PACIFIC MATERIAL CULTURE

MEDEDELINGEN VAN HET RIJKSMUSEUM VOOR VOLKENKUNDE, LEIDEN

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PACIFIC MATERIAL CULTURE

Essays in honour of Dr. Simon Kooijman
on the occasion of his 80th birthday

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Lex van der Leeden, and G. A. Zegwaard.

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Dancers from the island of Komo (west of Moce) during the *mekemeke* dance performance on the village place *(rara)* of Moce, on the occasion of the sports contest between Komo and Moce, Fiji. *(Photo by Simon Kooijman, 1973)*

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FOREWORD

The collection of essays in this volume testifies to the high regard a number of distinguished scholars have for the outstanding professional contributions made by Dr. Simon Kooijman to museum and Pacific studies, and, notably, in Pacific arts and material culture.

I first met Simon Kooijman very briefly in 1959. We did not meet again until fifteen years later but that year marked the publication of his *The Art of Lake Sentani* and the beginning of his important contributions to the field of primitive art as, in the fashion of the time, it was so named. It is to be recalled that then only relatively few scholars were engaged in exploring it. Since, it has been variously designated according to changing sentiments, anthropological art, ethno-aesthetics, ethnic art, and so on. But, whatever it was called, the concerns of those earlier days were to find out about art and material culture and in this Simon Kooijman was very much engaged. His Sentani study was followed by 'The art areas of Western New Guinea', which was one of several lectures given by distinguished anthropologists on primitive art subjects in New York at the Museum of Primitive Art. This published lecture was - as with the Sentani study - an important contribution, for, in those days, our knowledge of many peoples and cultures was filled with lacunae and studies such as his were eagerly sought.

Subsequently, for me, certain works of Simon Kooijman's have particular appeal. Clearly, his library study on *Tapa in Polynesia* (1972) is masterly in its detail and vital for reference, so strongly in the classic tradition of the fine series of detailed studies published in the Bishop Museum's Bulletins. Then there is his catalogue with Jac. Hoogerbrugge on *Asmat Art* and the exhibition in 1976-1977 at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Breda, followed by his monograph, *Tapa on Moce Island* (1977). The film Simon Kooijman made on Moce (1974) bears witness to his concern for and expertise in visual documentation. (His film was much appreciated in classes I used to give in ethnographic film.) And, partly done in retirement, his study of Mimika art in 1984 and, in 1988, his *Polynesian Barkcloth*, which includes a delightful picture of Simon and his wife, who worked with him on Moce Island.

Of many meetings and visits over the years with Simon, the second one took place at McMaster University in 1974 where the First International Symposium of the Art of the Pacific took place. Subsequent to this, I started to edit the *Pacific Arts Newsletter* in 1975 and the Pacific Arts Association was formed at a second symposium, which took place in Wellington in 1978. Simon Kooijman was a founder member and, with characteristic thoroughness, gave support continuously from the beginning, in 1975, with news of exhibitions and activities, reviews of books and exhibitions and to projected programmes of the Pacific Arts Association. These are a matter of record but I always found him willing to take on a review when asked or help if he could. Of these contributions I will mention but two. The first, which he wrote for publication in the *Pacific Arts Newsletter*, drew attention to the fact

that the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, would welcome Pacific Islanders for training. This led to a Fijian working for a year at the museum. The second, which also shows Kooijman's concerns for Pacific Islanders, arises from Steven Hooper's review in the *Pacific Arts Newsletter* in 1979 of his monograph, *Tapa on Moce Island.* In it Hooper wrote 'that the Moce people are very proud and pleased that this publication and its related film have been produced, and that they have access to them'.

I am honoured to have been asked to write a foreword to this volume of essays celebrating Simon's 80th birthday. It is with great pleasure that I have penned these few words for a highly respected scholar, a warmly responsive person and an old friend. To Simon hearty congratulations; and to Simon and To, his wife, all best wishes for many years to come.

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INTRODUCTION

It is not surprising that the study of material culture is the main focus of a book honouring Simon Kooijman. As a curator Kooijman was responsible for the Oceanic collection of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (National Museum of Ethnology) in Leiden and all his activities were centered around this collection. Through his research, publications, exhibitions and lectures Kooijman added essential information to the objects and made the collection better known at a national and international level.

Kooijman did most of his research during a period when there was a clear lack of interest in material culture in academic anthropology in the Netherlands. Social and political issues and problems of culture in general were considered more important. This may be one of the reasons why references to then current theoretical views in anthropology are lacking in Kooijman's work. Although Kooijman repeatedly paid attention to new developments in the study of material culture his main interest lay in the analysis of concrete empirical data. The study of material culture has regained its importance for many anthropologists and has become respectable again as one of the main fields of interest in anthropology. Many different kinds of theoretical approaches have been developed and many new aspects of material culture have drawn the attention of anthropologists, in museums and universities alike.

The present book is a token of appreciation and a tribute to the very important work done by Kooijman. Our request to write an article for this book on very short notice was met with prompt and positive reactions from all over the world. This made it again clear to us that Simon Kooijman's contributions to the study of material culture are widely appreciated.

The articles collected in this volume are partly intended to give an insight in the different ways in which Kooijman conceived and executed his tasks as a museum curator. The articles by Van Wengen, Trouwborst and Smidt show how scrupulously and conscientiously he carried out what he conceived to be his job: the presentation of the collections in exhibitions, the collecting of ethnographic materials in the field and the publication of his data in books and articles.

Kooijman's works belong to what could be called the classical tradition of material culture studies in the Netherlands in which the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde has played a major role by the publication of works like Von Siebold's landmark study on Japan (1832-[1852]), De Clercq en Schmeltz's work on North New Guinea (1893), Serrurier's study of the Javanese *wayang* collection (1896), Rouffaer and Juynboll's monograph on Indonesian *batik* (1900-1914), and Marquart's study on Benin (1913). Simon Kooijman clearly followed this tradition. His work is thorough, empirical and based on both museum work and fieldwork. His *The art of Lake Sentani* (1959) and his *Tapa in Polynesia* (1972) are considered as standard works. We should add that, although working in this tradition he did not slavishly follow all aspects of the tradition. When he started to work in the museum the description, documentation and presentation of objects was still very defective and it was still rather unusual for a museum curator to carry out intensive research in the field.

Besides these more or less descriptive studies mentioned above, more theoretically informed publications also appeared in Leiden, notably the studies of W. H. Rassers. This former curator and director of the Leiden museum wrote extensively on several aspects of Javanese material culture such as the *wayang* and the *keris*, in a way that anticipated what later came to be called structuralism (a collection of his essays was issued in 1959 under the title *Panji the Culture Hero*). Rassers collaborated closely with Professor J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, the founder of the Leiden school of structuralism who also had been curator at the Leiden museum, and who, at the beginning of his academic career, was also interested in the study of material culture, partly as an archaeologist (Effert 1992). Kooijman was well aware of the existence of this line of thought to which he sometimes referred, for instance in his book on Indonesian barkcloth (see Ter Keurs in this volume). Though he did not himself systematically explore this kind of approach he certainly was not averse to it. Kooijman's studies are mainly of a descriptive nature, forming a solid basis for later researchers (see Hooper and Kaeppler in this volume).

This brings us to the second aim of this volume: to show in what ways the contributors have in different degrees continued the type of research carried out by Kooijman and sometimes built on foundations laid by him. Some of the articles are directly related to Kooijman's research. These include the contributions of Hooper on barkcloths of Southern Lau (Fiji), Hoogerbrugge on Sentani barkcloth (Northern New Guinea), Ter Keurs on Indonesian barkcloth, Zegwaard in his article on Mimika (Southern Irian Jaya, Indonesia), Claessen on the Tahitian god Oro, and Rosema on the photographs and slides from the Marind-anim of Southern New Guinea and from Moce (Fiji).

It is natural that many of the articles are dedicated to the study of barkcloth in the Pacific, a topic in which Kooijman himself of course is the *connaisseur par excellence*. Most of these articles follow new lines of research in terms of, for example changing ethnic and gender identities, social and cultural constructions or underlying meanings of symbols (Van der Grijp, Van der Leeden, Kaeppler, Newton, Teilhet-Fisk), and formal analyses of decorative designs (Boeren, Craig). We want to point out, however, that even here some elements in these new approaches had already been broached in the work of Kooijman, albeit in other terms than the ones now in use. In his Moce publications for example, he describes in detail the changes in the manufacture of barkcloth brought about by modern developments, especially the tourist trade. He also paid attention to questions of symbols and meaning, the evaluation of barkcloths and the ethics of the collecting of objects.

Apart from Kooijman's scientific merits, one should realise that he was first of all a museum curator whose first responsibility, unlike that of an academic researcher, was towards the museum collections, their preservation, registration and documentation. This responsibility he has taken very seriously indeed.

The Editors

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(In several publications Kooijman is spelled Kooyman)

SIMON KOOIJMAN
AND THE
RIJKSMUSEUM VOOR VOLKENKUNDE

1

SIMON KOOIJMAN AS MUSEUM CURATOR
A PERSONAL REMINISCENCE

G. D. van Wengen

Early years as a curator

In the autumn of 1955 I joined the staff of the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden. I was given a post – together with Herman Frese – in the recently instituted museum educational section. At that time Simon Kooijman had already been curator of the Oceania section for many years, and thus had not only served the museum for a longer period, gaining considerable experience; he was also older than we were. It was immediately clear that, as a colleague, he was both able and willing to give us a great deal of help, particularly in launching the museum's educational work.

Entering the Leiden museum service at the end of the Second World War, Simon already had a somewhat disjointed career behind him, frequently interrupted by compulsory military service in Indonesia in the period 1945-1950. In the army, he was a reserve officer attached to the Netherlands Forces Intelligence Service (later called the Central Military Intelligence Service). At one time this gave him the opportunity to fly in a Catalina amphibious plane belonging to the Naval Aviation, making brief visits to various parts of New Guinea, the region which was to occupy much of his attention later on when he was curator in the Leiden museum.

In 1950 Simon was back in Leiden and could now begin to devote time to his work as curator of the Oceania section. With all the thoroughness that characterized him throughout his time in the museum service, he started with the first task expected of a curator: the careful management and documenting of the collections in his section. He also attached great importance to the study of the literature in his own field, to supplement the knowledge he already had about the collections in his care.

After these considerations it is important for every curator to gain direct, personal contact with the non-European cultures of the area covered by his museum section. Simon therefore welcomed the challenge when he was asked to lead a research project on population among the Marind-anim of

Figure 1. Simon Kooijman with his luggage waiting for the canoe to arrive with the high tide, Kumbe, Marind-anim area, southern New Guinea, 13 May 1953. *(Photo probably by J. Verschueren, M.S.C.)*

South New Guinea. He would gain a great deal of experience in the field, and would be able to establish contacts with the Papuans who (up to that point) he knew mainly from the literature and museum collections alone.

Simon left for New Guinea at the end of December 1952. In the south of what was then the Dutch part of the island, using its capital Merauke as his base, he made trips to Marind villages over a wide area in order to collect data for his research. The journeys were often difficult, with Papuan bearers for his luggage (fig. 1). Simon made use of his time in the Marind region to collect ethnographic material for the Leiden museum (see Dirk Smidt's chapter).

In the spring of 1954 he was back in Leiden. His contacts with the inhabitants of his study region had left him more highly motivated than ever for dealing with the collections in his care, and their associated literature. In the eyes of us 'youngsters' of the educational service, he was thus already an experienced museum man, and we were happy to listen to his ideas.

The curator as pedagogue

A factor increasing the attraction of the contact with Simon was that, as a social geographer with a degree from Utrecht University, he had also gained the necessary teaching experience. Thus for a year he had taught

geography and history at the Gymnasium in the Hague, followed by a couple of years as teacher in the Christian Lyceum in Zeist.

Later on, in his museum period, he did not completely renounce his teaching: from 1960 on, he regularly gave lessons to students of the Christian Teacher Training College in Leiden. He carried out this didactic function early in the morning, in order not to lose time at the museum. He frequently took his students to the museum, allowing them to experience the riches of the collections there.

His two colleagues in the education section, enthusiastic yet still inexperienced in teaching, profited greatly from Simon Kooijman's background in schools and colleges. To give one concrete example: in the latter half of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s (until West New Guinea was transferred to Indonesia) the New Guinea section was a favourite topic for a museum visit, and youth associations as well as lower- and middle schools often requested tours of this department. The New Guinea department had originally been arranged geographically, with presentations concerning the inhabitants of both north and south coasts of the western part of the island and the interior.

The guided tours showed that it was hard to weave a theme into the tour commentaries because of the immense quantity of material on show, and even more because of the differences (for example between the north and south coasts) which were not obvious to the lay public. Needless to say it was even more difficult for the individual visitor to acquire a grasp of the presentation.

Since Simon, as a teacher, was accustomed to 'getting over' knowledge, he was fully prepared to consider the best kind of commentary to give the public on the displays in the New Guinea room. Although he realised that the original geographical arrangement of the presentation was an academically sound one, offering a great number of interesting points of contact for the expert insider, for him the approach for the general public was still decisive. In terms of present-day museum philosophy he was streets ahead of many of his fellow curators in both ethnological and other kinds of museums. They often tended to shut themselves into scholarly ivory towers and, in presenting 'their' displays, to show special concern with what their professional colleagues would say about 'their' work.

The geographical division was no longer used in the new arrangement of Leiden's New Guinea collection. Seven themes were presented: (1) cultivation of sago, and horticulture; (2) hunting and fishing; (3) raw materials and techniques;(4) objects intended for daily use; (5) the feast of masks; (6) religion; (7) warfare, trade and headhunting. It was clear that this display gave visitors to the section a much better chance of gaining an insight into the way of life in Papuan societies, and the way in which their members functioned within them. We were able to provide group tours with a half-hour introductory talk (illustrated with slides) on the geographical regions. An attempt was also made in the new presentation to make it clear, by means of photographs, that all kinds of western influences had also penetrated New Guinea, for example in the form of churches and schools.

Simon Kooijman, together with Herman Frese, wrote about this process of changing presentation (Frese and Kooijman 1958). He had no hesitation

in stating that the new basis for presentation could be criticised. The fact that such a presentation had nevertheless been chosen could be regarded as a helping hand extended to the public. This public had now been offered a better insight into the various aspects of Papuan culture. It goes without saying that this development was highly valued by those working in the educational service of the museum.

The curator as exhibition creator

In the course of every curator's museum career, he/she is expected to create exhibitions, and Simon Kooijman held to this tradition. Undoubtedly his major exhibition was the one created in 1974, a year after he and his wife To had returned from eight months of fieldwork on the little island of Moce, one of the Fiji Islands in the South Seas region. Later in this contribution we shall examine this stay on Moce in greater detail, under the heading 'the curator as fieldworker'. Here, we shall only mention that Simon and To returned with a wealth of material. This provided an extremely attractive exhibition, introduced by a series of colour slides, and ending with a 16 mm. sound film.

When one entered the exhibition 'The South Seas Unveiled', one had the impression of being in the middle of a village on Moce. There was a grassy field with a drying rack on which pieces of coconut had been hung to dry. (With the midsummer heat in the exhibition space the coconut began to give off a somewhat pervasive smell). The centrepiece of the exhibition space was a complete Moce house, which the museum technicians had constructed from information based on photographs and sketches made on the island. The house was fully furnished with tables, chairs, beds and other household goods (fig. 2). One wall was covered with a very large barkcloth which provided the decor for a Moce bridal couple (represented by dummies) dressed in festive clothing also made from barkcloth.

There is no need to state that the workers in the educational section derived great pleasure from showing groups of visitors around this exhibition. In the fullest sense of the word, this was an 'evocative' exhibition, in accordance with a concept introduced by the director of that time, Dr. P. H. Pott. The exhibition also opened up other possibilities for the educational service. The educational department had already introduced a wide range of non-western creative techniques which, under the guidance of the department's workers, could be put into practice by museum visitors, young or old. After consultation with Simon, the decorating of barkcloth was added to the range of 'do-it-yourself' techniques. The sole difference was that, since our supply of barkcloth was too small, the Moce decorative motifs were applied to thick paper (using the rubbing-through or stencil method) rather than to the traditional barkcloth. The effect was almost the same. Visitors to the exhibition could thus experience for themselves how people of the South Seas applied this decoration. A separate space in the exhibition always had visitors working away with stencils they had designed themselves or copied from the cloths on show, then cut out and used for decorating the paper.

Figure 2. Interior of a house in the exhibition 'The South Seas Unveiled'. *(Photo by Isaäc C. Brussee)*

Two years before the exhibition 'The South Seas Unveiled', Simon had created another exhibition entitled '*Fai-la!* Sailing in the South Seas'. The exhibition concerned sailing ships and the way in which South Seas people sailed them. The museum possessed a great number of model ships from the South Seas, and these were displayed very attractively, together with a full-sized outrigger boat. This, with its rigging as complete as possible, was a great crowd-puller at the exhibition. The boat must have made Simon very nostalgic. The year before this, he had made a trip through the South Seas in just such a boat, in order to decide on the place for his extended investigation of tapa in 1973.

It was to be expected that this exhibition, in which a series of slides and a very instructive film about sailing in the South Seas were shown, would catch the interest of water-sport enthusiasts especially, and such was indeed the case. Members of sailing and catamaran clubs came to the museum to look at the boats and the film. A good many technical schools sent along their students. Some of these technical schools first made a visit to the exhibition, and then the teachers set the pupils and students to work on making their own models of outrigger boats of all kinds. Later, they returned to the museum in order to check their own work against the model ships in the exhibition.

As we have already seen, Simon was always interested in ways of presenting the museum collections to the public. This concern was expressed not only in the temporary exhibitions already mentioned, but also in the care he gave to what museum circles call the 'permanent display' –

in this case, New Guinea and the South Seas region (see Smidt's chapter).

After the New Guinea presentation had (as we have already seen) undergone a considerable transformation in the latter half of the 1950s, Simon took the presentation of the South Seas section in hand, firstly by using a temporary exhibition for trying out a potential new permanent arrangement for the section. Visitors' reactions showed which displays still needed adjustments before being given a place in the more permanent presentation. This working method was later taken up by other curators.

The curator as scholarly researcher

Most post-war curators gave special attention to one or more subjects, in addition to their general tasks and to the geographical section entrusted to them. Thus Gerbrands had a special affinity with the woodcarving of the Asmat region of New Guinea; Leyenaar was an expert on the Mexican ballgame; Verwey was steeped in Tibetan Buddhism; Nooter maintained special links with the Greenland village of Tiderida, and Munneke with the market towns of Afghanistan.

Simon Kooijman's very special interest lay with the creation and use of barkcloth. He began studying these around 1955, and by the time he took his leave of the museum in 1980, he had become a recognised world authority on this subject. As he became increasingly intrigued in the barkcloth, he began to ferret out the existing literature on the subject. His conclusion was that the various questions he had himself posed on the topic had as yet barely found any answer. The only solution for finding the answers to these questions was to carry out his own investigation, preferably in the form of fieldwork.

In preparation for this fieldwork it struck Simon as being desirable to look, first of all, at the barkcloth held in the depositories of the various museums, often in other countries. Thus in 1956 he went to Britain, with a grant from the Dutch Organization for Scientific Research (Nederlandse Organisatie voor Zuiver Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek, otherwise known as Z.W.O.). In England, he worked in the depository of the British Museum, afterwards moving on to the University Museum of Archeology in Cambridge, and the famous Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford.

After Simon had studied and photographed the barkcloth collection at Göttingen in 1958 (once again, with the financial support of Z.W.O.), he visited the U.S.A. for the first time in 1959. He had written the catalogue (Kooijman 1959) for an exhibition on Papuan art from the Sentani Lake area, held in the Museum of Primitive Art in New York. The invitation to the opening of the exhibition was a 'thank-you' for his contribution. After this he made a round tour of the north-eastern United States, visiting the Field Museum in Chicago for instance, which has an interesting South Seas collection. During his trips abroad, Kooijman met many colleagues who shared his interest in barkcloth products. Back in the Leiden museum, he frequently received return visits from these and other colleagues. This exchange of data increased the knowledge of, and interest in, his favourite subject.

At the end of the 1950s Simon made a temporary but successful side-track into Indonesian barkcloth studies. The museum in Leiden holds a valuable collection of barkcloth from Indonesia, at that time under the management of Simon's colleague Jan Keuning, and later of Lex van der Leeden. In view of the cultural relations which had always existed (stretching far back into the past) between Indonesia and the South Seas region, an inter-cultural comparison between the barkcloth products of both areas seemed to promise interesting results. While the study of the South Seas cloths were put on a back-burner for the time being, Simon concentrated all his attention on the barkcloth material from Indonesia. No long journeys were needed for this; the National Museum of Ethnology itself possessed an extensive collection of such materials, principally from Borneo and East Indonesia (Sulawesi, Seram and Halmahera). Yet use could also be made of similar material from the Tropenmuseum (Museum of the Tropics), in Amsterdam, and the Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde (now: Museum voor Volkenkunde / Museum of Ethnology) in Rotterdam. Since the wearing of barkcloth clothing had begun to disappear at the beginning of the twentieth century in the regions of Indonesia mentioned above, we are talking here of relatively old collections. Similarly the descriptions by people who had been eye-witnesses to the making and wearing of barkcloth clothing are early. Simon therefore had to do the best he could with studying these descriptions and a number of more recent publications concerning the cultural background of the Indonesian regions being dealt with, in addition to the Indonesian barkcloth material.

In 1963 he published 'Ornamented barkcloth in Indonesia', as part of the series *Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden*. Despite the restrictive conditions governing the research, this publication provided a welcome supplement to the documentation (sparse up to that point) of the Leiden, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam collections of Indonesian barkcloth.

The first chapter of the book, an extensive one which stimulated a good deal of interest, provided the socio-religious background to the barkcloth clothing of Borneo (Kenyah), Sulawesi (Toraja), West Seram and Halmahera. (The second and third chapters dealt with techniques of manufacture and decorative motifs). In all these areas, the motifs on the barkcloth clothing clearly bear a relationship to the society's cosmology, and also with head-hunting, which was still being practiced at that time. Simon's book gave a number of remarkable and intriguing examples of this.

After this important Indonesian intermezzo came the shift back to the barkcloth material from the Oceania region, known there as tapa. From then on, Simon concentrated on techniques of manufacture and decoration, the significance of the decorative motifs, and the function of tapa in the society. With the aim of filling out the extensive documentation already obtained through visits to the major European museums with tapa collections, it was now necessary to visit similar institutions in the Pacific region, where the tapa had originated.

Once again, Z.W.O. gave its financial support. Simon set out in September 1963 for a three-months trip which took him first of all to the all-

important Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Hawaii. Next he visited the museums in Suva and Noumea, the capitals of the Fiji Islands and New Caledonia respectively, without finding much of importance there. After this he visited three museums in New Zealand, where one could see a great deal of the Maori culture. Finally, Simon set out for Australia, where both the National Museum of Victoria at Melbourne and the Australian Museum in Sydney held very large collections of tapa.

In the meantime Simon had learned that there were major nineteenth-century collections of tapa in the Peabody Museums at Salem and Cambridge, in Massachusetts. A subsidy from the American Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research enabled him to undertake a month-long research project in these two institutions, in the summer of 1964. These old collections had been taken from the South Seas region, especially from Hawaii and Tahiti, by the captains of American whaling ships, who had sometimes also made copious notes on the provenance of the pieces. Ultimately, when years of study and numerous trips had resulted in a vast collection of material illustrated by a considerable number of photographs, this was published in *Tapa in Polynesia*. Because facilities were at that time lacking in Leiden, the work was published in 1972 as a Bulletin of the Bishop Museum in Hawaii.

Clearly, after this comprehensive archival research in many parts of the world, Simon was left with an overriding wish to undertake field research into the creation and functions of tapa in a South Seas society. In 1971 a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research made it possible for him to carry out a trial investigation in West Polynesia and in the Fiji Islands. This resulted in the selection of the small island of Moce in the Fiji Archipelago as the place for the fieldwork.

