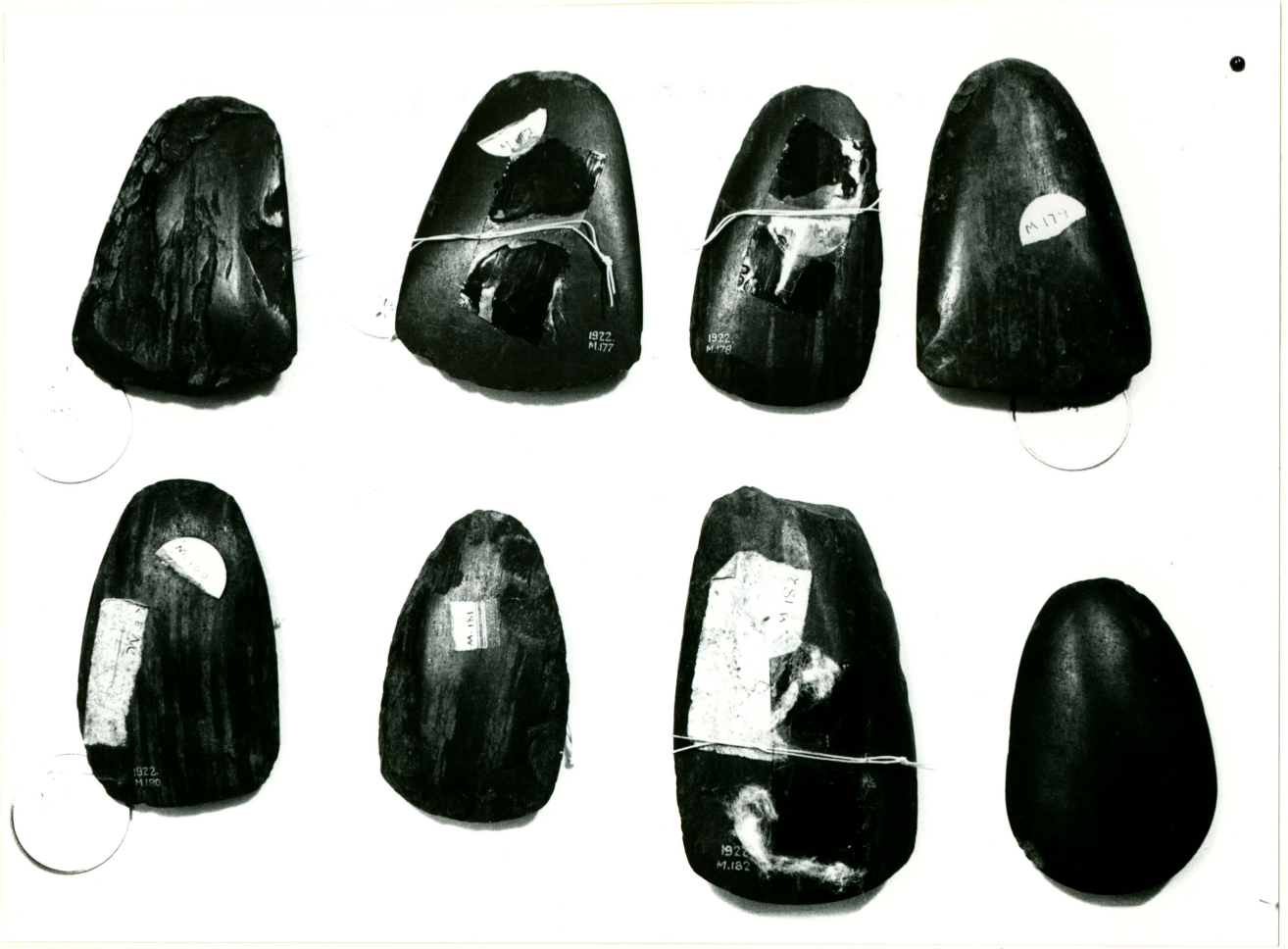


PLATE XIV

GARDEN SCRUB CUTTING BLADES (UTUKEMA). M-176-183

PLATE XV

UNFINISHED GARDEN SCRUB CUTTING BLADES (KUKUMALI UTUKEMA). M-202-207

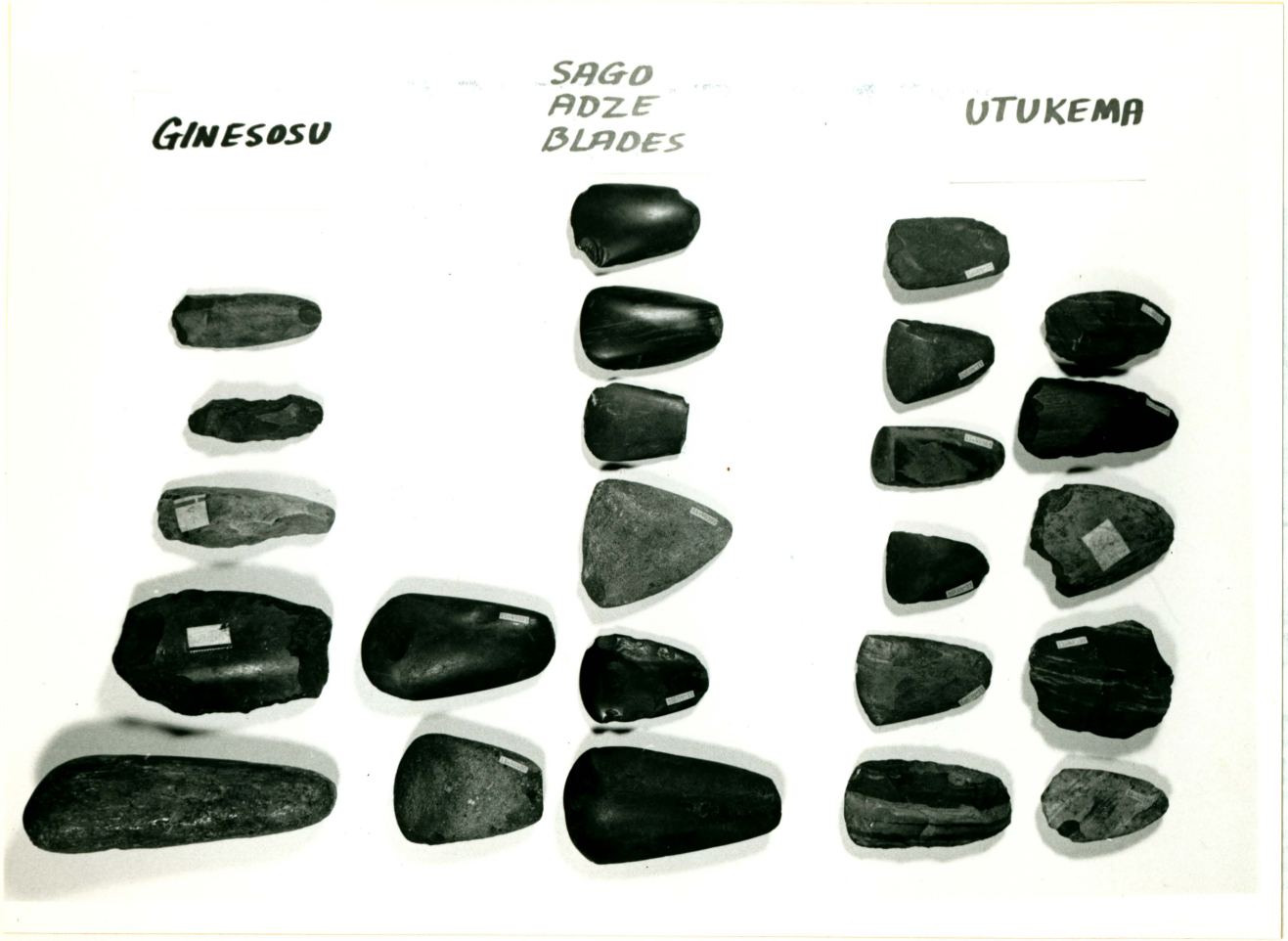


PLATE XVI

SAGO ADZE BLADES

PLATE XVII

FLAKING HAMMERS (HAMMERSTONES).

PLATE XVIII

SMALL ADZE BLADES.

PLATE XIX

NEW BLADES IN PROCESS.

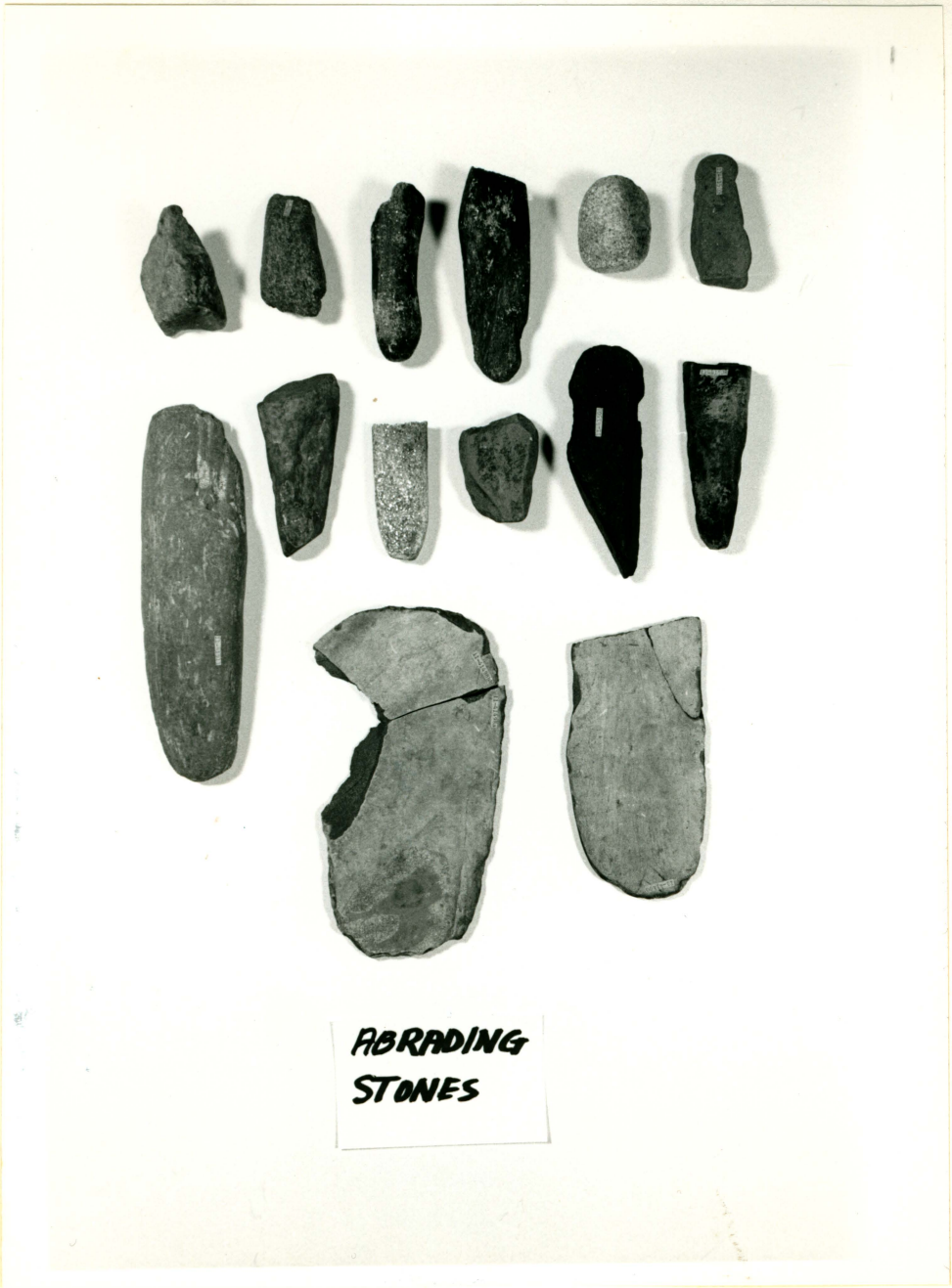


PLATE XX

ABRADING STONES.

PLATE XXI

BATTERED BLADES AND CHUNKS.

PLATE XXII

ROPE (GUM'GUAM'). 11-42132

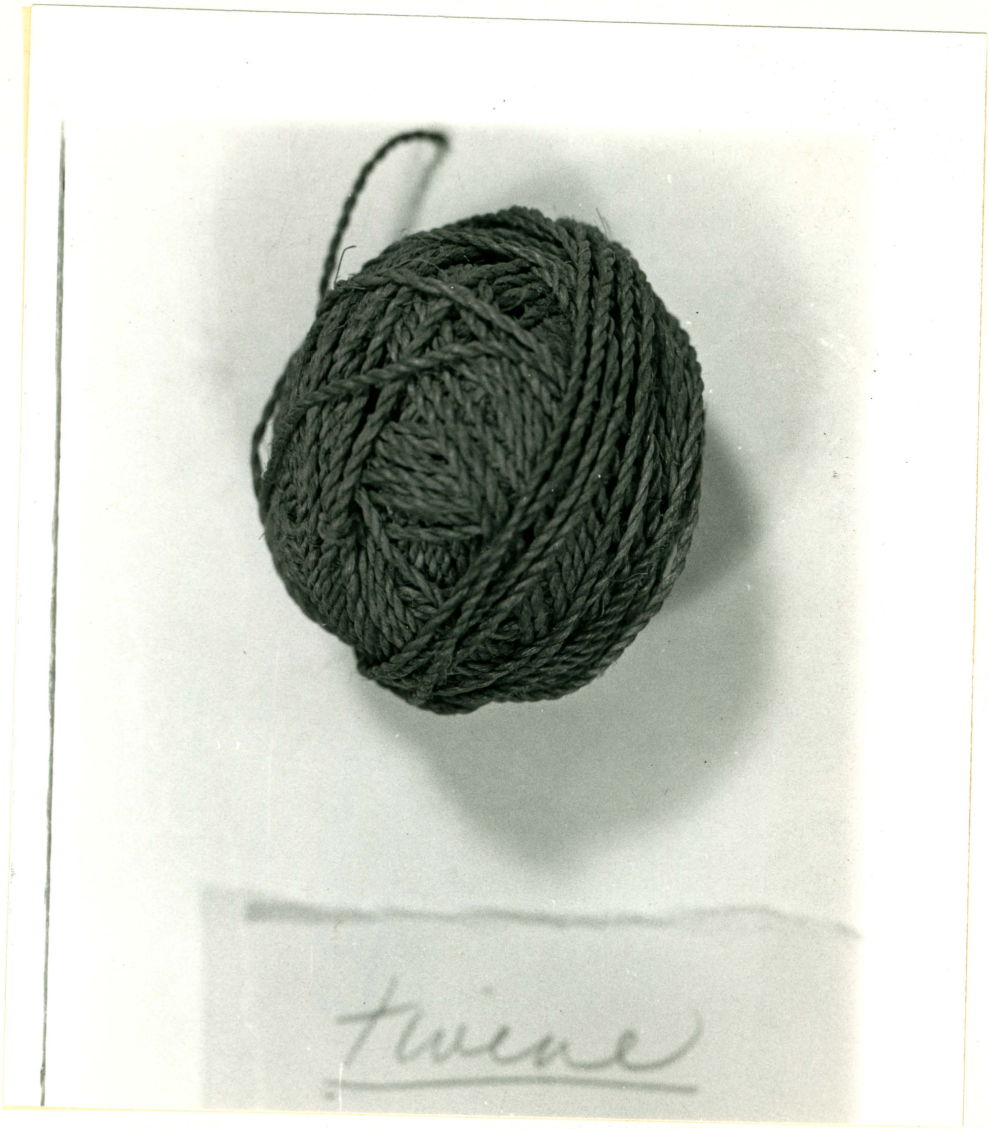


PLATE XXIII

CORDAGE (INI). 11-40290

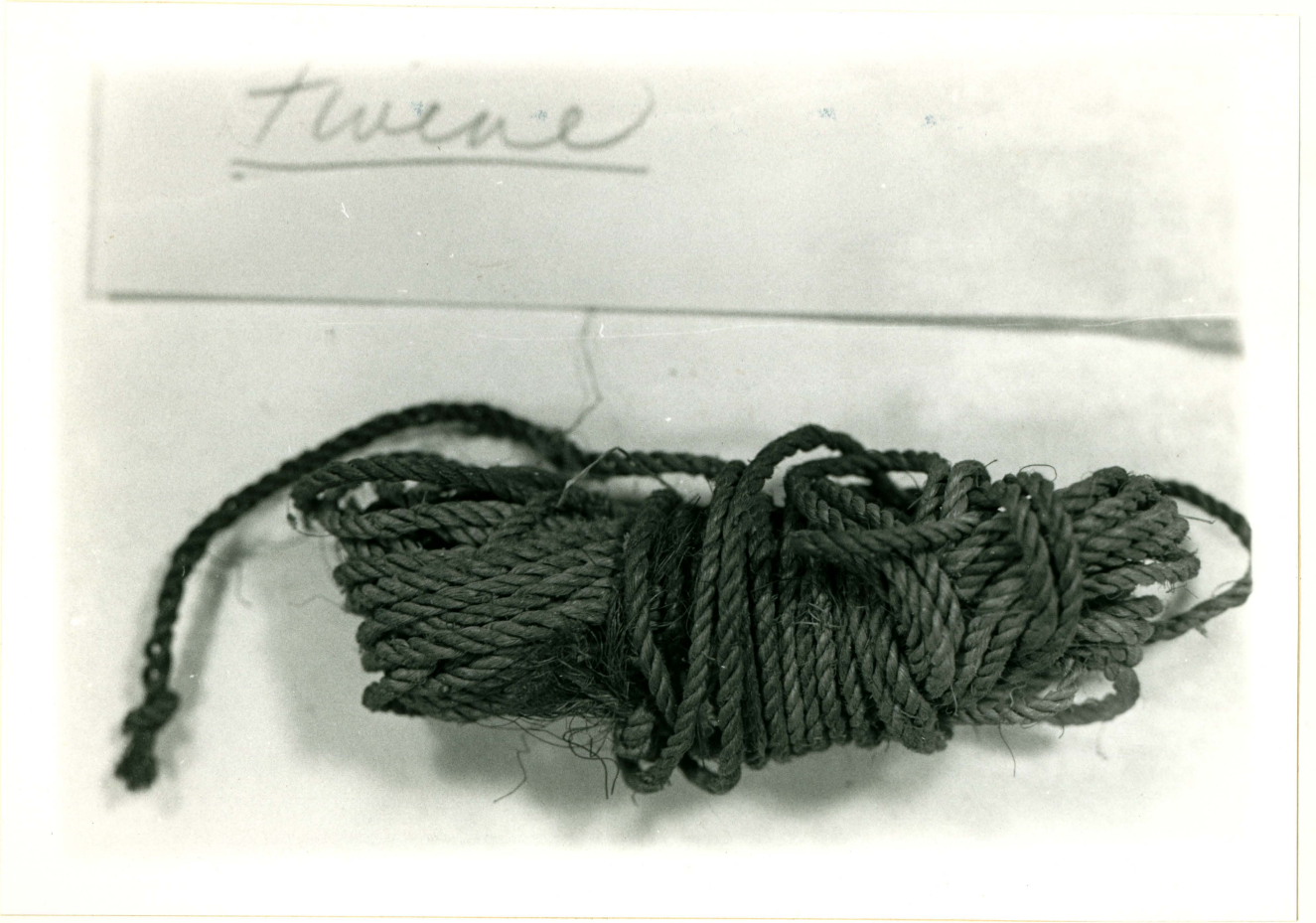


PLATE XXIV

CORDAGE (INI). 11-40291

PLATE XXV

CORDAGE (GAYASU). 11-42135

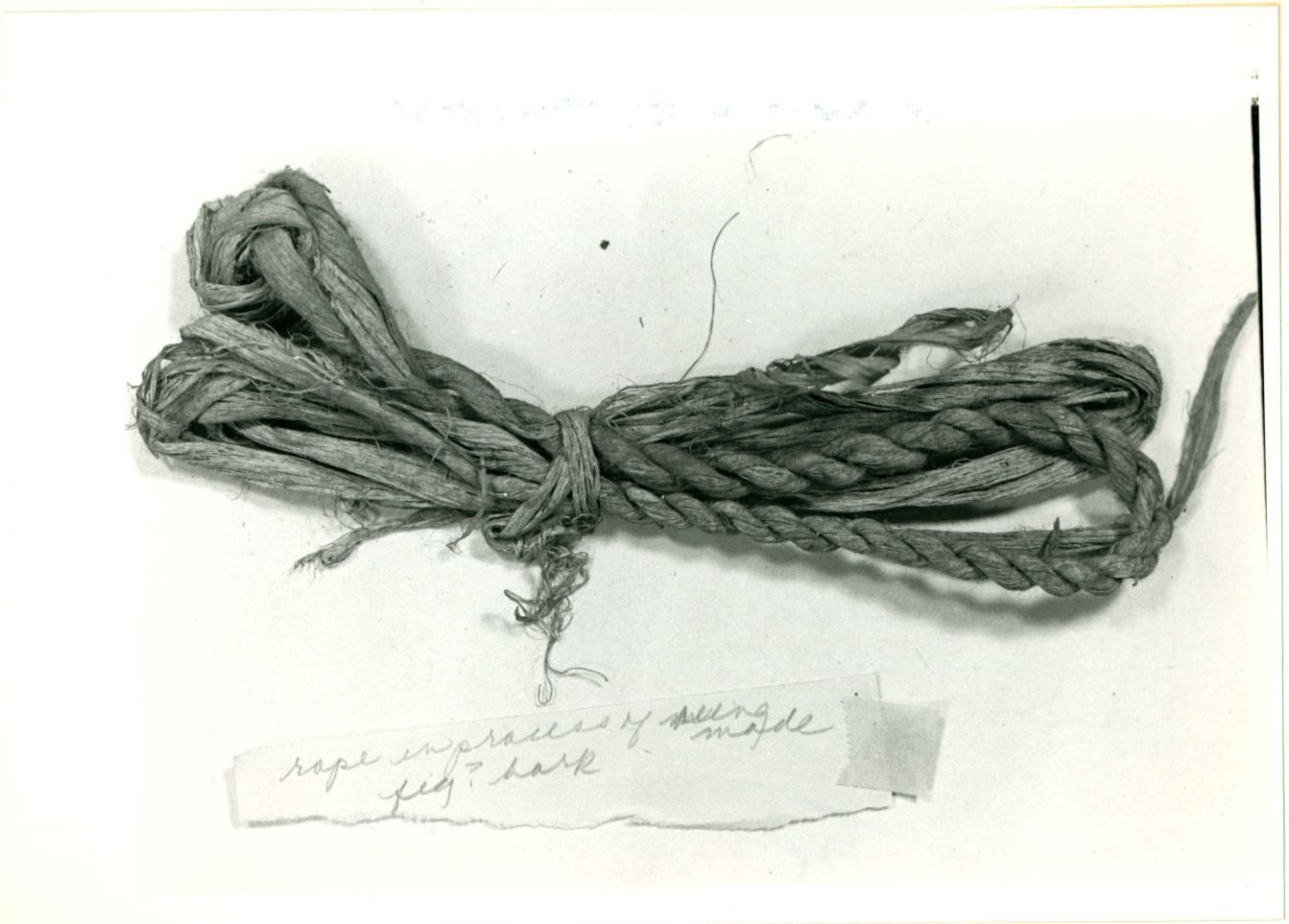


PLATE XXVI

CORDAGE (GAYASU), IN PROCESS. 11-42136

PLATE XXVII

CORDAGE (IOVA'I). 11-42139

PLATE XXVIII

CORDAGE (IOVA'I), IN PROCESS. 11-42138

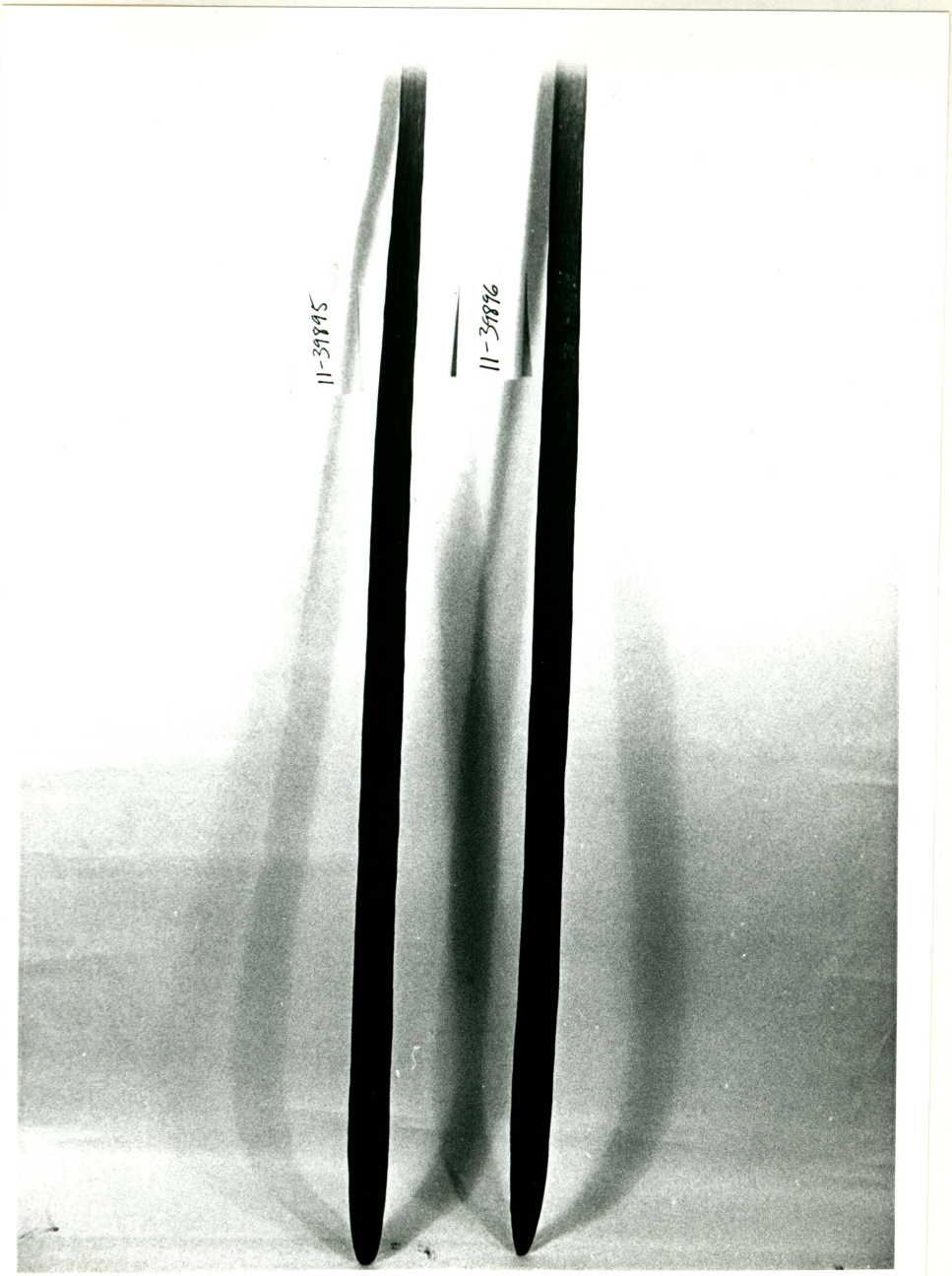


PLATE XXIX

DIGGING STICKS (DAYMA). 11-39895-39896

PLATE XXX

TYPE I AXE, GARDEN KEMA. 11-40313

PLATE XXXI

TYPE I AXE, GARDEN KEMA. 11-40312

PLATE XXXII

TYPE II AXE, COMMON KEMA. M-148

PLATE XXXIII

TYPE II AXE, COMMON KEMA. M-153

PLATE XXXIV

TYPE I ADZE, DECORATED LIGOGU. 11-40328

PLATE XXXV

TYPE I ADZE, DECORATED LIGOGU. M-142

PLATE XXXVI

TYPE II ADZE, UNDECORATED LIGOGU WITH CONUS SHELL BLADE. M-156

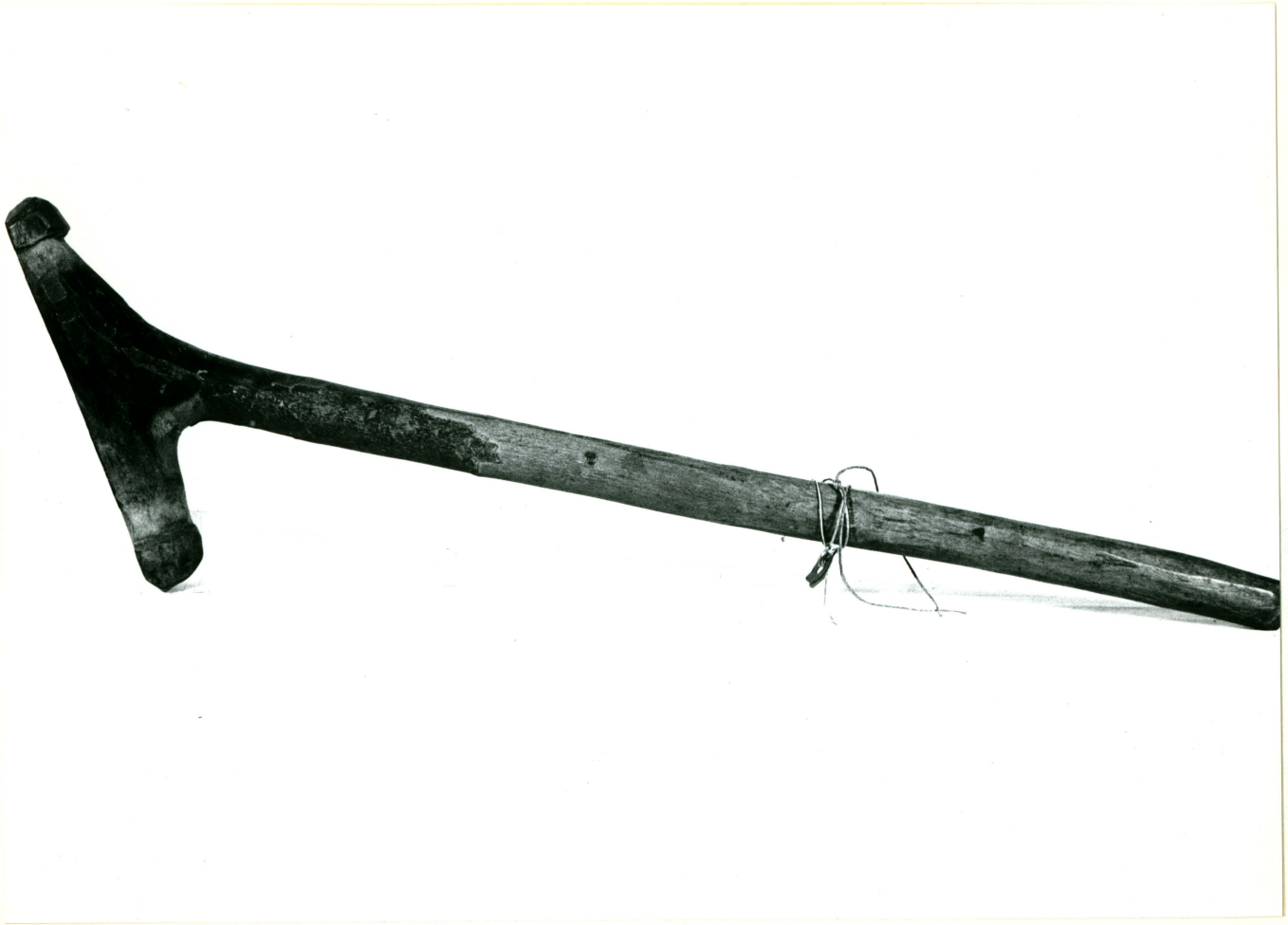


PLATE XXXVII

TYPE III COMBINATION ADZE/AXE (VALAPATA). M-143

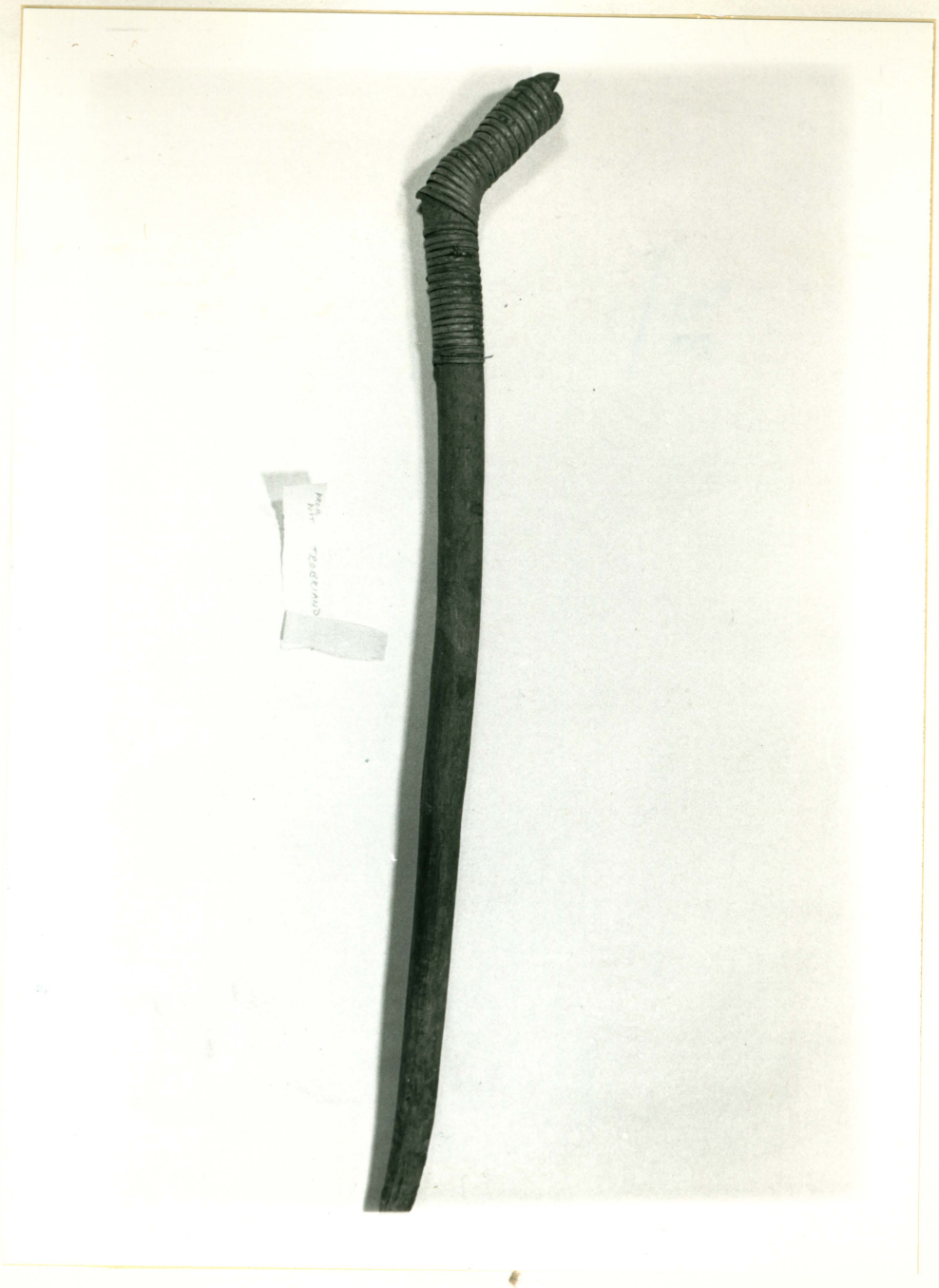


PLATE XXXVIII

TYPE IV LONG-HANDLED ADZE (LIGOGU). 11-40331

PLATE XXXIX

TYPE IV, DETAIL OF LONG-HANDLED ADZE (LIGOGU). 11-40331

PLATE XL

COMBINATION ADZE/AXE. 11-40333

PLATE XLI

UNIDENTIFIED ADZE (LIGOGU). 11-40337

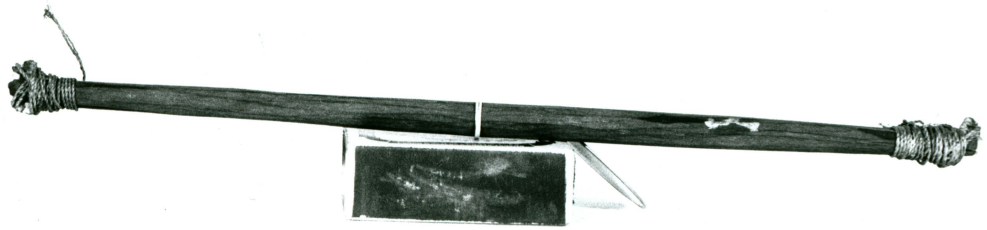


PLATE XLII

SHARK TOOTH CARVING TOOL. M-664

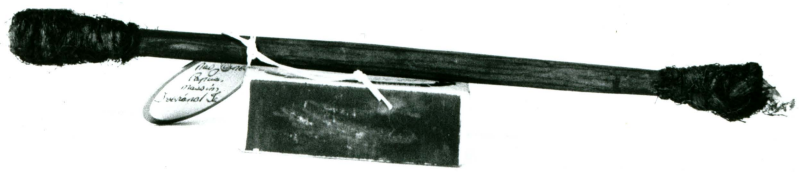


PLATE XLIII

SHARK TOOTH CARVING TOOL. M-665

11 - 42165

PLATE XLIV

WALLABY RIB BONE ENGRAVING TOOL. 11-42165

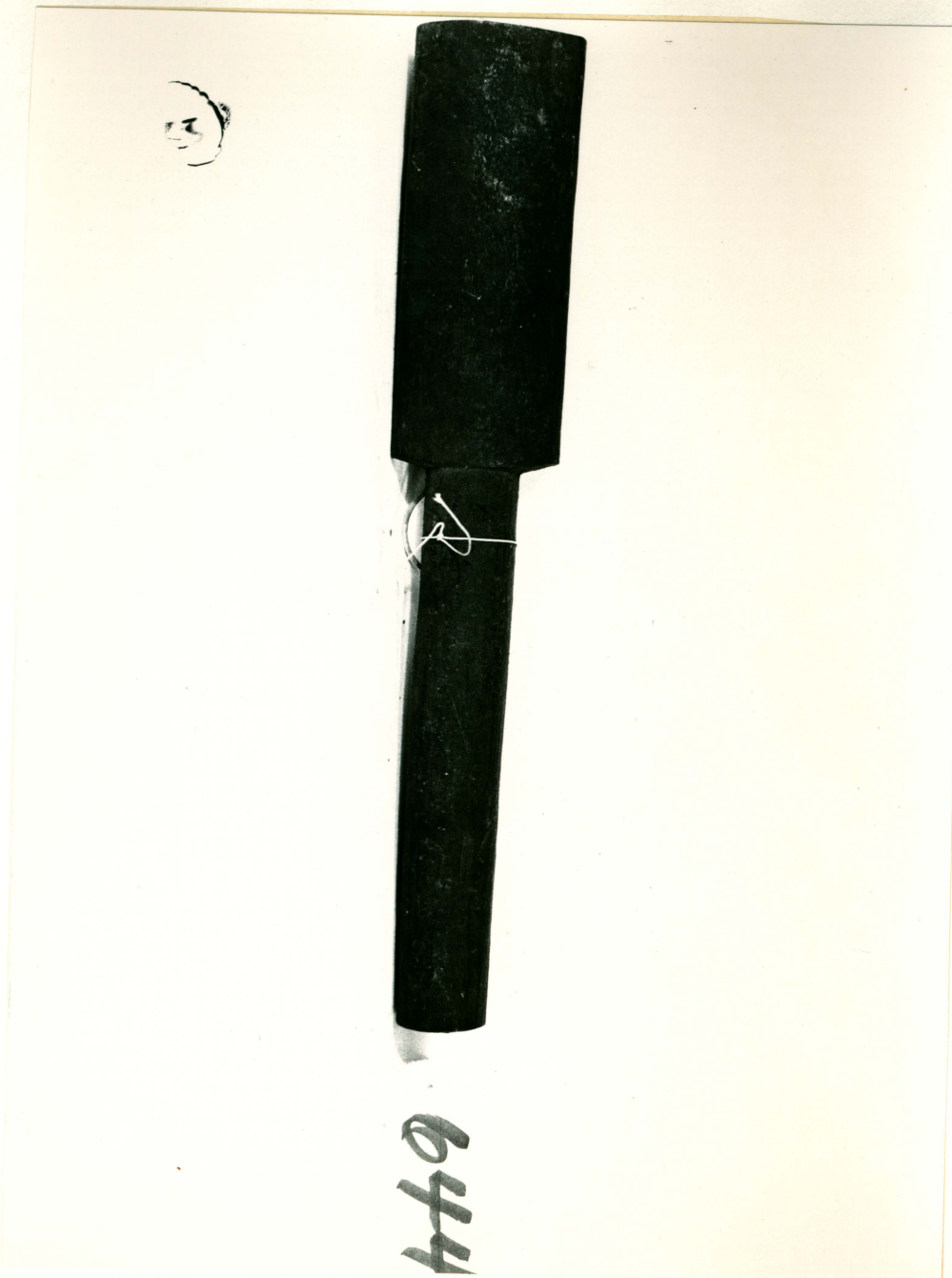


PLATE XLV

WOODEN HAMMER, USED WITH BONE CHISEL. M-644

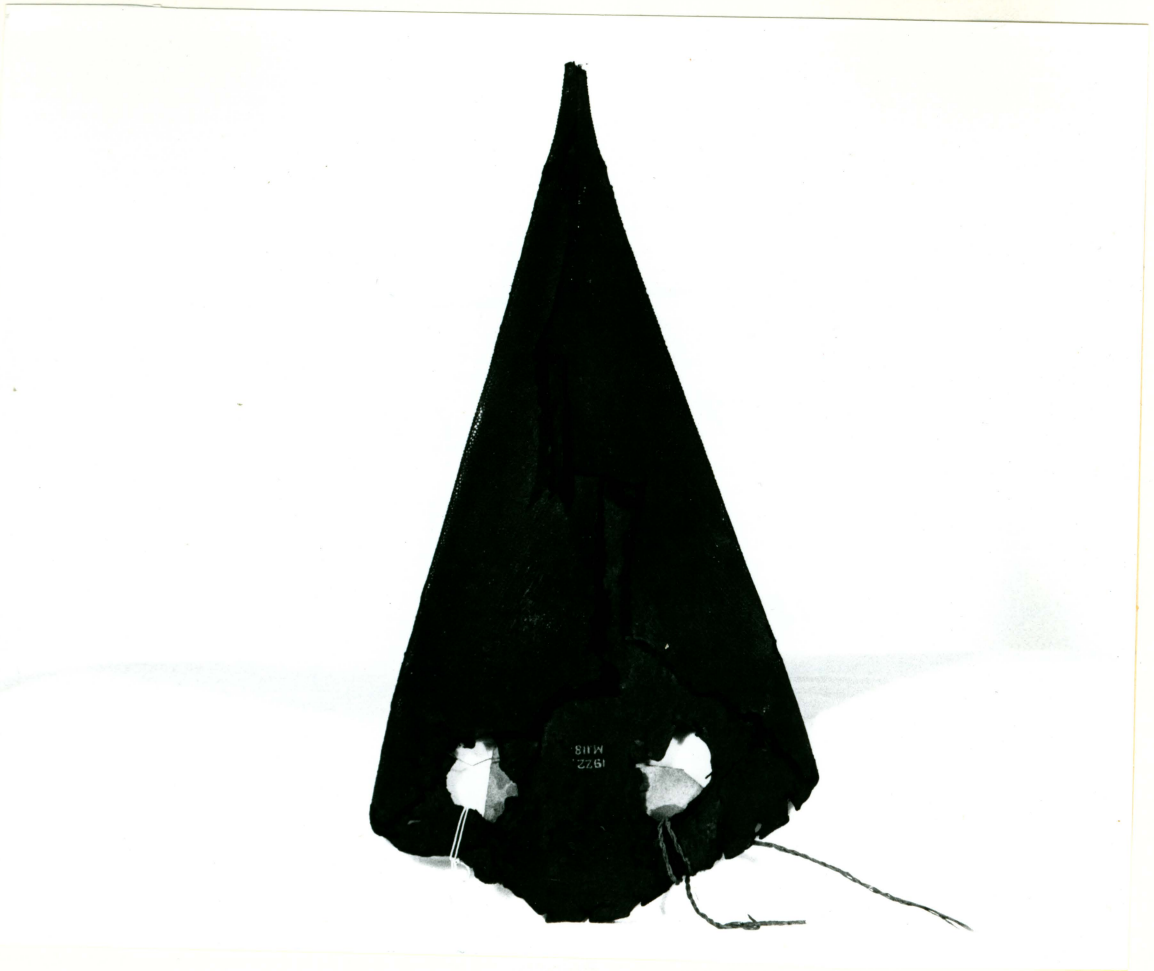


PLATE XLVI

STING-RAY SKIN WOOD RASP AND SANDER (KISI). M-118

PLATE XLVII

MUSSEL-SHELL SCRAPERS (KANIKU). M-529

PLATE XLVIII

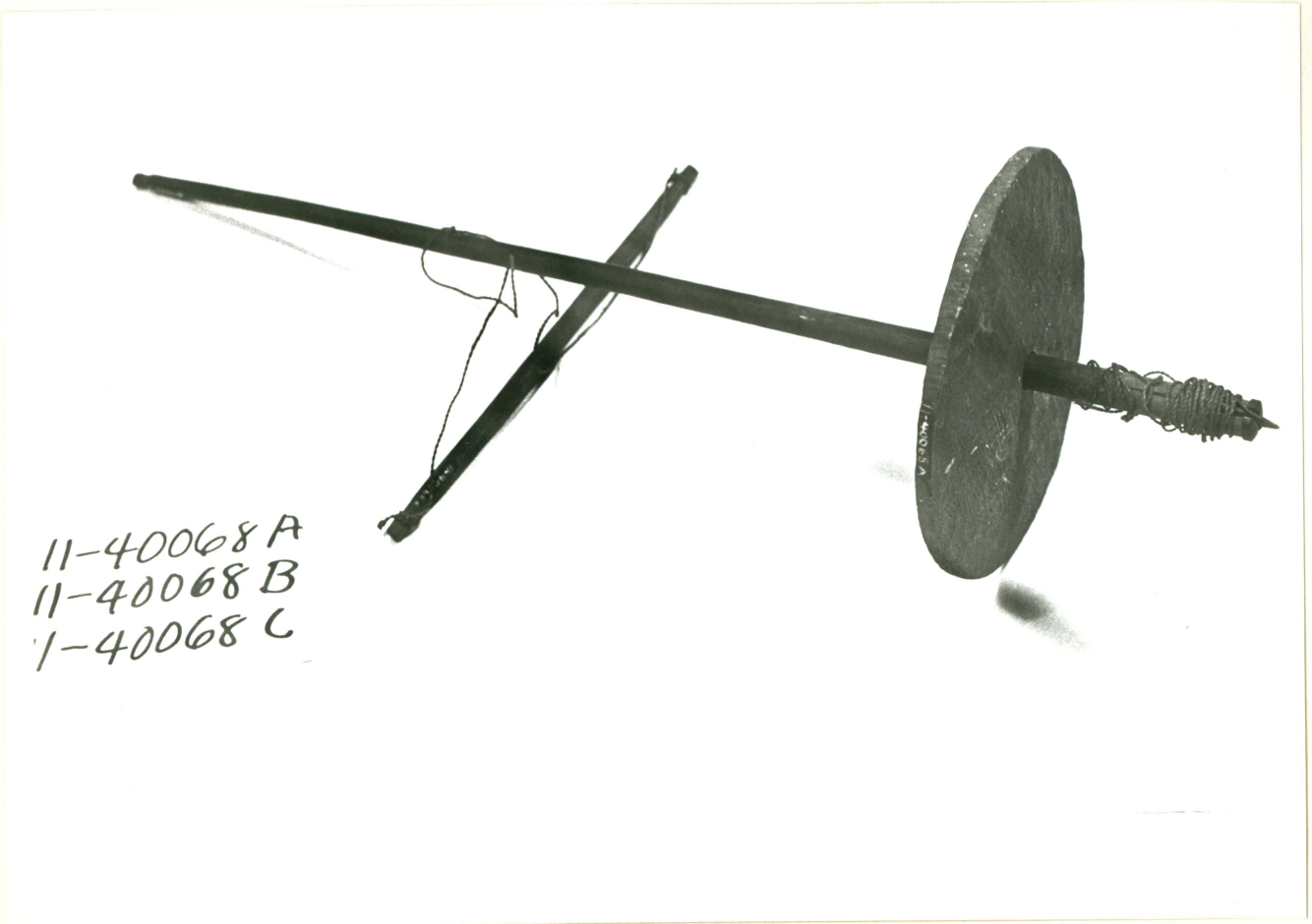
MOTHER-OF-PEARL SHELL (DRAVA) SCRAPERS (KAYEKI). M-533-534