In addition to the extended study of tapa material, Simon was also anxious to investigate another subject: the art of the Mimika, which is well represented in the Leiden museum collection. In the 1960s both the international world of ethnological museums and private collectors were very interested in the art of the Asmat Papuans, who were neighbours of the Mimika region's inhabitants. Simon believed that the art of the latter region was in no way inferior to Asmat art, and hoped to demonstrate this by thoroughly studying the subject resulting in a publication. In 1969 a grant from Z.W.O. made it possible for him to compare the Mimika items in the Leiden collection with those in the University Museum of Archeology and Anthropology in Cambridge, England, and the British Museum in London. The pressure of work connected with the tapa research in the 1970s made it necessary to leave aside the documented and photographed Mimika materials until they could be taken up again at the end of the decade.

By then the end of Simon's active career was approaching: 1 March 1980 was the date he reached pensionable age, and there were a number of tasks to finish off first. Only after this could he attend to the Mimika material.In 1984 the publication *Art, art objects and ritual in the Mimika culture* appeared as a volume in the series *Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.*

The curator as fieldworker

When one has been preoccupied for many years with a special topic – in this case the tapa culture of Oceania – and has had to rely all that time on existing literature or museum depositories, then increasingly one looks forward to being able to carry out fieldwork of one's own. As we have already seen, Simon made an exploratory trip in 1971, to decide on the place for his field research, and then matters rested until 1973. In that year Simon and his wife To were able to live for eight months on the little island of Moce, in the eastern part of the Fiji Archipelago (fig. 3). Apart from providing each other with familiar company, a married couple undertaking research together are in a better position from a research-technical point of view, as well. Women play an important part in the making of tapa, but moreover, several ritual usages in which tapa fulfills a definite role are also first and foremost women's activities. It goes without saying that To's presence among the women in this kind of situation struck the right note. It is worth mentioning here that Simon's colleagues of that time, for instance Ted Leyenaar, Gerti Nooter and Roelof Munneke were accompanied by their wives for similar reasons.

During those eight months on Moce Island the Kooijmans did a great deal of work, and this did not always go without a hitch. Apart from Nature's little games – they were nearly blown, along with their tent, into the sea during a typhoon – the relationship with the island people was not always an easy one. Simon and To made many good friends there, as Simon was to say later, but there were also people who envied what seemed to them to be undreamed-of wealth, or who were afraid that the Kooijmans had come to 'steal' their tapa motifs and patterns, which were so vital for participation in the tourist industry. Nevertheless, after the eight months stay, it was clear that positive attitudes were uppermost.

At all events the Kooijmans were able to follow the whole process of the preparation and use of tapa. This began with cutting the paper mulberry tree

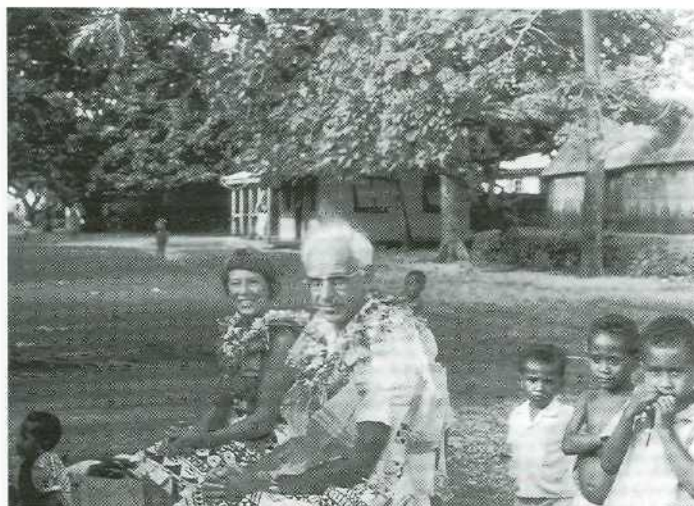

Figure 3. 'Katarina' and 'Simeone' (as To and Simon Kooijman were called by the people of Moce Island) during their farewell party, 9 August 1973. *(Photo by Steven Symonds)*

and stripping its bark, and ended with the ceremonial use of tapa in, for example, the *vakataraisulu* ritual performed a hundred days after the death of an important headman. In his book *Tapa on Moce Island, Fiji*, Simon gives us a wide-ranging view of the production of barkcloth textiles, and of developments in the use of tapa, including the most recent. He also provides a detailed description of the *vakataraisulu* ritual, which also appears in the film we shall mention presently. The ritual ends with the presentation of barkcloth made by a large number of women, and the sharing of a meal prepared in the communal oven. The piece of barkcloth, some 25 meters long, is subsequently cut into smaller pieces to be given to a number of official guests. The quantity of cloth each guest may receive indicates his or her status in the community.

In addition to Simon's careful observation of, and notes on everything that happened in connection with the tapa complex in Moce, he also gave a good deal of attention to ways of confirming the data he had collected. With this in mind, he shot rollsful of black-and-white photographs, colour slides, and (last but not least) he shot the 16mm sound-and-colour film which, edited, would later become *Tapa, Life and Work on a South Sea Island (Moce)*. This film was shown many times, both in the Leiden museum and at foreign conferences. The documentary film, lasting 23 minutes, derived much of its charm from the way in which a married couple from Moce – Vosa and her husband Ropate – played a central role right through the film. This helped to create a sense of identification among the viewers.

Apart from the audio-visual material gathered on Moce, Simon also acquired vital objects from the island's material culture, for the Leiden museum. Here the accent lay mainly on the link between production and use of tapa. Later on these objects played a major role in the display of the exhibition *'The South Seas Unveiled'*, mentioned above. The exhibition also made good use of the wealth of audio-visual material in the form of black-and-white photographs, colour slides, and the colour/sound film.

The Moce research was not only important from an academic viewpoint. It also helped to make an almost ideal use of the objects collected on Moce for creating a multi-media presentation, in the Leiden museum, about this little South Sea Island.

The curator as ambassador for the museum

We have already seen how Simon visited tapa collections in museum depositories in various parts of the world, before his research trip to Moce. He had thus already discovered a large circle of colleagues involved in South Seas research, with whom he maintained good professional (and often also personal) contacts.

After the research on Moce and publication of its results, Simon Kooijman was definitely established as an internationally recognised expert on tapa. After this he received many invitations to speak at conferences, and the film made on Moce was always appreciated on these occasions. For example, Simon visited Ontario, Canada, in the second half of 1974, to participate in a symposium on 'The Art of Oceania'. He subsequently travelled through the

U.S.A., visiting various museums where, in a number of cases, he was invited to give a talk on his fieldwork and to show the film.

In 1975 he was one of the two official Dutch delegates to the thirteenth Pacific Science Congress in Vancouver, in which some nine hundred people took part. There, he gave a lecture on 'Training and Organization of Scientific Manpower, the Case of Museums'. In this he drew attention to the fact that, if the museums in the Pacific region wanted to concentrate on their role as guardians of the national heritage, but also wanted to function as cultural centres searching for a new identity in a changing world, they would need to devote a great deal of thought to the training of museological specialists. As yet, this training could be found only in western museums. A second lecture given during the same conference concerned the fieldwork on Moce, the film once more being shown.

In 1978 Simon was invited to take part in the 'Second International Symposium on the Art of Oceania' held in Wellington, New Zealand. The Kooijmans fitted a round-the-world trip into this journey. They began their trip in Hong Kong, then travelled to Port Moresby in Papua New Guinea. Then followed a short interval in Brisbane, Australia, before they headed for their main destination, Wellington. In all these places Simon and To looked up colleagues, and renewed old contacts.

At the Wellington conference, where he participated as an official Dutch delegate, Simon gave a paper entitled 'Tapa and tapa workers on Moce Island, Fiji, the masterpieces and their makers'. Here, too, the film of Moce was shown; there was no better or more convincing way of supporting the spoken with the visual.

After the conference the Kooijmans visited other parts of New Zealand, before crossing over to Suva, capital of their familiar Fiji Islands. For several days they were able to watch the traditional handicraft of a women potter and some woodcarvers. Unhappily, bad weather conditions prevented the visit (which Simon and To had anticipated with so much pleasure) to their beloved Moce. They visited Hawaii before setting out on their journey back to the Netherlands. As we have seen, Simon (accompanied at times by To) made frequent visits to different parts of the world, especially the countries of Europe, the Pacific region, and North America. There, he visited a great many museums in which he made very good contacts. Such contacts were important not only for Simon himself, but also for the Leiden museum (as they still are). By his knowledge of his own field and special subjects, and also by his personality – 'in every inch a gentleman' – Simon has been an outstanding 'ambassador' for Leiden.

The curator as administrator of the museum collection

Before all else, Simon Kooijman was a real museum man. The valuable Oceania collection confided to his care meant a great deal to him. It is a generally recognized phenomenon (one to which Director Pott of that time, under whom Simon worked, made repeated references in his annual reports) that in the post-war period the work-load greatly increased for both the Director and academic staff of the museum. The work aimed at the public

also claimed additional attention from the curators, even if only in the creation of temporary exhibitions. The written press, but also radio and television, increasingly asked for information, or for cooperation in programmes. Furthermore, a continually increasing number of people knew where to go for information on ethnographica in their possession. Finally, there was also continually more inter-museum consultation via the Dutch Museum Association (Nederlandse Museum Vereniging) or from the ethnological museums themselves.

The new pressure of work (and consequent pressure on time) meant that the registration, documentation and care of collections began to fall into arrears, not only in Leiden but also in several other museums. This was not the case, however, with Kooijman's section. In the same way (fortunately for the museum) as a few of his other Leiden colleagues, Simon ensured that every new object entering his department was given its place and was registered and described as fully as possible.

Nevertheless, the overall situation in the depository of the Leiden museum was, in Simon's active period, far from satisfactory. The storerooms were overcrowded with objects, the store-cases old-fashioned and there was no possibility for climate control.

In my own active period, in which I frequently took groups round the museum, I was often asked if it were possible to have a peek at the depository. For many visitors this appeared to be the high spot of a museum visit: to be able to look around a place from which the average visitor was excluded, or behind the door with the notice 'entry prohibited'. When this fitted in with the programme, I enjoyed this kind of visit, as well. In the depository good stories could be told around the objects, which brought maximum attention from the listeners. The place where I went with a group was more or less always the same: the depository of the Oceania department. Fortunately, Simon had an assistant, Cor Zwanenburg, who was a passionate philatelist, and very conscientious. This meant that he and Simon Kooijman, his boss, were well suited since Simon was just as precise in everything. So the Oceanic depository was one of the places in which everything was in good order, and every object could be found immediately (fig. 4).

With regard to the depository situation in the Leiden museum a great deal changed for the better after the 1988 report of the General Audits Office (Algemene Rekenkamer), which had sounded the alarm bells about the general conditions obtaining in Dutch museum depositories. Owing to the so-called Deltaplan for the Preservation of the Netherlands' Cultural Heritage considerable funds were allotted to the Leiden Museum which enabled the present staff to greatly improve the depository situation.

There were also disadvantages, as curator Dirk Smidt (Simon Kooijman's successor) discovered on seeing his Oceania collections taken to the new museum depository at 's-Gravenzande, some 30 km from Leiden, even though they were well cared for there. Nonetheless, in Simon's active museum period the situation in the Oceania department was the best possible under the primitive conditions of the time, thanks to the combination of Simon Kooijman and Cor Zwanenburg.

Figure 4. Cor Zwanenburg in the storerooms of the Oceania department. *(Photo by Isaäc C. Brussee)*

The curator after his retirement

In 1980 it was with great sadness that Simon Kooijman took his official leave of the museum, on reaching pensionable age. Happily, this did not mean that all his links with the museum were broken. Without getting under his successor's feet (i.e., Dirk Smidt's) he maintained a great involvement with the museum, and was always ready to give advice when this was asked. He also made sure that the documentation of the photographs and slides, made on Moce and in many museum depositories, was completed down to the last detail. He was able to prolong his involvement with his study region of Oceania as the secretary for the 'Dutch Society for Oceanic Studies' (*Werkgemeenschap Oceanië*) set up in 1979, a position he was to occupy in a very active and stimulating way for the first ten years of the association's existence.

Above all, however, after retirement he maintained notably warm and friendly links with his ex-colleagues in the Leiden museum and elsewhere. For the younger curators of today in Leiden, his knowledge and experience provide a great stimulus. It was thus an excellent idea to publish this book as a token of esteem for one of the best post-war curators in the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden.

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2

SIMON KOOIJMAN ON MOCE ISLAND, FIJI

Albert Trouwborst

> One of the main tasks of a curator who is responsible for part of the collection of an ethnographic museum is the registration and care of the material entrusted to him. The work includes description of the objects. The description must not be limited to physical characteristics such as dimensions, colours and the material used, but should include information about the role and meaning of the object in the society to which it once belonged. This means that a good description will contain as many details as possible on the technique used to produce the object, the people involved in its production, the context in which and the purpose for which it was made, and the use to which it was put.(Kooijman 1980a:51)

The quotation at the head of this article adequately sums up Kooijman's own conception of his task as a museum curator, and contains a programme for the study of material culture to which he has faithfully adhered himself. In the same article from which the quotation is taken Kooijman also stresses the importance of field studies, i.e., 'investigation of the culture in the region

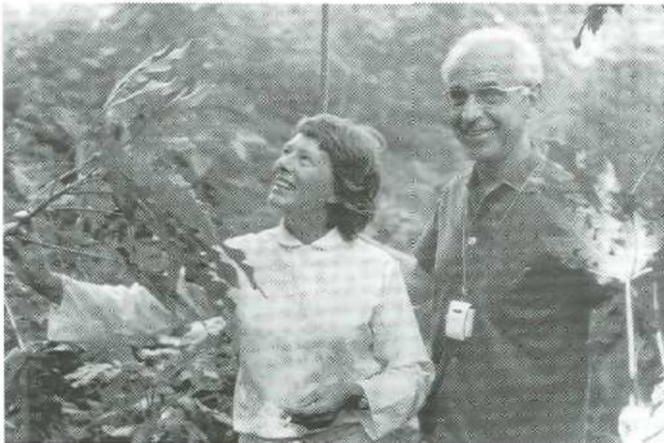

Figure 5. Simon and To Kooijman in one of the masi gardens of Vagariki, 2 July 1973. *(Photo by Steven Symonds)*

of origin itself' (ibid.:51)). This recommendation has also been put into practice by Kooijman himself, particularly in his field research on Moce in 1973, which he carried out with his wife To (fig. 5). The book he published on the basis of this research, *Tapa on Moce Island, Fiji. Handicraft in a Changing Society* (1977b), should be considered as a perfect model for the way in which a study on material culture ought to be carried out and written about. It contains comprehensive and detailed descriptions of the making of tapa, beginning with the geographical environment and the cultivation of the basic material, in this case the bark of the mulberry tree; the technical equipment used; ending with the techniques of making the various types of tapa, and their ornamentation. Kooijman tells us how much time is taken up by the various stages in the making of tapa; the names of the workers and the native terms of all the objects involved. The author has taken all the necessary measurements, and supplies statistical data where required. The book is richly illustrated with numerous photographs and drawings which constitute an essential addition to the written text. It is not a treatise on a long-forgotten traditional handicraft, but rather it gives a thorough documentation of a living phenomenon and the changes this has undergone, especially under the influence of the tourist trade.

I must point out here that Kooijman appears to be most interested in the technical aspects of tapa fabrication, as the title of his book suggests. I should add, however, that he also provides a great deal of information on the ceremonial use of tapa, and on the use of tapa in diverse kinds of exchange. It is also true that he sometimes mentions the artistic or aesthetic aspects, but mostly only in passing, and without a systematic discussion of the extent to which the tapa products are conceived as a category of art in Moce society itself. Typically, in the article he wrote about the presentation of his material in an exhibition in the National Museum of Ethnology (Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde), he mentions the one room in which tapas were exhibited, selected 'for their aesthetic and artistic quality', and adds that these were 'presented without any commentary...' (Kooijman 1980a:65). I will come back to this question later when I discuss the only article written by Kooijman on Moce, where the title refers to the tapas as 'art'.

Regarding the social and economic aspects of the *tapa* complex Kooijman gives us detailed descriptions of various ceremonies during which different kinds of tapa are used, and of the exchanges between the partners involved. In this book as well as in other publications (especially 1977a, 1980b and 1981) he pays a good deal of attention to the various kinds of exchanges such as trade, barter and gifts in which the people of Moce are involved.

In writing up his results he sought advice from all kinds of experts in fields he was not familiar with, such as botany, zoology, soil analysis and linguistics. In addition to all this Kooijman made a film, colour transparencies and black-and-white photographs. On the basis of his research, an exhibition was created in 1974-1975 called *Zuidzee uit de doeken* (The South

Seas Unveiled); see also Dirk Smidt's and Ger van Wengen's contributions to this volume. The completeness and perfection of the data collected and presented by Kooijman are quite astonishing, taking into account the shortness of his visit to Moce, only eight months (from the end of January to the beginning of September 1973), and the fact that he never had the opportunity to go back for a follow-up study.

It is my intention in this article to present a critical evaluation of Kooijman's publications on his Moce research in the light of to-day's discussions and insights in anthropology, in order to place his work within the context of the history of ethnography in the Netherlands.

Kooijman and ethnography

Let me first stress that Kooijman's research and his publications on Moce should be understood as the studies of a museum anthropologist working with material objects. His primary goal is to know more about the manufacture of tapa and the nature of its products. Everything else described in the book and in the other publications on Moce derives its relevance from this goal. This means that Kooijman could allow himself the rather aloof and 'objectifying manner' of writing to which he seems to be most inclined, and which is also reflected in his photography. Describing the way in which barkcloth is beaten does not require emotional involvement, nor does it easily invite the turns of a phrase of a literary imagination. Therefore it is quite understandable that the book is written in a straightforward, down-to-earth style.

In accordance with this approach Kooijman himself does not come to the foreground in his writings. He appears as the outsider looking from a distance at the subjects of his research. It is typical of his attitude that there is not a single photograph of himself in his publications. Only his wife To can sometimes be seen in one of the pictures, for instance in figure 90 of his Moce book (plate 1).

Information on details of the way in which he carried out his research and on the nature of his relations with his informants are rather scanty. We know from personal communication that he had to stay in a tent on the border of the settlement in which the population lived (fig. 6), and that he had to cope with a certain amount of distrust and jealousy on the part of some wives. Simon and To succeeded, however, in making some friends. Commenting on the situation, Simon himself once used the expression of 'reserved acceptance'.

In Kooijman's publications on Moce, nothing can a found of any rustling-of-the-palms romanticism. On the contrary, his writings can be described as factual, unromantic and unexotic. They can to a certain extent be placed in a tradition of ethnography which was still considered valid well into the seventies. This tradition required the field anthropologist to have sympathy

Plate 1. To Kooijman taking part in an exchange of traditional presents between bride and groom during fieldwork on Moce Island. The bride and her relatives are carrying a barkcloth of the *gatu vakatoga* ('Tongan' tapa) type (front) and a mat (rear). *(Photo by Simon Kooijman)*

Figure 6. Kooijman's wife To in front of the tent where they lived during their fieldwork on Moce Island, 1 April 1973. *(Photo by Simon Kooijman)*

for the population, and also as far as possible to participate in the lives of the informants, as long as this did not go too far. The anthropologist was not supposed to 'go native' and should keep a certain distance in order to be able to remain objective. As has been said before, this is quite possible and acceptable in the study of material culture as conceived by Kooijman.

In other respects Kooijman's interests in material culture in those years were not very popular in anthropology. The generation of students coming into anthropology after the war, some of whom (as I did myself) had entered the museums in the 1950s, had little interest in studying this aspect of culture. Despite the fact that in Leiden, students of anthropology followed their anthropology lectures in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, they were never taken by Professor J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, who had a room in the building, to see the collections. This may have been under the influence of British social anthropology, to be distinguished from ethnology, which had become quite popular in those years. Ethnology was relegated to the museums and did not enjoy much prestige among anthropologists. It was considered to represent what was called an antiquarian kind of interest in 'primitive peoples'. The new generation of anthropologists was more interested in social, economic and political anthropology than in museum anthropology, and in general theoretical approaches such as functionalism and structuralism. Young anthropologists accepted jobs in museums because there were no other possibilities of employment for an anthropologist elsewhere.

In the 1960s and up to the end of the 1970s other fashions became popular in anthropology. For some time neo-Marxist anthropology was a dominant approach, highly critical towards traditional anthropology, but transactional theories also gained great influence. Both approaches had little affinity with museum anthropology and the study of material culture, probably because these were considered outdated and without relevance for social, economic or political issues. Poverty, class struggle and revolution were the key terms.

We should realize that it was in the same period in which Kooijman did his fieldwork and wrote his studies on Moce, that books such as Talal Asad's *Anthropology and the colonial encounter* (1973), Godelier's *Perspectives in Marxist anthropology* (1977) and Boissevain's *Friends of friends* (1974) appeared. One of the reasons why Kooijman has never referred to theoretical developments of this kind is, probably, that they contain little of interest to the study of material culture.

Regarding the growing concern of anthropologists in the 1960s and the 1970s with ethical problems, there are signs that Kooijman was aware of their relevance. He refers for instance to his colleague Nooter's publications on this issue, but does not systematically investigate them himself. He only incidentally mentions the fact that he did not collect certain items with 'strong emotional value for the owners' or certain kinds of 'furniture and household equipment' because this would have had 'a disruptive effect' (1980a:35-36). We can be sure also that he cared greatly for the well-being

of the people in this part of the Pacific, especially in regard to the negative as well as positive aspects of the tourist trade.

Kooijman does not, generally speaking, specify the way he acquired his objects, though information on the names of the sellers and the prices he paid are given on the documentation cards (see his collection 4706-1 to 4706-225 in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde). In his Moce book, an occasional reference to this matter can be found; for instance, in the case of a certain Pauline who was prepared to part with the tapa especially made for her in exchange for Kooijman's transistor radio (1980a:69).

Mention has already been made of the artistic aspects of tapa production and the ways in which these are treated by Kooijman. On several occasions he expresses his own appreciation for the aesthetic quality of certain pieces as when he speaks of the 'acme of artistic expression' (1981:46) in the case of the type *gatu vakaviti*. He adds however that, in the making, little room is left for 'individual variation' and that the most important criterion in the evaluation of this kind of tapa appears to be length and the technical skill of the maker.

Concerning another kind of tapa, the *masi ni sala*, he also uses the expression the 'acme of tapa manufacture' because 'on Moce both technically, in the highly refined procedure, and aesthetically, this kind of tapa is the most highly valued by the people themselves' (1977b:36). In general however, here also care and finesse are decisive factors in the evaluation, for instance when comparisons are made between traditional products and tapas made for the tourist trade (ibid.:104).

In conformity with these standards on Moce itself, Kooijman's treatment of the tapa complex is formulated mostly in terms of a handicraft, in conformity with the subtitle of his book. This is reflected in the terminology: tapas are 'products' and not works of art, they are evaluated as products of technical perfection, and the makers of tapa are never called artists. When Kooijman gives an appreciation of tapa it is mostly in terms of 'quality', whether inferior or high. It is not surprising therefore that in only one of his publications on Moce is the term 'art' used explicitly.

Finally, the introduction to the book gives a description of the geographic environment and the means of livelihood on Moce, but we can find no details about the social and political organization of the island. Kooijman's interest clearly lay elsewhere. It is only in the texts on the various ceremonies that he gives some information on the position of the 'chiefs' and on family relations between the contributors and the participants.

Kooijman and theory

A typical feature of Kooijman's writings, already mentioned, is the virtual absence of references to anthropological theory and anthropological theoretical literature. His Moce book for instance refers only to publications in the restricted field of mainly descriptive ethnographic Pacific studies. He also rarely ventures into theoretical interpretations.

Apparently he did not want to depart too far from his empirical material, and found little inspiration in existing theoretical literature. He cannot, however, be accused of being interested only in the enumeration of facts. It is clear that he aimed at presenting the manufacture of tapa as a whole of interconnected elements, and he was able to do this thanks to his wide and deep knowledge of this culture complex in general.