PLATE XLIX

MOTHER-OF-PEARL SHELL (DRAVA) SCRAPER, WITH SERRATED EDGE (KAYEKI). M-537

PLATE L

PIG BONE TOOLS FOR SCRAPING COCONUTS. M-601-603, 295



11-40068 A
11-40068 B
11-40068 C

PLATE LI

PUMP DRILL (GIGI'U OR KAIGIGI'U). 11-40068A-C

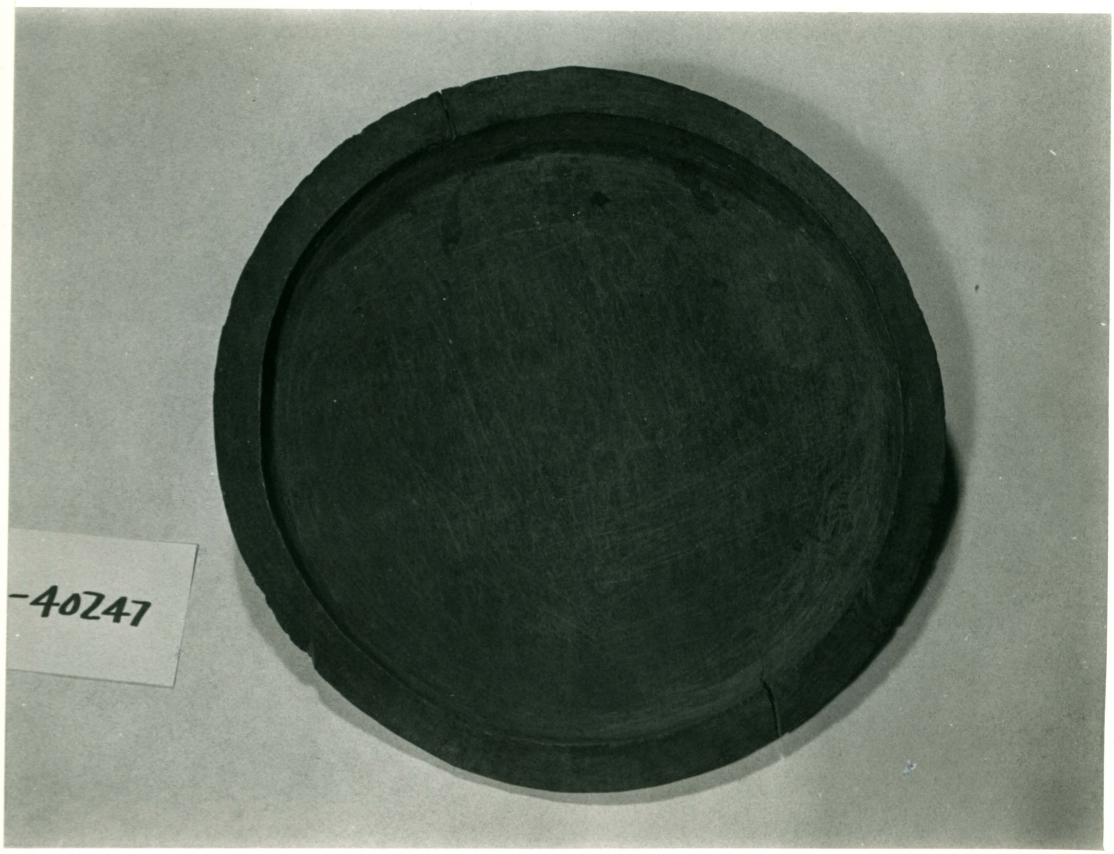


PLATE LII

WOODEN BOWL (KABOMA); BOWL/PLATE (KAIDODIGE). 11-40247

PLATE LIII

WOODEN BOWL (KABOMA); DEEP ORNAMENTED BOWL (KAILUYA). 11-40258

PLATE LIV

WOODEN BOWL (KABOMA); SMALL FLAT FOOD DISH (KAYAYA'I). 11-40238

PLATE LV

WOODEN BOWL (KABOMA); SMALL ORNAMENTED BOWL (KAIKUMUGUA). 11-40257

PLATE LVI

WOODEN BOWL (KABOMA); SMALL ORNAMENTED BOWL (KAIKUMUGUA). 11-40234

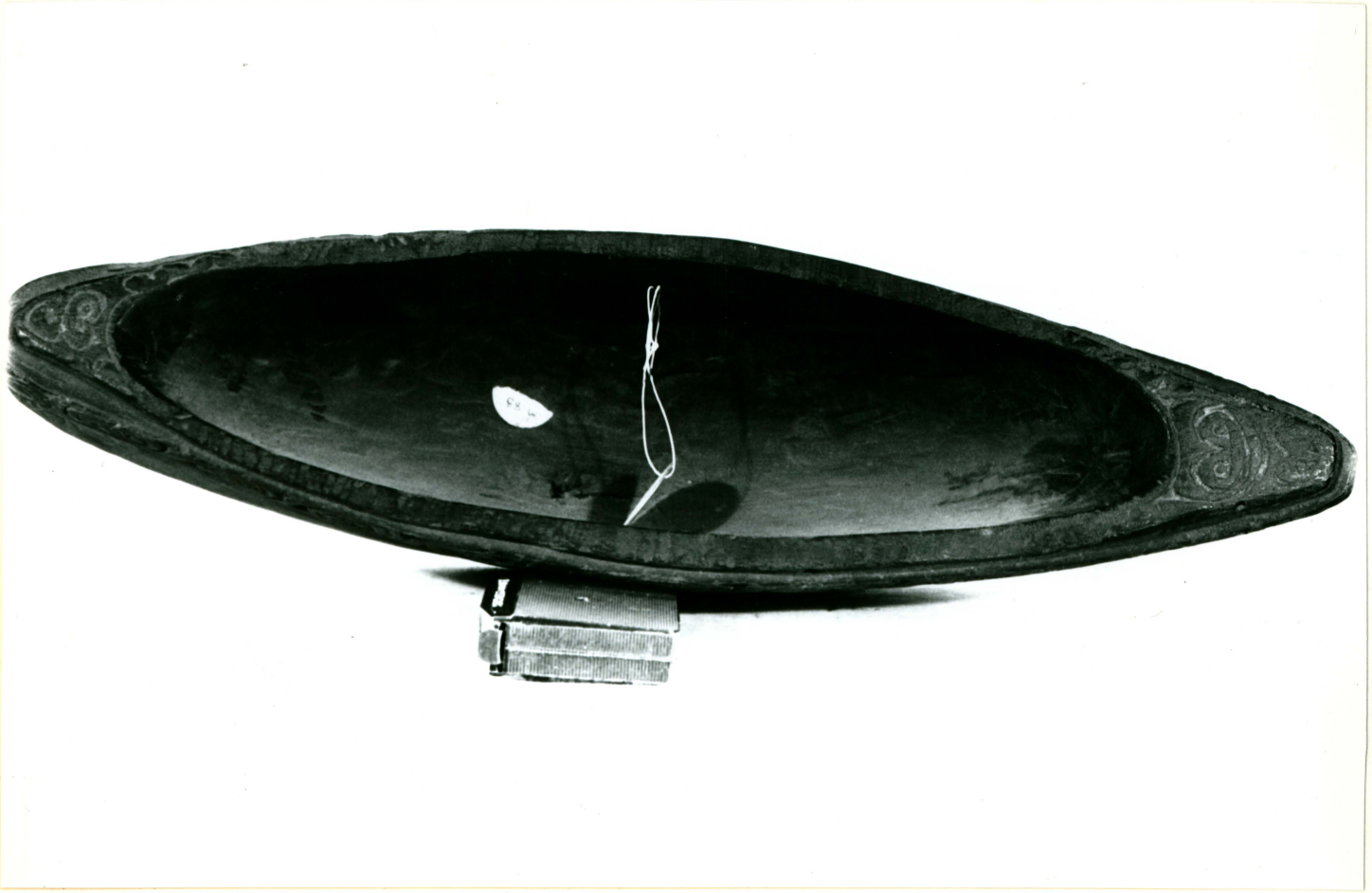


PLATE LVII

WOODEN BOWL (KABOMA); WASHING BASIN (KAIKWEIWOSI). M-83

PLATE LVIII

WOODEN BOWL (KABOMA); SMALL BOWL FOR DILUTING PAINT (KOMA KOM'). 11-40279

PLATE LIX

PLAITED BASKET OF COCONUT PALM LEAF (BEWAYA), EXTERIOR. 11-41862

PLATE LX

PLAITED BASKET OF COCONUT PALM LEAF (BEWAYA), INTERIOR. 11-41862

PLATE LXI

PLAITED "MALE" BASKET FOR CARRYING YAMS AND FOR GATHERING SPONDYLUS SHELL (VATAGA).
M-132

Lacking in numbering only

PLATE LXII

PLAIN DIAGONAL TWILL BASKET FOR CARRYING PERSONAL POSSESSIONS (PEPE'I). M-596

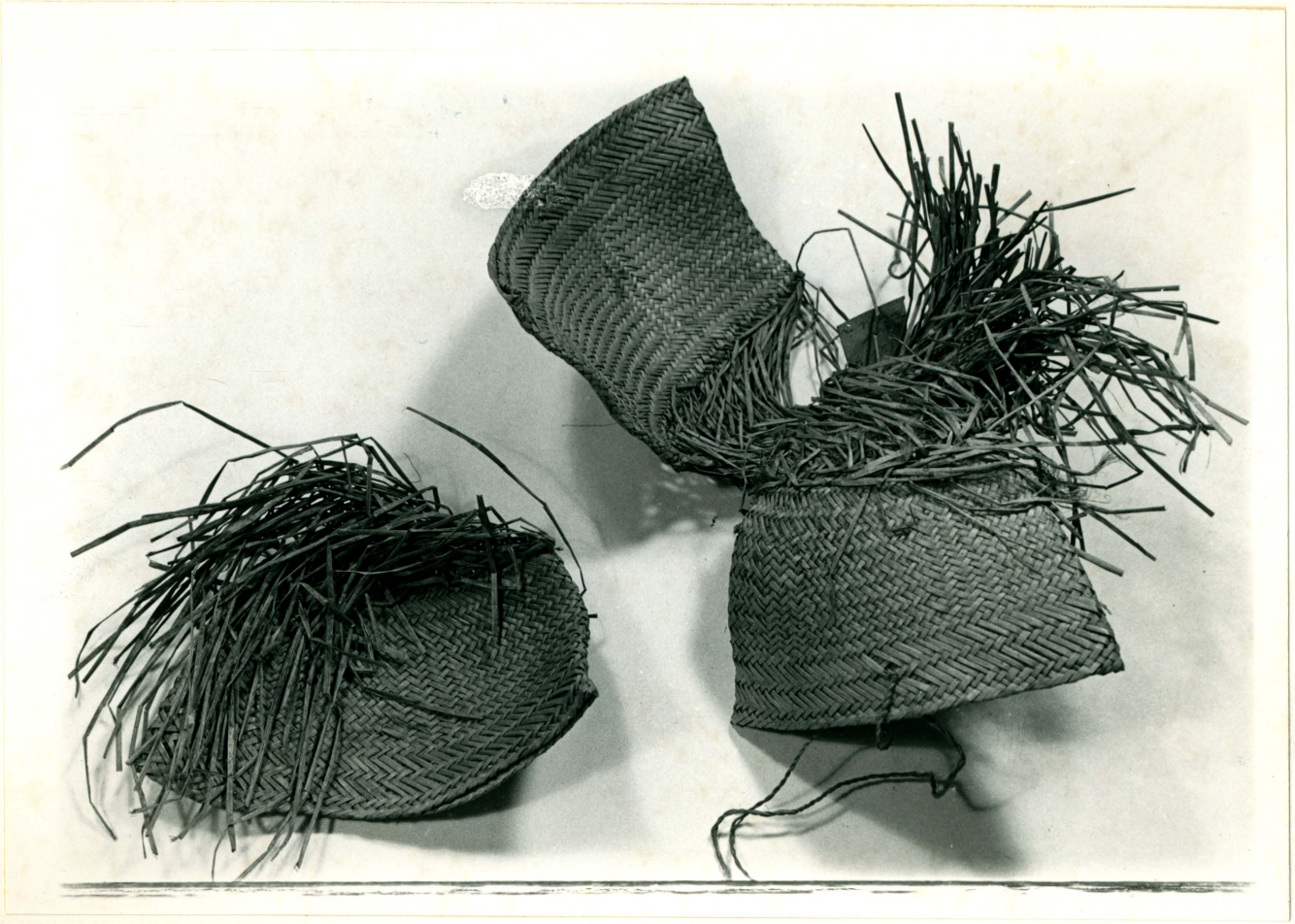


PLATE LXIII

POUCH-LIKE BASKETS FOR CARRYING PERSONAL POSSESSIONS (KA'UYA). 11-41868-41870

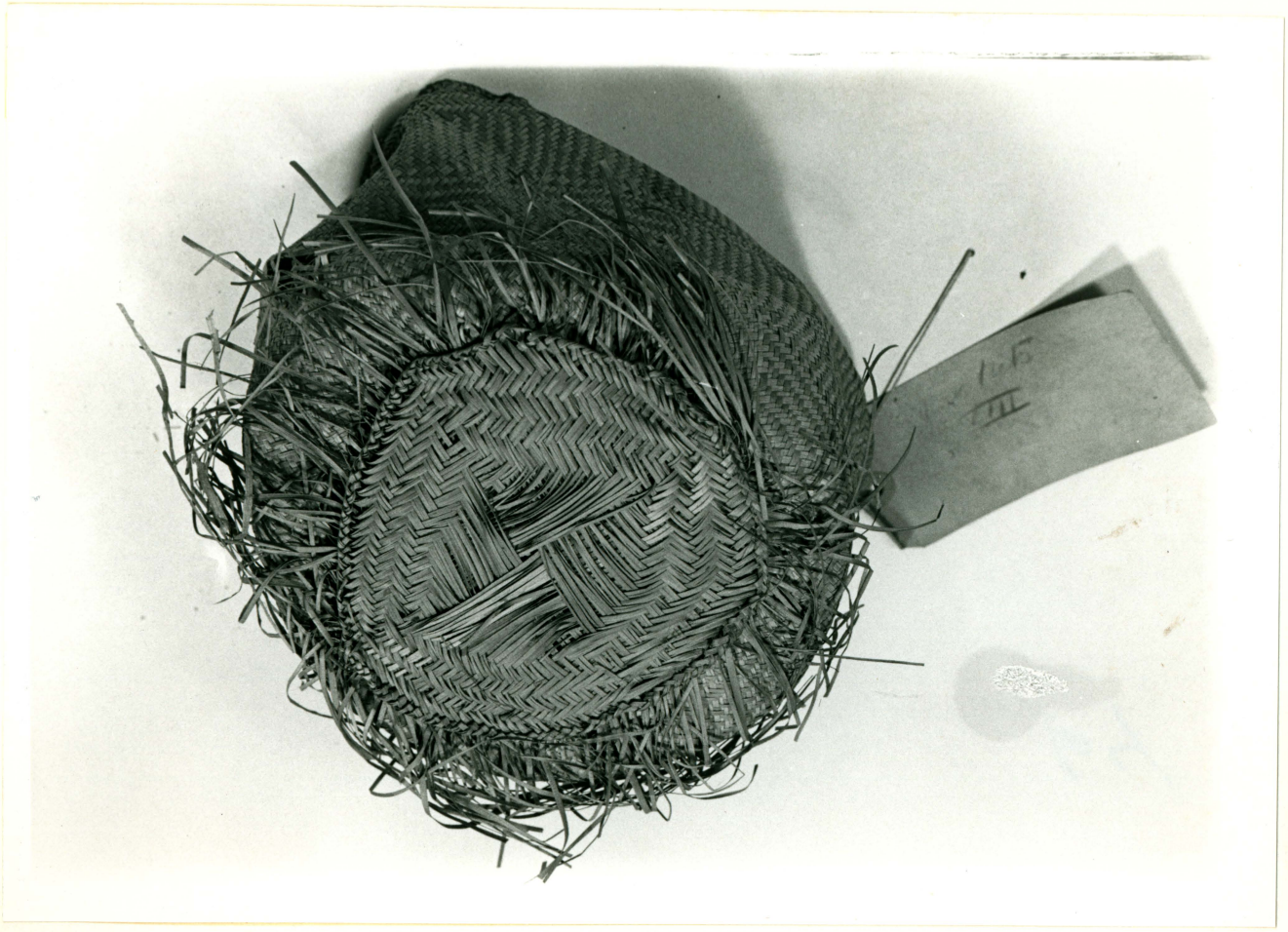


PLATE LXIV

IMPORTED BASKET, EXTERIOR (NABWODAWA). 11-41867

PLATE LXV

IMPORTED BASKET, INTERIOR (NABWODAWA). 11-41867

PLATE LXVI

PART OF THREE-TIERED CIRCULAR BASKET (TANEPOPO) FOR CARRYING PERSONAL POSSESSIONS.
11-40294

PLATE LXVII

INNER PARTS OF THREE-TIERED CIRCULAR BASKET (TANEPOPO). 11-40296, 11-40300

PLATE LXVIII

BASKETRY CARRYING PAD (TUBWEBI). M-133

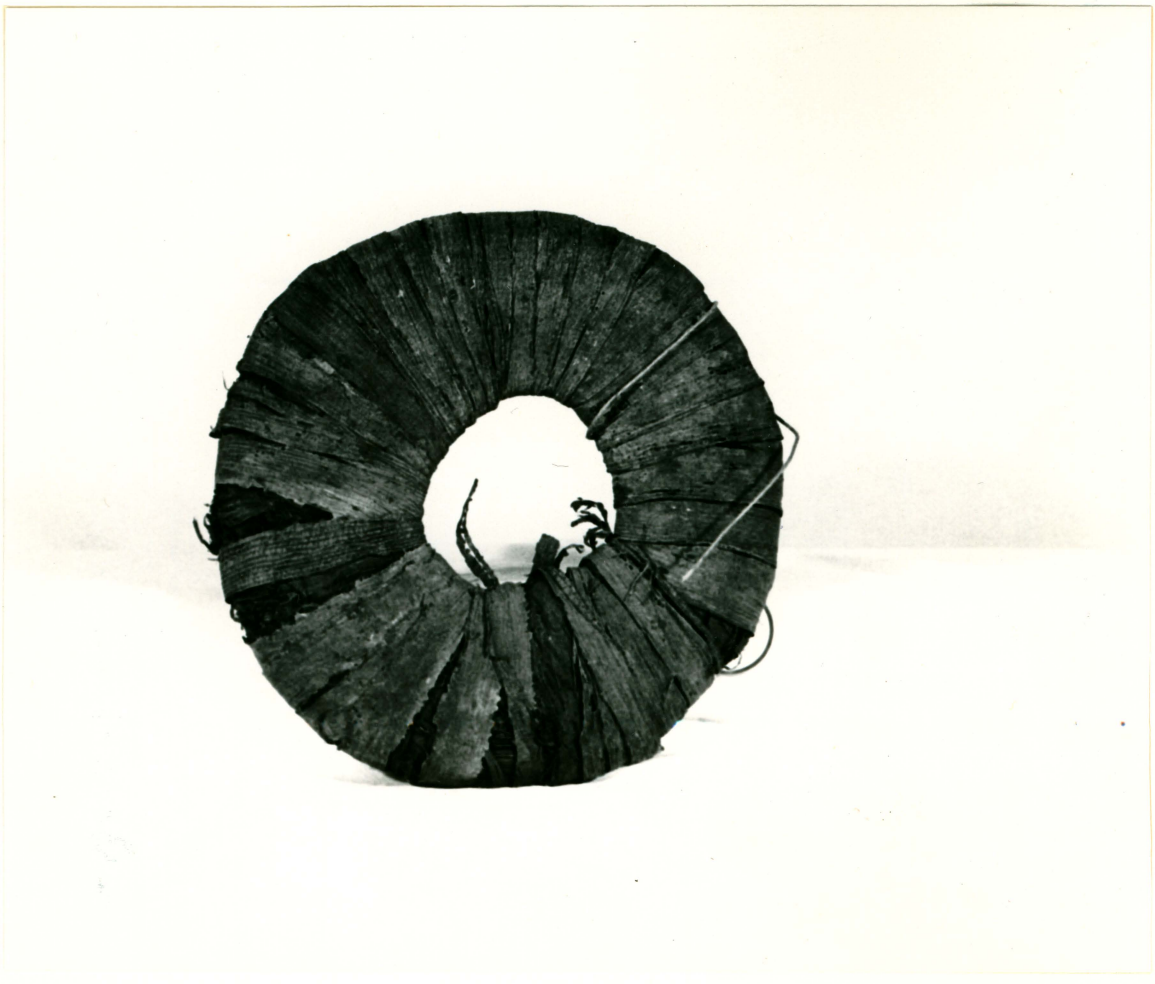


PLATE LXIX

UNFINISHED BASKETRY CARRYING PAD (TUBWEBI). M-136

PLATE LXX

UNIDENTIFIED PLAITED BASKET, PROBABLY AN IMPORT FROM ONE OF THE ISLANDS EAST OF THE TROBRIANDS. M-129

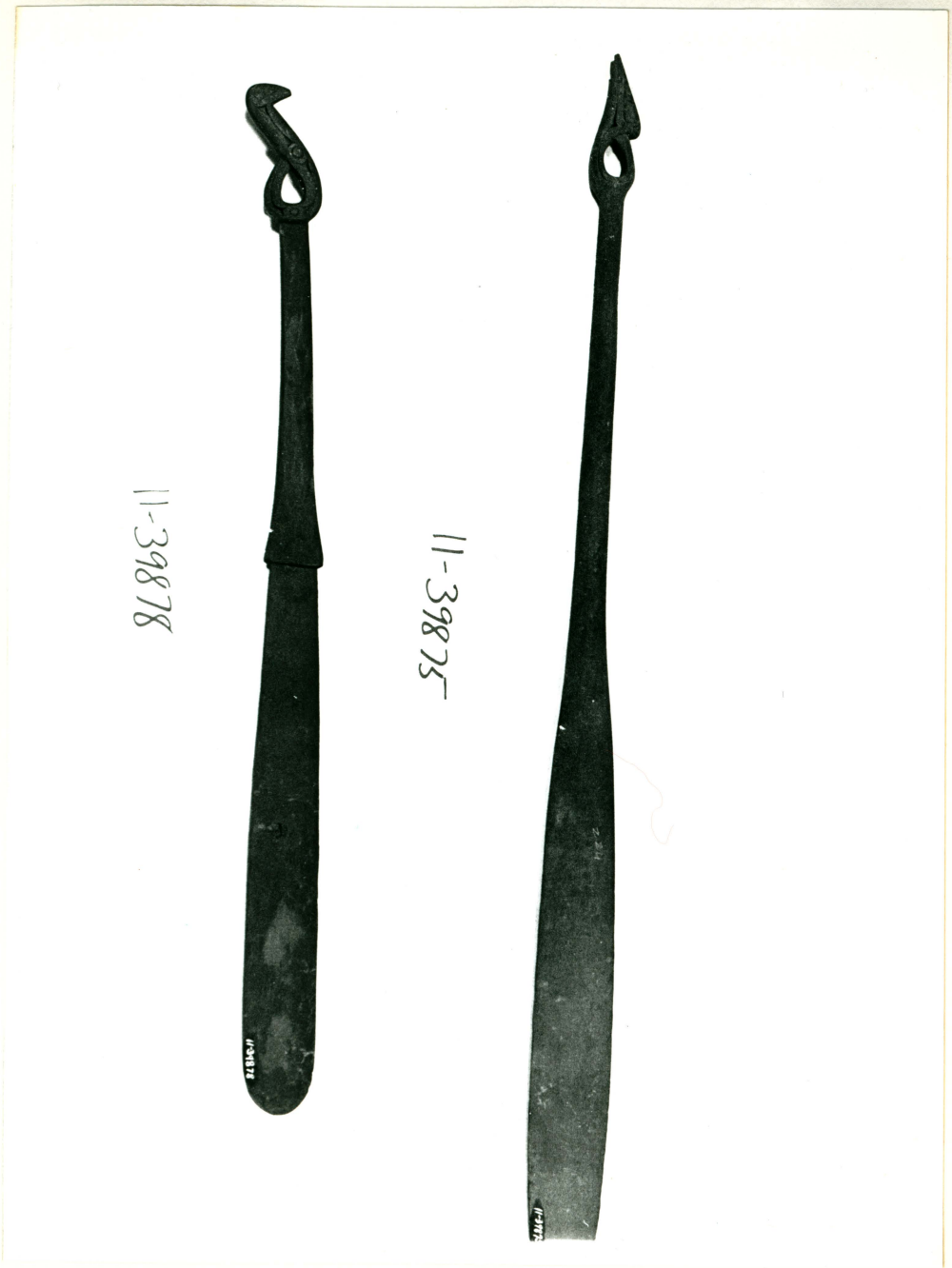


PLATE LXXI

WOODEN SPATULAS (KAINEVA) FOR STIRRING YAM OR TARO DUMPLINGS (MONA). 11-39875-39876

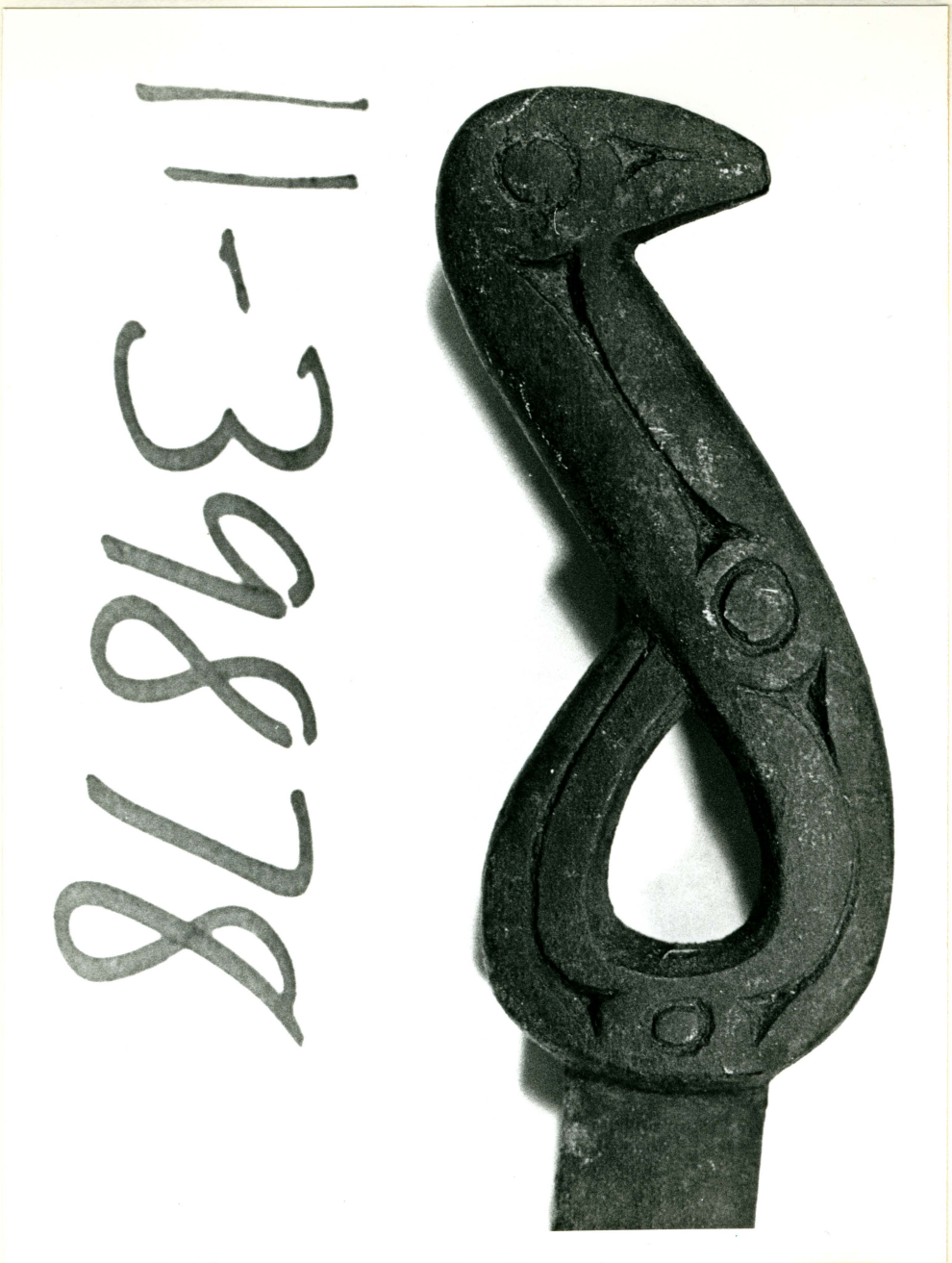
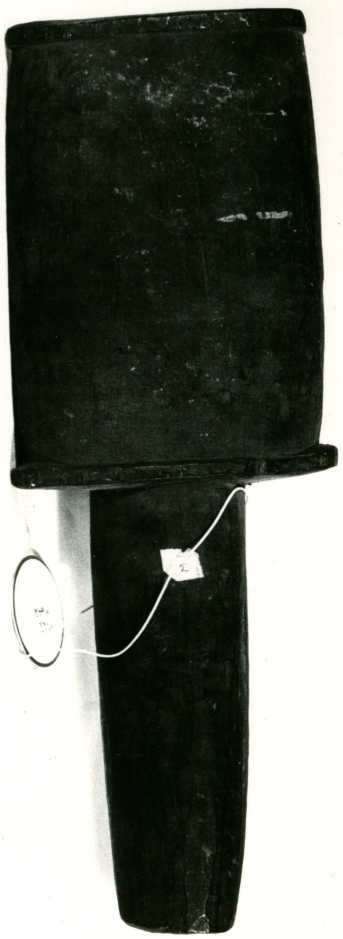


PLATE LXXII

HANDLE OF SPATULA (KAINEVA) FOR STIRRING YAM OR TARO DUMPLINGS (MONA). 11-39878

PLATE LXXIII

WOODEN ANVIL (KAITILAWA) FOR POUNDING TARO (MONA). M-117



642

PLATE LXXIV

UNDECORATED WOODEN MALLET OR BEATER (KAITUTU) FOR POUNDING TARO (MONA). M-642

646

PLATE LXXV

DECORATED WOODEN MALLET OR BEATER (KAITUTU) FOR POUNDING TARO (MONA). M-646

PLATE LXXVI

COCONUT CONTAINER (KWOYVIGA) FOR CARRYING WATER (LUKWAVA). M-119

PLATE LXXVII

UNDECORATED COCONUT CONTAINER (KWOYVIGA) FOR CARRYING WATER (LUKWAVA).
11-40220

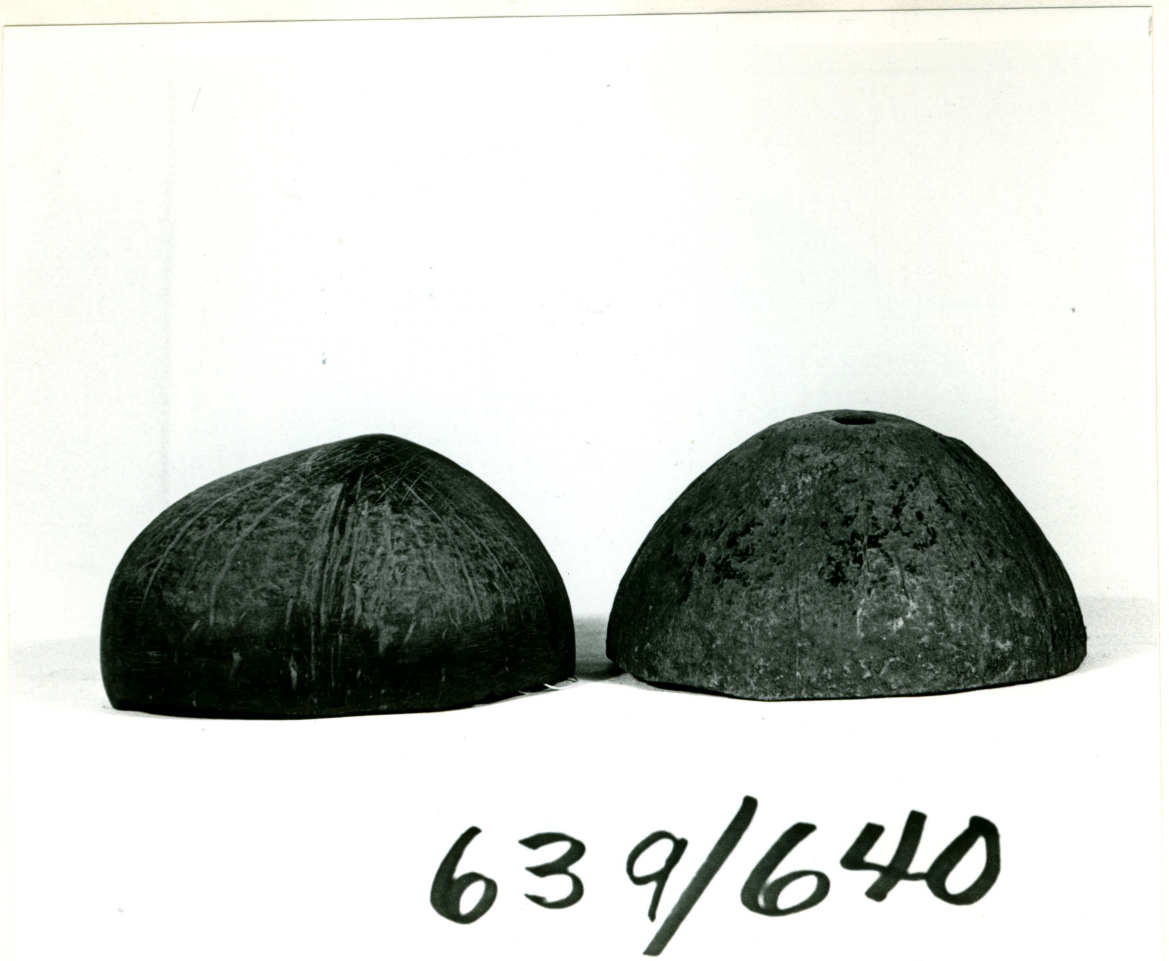


PLATE LXXVIII

COCONUT CONTAINERS (KWOYVIGA) FOR LADLING SOUP (VIGA). M-639-640

PLATE LXXIX

DECORATED COCONUT CONTAINER (KWOYVIGA) FOR SOUP (KAILUBWA). 11-40224

PLATE LXXX

COCONUT CONTAINER (KWOYVIGA) FOR SOUP (KAILUBWA) WITH SAW-TOOTH EDGE.
11-40225

PLATE LXXXI

UNDECORATED COCONUT CONTAINER (KWOYVIGA) FOR HEATING WATER (KWAILUGUBUGWABU). 11-40221

PLATE LXXXII

DECORATED COCONUT CONTAINER (KWOYVIGA); STRAP-HANDLED WATER-SCOOP.
M-120

PLATE LXXXIII

UNIDENTIFIED COCONUT CONTAINER (KWOYVIGA);
POSSIBLY A DRINKING CUP. M-123

PLATE LXXXIV

FIRE-PLOUGHS. M-670B, M-158

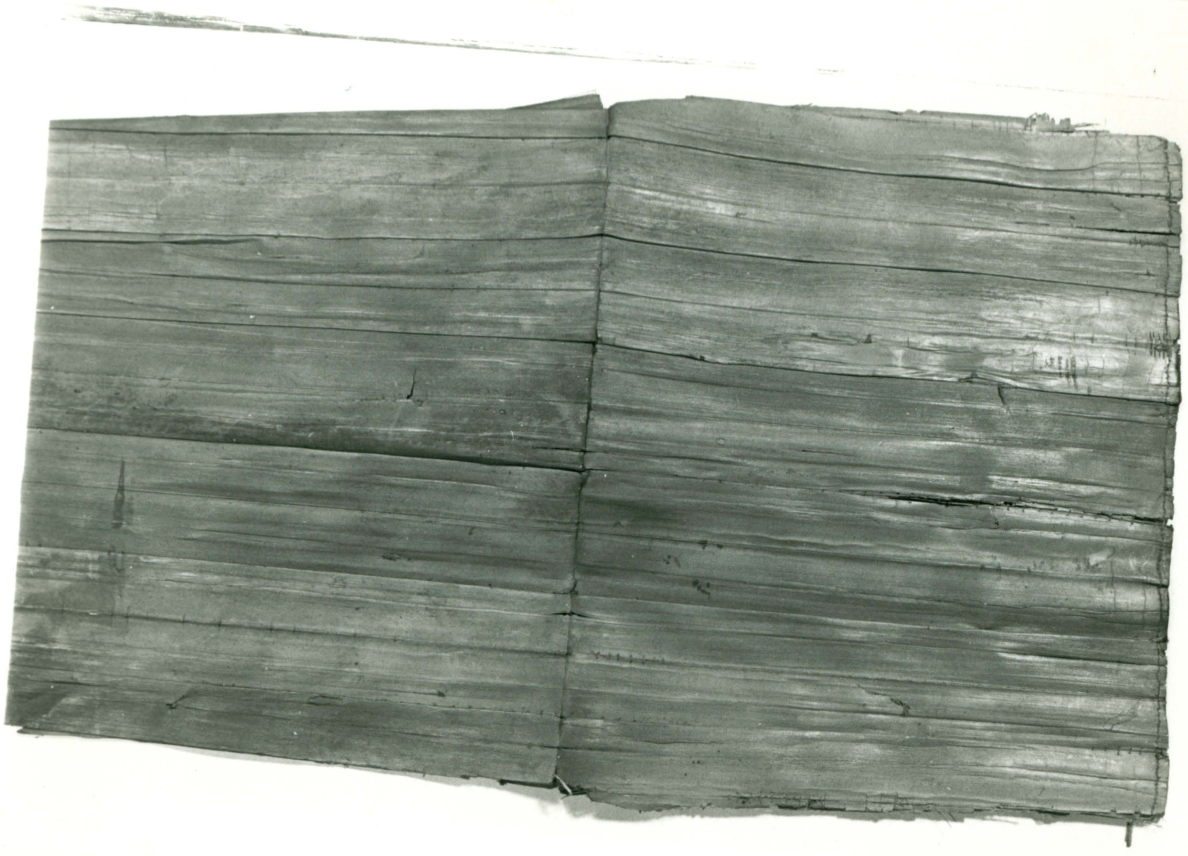


PLATE LXXXV

MAT (MOI), HOUSEHOLD AND GENERAL UTILITY. 11-42129

PLATE LXXXVI

MAT (MOI), HOUSEHOLD AND GENERAL UTILITY. 11-42125

PLATE LXXXVII

WOODEN HEAD-REST. M-56

PLATE LXXXVIII

GABLE BASE BOARD (BISIYA'I). M-89

PLATE LXXXIX

HOUSE RIDGE POLE ORNAMENT (MWAMWALA) IN THE FORM OF A MULUBINA BIRD.
M-653

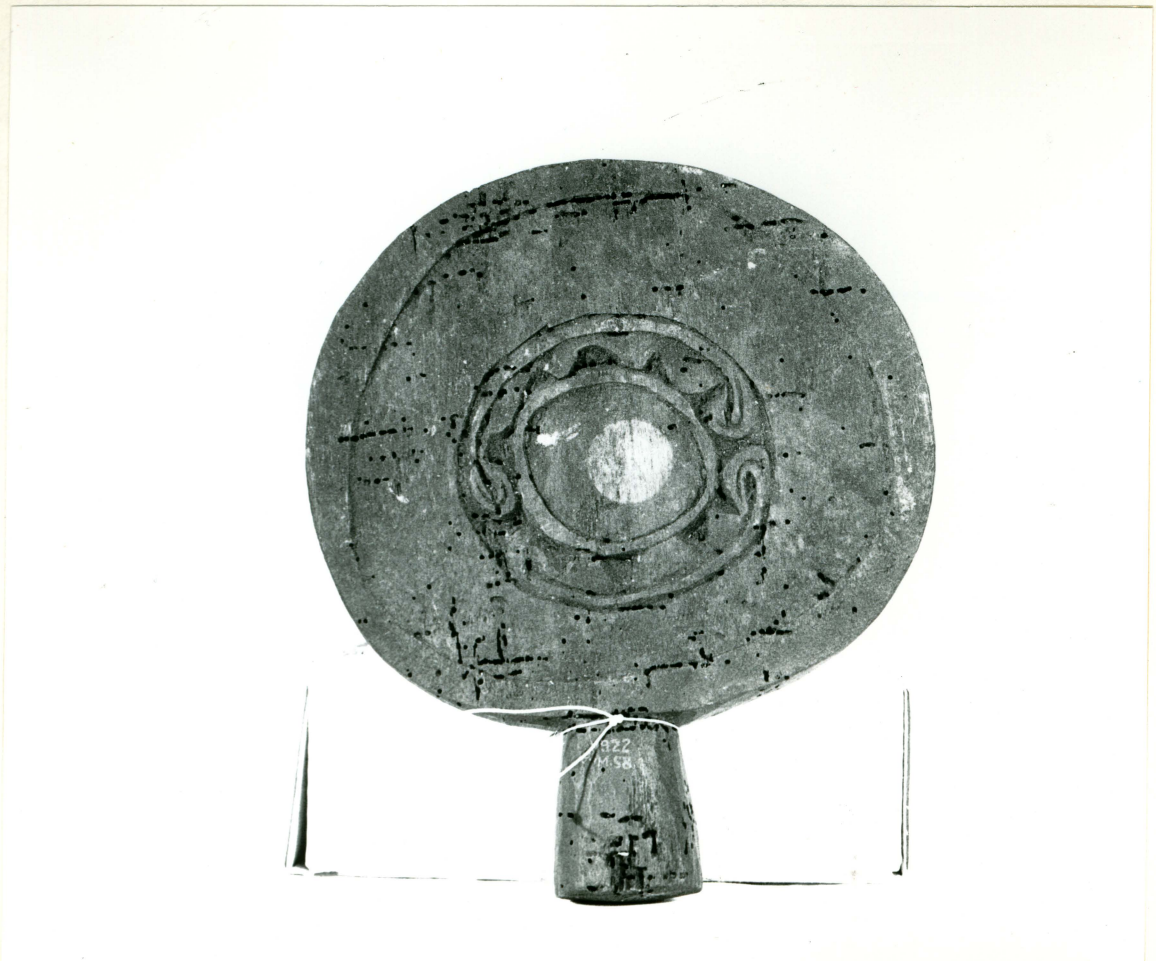


PLATE XC

CIRCULAR RIDGE POLE ORNAMENT (MWAMWALA), OBVERSE. M-58

PLATE XCI

CIRCULAR RIDGE POLE ORNAMENT (MWAMWALA), REVERSE. M-58

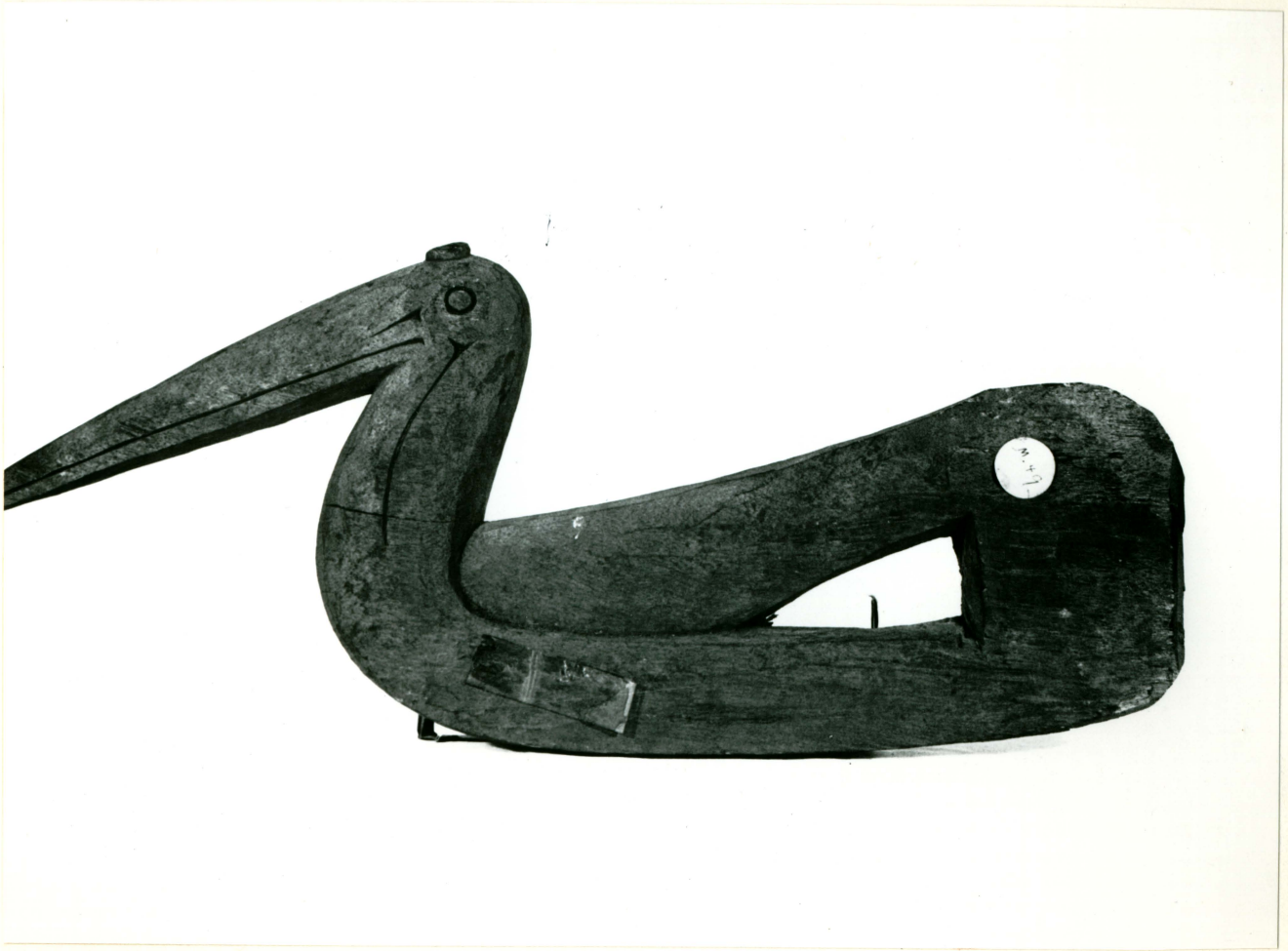


PLATE XCII

HOUSE RIDGE ORNAMENT (MWAMWALA) IN THE FORM OF A BIRD. M-49

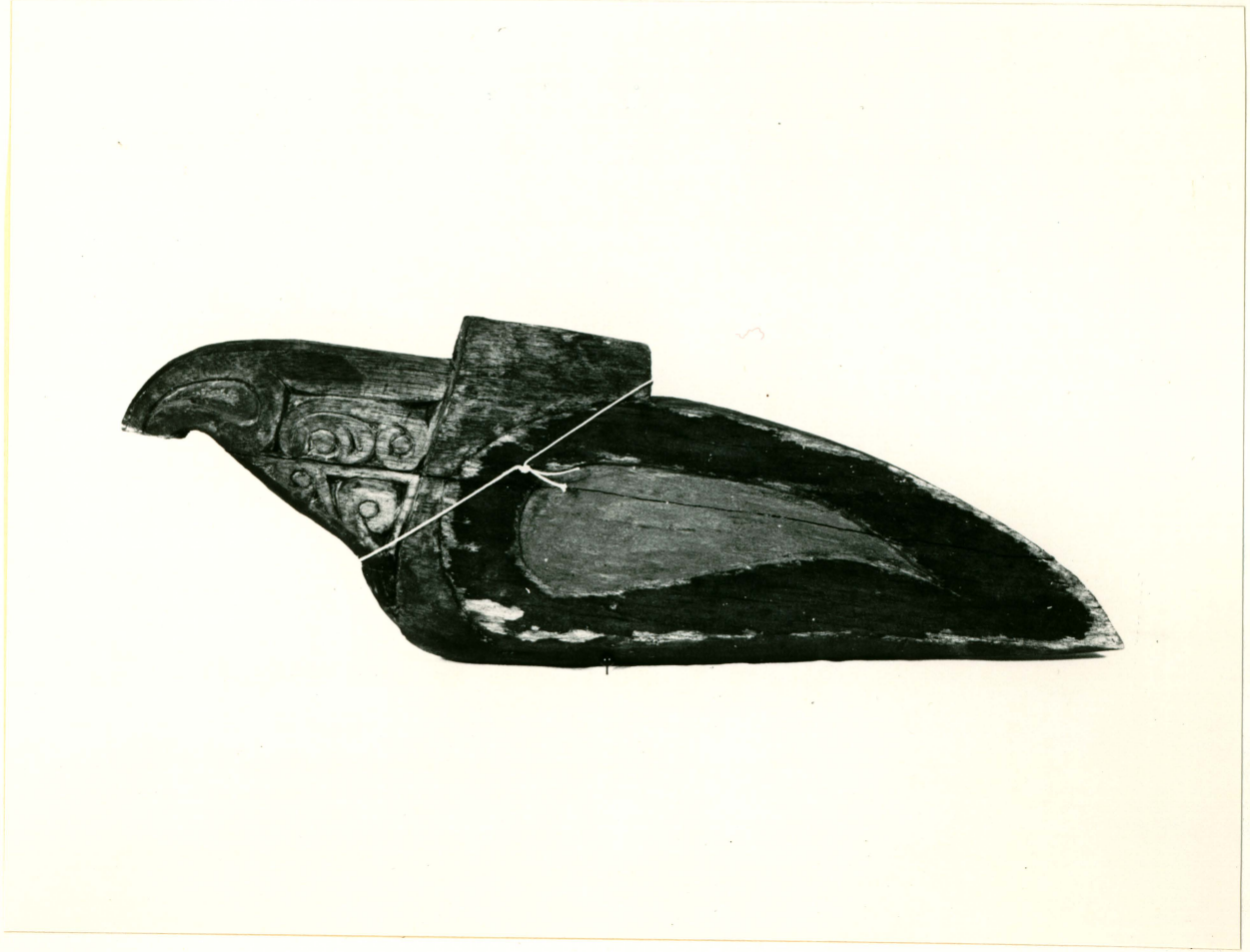


PLATE XCIII

HOUSE RIDGE ORNAMENT (MWAMWALA) IN THE FORM OF A BIRD. M-50

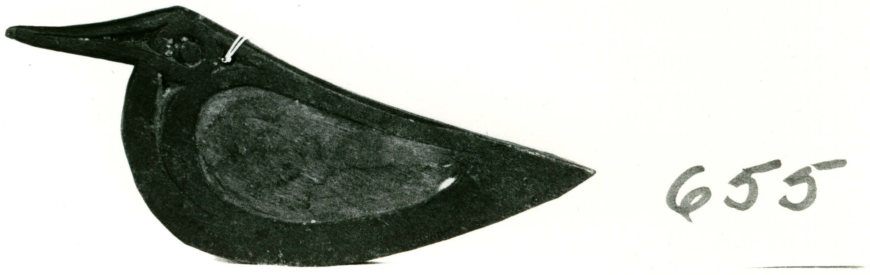


PLATE XCIV

HOUSE RIDGE ORNAMENT (MWAMWALA) IN THE FORM OF A BIRD. M-655

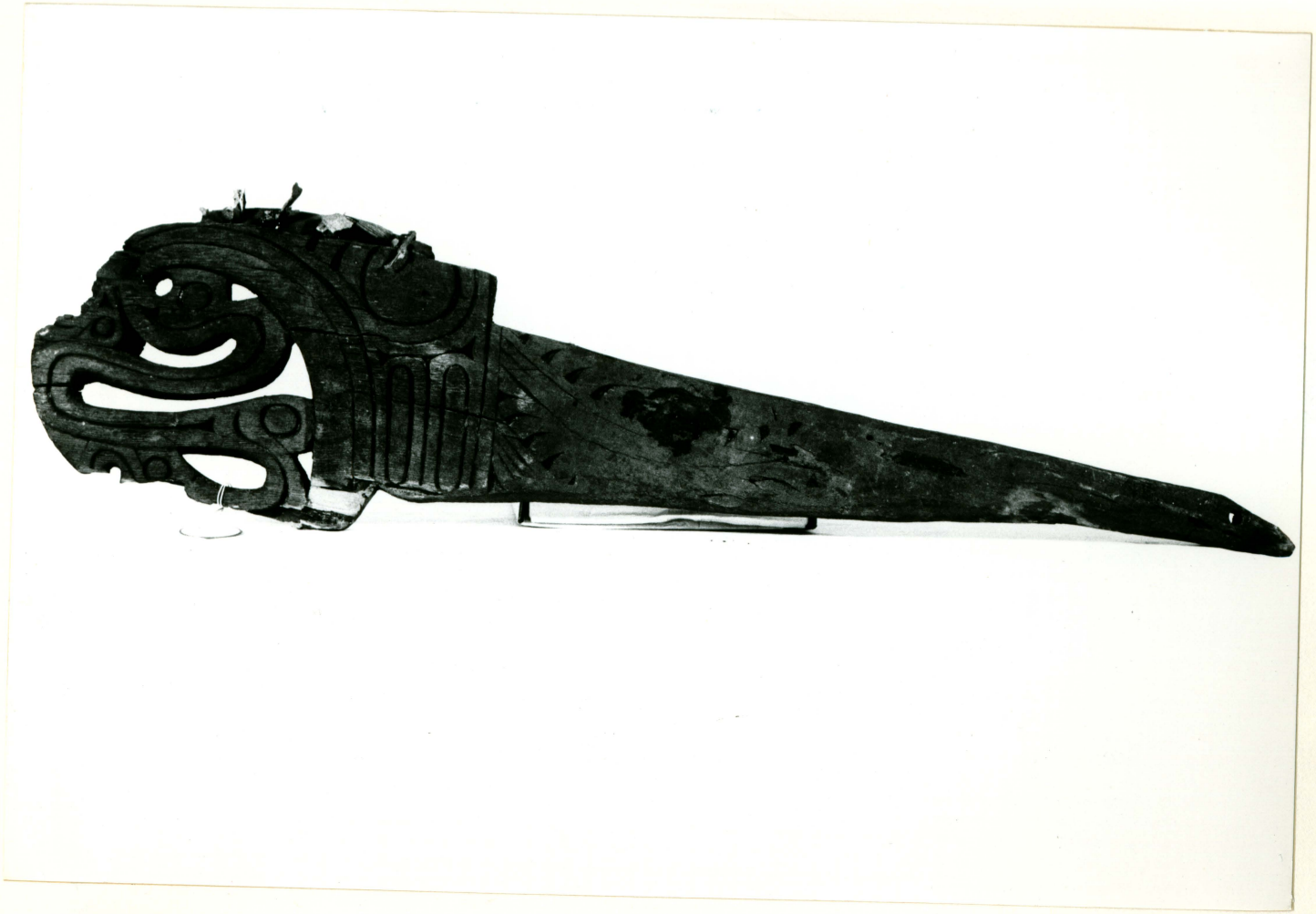


PLATE XCV

HOUSE FRONT ORNAMENT (MWAMWALA). M-88

PLATE XCVI

HOUSE FRONT ORNAMENT (MWAMWALA), WITH HUMAN HEAD. M-51

PLATE XCVII

FRONT VIEW OF HOUSE FRONT ORNAMENT (MWAMWALA). M-51

PLATE XCVIII

UNIDENTIFIED CARVING; POSSIBLY HOUSE ORNAMENT, SIDE 1. M-651

PLATE XCIX

UNIDENTIFIED CARVING; POSSIBLY HOUSE ORNAMENT, SIDE 2. M-651

PLATE C

UNIDENTIFIED CARVING, POSSIBLY HOUSE ORNAMENT, SIDE 1. M-652

354
3081
1976
809
v. 3

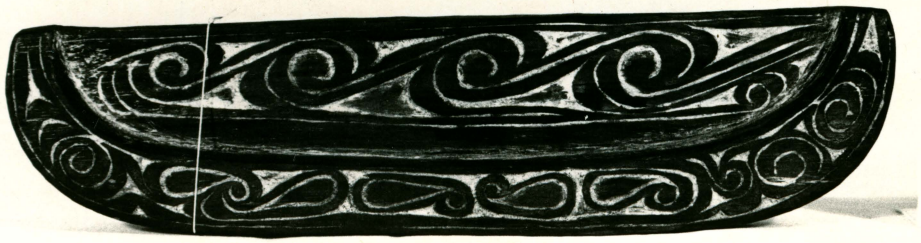


PLATE CI

UNIDENTIFIED CARVING, POSSIBLY HOUSE ORNAMENT, SIDE 2. M-652

PLATE CII

DETAIL OF HANDLE OF PALM WOOD FIGHTING SPEAR (KA'YALA).
11-39882

PLATE CIII

DECORATED HANDLE OF PALM WOOD FIGHTING SPEAR (KA'YALA). M-351

PLATE CIV

UPPER HALF OF BARBED FIGHTING SPEAR (KAILAKA'UKUWA), PROBABLY AN IMPORT FROM D'ENTRECASTEAUX ISLANDS. M-352

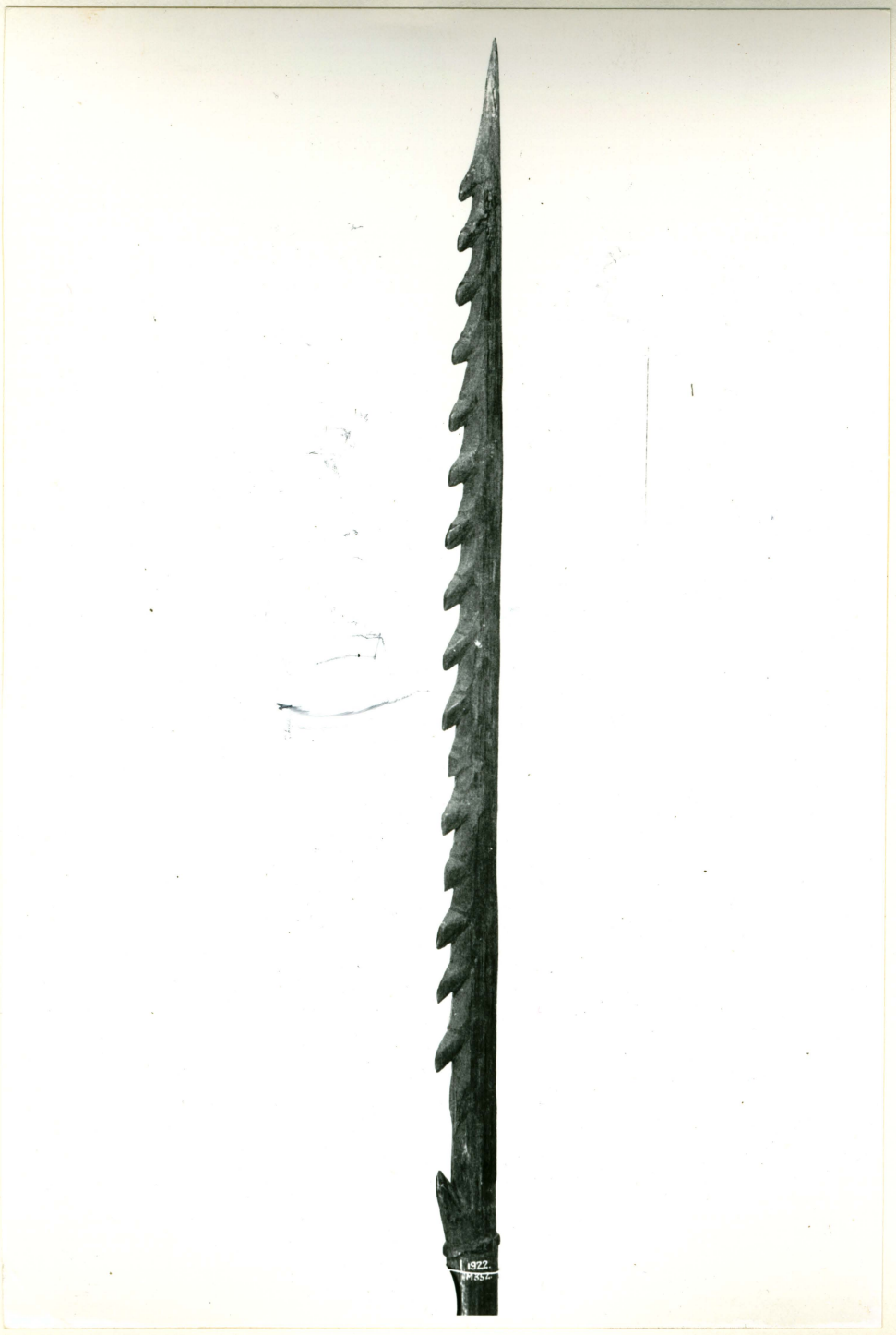
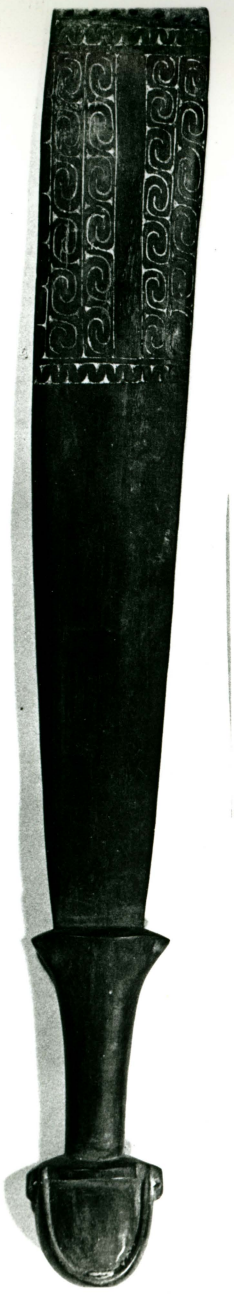