Only one explicit theoretical interpretation in Kooijman's Moce studies is to be found i.e., in his *Bijdragen* article (1980b): *On ceremonial exchange and art on Moce Island (Fiji)* with the subtitle: *A functional interpretation of a tapa design*. One will notice here the designation 'functional', the term he most often uses when referring to his own interpretations. He employs a very wide definition of the term as applied to the study of material culture, meaning by functionalism a full description of an object including its purpose, use, role and meaning (see especially Kooijman 1980a:51).

In his *Bijdragen* article (1980b) he tells us that this functional approach implies the 'analysis and interpretation of the pattern of the *gatu vakaviti* (a kind of decorated tapa cloth discussed in this article, A.T.) in close relationship with the ceremonial function of the cloths'. He adds that such an approach 'will lead us to a fairly well-based hypothesis about the meaning of the stencilled pattern on the *gatu vakaviti,* as well as the non-verbal message conveyed by it' (1980b:48-49). He ends with the conclusion that the message of the pattern is 'dominated by the principles of balance, symmetry and alternation' corresponding to the atmosphere of 'perfect harmony that characterizes the end of the wedding' (ibid.:50), a ceremony in which the tapa cloth plays a central rôle. This of course is a kind of reasoning that he might have called 'structural', considering the notions of message, meaning and opposition are used in the analysis. Here again, one must note that it is typical of Kooijman that he does not refer at all to the existing theoretical literature on the subject, and restricts himself to this one example of structural analysis. To be fair, it should be added that the elements of the decorations possibly may not have any explicit meaning on which to base a structural analysis. Kooijman himself concludes that the names of the elements give 'no information at all about the meaning and function of the pattern' and that he therefore had to give up this 'line of enquiry' (ibid.:48).

Kooijman on exchange

As regards the social and economic aspects of the tapa complex, Kooijman has paid most attention to barter, trade and gift exchange, probably because in Moce society these phenomena are very conspicuous in connection with decorated barkcloth. The subject gives me the opportunity to enter into more detail about Kooijman's kind of ethnography.

First, by way of a preliminary remark, I want to point out that Kooijman again refrains from referring to the theoretical literature, in this case on

exchange. This may sound surprising as the subject must have been familiar to him, especially in the Leiden environment in which he was working. Maybe it was a wise thing for him not to go into this matter. The subject is a complicated one, and to discuss it would distract him from the immediate task at hand: presenting his empirical material.

One of the problems involved is that exchange can be approached from many points of view, among which it would not be easy to choose. Moreover, the priority Kooijman gave to the technical aspects of the tapa complex left him little time to collect data in terms of research on the lines of exchange theory.

In my discussion of Kooijman's data on exchange I will begin by outlining the main kinds of exchange distinguished by him.

First, there is the distinction between what Kooijman calls 'vertical exchanges' (i.e., exchange between a 'chief' and 'the common people' about which he does not give much detail) and 'horizontal exchanges', i.e., exchanges between partners of equal status which he treats extensively. The horizontal exchanges comprise, for instance, those which take place between pairs of islands, and are described by Kooijman in terms of barter and trade. This trade, is based on a system of specialisation in which the island of Moce is the exporter of food and tapa cloths, and other islands are the suppliers of wooden beaters and anvils for the fabrication of barkcloth and of plaited mats. The exchanges take place in a traditional setting 'within existing family and barter relations'. Informants even spoke of 'gifts' and 'no mention was made of a reciprocal gift with a specific value', the exchange forming part of an 'extensive system of mutual obligations' (1977b:27).

Kooijman discusses in detail a kind of exchange called *matana* between women from Moce furnishing tapa cloth, and women from other islands delivering plaited mats. Two individuals take the initiative in mobilizing other women who will participate in pairs according to specific understandings.

On the island of Moce itself of course, many exchanges take place. Kooijman gives examples of a wedding and a certain mourning ceremony, in principle organized some hundred days (apparently 'nights' in the terminology of the Moce people themselves) after the burial.

In the case of a wedding all kinds of exchanges take place, and festive meals are presented by the two families involved. A symbolically important distinction made by Kooijman is that between (on the one hand) presents called *butu* consisting of mats and a certain kind of valuable barkcloth, and considered by Kooijman as a typically female contribution to the wedding ceremonies according to 'the female model of exchange' (1981:106), and (on the other hand) the masculine ceremonial contribution in the form of food and gifts of *tabua*, sperm-whale teeth (1980a:44). The difference is that *butu* is characterized by harmony and a strictly balanced exchange of goods (ibid.:46) in opposition to the 'rivalry and prestige-hunting' typical of the male contribution. The female harmony and balance is reflected in the decoration of the barkcloth which play a central role in the final stage of a wedding, as discussed at the end of the foregoing paragraph.

Another important ceremony Kooijman describes is called *vakataraisulu*, a ceremony held (in principle) a hundred 'nights' after a death to mark the end of a period of mourning. On the occasion of such a ceremony, witnessed by Kooijman during his stay on Moce, was the presentation of a runner-like tapa of great length and beauty, made by the female relatives of the deceased to the chief of the island. This tapa was cut into pieces and distributed, giving great prestige to the organizers. The receivers were not expected to reciprocate the gift, as the reward was supposed to lie in the public admiration and esteem gained by the relatives of the deceased. Only in a case like the one cited by Kooijman, of Moce people living in Suva, capital of the Fiji Archipelago, were gifts for the tapa expected and given in return (1981:103-104).

Finally, Kooijman pays a good deal of attention to modern forms of exchange, for instance the trade in western consumer goods and the trade in tapa for the rapidly growing tourist industry. Kooijman's detailed descriptions show that, even on a small island like Moce with no more than some 500 inhabitants, a great variety of sometimes complicated forms of exchange exist which it is not easy to place in neat categories.

Kooijman has, as we have seen, made several efforts to bring some order into this confusing reality. Thus one can find in his publications such distinctions as those between horizontal and vertical exchanges, between female and masculine models of exchange, between traditional and modern kinds of exchange, between exchange in a materialist context and exchange in a ceremonial context.

The terms used here are all rather common-sensical but there is one that invites some comment, i.e., the concept of balanced exchange. As one will remember (see above) this concept was applied by Kooijman to the female model of exchange called *butu* with its 'strict reciprocity' (1981:106), but is also quite well known in anthropology since its introduction by Sahlins (1965). Both these authors, however, do not attach exactly the same meaning to it. Though they agree that balanced reciprocity refers to direct exchange and that 'the reciprocation is the customary equivalent of the thing received and is without delay' (Sahlins 1965:148-149) many of the balanced exchanges mentioned by Sahlins belong to the category of 'trade' and 'buying and selling' and actions involving 'primitive money'. Moreover, balanced reciprocity is in his eyes 'less personal' and 'more economic' than what he calls 'generalized exchange', i.e., 'the solidary extreme'. According to the latter characterization *butu*, associated as it is with 'harmony and unity', should be called generalized rather than balanced exchange.

Another writer devoting a detailed discussion to the concept of balanced reciprocity is Van Baal (1975) who associates it with trade. For him '... trade is a matter of bargaining, it is always balanced, or at least meant to be balanced, and it is impersonal' (ibid.:43). In my comments on Van Baal's considerations (Trouwborst 1981) I expressed my doubts concerning the usefulness of connecting the term 'reciprocity' with the notion of balance. 'Reciprocity', according to my view refers to a principle which is the basis

of a continuous movement of prestations versus counterprestations. It is a kind of *perpetuum mobile* (ibid.:192). Moreover, in the words of Sahlins cited by Van Baal (ibid.:37) himself: 'Balance in exchange may tend toward self-liquidation'.

In view of Kooijman's data on *butu* I suggest now that, though it may be true that this particular kind of exchange can be considered as being in balance, it cannot be seen in isolation . It must be placed in the context of all the continuing exchanges taking place before, during and after a wedding.

I also want to point out that, although in the case of trade one can often speak of a balance in the sense of immediate returns, the picture Kooijman draws of trade in the Fiji archipelago is somewhat different. He tells us: 'This form of exchange is materially balanced although reciprocity may be somewhat deferred... the exchange is essentially non-balanced, which implies the continuaton of mutual obligations and prestations' (1980b:43).

Apparently Kooijman had some difficulty here with the terminology and it would maybe have been useful if he had referred to Sahlins and other authors like Barth (1966) on exchange theory. He could have treated more systematically the way in which the different forms of exchange are related to each other, or for instance the way in which bargaining plays a role in exchange.

Here, however, a problem arises. The question is, to what extent can a student of material culture be supposed to be familiar with, and to work with, all kinds of theories to which his subject can be related. As we all know, in recent years many new subdisciplines in anthropology have arisen, each with its own theoretical ambitions: for instance, economic anthropology, symbolic anthropology, the anthropology of communication, ecological anthropology, political anthropology and so on, and it has to be considered impossible for one single researcher to master them all.

When therefore, Kooijman insists that a student of material culture should 'penetrate other aspects, other sides of life and thus includes other aspects – social, economic, religious – in his research' (1980a:51) one wonders how he imagines this can be realized. Does not the museum curator run the risk that, whenever he ventures into one of these 'other sides', he fails in his theoretical mastery of the subject matter?

In my opinion Kooijman's solution to this problem has been to choose to be first of all a museum curator, a documentalist in the field of material culture. This means for him that objects are the point of departure for everything he has undertaken, and the principle for the ordering of his data. This is shown for instance in his Moce book, in which his data concerning various ceremonies are put into chapters about certain kinds of tapa rather than in chapters of their own.

His plea for taking into account the diverse aspects of culture into his analyses has to be understood in the sense that he restricts himself to their immediate relevance without involving himself in theoretical speculations.

There is of course some danger involved here and such an approach has its limitations. However, it leaves the researcher at liberty to spend his energy and time on documentary efforts. Kooijman's wide and thorough

knowledge, and the impressive number of his publications which will stand the rest of time, have been possible only because he has chosen this way.

Conclusions

Kooijman's book and other publications on Moce can be placed in a long and respectable tradition of studies of material culture which I would like to call 'documentary ethnography'. It has much in common with what is sometimes called the 'natural history approach' in anthropology (Trouwborst 1970:133). Kroeber has described such an approach as follows: 'The phenomena are given as directly as possible and in their contextual relation of occurrence. This context is preserved: if explanations are made, they are marginal as it were, and do not fundamentally disturb the context' (Kroeber 1963:110). In this light we can understand what Kooijman means by functional analysis. It is to show the directly observable connections of an object to its material and social environment: it has no immediate theoretical implications.

His publications on Moce represent a genre of ethnography in its own right, whose value withstands the ages and is for all times. Such a tradition of ethnography is less subject to signs of wear than are theoretical speculations. Kooijman's publications on Moce have this timeless character, and provide the basic materials on which others can build. By writing them he has admirably fulfilled his tasks as a curator.

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Van Baal see: Baal, J. van

3

SIMON KOOIJMAN'S VISION OF PERMANENT DISPLAYS AND TEMPORARY EXHIBITIONS

Dirk A. M. Smidt

From the time he entered the museum service on 1 August 1943 to his retirement on 1 March 1980, Simon Kooijman was responsible for both the content and the visual presentation of the permanent display for the Oceania department.[1] This responsibility covered the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (National Museum of Ethnology) in Leiden and since 1956 the annex at the Breda museum (the Ethnological Museum Justinus van Nassau, Breda department of the Leiden National Museum of Ethnology).[2] When he joined the museum as research assistant, he was given responsibility for the 'South Seas and Australia' collections 'which had been abandoned for years' (Le Roux 1944:2).[3] In the period 1944-1945 the Indonesia and South Seas department, which was far too large, was divided into two separate departments: 'Indonesia' and 'South Seas', the latter including the extensive West New Guinea collection, with the addition of the modest collections for Australia (Le Roux 1946:1). While still research assistant Kooijman had the management of this new 'South Seas and Australia' department, since this had no curator. In the annual report for 1944-1945 the Director at that time asserted that, 'in principle', the department concerned, like the other three departments existing in that period 'will, in the long run, be given its own curator who will be supported in several departments by a research assistant' (ibid.). Kooijman became curator in 1946, but the research assistant was never appointed.

[1] This paper, written originally in Dutch, was translated by Enid Perlin. I am grateful to Dr. David Stuart-Fox and Ad Smidt for comments on an earlier version of the paper. Wim Rosema was most helpful in assembling photographic material and accompanying documentation from which a selection was made to illustrate this paper.

[2] In 1956 the ethnographical museum of the Royal Military Academy in Breda was turned over to the Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences. The National Museum of Ethnology which came under this Ministry was given the responsibility to develop the ethnographical museum in Breda as an annex of the Leiden museum (Nauta 1980:97).

[3] Many English quotations in the text of this article are translated from Dutch language publications. For pragmatic reasons the author has refrained from presenting the original Dutch texts. As all quotations are properly referenced by name of author, year and page number(s), the reader is referred to the original sources. By looking up the full references in the bibliography with the article the reader will be able to assess whether the quotation is taken from an English or Dutch source.

The first few years constituted a settling-in period under difficult wartime conditions. The measures that had to be taken to protect the collections in the event of air-raids rendered the exhibits temporarily inaccessible. After the war, political circumstances prevented Kooijman from exercising his curatorial function for a period of some four years: the tense relationship between the Netherlands and its colony of the Dutch East Indies (the present-day Indonesia), fighting for its independence, meant that he was once more conscripted for military service, in spite of having fulfilled his military obligations before the war.

In the annual report for 1947 the Director openly expressed the hope that the time would not be long before Kooijman once more resumed his work in the museum. Nevertheless this wish was not to be granted for another three years (Locher 1949:3). Kooijman was trained in the United Kingdom as an officer in the Dutch Army (ibid.:2), and was then given six months leave (June-December 1946) to allow him to work in the museum. Then from May 1947 to April 1950 he served with the army in Indonesia, where he was posted to the Netherlands Forces Intelligence Service (Locher 1947:2; Locher 1951:2; Kooijman 1994:12). In the meantime, on 1 September 1946 he was appointed temporary curator – not, however of the South Seas/Australia department, but of the Africa and America department (Locher 1948:1). After A. A. Gerbrands joined the museum as research assistant on 1 January 1947, it was decided that Gerbrands should take over the Africa and America department from Kooijman, and that after Kooijman returned from the army, he should resume the management of the South Seas/Australia department.

After demobilisation Kooijman returned to the Netherlands in 1950, resuming his post in the museum on 13 June of that year (Locher 1951:2). From that time on he was in a position to give further consideration to changes in public displays, and could begin to think of concepts for temporary exhibitions. Nevertheless, his museum work was to be interrupted for a second period; he was granted study leave from December 1952 until May 1954 in order to conduct a population study among the Marind-anim of South New Guinea (Kooijman 1959b).[4] This circumstance was, however, to be of unexpectedly great importance for the museum (see below).

One of Kooijman's important tasks in his working life as curator was the presentation of the collections by means of exhibitions and publications, in addition to his concern for the permanent displays. In permanent displays he covered a particularly extensive and varied geographical territory: Polynesia, Melanesia, Micronesia, and Australia. Several of his exhibitions showed the same broad territorial coverage. Others were centred on a particular region (New Guinea) or were confined to a particular area or culture: Moce (Fiji), Sentani (West New Guinea), Asmat (West New Guinea), the Trobriand Islands (Papua New Guinea). In a variety of publications (sometimes in cooperation with other authors) he concentrated specifically

[4] This was a project set up by the South Pacific Commission, on the initiative of Dr. J. van Baal, at that time head of the Kantoor voor Bevolkingszaken (Office of Population Affairs), Hollandia (now Jayapura). 'The aim of the study was to examine the causes of numerical decline among the Marind in the first two decades of this century, and the demographic development that could be expected in the near future, in the light of the current situation' (Kooijman 1994:16).

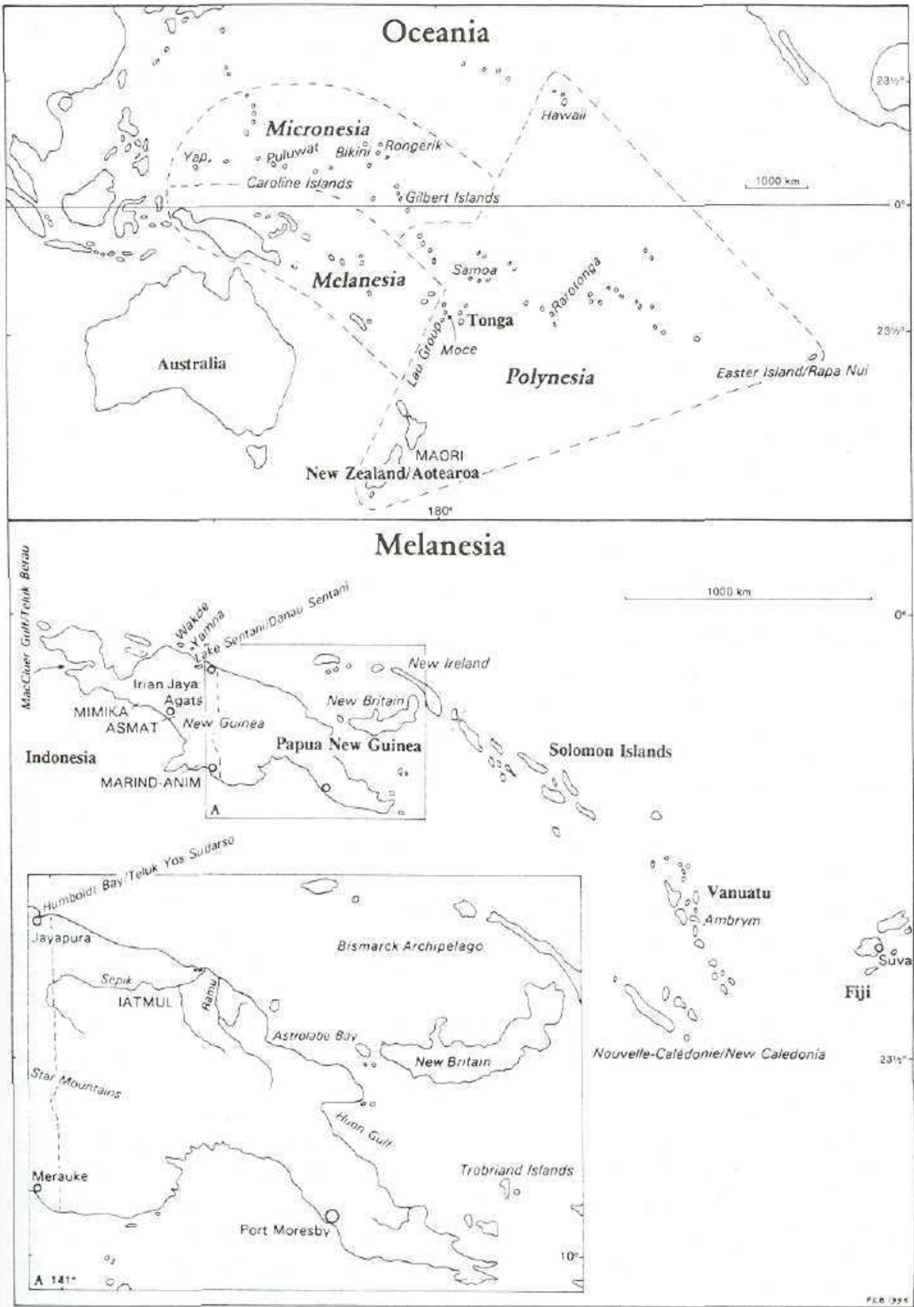

Figure 6a. Map of Oceania showing locations of relevance to Simon Kooijman's work. *(Map by P. E. Bijvoet)*

on a particular region or area, as was the case with most of the exhibitions. At the same time, publications of this kind opened up important features of the collection in the National Museum of Ethnology to an international public: southwest New Guinea (Kooijman 1956); MacCluer Gulf (Kooijman 1962a); the Star Mountains (Kooijman 1962b); Asmat (Hoogerbrugge and Kooijman 1976); northwest New Guinea (Kamma and Kooijman 1973); Moce (Kooijman 1977a); Mimika (Kooijman 1984); the Wakde-Yamna area, Humboldt Bay, and Lake Sentani (Kooijman and Hoogerbrugge 1992), to mention the most important examples.[5]

Besides its wide geographical range, Kooijman's work also reveals an extensive range of themes which offer various cultural aspects for our consideration. We can mention the tapa complex as the foremost theme in his scholarship. He published a standard work on tapa in Polynesia (Kooijman 1972a); a study of the tapa complex of Moce, Fiji, which was based on his own fieldwork (Kooijman 1977a); and a study of Indonesian barkcloths (Kooijman 1963). Other prominent themes in his work were connected with, for instance: navigation; the function and meaning of woodcarving in the Lake Sentani-Humboldt Bay and the Asmat regions; and the role played by iron and iron-working in West New Guinea. In one way or another, these themes were represented in the permanent displays and temporary exhibitions which Kooijman created, whether as the main subject or as part of a wider presentation.[6] Various Dutch-language publications drew the general public's attention to most of these themes, and to others including fishing, pottery and children's games (see the bibliography of Simon Kooijman's works, in this volume).

Kooijman frequently created a practical museological connection between a temporary exhibition and the permanent display. After being presented in the temporary exhibition, some of its constituent parts were moved into the permanent display. Thus in a certain sense the temporary exhibition served as an experiment, since 'the effectiveness of the solutions contemplated could be tested in practice' (Pott 1960:29). This 'permits us, more than is possible in the public collection, to seek for what interests the public at present, or indeed, to see whether its interest can be aroused' (ibid.:10). The curator thus utilises the 'non-permanent exhibition as a form of presentation experiment. This approach was used by Dr. S. Kooijman in the Leiden museum (for example in connection with the South Seas exhibition of 1959, DS) before he undertook the total rearrangement of the Oceania section' (Nauta 1980:106).

Hereafter I shall confine my attention to a discussion of the permanent displays and temporary exhibitions which Kooijman created, especially those in the Leiden and Breda museums. Here, my point of departure is to provide a better knowledge of less well-known aspects of Kooijman's work, those which on the whole are not accessible in the form of English-language publications.

[5] For a survey of Kooijman's scholarly and museum activities with regard to the cultures of northwest New Guinea, see Smidt (1992:204-207).

[6] With the exception of the Indonesian barkcloths for which region Kooijman, as curator, had no responsibility.

The permanent display in the National Museum of Ethnology

Right from the beginnings of the National Museum of Ethnology in 1837, its founder, Dr. Ph. F. von Siebold, had his own idea about how the contents of the museum collections ought to be presented. After the general principle of 'stimulating understanding for other peoples', the aim must be to order the collection objects in such a systematic way that 'the first glance makes the People knowable, and their characteristics are presented by a selection of their products' (Von Siebold 1937:63). In an early permanent display of 1883, this basis had already been worked out in detail, and the museum visitor gained insight into it by means of an accompanying guidebook written by the museum's director of that time. Within the context of a geographical division, the material culture was divided up according to theme (Serrurier 1883; see also Smidt 1992).

Obviously, there were to be incidental changes over the course of time, until a new permanent display was shown in a new setting (the present building, which had fallen vacant after the end of its life as a hospital). Photographs of this display show that there was some kind of geographic partition, the themes appearing within this division. On the whole it was arranged according to the aesthetic standards of that time (Rassers 1937; Visser 1938), but partly also with the kind of set-up which the post-war museum world would come to regard as old-fashioned (fig. 7). After the Second World War the first curator of the South Seas and Australia department, Simon Kooijman, soon began to see the need for changing the permanent display. After all:

Figure 7. 'Warrior' from the Gilbert Islands (present-day Kiribati) wearing a blowfish helmet and a cuirass of coconut fibre, and holding a shark-tooth spear and sword. Surrounded by an array of shark-tooth weapons it was part of the permanent display of the Oceanic section, National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, circa 1950. *(Photo by W.J.J. van Velzen or C. Zwanenburg)*

> At that time museum spaces and display cases were still overfilled with objects. There were only sporadic attempts to reveal the object's function within the culture concerned: ancestor images, models of boats, musical instruments stood cheek-by-jowl, fishing nets hung from ceilings, spears and arrows decorated the walls, gathered together in a fan formation as the trophies of a private collection of weapons. Under these circumstances, heavy demands were made upon the imagination of both museum guides and the visitors being guided. (Kooijman 1962c:193)

Where the permanent displays are concerned, Simon Kooijman's most important 'feat of arms' were the New Guinea and Oceania displays created under his guidance in Leiden (fig. 8) and in Breda (in conjunction with Sjoerd Nauta, the director of the Breda museum at that time). After Serrurier in 1882-1883, Kooijman was the first curator responsible for the content of displays to express, in a publication, his basic principles and concept for a new permanent arrangement – at all events, where Oceania was concerned (Kooijman and Frese 1958).