PLATE CV

BARBED SECTION OF FIGHTING SPEAR (KAILAKA'UKUWA).
PROBABLY AN IMPORT FROM D'ENTRECASTEAUX ISLANDS. M-352



11-39789

PLATE CVI

SWORD-CLUB (PULATA) WITH TRUNCATED TIP. 11-39789

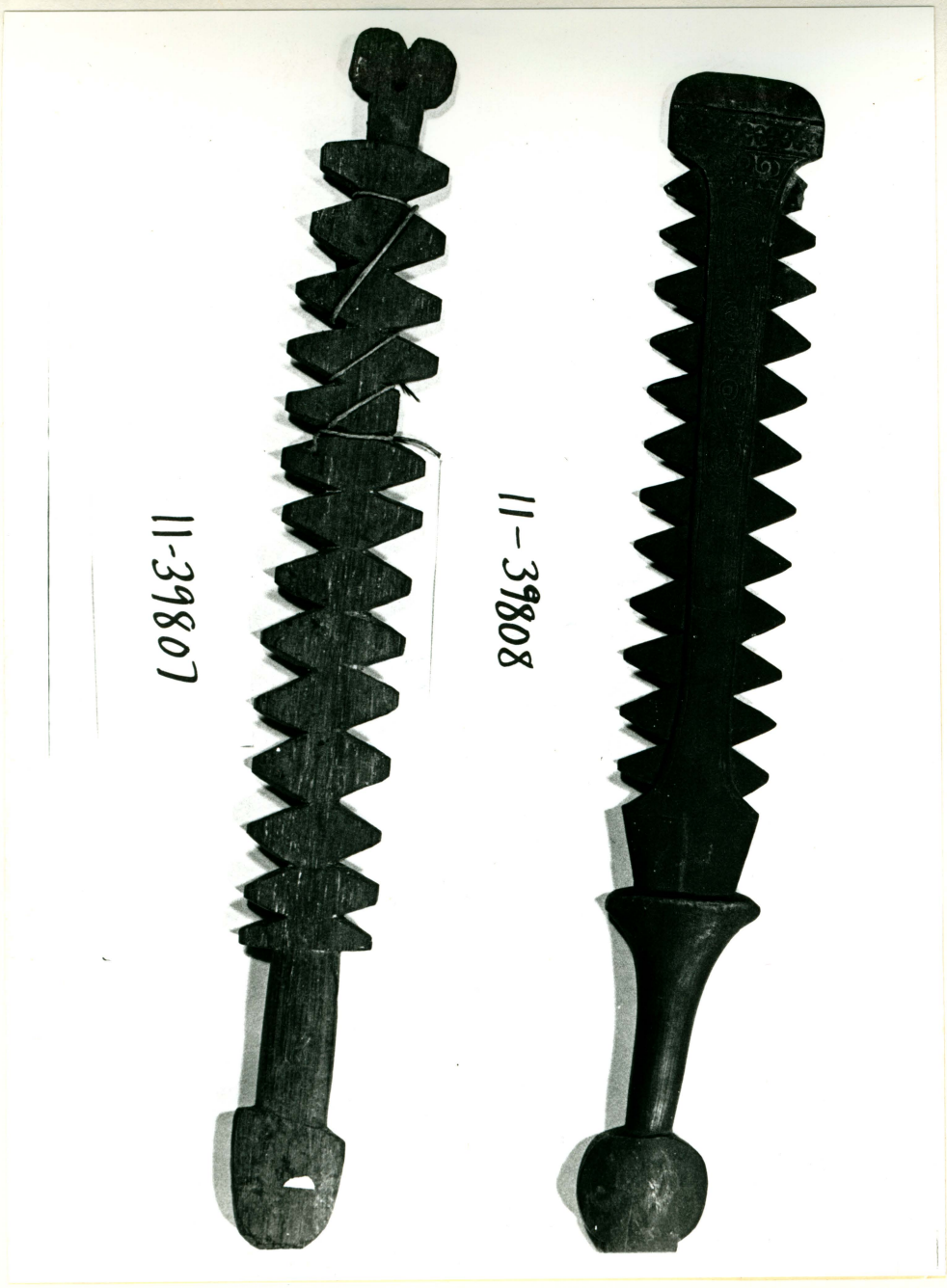


PLATE CVII

SWORD-CLUBS (PULATA), SAW-TOOTH EDGED. 11-39807, 39808

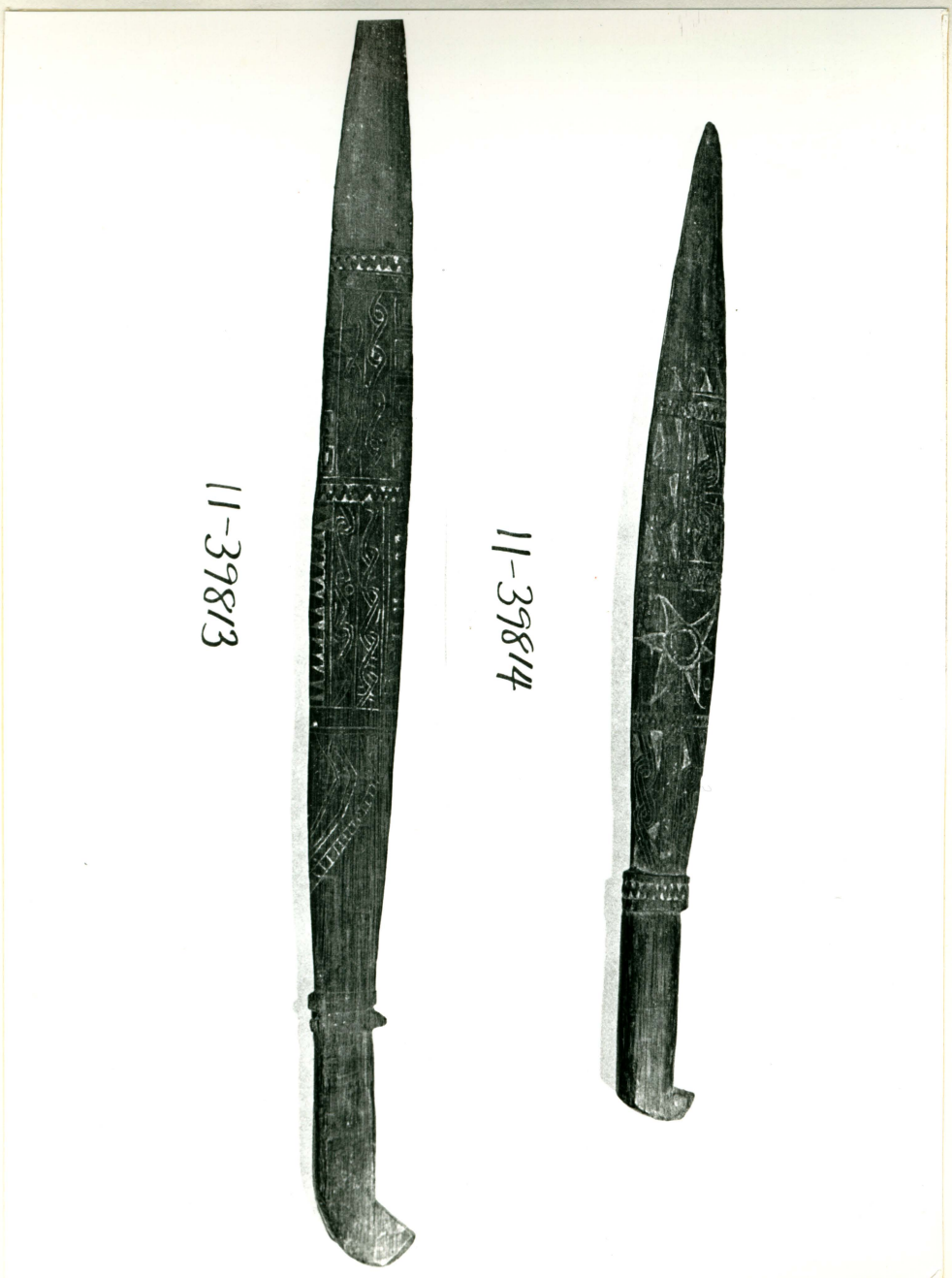


PLATE CVIII

SWORD-CLUBS (PULATA), MACHETE SHAPE. 11-39813, 19814

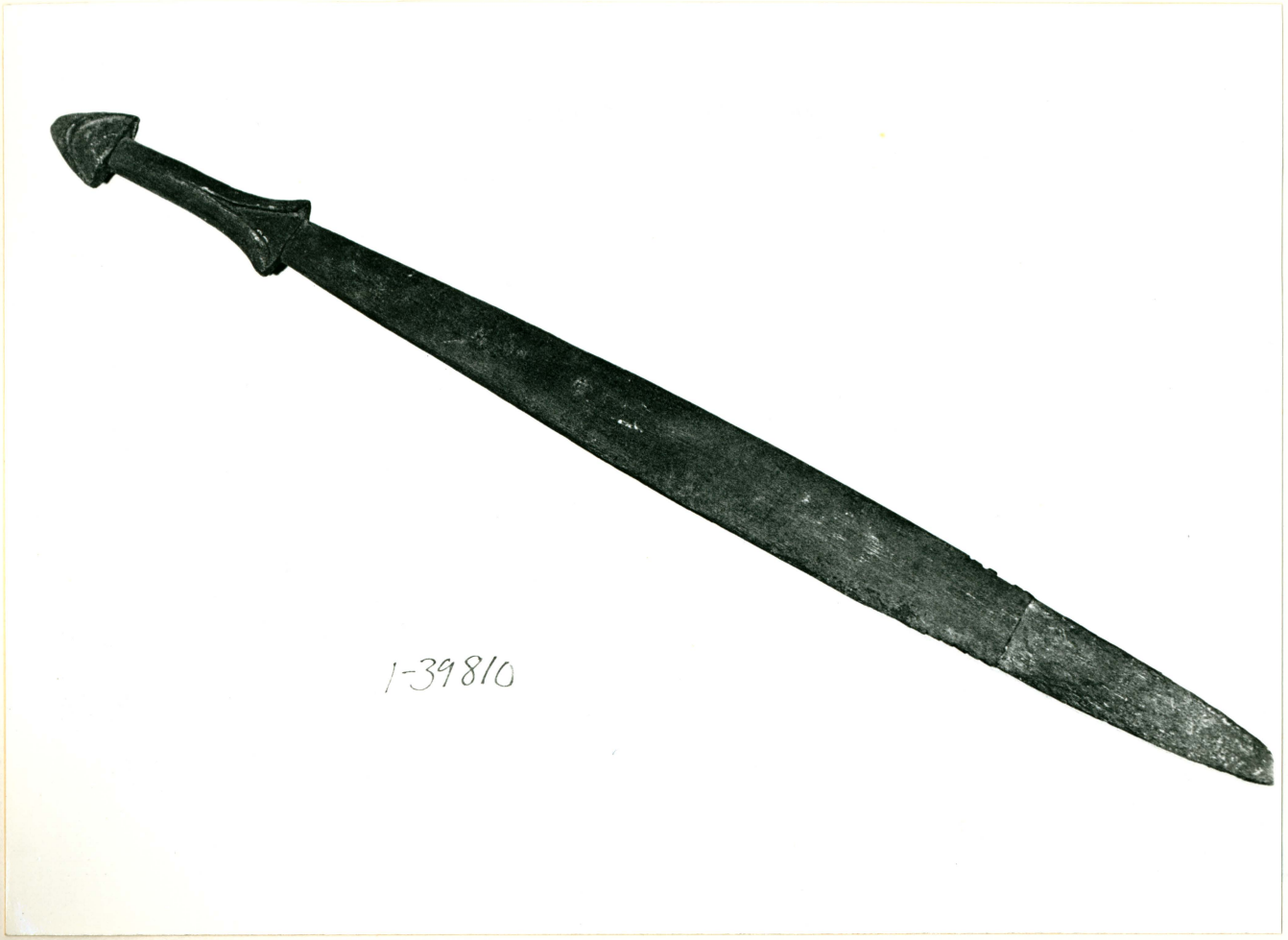


PLATE CIX

SWORD-CLUB (PULATA), LEAF-SHAPED BLADE. 11-39810

PLATE CX

SPARRING CLUB/WALKING STICK/SWAGGER STICK (KAITUKUWA). 11-39848

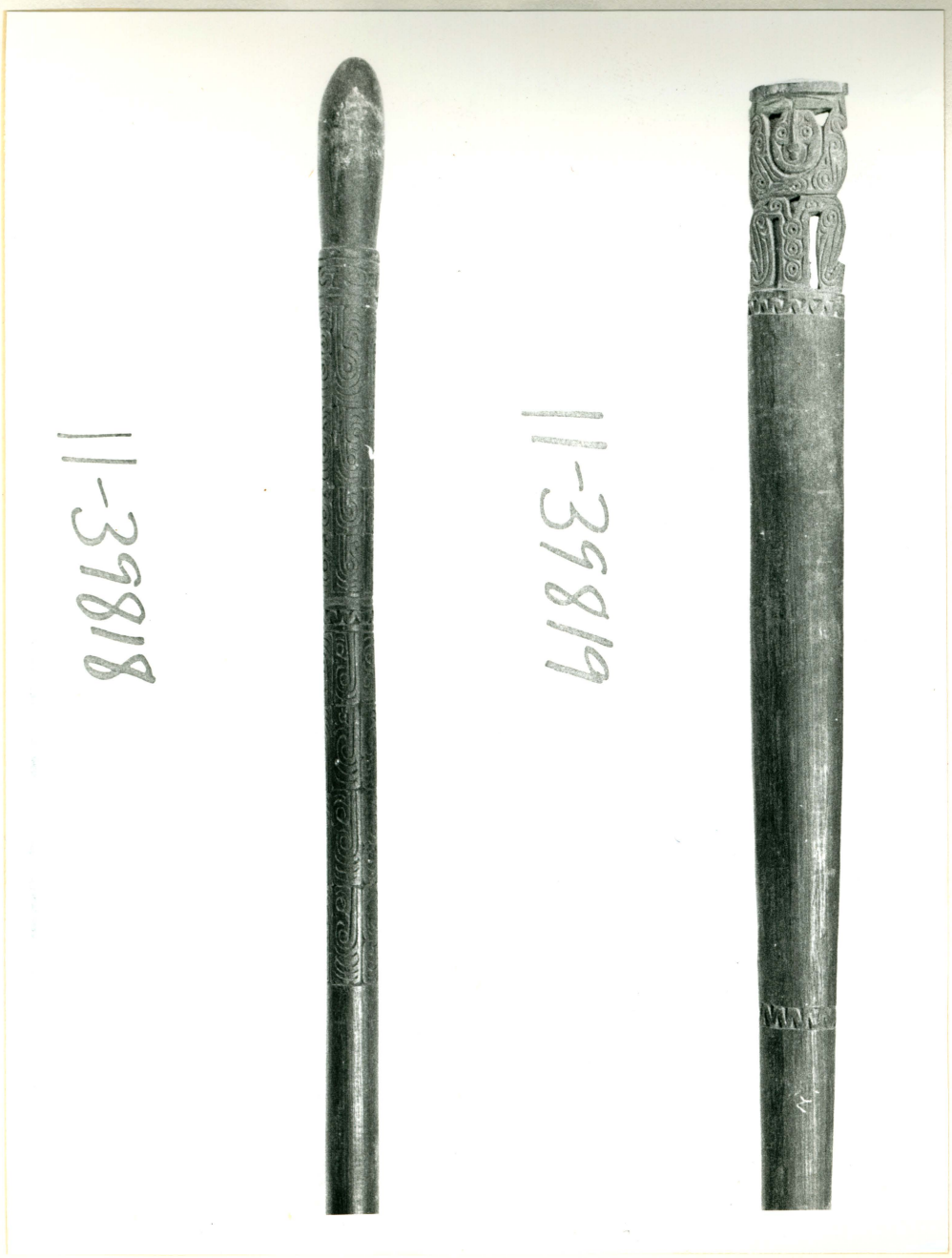


PLATE CXI

FINIALS OF SPARRING CLUBS/WALKING STICKS/SWAGGER STICKS (KAITUKUWA). 11-39818, 39819

PLATE CXII

UPPER HALF OF SPARRING CLUB/WALKING STICK/SWAGGER STICK (KAITUKUWA). 11-39836

PLATE CXIII

FINIAL OF SPARRING CLUB/WALKING STICK/SWAGGER STICK (KAITUKUWA). 11-39825

PLATE CXIV

FINIAL OF SPARRING CLUB/WALKING STICK/SWAGGER STICK (KAITUKUWA). 11-39826

PLATE CXV

FINIAL OF SPARRING CLUB/WALKING STICK/SWAGGER STICK (KAITUKUWA). 11-39848

PLATE CXVI

FINIAL OF SPARRING CLUB/WALKING STICK/SWAGGER STICK (KAITUKUWA). 11-39831

11-39846

PLATE CXVII

DETAIL OF SPARRING CLUB/WALKING STICK/SWAGGER STICK (KAITUKUWA),
WITH FRIGATE BIRD MOTIF. 11-39846

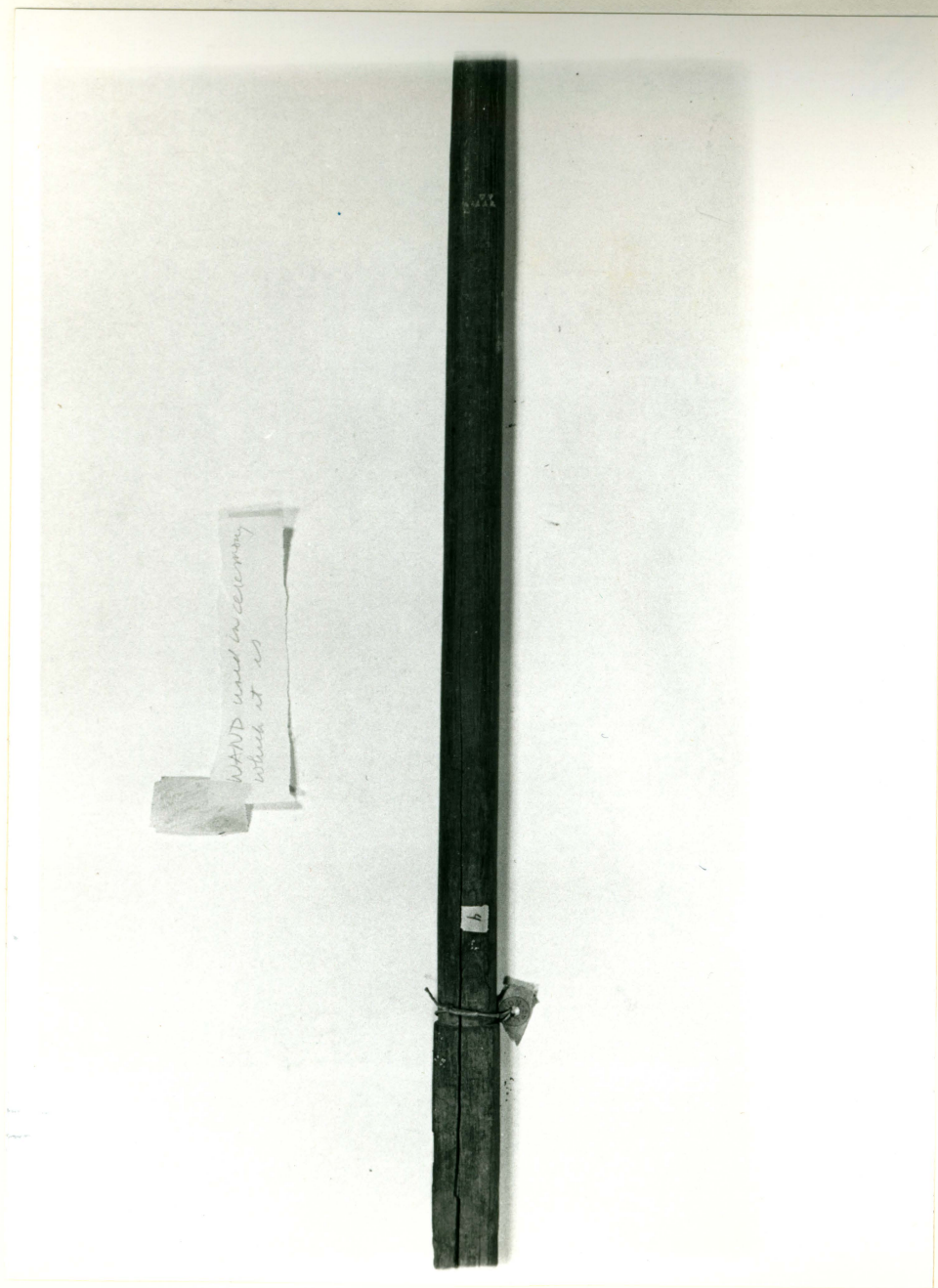


PLATE CXVIII

SMALLER VARIETY OF DEFENSIVE SPEAR (KAI'LEPA). 11-40349

PLATE CXIX

FINIALS OF DEFENSIVE SPEARS (KAI'LEPA). 11-39850, 39851

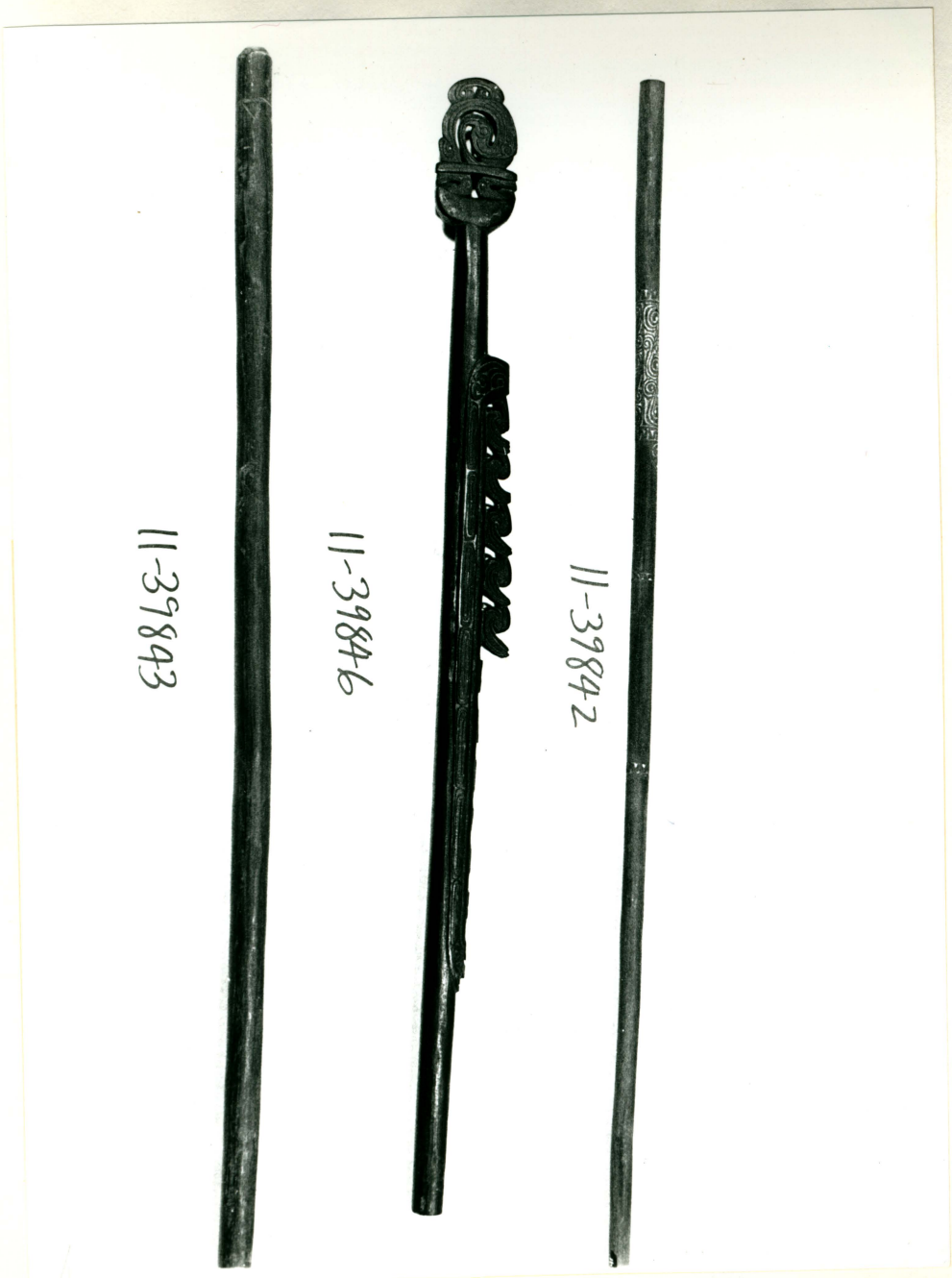


PLATE CXX

LIGHT THROWING STICKS (LEWO). 11-39842, 39843, 39846

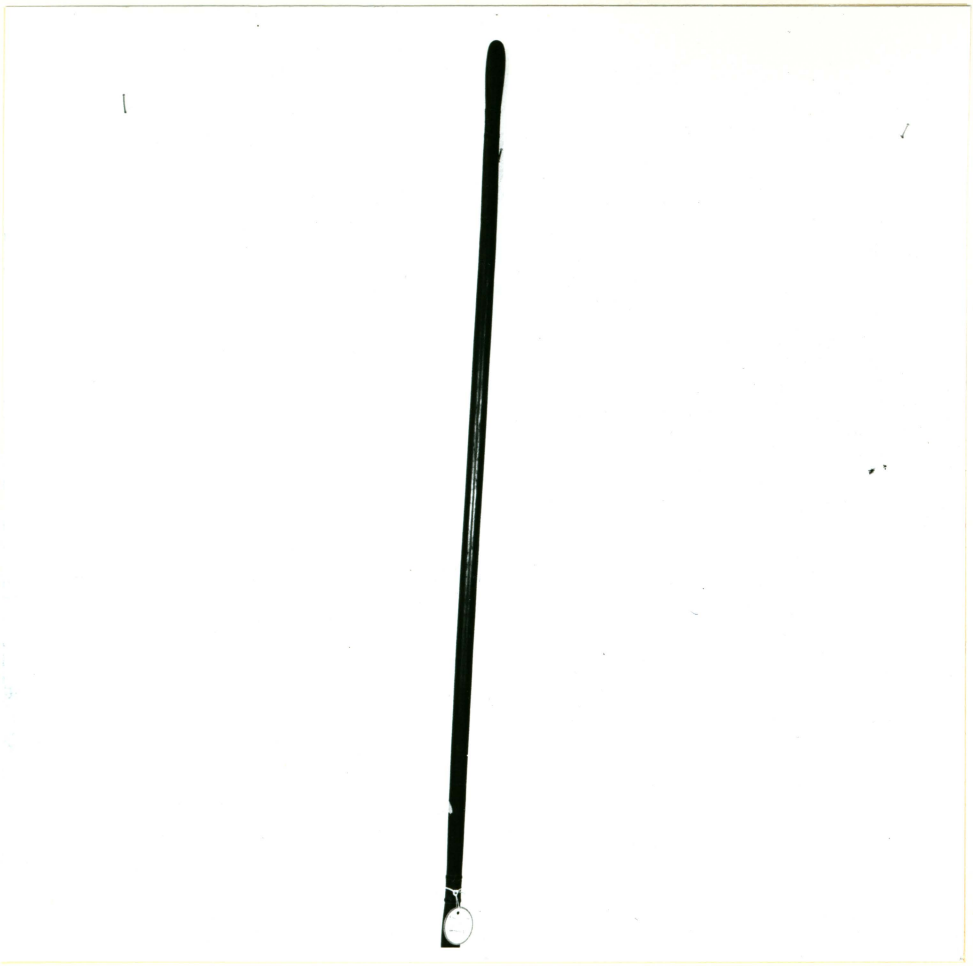


PLATE CXXI

LIGHT THROWING STICK (LEWO). M-162

PLATE CXXII

FINIAL OF THROWING STICK (LEWO). M-162

PLATE CXXIII

CANOE PROW (TABUYO). M-52

PLATE CXXIV

CANOE PROW (TABUYO). M-63

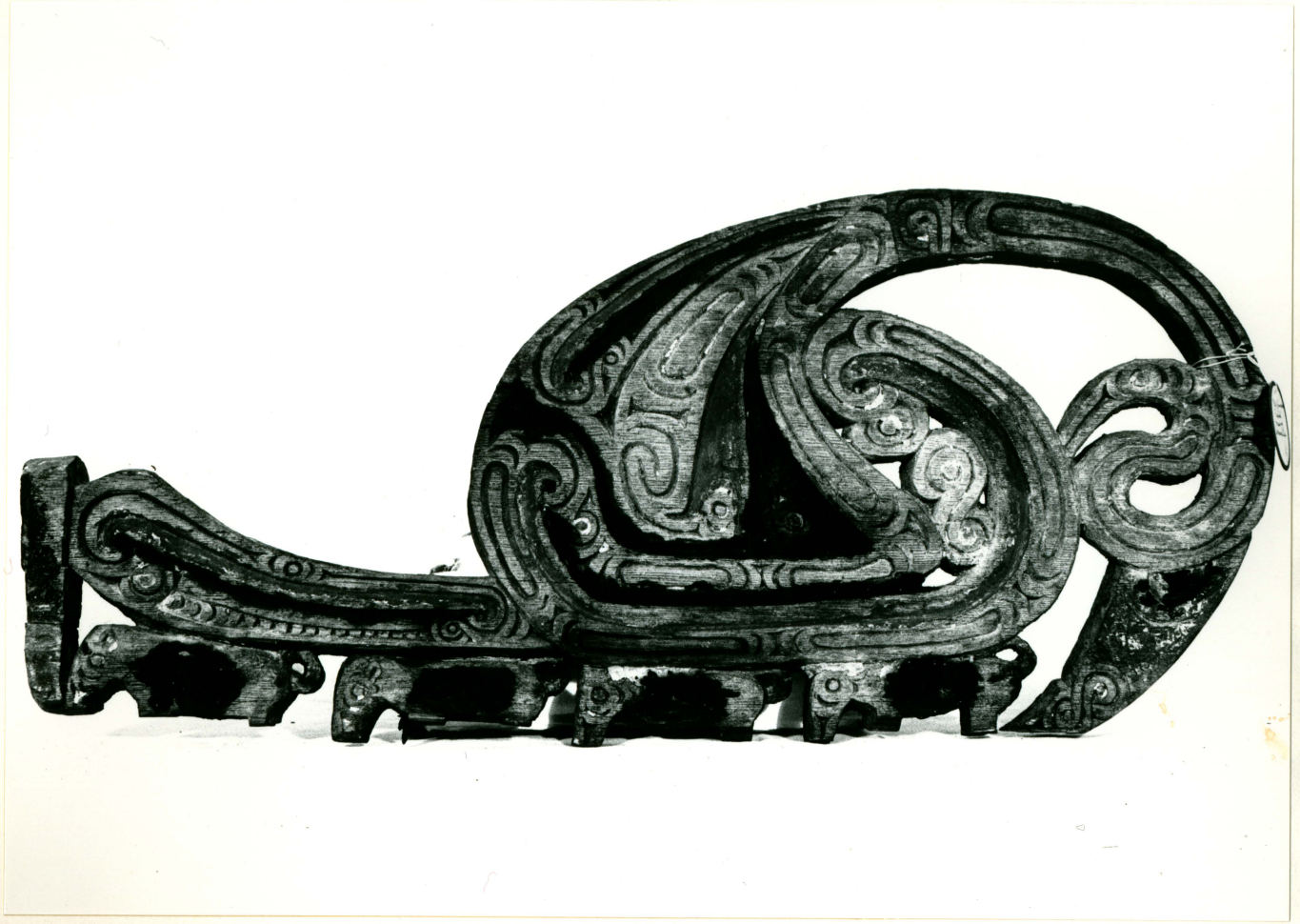


PLATE CXXV

CANOE PROW (TABUYO). M-34

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PLATE CXXVI

MODEL CANOE PROW (TABUYO). M-334

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PLATE CXXVII

MODEL CANOE PROW (TABUYO). M-337

PLATE CXXVIII

WOODLARK ISLAND COMPOSITE PROW ORNAMENT (KUYUWA). M-348

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PLATE CXXIX

WOODLARK ISLAND COMPOSITE PROW ORNAMENT (KUYUWA). M-349

PLATE CXXX

WOODLARK ISLAND SPLASHBOARD (SAKUSAKU). M-37

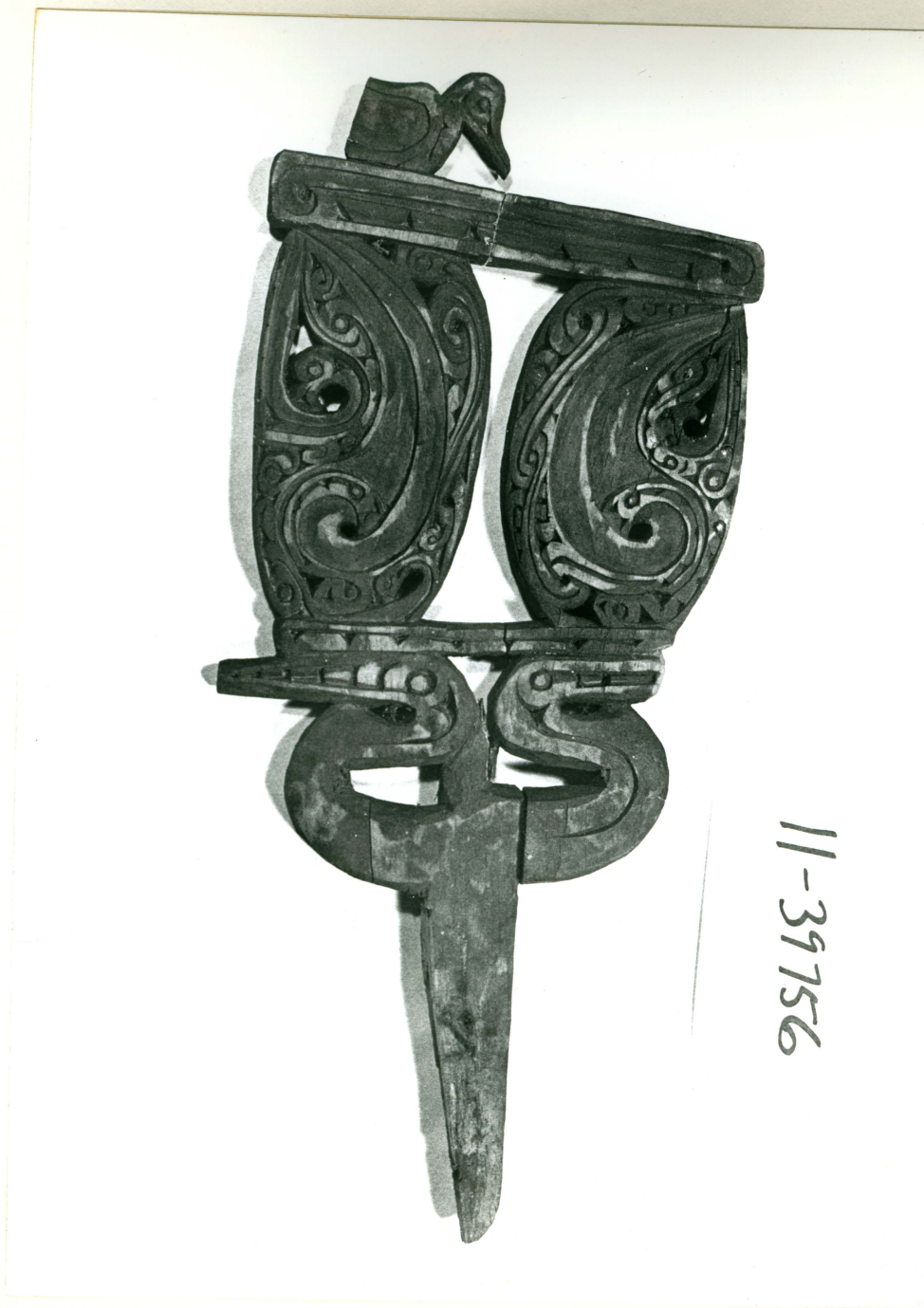

PLATE CXXXI

WOODLARK ISLAND SPLASHBOARD (SAKUSAKU). 11-39756

PLATE CXXXII

CANOE SPLASHBOARD (LAGIM). M-55

PLATE CXXXIII

CANOE SPLASHBOARD (LAGIM). 11-39748

PLATE CXXXIV

CANOE SPLASHBOARD (LAGIM), WITH LARGE RIGHT VOLUTE, SINGLE FIGURE. M-65

PLATE CXXXV

CANOE SPLASHBOARD (LAGIM), WITH LARGE LEFT VOLUTE, TWIN FIGURES. M-38

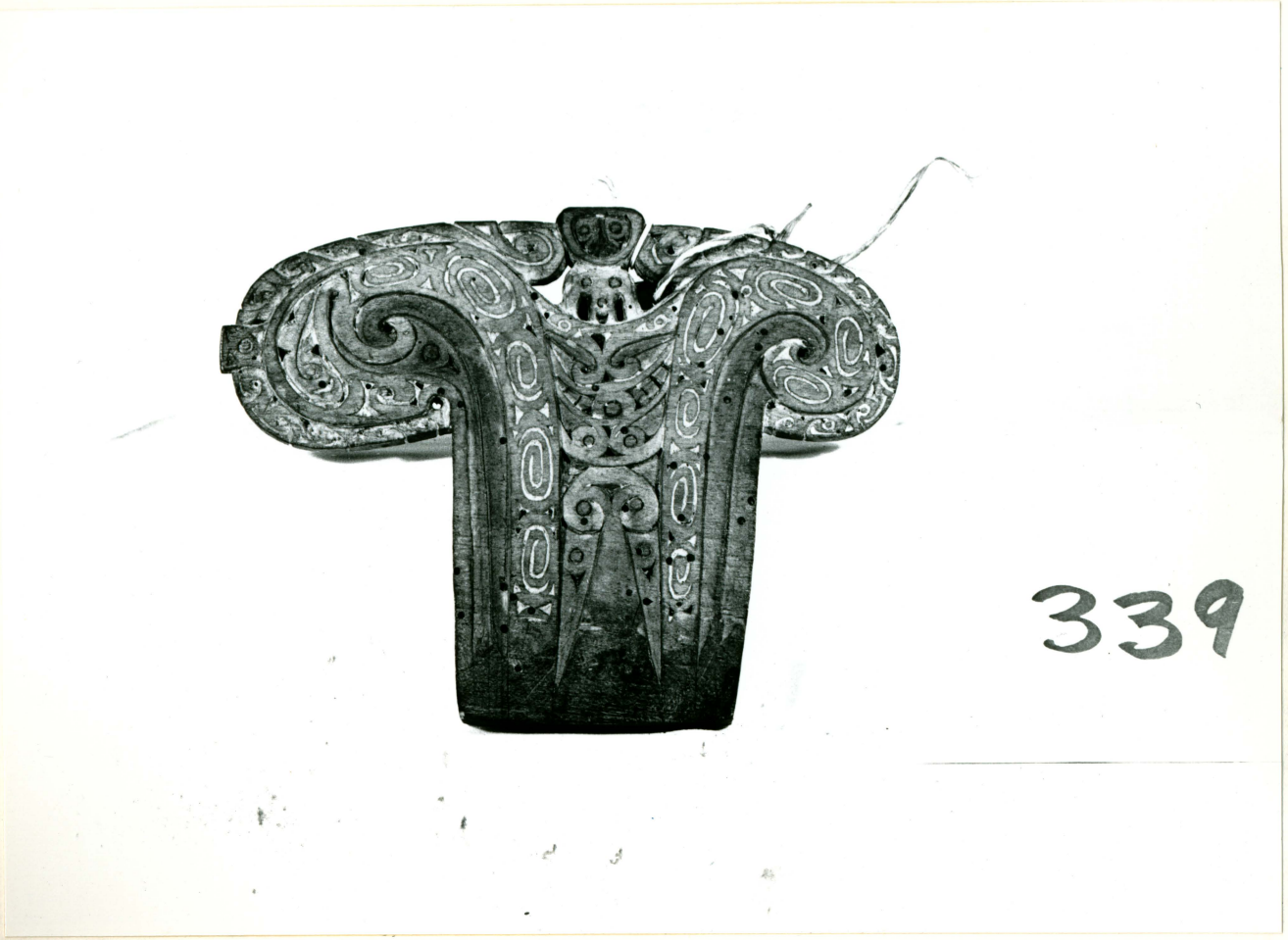

PLATE CXXXVI

MODEL CANOE SPLASHBOARD (LAGIM), WITH LARGE LEFT VOLUTE, SINGLE FIGURE. M-339

PLATE CXXXVII

MODEL CANOE SPLASHBOARD (LAGIM), WITH LARGE LEFT VOLUTE, TWIN FIGURES. M-343

346

PLATE CXXXVIII

MODEL CANOE SPLASHBOARD (LAGIM), WITH LARGE RIGHT VOLUTE, TWIN FIGURES. M-346

338

PLATE CXXXIX

MODEL CANOE SPLASHBOARD (LAGIM). M-338

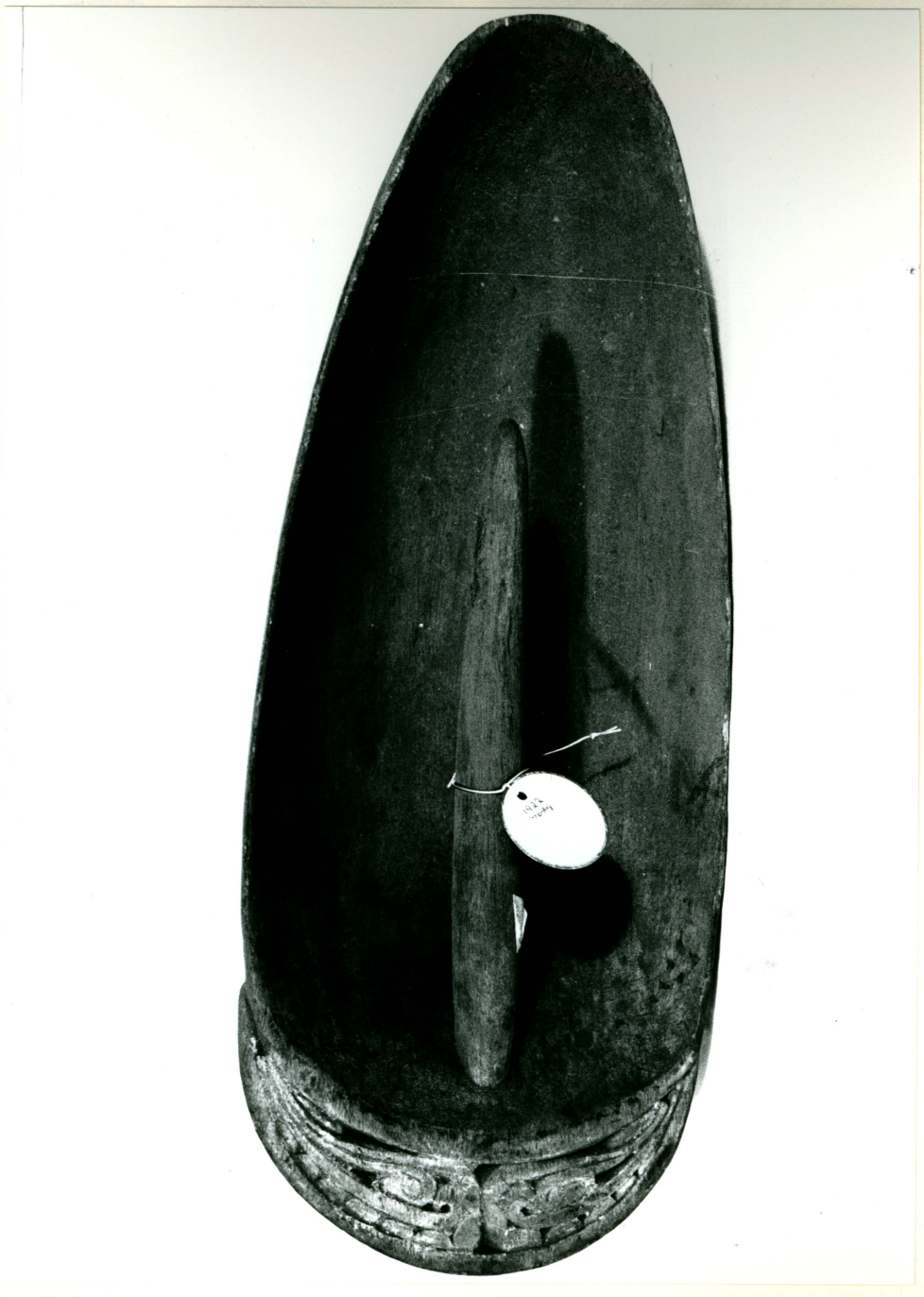

PLATE CXL

CANOE BAILER (KWADUYA). M-649

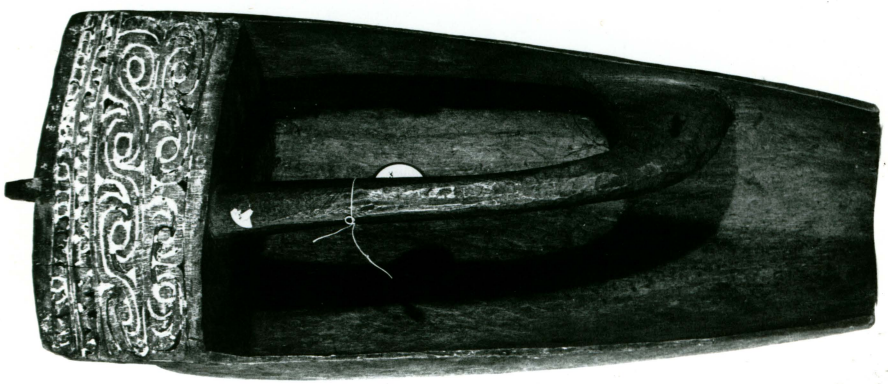

PLATE CXLI

CANOE BAILER (KWADUYA), TOP VIEW. M-69

PLATE CXLII

CANOE BAILER (KWADUYA). M-69

PLATE CXLIII

CANOE BAILER (KWADUYA). M-70

PLATE CXLIV

CANOE BAILER (KWADUYA), GASTROPOD SHELL (MELO DIADEMA). M-532

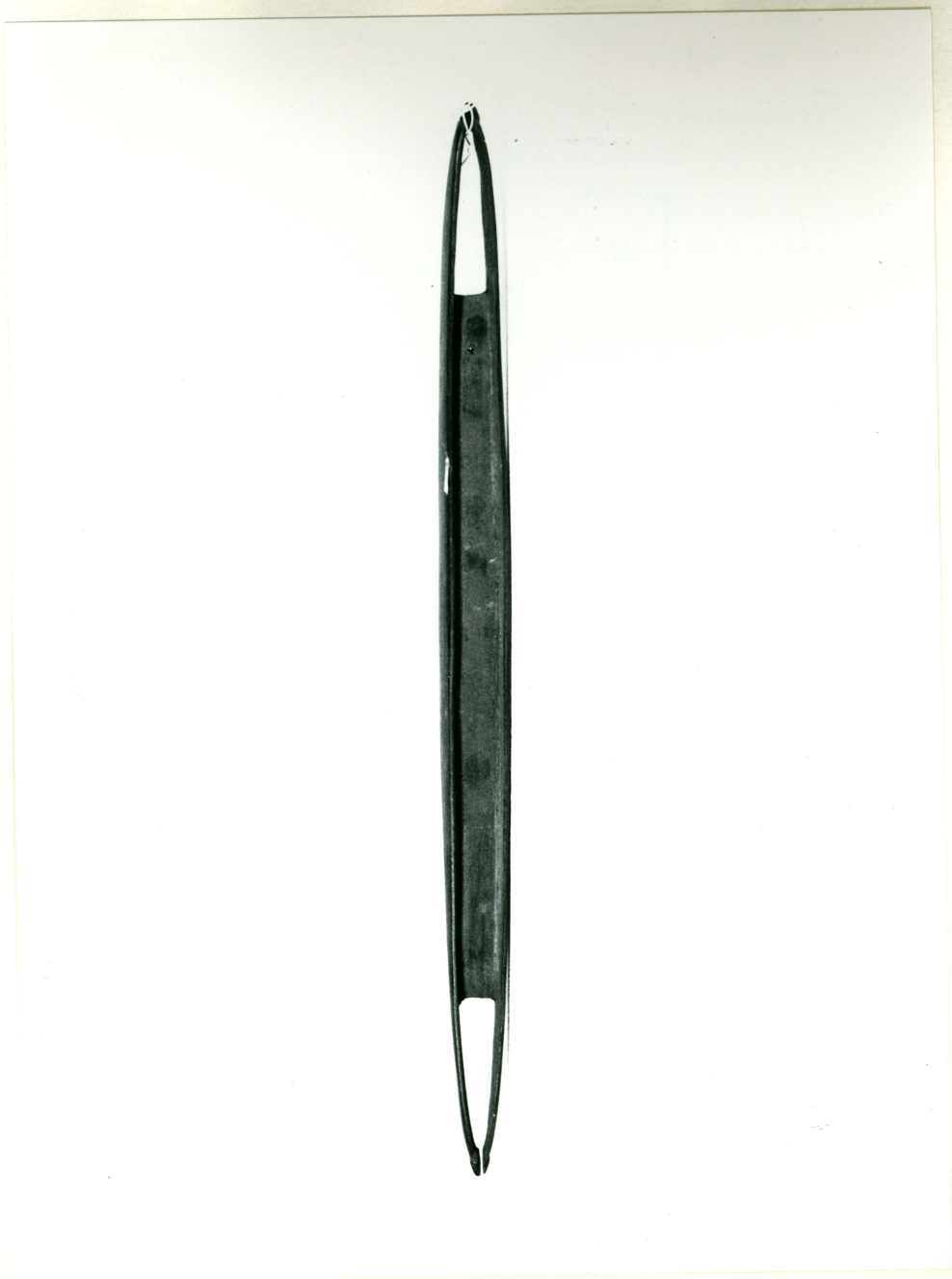

PLATE CXLV

NETTING SHUTTLE (NIULI). M-168

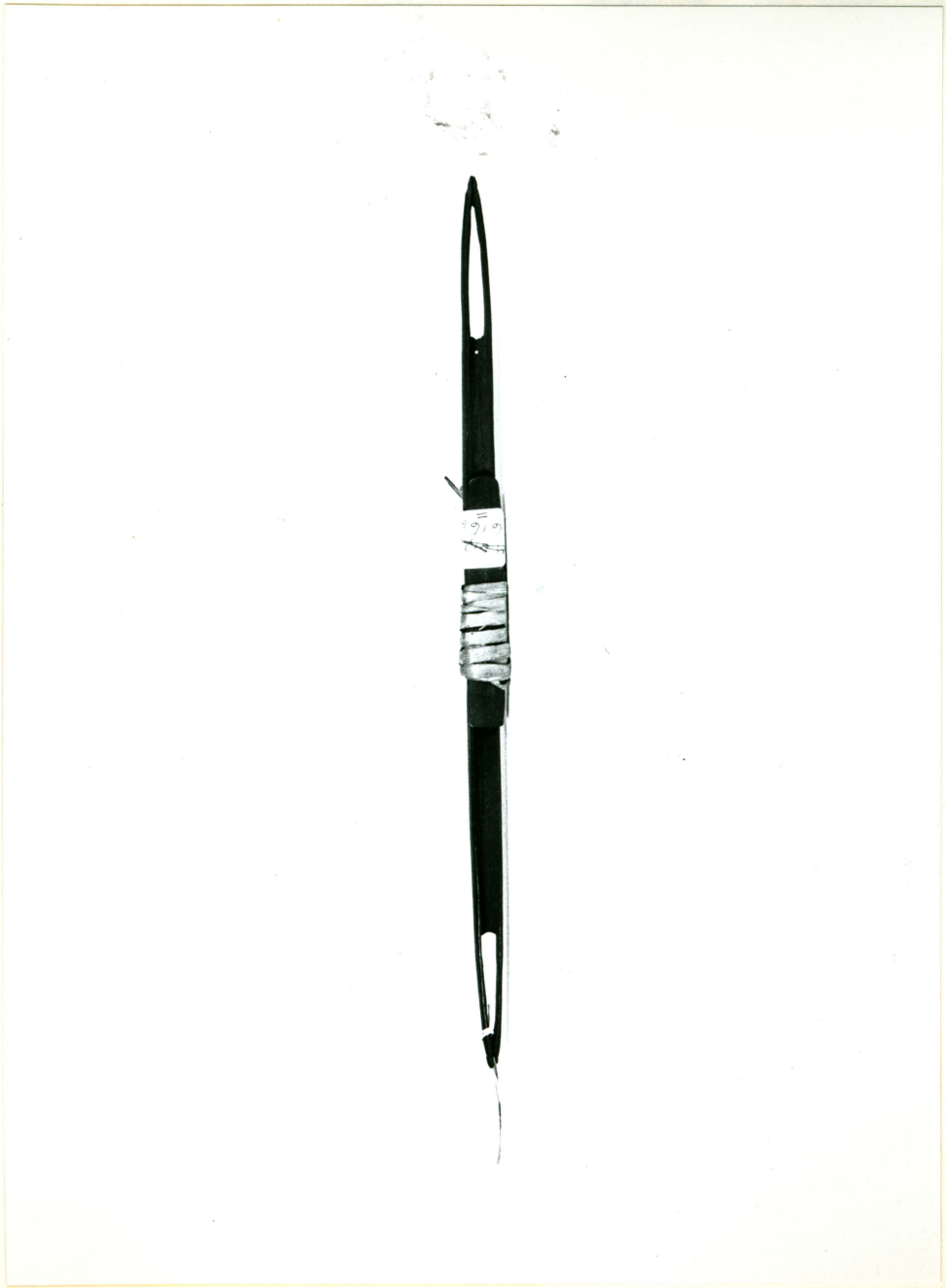

PLATE CXLVI

NETTING SHUTTLE (NIULI), AND MESH GAUGE (MATILA). M-616A,B

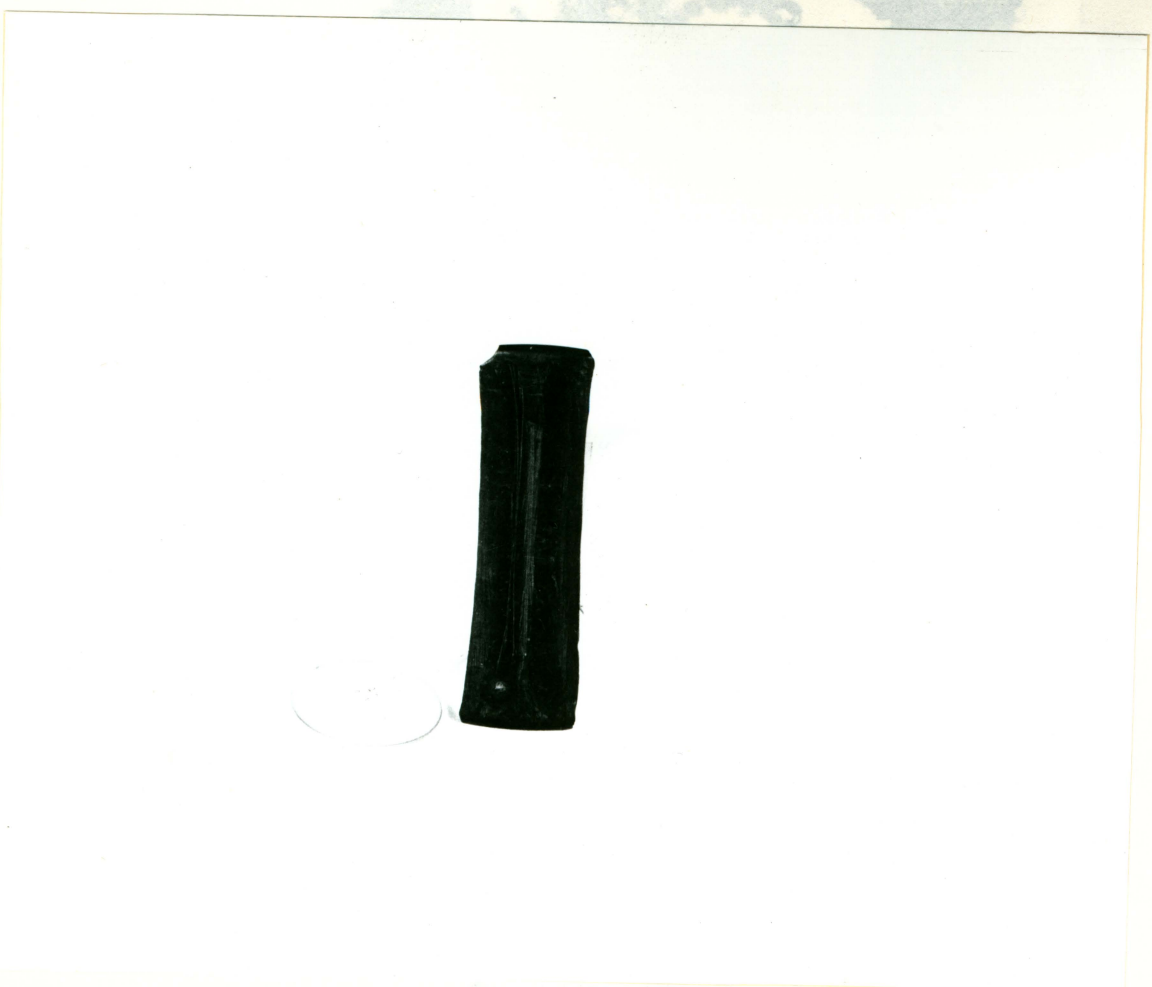

PLATE CXLVII

MESH GAUGE (MATILA). M-619

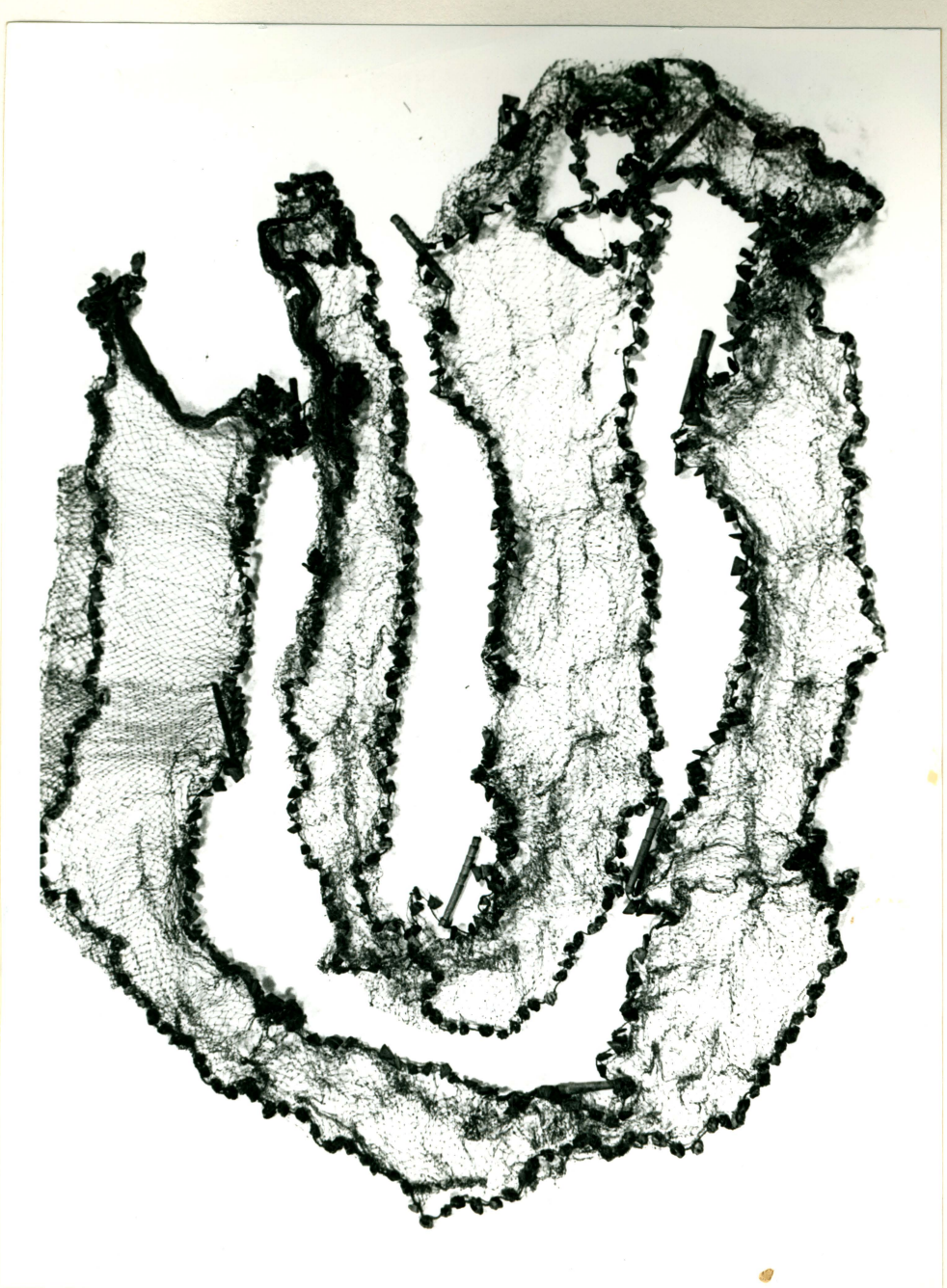

PLATE CXLVIII

FISHING NET FOR SHALLOW WATER (OTILAPEWO). 11-40284

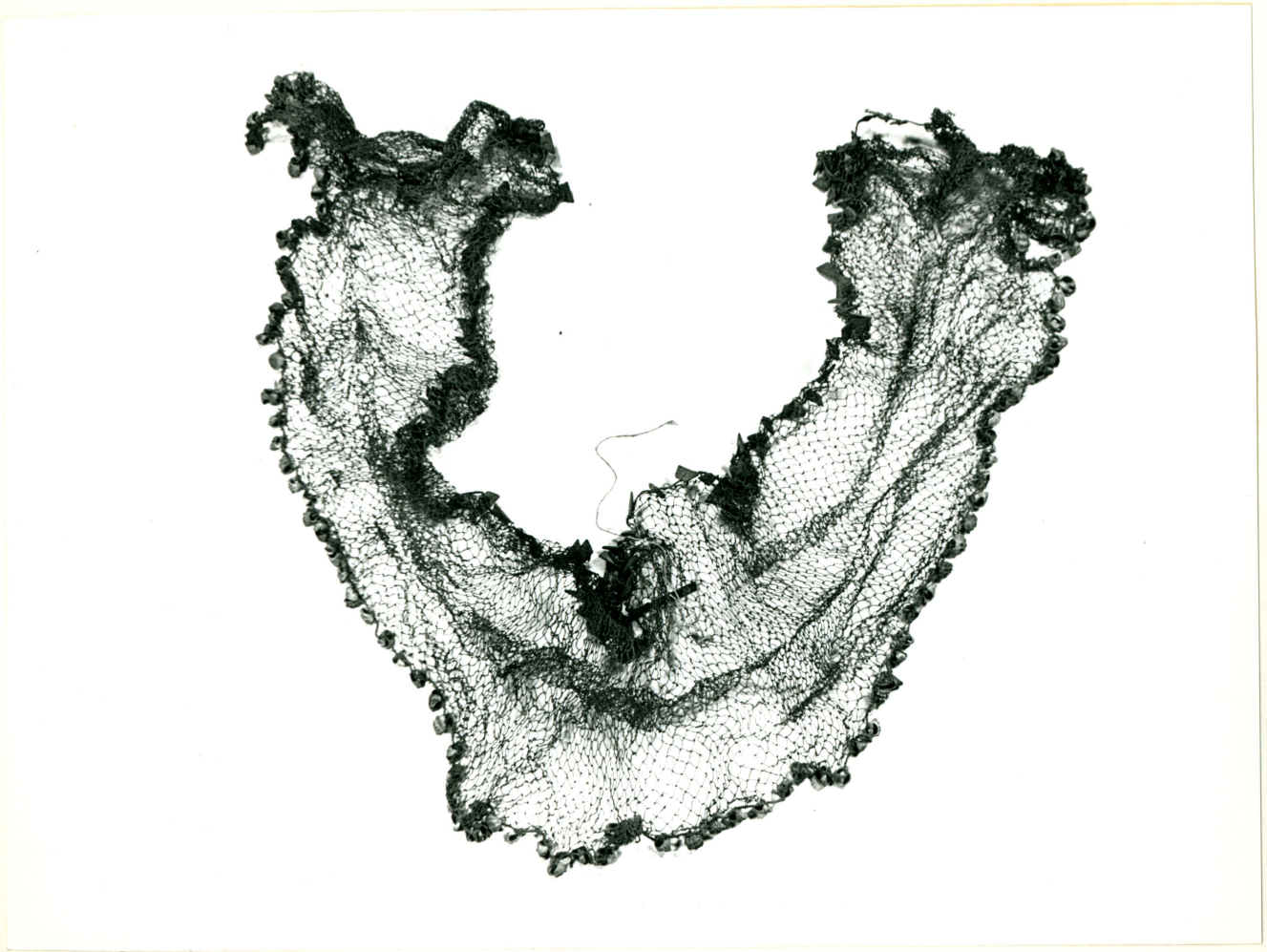

PLATE CXLIX

FISHING NET FOR USE IN SHALLOW WATER OF THE LAGOON (OSUKUALU). 11-40285

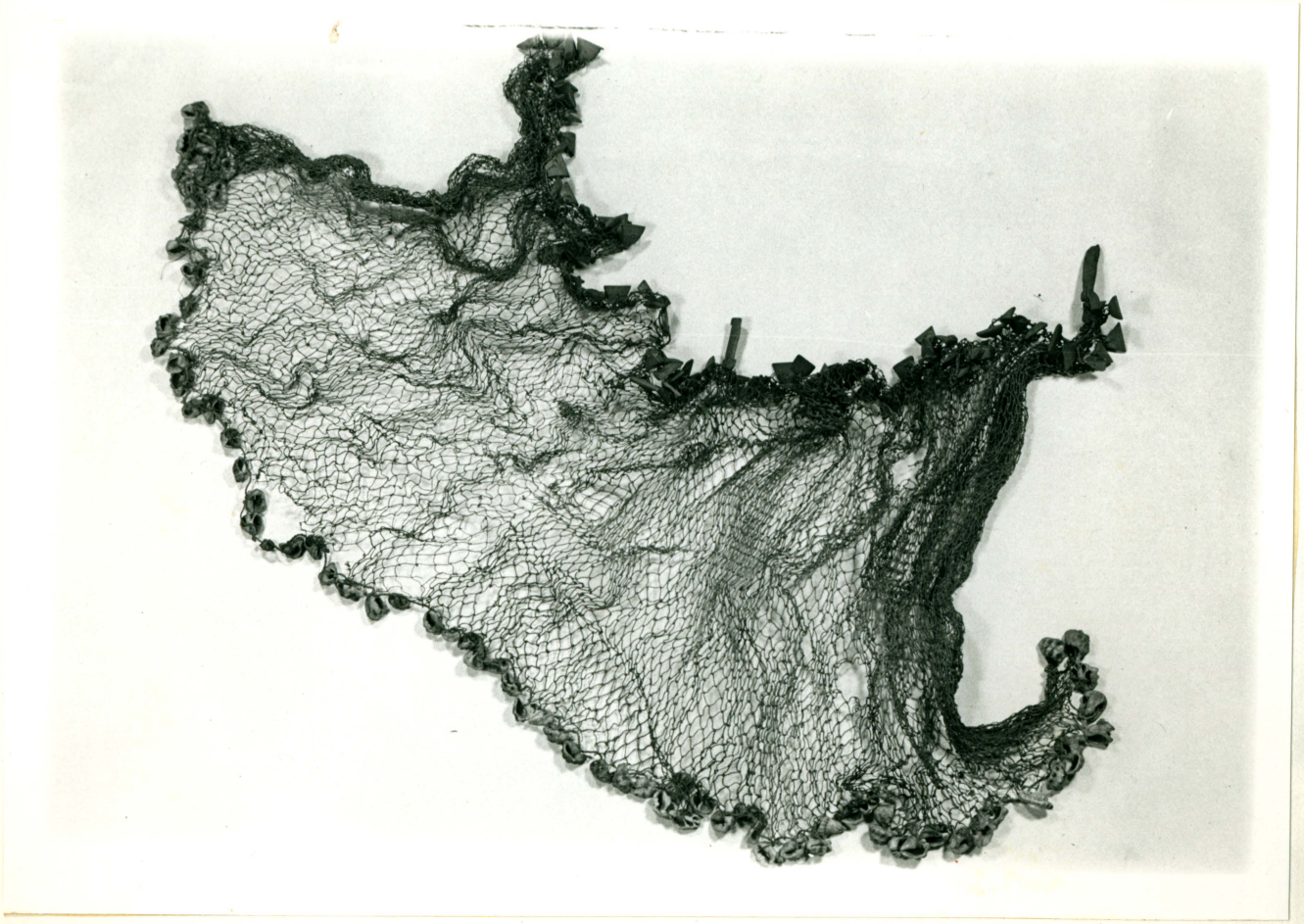

PLATE CL

FISHING NET FOR MINOR FISHING IN THE LAGOON (OGOREGO'RE). 11-40286

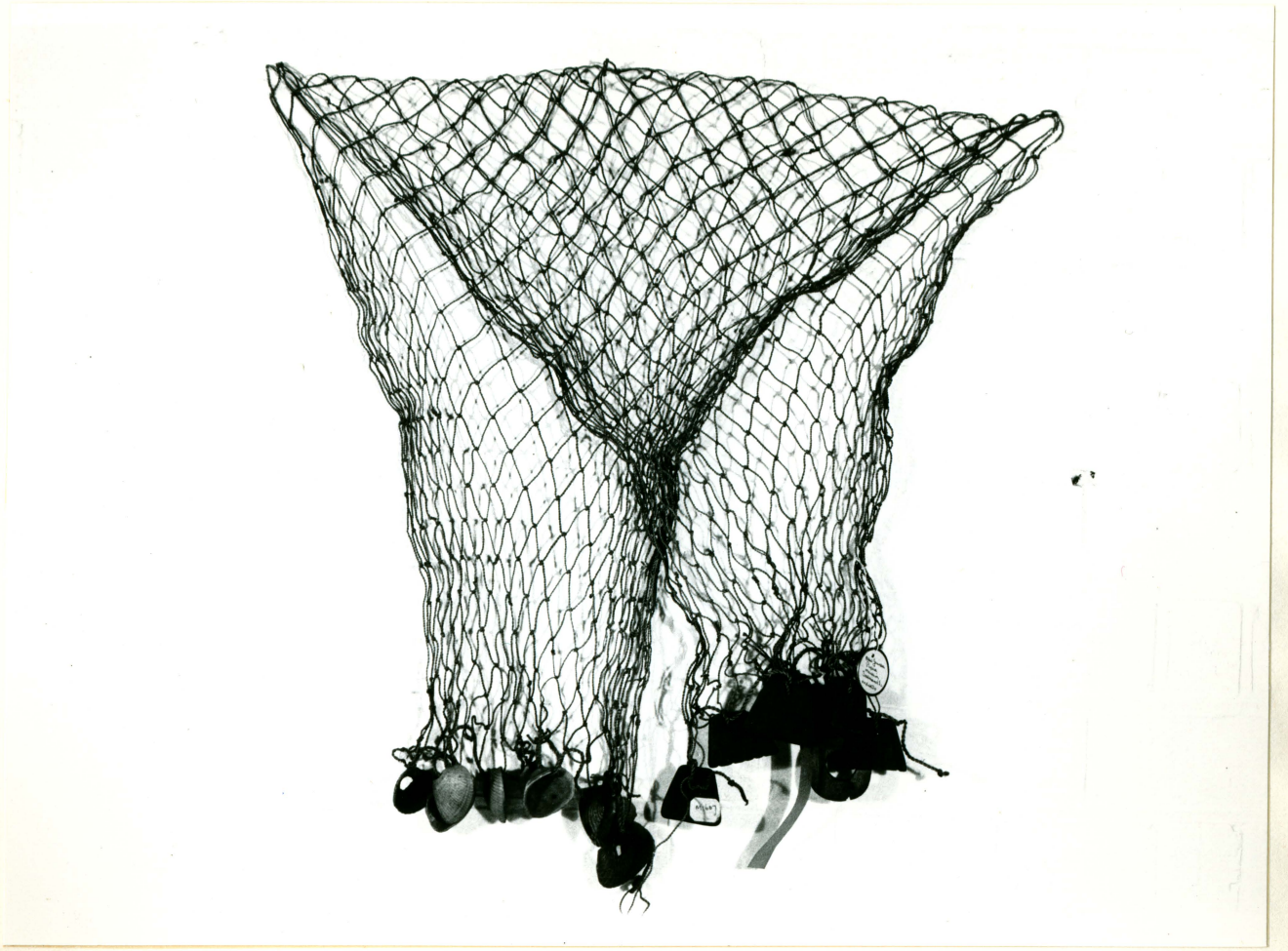

PLATE CLI

FISHING NET FOR FISHING ON THE LAGOON AND ON THE REEF (OKANDO). M-607

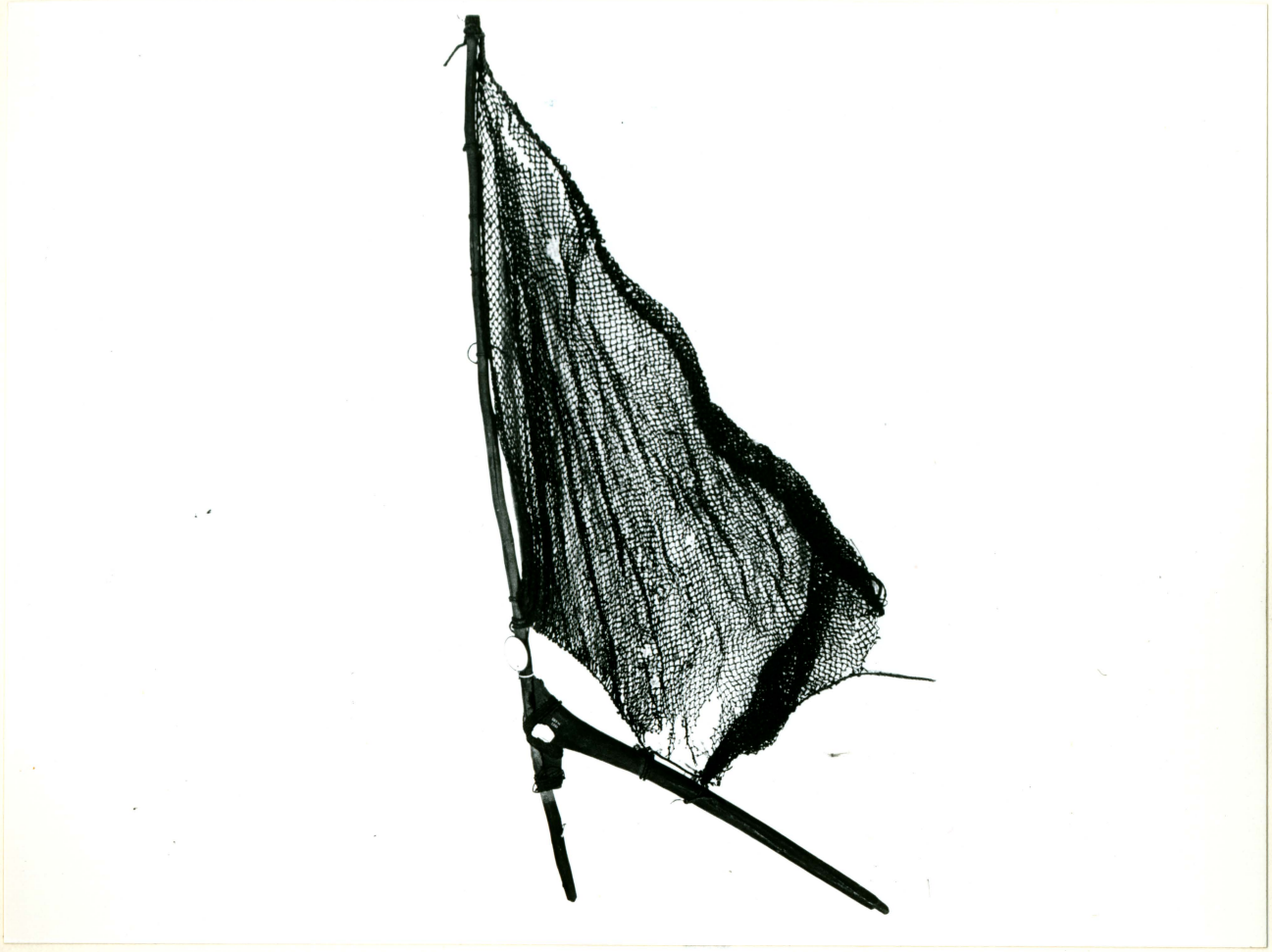

PLATE CLII

TRIANGULAR HAND FISHING NET FOR LAGOON FISHING (GUMAM'). M-609

PLATE CLIII

DETAIL OF TWO-PIECE WOODEN HANDLE OF LAGOON NET (GUMAM'). M-609

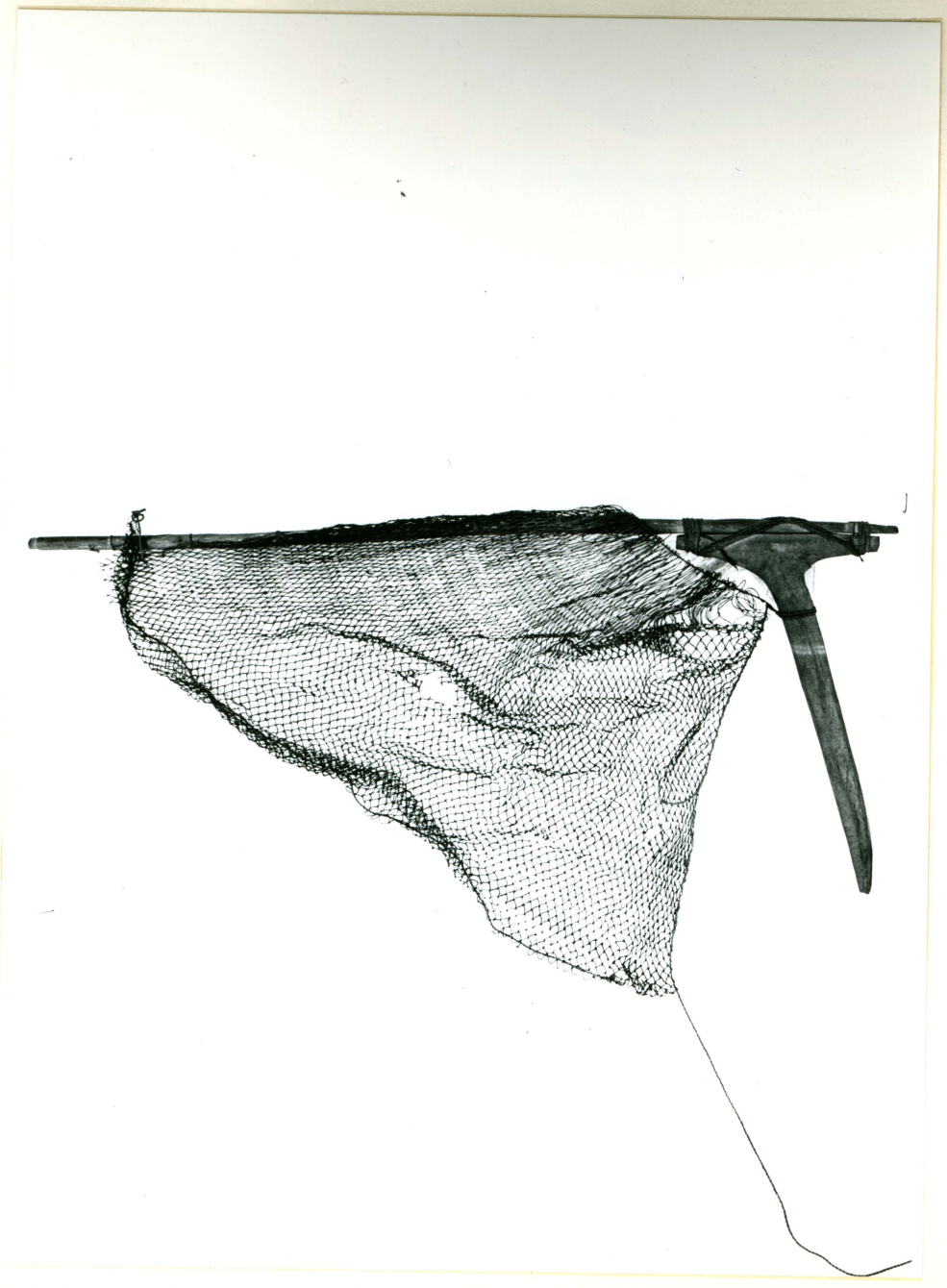

PLATE CLIV

TRIANGULAR HAND FISHING NET FOR LAGOON FISHING (GUMAM').
M-610

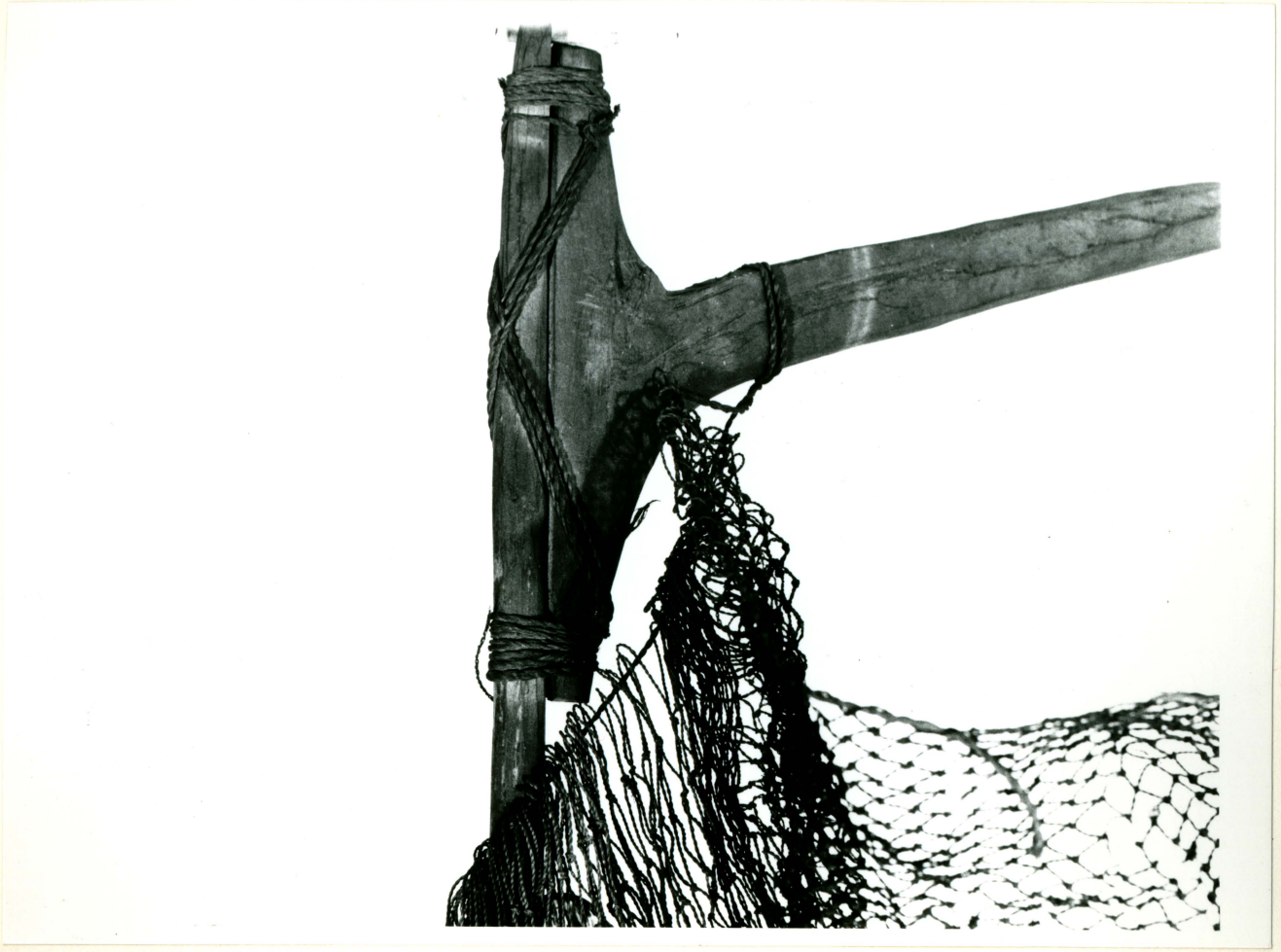

PLATE CLV

DETAIL OF TWO-PIECE WOODEN HANDLE OF LAGOON NET (GUMAM'). M-610

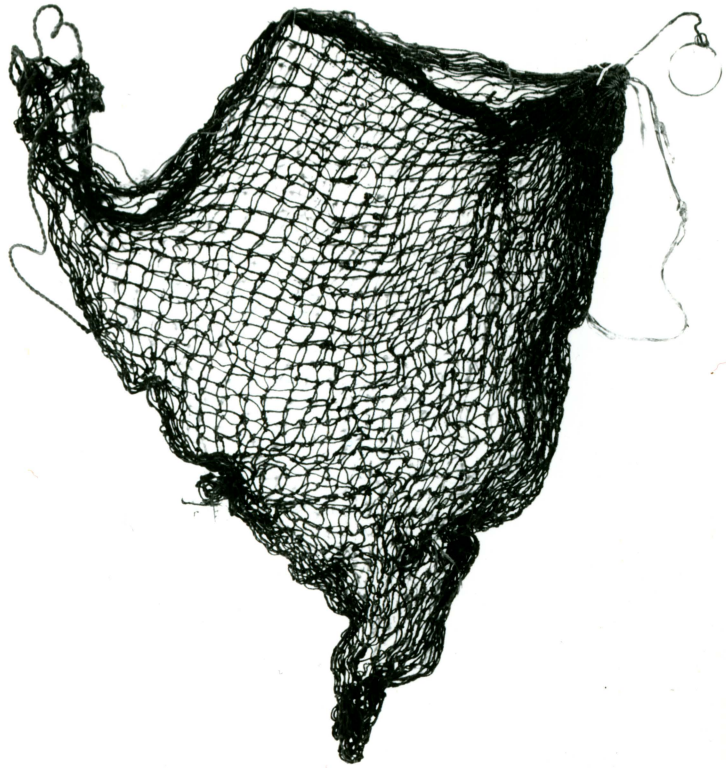

PLATE CLVI

NET FOR CATCHING BIRDS AND FISH (ODI). M-611

PLATE CLVII

WOODEN SHARK CUDGEL (LEUWO). M-613

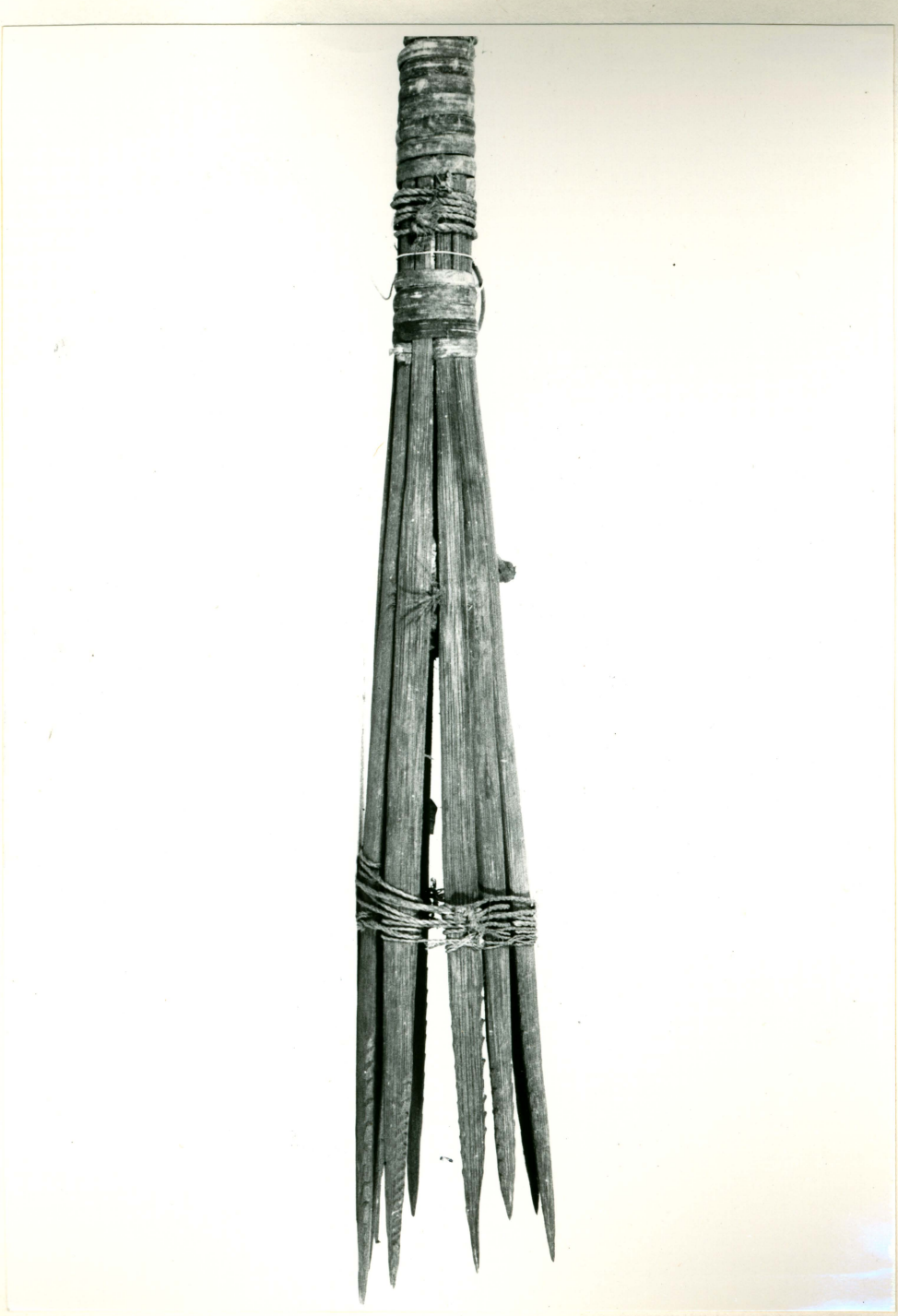

PLATE CLVIII

MULTI-POINTED BARBED FISHING SPEAR (BONORI). M-353

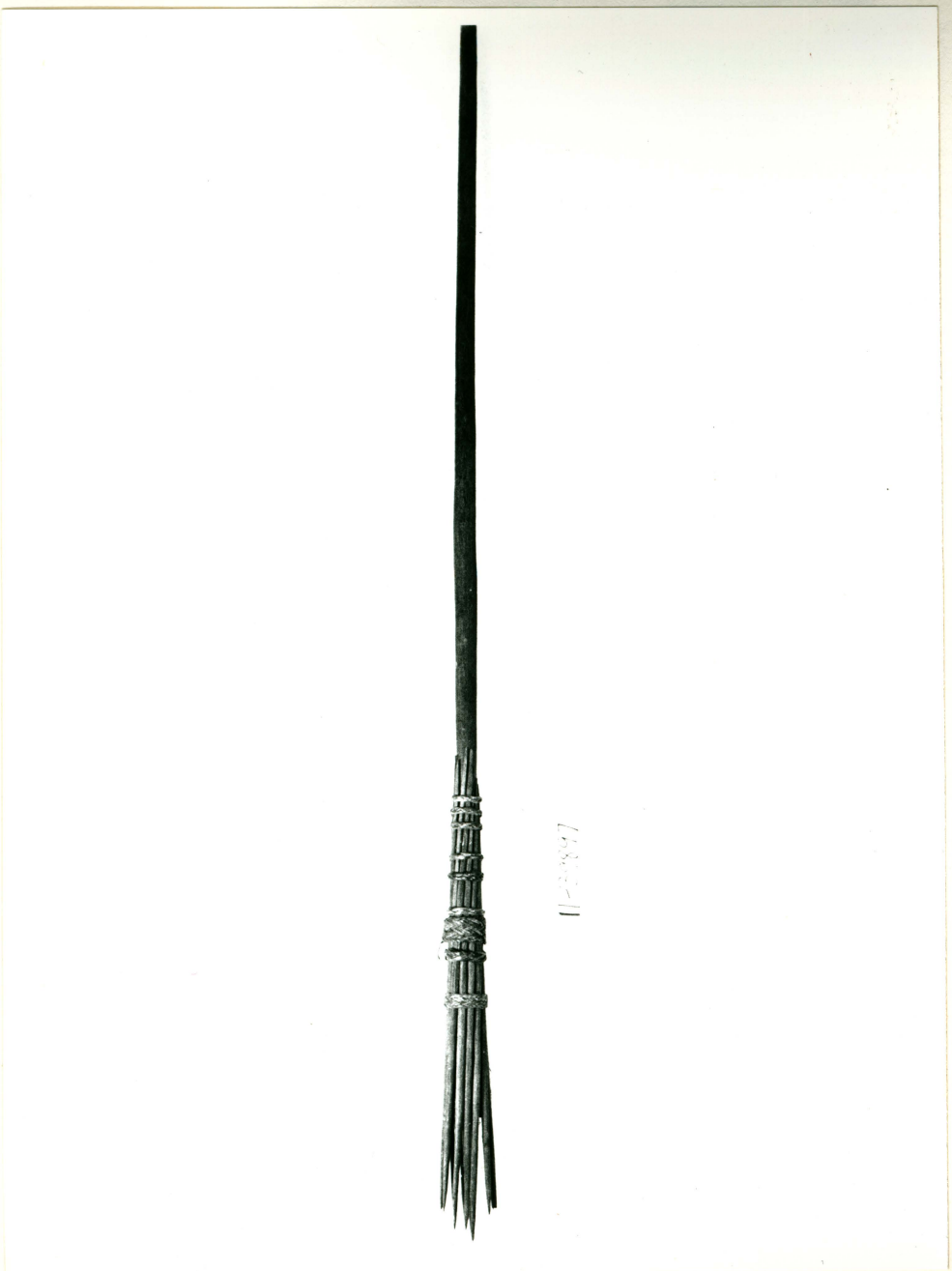

PLATE CLIX

MULTI-POINTED UNBARBED FISHING SPEAR (BONORI). 11-39897

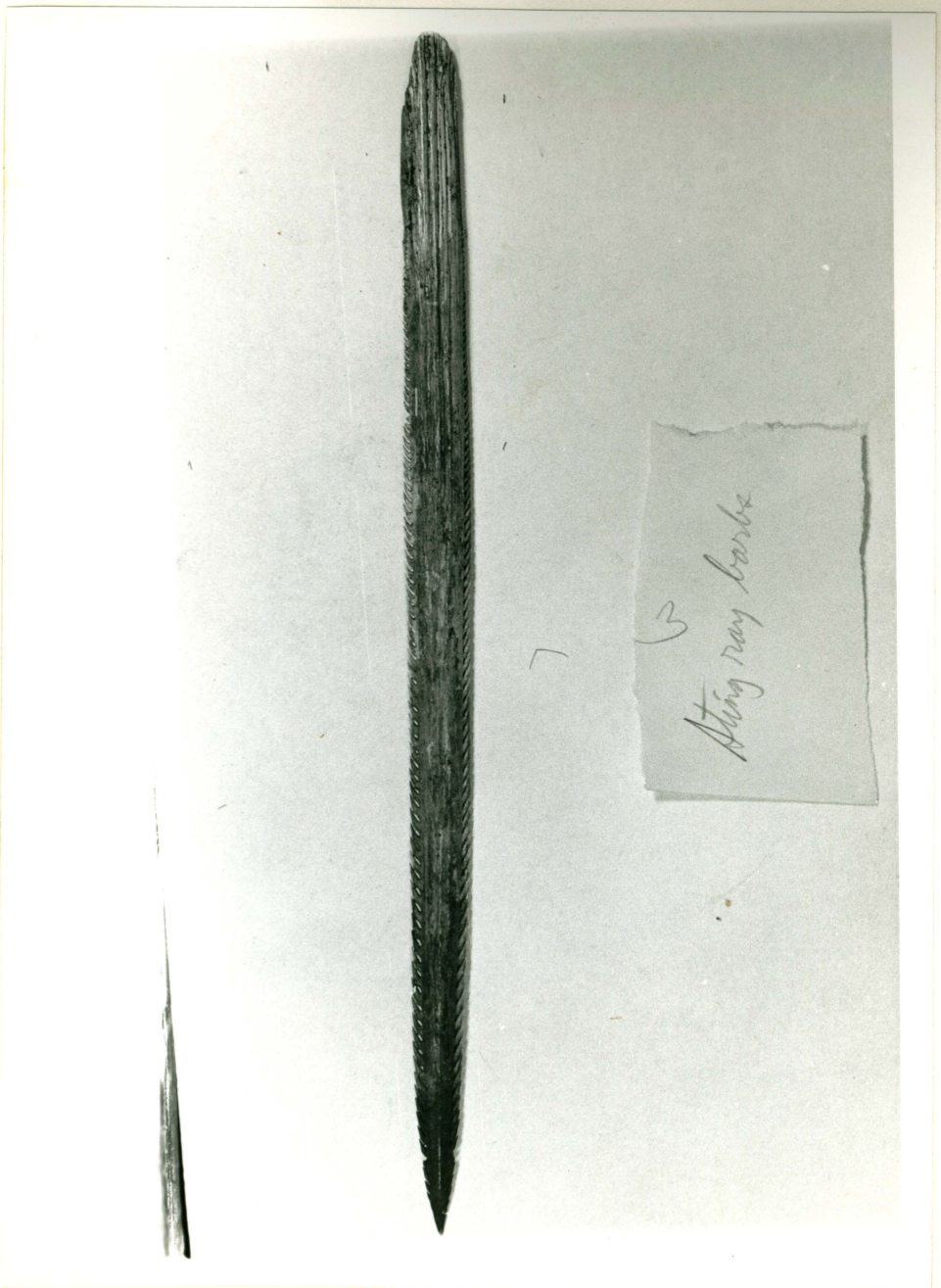

PLATE CLX

STING-RAY BARB: FISHING HARPOON. 11-42166

PLATE CLXI

NET FLOAT (KU'TIGA). M-59

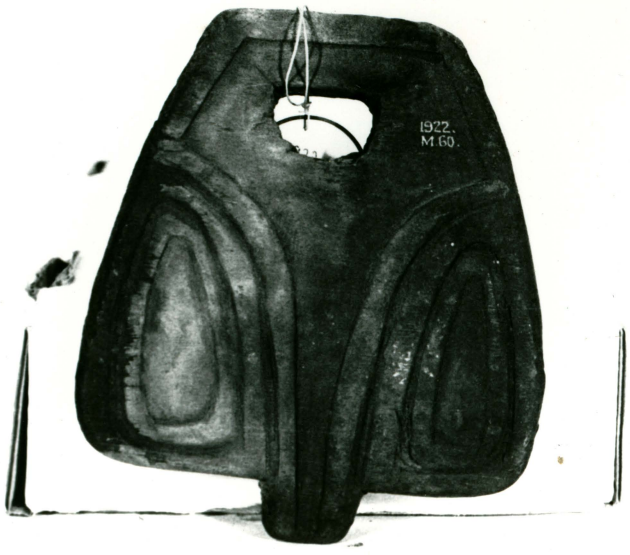

PLATE CLXII

NET FLOAT (KU'TIGA). M-60

PLATE CLXIII

NET FLOAT (KU'TIGA). M-61

PLATE CLXIV

NET FLOAT (KU'TIGA). M-650

PLATE CLXV

WOMAN'S SKIRT (DOBE): SAIPWANA. M-586

PLATE CLXVI

BUNDLE OF ORNAMENTAL BANANA TUFTS (NUNUNIGA) FOR DOBE. M-588

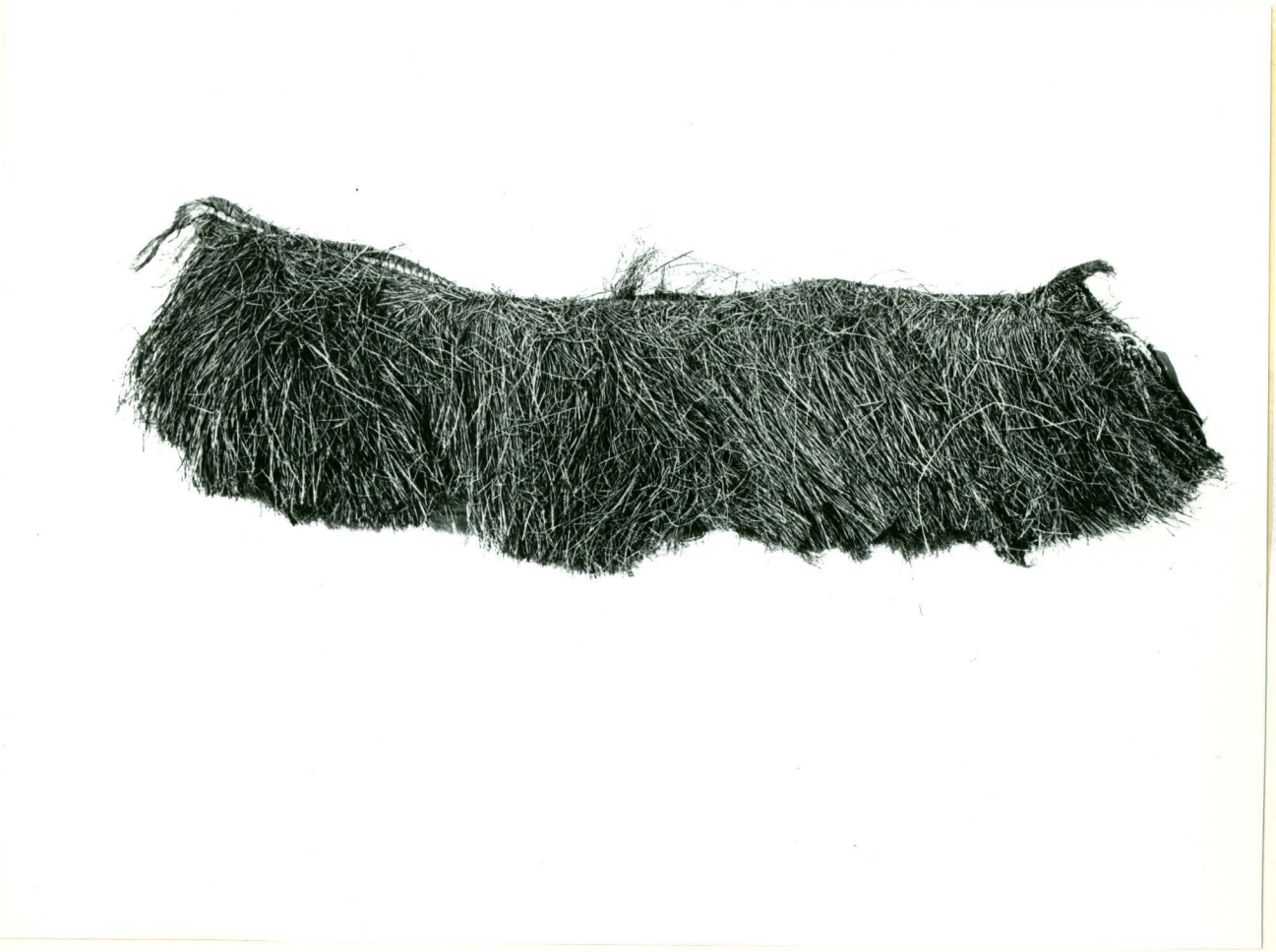

PLATE CLXVII

WOMAN'S SKIRT (DOBE): SAIPWANA. M-164

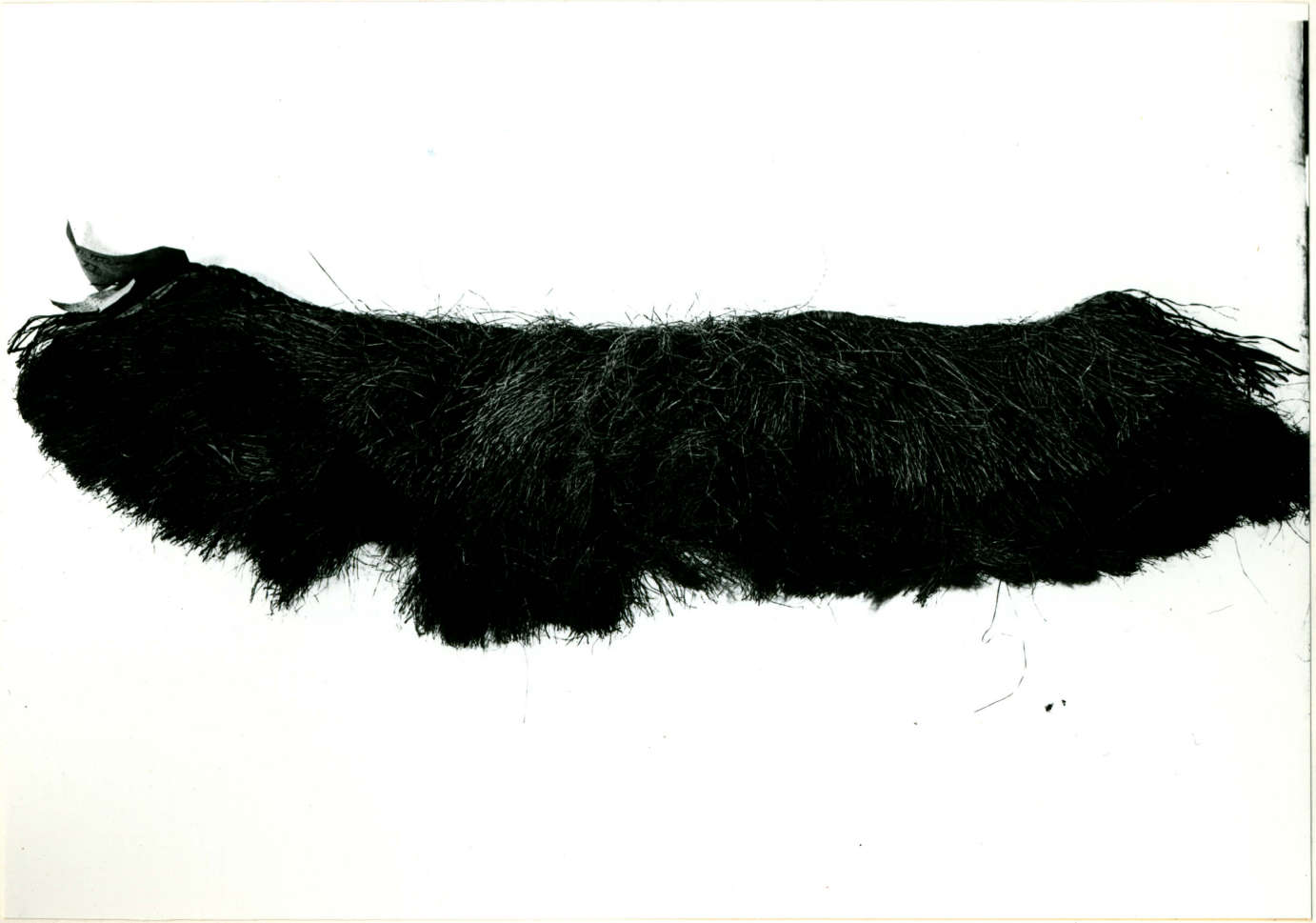

PLATE CLXVIII

WOMAN'S SKIRT (DOBE): TAGIKI'SA. M-173

PLATE CLXIX

WOMAN'S SKIRT (DOBE): BUABUA'U. M-172

PLATE CLXX

WOMAN'S SKIRT (DOBE): SELATULA. M-169

PLATE CLXXI

WOMAN'S SKIRT (DOBE): SELATULA. M-166

PLATE CLXXII

WOMAN'S SKIRT (DOBE): KAKASA'SA. M-167

PLATE CLXXIII

WOMAN'S SKIRT (DOBE): TAKULA'KOLA. M-170

PLATE CLXXIV

WOMAN'S SKIRT (DOBE): TAKULA'KOLA. 11-40277

PLATE CLXXV

WOMAN'S SKIRT (DOBE): SEIO'IU. M-163

PLATE CLXXVI

WOMAN'S SKIRT (DOBE): TAKAKAVAKU. M-169

PLATE CLXXVII

WOMAN'S SKIRT (DOBE): TABUAIMALA. 11-40274

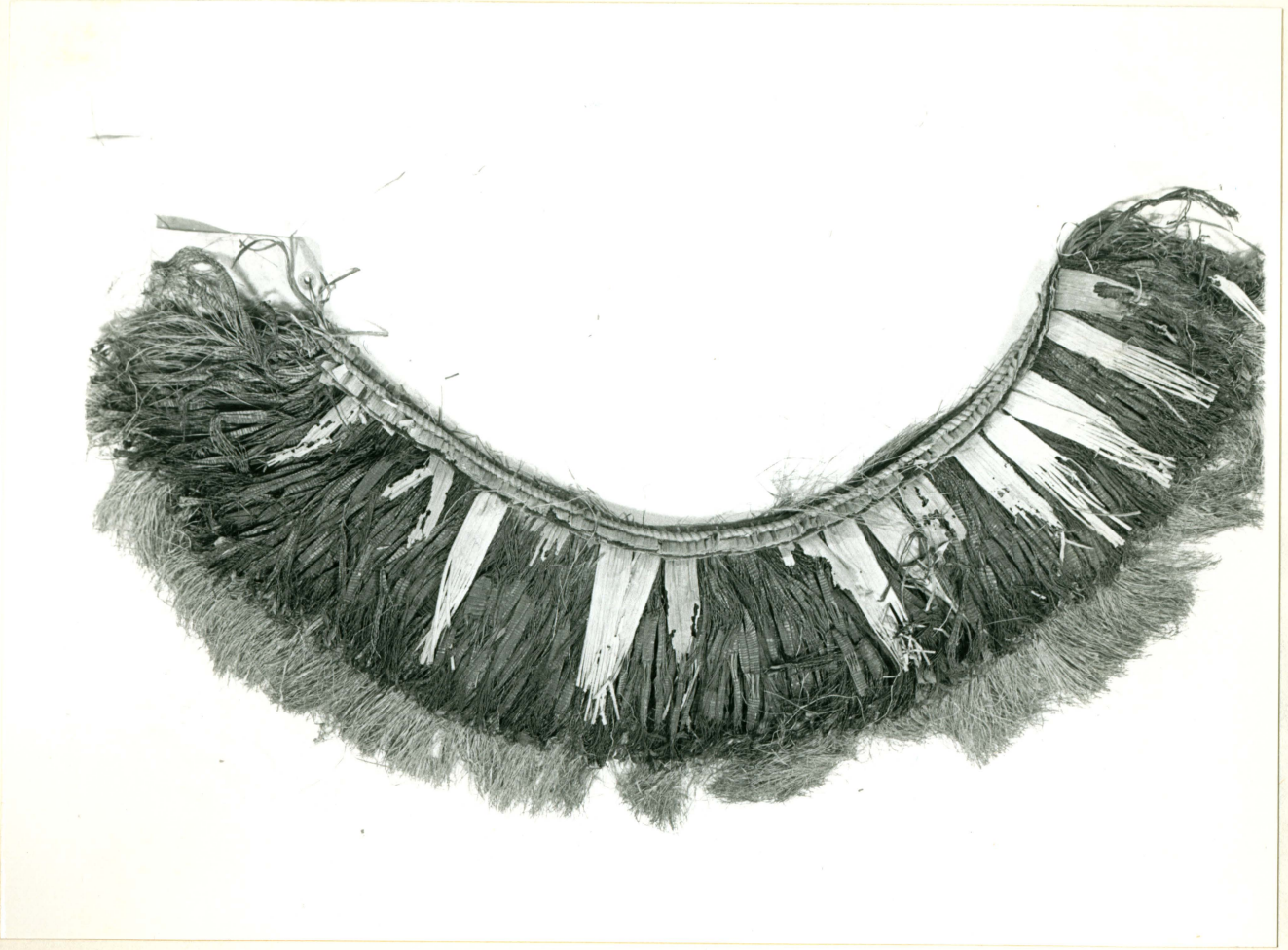

PLATE CLXXVIII

WOMAN'S SKIRT (DOBE): TALAKU. 11-40267

PLATE CLXXIX

WOMAN'S SKIRT (DOBE): TABULABOLA. 11-40266

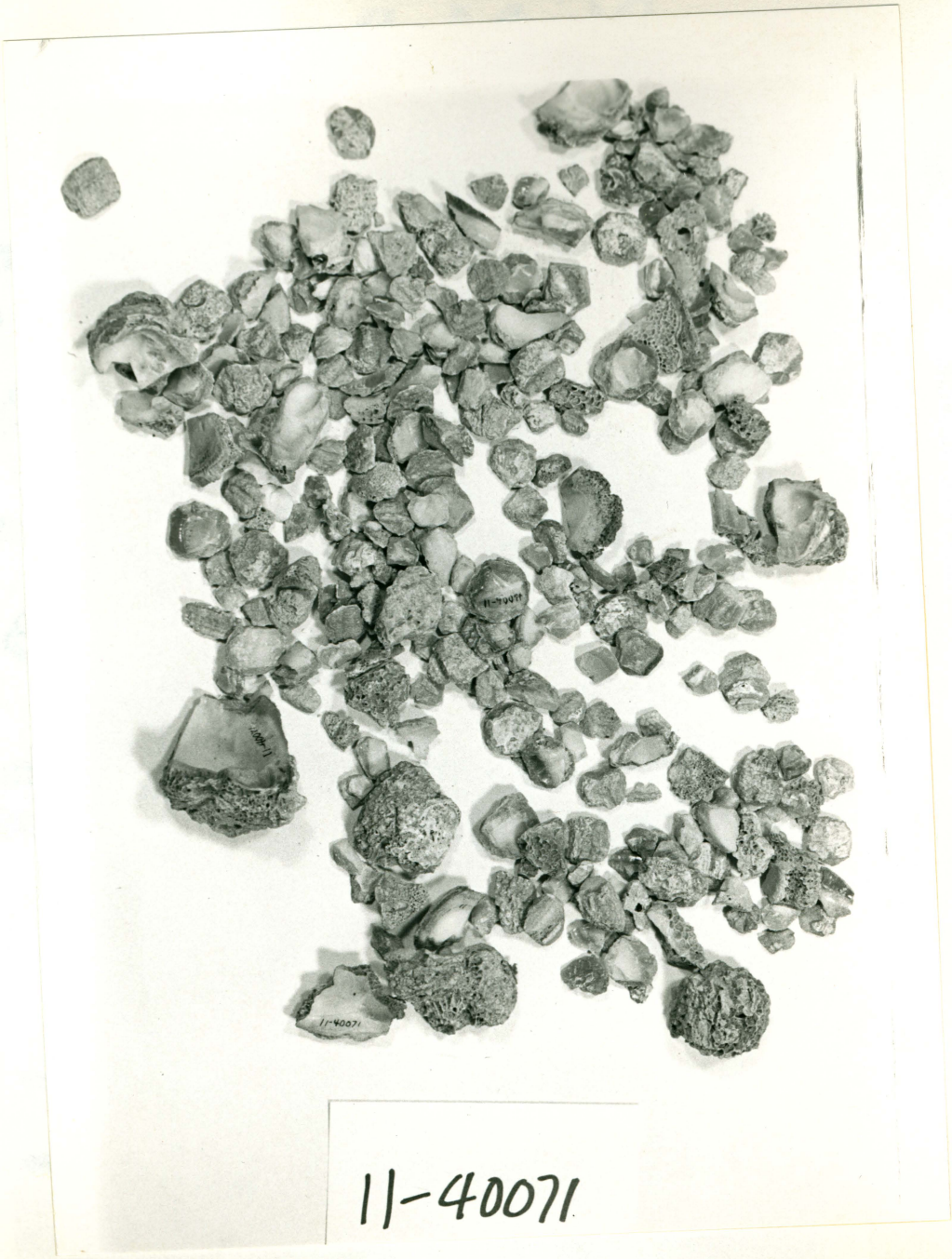

PLATE CLXXX

BROKEN SPONDYLUS SHELL (SPONDYLUS DUCALIS) FOR MANUFACTURE OF DISC BEADS (KALOMA). 11-40071

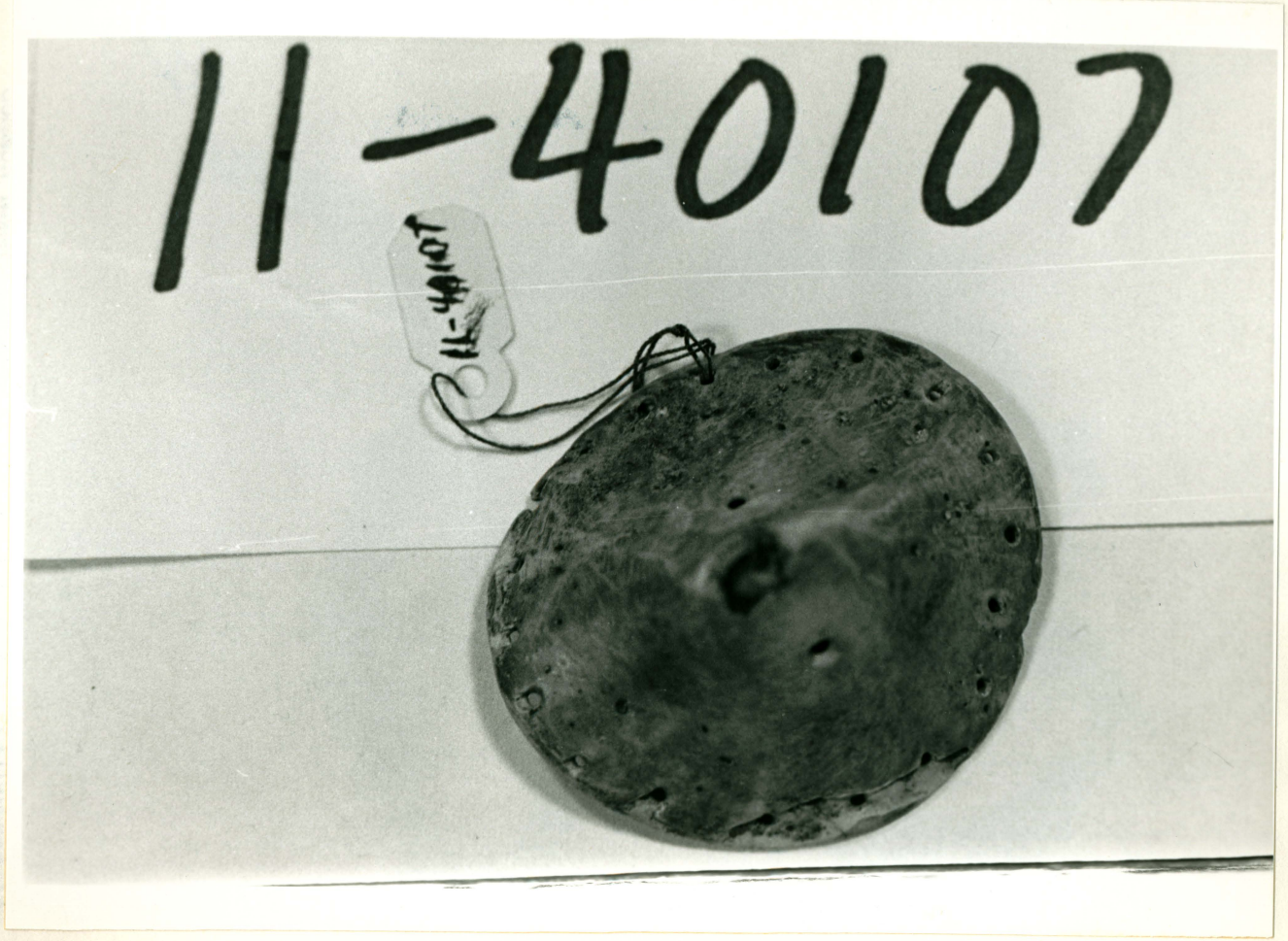

PLATE CLXXXI

PROTUBERANCE OF CASSIS SHELL (CASSIS CONUTA); NECKLACE ATTACHMENT. 11-40107

11-40078

PLATE CLXXXII

COMMON NECKLACE OF SPONDYLUS DISC BEADS (KATUDABABILE).
11-40078

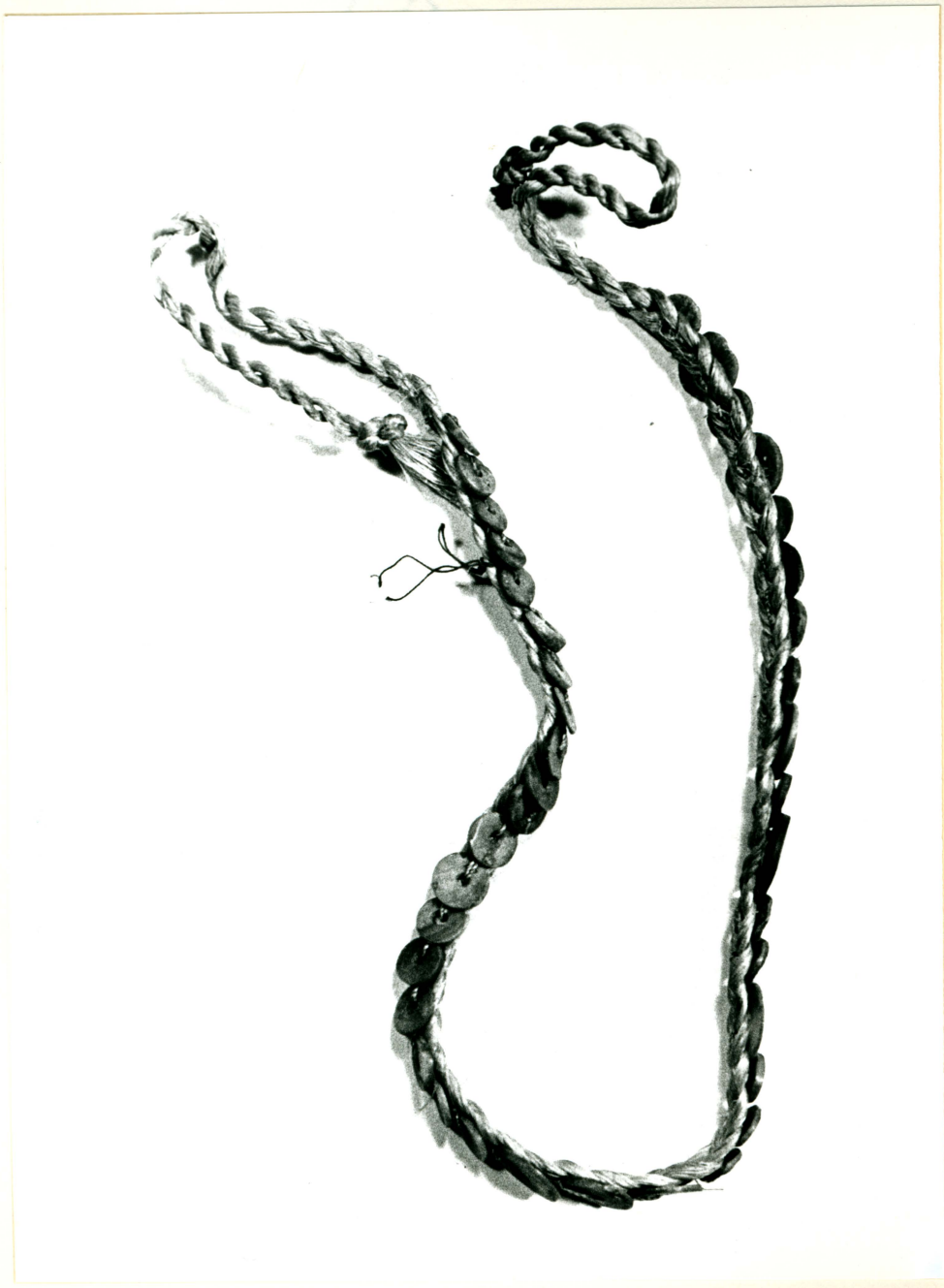

PLATE CLXXXIII

COMMON NECKLACE OF SHINGLED SPONDYLUS DISC BEADS (KATUDABABILE). 11-40081

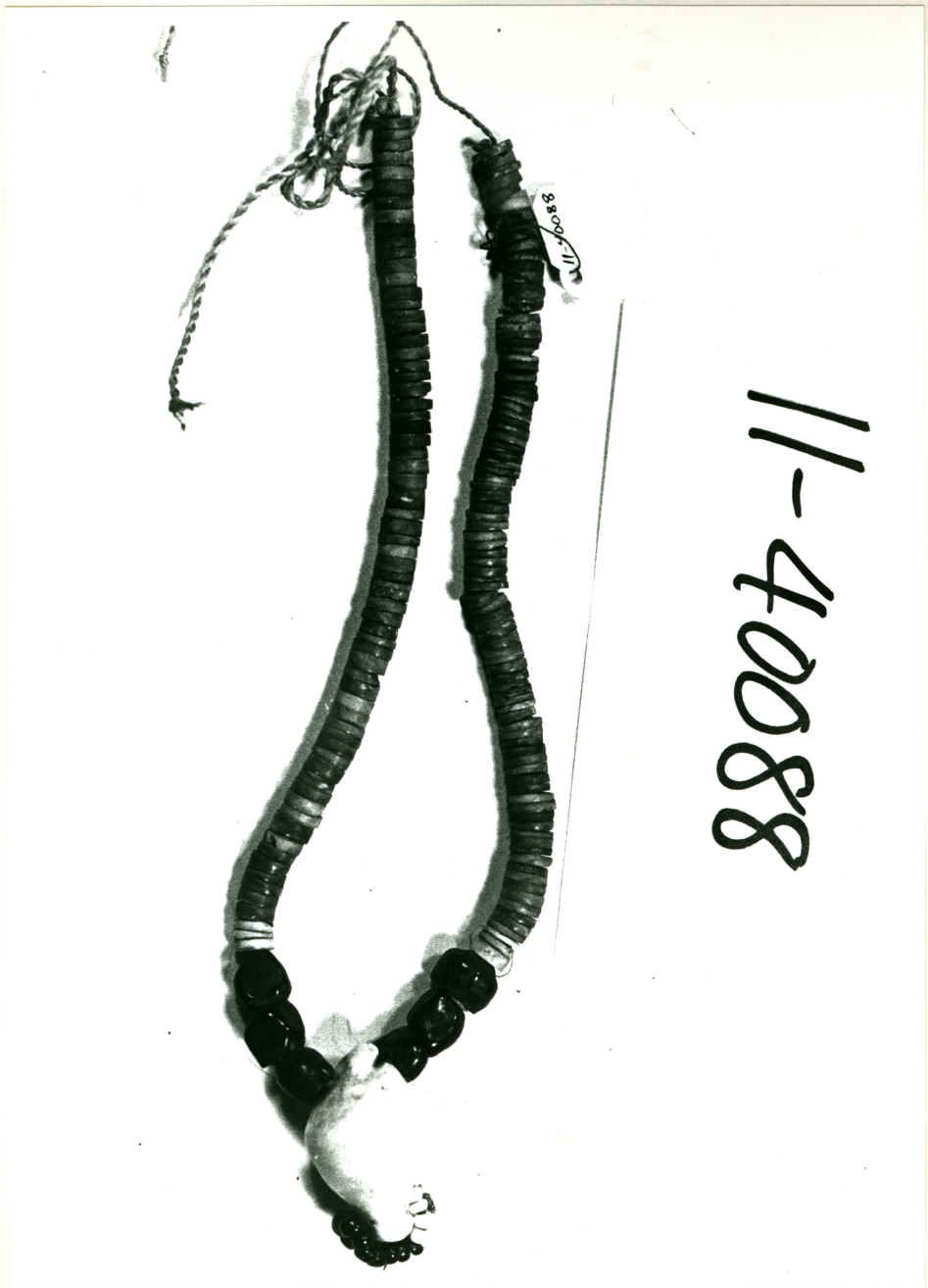

PLATE CLXXXIV

COMMON NECKLACE OF SPONDYLUS DISC BEADS AND GLASS TRADE BEADS WITH COWRIE SHELL PENDANT (KATUDABABILE). 11-40088

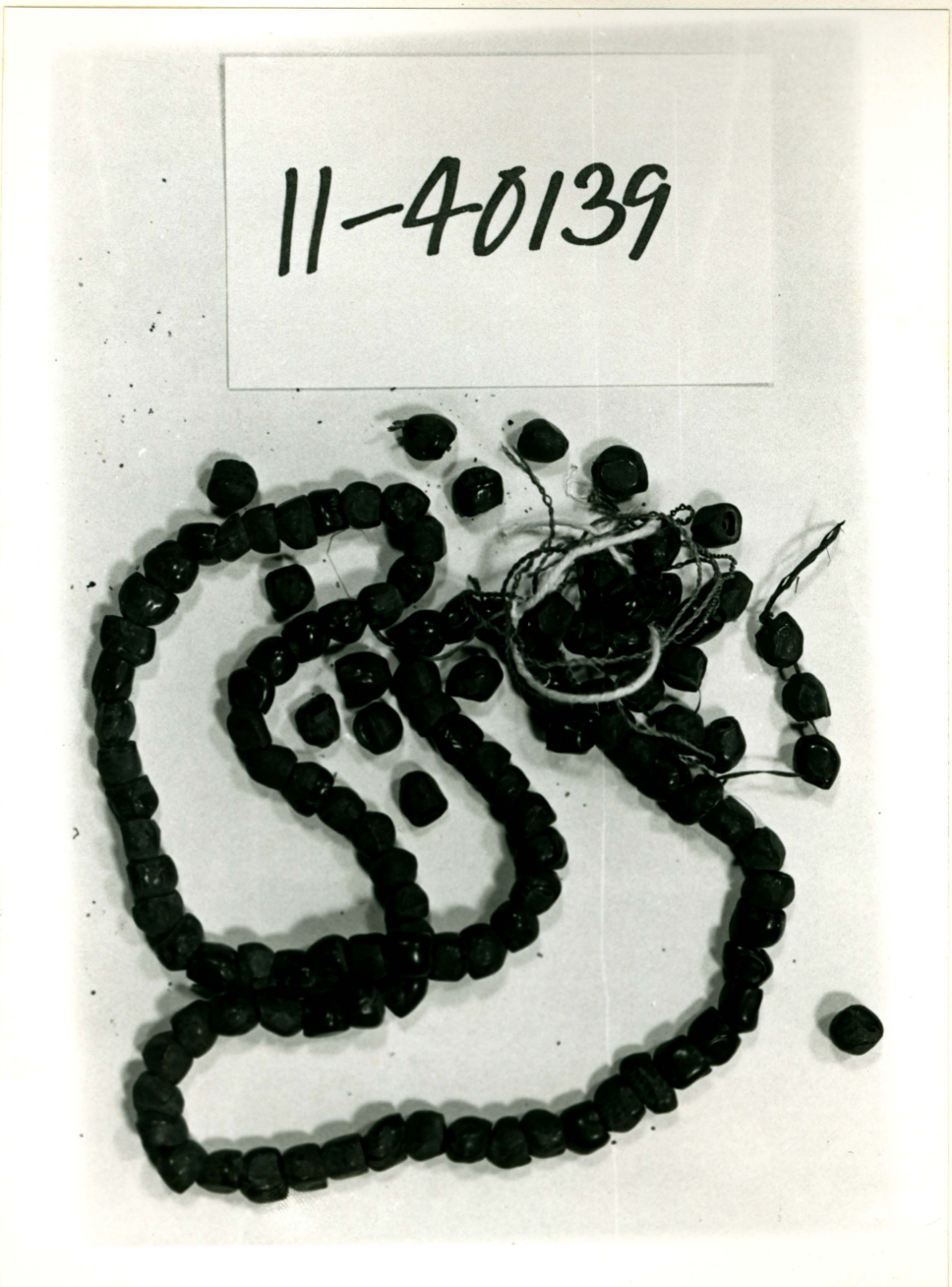

PLATE CLXXXV

BANANA SEED NECKLACE. 11-40139

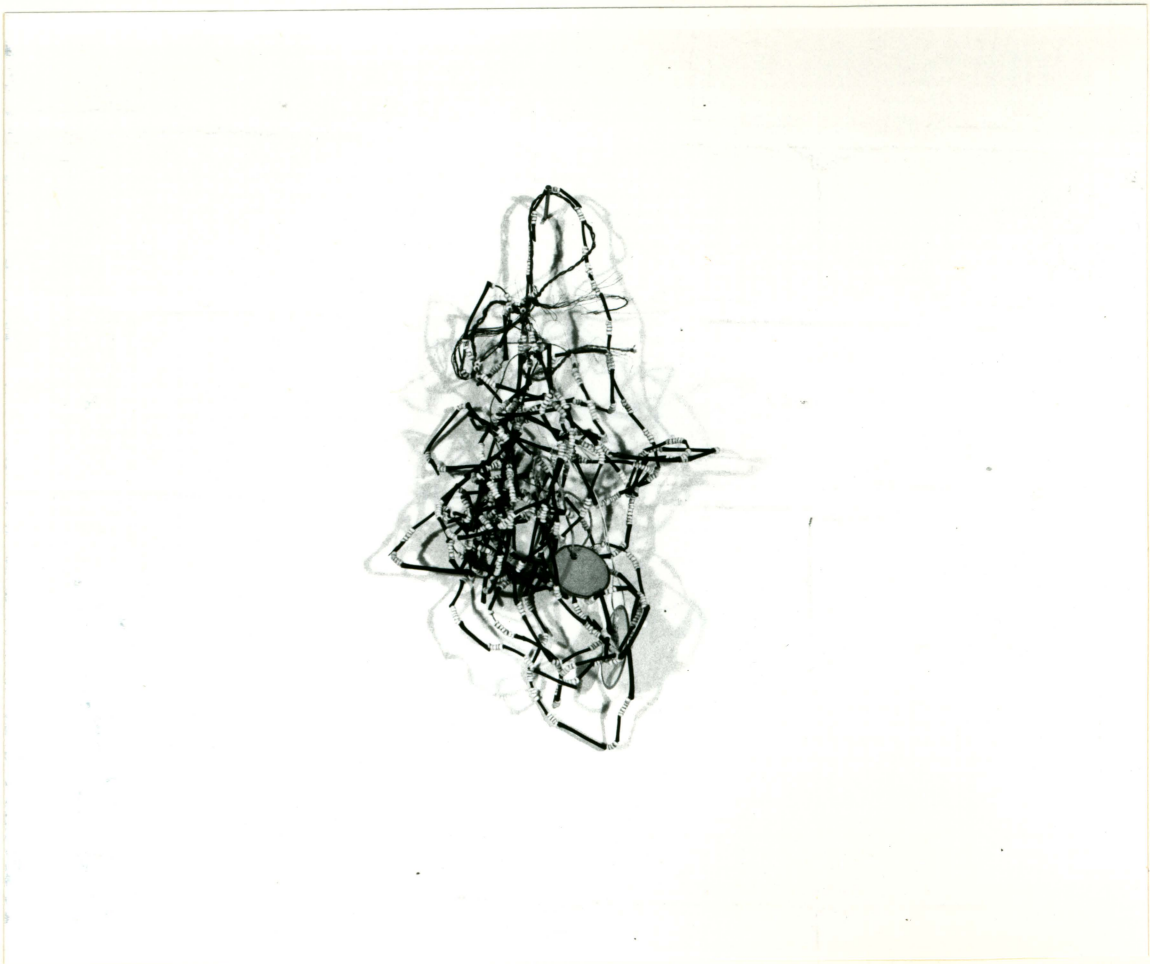

PLATE CLXXXVI

FOUR-STRAND NECKLACE OF GLASS TRADE BEADS AND LENGTHS OF BLACK STALK FROM TITIBIA PLANT. M-326

PLATE CLXXXVII

SINGLE-STRAND NECKLACE OF GLASS TRADE BEADS AND SECTIONS OF AROMATIC CREEPER (IOVILAKEDA). M-327

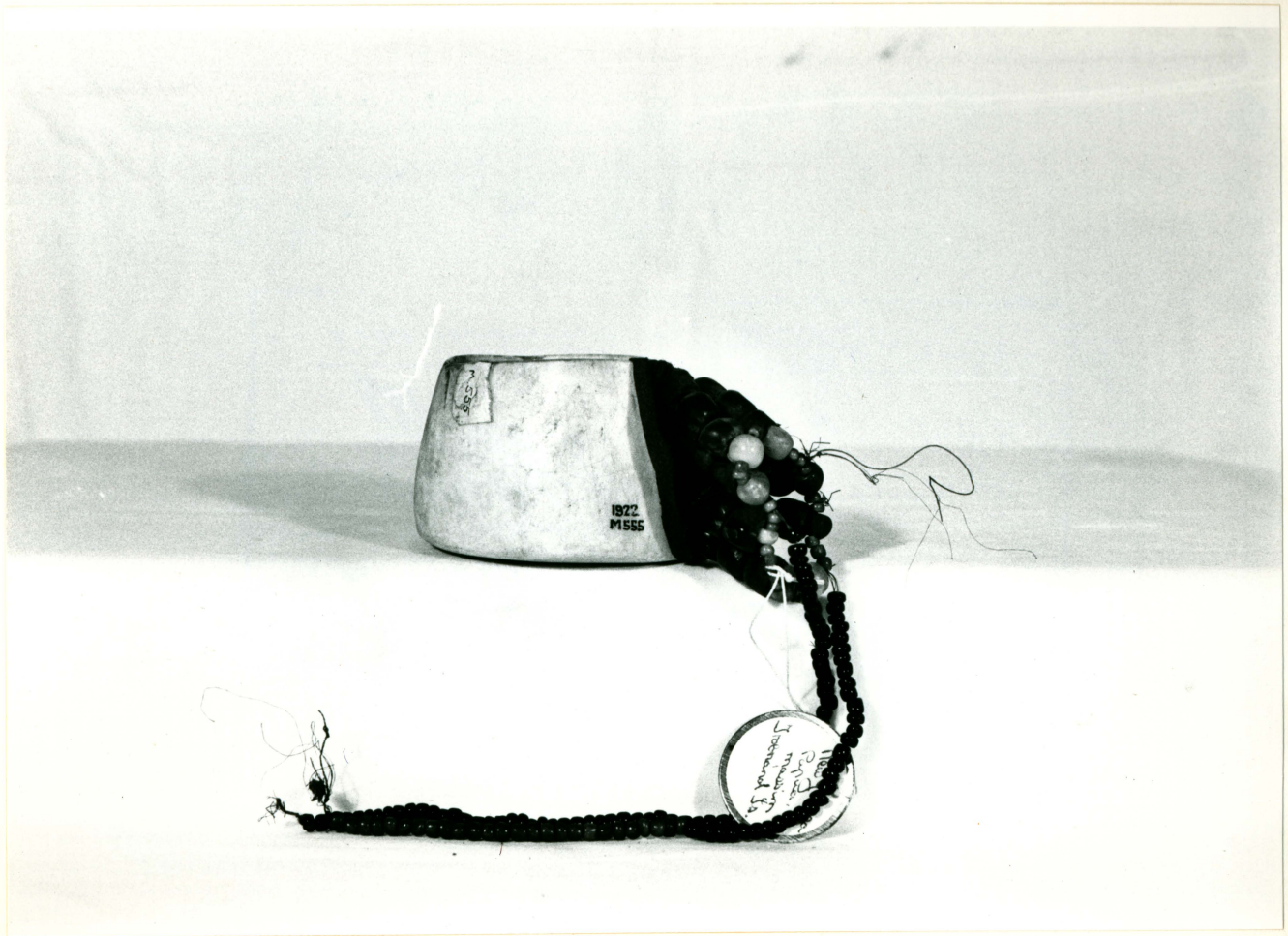

PLATE CLXXXVIII

SHELL ARMLET (MWALI) OF CONUS SHELL (CONUS MILLEPUNCTATUS);
ONE OF PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF EXCHANGE IN KULA. M-555