The first traces of Kooijman's activities in relation to the permanent displays can already be found in the period 1944-1945. At that time:

> the staff assembled small handbooks, illustrated with photographs, drawings and maps...These booklets...have met with a warm welcome. They are regarded as a great success, and completely suited to ensuring a fruitful visit for those who want to delve further into the

Figure 8. Simon Kooijman arranges fine woodcarvings from the Huon Gulf and Astrolabe Bay regions, northeast New Guinea (Papua New Guinea) in a show-case of the permanent display in the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, 1955. *(Photo by C. Zwanenburg)*

> objects displayed. The information in these typed booklets can serve as the basis for small guidebooks for those wandering through the different sections and subsections, which – as soon as there is a favourable opportunity – can be printed. (Le Roux 1946:9)

Kooijman prepared no less than twenty-two of these booklets for the South Seas and Australia department, which he later considered as mere youthful exercises (Kooijman, pers. comm.). Each booklet dealt with a particular subject, in one to twelve pages (with an average of four pages) and most of the booklets directed the visitor to particular displays or show cases (see appendix). These typed booklets functioned as room guides; the visitor could consult them while looking at the display, handing them back at the end of the visit. However, nothing came of the idea for a series of printed books on specific subjects, although a general guidebook was published some fifteen years later (Gids 1961). After Kooijman's retirement a guide was published for one region: *Nieuw Guinea, kunst, kunstvormen en stijlgebieden* (New Guinea, art, art forms and stylistic areas) (Kooijman 1984b).

In 1951 several small alterations were made to some of the display cases for 'New Guinea and the South Seas' (Locher 1952:4). 1953 and 1954 were to be crucial years. As a sideline to the investigation on the Marind-anim population mentioned above, Kooijman succeeded in building up an extensive and qualitatively exceptional collection by the acquisition of objects from various groups of people active on the south and south-west coast of New Guinea: government officials, missionaries, businessmen, merchants, and a few scholarly researchers (Kooijman 1956:351). This collection, consisting of some five hundred objects (mostly from among the Asmat) were registered under the name 'Kooijman shipment, Merauke' (series RMV 3070). Apart from objects for everyday use, weapons, body ornaments and so on, the collection included impressive woodcarvings, for example an ancestor or spirit pole (*mbitoro*) some seven metres tall, from the Mimika area (see Kooijman 1984a:3, fig. 1; Kooijman 1987:109-110, fig. 1)[7], and an assembly of Asmat shields and statues of a high aesthetic standard (Lamme and Smidt 1993:146).

This large and splendid acquisition showed Kooijman and his Director that a complete revision of the New Guinea section of the public display was necessary (Locher 1955:7). This was achieved in 1958. Prior to this however, some incidental alterations to the display had been carried out. Thus a naturalistic group of dummies of 'three Mountain Papuans from Dutch Central New Guinea' put on display in 1940 (Rassers 1941:2, fig. opposit p. 6), consisting of two men (each with a penis gourd) and a woman, had to be taken out of the public collection because 'these clearly caused offense

[7] Kooijman's presentation and discussion of Mimika material collected by Jan Pouwer and deposited in the National Museum of Ethnology (see Kooijman 1987) clearly shows how impressed he was by this post and how appreciative of the work done by the collector. The pole is qualified by Kooijman as '...an unique, expertly documented and aesthetically extremely valuable piece...' (Kooijman 1987:110). Significantly, he adds that the acquisition of it 'has in no way impeded or disturbed the life of the individual or society [concerned]' (ibid.). The pole was about to be discarded after having fulfilled its function during a feast.

among certain groups of visitors, and were also the occasion for less desirable interest among young people growing up' (Pott 1957:12).

However, in 1956 a room devoted to New Guinea was reorganised to a large extent; the changes were those:

> in which the prime effort was to achieve the kind of display of worthwhile and aesthetically significant material that would make a thematic treatment possible. This will render a guided tour not only much more effective, but also much livelier, while the individual visitor gains a less chaotic impression of a whole which, for him, is strange and variegated. (Pott 1958:13)

A number of fine acquisitions from the previous years were shown in this display. In completing the reorganization of the New Guinea display in 1957 and 1958 the deliberately chosen starting point was 'the desire to link [the display] with the special needs of school education, and the capacities of the educational department' (Pott 1959:11).[8] The changes effected in the display will now be discussed in some detail.

In the decade following the end of World War II, the West New Guinea display in the Leiden museum was (within the general context of geographical divisions) arranged in three cultural regions: 1. the Indonesian-Melanesian cultural region of the northern and western coastal areas; 2. the Papuan cultures of the southern lowlands; 3. the Central Highlands. In renewing the New Guinea display a purely geographical division was replaced by a thematic arrangement. In an introductory section the attempt was made (in full consciousness of the great diversity of cultures in New Guinea) to use a necessarily artificial concept such as 'The Culture of West New Guinea', to draw attention to a number of general aspects: ecological, technological, ceremonial, religious and artistic. Subsequently seven broad subjects were presented: Sago Cultivation and Horticulture; Hunting and Fishing (fig. 9); Raw Materials and Techniques; Objects for Everyday Use; The Ceremony of Masks; Religion; Warfare, Trade and Headhunting. At a later stage a show case on art styles of New Guinea was included in the display. Attention was drawn indirectly to the varied nature of New Guinea cultures through the way in which the different themes were illustrated by means of objects deriving from different areas (Kooijman and Frese 1958). The display case devoted to Sago Cultivation and Horticulture indicated 'the difference between the principal means of subsistence for the coastal and plains dwellers, and that of the mountain peoples: cultivation of sago and horticulture' [respectively] (ibid.:101). The educational activities were accompanied by a series of slides which, after giving a general introduction, concentrated on two specific cultural and geographical areas, so that the public display and the educational programme complemented each other.

An essential feature of the permanent display Kooijman created was that, in the presention of aspects of traditional cultures and the objects pertaining to them, the arrangement emphasised that these things belonged, by and large, to the past: 'For we also have to make it clear that the things shown

[8] He collaborated with H. H. Frese on the educative aspects.

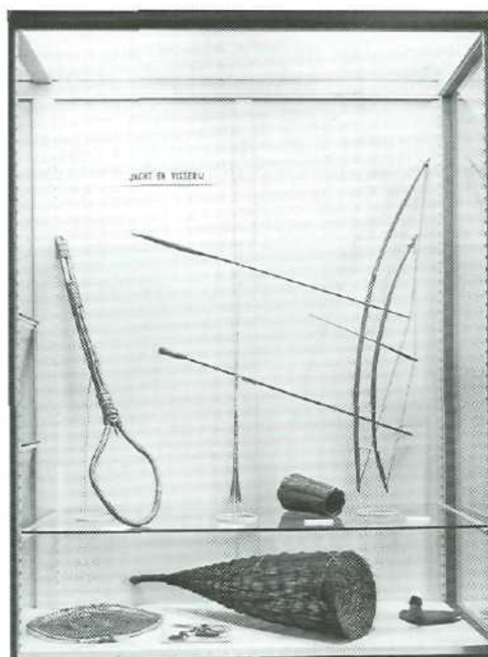

Figure 9. The newly installed show-case on 'Jacht en visserij' ('Hunting and fishing') in the New Guinea room of the Oceanic section, National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, 1960. *(Photo by C. Zwanenburg)*

in the museum present us, moreover, with an image of a time which already belongs to the past, in many regions' (Kooijman 1962c:194). Photographs of modern New Guinea were therefore also shown:

> Papuans driving a farm tractor, and Papuan students from the Mission technical school at Kota Radja in Hollandia with their school-leaving certificates. In the showcase devoted to 'Religion', the modern aspect is presented by a crucifix from Mimika in the form of an ancestor image, and a photograph of the Van Hasselt Church at Biak, both shown against the background of the old religious life. (Kooijman and Frese 1958:103)

Kooijman established that, at first sight, the Christian religion is adopted as easily and happily as 'the material achievements of the west (clothing, tools, weapons, machines)' so that a 'uniform culture' was developing. On closer acquaintance, however, it is clear that:

> precisely in the field of religion, a great deal of the old has been preserved, and that – particularly in times of crisis – ['the old'] is often still alive and kicking, and can provide an anchorage which the new religion cannot give. (Kooijman 1962c:194)

Kooijman, whose official status as 'curator for the South Seas and Australia department' was changed into 'curator for the South Seas, New Guinea and Australia department', began in the same year that the New Guinea display was ready to prepare for a general reorganisation of the

South Seas section (Pott 1959:23). 'The Melanesia room could be reopened on 1 April 1960 (fig. 10); at the end of December the Polynesia, Micronesia and Australia rooms were once more opened to the public' (Pott 1962:27). In 1961 'the rearrangement of the South Seas section was completed' (Pott 1963:39). The same year saw the production of a general Dutch-language guide to the whole permanent displays, including Oceania (Gids 1961); an English version was to appear a year later.[9]

Figure 10. Newly installed display of masks and ancestor statues in the Melanesia room of the Oceanic section, National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, 1960. *(Photo by C. Zwanenburg)*

The new South Seas display drew attention to (among other things) 'food, food preparation and techniques', covering foodstuffs from both land and sea. Fishing techniques were shown, along with stuffed fish to give a semblance of reality. 'And the pike fishermen among the visitors saw, to their amazement, that people in the South Seas also protected the end of their lines from being bitten through, but using a small wooden plug rather

[9] Although the guide mentioned no authors' names, it is obvious that the parts on 'New Guinea' (pp. 177-190) and 'Polynesia and Micronesia' (pp. 190-202) were written by Kooijman. A few years later he wrote a more extensive introduction on the peoples of Polynesia and Micronesia in a three volume Dutch-language publication on non-western peoples and cultures, edited by P. van Emst (Kooijman 1964).

than a little piece of copper wire' (Kooijman 1962c:194). One evocative display, of an 'earth oven, just opened', showed how root crops such as taro and yam, also fish and meat, were cooked in an oven of this kind (usually after being wrapped in leaves) in many areas of the South Seas. A film on the same topic (Koch 1954) was shown in the context of guided tours, as a supplement to the permanent display.

The same film showed the preparation and decoration of barkcloth, or *tapa*; these pictures were linked with the display showing a 'Samoan woman beating tree bark' (Kooijman 1962c:195). One remarkable aspect of this display was the way in which the woman was:

> almost entirely hidden in a shapeless, long and baggy dress, a copy in tapa cloth of the 'Mother Hubbard' dress, the woman's attire imported into the South Seas and derived from European fashion at the turn of the century, under the missionaries' influence. This introduced an historical perspective into the display ...[10] [The fact] that tapa and its preparation belonged to the old Polynesia, now disappearing or already vanished, is also suggested by a sample of printed barkcloth from the Samoanische Zeitung of 1908 [at that time, before World War I, the island was still a German possession, D.S.]. (ibid.)

As a counterweight to 'romantic represention' which 'have a tenacious life and which still survive up to the present', the display gave an impression of:

> the hard struggle for a livelihood on a coral island, and this picture has not changed: on these tiny pieces of land ... people have only shells, coral and sharks' teeth as the raw materials for tools and weapons, good timber (for making boats) is scarce, and the ground water lies so deep that the people have to make 'sunken' gardens. Could one wish for a better or more realistic companion piece to the rosy picture so dear to us? (ibid.)

In 1962 a layout was prepared in the room next to the South Seas section concerning 'navigation in Southeast Asia and the South Seas region', and many model boats were restored for the purpose (Pott 1963:40). The display provided an 'attractive and interesting picture of the many types of boats found in this area' (Pott 1964:29). In that year partial changes were made in the New Guinea room to improve the systematic and aesthetic aspects of the display. These improvements particularly concerned the eastern part of the island (ibid.).

Kooijman, surveying the alterations and improvements in the permanent display at that time, stated:

> Partly as a result of reflection on the museum's educational task, we have arrived pretty well everywhere at a much better-ordered pres-

[10] This dress replaced an earlier more traditional one which had left the upper part of the body uncovered, a fact which apparently had offended some visitors.

entation of material, and one that answers better to functional needs. In this we have come to realise that the exhibition of the object, and the way it is seen, cannot be the aim. The museum object is only the means; the aim is the understanding of the culture from which the object derives. (Kooijman 1962b:193)

In 1965, Pott tells us:

an important gift to the museum ... once more necessitated a radical reconsideration of the South-West New Guinea display; the large *bisj* poles from the legacy of Michael Rockefeller (who had met his death on the coast of the Asmat region in 1961) were arranged in as functional a way as possible, and they were illustrated further by a number of extremely good documentary photographs. (Pott 1967:40)

These poles were donated to the museum in 1962 by Michael Rockefeller's parents (Governor Nelson Rockefeller and his wife Mary, of New York), as a token of gratitude for the efforts made by the Dutch Government to trace their son. The display made use of the photographs taken by Michael Rockefeller of the same poles *in situ* in the village of Otsjanep, on the Ewta River, Casuarina Coast (Rockefeller 1967; the photographs are on pp. 140-141 and 143-144) and of the photographs of the pole makers, the carvers Bifarcq and Mbatumos (see plate 2 for its incorporation in the permanent display at a later stage, c. 1978; see Smidt (1970) for a discussion of these poles, illustrated with details and with photographs of the makers).

In 1968, once again, important acquisitions made it necessary to rethink several aspects of the permanent display.[11] For example, a well documented, large-sized slit gong from Ambrym (Vanuatu) was displayed, together with a photograph of Tain Mal, an important headman who had ordered the drum to be made (Kooijman 1968:83). Besides this:

the display of barkcloth (tapa) from Melanesia was reorganised to make it more functional, and to avoid the deterioration of certain important pieces on account of having been exposed for a long time. (Pott 1970:38)

In the following year (1969) even more radical alterations were introduced. Display cases showing objects connected with the means of subsistence, such as hunting and fishing, the preparation of sago, and horticulture, were now presented in 'a more orderly and functional way', making use of recent photographic material (Pott 1971:36, ills. 5 and 6). The

[11] Meanwhile, in 1966 Kooijman was made Deputy Director of the Museum (Pott 1969:10). In practice, this meant that he sometimes represented the Director at obligatory functions. Since there was no question of a delegation of other tasks and responsibilities by the Director of that time (Kooijman, personal communication), Kooijman's productivity as curator did not seem to have suffered to any noticeable extent from this additional function. In 1968 his services to the museum were recognised in the form of a royal honour: on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his museum service he was made an officer in the Order of Orange-Nassau (Pott 1970:19-20).

Plate 2. The New Guinea room in the permanent display of the Oceania section, National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, circa 1970. *(Photo by Wim Rosema)*

theme of navigation was also organised for presentation in a new way (ibid.: ill. 4). A valuable monumental acquisition was fitted into the display. This was a pole, some 450 cm tall, from the ceremonial men's house at Kanganaman, Iatmul, the Middle Sepik region of Papua New Guinea (plate 2). After this pole had been cast aside (it was discovered lying next to the men's house) perhaps after a quarrel, it was collected in 1967 by A. A. Gerbrands, and was acquired by the museum in 1968 (ibid., ill. 5; Kooijman's description dated 25 May 1970, RMV 4329-1).

Where the reorganisation at the Breda museum was concerned, some spectacular changes were made. The unique Mimika ancestor or spirit pole (*mbitoro*), some seven metres tall, which was collected by J. Pouwer in 1953 and acquired for the museum by Kooijman in 1954, was placed in the stairwell, and a slit gong from Ambrym (Vanuatu) was given a place in the entrance hall of the museum (Pott 1971:47).

At the beginning of 1971 Kooijman took three months study leave in West Polynesia (Samoa and Tonga) and in Fiji, where he carried out a trial investigation into 'the fabrication, ornamentation and the social significance of barkcloth material' (Pott 1973:25).[12] In the same year the organisation of the Leiden museum display case providing a survey of the manufacturing process and ornamentation of tapa was altered to include new material (objects, photographs, slides) which Kooijman had collected during this study trip. Furthermore, in 1973: 'in the room for navigation in Indonesia and

[12] This was made possible through a grant from the Wenner Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, New York.

the South Seas region ... elements were included which had formed part of the exhibition 'Fai-la!" (ibid.:34), and in 1976 'the radical reorganisation of the South Seas and New Guinea section' was virtually completed (Pott 1978:281).

In 1979 'plans [were] made to set up a genuine outrigger boat from the South Seas region, complete with rigging, in the museum entrance hall' (Pott 1981a:253). This was the same boat used in a temporary exhibition at Breda shortly before this (fig. 14). The plans were only to be realised after Kooijman had retired in 1980. In 1981 the boat and all its rigging was displayed in the entrance hall, together with a number of supplementary texts, drawings and photographs on the methods of sailing and navigating (Pott 1982:268). Thus once again we can see, at the end of Simon Kooijman's career, how he had in fact been occupied throughout his whole museum life with adapting the permanent display to encompass newly created options and insights.

Temporary exhibitions

Generally speaking, most of the exhibitions Kooijman developed concerned Oceania or parts of this region.[13] Kooijman also contributed to thematic exhibitions organised in Leiden, in which material from all over the non-western world (and sometimes from Europe as well, for purposes of comparison) was used to illustrate a particular theme. Examples of these are: 'Boats from far-off countries' (1947); 'This is the way they see us' (1955); 'From clay to pot' (1956); 'Catch that fish!' (1961); 'This is the way they see them, young Dutch people's depiction of the world' (1962-1963). This last exhibition offered 'a selection from the thousands of drawings the museum has received as entries in the drawing competition for young people, on the occasion of the 125th anniversary [of the museum]'. The drawings provided a 'particularly instructive image ... of the existing stereotypes, still artificially maintained, which distort our image of people throughout the world, sometimes in a serious way' (Pott 1964:40).

The themes Kooijman selected for temporary exhibitions, his starting point for each, and his choice of object type, show what he considered to be important. He devoted particular interest to the themes of navigating in the Pacific and the barkcloth complex. He had as much appreciation for 'art objects' (fig. 8) as for 'objects for everyday use', but he rejected an overwhelmingly aesthetic approach. At times the patron's wishes partly determined matters: for example, the aesthetic side did actually take precedence in the exhibitions 'The Art of Lake Sentani' held in New York in 1959, and 'Papuan Art in the Rijksmuseum' in Amsterdam in 1966.

[13] For the discussion on temporary exhibitions the author consulted several photograph albums on the exhibitions of the National Museum of Ethnology and its Breda annex kept in the photographic archive of the museum. These albums are not specifically referred to in the text. A listing should suffice: Photograph album 'South Seas 1959' [Leiden]; Photograph album 'South Seas 1969' [Breda]; Photograph album '*Fai-la!* Sailing in the South Seas 1972'; Photograph albums 'Argonauts of the South Seas 1972'; Photograph albums 'The South Seas unveiled 1974'; Photograph album 'Seventy years of Asmat woodcarving 1976-1977'.

However, detailed information on the content of the exhibitions was provided in the accompanying guide or catalogue.

Kooijman attached the greatest importance to the explanation of an object's function within its social context, and stressed that the processes of manufacture ought not to be neglected:

> ... a good description will contain as many details as possible on the technique used to produce the object, the people involved in its production, the context in which and the purpose for which it was made, and the use to which it was put (Kooijman 1980:51).

A curator, taking the function of material culture in a society as his starting point: '... will have to penetrate other sides of life and thus include other aspects – social, economic, religious – in his research' (ibid.).

Moreover, Kooijman linked his exhibition concepts with a more practice-oriented museological viewpoint, which took account of different categories among the visitors, each of whom had a different motive for visiting a museum, and each of whom should consequently be offered something of what he/she hoped to find. This point of view was articulated by Pieter H. Pott, Director of the Museum from 1955 to 1982. He distinguished three principal motives that might lead potential visitors to the museum:

> (1) The wish to experience beauty (aesthetic approach); (2) the often more or less romantic urge to leave the everyday grind for a short while by seeking another place or time (romantic approach or escapism); and (3) the wish to satisfy a certain thirst for knowledge (intellectual approach). (Pott 1963:158)

With these visitor motives in mind, he argued in favour of a combination of 'three forms of presentation differing in spirit and technique' (Pott 1969:9, quoted in Nauta 1980:106). As we shall see shortly, Kooijman put into practice (to a greater or lesser extent) the viewpoints Pott had formulated.

Among the important exhibitions which Kooijman created and developed in Leiden were: 'The South Seas' in 1959; '*Fai-la!* Sailing in the South Seas' in 1972 (Kooijman 1972b), and 'The South Seas unveiled' (Kooijman 1974c; 1980). Major exhibitions in Breda were 'Argonauts of the South Seas' in 1972-1973, and 'Seventy years of Asmat woodcarving' in 1976-1977 (Hoogerbrugge and Kooijman 1976). The exhibitions 'South Seas' and 'Fai-la! Sailing in the South Seas' were also shown in Breda (in a somewhat altered form) after Leiden. As we have already indicated, it often happened that, after the closure of exhibitions, substantial elements from them were incorporated into the permanent display. A good example of this is shown in the display on the marriage ceremony on the island of Moce (Fiji), which had formed part of the exhibition 'The South Seas unveiled' (Kooijman 1980:25, fig. 20). The major part of the exhibition 'The South Seas' was used later for the permanent display. To a large extent this exhibition had constituted:

an experimental preparation for the new arrangement of the museum's South Seas section ... The experimental nature [of the operation] resided principally in the relationship between the number of objects and explanatory photographs, the 'free' display of objects of all kinds, and a deliberate presentation of the aesthetic, the educational and the romantic [sic] side by side, but supporting rather than damaging each other. (Pott 1960:41)

In this exhibition:

experiments in display methods were carried out in order to test the public's reactions. In this we endeavoured to produce a display that was instructive, on the one hand, but on the other was also suggestive and which moreoever did justice to the aesthetic qualities of a number of substantial pieces from the collections. (Pott 1962:27)

The South Seas 1959

The contemporary dimension presented above as an essential characteristic of the permanent New Guinea display can also be seen in the temporary exhibitions created by Kooijman. In his 'South Seas' exhibition of 1959 he devoted a great deal of attention, especially by means of photographs, to modern developments which had introduced changes into the material culture. As soon as one entered the exhibition, an introductory text confronted the visitors with harsh reality (and this included people who might be visiting the exhibition in a spirit of romantic escapism). The text read:

Almost everything in this exhibition is from a time when there was little, if any, European influence at work. However, for most of the inhabitants of the South Seas, this time is already long past.