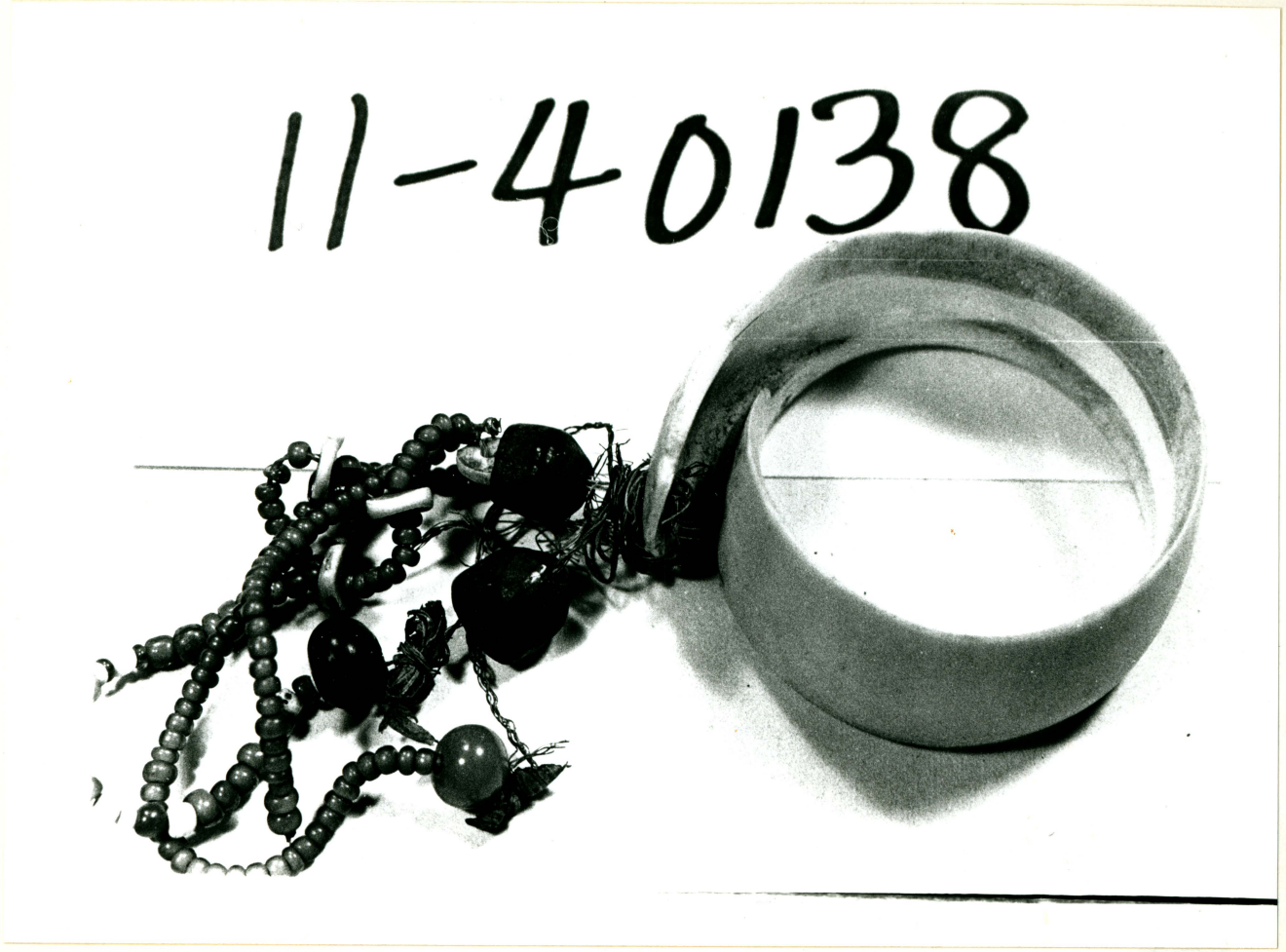

PLATE CLXXXIX

SHELL ARMLET (MWALI) OF CONUS SHELL (CONUS MILLEPUNCTATUS);
ONE OF PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF EXCHANGE IN KULA. 11-40138

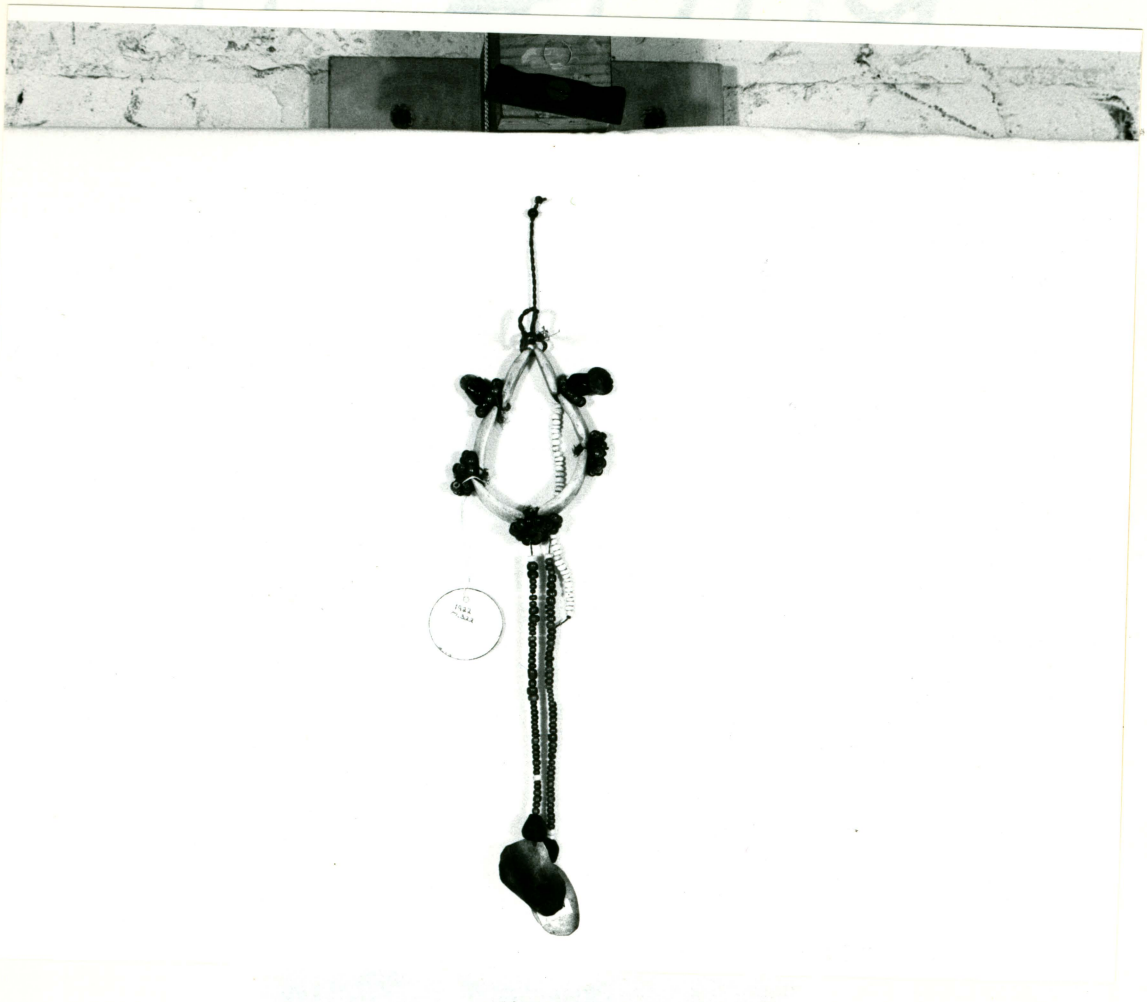

PLATE CXC

DECORATED ARMSHELL OF NARROW AND SHORT SEGMENTS OF CONUS SHELL (NURIPUAPUA). M-322

PLATE CXCI

DETAIL OF ARM BRACELET (NURIPUAPUA) MADE OF SEGMENTS OF CONUS SHELL. 11-40119

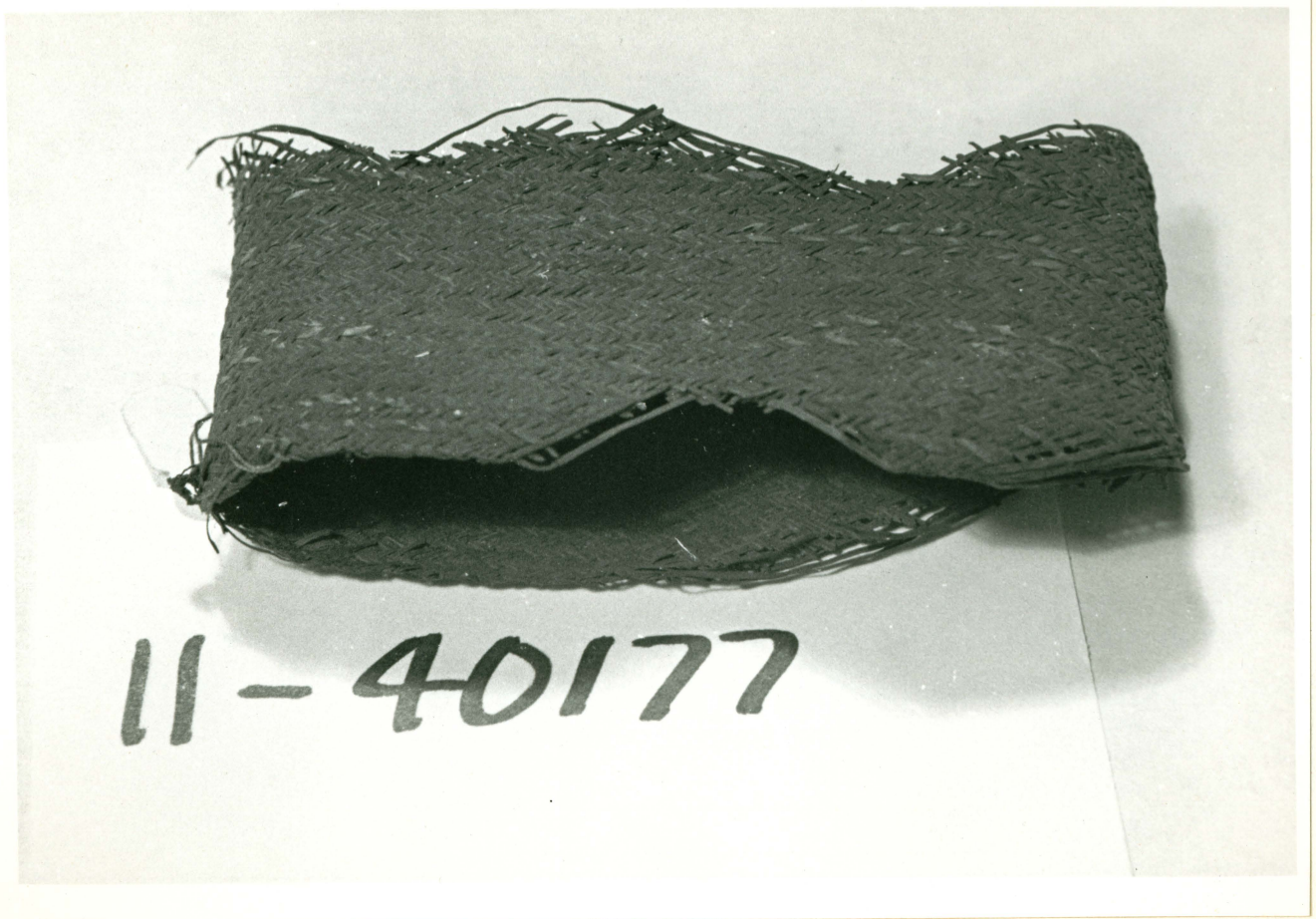

PLATE CXCII

MEN'S TWILL-PLAITED ARMBAND (KWASI) DECORATED WITH ORCHID FIBER (DENDROBIUM).
11-40177

PLATE CXCIII

MEN'S TWILL-PLAITED ARMBAND (KWASI) DECORATED WITH ORCHID FIBER (DENDROBIUM).
11-40178

PLATE CXCIV

WOMEN'S TWILL-PLAITED ARMBAND (KWASI) DECORATED WITH ORCHID FIBER (DENDROBIUM).
11-40179

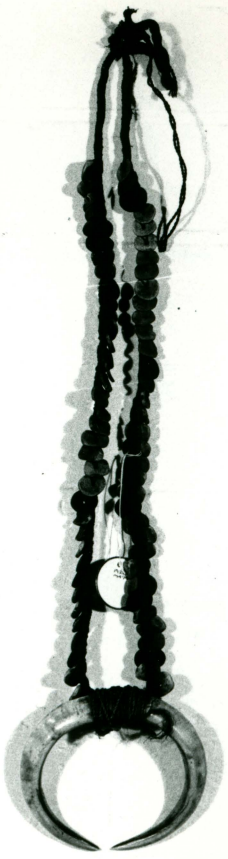

PLATE CXCV

BREAST ORNAMENT (DOGA) WITH GENUINE BOAR TUSK PENDANT. M-474

PLATE CXCVI

BREAST ORNAMENT (DOGA) WITH SHINGLED KALOMA DISC BEADS, WITH "BOAR'S TUSK" OF SHELL. 11-40079

PLATE CXCVII

CLOSE-UP OF IMITATION BOAR'S TUSK DOGA PENDANT. 11-40116

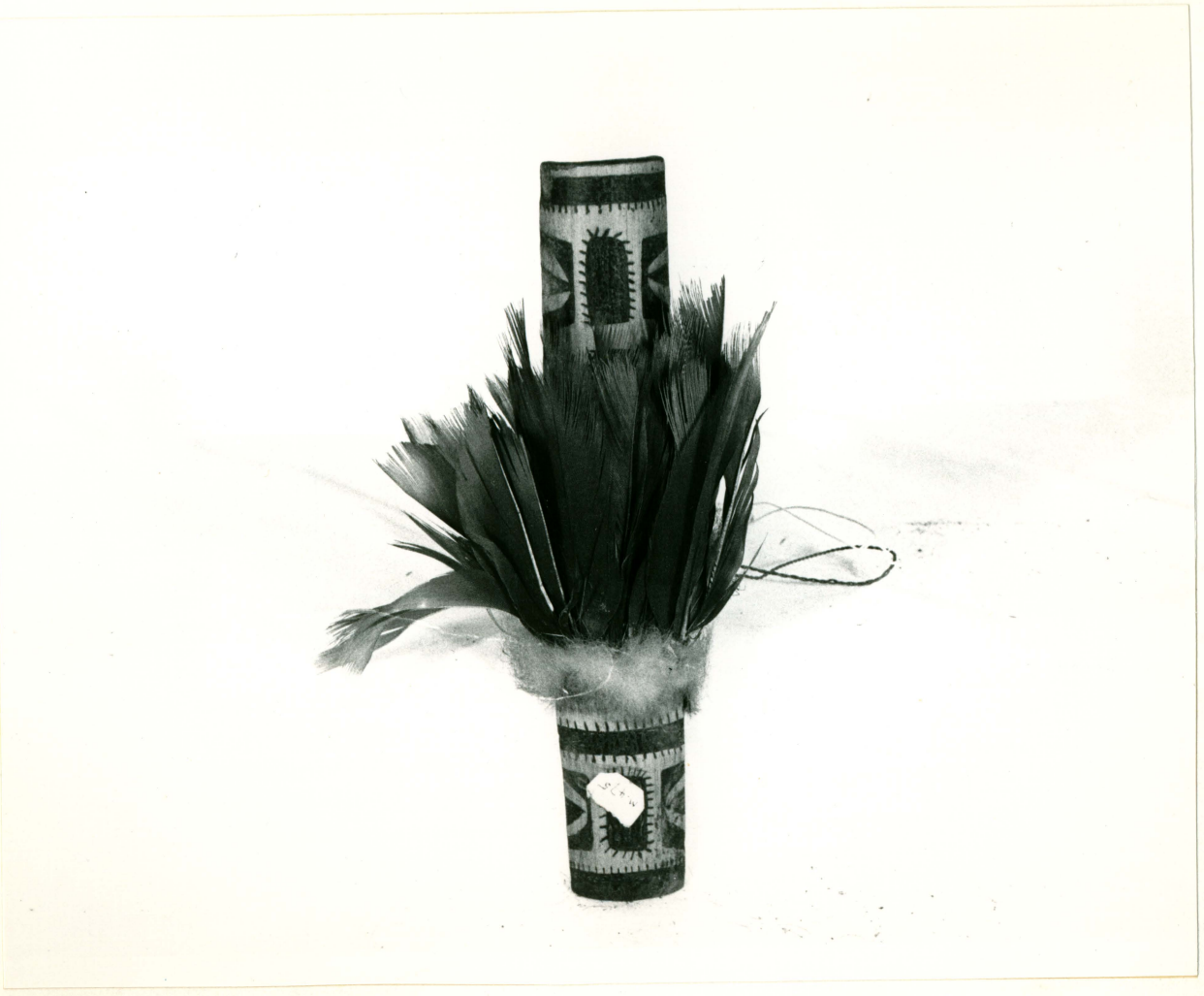

PLATE CXCVIII

BREAST ORNAMENT OF BAMBOO SECTION AND CASSOWARY FEATHERS (WA'WAIGA).
FRONT VIEW. M-475

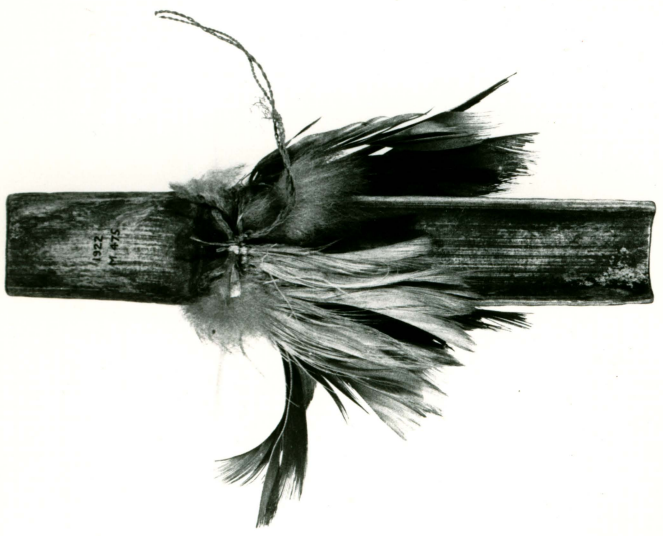

PLATE CXCIX

BREAST ORNAMENT OF BAMBOO SECTION AND CASSOWARY FEATHERS (WA'WAIGA). BACK VIEW. M-475

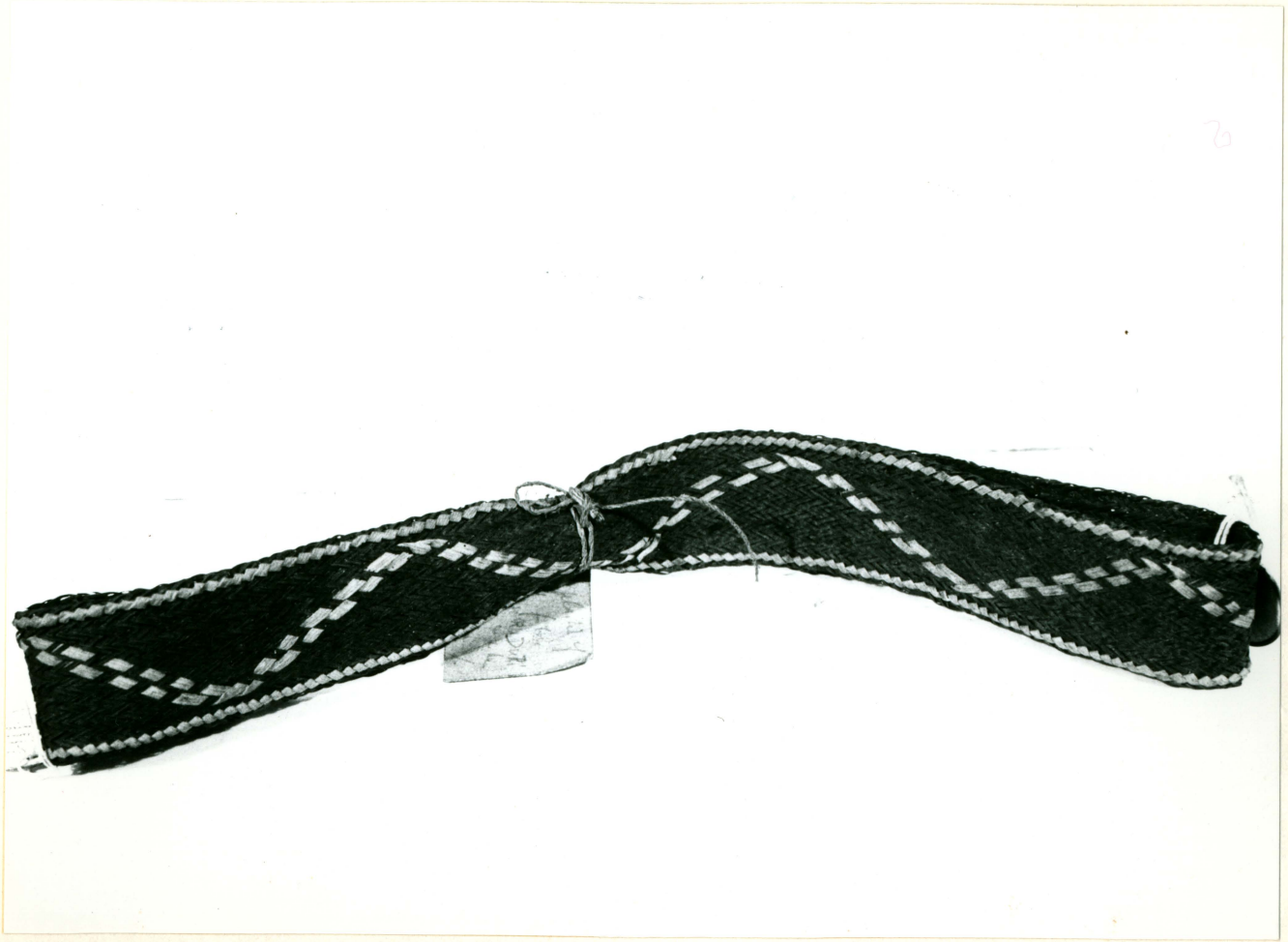

PLATE CC

KWASI FIBER BELT (DURI DURI) DECORATED WITH ORCHID FIBER (DENDROBIUM). M-476

3081
1976
454 809
v.4

PLATE CCI

LOWER BELT OF COWRIE SHELLS (WAKALA), AN OBJECT OF WEALTH (VAIGU'A).
M-569

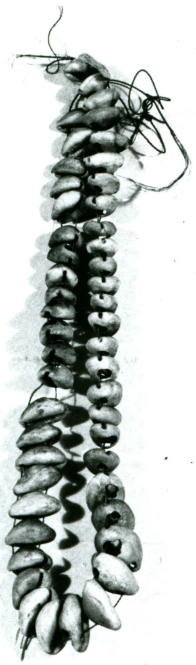

PLATE CCII

COMMON BELT (BUNALOPI) OF SMALL COWRIE SHELLS (BUNADOGA). M-570

PLATE CCIII

WAIST BELT OF SHINGLED SPONDYLUS DISC BEADS (KAIPWESI).
11-40083

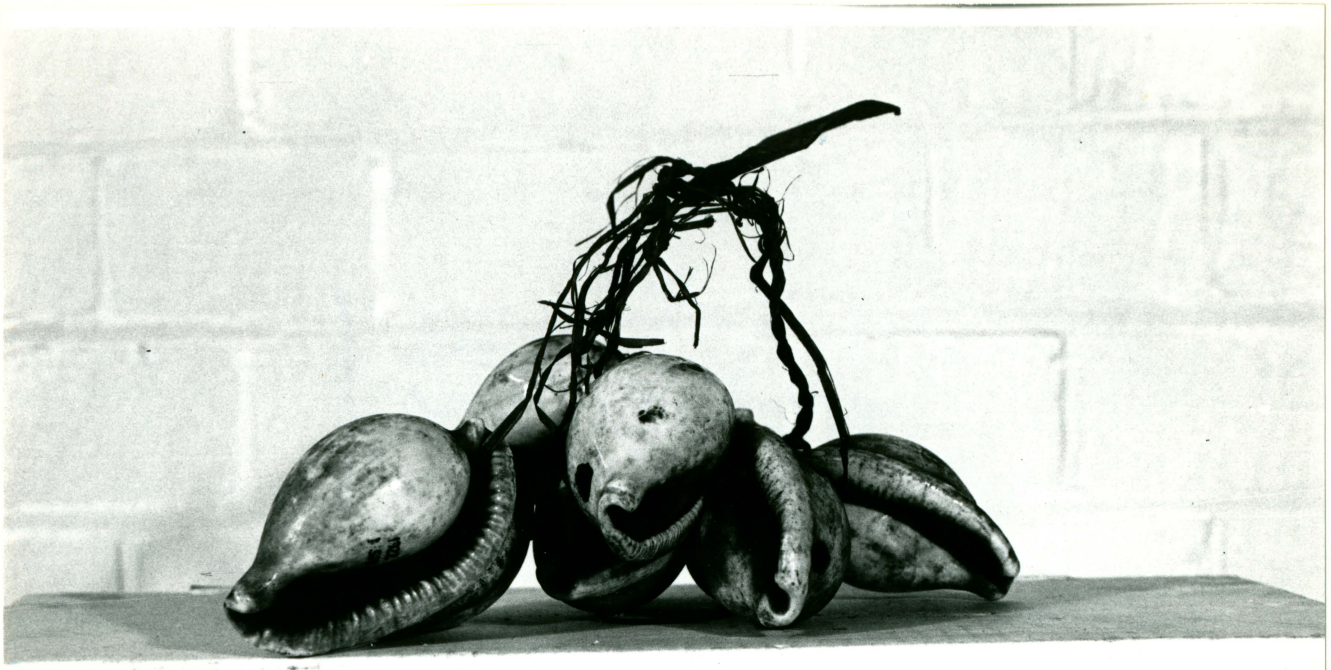

PLATE CCIV

CALF ORNAMENT (LULUBODA KAIKILA) WITH LARGE COWRIE SHELLS WORN ONLY BY GUYA'U.
M-568

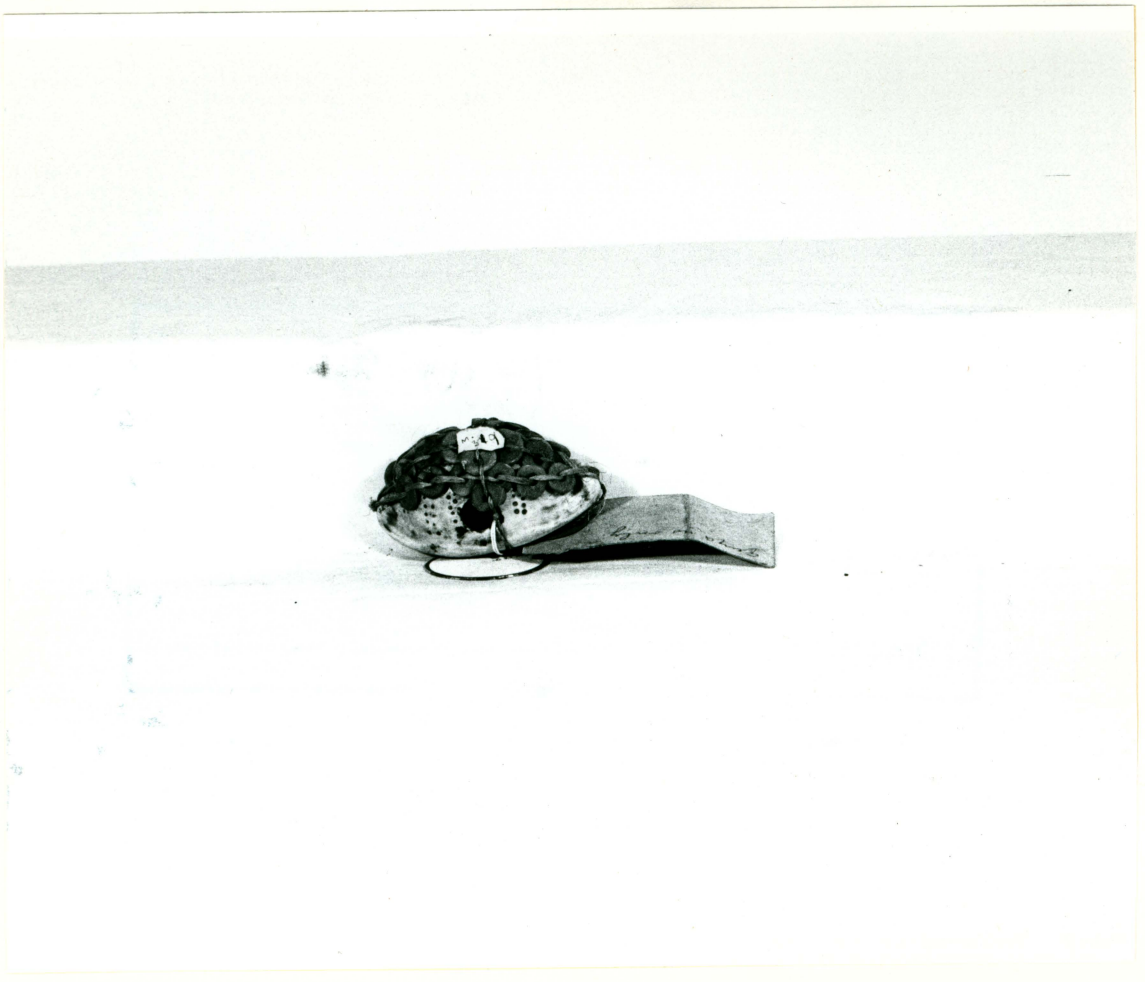

PLATE CCV

LARGE BUNADOGA SHELL COVERED WITH SMALL DISC BEADS,
WORN ONLY BY GUYA'U ON WRIST AND LEG (KAISAPI). M-319

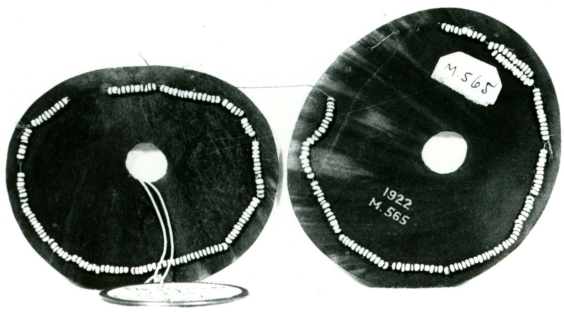

PLATE CCVI

TORTOISE SHELL EARRINGS (PAYA). M-565

PLATE CCVII

PENDANTS OF KALOMA DISC BEADS, ATTACHED TO TORTOISE SHELL EARRINGS.
M-566

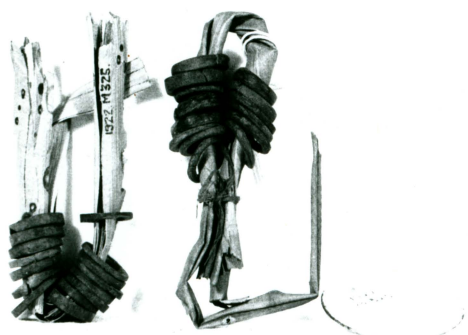

PLATE CCVIII

EARRING PENDANTS OF KALOMA DISC BEADS LINKED WITH TORTOISE SHELL PIECES (KUOMA KUOMA). M-325

PLATE CCIX

TOUPET OF HUMAN HAIR (KULA KULA). M-513

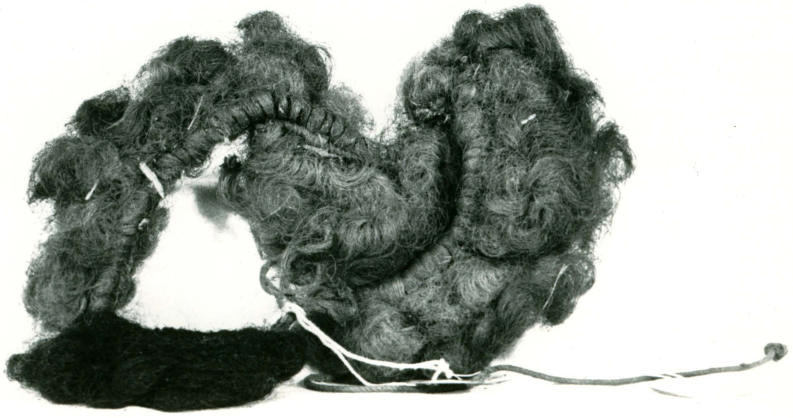

PLATE CCX

TOUPET OF HUMAN HAIR (KULA KULA). M-514

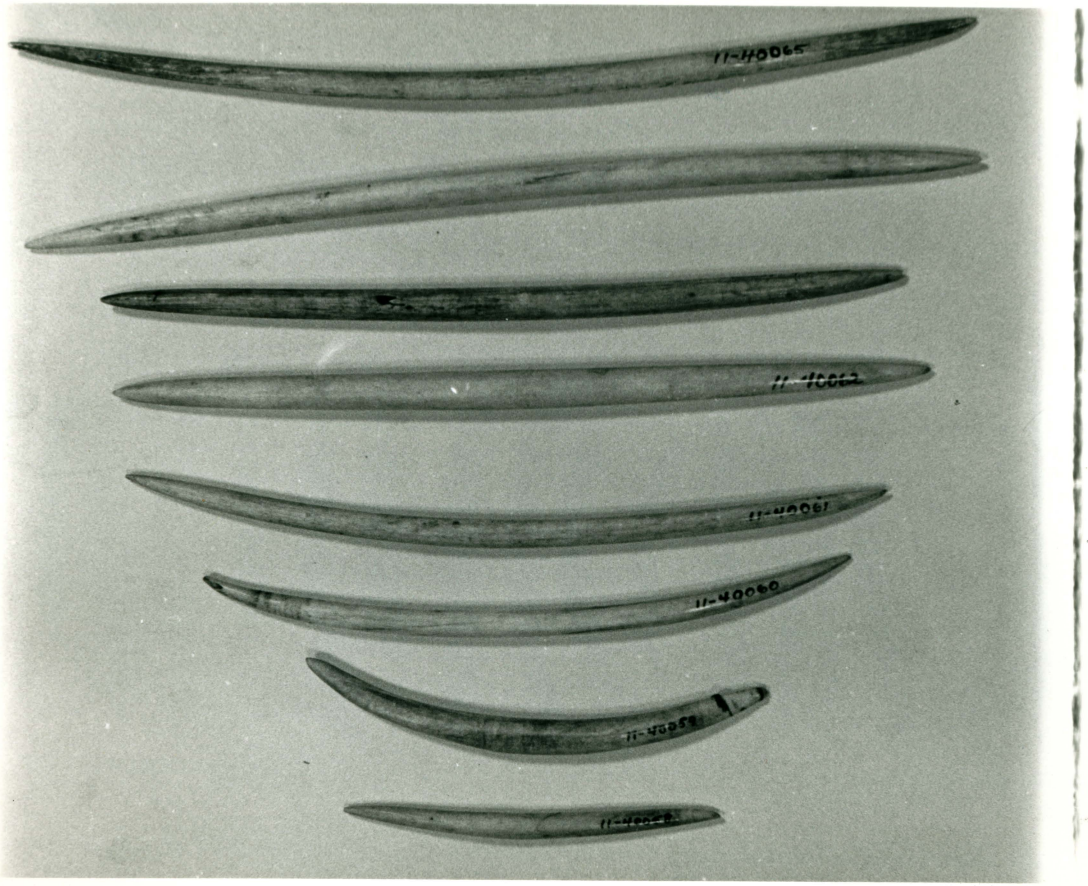

PLATE CCXI

NOSE PINS (LADUATA) MADE FROM SHELL OF GIANT CLAM (DAMUA'U) AND DECORATED WITH BLACK FIBER (TUTU). 11-40058-40665

11-40017
↕
11-40035

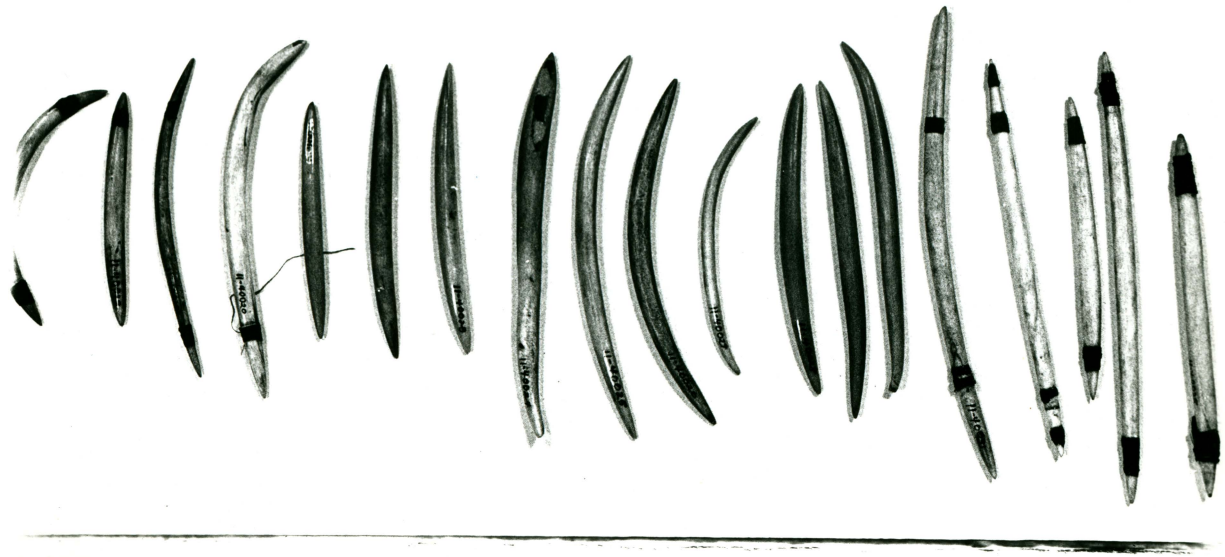

PLATE CCXII

ORANGE COLORED NOSE PINS (NA'U'U) MADE OF CASSIS SHELL (TAUYO) AND DECORATED WITH TUTU FIBER. 11-40017-40035

PLATE CCXIII

WHOLE CASSIS SHELL (TAUYO) FOR MANUFACTURE OF NA'U'U NOSE PINS. M-545

PLATE CCXIV

SEVERED LIP OF CASSIS SHELL (TAUYO), FOR NA'U'U NOSE PIN. M-546

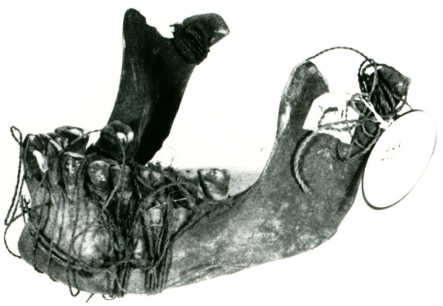

PLATE CCXV

HUMAN MANDIBLE (KIMUALA), WORN AS A MOURNING OBJECT,
SUSPENDED FROM A NECKLACE (KUWA). M-501

PLATE CCXVI

MOURNING NECKLACE (KUWA) OF IMU FIBER (PANDANUS)
FROM WHICH THE MANDIBLE (KIMUALA) IS SUSPENDED. M-504

PLATE CCXVII

MOURNING NECKLACE OF FOUR STRANDS OF BERRIES. M-585

PLATE CCXVIII

MOURNING BREAST/SHOULDER PADS OF HUMAN HAIR. M-509

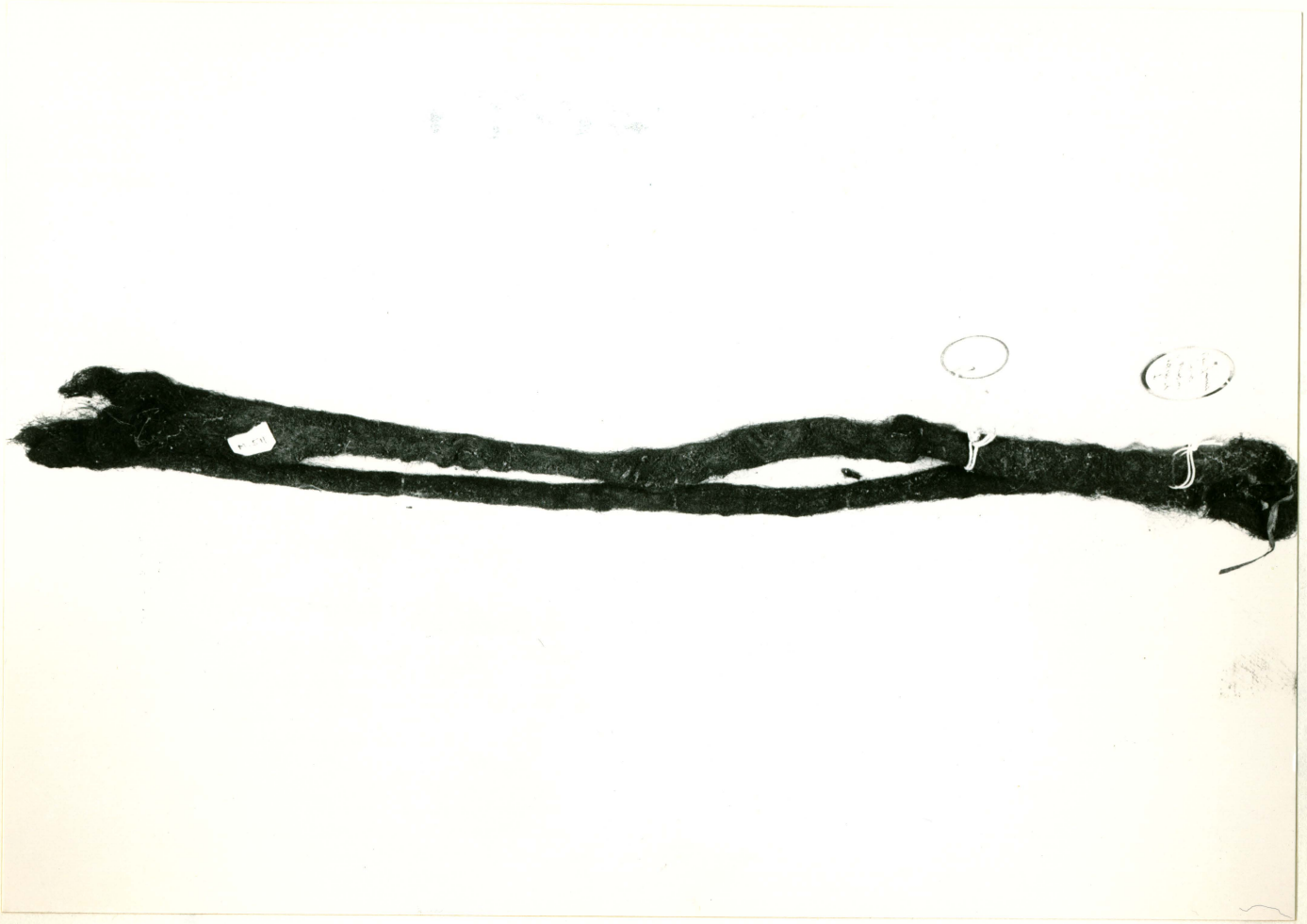

PLATE CCXIX

"PIGTAILS" OF HUMAN HAIR (SAISAI) SUSPENDED FROM THE OCCIPITAL FRINGE OF HAIR. M-511

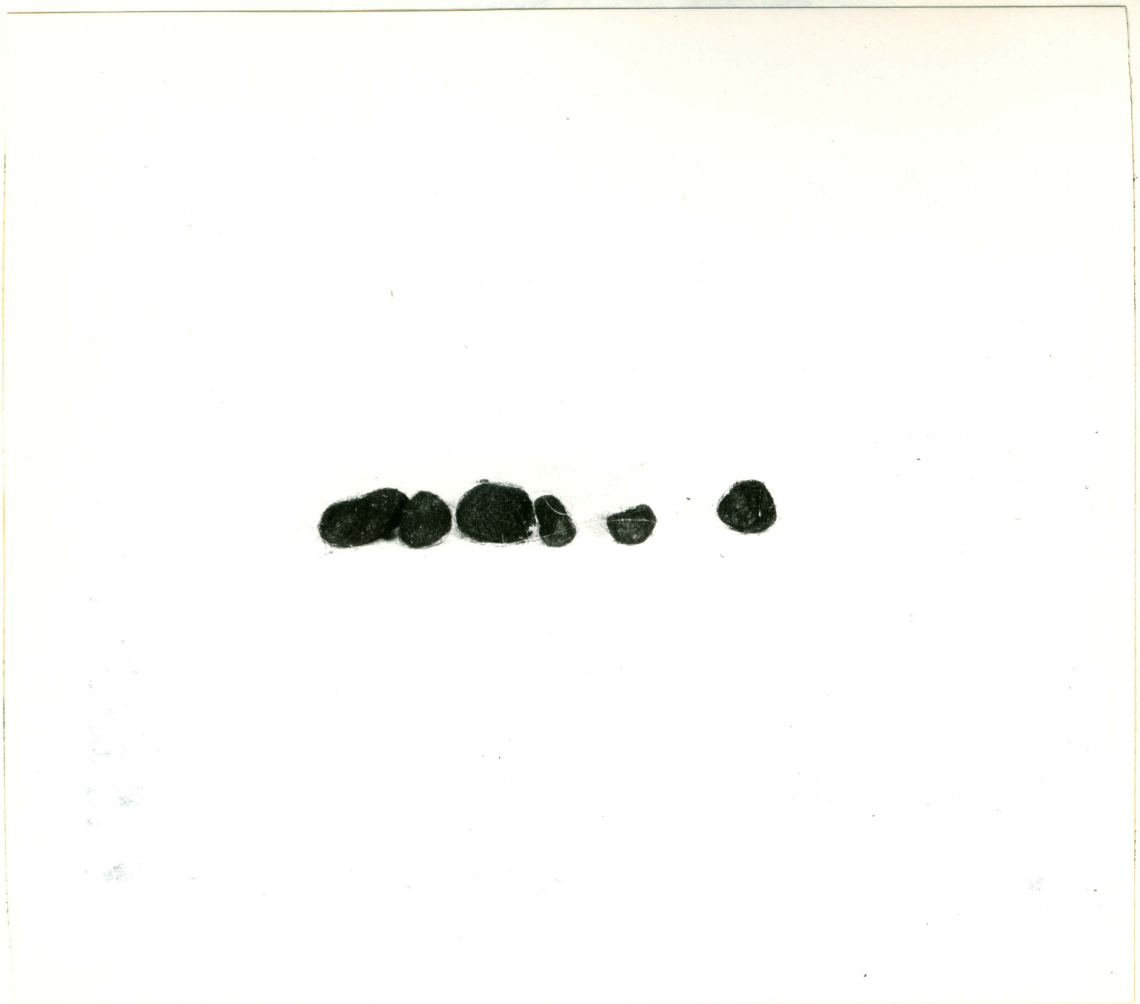

PLATE CCXX

BALLS OF HUMAN HAIR STRUNG AND WORN AS A NECKLACE. M-525

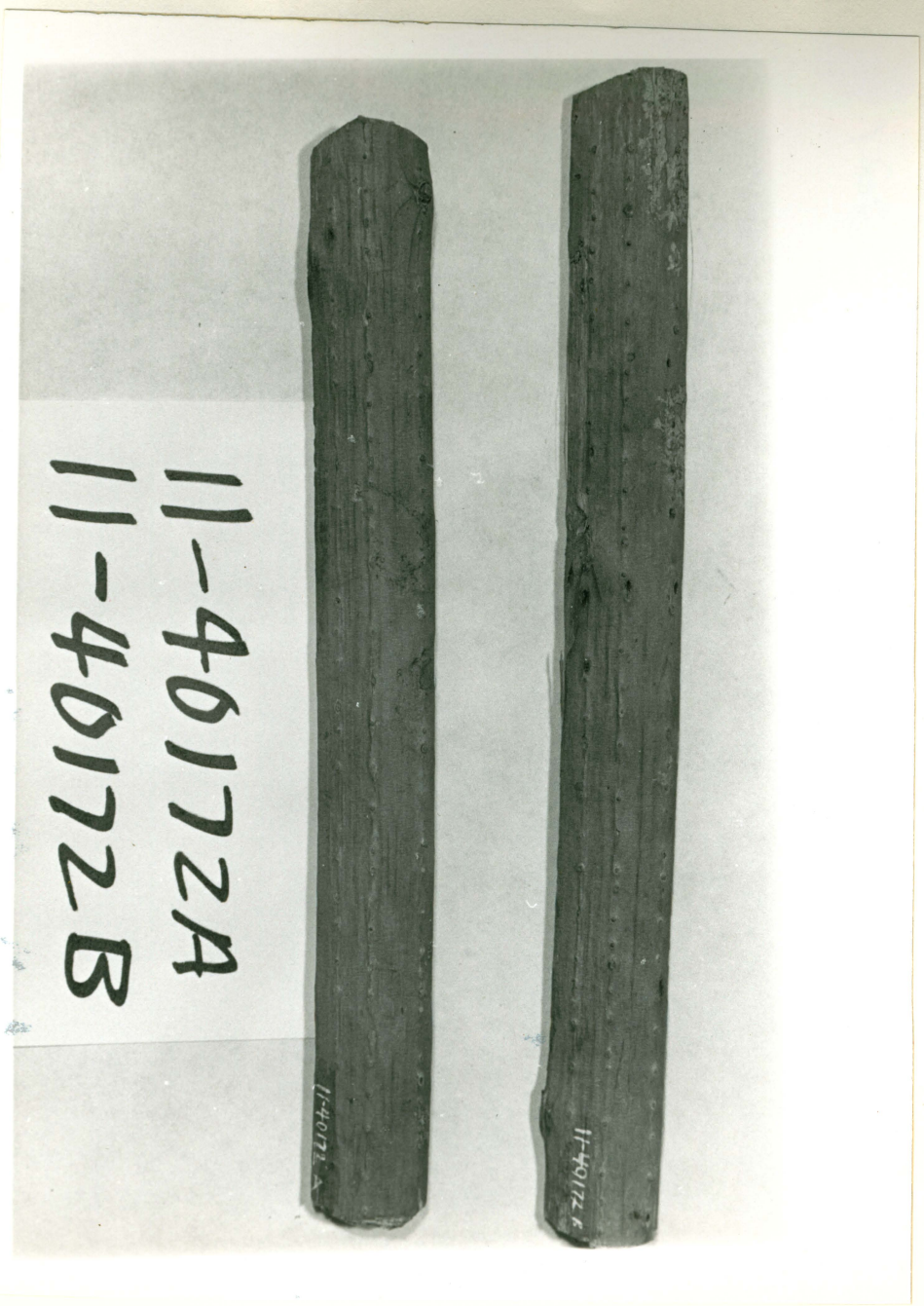

PLATE CCXXI

RAW MATERIAL (PANDANUS ROOT) FOR MANUFACTURE OF COMBS (SINATA). 11-40172A,B

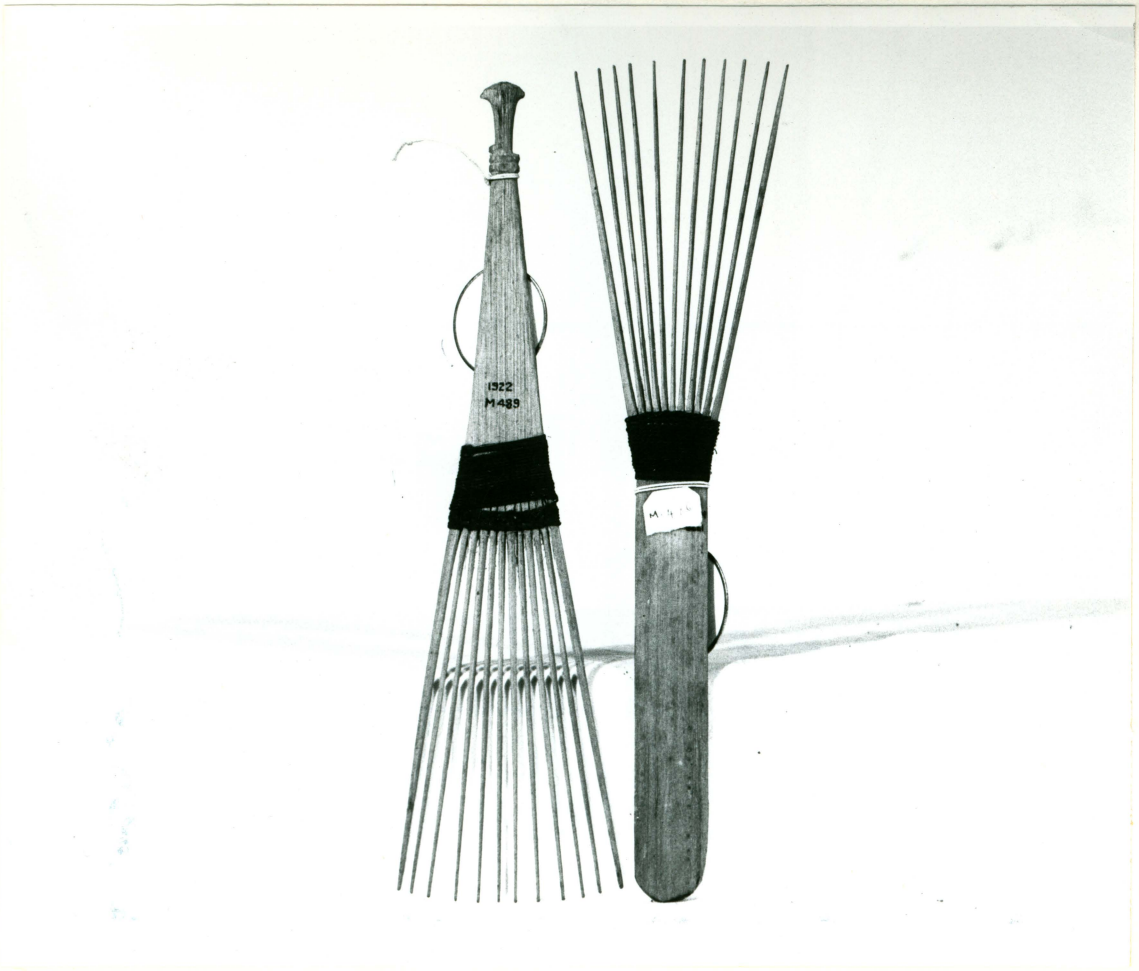

PLATE CCXXII

PANDANUS ROOT COMBS (SINATA) WITH SIMPLE CARVED FINIALS. M-489-486

PLATE CCXXIII

DECORATED WOODEN COMB (SINATA) WITH FANCY FINIAL. M-483

PLATE CCXXIV

DECORATED WOODEN COMB (SINATA). M-479

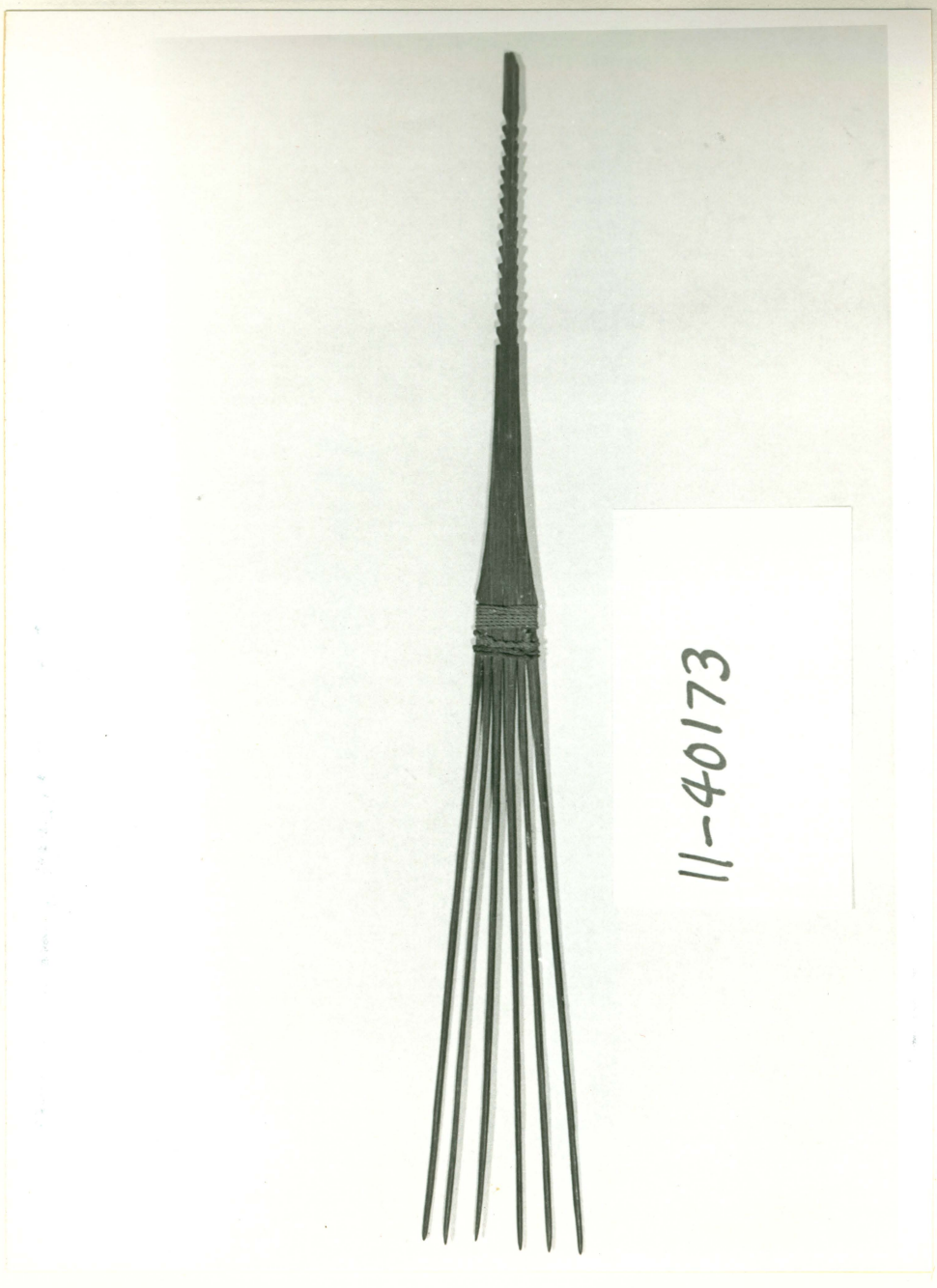

PLATE CCXXV

PALMWOOD COMB (SINATA). 11-40173

PLATE CCXXVI

LIME SPATULA (KENA): TOKUALU TYPE. 11-39927

PLATE CCXXVII

FINIAL OF TOKUALU LIME SPATULA. 11-39927

11-39929

PLATE CCXXVIII

LIME SPATULA (KENA): TOKUALU TYPE. 11-39929

PLATE CCXXIX

FINIAL OF TOKUALU LIME SPATULA. 11-39929

PLATE CCXXX

LIME SPATULA (KENA): TAUTUKUAKI TYPE. 11-39957

PLATE CCXXXI

LIME SPATULAS (KENA): TASORINA TYPES. 11-39902, 39904

PLATE CCXXXII

LIME SPATULAS (KENA): TASORINA TYPES. 11-39918, 39928

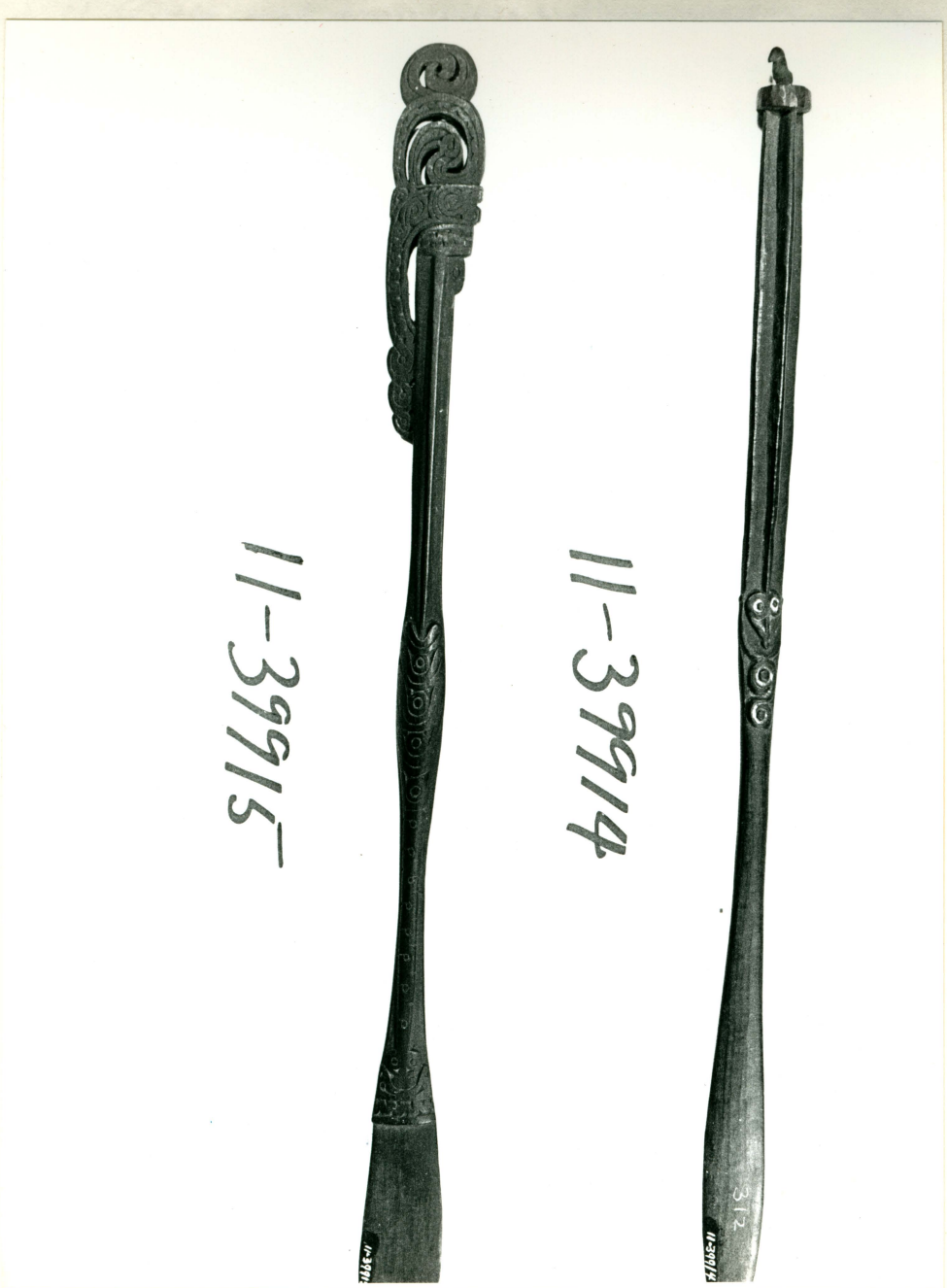

PLATE CCXXXIII

LIME SPATULAS (KENA): TASORINA TYPES. 11-39914-39915

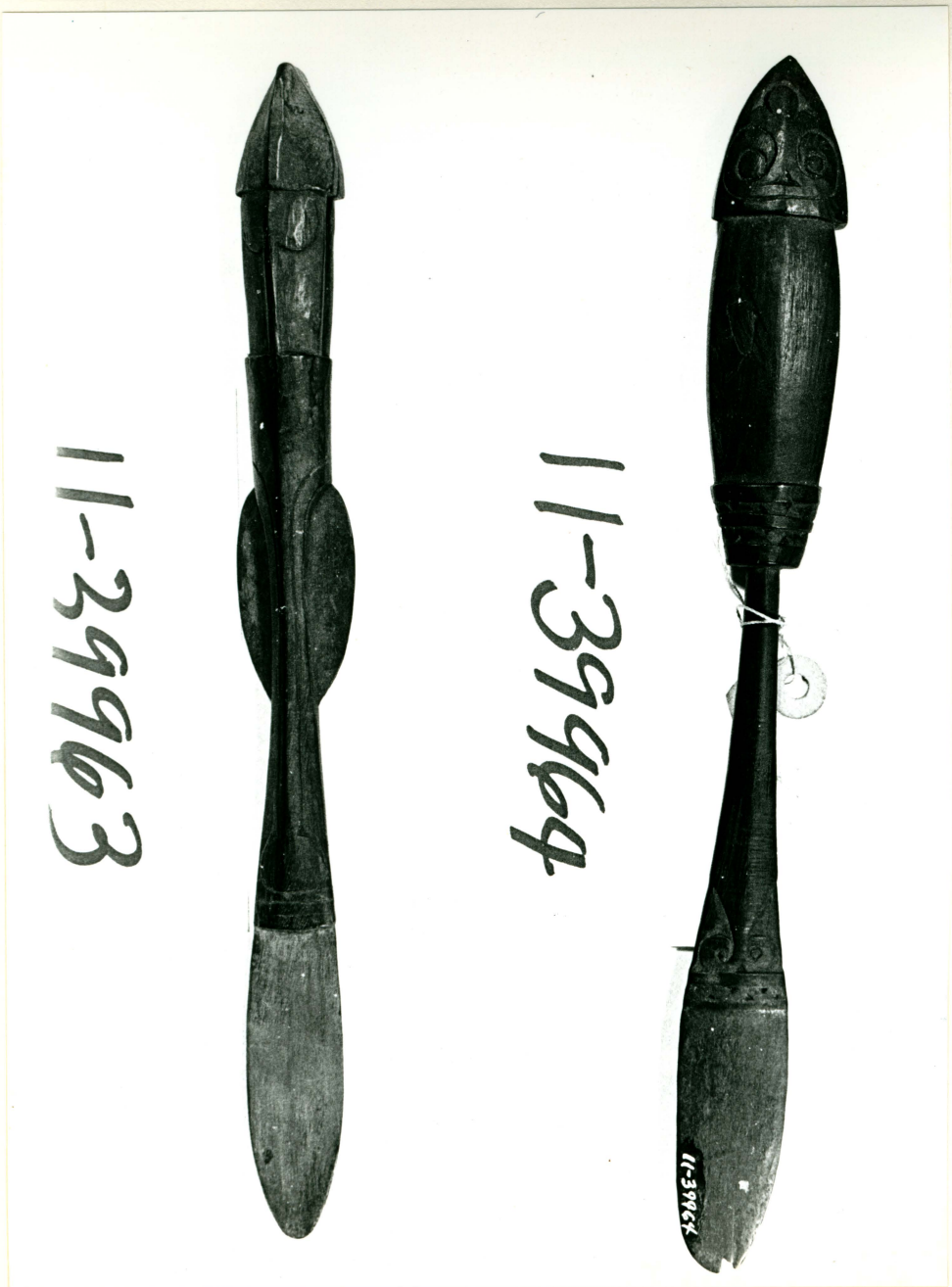

PLATE CCXXXIV

LIME SPATULAS (KENA): TAKAKUPUANA TYPES. 11-39963, 39964

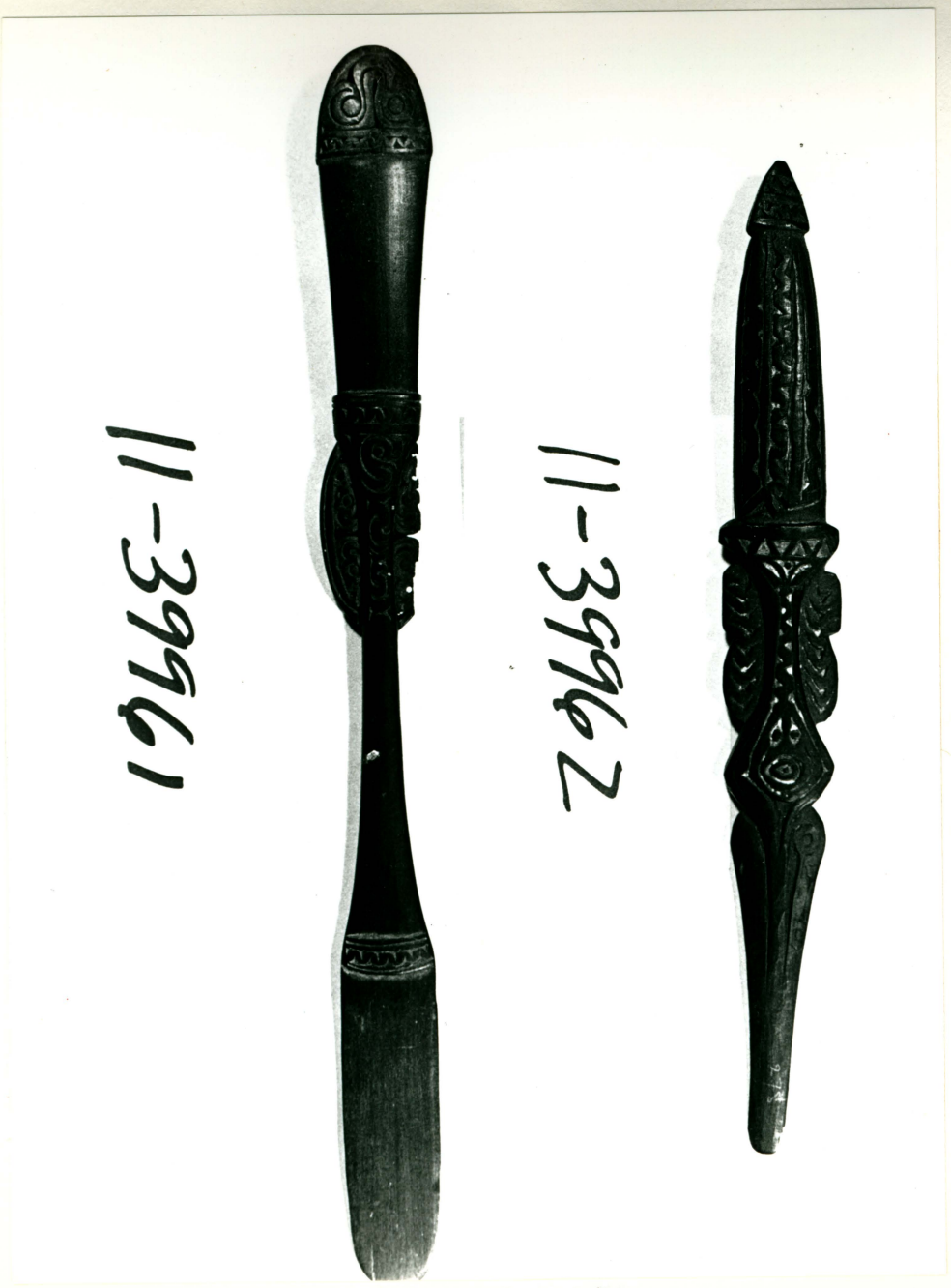

PLATE CCXXXV

LIME SPATULAS (KENA): TAKAKUPUANA TYPES. 11-39961-39962

PLATE CCXXXVI

LIME SPATULA (KENA): TAKAKUPUANA TYPE. M-449

PLATE CCXXXVII

LIME SPATULAS (KENA): FOUR-VANED HANDLE TYPES.
11-39969-39971

PLATE CCXXXVIII

LIME SPATULAS (KENA): FOUR-VANED HANDLE TYPES.
11-39972-39973

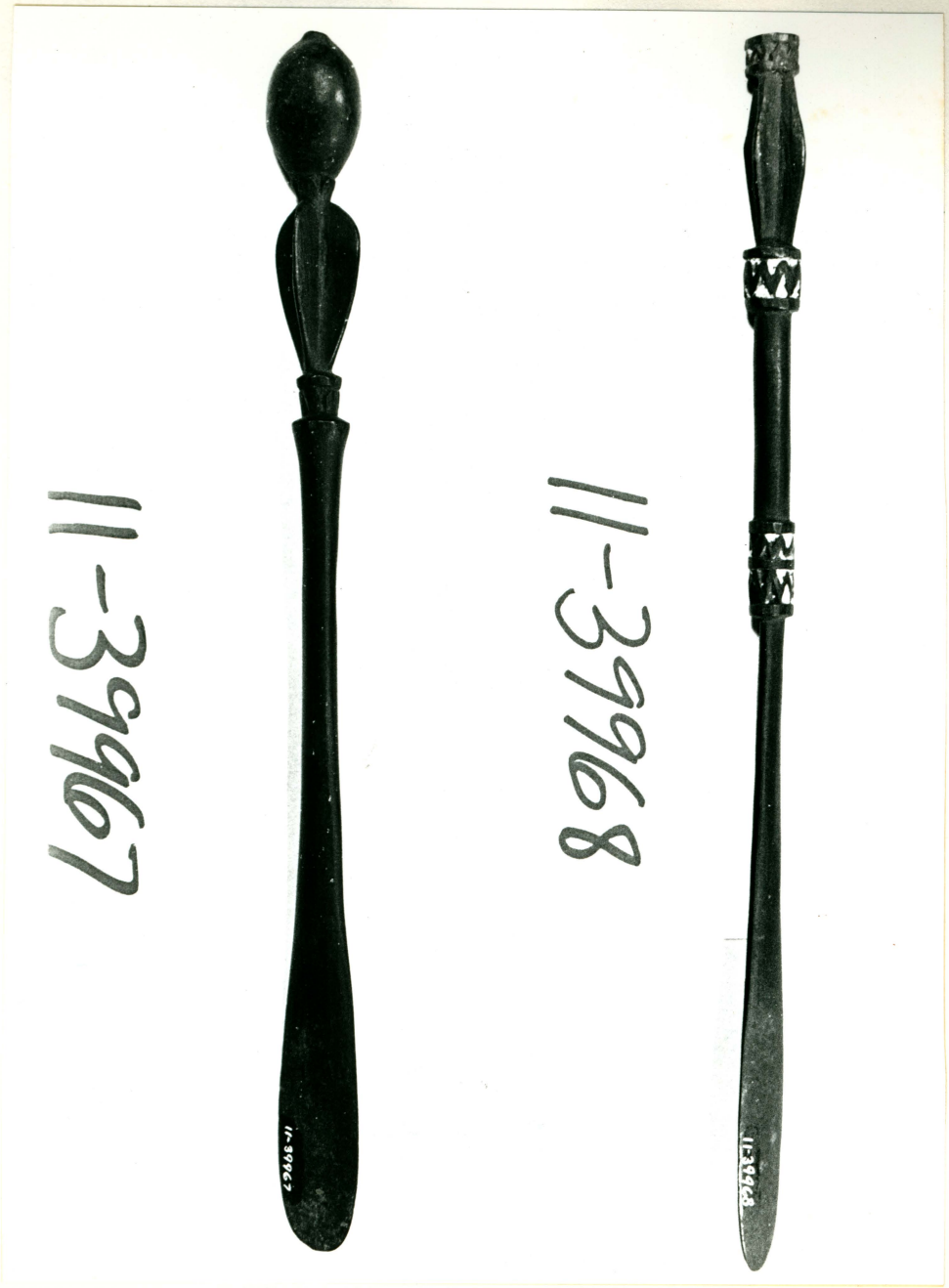

PLATE CCXXXIX

LIME SPATULAS (KENA): FOUR-VANED HANDLE TYPES.
11-39967-39968

PLATE CCXL

LIME SPATULA (KENA): SPATULA MADE IN IMITATION OF LARGER TECHNOLOGICAL ITEM. M-450(FAR RIGHT)