Kooijman was clearly attaching a question mark to the popular western idea of the South Seas as an earthly paradise. The exhibition included photographs showing examples of modern life: a Maori theological student in academic gown, reading a study book; Hawai'ian entertainers playing guitar and bass on Waikiki Beach; a multi-racial group of students from Hawai'i; a dance performed by Hula girls as welcome for the crew of a cruiser; a Fijian member of a municipal council; a telephone in a headman's house in New Caledonia; new housing on Rongerik Atoll for the people of Bikini; the medical staff of a mobile clinic, and a doctor in Samoa. Photographs from Rarotonga were also shown: a book binder; a telegraphist; a dance with couples dressed in 'western' style; a sewing lesson; people leaving church, and Polynesian nurses in a hospital. Photo panels showed a comparison between 'then' and 'now', or the 'old life' versus 'modern times'. Although he did show beautiful aspects in a section entitled 'The beautiful life', he also presented the other side of the coin in a section entitled 'The harsh life' which showed the struggle for subsistence in an atoll

Figure 11. Section on Pacific sailing and navigation next to a show-case entitled 'Het harde leven' ('The harsh life') -giving an indication of the struggle for subsistence in an atoll environment - in the temporary exhibition 'The South Seas', National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, 1959. *(Photo by C. Zwanenburg)*

environment, next to a section on sailing and navigation (fig. 11). Apart from confronting the visitor with these contrasts, Kooijman gave a step-by-step introduction to the people of Oceania, their environment and culture. The subjects presented were arranged under such headings as 'The South Seas', 'The South Seas: paradise on earth?', 'The people', 'Daily life', 'Sea and land', 'Royal highness', 'Weaving', 'Religion', 'Fishing', 'Masks and ancestor figures', 'Weapons and war', 'Clothing and decoration', and 'Food preparation'. In its totality, the exhibition not only presented various themes supported by beautiful items from the collection, but also a fascinating diachronic survey of South Seas cultures from the time of the first contact with the west (illustrated by, for example, prints made in response to Captain Cook's voyages) up to the atomic age, illustrated with a photograph of an atomic bomb test on Bikini.

The South Seas 1969

A similar diachronic approach, utilising comparable photographic material, appeared again ten years later, in the 'South Seas' exhibition of 1969, and also in 1970 in the renewed permanent display on Oceania. Both of these were on show in the Breda annex.[14]

[14] For Kooijman's activities in relation to the permanent display and exhibitions at Breda, see Nauta (1980).

Although nowadays we may take for granted the importance that Kooijman attached (not only in temporary exhibitions but also in permanent presentations) to showing that South Sea islanders were no longer living in the paradise Rousseau had imagined, and that Papuans no longer lived in the Stone Age, it is nevertheless remarkable. This is all the more so when we compare his displays with the public presentation of Oceania as it is so often seen in a number of museums. However splendid these displays may be, they often remain 'timeless' and 'aestheticised'.

Fai-la! Sailing in the South Seas 1972-1973

Apart from the idea of cultural diversity, the diachronic principle clearly occupied the foreground in Kooijman's exhibition 'Fai-la! Sailing in the South Seas', to be seen from 19 May 1972 to 10 January 1973. The visual material used ranged from centuries-old prints to photographs showing sailing techniques used for a modern catamaran on a Dutch lake. A modern catamaran itself was also displayed in the exhibition. The exhibition did not only include a presentation of seagoing canoes and associated aspects, but also dug-out canoes used on rivers (or just the prowheads) from areas like the Asmat (Southwest New Guinea) and the Sepik-Ramu estuary (Northeast New Guinea). Besides the accompanying guide (Kooijman 1972b), Kooijman also used the opportunity 'to draw the attention of a wider public to this exhibition by means of several articles in popular magazines such as the 'Waterkampioen' (Pott 1974:23) and the museum's own magazine 'Verre naasten naderbij' (Kooijman 1972c).

Argonauts of the South Seas 1972-1973

After organising the exhibition 'Fai-la! Sailing in the South Seas' in Leiden in the spring of 1972, Kooijman set up the exhibition 'Argonauts of the South Seas' at Breda in the autumn of that year. This was in collaboration with Sjoerd Nauta. This exhibition, on show from 22 November 1972 until 12 March 1973, provided a view of Trobriand Islands culture. In addition to items from the existing older collections in the Leiden museum, and items borrowed for the occasion, the exhibition also showed a collection of some two hundred objects (series RMV 4593) acquired in the same year. This well-documented collection was assembled by a Dutchman, Mr. G. J. M. Gerrits, who had worked for many years as a doctor in the Trobriand Islands.

The exhibition included several monumental elements, a facade and a *kula* boat: 'The life-sized facade of a Trobriand Islands chief's home, among other items, attracted general admiration' (Pott 1974:46) (fig. 12). Woodcarvings incorporating changes, such as a cruxific as part of a splashboard (*lagim*) of a sea-going canoe, as well as commercial carvings were not forgotten. The exhibition also made use of Mr. Gerrit's 'accompanying wide-ranging documentation and photographic and slides material'. Partly because of this, the exhibition revealed a 'good linkage between photographs, slides and objects' (ibid.). The new illustrative material enabled the

Figure 12. The facade of a chief's house from the Trobriand Islands in the temporary exhibition 'Argonauts of the South Seas', Breda annexe of the National Museum of Ethnology, 1972. *(Photo by Isaäc C. Brussee)*

presentation of an up-to-date picture of Trobriand Islands culture. Thus the visitor was given a contemporary welcome through expressive photographs of Trobriand Islanders accompanied by a text in the local language together with a Dutch translation: '*Yakidasi Kiriwina sena mwamwasila nanola gigisa yokwami*': 'We of Kiriwina bid you Welcome!'. In the educational programme two films were also shown, one on the *kula* and the other on the cultivation of yams (Pott 1974:46).

The South Seas unveiled 1974-1975

In 1973 Kooijman, together with his wife To, carried out an eight-months research project (mid-February to the end of August) on the island of Moce in the Lau Group, Fiji (Kooijman 1977a). 'Because the making of barkcloth is typically women's work, it was of particular importance that he was accompanied by his wife during his research. She made a significant contribution to the satisfactory results of the research' (Pott 1975:25-26). The investigation concentrated on the 'manufacture, decoration and function of ornamented barkcloth (tapa) within the community itself' (Pott ibid.:25). The researcher took into account, in a remarkable manner, the potential suitability of his findings for museological purposes, i.e., he always had the creation of an exhibition in mind. In this way, he systematically built up a collection with extensive documentation which, after his return to Leiden, could be used directly for an exhibition. During his sojourn on Moce, he also made a large number of documentary photographs and slides 'in which the foreign fellow-human could be presented as an individual, rather than as a

type' (ibid.:6) and he also made the film TAPA, LIFE AND WORK ON A SOUTH SEA ISLAND (Kooijman 1974a).

From 28 May 1974 until 12 January 1975, the exhibition 'The South Seas unveiled' was held in Leiden. It utilised the collection of some two hundred objects collected during Kooijman's field work on Moce, plus their documentation along with the slides, photographs and the film he had made there. In this exhibition Kooijman did not restrict his interest to picturing, in a realistic way, the society in question and the tapa complex in particular; he also displayed photographs of cities and ports, with the headings 'The capital city, Suva; offices; ocean-going ships; shops; vehicles'. Further, he also brought out the link between 'The city and Moce'.

In tune with the principles expressed by Pott in 1963 (see above), 'Three aspects of presentation [were] taken into consideration: the didactic, the evocative, and the artistic' (Kooijman 1980:67). These three methods were not used with absolute strictness in the exhibition; an evocative display could also contain didactic or aesthetic elements, for example an evocative arrangement showing a bridal couple, accompanied by a didactic component consisting of information about the traditional marriage ceremony in Fiji (ibid.).

In 'A South-Sea Island in Leiden' (1980) Kooijman described the basic principles, framework and implementation of the exhibition:

> The main objective of the exhibition was not only to show the public at large how tapa is made and decorated and to induce admiration, but also to make it clear how the tapa complex is integrated into this community. This meant that a number of aspects of the village community had to be visualized. (ibid.:67)

Further:

> The important place taken by the tapa complex in this presentation, together with its specific aspects, is a direct result of the important role that this complex plays in the culture of this particular South Sea Island. (ibid.:69)

In addition to his clear manner of presenting the function of tapa and other features of the cultural context (an important contribution being the field photographs Kooijman had made of the process of manufacture) and the relationship – already noted – to the capital city, Suva, Kooijman also guaranteed the greatest possible interest and involvement on the part of the public by incorporating several evocative elements. In Leiden at that time, the evocative basis, i.e., the creation of an atmosphere that would draw the visitor 'into' the display, was applied as far as possible to 'exhibitions showing the life and activities of people from our own time but from other parts of the world' (Pott 1976a:317). Here, the public was confronted with the everyday aspects which counteracted the danger of exoticism (something that is always lurking about in any ethnological museum).

Thus, a house was built for the exhibition, with a galvanized iron roof and washing hanging up 'outside' the house (fig. 13). The house interior

showed how western elements went hand-in-hand with more or less traditional elements: there were pieces of western fabrics in addition to the barkcloth clothing; a mosquito net; photographs of (deceased) members of the family; bottles; a table with crockery; whistling kettles; a bucket; a high-pressure lamp; an umbrella, and so on (Kooijman 1980:62-63, figs. 15 and 16). Next to the house one saw the work space, where a woman (represented by a dummy) was beating tapa. The interior of the village trade store was also reproduced (ibid.:64, fig.19). Another evocative element in the exhibition was provided by a display showing a marriage ceremony, the bridal couple in traditional clothing of barkcloth along with the western goods given as wedding presents laid out for display. These included Johnson's baby powder, packets of Omo detergent, matches and soap (ibid.:65, fig. 20). After the exhibition had closed, this display was incorporated into the permanent display where it could be seen right up to the time that it had to be dismantled for the renovation of the museum in 1986.

From what has been written above we can see that Kooijman did not confine his attention to collecting objects from the traditional culture alone. He not only collected traditional items to which new elements had been added (for example, a barkcloth with the name of a person on it). He was also interested in assembling elements of material culture that did not originate in Fiji, or even in Oceania, objects that had acquired a new use in the local culture of Moce. For instance, in the decoration of barkcloth, stencils made from 'X-ray film from the Suva hospital' had been used, rather

Figure 13. Evocative display of a tin-roofed house and its environment in a village on Moce Island, Lau Group, Fiji, in the temporary exhibition 'The South Seas unveiled', National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, 1974. *(Photo by Isaäc C. Brussee)*

than the tree-leaf used formerly (Kooiman's description for object no. RMV 4706-95a; Kooijman 1977a:43-45; 1980:64, figs. 17 and 18). He also collected objects of western origin which had played a part in everyday life, for example a 'hollow ball made of thick glass and covered in netting made of thick rope, such as those used as fishing-net floats in modern European or Japanese deep-sea fishing ... A hole was made in it so that it could be used as a water container' (Kooijman's description accompanying objects nos. RMV 4706-48 and 49; Kooijman 1980:55, fig. 4). An empty biscuit tin was used for 'catching and storing water' (Kooijman description accompanying object RMV 4706-50); an empty petrol can had served the same purpose (RMV 4706-51) and a glass splinter from a beer bottle (RMV 4706-91) was used for scraping roots, among other uses. Kooijman even collected modern forms of children's games, for example a kite made from newspaper with a frame of palm-leaf rib (RMV 4706-198) and arranged a particular section on children's games in the exhibition. Several years later he published an article on the subject: 'As the old ones sang ... children's life and games on a South Sea island' [15] (Kooijman 1983).

Kooijman also collected western objects used in the Moce culture for the original purpose for which they were intended. Examples of these include underwater goggles (RMV 4706-46); aluminium and iron saucepans (RMV 4706-52 and 53 respectively); empty tins once containing mackerel (RMV 4706-201 and 4706-202). At the other end of the scale of possibilities in the pairing of traditional and western elements of material culture, objects were collected which were entirely made of local materials, but designed with a western idea in mind. One splendid example of this is found in the clothes pegs made from pieces of the peeled stem of the *masi* plant (RMV 4706-42A-E): this same plant – *Broussonetia papyrifera* – was used for making ornamented barkcloth. The functional use of the objects shown was not only documented in writing, but was also often backed up by black-and-white film and colour slides.

In the exhibition attention was also given to commercial tapa, as well as to the original kind. As we see from one of the accompanying texts:

> The Moce tapas are also extremely popular with white foreigners. Consequently they are sent out in large quantities to be sold to the tourists in the capital city, Suva, and also in New Zealand and Australia. This brings in some money.

As reported by Pott, in a lecture given at the first International Symposium on the art of Oceania, held in Hamilton, Ontaria, Canada in 1974 (published later: Kooijman 1979) Kooijman raised the question of:

> the extent to which the tourist demand for a relatively small and modestly priced tapa results in the speeding up of production, thus

[15] The main title refers to a proverb in Old Dutch: 'As the old ones sang, so the young ones pipe' (Children are all chips off the old block), which was pictured by the famous seventeenth-century Dutch painter Jan Steen, among others.

> exerting a negative influence on the quality of the material and its finish, reflected in the manufacture of tapas for use within the society itself and intended for a special purpose. (Pott 1976a:305)
>
> The exhibition devoted a good deal of attention to 'the tourist attraction' of small pieces of tapa, which had resulted in an 'export industry on a modest scale'. This constituted 'a good excuse for addressing the questions of acculturation and the changing of the social pattern which must inevitably result from this' (ibid.:317). The visitor was involved in a direct manner, since 'modern products were sold [on a modest scale] at the exhibition, as these [had come] onto the market as the result of new cultural contacts, [and] great use was made of this opportunity.' (Pott 1976b:286)

Where the educational accompaniment is concerned, Kooijman's film TAPA, LIFE AND WORK ON A SOUTH SEA ISLAND (MOCE), filmed in 1973 on Moce and edited in 1974, constituted an essential element in conveying the theme of the exhibition (Kooijman 1974a).[16] The making of this film shows, once again, the extent to which Kooijman succeeded in transferring to a wider public the knowledge he had acquired in scholarly research. Among other things, the film shows 'the complete process of the making and decorating of barkcloth or tapa by Vosa Olinipa, one of the expert tapa workers on the island'; it explores the role played by Moce Island as 'one of the main producing centres of 'commercial tapa' which is offered for sale in Suva, the capital of Fiji, as well as in New Zealand and Australia; and it shows 'a ceremony called *vakataraisulu* which marks the end of a 100 days period of mourning after the death of a chief' (Kooijman 1974b).

The Director of that time summed up the museological gains of Kooijman's research:

> [We can see] from both the choice of material for the collections and the method of recording [material] in photography and film, how important it is that the collector not only has a good knowledge of the culture he is studying, but that he also has in mind a definite aim for what he hopes to achieve by means of that material, and that he is prepared, and able, to convey this aim to the people among whom he his pursuing his fieldwork'. (Pott 1976a:317)

Seventy years of Asmat woodcarving 1976-1977

It is clear from several exhibitions that Kooijman was concerned with continuity and change within a culture, and that he understood the importance of registering present-day developments and presenting these to a wider public. One good example of this was shown in the exhibition 'Seventy Years of Asmat Woodcarving' held in the Breda museum from 9

[16] The film exists in a Dutch version, as well: TAPA, LEVEN EN WERK OP EEN ZUIDZEE EILAND.

December 1976 to 28 August 1977. This exhibition was a joint production together with Jac. Hoogerbrugge, the creator and manager of the Asmat Art Project[17], who had recently gained a good deal of experience with Asmat woodcarvers (see Hoogerbrugge 1993; Gerbrands 1979).[18]

The museum's objects and photographs offered Kooijman an excellent opportunity for presenting Asmat woodcarving in a diachronic way. One could draw upon the collection of the earliest objects acquired, mainly in the period of the first military exploration of 1907-1913 under A. J. Gooszen, and the objects collected in the period following this, including the valuable 'Kooijman shipment, Merauke, 1954' (see Lamme and Smidt 1993), and the Gerbrands collection of 1961 (fig. 14). Then there was a large collection of woodcarvings, created in the 1960s and 1970s, collected by Hoogerbrugge. These items were made for distributing on a world-wide basis to collectors and museums, for the benefit of the Asmat.

> For the older objects we have an indication of the approximate places and times these were acquired. In the case of the more recent woodcarvings, one can add the name of the individual woodcarver and of his village, thanks to Gerbrands' research in 1960-1961 which

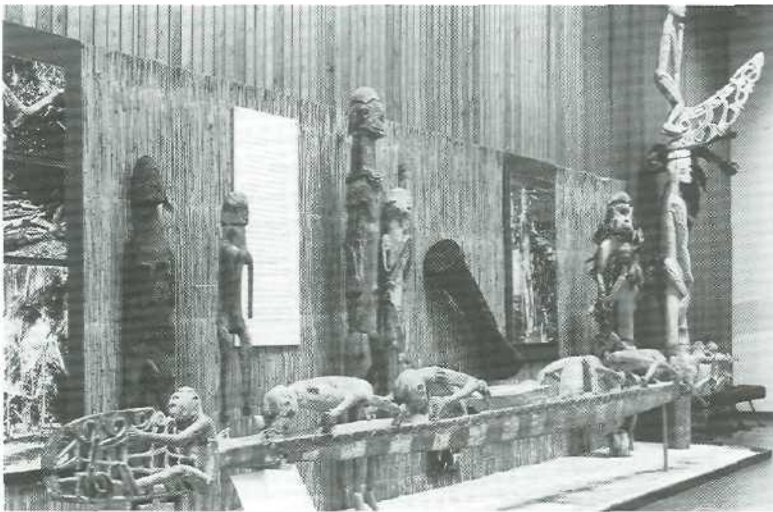

Figure 14. Part of the temporary exhibition 'Seventy years of Asmat woodcarving', Breda annexe of the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, 1977. From left to right, the sculptures standing in front of the wall range from one collected by A.J. Gooszen during the first military exploration of southwest New Guinea (circa 1910) to a sculpture and ancestor pole (*bisj*) collected by Adrian A. Gerbrands in 1961. *(Photo by Isaäc C. Brussee)*

[17] The Asmat Art Project was set up in association with the United Nations Department of Small-Scale Industries and the United Nations Development Program (Hoogerbrugge 1993:149).

[18] 'The exhibition ... was created in collaboration with the Departemen Kerajinan Ra[k]yat in Jayapura (the former Hollandia), the Asmat Art Project – also in Jayapura – the Crosier Mission in Agats, capital of the Asmat region, the Asmat Art Depot in Rotterdam and the Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde (Museum of Geography and Ethnology) in Rotterdam" (Pott 1978:294).

concentrated on the makers of the woodcarvings, and Hoogerbrugge's collection and documentation which followed upon Gerbrands' work.

Furthermore:

Fifteen Asmat woodcarvers in particular were identified by name, and were represented by means of large-format photographs, (showing them) with the objects they had created. In most cases these items were also included in the exhibition. (Pott 1978:292)

The Asmat woodcarver's most essential tool, the chisel (made by beating out the head of a large iron nail), constituted a major element in the exhibition, thereby involving the visitor in a very direct way in the woodcarver's work: 'In order to emphasise the possibilities of this simple tool, the public was given the opportunity to make their own cuts with the chisel' (ibid.).

The exhibition made a rough distinction among three phases: (1) 1904-1913; (2) 1954-1963; and (3) 1969-1974. Presentation of the third phase was accompanied by the photographs and names of the woodcarvers involved. In the description of phase three in the accompanying guide (Hoogerbrugge and Kooijman 1976) one is struck by the positive way in which Kooijman assesses the factors which had played a major role in keeping the art alive. These factors included the *Asmat Museum of Culture and Progress*, created by the Crosier Fathers' Mission, and the fact that the quality of the woodcarving was quite as good as that of the previous phase. Further, recent developments such as the replacement of practical considerations by aesthetic ones, and the incorporation of new elements into the repertoire of motifs, have their positive sides: '... this new art is a living art, translating new impressions and ideas into creativity, and in doing so has contributed to a broadening of traditional Asmat art' (ibid.:10).

This contrasts with the new category of barkcloth from Moce – the commercial category of items made for sale – which Kooijman regarded as of mediocre quality in comparison with the traditional cloths still being produced at the same time for ceremonial use (Kooijman 1979:376).

Gerbrands' film MATJEMOS was frequently shown in the course of the exhibition, a circumstance contributing to the success of the event (Pott 1979:334). The accompanying lavishly illustrated booklet, 'Asmat art' (Hoogerbrugge and Kooijman 1976), aimed at being more than just an exhibition guide. It was also intended as an art-history book for the Asmat themselves, in which they could (for example) learn about the earliest specimens of Asmat art side by side with recent forms: 'Several hundreds of copies will be made available to the administration of that region, for distribution among the inhabitants who are interested in this art' (Pott 1978:294). In order to make both texts and illustrations more accessible to the Asmat, the texts were reproduced in Bahasa Indonesia, as well as in English and Dutch.[19]

[19] As a result of the Indonesian presence in the region, Bahasa Indonesia is spoken by most Asmat people, and is read and written by an educated minority.

Fai-la! Sailing in the South Seas 1977-1979

In 1977 the exhibition '*Fai-la!* Sailing in the South Seas' shown in Leiden in 1972 was redesigned for presentation in the museum of Breda. Compared with the earlier display in Leiden, this later version (running from October 1977 to July 1979) offered 'a supplementary view of several aspects of the subject' (Pott 1979:314).

> This exhibition provided an overview of the types of boat used in the South Seas region, and the way in which they are sailed. It also shows the way in which these forms have influenced the production of new types of ship, introduced after the second world war by a new generation of professional yacht builders, or built by enthusiastic sailors themselves. (ibid.:336)

Members of a Trimaran and Catamaran Club lent various boats or models for this exhibition. One spectacular exhibit was provided by a sailing boat with outrigger, acquired in that year and deriving from the atoll Puluwat, the Caroline Islands, Micronesia. This vessel required 'a floor surface of fifty square metres, but (it) also (needed) a height of six metres [i.e., to allow the ship to be shown fully rigged] (Pott 1979:334).[20] Just as in the earlier presentation, Kooijman also tried on this occasion to reach a wider public by means of an article on navigation in Oceania, this time published in 'Intermediair'[21] (Kooijman 1977b).

External exhibitions

In addition to his involvement with exhibitions in Leiden and Breda, Kooijman also worked on several exhibitions, large and small, in other museums in the Netherlands, as well as one in New York. He also wrote the accompanying guides or catalogues: 'The Art of Lake Sentani' in what was then the Museum of Primitive Art in New York (Kooijman 1959a); 'Form and Colour in the Sculpture of Africa and Oceania' in the Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller (Kooijman and Maesen 1960); 'Masks of New Guinea' at the Municipal Museum, Het Prinsenhof, in Delft[22] (Kooijman 1960); and 'Papuan Art in the Rijksmuseum' in Amsterdam (Kooijman 1966).[23]

[20] As we have already seen, this sailing boat was displayed at a later stage in the museum hall in Leiden. To my knowledge, there are only two examples of this type of sailing boat in any museum collection. The other is in the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka, Japan (own observation, 1980).

[21] This is a magazine for academics and others with higher education.

[22] Exhibition celebrating the anniversary of the Association of the Friends of the Delft Ethnographic Museum, now the Museum Nusantara.

[23] For a recent discussion of this exhibition, see Konijn (1993); for illustrations, see Konijn (1993:22 and 30) and Smidt (1992: fig. 16).

Conclusions

As from 1 March 1980, Dr. S. Kooijman, deputy director of the museum, ended his service on reaching retirement age (after) working for the museum with great dedication and interest for more than 36 years. (Pott 1981b:266)[24]

Simon Kooijman's activities in connection with permanent displays and temporary exhibitions can be summarised by outlining some of the basic principles he followed.

1. Try to counteract romanticising and 'exoticising' tendencies by providing an image of a present-day society which is as realistic and unadorned as possible.
2. Do not display beautiful objects alone, but show especially the function of these objects (including the function of completely western items or those adapted from another culture) in the society to which the display refers.
3. Use a synchronic starting principle (i.e., show how people in a society live now) but combine it with a diachronic approach: show changes taking place over time, with particular concern for continuity and change in the material culture.
4. Make room in the permanent display for important new acquisitions, whether obtained in the course of the curator's own research/collecting trips, or by means of purchasing, or the donations of third parties.
5. Where possible, show the influence of Pacific cultures on our own western culture (example: the catamaran).
6. Take into account new educational ideas and insights in order to capture the attention of a western public.
7. Provide a picture of the people behind the objects as individual human beings and try to create a relationship between these individuals from the culture represented and the exhibition visitor (example: portraits of Moce women tapa makers and Asmat woodcarvers).
8. Try to return something to the society providing the material for an exhibition (example: the profits from sales of commercial tapas; the distribution of the Asmat book among inhabitants of the Asmat region).