PLATE CCXLI

LIME SPATULA (KENA): SPATULA MADE IN IMITATION OF LARGER TECHNOLOGICAL ITEM. M-455

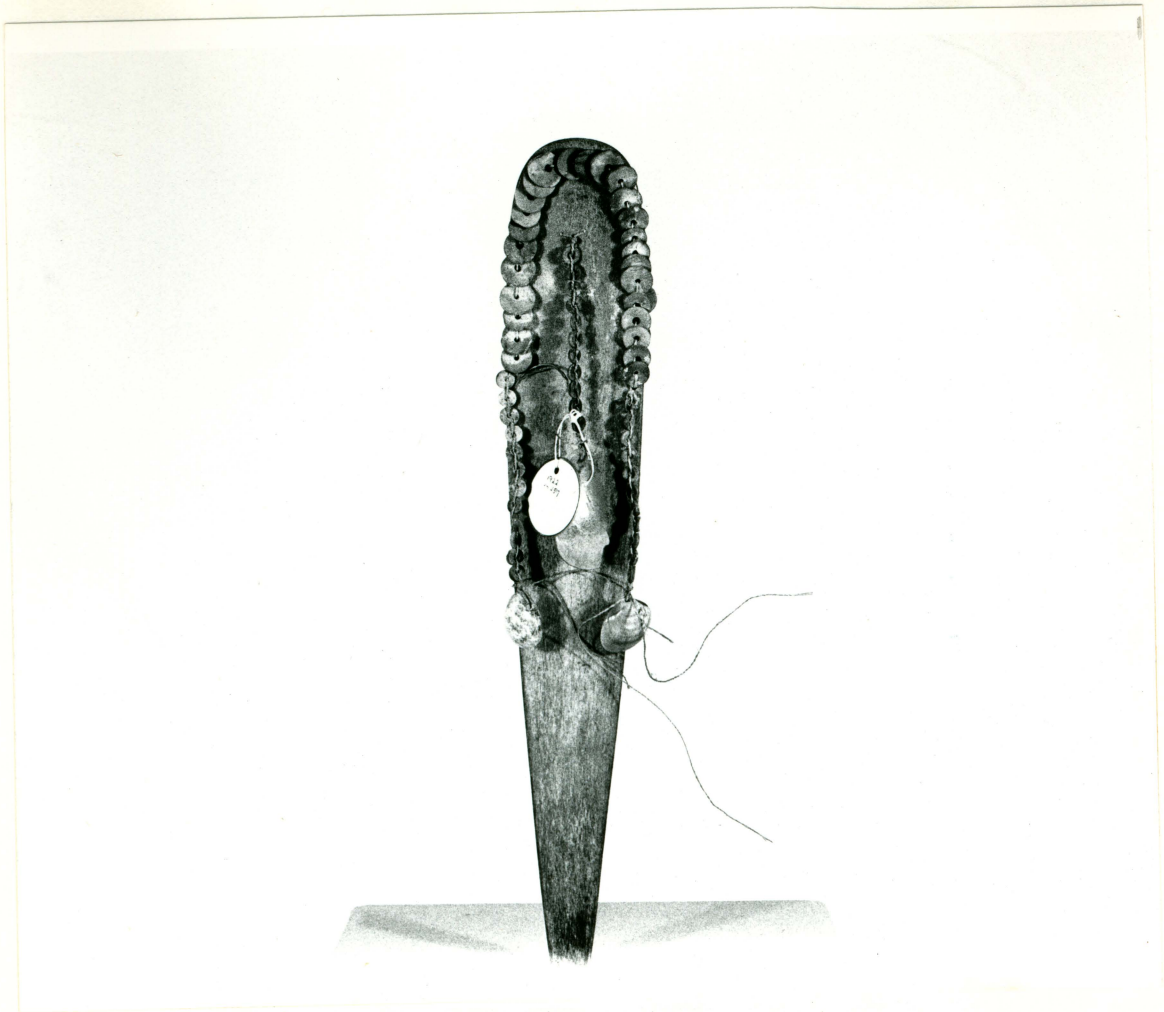

PLATE CCXLII

WHALE BONE LIME SPATULA (BOSU). M-289

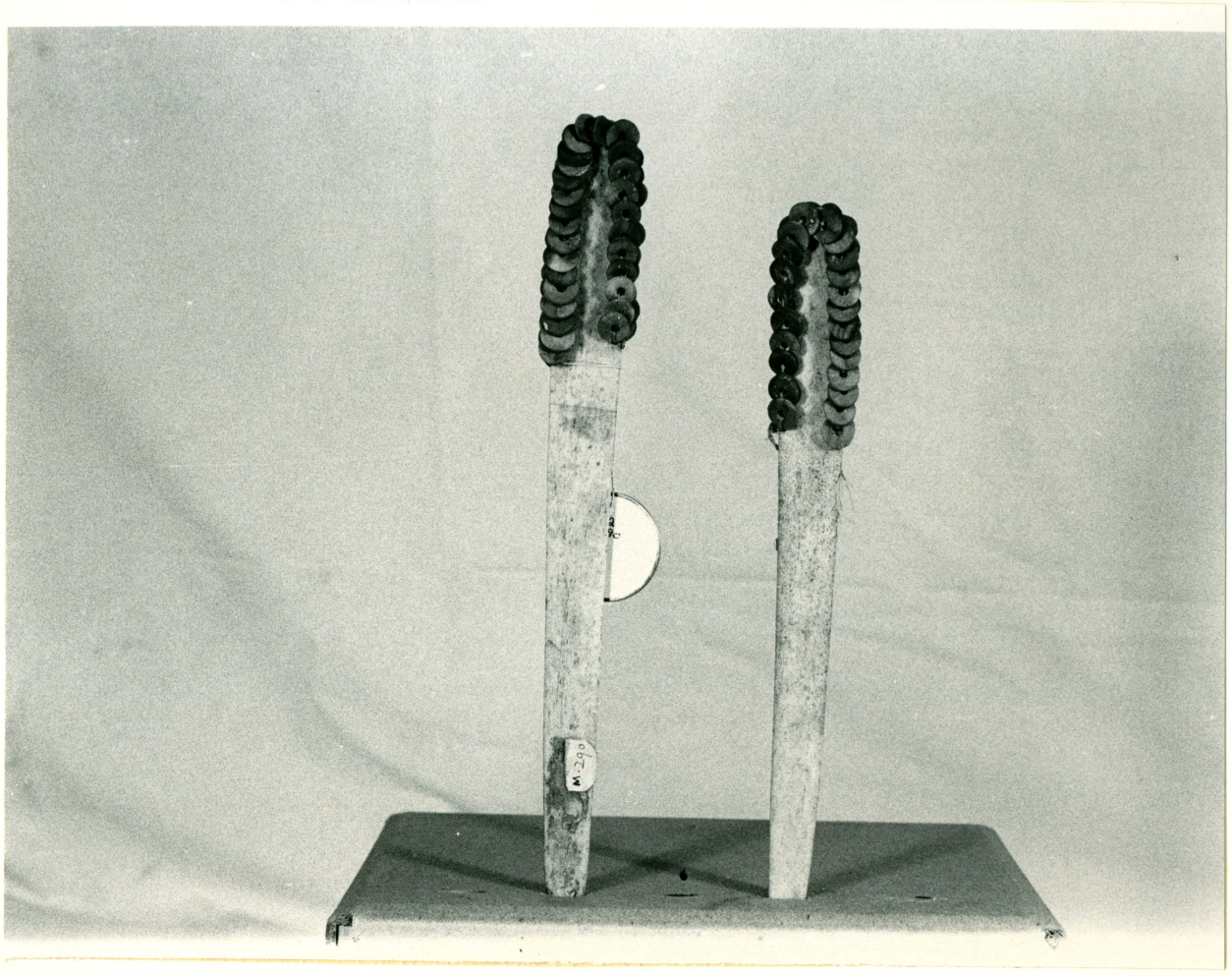

PLATE CCXLIII

WHALE BONE LIME SPATULAS (BOSU). M-290-291

PLATE CCXLIV

WHALE BONE LIME SPATULAS (BOSU). 11-42104-42105

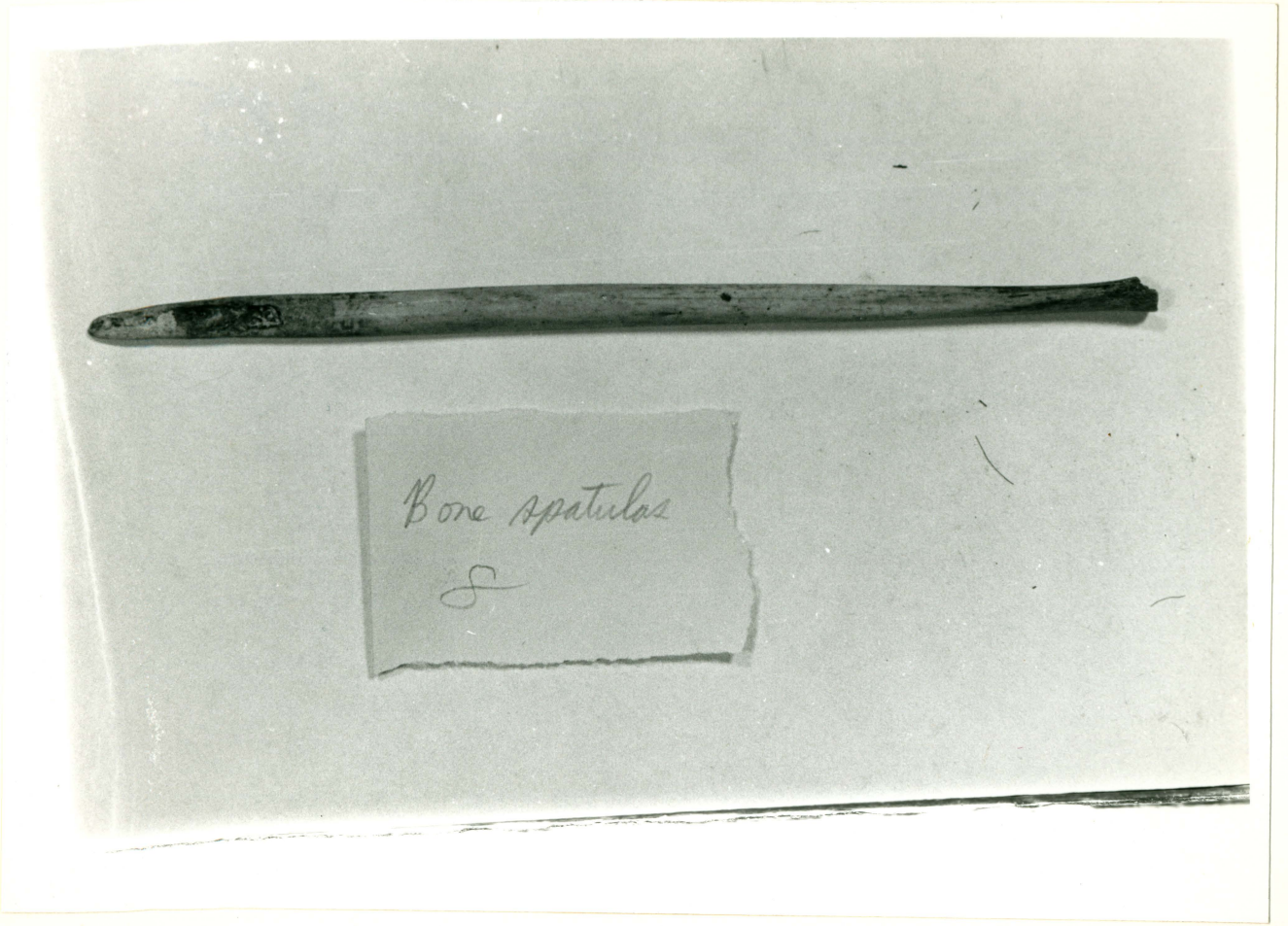

PLATE CCXLV

PIG-BONE SPATULA. 11-42102

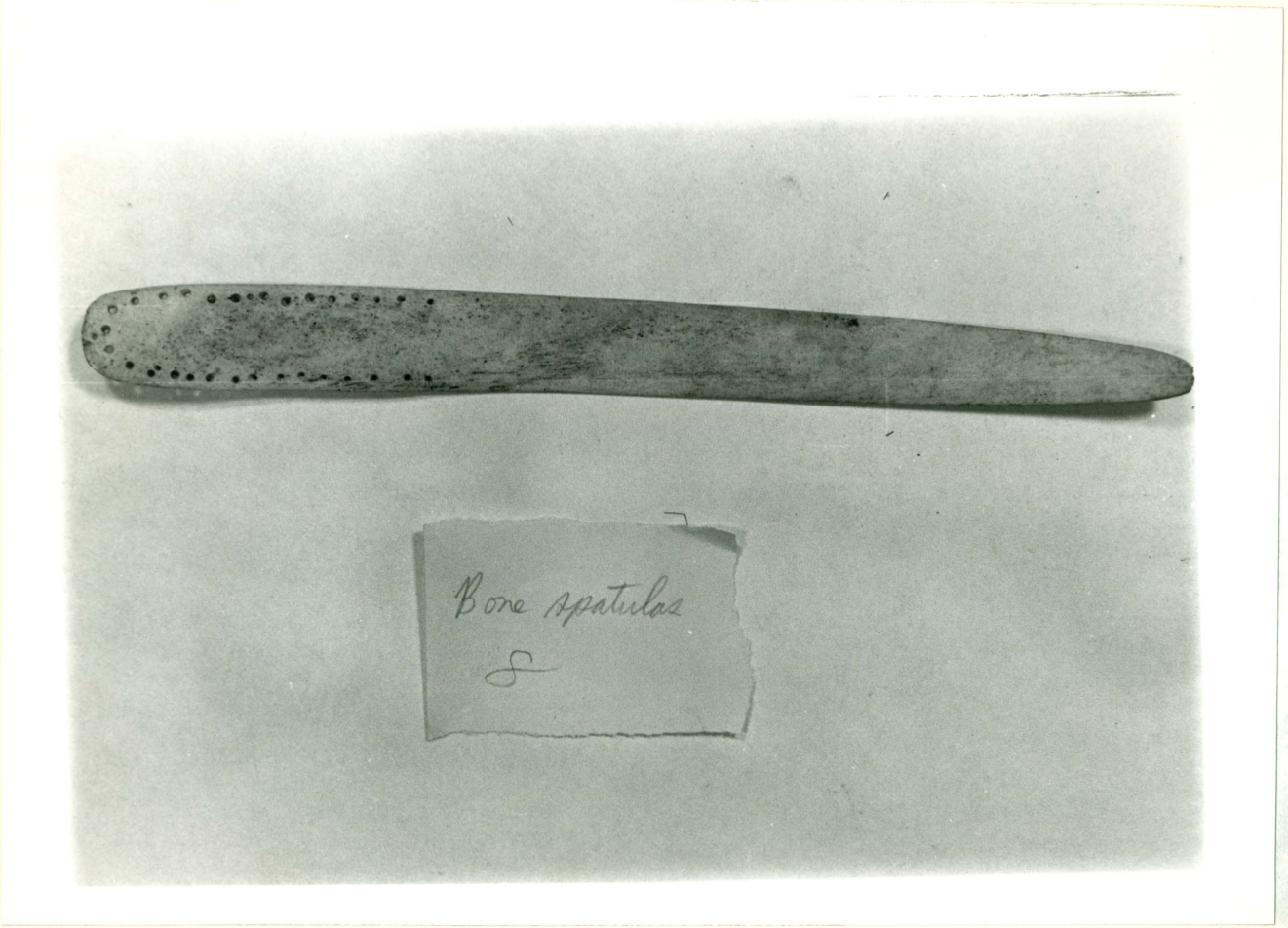

PLATE CCXLVI

PIG-BONE SPATULA. 11-41871

PLATE CCXLVII

WOODEN BETEL-NUT MORTAR (KAIPITA): "T"-SHAPED, OR KEEL TYPE.
11-40009

PLATE CCXLVIII

WOODEN BETEL-NUT MORTARS (KAIPITA). M-380-385

PLATE CCXLIX

WOODEN BETEL-NUT MORTAR (KAIPITA): TWIN-HOLED, BOAT-SHAPED. M-391

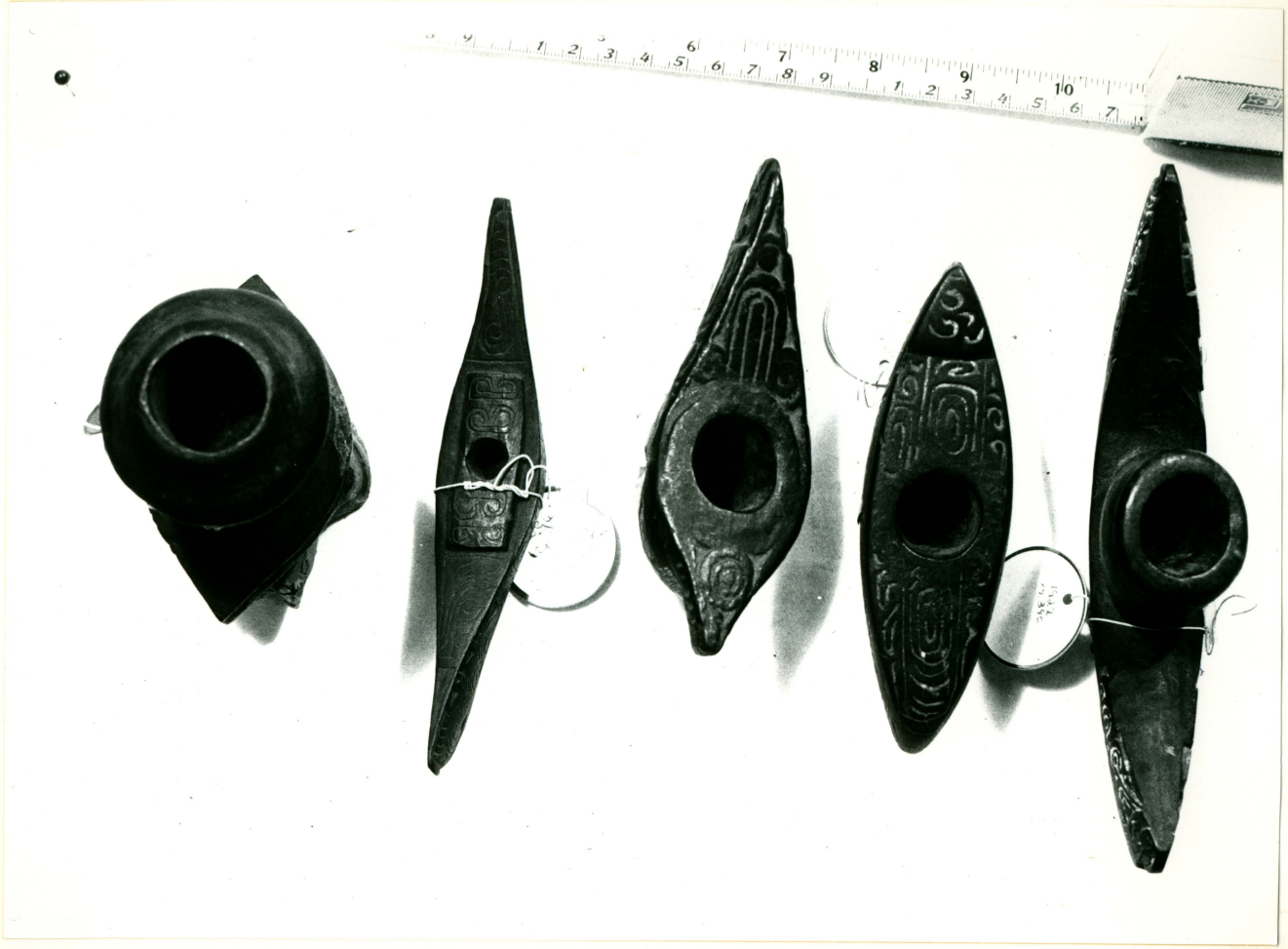

PLATE CCL

WOODEN BETEL-NUT MORTARS (KAIPITA): BOAT-SHAPED. M-386-390

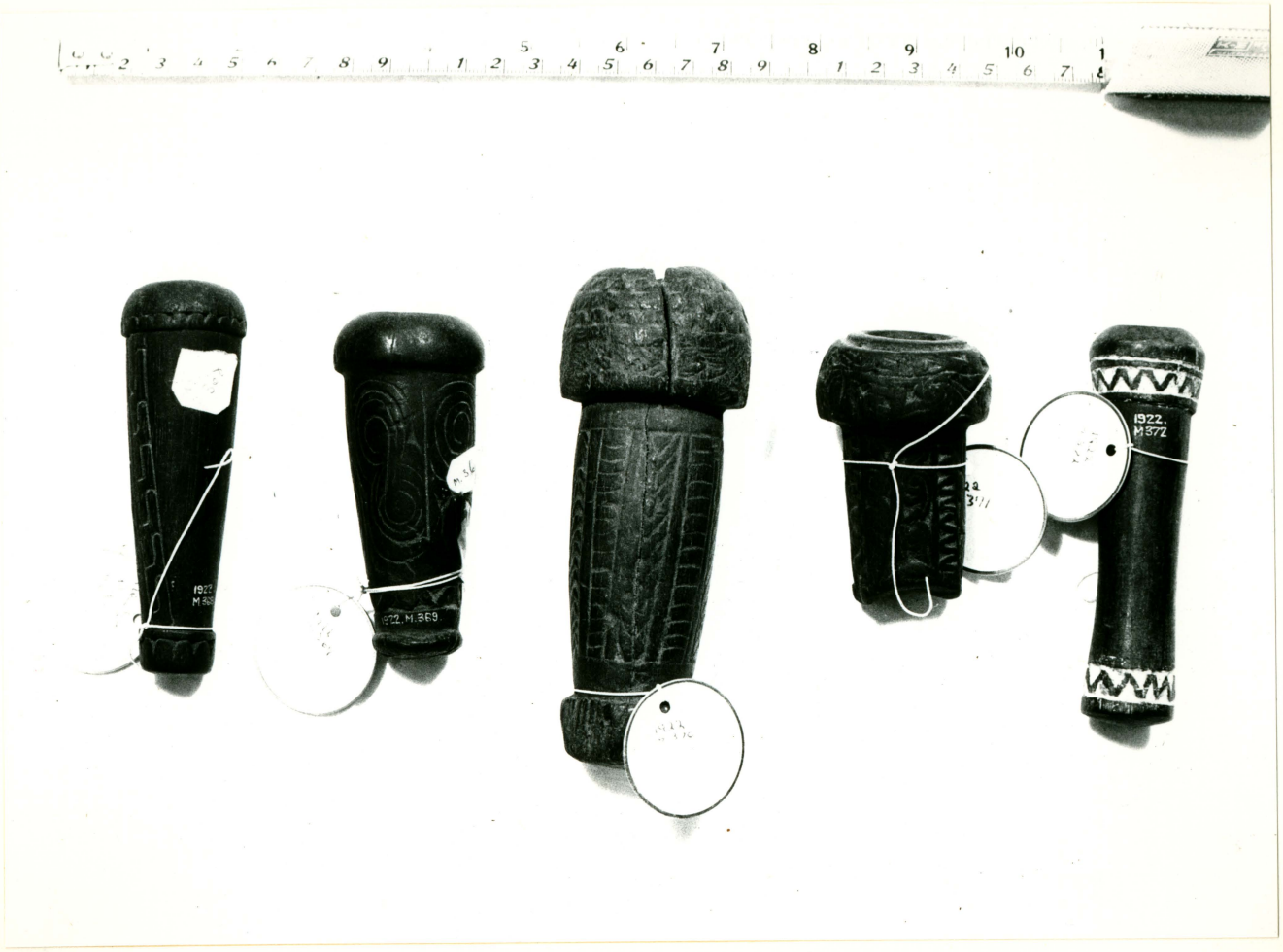

PLATE CCLI

WOODEN BETEL-NUT MORTARS (KAIPITA): COLLARED RIMS. M-368-372

PLATE CCLII

UNDECORATED WOODEN PESTLE (KAIMILI) FOR GRINDING BETEL-NUT. 11-39989

11-39985

PLATE CCLIII

WOODEN PESTLE (KAIMILI) FOR GRINDING BETEL-NUT, WITH BIRD-HEAD FINIAL. 11-39985

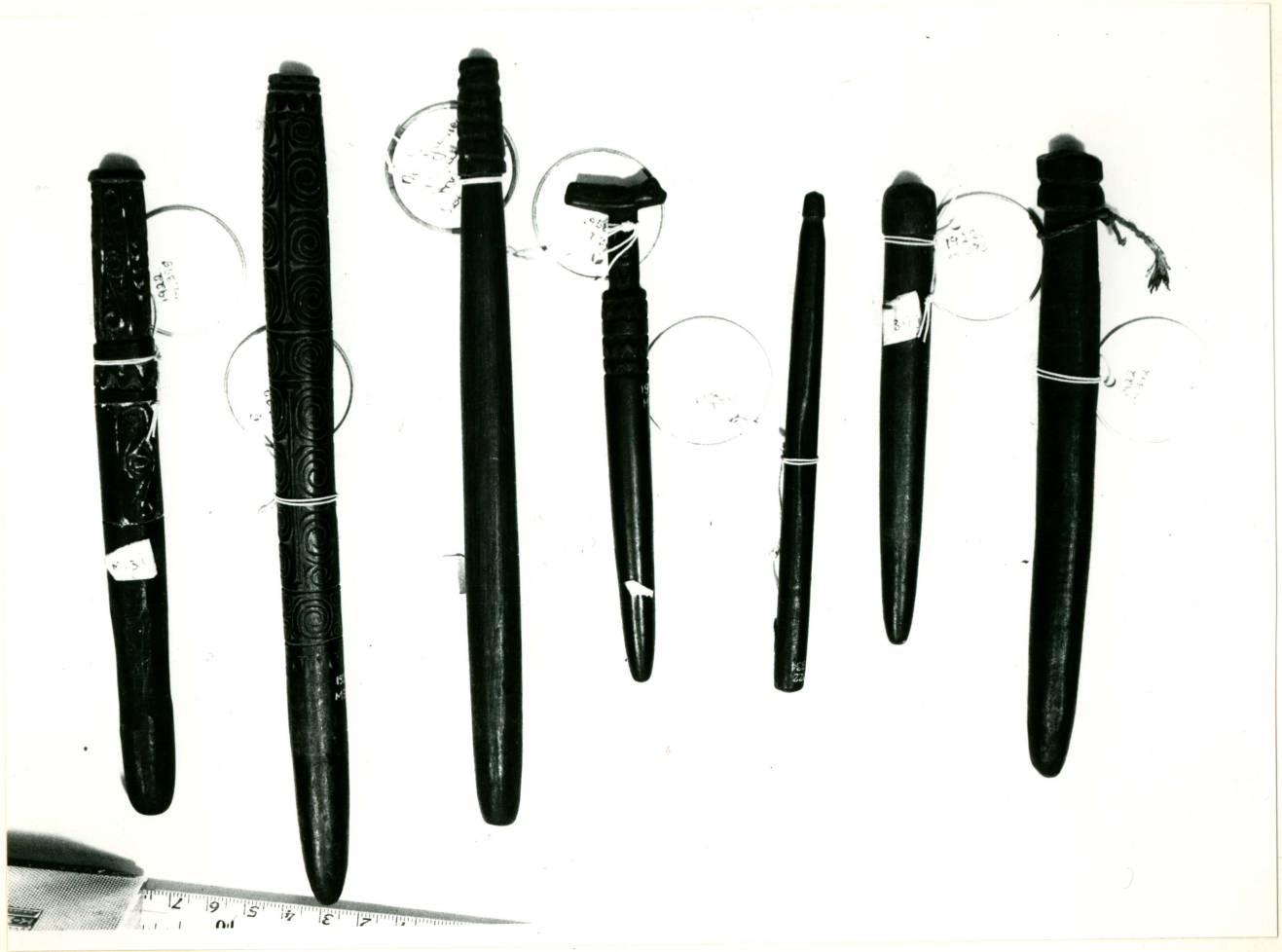

PLATE CCLIV

VARIOUS WOODEN PESTLES (KAIMILI) FOR GRINDING BETEL-NUT. M-392-398

PLATE CCLV

VARIOUS DECORATED WOODEN PESTLES (KAIMILI) FOR GRINDING BETEL-NUT. M-399-403, M-430, M-459

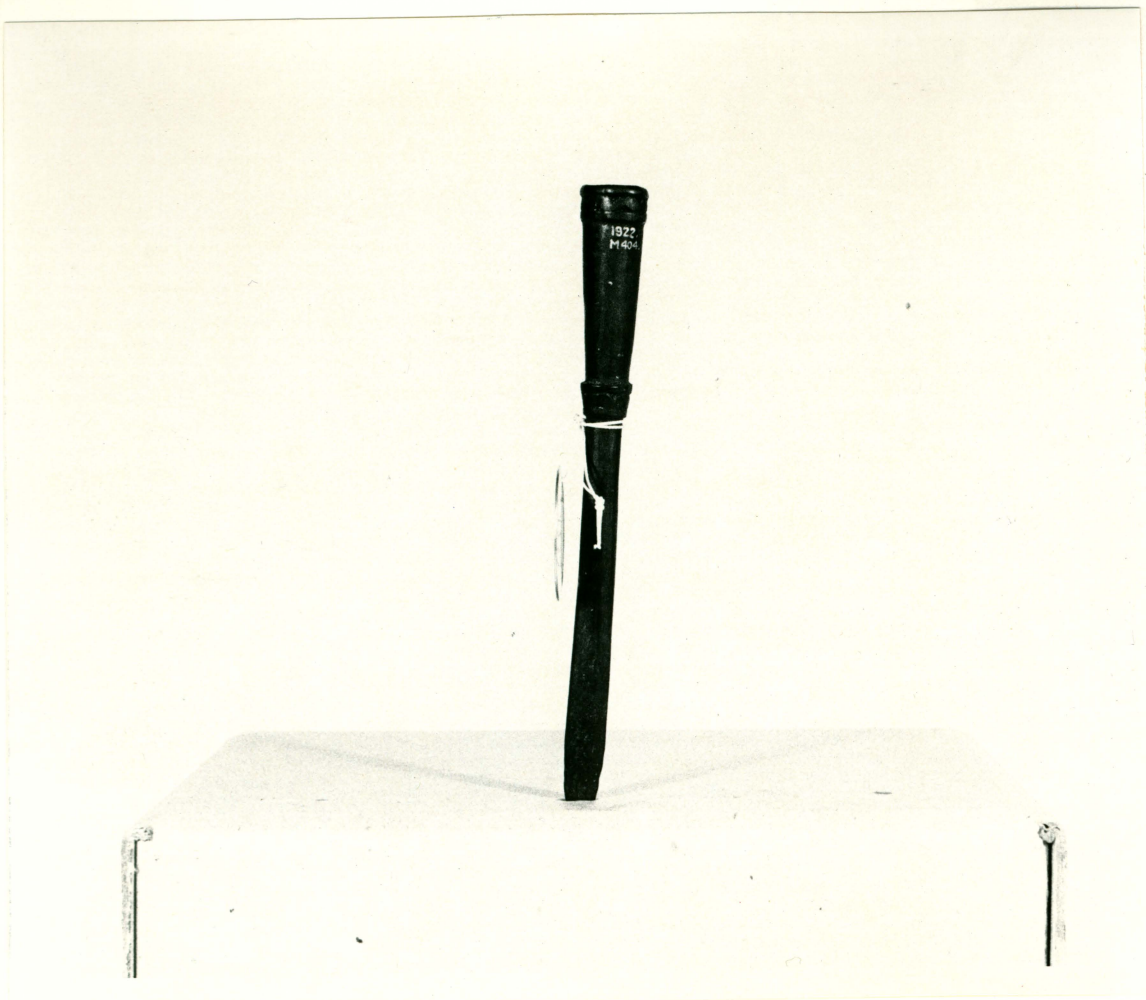

PLATE CCLVI

COMBINATION MORTAR (KAIPITA) AND SPATULA (KENA). M-403

11-40184

PLATE CCLVII

GOURD LIME CONTAINER (YAGUMA). 11-40184

PLATE CCLVIII

GOURD LIME CONTAINER (YAGUMA). M-103

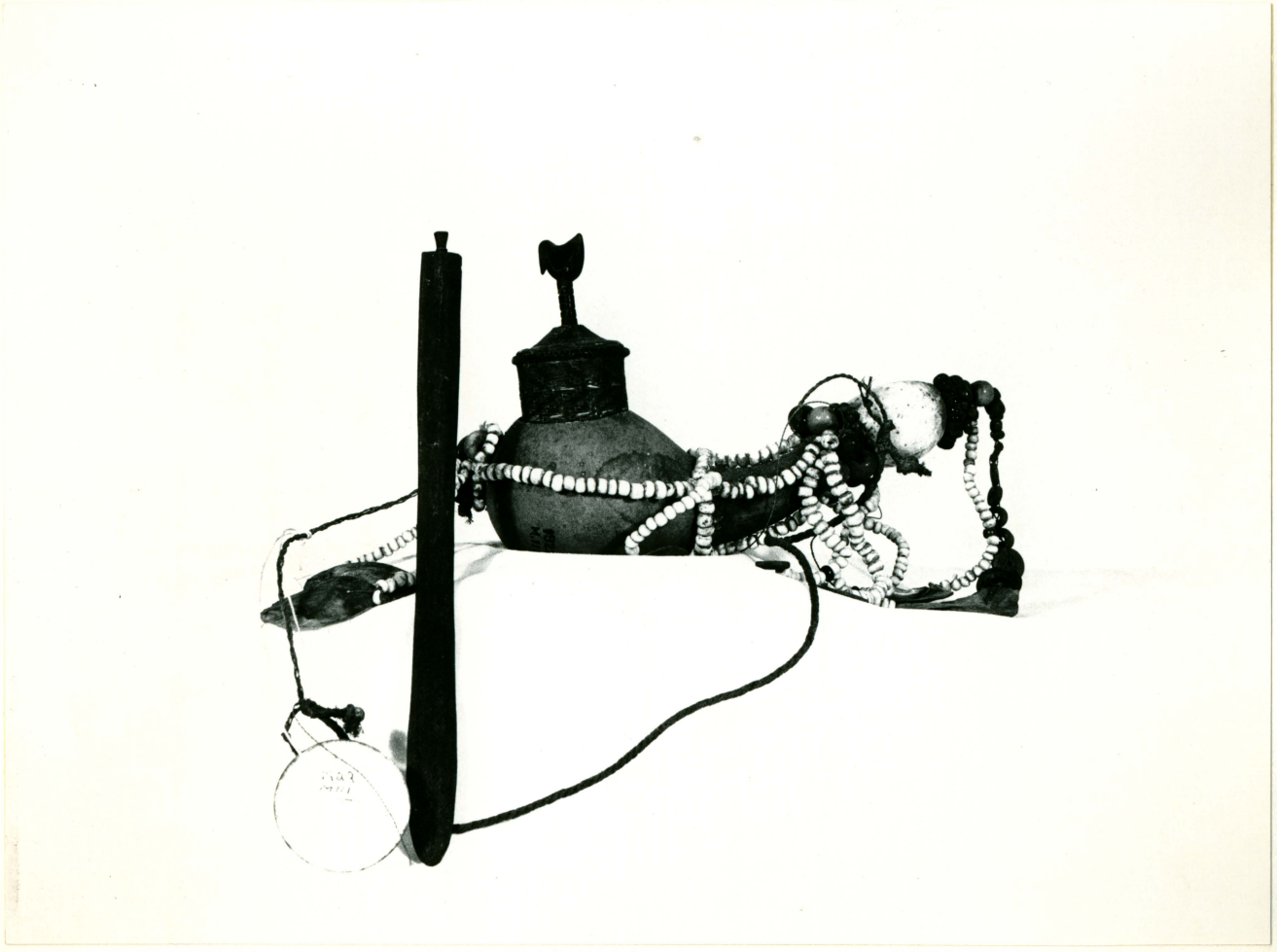

PLATE CCLIX

GOURD LIME CONTAINER (YAGUMA) WITH SPATULA (KENA). M-111

PLATE CCLX

GOURD LIME CONTAINER (YAGUMA), PYRO-ENGRAVED. M-110

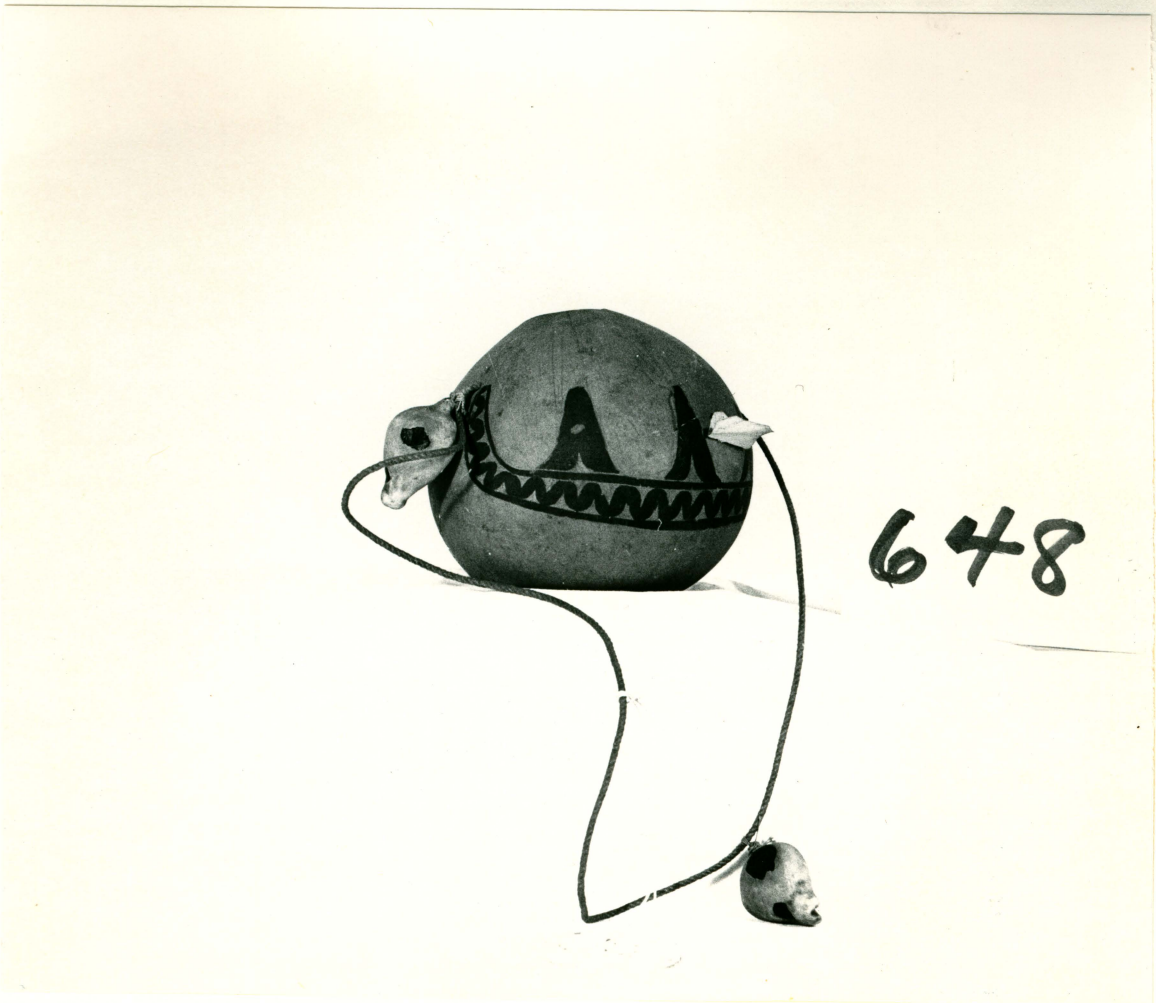

PLATE CCLXI

GOURD LIME CONTAINER (YAGUMA), PYRO-ENGRAVED. M-648

106

PLATE CCLXII

GOURD LIME CONTAINER (YAGUMA). M-106

PLATE CCLXIII

CLOSE-UP OF LIME GOURD STOPPER. 11-40213

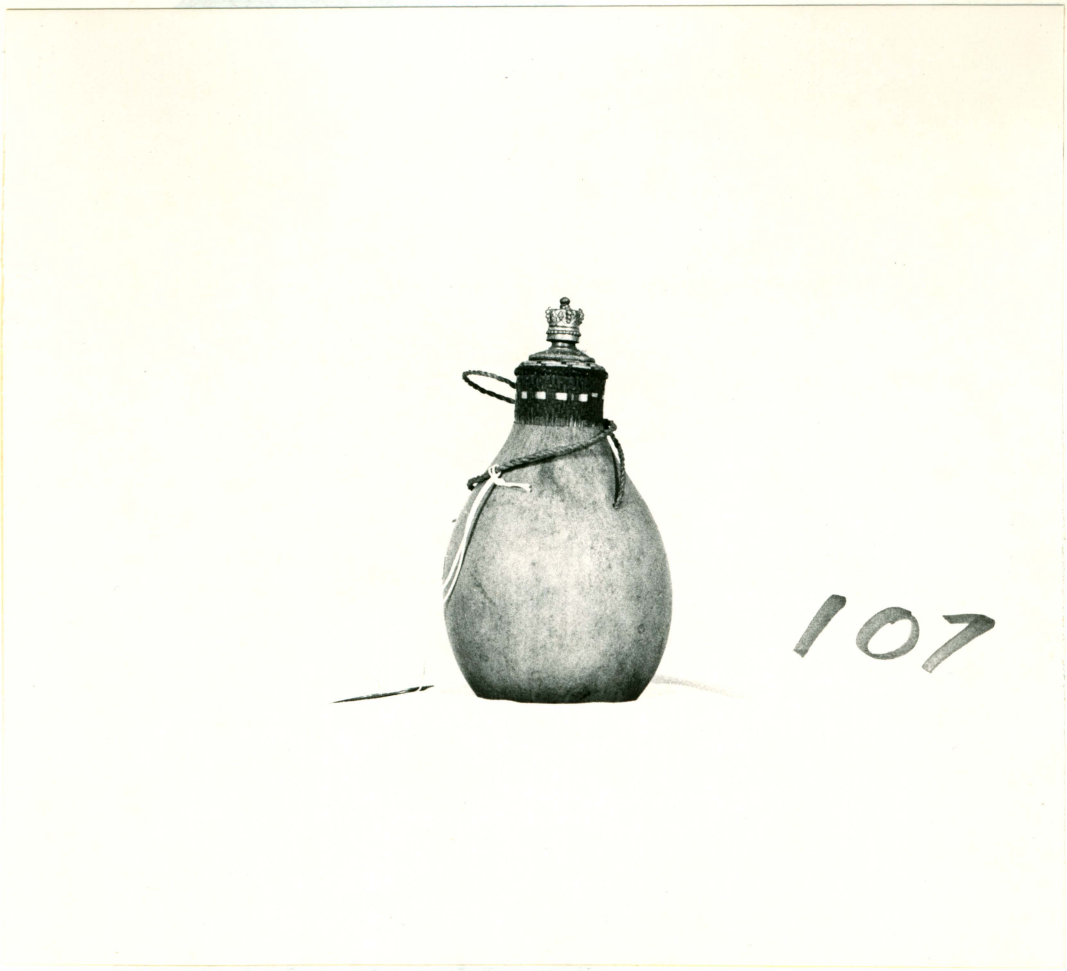

PLATE CCLXIV

GOURD LIME CONTAINER (YAGUMA) WITH EUROPEAN STOPPER. M-107

PLATE CCLXV

DANCE PADDLE (KAIDEBU). M-21

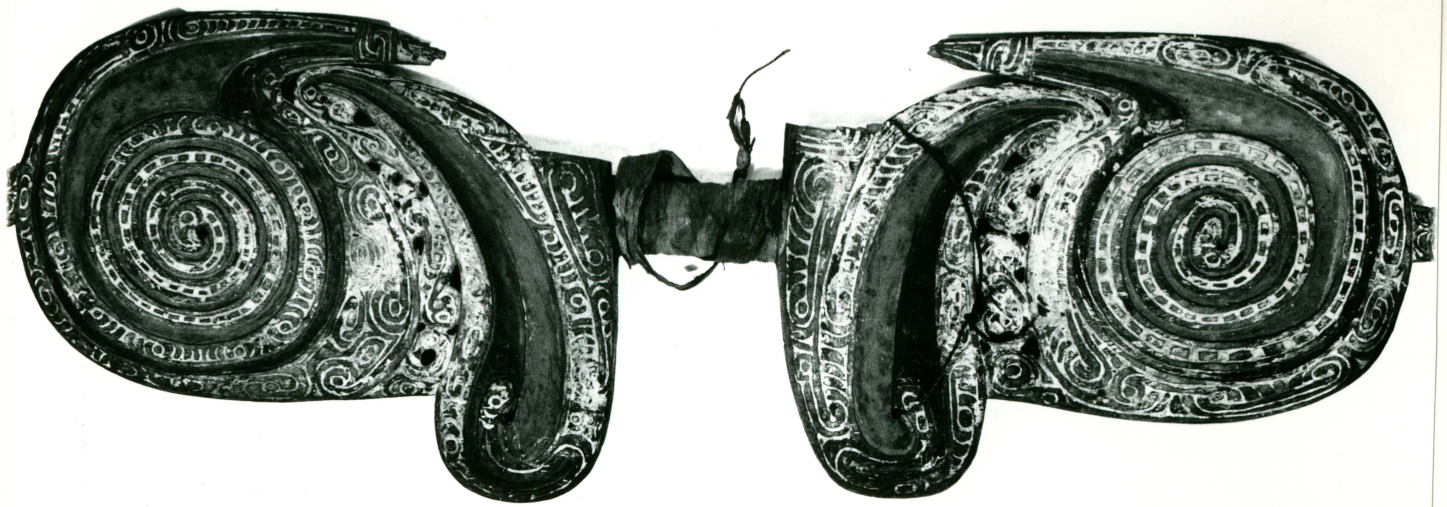

PLATE CCLXVI

DANCE PADDLE (KAIDEBU). M-22

PLATE CCLXVII

DANCE PADDLE (KAIDEBU). M-6

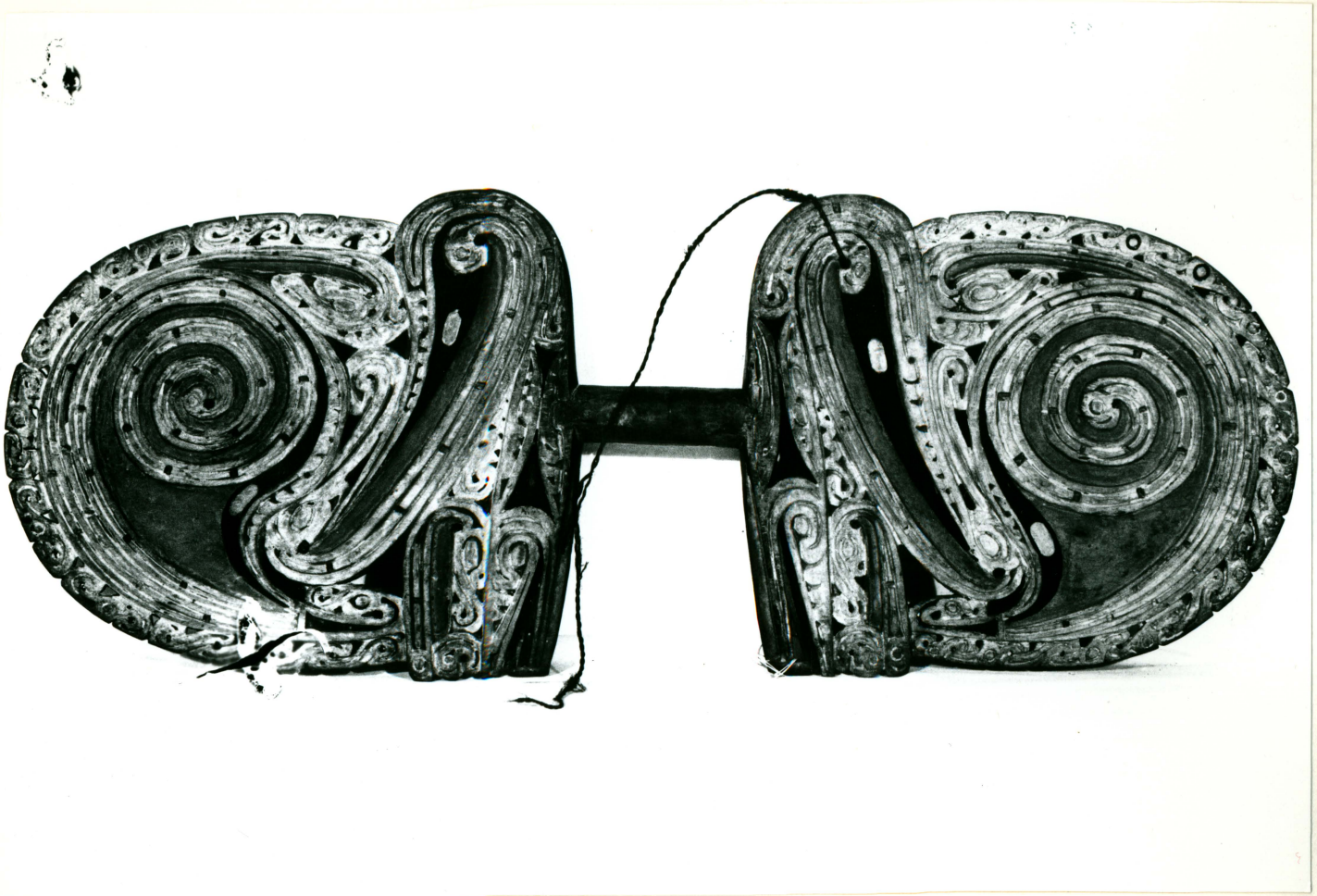

PLATE CCLXVIII

DANCE PADDLE (KAIDEBU). M-9

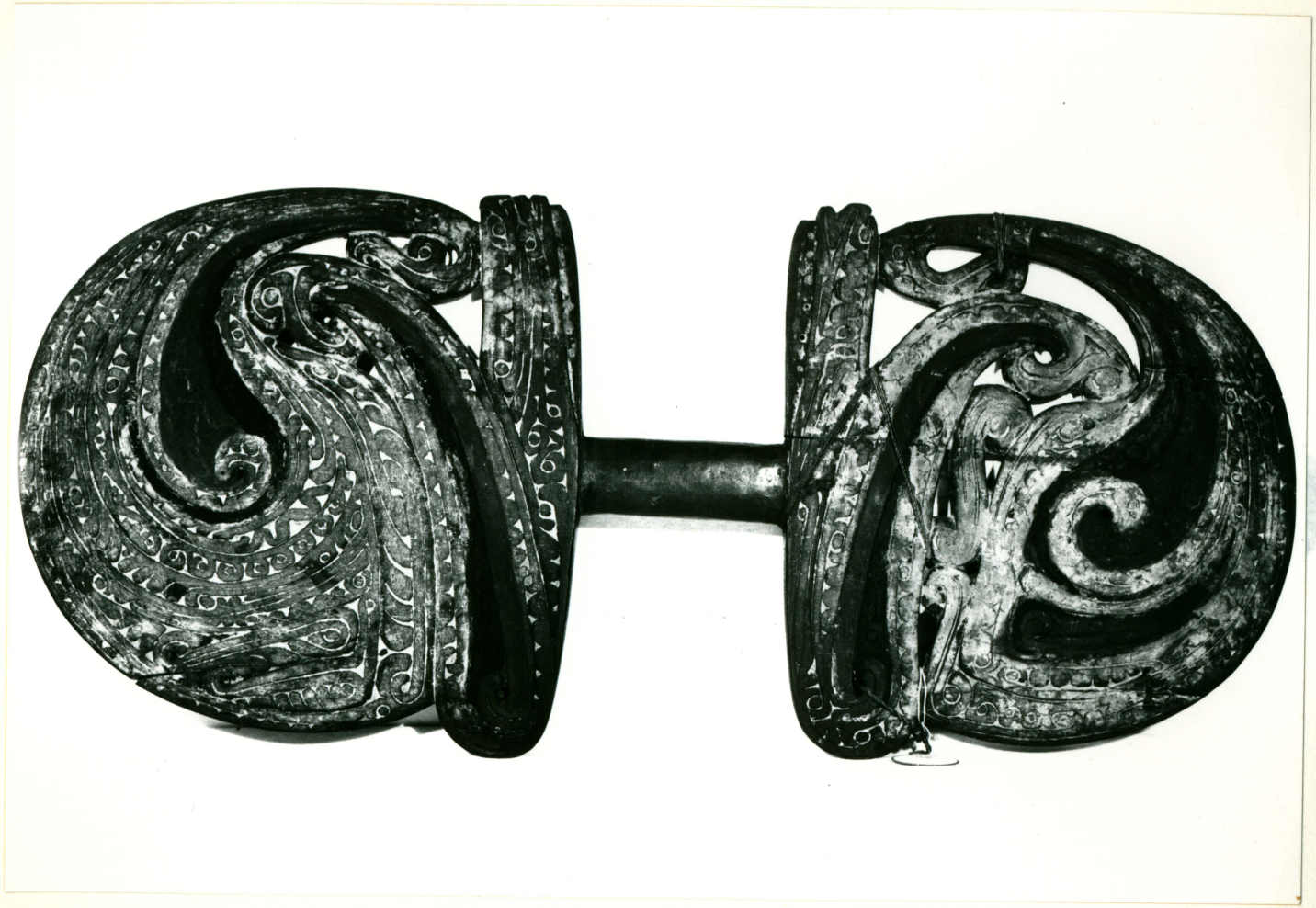

PLATE CCLXIX

DANCE PADDLE (KAIDEBU). M-17

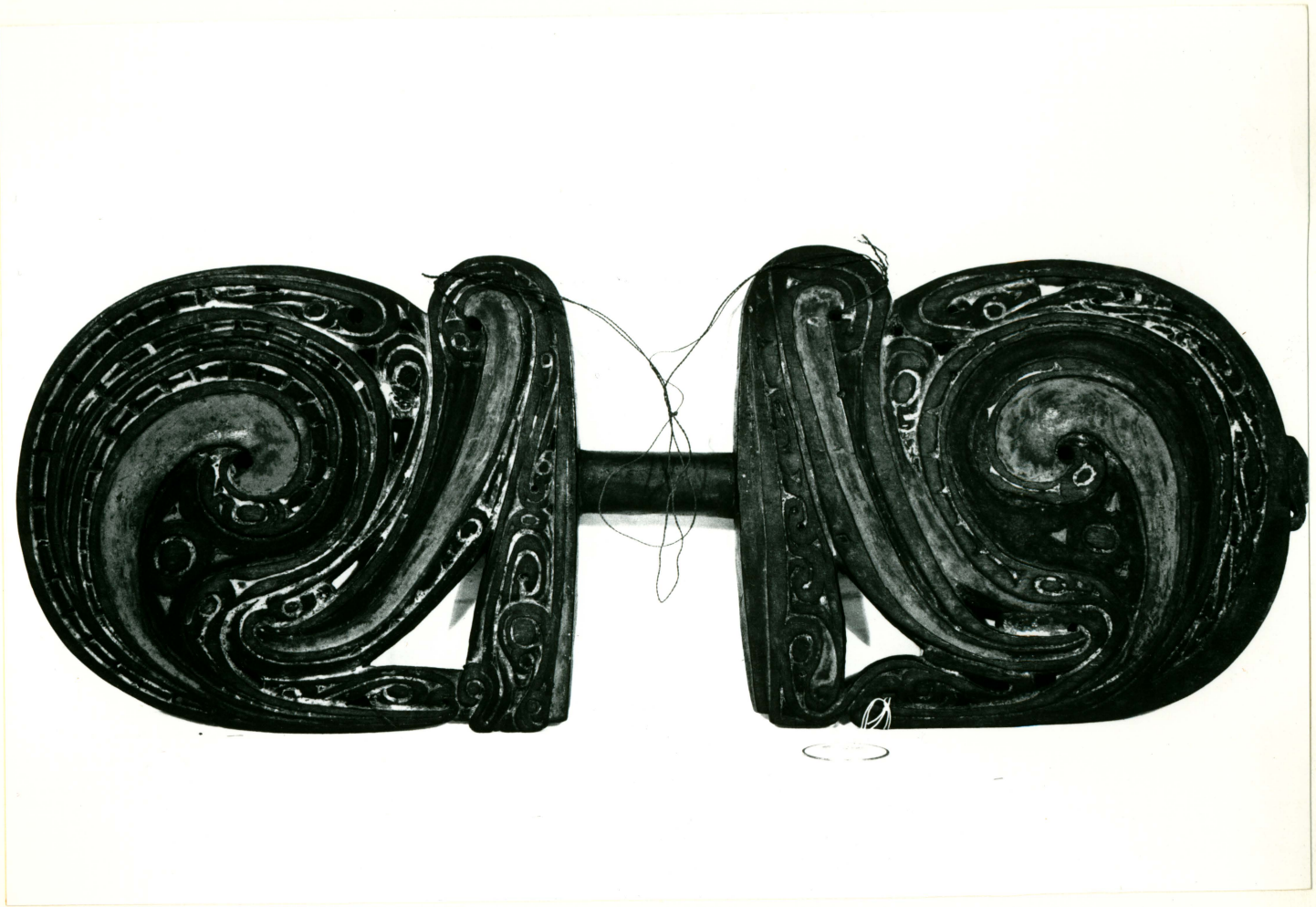

PLATE CCLXX

DANCE PADDLE (KAIDEBU). M-25

28

PLATE CCLXXI

DANCE PADDLE (KAIDEBU). M-28

PLATE CCLXXII

FRAMEWORK FOR HEADDRESS (GEBA). M-477

PLATE CCLXXIII

BANANA LEAF CONTAINERS WITH COCKATOO FEATHERS,
FOR DANCING ORNAMENTS. 11-42119-42121

PLATE CCLXXIV

BANANA LEAF FEATHER CONTAINER. 11-42111

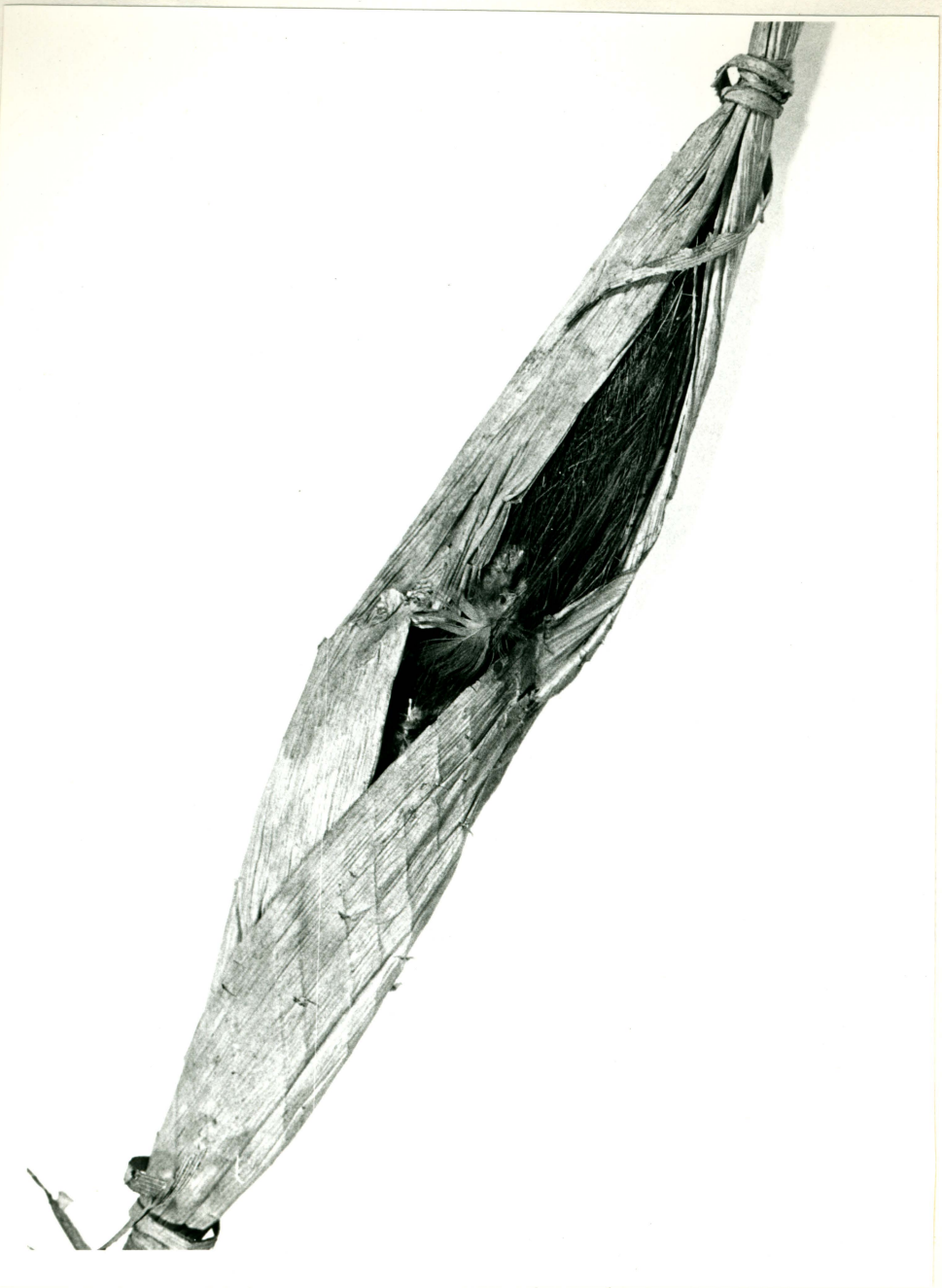

PLATE CCLXXV

CLOSE-UP OF BANANA LEAF FEATHER CONTAINER. 11-42111

PLATE CCLXXVI

VARIOUS FEATHER CONTAINERS. 11-42113-42118

PLATE CCLXXVII

CLOSE-UP OF FEATHER CONTAINERS. 11-42113-42114

PLATE CCLXXVIII

PALM SPATHES, HAFTING SKEWERS FOR FEATHERS. 11-42124

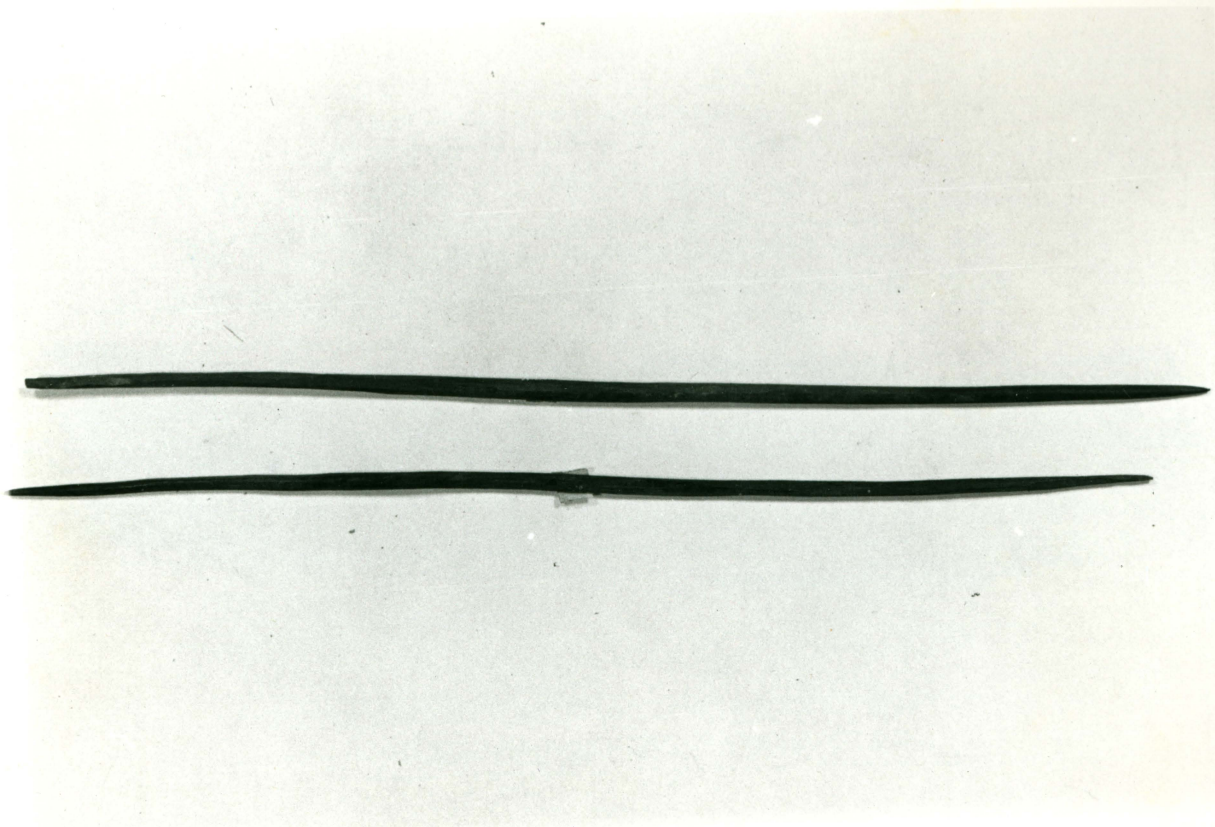

PLATE CCLXXIX

BI-POINTED WOODEN SKEWERS FOR FEATHER ORNAMENTS. 11-42122-42123

PLATE CCLXXX

LARGE DANCING DRUM (KUPI). M-667

PLATE CCLXXXI

LARGE DANCING DRUM (KUPI). M-668

PLATE CCLXXXII

FINGER DRUM (KATUNENIA). M-491

PLATE CCLXXXIII

FINGER DRUM (KATUNENIA). M-495

PLATE CCLXXXIV

FINGER DRUM (KATUNENIA). M-497

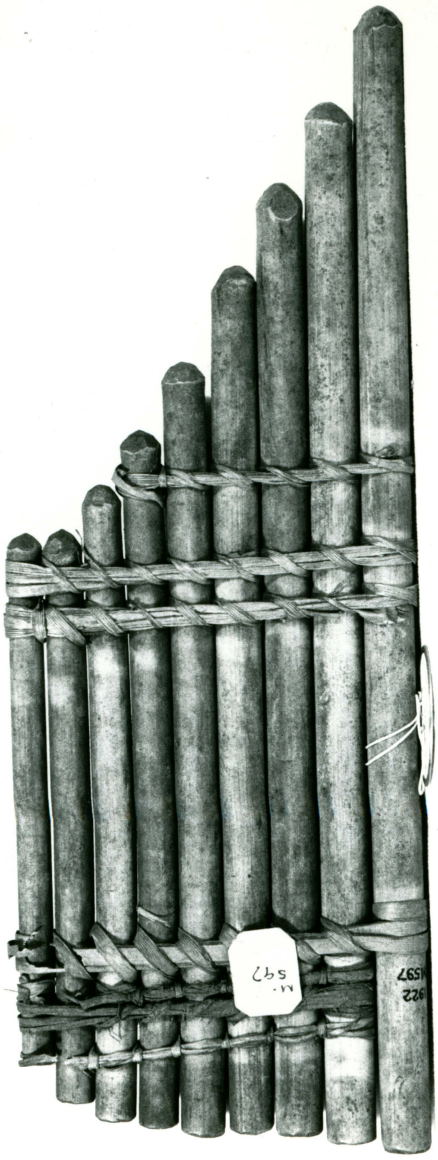

PLATE CCLXXXV

PAN-PIPES (LILULIA). M-597

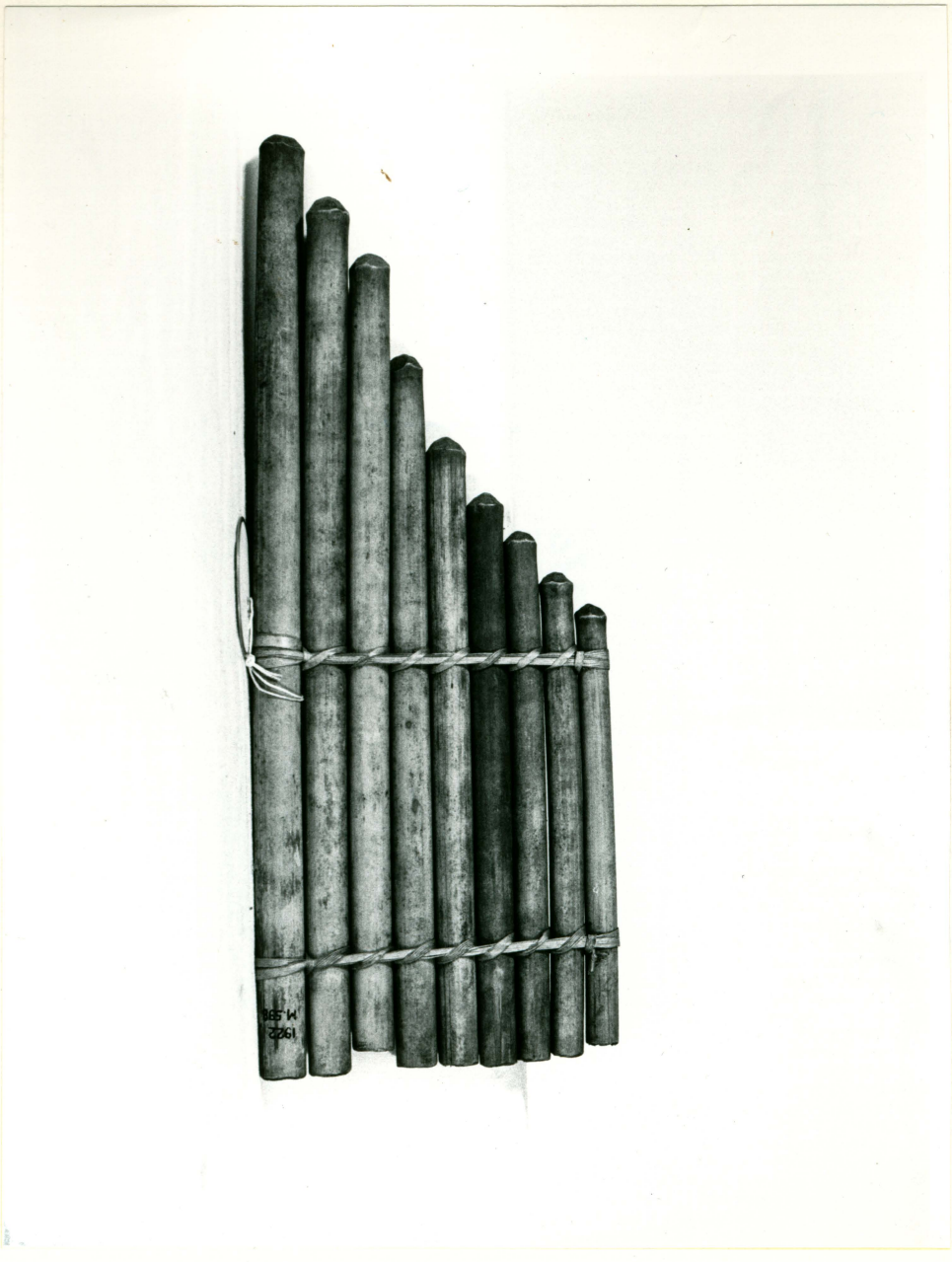

PLATE CCLXXXVI

PAN-PIPES (LILULIA). M-598

PLATE CCLXXXVII

WOODEN HUMAN FIGURE (TOKUALU). SIDE VIEW. M-591

591

PLATE CCLXXXVIII

WOODEN HUMAN FIGURE (TOKUALU). FRONT VIEW. M-591

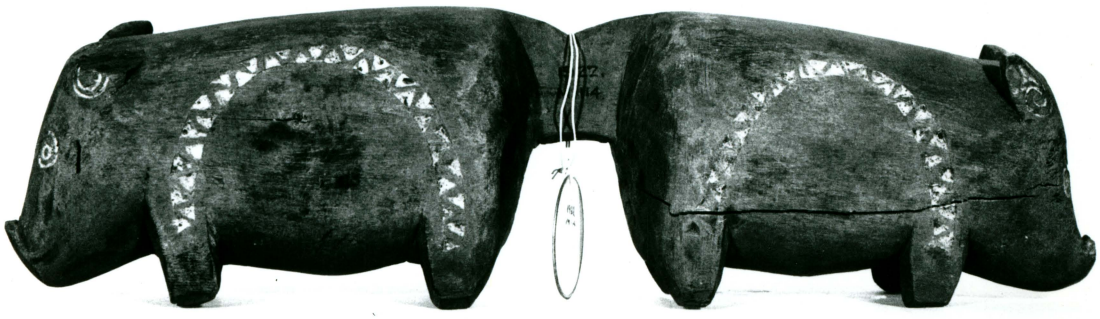

PLATE CCLXXXIX

WOODEN PIGS, BACK-TO-BACK (TOKUALU). M-114

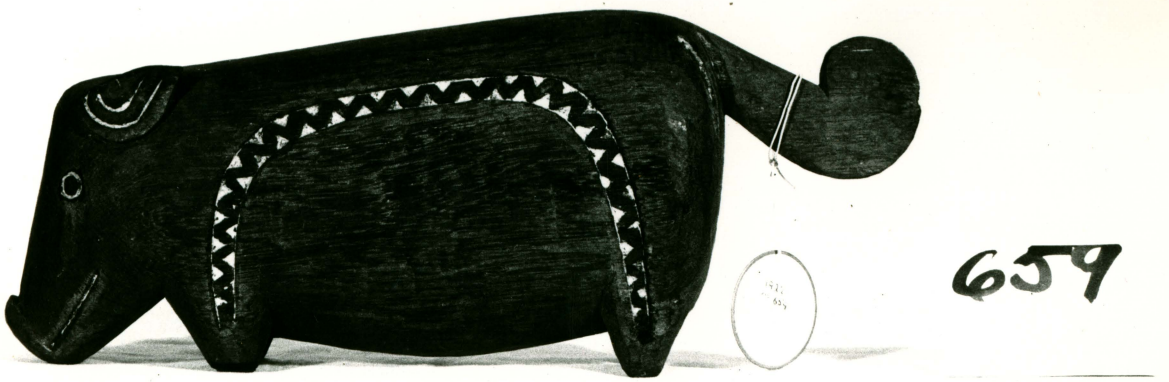

PLATE CCXC

WOODEN PIG (TOKUALU). M-659

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An Analysis of the Material Culture of the Trobriand Islands
Based upon the Collection of Bronislaw Malinowski

By

Frank Albert Norick

A.B. (University of California) 1959

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Anthropology

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Approved:

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Committee in Charge

DEGREE CONFERRED DECEMBER 11, 1976