Ideas of this kind constitute a sound basis for exhibition policy, now and in the future. Thus Kooijman's work is continued with great respect by his successor. In this endeavour the viewpoints of the people of the Pacific cultures themselves ought always be given a great deal of attention.

[24] 'While waiting for the appointment of his successor, he continued throughout the first year of his retirement to 'lend a hand' in some of his former tasks as curator for the South Seas and Australia department. Beginning 1 September 1980, drs. D. A. M. Smidt was appointed curator of the South Seas and Australia department..'(Pott 1981b:266).

APPENDIX

Simon Kooijman's series of 22 typed room guides 1944-1945

Oceania, general
The Oceania region, its borders, geography and population

Polynesia
The Polynesians as seafarers
The Maori of New Zealand
Bird worship on Easter Island
The *Kawa*
The tapa or beaten barkcloth
Tattooing on Samoa

Micronesia
The stone money of Yap Island, in the Caroline Archipelago

Melanesia
The *sirih*
The signal gongs of Fiji
The secret societies of Melanesia
Melanesian wind instruments
The *amfat* of New Ireland
The drums of New Britain

(West) New Guinea
Sago and its preparation
Bamboo containers for throwing or blowing chalk
The significance of the dowry in the western part of Dutch South New Guinea
Headhunting among the Marind-anim in Dutch South New Guinea
The *Dema* emblems of the Marind-anim (Dutch South New Guinea)

Australia
Australian boomerangs
Australian spear throwers
Australian message sticks

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4

THE KOOIJMAN COLLECTION OF PHOTOGRAPHS AND SLIDES IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ETHNOLOGY LEIDEN

THE MARIND-ANIM AND MOCE

Wim Rosema

The contributions of Simon Kooijman to the photographic collection of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (RMV), (National Museum of Ethnology), are important because of the quality of his photography and his accuracy in writing accompanying data. Before we look at his contributions in more detail, we have to introduce the RMV photographic collection in general.

With the exception of the first decades following the year in which the RMV began to collect photographs (1867), there has been no active policy in the museum of reserving funds for acquiring photographic material. Nevertheless, the collection comprises many an interesting single example or series. It includes photographs, negatives and slides, and consists of subcollections which have their origin in the photographers' or collectors' activities in administration, mission, exploration or research.

These subcollections arrived in the RMV Leiden mostly through a relationship between the photographer/collector and the museum or a curator. Sometimes the collector was a government institution and the museum, being an institute of the same kind, was better equipped to act as an archive for material of this kind. For some people who donated their collection, the choice of the RMV might have been motivated by the fact that for many years the museum had a permanent exhibition, with departments of special interest and attraction such as the New Guinea and Oceania wing.

Unfortunately a weak point in the RMV collection is the lack of factual and descriptive data about the photographic shots. Many photographers or collectors provided only very rudimentary data. However, the more data there is available, the more a photograph can be a source for information or research. Of course a keeper of a collection wants to connect a certain minimum of data with each subcollection, and if necessary with a single shot, but gathering data is a time-consuming business. At the moment, only one person in the RMV is employed for managing the collections of photographs, films and sound recordings, so possibilities for filling in gaps are limited.

Fortunately some subcollections are well described, for instance the Marind-anim and Moce photographs made by Kooijman in 1953 and 1973 respectively. (The Marind-anim are a people in the south of New Guinea, now Irian Jaya, and Moce is one of the Lau Islands of the Fiji Archipelago.) Apart from the demand that the subject of this paper should remain within the boundaries set by the editors, this is a good reason for restricting our attention to the photographic collections on the Marind-anim and Moce. We will consider not only the photographs Kooijman made, but also those made before.

Besides the Kooijman photographs from 1973, the RMV collection from Fiji contains some particular *cartes-de-visite* (photographs the size of a visiting card), originating from the Godeffroy collection at Hamburg. However they are so small in number (5 pieces) that these old registrations will be left out of consideration.

THE MARIND-ANIM COLLECTION

The Tillema collection c. 1900-1920

Where the Marind-anim are concerned, there is (apart from the series of photographs Kooijman made in 1953) a fairly comprehensive collection of shots, made mainly during the first two decennia of this century. These photographs were compiled by Captain A. J. Gooszen (Commander of the Exploration Detachment of South New Guinea in 1907-1908); W. de Jong (District Commissioner at Merauke); and notably, H. F. Tillema (a retired pharmacist and publicist). Gooszen compiled 51, De Jong 25, and Tillema 300 photographs.

Dr. H. F. Tillema (1870-1952) made a fortune as a bottler of table water in Semarang, on Java. He returned to the Netherlands in 1914, and then gave himself the task of spreading all the data he could lay hand on about the housing and living conditions of the different peoples of the Netherlands Indies, among members of parliament, press and other important people. The material he collected was published under the title *'Kromoblanda, over het vraagstuk van 'het wonen' in Kromo's groote land'* ('Kromoblanda, concerning the question of 'Housing' in Kromo's great land'), a work appearing in seven volumes over the period 1915-1923. These volumes contained large numbers of pasted-in photomechanical prints. In order to obtain the photographs he needed, Tillema wrote an appeal in the first volume. From subsequent donations and acquisitions he compiled a photographic collection about the Netherlands Indies comprising approximately 5000 shots. Between 1924 and 1932 Tillema made three trips to the Indies, during which he made about 4000 shots to add to his collection. Tillema collected some 520 photographs of New Guinea; c. 275 of these were of the Marind-anim area. In 1924-1925 he himself made another 180 shots in New Guinea, of which 24 were of the Marind-anim. Thus the Marind-anim are well represented in the Tillema collection.

In 1942 the collection was brought over to the RMV. A report (3 pp.) on this collection, extraordinarily extensive for that time, was made by Dr.

Simon Kooijman, who came to work in the museum in 1943 as a research assistent. The collection was stored in a number of cupboards, and Kooijman noted down with great accuracy which part of the collection was put away in each drawer or shelf. He recommended making a card system of the photographs and concluded his survey, dated 7 August 1946, with a request not to change the arrangement of the collection and not to remove photographs from it. Unfortunately, the cupboards were emptied later on and the collection was put away in different places, where it has been stored for a long period without protection against dust. It is said Dr. P. H. Pott, who from 1947 was attached to the RMV (from 1955 to 1982 as Director) did not have much appreciation for this collection, because some of the photographs were retouched. (These photographs were probably used for the production of photomechanical prints by simple techniques for which only high-contrast photographs were suited, or photographs with retouched contours and so on.) Perhaps Pott overlooked the fact, that there are clean negatives from many photographs, and that retouches on photographs can mostly be removed. At present the collection is stored safely.

Among the photographers of the Marind-anim in the Tillema collection, the first to be mentioned should be Father H. Geurtjens. Other photographers are Fathers H. Nollen, P. Vertenten, N. Verhoeven, P. Drabbe and Brother A. van Hest. These missionaries belonged to the Fathers of the Sacred Heart. From their residence in the Moluccas in 1905 they founded a mission station in Merauke on the south coast of New Guinea. Other stations followed.

Another notable photographer to be represented in the Tillema collection is P. Najoan, who was a drawing master on Ambon, and later in Makassar. From him Tillema bought a large number of photographs of the Marind-anim region, and from other areas as well. Najoan was a gifted photographer, who made beautiful portraits as well as landscapes. Among the photographs collected by the above-mentioned Gooszen, there are also shots by Najoan. Tillema also collected Marind-anim photographs taken by Van Dijk, a former Captain of the K.P.M., and by missionary Croonenburg.

Changing attitudes to the Marind-anim, from amazement via irritation to concern

It is interesting to speculate about the motives these first photographers had, in making the shots the way they did, and what motivations the collectors had in buying them. We will try to reconstruct their attitude to the Marind-anim, and how this must have changed gradually.

If we look at the photographs, it strikes one that they are largely posed, full-length portraits (fig. 15). It looks as if the Europeans were very impressed by the outlook of the Kaja-Kajas, as they were called then. (The Marind-anim received this name because they shouted these words by way of greeting. The meaning is: 'friends' [Vertenten (1935:9)].) More than the (black and white) photographs themselves can do, a written sketch by Father Vertenten provides an impression of what the first photographers saw through their lenses:

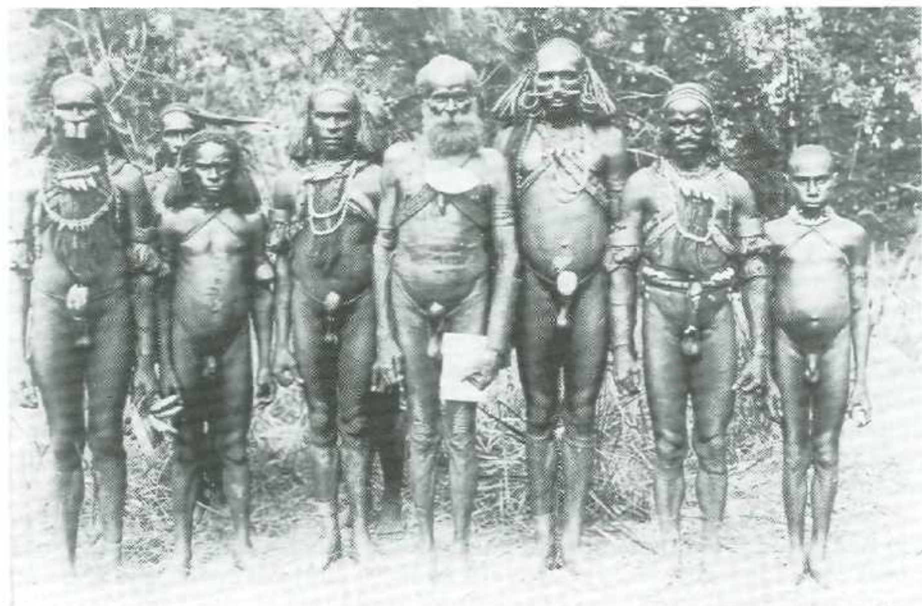

Figure 15. Marind-anim men. Near Kumbe village, Marind-anim area, southern New Guinea. RMV collection Tillema u-60. *(Photo probably by P. Najoan, c. 1905).*

> If a gaudily clad Kajakaja were suddenly to appear in the market place in one of our towns, he would not be recognised as a human being; people would think he was the devil in person. The whole body smeared from top to toe with lamp black. A wide, stiff body-belt, painted brick red, pulled tightly around his waist. Flat bands of the same colour below the knees and around the wrists and ankles; on the upper arm bracelets of ivory-hued pigs' tusks, or a bunch of pizzles, oiled black. On the chest, necklaces of kangaroo or dog's teeth, and beneath them a bundle of pigs' tails, painted red; around the neck, a fist-sized collection of dark beads. Forehead, temples and ears are painted red. The rest of his face is glistening black (burnt kamiri oil). White crocodile teeth or the tusks of a wild boar are stuck into the pierced nostrils and nasal septum, or: short lengths of bamboo of more than a thumb's thickness (I have seen some of 4 cm diameter). ... In the ears hang clusters of 10 to 20 earrings of black cassowary quills. The pierced ear lobes sometimes hang down to the shoulders. Above the forehead a wreath of outspread cassowary feathers, and another of fine, golden-yellow plumes from the flanks of the bird of paradise. The hair is lengthened with plaited palm leaves – at least a hundred additions – each ending in a know a little below the shoulder blades. Everything drips with rancid coconut oil. (translation from Vertenten 1935:10-11)

So this was what they looked like, these notorious and cruel head-hunters, formerly called Tugeri, whose bellicosity had forced the econo-

mical Dutch government to spend money on settling the Merauke administration post. The photographs of men with arrows in their drawn bows were taken with ideas of this kind in mind. In the photographs, the well-proportioned men and women who are obviously dressed up with a great deal of care, look neither defeated nor crushed. Most of them emanate a certain self-consciousness, and some look into the camera with their heads a little lifted.

It is clear that the Europeans were also fascinated by the exuberant coiffures, and the women's extensive scar tattoos. These tattoos must have evoked more or less erotic feelings at times. Tillema, a man who certainly could not be called a frivolous gentleman, compares (in a caption) the scar tattoos of a Papuan woman with the erotic dress of a European woman (Tillema 1921:403). And the fire-eater Gooszen has to admit that he could appreciate a well-developed, well-proportioned young woman wearing them (Lamme 1987:63-64).

These are the aspects that generally received most of the photographers' attention. Only the Fathers, who gained the confidence of the population, were also able to record the different activities of normal daily life.

This attitude of mixed fear and amazement, and possibly also secret admiration for their former prowess, gradually changed. When contacts intensified, irritation arose because of their lack of interest in the Christian religion, unwillingness to put on European clothes, and lack of motivation to work for money. The Fathers could compare the Marind-anim with the people in the Moluccas who were highly interested in religious matters. Conversely, after their arrival in New Guinea in 1905, it was 1922 before the first Marind-anim were baptized as Christians (Een kwarteeuw apostolaat 1927:38; Vertenten 1935:170). Gooszen complains that the natives near Merauke, after having appeased their 'iron hunger', took no great pains to sell food to the military, which they had been expected to do (Lamme 1987:21-22).

The history preceding Kooijman's mission to the Marind-anim began in 1919. After 1919 the attitude towards the Marind-anim changed into feelings of pity and concern. An influenza epidemic took a heavy toll in that year, and the population of many villages was seriously diminished. The situation was all the more serious because a disease, diagnosed as venereal granulome, had since 1907 infected about a quarter of the population. At the same time the number of children being born declined sharply. This number was already very small before the onset of the disease (Van Baal 1966:25-26).

To reach the compassion of the public, shots of well-fed, self-assured people, standing sturdily looking into the lense, were not appropriate. In publications the Fathers therefore used shots of people lying on the ground, presumably in a poor condition.

The threat of extinction and Father Vertenten

Father Vertenten was the first person to reveal, in the press, the threatened extinction of the Marind-anim. In 1919 he published a leading article *'Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea sterft uit'* (South New Guinea is dying out) in the

Java Post, a weekly distributed by the Jesuits. This article was reproduced by many other magazines and newspapers, in the Netherlands as well. It was H. F. Tillema in particular who called attention to this article.

According to a notice in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* of 12 November 1920, questions were put in the Houses of Parliament to the Minister of Colonies by the Social Democrat Van Zadelhoff, about the way in which the Kaja-Kajas were dying out. It was Tillema who had provided J. H. F. van Zadelhoff with the necessary information he had received from Father Vertenten and others. Minister De Graaff answered that the government would order the Roman Catholic mission to try to rescue the Kaja-Kajas, and that a specialist in venereal diseases would be sent out.

In 1921 Father Vertenten went to Java with Resident N. Lulofs, and had a meeting with the *Gouverneur-Generaal* among others. This official gave his support for a plan to build model kampongs, schools and boarding schools as a remedy for the disease (Vertenten 1935:150-156).

In 1922 Dr. Thierfelder was sent to New Guinea; he rapidly got a grip on the disease by installing isolation hospitals in a number of villages, and by vaccinations. A few photographs probably made by order of Dr. Thierfelder provide interesting pictures of these small hospitals and their patients. Tillema also made shots of this kind in 1924. Meanwhile in that year the disease was being well controlled (Rapport van het bevolkingsonderzoek 1958:186).

The model villages, the first of which were built by the mission in 1912, consist of rows of family houses. These one-family houses replaced the women's houses and men's houses where the fertility ceremonies, responsible for the spread of the venereal disease, had taken place. The boys' houses were abolished as well. Henceforth, married couples and their children were forced to live together in one home. This was a very radical interference in the culture of this people, but it encouraged the production of children.

During a round trip in 1924, Tillema also paid a visit to Father Vertenten in Merauke. Father Vertenten was a gifted artist who has made many portraits in colour of beautifully adorned Marind-anim. An album with Tillema's personal documents contains one original crayon drawing by Father Vertenten, with the inscription *'Sabam-békai. Headhunter S. N. Guiné. Merauke 19/8/24'*. The accompanying dedication says: *'Aan den Heer H. F. Tillema uit dankbaarheid. voor de R.K. missie op Z N.Guiné, P. Vertenten, Merauke, 7 September 1924'* (To Mr. H. F.Tillema in gratitude. P. Vertenten, Merauke, for the South New Guinea Mission, 7 September 1924).

Coloured postcards have been printed from several portrait drawings by Father Vertenten. Since the photographs are in black and white, these drawings provide important additional information. There are a few of these postcards in the RMV collection. Apparently some were also printed in black and white, as can be seen from a couple in a Kooijman album. If one takes a glance at the backs of these cards, one notes that they served as menu cards for the 'Souper d'Adieu' of the S.P.C. (South Pacific Commission) project, in the Merauke Mission on 27 April 1954.

The Kooijman collection of 1953

In 1953-1954 Dr. Simon Kooijman, at that moment Curator of the department of New Guinea and the South Seas in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden, was engaged as an ethnologist on this Project of the South Pacific Commission. The purpose of the project was to find the medical and/or social causes of the decrease in population among the Marind-anim (Rapport van het bevolkingsonderzoek 1958:4). Kooijman occupied himself with family research and registration of the population. In the period January – December 1953 he visited almost all the Marind-anim villages. During this research Kooijman took about 1000 shots (30 black-and-white films).

Kooijman was one of the first curators in the RMV to make use of a 35 mm camera in the field. Although the camera, which he borrowed from the Dutch research foundation ZWO, was not a very sophisticated one, and anthropological research was not his direct mission, the results of his efforts in 1953-1954 in the field of photography are quite remarkable. In 1994 he donated his 1953-1954 albums to the museum (the negatives were already part of the RMV collection). The albums give an impression of his method of observation. It is probably not only his professional interest as a museum anthropologist, but also his academic training as a social geographer that is reflected in the extended range of subjects he registered. Apart from shots of the environment and the effects of wind and sea upon it, the subjects covered include sago production, fishing, hunting, gardening, boats, plait-

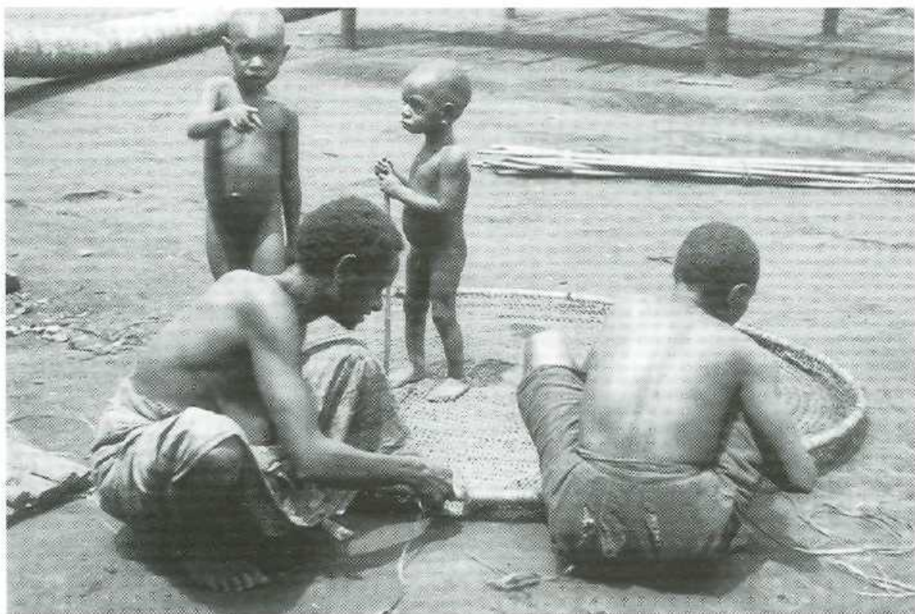

Figure 16. The repairing of a dip-net for fishing *(kipa)*. Village of Kolam, Marind-anim area, southern New Guinea. RMV collection Kooijman 1953-1954 22/10. *(Photo by Simon Kooijman, 20-11-1953)*.

Figure 17. Every afternoon the women return with fire wood and drinking water. Village of Wello, Marind-anim area, southern New Guinea. RMV collection Kooijman 1953-1954 23/11. *(Photo by Simon Kooijman, 23-11-1953).*

ing, carving, shelter, ethnographica (figs. 16 and 17).

He maintained a certain distance when he photographed people, probably forced to do so by his not very sophisticated camera. This makes the setting always clearly observable. As his later photographic work, the 1953-1954 series shows, the photographer shows respect for the people and does not use his camera as an insolently intruding instrument. The captions Kooijman wrote show a form of mild humour and his capacity for seeing things in perspective.

It is a pity that these photos could not receive wider distribution by a printed publication of the report. Finally, the report was mimeographed rather than being distributed in print, because one of the members of the research committee wanted to enclose in the report a sharp criticism of the colonial government. This was not acceptable to the other members (Van Baal 1989: part 2, 215-216). However, some of these photographs have been seen by hundreds of thousands of museum visitors. For about three decennia they illustrated the well-arranged permanent exhibition on New Guinea in the RMV, up to 1986.

Comparing the first photographs with those by Kooijman

Now what do we see if we place the first photographs next to those by Kooijman? If we compare the images, at first glance it is hard to believe they

are photos of the same people. A total transformation of the culture has apparently taken place. It is not merely a question of traditional body adornment being replaced by European dress. The postures and facial expressions seem to have changed too. A closer look at the Kooijman shots however reveals one group portrait with two boys looking at the camera with their heads a little lifted. And this is a posture we are familiar with from the first photos.

The changes must have been enormous though. The Marind-anim did not become extinct (the population decrease stopped in 1948 [Van Baal 1966:26]), but their old culture did die out. If we follow the hypothesis of Van Baal, the disappearance of the old culture was actually inevitable after the headhunting raids had stopped. The supplying of young children was part and parcel of these raids. This could compensate for the low birth rate. This low birth rate would not have been caused by venereal or other infectious diseases, but because Marind-anim men apparently slept less often with women than did men in other cultures. Actually, it would seem to have been a partly homosexual male culture (Van Baal 1966:950).

This might be a partial explanation for the fact that the collection of first photographs makes a quite different impression on the spectator, compared with the collection of 1953.

THE MOCE (FIJI) COLLECTION

Barkcloth data file, 1956-1970

A few years after his research among the Marind-anim, Kooijman began in 1956 systematically to collect data about barkcloth, which would prove to be a preparation for field research on Moce in 1973. Kooijman made trips to museums in Europe, Oceania and America to collect data on, and photographs of barkcloth from Oceania. He completed this inventory in 1970. Apart from his publication 'Tapa in Polynesia'(1972), the result was an extensive data file of tapas and tapa beaters in 33 collections all over the world, on about 2500 10x15 cm cards with 6x9 cm photographs attached. The cards are arranged geographically, and within each island or region there is an order according to museum. The file is stored in four drawers in the photograph depository. A file of this kind will continue to be of great value for every student or scientist who wants to do research on tapa.

Exploratory trip in 1971

In 1971 Kooijman made an exploratory trip to Oceania to select a suitable region for further research. The journey resulted in a collection of slides among other things; these were made with his Canon FT 35 mm camera during visits to Samoa (from 20 Jan. to 27 Jan. 1971), Tonga (from 29 Jan. to 13 Febr. 1971), and Fiji (from 14 Febr. to 20 Febr. 1971).

For his 1971 slide collection, Kooijman compiled a catalogue with descriptions of the shots. The 1971 slides were each given a number

consisting of the film number and the number of the shot. The slides on Samoa in the RMV are numbered 641-21 up to 641-104, and on Tonga, 641-105 up to 641-336. The slides on Fiji received the museum numbers 616-2341 up to 616-2795.

The main subjects of the Samoa slides are the plaiting of a palmleaf basket and the preparation of food (umu). The principal subjects of the Tonga slides are bark beating, the preparation of dye from the bark of the koka tree, and the market of Nuku'alofa. The subjects of the Fiji slides are the manufacture and decoration of tapa on Kabara and on Moce, and the sailing of an outrigger canoe from Kabara to Namuka.

During his 1971 trip Kooijman made about 700 black-and-white photographs (21 35 mm negative films). The photographs are pasted in three albums and for each film (of 36 shots) Kooijman made descriptions for the clusters of shots. The main subject is the manufacture and ornamentation of tapa.

Fieldwork on Moce in 1973, and on Viti Levu in 1978

For his field research in 1973 Kooijman selected the island of Moce. Part of his research activities consisted of filming and photographing. The slides he made were each given a number consisting of the number of the shot followed by the number of the film. (Precisely the opposite of 1971.) For his 1973 Moce slides collection Kooijman made an elaborate catalogue with descriptions of the images of the 101 films he shot between 23 January and 22 September. The descriptions include the date of recording. Names of photographed persons are also noted down. A subject index completes the catalogue. Most of these slides are now part of the museum collection, and have been given a separate museum number which is also noted down in the catalogue. The slides on Fiji from 1973 are numbered 616-71 up to 616-2330.

Of course, *masi* (bark) is the main subject of this collection, but Kooijman also registered many other aspects of Moce society on slides or photographs during his stay on this island between 21 February and 29 August (plate 3 and fig. 21). To give an impression of the wealth of anthropological data in the 1973 slide collection, we should mention the series Kooijman made:

> the construction of a palm-leaf roof; the making of a tapa beater; the preparation of dye from the bark of a root; details of a boat; fishing techniques with spear, net, rubber gun; the repairing of a plaited sail; cricket and handball matches between Moce and Komo (plate 4); wooden troughs; the making of stencils from x-ray film and from leaves; the making of coconut cord; the making of coconut oil; the making of a toy outrigger canoe; the preparation of food in an earth oven; the making of a leaf roof; the preparation of a cake; the construction of a kitchen building; commemoration ceremonies (fig. 18); the repainting of a tapa for a wedding; gift exchange for a wedding; trip to the red-earth pit on Komo island; the bathing of a baby in the sea on its first birthday; wedding celebrations of Jiolame

Plate 3. Galu, the speaker *(matanivanua)* of Ramasi, offers a sperm-whale tooth *(tabua)* to the people of Korotolu village (Moce, Fiji), during a *magiti* feast on the occasion of the death of Takaiwai. Takaiwai, who was the 'sister' of chief Ramasi of Moce island, died on the island of Moala. Korotolu had a special relationship with the deceased. RMV collection 616-925; Kooijman 1973 slide 36-40. *(Photo by Simon Kooijman, 6-4-1973).*

Plate 4. Dancers from the island of Komo (west of Moce) during the *mekemeke* dance performance on the village place *(rara)* of Moce, on the occasion of the sports contest between Komo and Moce (Fiji). RMV collection 616-559; Kooijman 1973 slide 15-26. *(Photo by Simon Kooijman, 15-3-1973).*

Figure 18. Women sit around the decorated grave of Apete Tavo (Pete Levu) after the *kilikili* ceremony, which is part of the *vakataraisulu* ceremony, celebrated about three months after death. (Moce, Fiji). RMV collection 616-1100; Kooijman 1973 slide 23-48. *(Photo by Simon Kooijman, 3-5-1973).*

Figure 19. Mama Laoeama with her son Mosese working at a so-called 'Fijian' tapa *(gatu vākaviti)*, intended for exchange with the people of Moala island, west of Moce (Moce, Fiji). RMV collection Kooijman 1973 18-20. *(Photo by Simon Kooijman, 27-4-1973).*

Figure 20. Sticking on a new strip on the *gatu vakaviti* for the *vakataraisulu* commemoration ceremony of Jilimai in the house of Emi Vakamalei in Korotolu (Moce, Fiji). RMV collection Kooijman 1973 7-16. *(Photo by Simon Kooijman, 1-3-1973).*

Figure 21. Laying out the dead baby of Daine and Vutu at Korotolu (Moce, Fiji). RMV collection Kooijman 1973 21-9. *(Photo by Simon Kooijman, 22-6-1973).*

and Latu; yams competition; the smoking of *masi*; the planting of yams; the making of coconut rope; fire making; the funeral of a child; loading a boat with gifts for the Tui Lau in Suva; *masi* gardens; the making of a wooden anvil; the plaiting of baskets; activities for the civil marriage of Luisa Waji and Motu; tapas for a bazaar in Suva; fishing with poison; a catch of turtles; design tablets for ornamentation by rubbing; preparations for the farewell party; the plaiting of a mat; the making of a plaited sail; a Tongan dance.

Apart from his slides Kooijman also took some 800 black and white photographs in 1973 (23 35 mm negative films), mainly of tapa manufacture and plaiting techniques (figs. 19 and 20). Sometimes a series of photographs continues as a series of slides, and vice versa. Kooijman has indicated where slides and photographs supplement each other. The photographs are pasted in, like the ones taken in 1971, with descriptions produced in the same way.

During a visit to Fiji in 1978 Kooijman added to his collection a series on pottery making. He went to the village of Yavuloa near Sigatoka on the south coast of Viti Levu, to make an extended report on 16 and 17 February on three slide films of the traditional techniques of making a pot used by the potter Mrs. Amele. The descriptions are included in the 1971 catalogue. The slides have the Kooijman numbers 5-3 up to 7-27A, and received the museum numbers 616-2801 to 616-2885.

Epilogue

To make his Fiji catalogues complete, Kooijman has recently indicated which images have been reproduced in a number of publications between 1974 and 1990. Of course, only a small number of photos and slides have been published up to the present. The complete Kooijman collection of photographs and slides can be regarded as a valuable addition to his publications. It will remain a great source for research, now and in the future. The Moce collection for example can illustrate continuity and change in this society.

In the past, the Moce collection proved to be a fruitful source upon which to draw for editing educational slide programmes on a wide range of subjects such as clothing, shelter, food, and so on. In this regard Kooijman himself was always a helpful colleague offering useful suggestions. In the future, the collection itself will continue to provide material for exhibitions and programmes for museum visitors.

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BARKCLOTH STUDIES

5

POETICS AND POLITICS OF TONGAN BARKCLOTH

Adrienne L. Kaeppler

Simon Kooijman in his landmark book *Tapa in Polynesia* (1972) compiled and interpreted an extraordinary amount of historical and contemporary information on the subject of barkcloth. In a systematic manner he presented his findings on the sources of the bark, the manufacturing process, the decoration, and the finished product for fourteen areas; his book remains the basic reference work for all studies of barkcloth throughout Polynesia. In his examination of barkcloth pieces in museums in Europe, the United States of America, and the Pacific, he discovered and drew attention to the similarity of design elements on barkcloth pieces from Polynesia and Indonesia. Indeed, Kooijman's thorough research has made it possible for all subsequent researchers to focus on the more social aspects of barkcloth and its meanings.

Working in Tonga in the 1960s, I was unaware of Kooijman's research, but as a sociocultural anthropologist I was drawn to the study of barkcloth for a different reason: the ubiquitousness of barkcloth at all important events.[1] As a participant observer (who slept each night under a barkcloth blanket) I took part in beating the bark into small pieces of cloth, and participated in the women's work groups that fabricated them into large decorated pieces. I explored the names and meanings of the designs and the uses of large and small barkcloth pieces in state funerals and investitures, as well as for important events in the lives of non-chiefly families. However, I was dissatisfied with the results of my investigations, for although I understood how barkcloth was made and used, its underlying importance eluded me. Then, in the late 1960s and 1970s I worked with Cook-voyage (and other) collections in museums in Europe, and discovered how

[1] Research in Tonga was carried out for nearly three years between 1964 and 1994, funded by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological research, the National Institute of Mental Health, the Bishop Museum, and the Smithsonian Institution, to whom I wish to express my warmest appreciation. I am indebted to the Government of Tonga under their Majesties the late Queen Sālote Tupou *III*, the present King Tāufa'āhau Tupou *IV*, and the many Tongans who helped me to understand the data presented in this paper. I would also like to thank Elizabeth Wood-Ellem for helpful comments on a draft of this paper.

drastically the designs on Tongan barkcloth had changed. Eighteenth-century barkcloth designs were entirely geometric, while in the mid-twentieth century remnants of these geometric designs were primarily decorations of more representational designs, and the layout of the designs on large pieces seemed to be quite different. Continued discussions with my Tongan mentors and friends continued to reveal that understanding barkcloth was not a question of manufacture and use. Rather, understanding barkcloth in Tonga was predicated on understanding the poetics and politics of their verbal and visual modes of expression: in short, their philosophy of aesthetics. In this paper I shall examine some events, pieces of barkcloth, design concepts, and poetry to explore an aesthetic construction of society based on a conjunction of place, genealogy, and event.

Tongan art and aesthetics

Many pages have been filled with debates over the use of the word 'aesthetics' in Western and non-Western art, so before I focus on Tongan material, it is appropriate to explain how I will use the concept of aesthetics in this essay. Deriving from the Greek word *aisthetikos* which deals with 'sense perception,' the term aesthetics is now used in a variety of ways; depending on the context, 'aesthetic' can refer to a response, a principle or set of principles, or a philosophical system. When brought into use in English and other European languages in the 19th century, 'aesthetic' focussed on the response to art concerned primarily with beauty. Although still used in this way in the West, anthropologists which have broadened the scope of aesthetics to include sets of principles that various societies subject to evaluation, and they have suggested alternate conceptual frameworks.

The inappropriateness of applying Western concepts to non-Western cultural forms has been recognized by anthropologists for some time. Sidney Mead noted, for example, that 'applying the definition of Western art and aesthetics to Melanesia will produce predictable results: it will be found that the Melanesians have no art and no aesthetics' (1979:4). My thoughts on this subject go back to my fieldwork in Tonga in the 1960s, and the following paragraph is based on a 1971 article on Tongan dance (Kaeppler 1971:175-176).

Ways of thinking about cultural forms, including the standards by which they are judged, are largely determined by the cultural traditions of which they are part. Each society has standards for the production and performance of cultural forms. These standards, whether they are overt and articulated, or merely covert, can be said to constitute an aesthetic for that society. These standards or canons of taste arise out of cultural values and often intensify the values which serve as guides in everyday life. If we are to understand (rather than just appreciate) an aesthetic, or a society's cultural forms, it is essential to grasp the principles upon which such an aesthetic is based, as perceived by the people of the society which holds them. This underlying organization is equally important for understanding

human action as an analysis of the content of the item itself. Only after the principles of organization have been deduced, and design symbolism understood, can we decide if a specific item either conforms to, or fails to meet the standards recognized by that society.

In short, I approach aesthetics as socially constructed ways of thinking which focus on evaluation, and I believe that understanding an aesthetic system depends on understanding an entire way of life and the systematic relationships among cultural forms and the social actions in which they are embedded. Barkcloth and other cultural artifacts and performances exist in dialectical relationships with the social order, but can only communicate with those who have 'communicative competence.' The relationships among cultural artifacts, performances, and the social order are constantly modeling, modifying, and shaping each other over time.

Although art was not a category of traditional Tongan thought, two Tongan concepts, *faiva* (skill) and *heliaki* (indirectness), contribute to an understanding of Tongan evaluative ways of thinking. *Faiva* refers to any work, task, feat, trade, craft, or performance requiring skill or ability; *heliaki* means to say one thing but mean another and requires skill based on cultural knowledge to carry out. *Heliaki* is manifested in metaphor and layers of meaning, and is developed by skirting a subject and approaching it repeatedly from different points of view. Hidden meanings must be unravelled layer by layer until they can be understood. Thus objects, performances, and other cultural forms have meanings which cannot be apprehended by simply examining them. Visual arts can be understood by analyzing them in relation to poetry and oratory which incorporate social philosophy and form the structure of the aesthetic system. The visual arts objectify social and cultural metaphors incorporated through *heliaki* and *faiva* into the oral arts. Visual artists use their *faiva* to create objects that are works of art and express the *heliaki* of the poets. Visual arts are integrally related to verbal arts, and both are used in the service of elevating and honouring the prestige or power of individuals or chiefly lines.

The important cultural forms of Tonga were: poetry with its attendant music and dance; scent; barkcloth; mats; baskets; ornaments; sculpture; and weapons. Barkcloth and mats were categorized as *koloa* (valuables) and were made by women. Other objects were considered as crafts made by *tufunga*, male craftsmen who built houses and canoes, and decorative objects, *teuteu* (such as scented coconut oil, ornaments, and baskets) made by men or women. *Koloa* is the complementary domain to *ngāue*, products derived from agricultural work and animal husbandry (and is not a complementary or contrasting domain to crafts made by *tufunga*). *Koloa*, made by women, are, like women, prestigious. In contrast, the *ngāue* of men, are considered 'work,' and like men, are powerful. The *ngāue* of men regenerates people physically, while the *koloa* of women regenerates people culturally. Both are necessary, and together they regenerate and reproduce society. The fabrication of *koloa* is not a craft, but a fine art which creates valuables, an important distinction in Tongan cultural domains.

Tongan barkcloth

The most important two-dimensional visual art – historically as well as today – is decorated barkcloth. Tongan barkcloth can be distinguished from other Polynesian barkcloth by its large size and metaphorical designs. It was traditionally used for clothing, bed coverings, interior decoration, and ritual presentation, especially weddings and funerals. Large finished pieces, sometimes as large as five metres by fifty metres, are categorized by colour and design organization as *ngatu*[2], *ngatu 'uli* (black *ngatu*), and *fuatanga*.[3] In *ngatu* designs are organized to run across between crosswise measuring lines (called *langanga*) which intersect with a set of long lines running the entire length of the piece. In *fuatanga* the designs are organized to run across the length of the piece, and a series of intersecting vertical lines are used to measure its size (see Kooijman 1972:316, 317 for drawings). The straightness of the lines is the first criterion for an evaluation of the finished piece. *Fuatanga* are more difficult to make and were intended primarily for use by chiefs. *Ngatu 'uli* are chiefly *ngatu* deriving their high status from the difficulty of making the black dye.

Tongan barkcloth is made in the usual West Polynesian manner, from the inner bark of the paper mulberry plant (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), called *hiapo* in Tongan. Pieces of inner bark[4] are beaten separately and eventually pasted together with a paste made from a plant such as arrowroot. The small pieces are pasted together and decorated by rubbing dye onto the white cloth, which is laid over a series of stencils attached to a large curved printing board (*papa*). This stage (called *koka'anga*) involves a group of women who work together pasting, rubbing dye over the stencils, moving the cloth, and repeating these steps until they have a huge piece.[5] After drying, the final stage is done by hand, and consists of highlighting the main parts of the design that have been printed from the stencil, with dark brown or black dye, using a pandanus-key brush. This final step is done by a woman alone or with the help of a few female friends or relatives. Depending on the skill (or patience) of the person(s) who carry out this last stage (*tohi ngatu*), the finished product may be precise and beautiful or it may be slipshod – the second evaluative criterion for a finished piece.

The overall design encodes a conceptual framework made up of three elements: (1) straight lines which define the space and layout for (2) the named motif which is the essential feature of the whole, and (3) the decoration or elaboration of the named motif. The long lines define the

2 The term *ngatu* is sometimes elaborated as *ngatu tahina*, white *ngatu*, to distinguish it from *ngatu 'uli*. *Ngatu/ngatu tahina* is primarily brown in color. When the design is set in a white background, it is called *tapa 'ingatu*.

3 *Fuatanga* can also be separated into *fuatanga tahina* and *fuatanga 'uli*.

4 *Circa* 60 cm x 40 cm to 50 cm.

5 Called *launima*; long: 50 *langanga* (each 60 cm) = 30 m; wide: 4 m to 5 m.

space for the layout of the stencil set and are context-sensitive depending on who will use the barkcloth and for what occasion. It is the space-defining lines that separate the two kinds of barkcloth (*ngatu* or *fuatanga*) rather than the design motifs themselves.

The essential feature of the design is a series of stencils that form a set which, through *heliaki*, has metaphorical meaning. Often one stencil gives a name to the whole design. Some of the stencils are considered to be a decoration of the named motif, and may encode older designs conveying the same or similar *heliaki*. The third evaluative criterion is how skilfully the finished piece encodes an overall *heliaki*, as well as how the individual stencils contribute to it.

Hala Paini, road of pines – a metaphor for the monarchy

One of the most popular stencil sets during the past few decades is known as 'Hala Paini,' way (or road) of pine trees (fig. 22). The *kupesi*, design stencil, which usually has the name printed as part of the design, refers to the pine trees that line the palace and the adjoining *mala'e* (village green) on the ocean side, and along the street called Hala Tu'i (way or road of the monarch) that extends from the palace to the royal tombs. The trees are embellished with a sun, a moon, and a star – celestial phenomena symbolizing the monarch. *Hala paini* stencil sets (of which there are many examples with slight variations) includes several individual *hala paini* stencils. In the usual layout (required to complete two *langanga* laid out on the *papa*) there are four *hala paini* stencils, two on each side, thus enclosing the whole design just as the pine trees symbolically encapsulate the monarchy concentrated in the palace complex.

Inside the *hala paini* stencils, the monarchy is represented by three stencils (each repeated four times on two *langanga*) – the Tongan coat of arms (called *sila* or seal); a lion, adapted from European representations for a monarch and here symbolizing King Tupou I, the originator of the present Tupou Dynasty (the present monarch is Tupou IV); and an eagle, another Euro/American representation of the State. *Sila*, the Tongan coat of arms, although a European concept, encodes basic information about the State in symbolic form.

An explanation of the coat of arms as a metaphor for the monarchy and its history can be found in a *lakalaka*, a sung speech with choreographed movements. 'Sila' *lakalaka* was composed and performed for the celebration of the centenary of Tupou I in 1945 and performed again at the coronation of Tupou IV in 1967 by the villages of Ha'ateiho and Tungua.

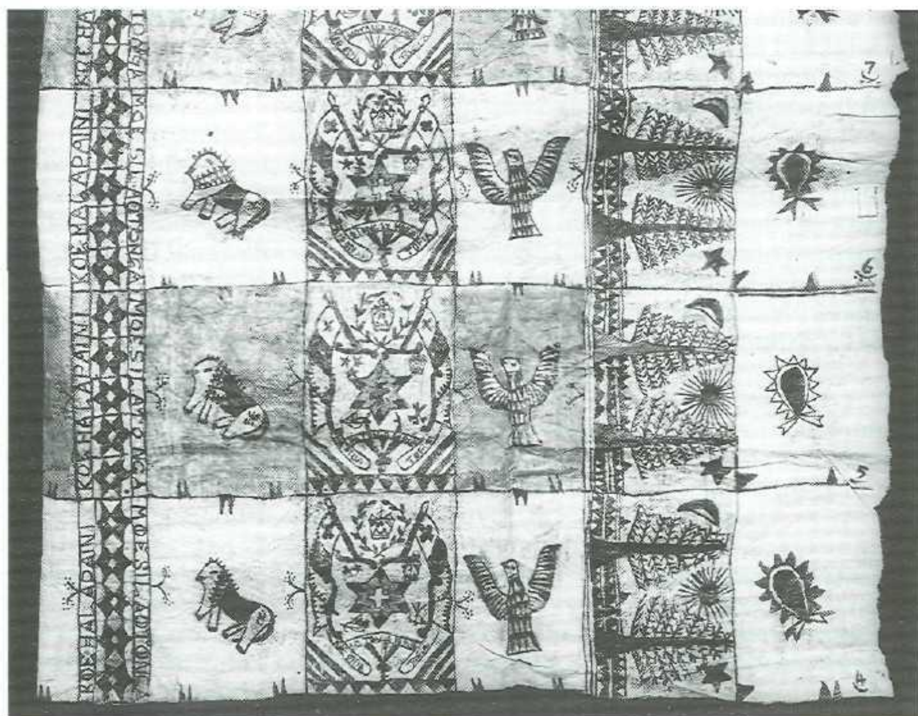

Figure 22. Hala Paini Ngatu, National Museum of New Zealand, Wellington, collected in 1992. *(Photo by National Museum of New Zealand)*

Sila Lakalaka of Ha'ateiho[6]

Stanza III (part)	
Ko e mape 'eni teu ta,	A picture (map) of our seal I draw
'A e Kalauni hota Fonua	The crown of our land
'O fakamo'oni ai e Sila	Is evident in our seal
Mo e anga si'ete fiefia	It is the reason for my happiness
Ko e laukau'anga e Tonga	The pride of Tonga
Ko e fā 'e 'a e kuonga	This is the 4th Tupou of our time.

Stanza IV	
Sila e na'e fa'u	The government was founded
'Uluaki 'a Lo'au	Beginning from Lo'au
Sila 'o e 'Otu Tonga	Seal of the Tongan Islands

[6] The composer, Koloa of the Island of Tungua, gave me the poetry, explained the meanings that it held for him, and with his help, I made the English translation.

'Uluaki he kuonga	Was originated by Tupou I
Heleta felavai	It has three crossed swords
Pea fakama'u ha'i	That are tied together[7]
Pea tolu e Sita	There are three stars[8]
Tauhoa e fuka	And two flags
Kapa ai e Lupe	A flying dove[9]
Mo e lou 'olive	With an olive branch
Ke fakamo'oni	And, it is true
'O 'asi ai e kolosi	The cross appears
Pea kei ola pe	And the King still lives
Hono lou ifi e	His ifi leaves[10]
He kuo fakafotu	Come into view
'A e lea vahe tolu	And written in three parts
'Otua 'I he Sila	God – it says in the seal –
Mo Tonga ko hoku tofi'a.	And Tonga are my inheritance.

In 1967 the performers began in prescribed *lakalaka* form: long lines facing the audience, men on the right, women on the left (from an observer's point of view); the men and women performed different sets of movements alluding to the poetry in two different ways (the usual choreography for a *lakalaka*). At the beginning of the third stanza, four columns were formed and the performers moved to 'draw' the coat of arms on the dance ground (as noted in the text line 'Ko e mape 'eni teu ta"); each dancer's clothing was the color of the part of the coat of arms to which he or she would move. The fourth stanza was performed with dancers seated on the ground so that the coat of arms could be seen while the men and women performed the same arm movements. During the final stanza the performers lay on the ground touching each other to form the coat of arms in living color and waved tiny Tongan flags which had been previously been stuck in their belts. During the whole performance, singers who stood at the back of the performance space held up a large banner depicting the coat of arms and a central dancer holding a banner depicting a cross knelt at the centre (that is, where the cross appears in the coat of arms). The venue of the performance was the King's *mala'e* (village green) with the road of pine trees in the background. In short, the performance was a verbal and visual counterpart of the *hala paini* stenciled *ngatu.*

[7] Representing the lines of the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, and Tu'i Kanokupolu, now united in Tupou IV.

[8] Representing the three islands group, Tongatapu, Ha'a-pai, and Vava'u.

[9] The dove, olive branch, and the cross in this set of lines refers to the Christian church, as do the last two lines of the stanza.

[10] *Ifi* is the Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*), but the word *ifi* has the additional meaning of the supernatural ability of some individuals to blow into a person's eyes and cure them of disease. Thus, encircling the crown as they do in the seal, they metaphorically give supernatural qualities to the Tupou dynasty.

The Sila *lakalaka* was thought to be one of the best and most appropriate presented during the two long afternoons of *lakalaka* performed for the coronation celebrations, just as the *hala paini/sila* stenciled *ngatu* is thought to be one of the most appropriate for overall visual representation of Tonga. Sila *lakalaka* and *hala paini ngatu* encode the social metaphor of celebrating the monarchy. Occasions on which they are performed and presented become part of them and they become chronicles of history objectified in verbal and visual form. These aesthetic constructions influence conceptions about social order that help to create the shared values of the society. *Ngatu* design and use celebrates and objectifies social relationships in much the same way that the poetry of a *lakalaka* performance does verbally. Neither *ngatu* nor *lakalaka* text tell a connected history, but rather serve as frames for painting compositions about the social politics of prestige and power. They present fragments of the past and present and the knowledgeable spectator must make the connections. Together they form the intricate association between verbal and visual modes of expression so admired in Tonga.

Electrifying the palace

An event that altered, and thereby gave additional meaning to the *hala paini* design is recorded by a variation of at least one set of *hala paini* stencils - the introduction of electricity. In this altered set, the *hala paini* that runs along one side of the *ngatu* has the addition of electricity poles, wires, and lamps (fig. 23). This is, in fact, an accurate depiction of Hala Tu'i today, with electricity poles interspersed with the pine trees, and alas, the loss of some of the pine trees, destroyed by hurricanes. Through *heliaki*, electricity adds yet another kind of light to the sun, moon, and stars of the monarchy, for it was they who were responsible for bringing this Western light to be added to their genealogical light.

Chiefly symbols in squares, rectangles, and triangles

Hala paini and the other stencils which make up this set are modern visual symbols of the chiefs, and especially the chiefs of the Tupou dynasty. Other modern representational designs symbolizing chiefs include necklaces, *kahoa*, flowered girdles, *sisi*, and depictions of the sun, moon, stars and other celestial phenomena. Such representations are usually incorporated into design layouts which include chiefly symbols of the past, such as *manulua*, *fakatoukatea*, and *fata*.

Manulua is a design formed from a combination of three or four triangles meeting at their points - formed from a square divided by crosswise and perpendicular lines to form triangles that are alternately colored in (plate 5), resulting in a design widely used in Tonga and throughout Polynesia (and elsewhere). The word *manulua* in Tongan means two birds (*manu* = bird, *lua* = two) and as a design is an allusion to two birds flying together. It is

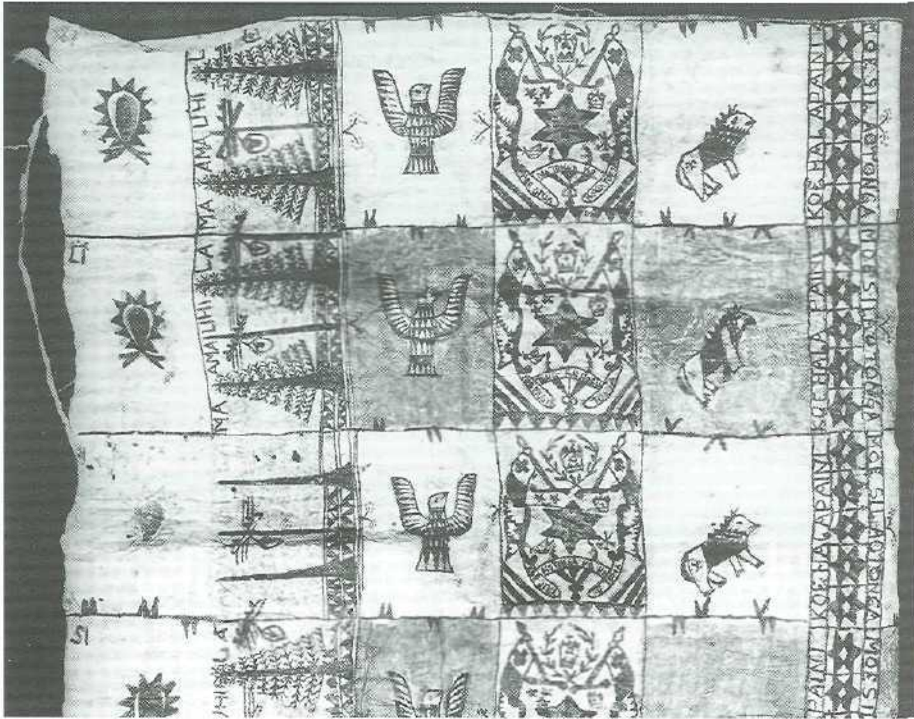

Figure 23. Hala Paini with electric lights. National Museum of New Zealand, collected in 1992. *(Photo by National Museum of New Zealand)*

the *heliaki* or social metaphor that symbolizes chiefly status derived from intermixing chiefly descent from both parental lines. The design can be varied by having one triangle on top and two below, but it is still called *manulua*. In Tongan poetry, references to birds are frequent and usually allude to ranking male chiefs, but in their more generalized form as *manulua* on barkcloth, they may be simply chiefly designs. A design derived from the same grid of triangles joined at their apexes is called *fakatoukatea*, which is an allusion to a double canoe with both sides equal and is a metaphor for equal chiefly rank of both parents. *Fakatoukatea* design today usually has the bases of the triangles elongated, but this same design is also hidden in a series of *manulua*, depending on how the elements are visually isolated.

A related design, deriving from a series of concentric squares with crossing lines, is known as *fata*. This design is an allusion to the complicated roof structure of a chief's house, and is also the visual *heliaki* for chiefly status. Today, a large barkcloth with one or more of these motifs as the essential feature would probably be a *ngatu 'uli*, and would be used to honour specific chiefs or, more likely, the socially stratified government in general, for use in an important national event. When used as the essential feature on a ceremonial barkcloth, they encode the importance of history

Plate 5. Ngatu with manulua design, used during coronation ceremonies of Tupou IV, 1967, with Mele Sitani, a barkcloth specialist of the 1960s. *(Photo by A. Kaeppler)*

and genealogy at the chiefly level of society. For Tongan society in general, however, the aesthetic preference is toward representational designs that have transformed design concepts imported from the West into Tongan ones, just as social concepts imported from the West have been transformed into Tongan concepts. Although the incorporation of representational designs involves borrowing, it is the incorporating design system which shapes the product into its final form. It is therefore necessary to study all aspects of the system, including traditional and contemporary components, if one is to understand fully the artistic processes and their resulting products. The introduction of representational designs into Tongan barkcloth made possible an artistic efflorescence that might not have occurred without them. Exploring the relationships between artistic and societal change helps us to a better comprehension of the nature of both art and society. Contemporary stencil sets, like contemporary social life, reveal the social and aesthetic transformations that have led to the representational embedding of the conjunctions of place, genealogy, and event.

The investiture of 'Ulukālala

One such event was the investiture of King Tupou IV's youngest son to the title of 'Ulukālala on 16 September 1991. It was one of those rare moments in history when, in the late twentieth century, it was possible to experience a Polynesian ritual that transformed traditional and modern elements into each other. As an event, the ritual encoded two important concepts: a genealogically appropriate individual to fill the vacant 'Ulukālala title, and a ritual investiture as part of a sacred age-old kava ceremony with

its accoutrements, old and new.[11] What will concern us here are the products of the women's work and its presentation in the context of a *tau'a'alo* ("work song"). The *koloa* for this event included an *'afio'anga*, a seat for the King during the kava ritual, prepared and presented by 'Ulukālala's wife, Nanasipau'u[12], and an *'afiovala*, a prestation of women's wealth to complement the men's wealth of food that would be presented during the investiture ceremony. The *'afiovala* was presented as a gift to the court on 12 September through the person of Queen Mata'aho. It was so heavy that it had to be brought by truck. The presentation consisted of a decorated *fihu* mat, a black ceremonial basket (*katoalu*) with bottles of scented coconut oil, and the huge rolled *'afiovala* made up of *ngatu lau teau* and a *katuafe* (a large ceremonial mat). *Ngatu lau teau* refers to barkcloth of an enormous number of *langanga*, usually between 500 and 1000. This *ngatu lau teau* consisted of 500 *langanga* - 100 *langanga* of ceremonial black barkcloth, *ngatu 'uli*, and 400 *langanga* of *ngatu*. The *ngatu 'uli* was a *lautefuhi* (100 *langanga*) from 'Ulukālala's mother-in-law, Tuputupu, and the women of the village of Houma. The design was a new *kupesi* set called "Sisi fetu'u o Lātūfuipeka" (Lātūfuipeka's waist-garment of stars) in honour of 'Ulukālala's daughter, who would carry the King's kava for the ritual investiture. This *ngatu 'uli* is primarily black, the crossing *langanga* lines are barely distinguishable, and two designs run the entire length (plate 6). Along both sides of the length are a series of stacked stars with four and eight points

Plate 6. Ngatu 'uli with design Sisi fetu'u o Lātūfuipeka, 1991. *(Photo by A. Kaeppler)*

[11] For an analysis of the event, see Kaeppler, at press a.

[12] This consisted of two large pieces of ceremonial barkcloth (*fuatanga 'uli* and *fuatanga tahina*) and a *fala paongo*, mat of *paongo* pandanus leaves.

with (half) suns at the outer edge – six of these strips compose each waist garment of stars separated from the next group by a strip of leaves. Running down the centre of the whole *ngatu 'uli* is a strip of *manulua* framed on both sides with the name of the *kupesi* printed in Tongan. The *heliaki* of the stencil set alludes to Lātūfuipeka's descent from Queen Sālote (who was often symbolized by celestial phenomena and referred to as La'ā, sun) and her elevated rank on both sides, like two birds flying together. The design is appropriate for Lātūfuipeka who descends on both sides from Tupou II – a high ranking child indeed (see diagram for genealogy).

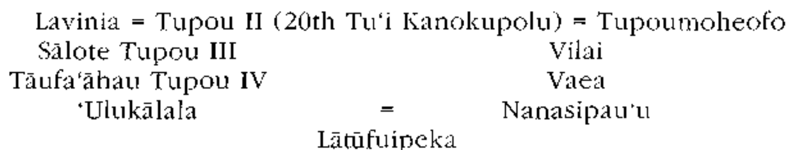
Lavinia = Tupou II (20th Tu'i Kanokupolu) = Tupoumoheofo
Sālote Tupou III   Vilai
Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV   Vaea
'Ulukālala   =   Nanasipau'u
Lātūfuipeka

Diagram 1. Double descent of Lātūfuipeka from Tupou II.

Also included in the *ngatu lau teau* were four hundred *langanga* of *ngatu* made by a special process called *hemahema* specific to the women of Tu'anuku. The design consists of three *hea* dots from which radiate four sets of two short parallel lines. This overall design is augmented at irregular intervals by *hemahema*, a long triangular *ila* ("blemish") which is accomplished by lifting the *ngatu* from the *papa* during the *koka'anga* process to leave an uncolored triangular area. This is extremely difficult to do and is an identity marker for the *ngatu* of Tu'anuku. The *koloa* represented an enormous amount of women's work, and they were justifiably proud of their beautiful presentation, which was made, with emotion, by Tuputupu herself and was accepted by the *matāpule* (protocol specialists) on behalf of Queen Mata'aho. The men of the village of Tu'anuku were justly proud of the women's work that would complement their own presentation of foodstuffs for the investiture, in conjunction with a *tau'a'alo*. Although originally used for synchronizing rowing movements, *tau'a'alo* are used today primarily for dragging a large pig or kava plant to an important kava ceremony. The poetry was composed for this event and focussed on the women's *koloa*.

Tau'a'alo 'o 'Ulukālala[13]

I

Ha'a Ngata e tu'u keta ō	Ha'a Ngata stand up and we go
O fuataki atu e katumanō	Carry onwards the *katumano* (countless handspans of mat)
Kuo toe ha kuo toe hā	It appears again, it appears again (new 'Ulukālala)
Fetu'u ne puli he sotiakā.	Star that disappeared from the Zodiac (last 'Ulukālala).

[13] The composer Sunia Tuineau Pupunu dictated the poetry to me, explained the meanings it held for him, and with his help, I made the English translation.

II

Koe kie ena 'o 'Utukaungá	That is the *kie* of 'Utukaunga[14]
Moe katuafe 'o Makapapá	And the *katuafe* (200 handspans of mat) of Makapapa
Mo e lauteau 'o Toloá	And the *lauteau* (enormous barkcloth) of Toloa
Ko e 'uma'ā ke taká.	The reason or purpose is needless to say.

The poetry, repeated over and over, speaks of the *koloa* presented by the four descent lines of 'Ulukālala's village Tu'anuku, and makes metaphorical references to the previous 'Ulukālala as the star that disappeared from the Zodiac and the new 'Ulukālala as the star that appears again.

While singing about the *koloa*, the men and women of Tu'anuku dragged a huge pig and a huge kava root on sledges through the kava formation as a token of the men's *ngāue* that had already been laid out on the *mala'e*. This consisted of 2100 baskets of cooked staple foods, 550 cooked pigs, and 23 *kava* roots. Thus, the presentation combined the four descent lines of Tu'anuku, men and women, metaphor and straightforward speech into an aesthetic form uniquely Tongan.

The products and their presentation will be remembered, and the memory passed on in the oral tradition, thereby assisting in the acceptance of the new 'Ulukālala as the appropriate person for this important title (as it was not uncontested). It usually takes a year or more for the new title holder and the villages associated with the title to accumulate the *ngāue* and *koloa* necessary for the ritual presentations, as well as to compose and teach a *tau'a'alo* (and other verbal expressions) for the event.

Ritual investiture is a total theatrical event, combining verbal and visual expressions of authority and consent sanctioned by traditions that have their origin in mythical times binding together the King, chiefs, and people of Tonga. The ritual acknowledges the rights and duties of various chiefly lines and the people to whom they owe their support. 'Ulukālala's investiture was part of the annual agricultural show, which has links with the pre-Christian first-fruits rituals, *'inasi*, that centred on the fertility of land, sea, and people. The entire investiture event was a grand affair which reaffirmed the values of the society, the stratified societal structure on which it is based, and the political importance of land and titles. The event served as a frame for the composition and performance of the verbal and visual aesthetic constructions through metaphor and allusion that affirm the shared values of the society. More significant than the fact of the investiture itself, however, is the interpretation of the event in which it is framed. Framing investiture within the sacred kava ceremony, so intricately associated with Tongan tradition, gives the aesthetically constructed ritual event symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1967) that can be put to work by recontextualization. The performance of authority and consent noted on various levels during the

[14] 'Utukaunga is the name of the *kie* mat that 'Ulukālala wore for the ritual investiture.

ritual, expand outward into everyday life as the symbolic capital is used and transformed into action. These aesthetic constructions, presented visually and verbally through barkcloth and poetry, can be used by the new 'Ulukālala as he conceives and constructs his role in Tongan society in the late twentieth century.

Kolovai, chief Ata, and the mat of Satan

The village of Kolovai and its chief Ata have long been important in Tonga, even from before the present dynasty. Designated individuals from this village prepare the kava for ritual events for the Ha'a Ngata chiefs (the larger group of chiefs to which the Tupou dynasty belongs). Chief Ata held out for a long time against accepting Christianity, and numerous *mātanga* (sites or monuments of historic or scenic significance) in the area are associated with him. A *ngatu* stencil set visually represents some of these *mātanga* and ideas about the historic chiefs of this title. One of the natural *mātanga* is 'Fala 'o Setane,' mat of Satan. This refers to a place near the beach on Ata's estate, and today there are a variety of interpretations of the name. One interpretation is that the trees in this area drop their needles into the sand in such profusion that walking on it is like walking in hell. Another interpretation is that Satan's work was carried out here by Ata himself. Whatever the interpretation, the *heliaki* is that Ata was one of the last chiefs to convert to Christianity. The stencil set was made by Fetongi Lātūkefu, originally from the village of Kanokupolu. The women of Kanokupolu are considered to be the best *ngatu* makers in Tonga, and Fetongi is said to be 'the best stencil maker.' Her finished *ngatu* are also considered to be among the best, because of her careful overseeing of the *koka'anga* to make sure that the long lines are straight (very difficult to accomplish) and her precise *tohi ngatu* (plate 7).

Fetongi's explanation of the stencil and overall design is as follows. The stencil set is called Fala o Setane or Sisi peka o Pilinisi Ata, (*sisi* of flying foxes for Prince Ata). There are two full strips of the latter stencil along both sides of the *ngatu*. The *peka* (flying foxes or fruit bats) are a distinctive *mātanga* of the village of Kolovai, where tree after tree is hung full of these bats, which are considered sacred to the Tu'i Kanokupolu line and especially the village of Kolovai. The fact that Ata's decorative girdle is composed of these bat designs implies that both bats and Ata are the essence of Kolovai. The triangular design above the bats adds further information. This design, called *tokelau feletoa*, is a design associated with the northern island Vava'u (*tokelau* = north, *feletoa* = a historic *mātanga*). The combination of *peka* with *tokelau feletoa* alludes to the fact that the last Ata (and the present Ata) also have the Vava'u title 'Ulukālala. The *kupesi* combines the two titles into one person.

The series of triangles interspersed with the other stencils are *papai fā*, necklace of pandanus keys, usually having a male symbolism. The *fala o setane* stencil includes not only *papai fā* necklaces, but also a *fā* tree with

Plate 7. Fala o Setane ngatu with Fetongi Lātūkefu, 1987. *(Photo by A. Kaeppler)*

the personal name 'Fakapouuli kate eiki' which belonged to, and therefore symbolizes, Ata. This tree, like *fala o setane*, alludes to the sexual exploits of a former Ata. Below the printed name are the *kefukefu* and *tono* creepers found bearing on the beach – *tono*, having the additional meaning of adultery.

The final stencil of the set is *hala mohuanga* which refers to the street where a former Ata lived. Near the door of his house was a tree named 'Heilala ko Talikelahi' depicted in the stencil. The zigzag lines above the name symbolize people crossing the street, and Ata was alleged to say something about each person as he or she passed by, and that the *heilala* tree spoke for Ata. The two dots with radiating lines represent an old *ngatu* design called *aotapu*, and here is said to represent the sun shining down on the *heilala* tree, and thus on Ata.

Fala o Setane is also a *heliaki* of the final verse of the *lakalaka* of Kolovai, which dramatizes the kava preparation for the Ha'a Ngata chiefs, the duty and responsibility of Kolovai.

Milolua Lakalaka of Kolovai[15]

Stanza VII

Ko e ngata e holo taumafa	This is the end of our royal kava mixing
Hiki e tau'a kau foki ange	Kava mixers and helpers move and return [to Kolovai]

[15] The poetry was composed by E. Vanisi in 1931 for the village of Kolovai and was first performed for the 13th birthday celebration of the present King. Huluholo Mungaloa of Kolovai gave me the text, and with his help I made the translation. See Kaeppler 1985 for an analysis.

'O 'eva he Fala 'o Setane	To walk upon the Mat of Satan
'O kahoa hono laumaile	And wear the *maile* leaves
Mo ta sei hono lou siale	And our ear ornament of *siale* flowers

The Milolua *lakalaka* is the identity marker of Kolovai, and when performed during national celebrations and other events it indicates the importance of Kolovai to the integration of the kingdom. Together, the Milolua *lakalaka* and *fala o setane ngatu* express the essence of Kolovai and Ata. Important rituals cannot take place without Kolovai's kava mixers, and Ata is an integral part of the Ha'a Ngata chiefs. What is notable in both of these cultural forms is the lack of invasive Christian ideas. Indeed, a formal kava ritual is one of the few remaining domains into which Christianity has not been intermixed, and Kolovai has perpetuated these hallmarks of tradition. However, since the installation of the present Ata in 1990, Fala 'o Setane has been renamed Fala 'o Ata, and the street that leads to it has been renamed Hala 'o Liukava (road of conversion). Transformations continue in Kolovai.

Sālote, Queen of paradise

Without doubt Queen Sālote was the most renowned twentieth century Tongan. During her long reign as Tupou III from 1918 to 1965 she was responsible for introducing many ideas from the West, and transforming them by making them part of the total social and cultural system. Throughout post-contact history, it was the British style that was transformed by mating with Tongan concepts of social stratification, and today Tonga is an amalgam of both. Queen Sālote's hope was to bring only superficial change to Tonga and thereby make fundamental change unnecessary, and it was she who set the cultural agenda for the nation and made Tongans proud of their identity.

In 1953 Queen Sālote attended the coronation of Queen Elizabeth, and a *fuatanga* stencil set was made to commemorate this event. I have only seen one example of a *fuatanga* made from it. The design commemorates what would be appropriate for Queen Sālote to wear for the coronation. The basic motif which runs in two vertical strips is *sisikakalaopilolevu* (flower girdle of Pilolevu, Queen Sālote's third name), but this *sisi* is made of the sun, moon, and stars (fig. 24). Running parallel with this design are two alternating stencils depicting a *seilaveitavake*, a hair ornament of tail feathers from the Tropicbird, and *kahoapuleoto*, a necklace of a puleoto shell strung on human hair. A variation of the *sisi kupesi* runs along the edge, and is rendered in the more usual way by depicting the hibiscus fibre loops that form the bottom layer of a *sisi* in conjunction with a *papai fā* necklace, another traditional design based on the square grid called *feliuaki*[16] and the ubiquitous *manulua*. In essence, the stencil set brings in all the highest-ranking ornaments which, metaphorically, refer to this high-ranking queen.

[16] *Feliuaki* means to go in all directions, as the lines on these squares do, but I have been unable to solicit any *heliaki* for this *kupesi*.

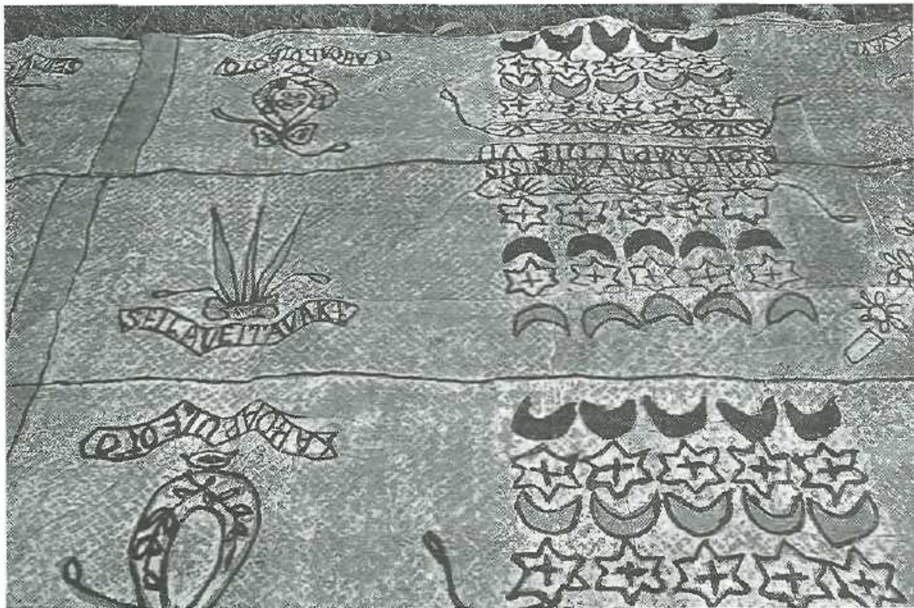

Figure 24. Detail of fuatanga, showing sisi of sun, moon, and stars, and designs of hair ornament of Tropicbird feathers, and necklace of puleoto shell. *(Photo by A. Kaeppler)*

The *heliaki* of the design is that Queen Sālote is entitled to wear all these status-revealing ornaments which derive supernatural qualities from their rarity in nature (such as the Tropicbird and *puleoto* shell) and celestial phenomena, just as Sālote has a rarified genealogy and can trace her lineage back to the sky god Tangaloa. The huge *fuatanga* was presented to Queen Sālote to commemorate her attendance at the coronation, and was eventually cut into pieces and given by Queen Sālote for events that were of importance to her. One such event was the wedding of Eunisi, the oldest daughter of Queen Sālote's trusted companion Nanisi Helu.[17] When Eunisi married Na'a Fiefia in 1955, this piece of *fuatanga* was part of Eunisi's *vala to'onga*, ceremonial wedding clothes, and she still keeps it as her most treasured *koloa*.

Another stencil set commemorating events in the life of Queen Sālote recalls her efforts, and Tonga's, on behalf of the Allied Forces during World War II. Tonga raised funds to purchase four Spitfires; the two that were built and used in the war were named 'Queen Sālote' and 'Prince Tungī – Tonga No. II' (chief Tungī was her consort).[18] The stencil set features the Spitfire

[17] Nanisi and Eunisi explained its *heliaki* and significance to me in December 1986.

[18] King Tupou IV, personal communication 1994. R. A. Funnell of The Royal Air Force Museum has furnished the following details: 'Queen Sālote', BM124 Spitfire MkVB, was delivered on 1 March 1942; after several battles, damage and repairs it was scrapped on 15 April 1946. 'Prince Tungi -Tonga No. II', MJ502 Spitfire MK IX, was delivered on 17 November 1943; after several battles, damage and repairs it was scrapped on 14 June 1945.

named 'Kuini Salote', but the named design is *koesisimaileotugi* (Tungī's *sisi* of *maile* leaves), which refers to the elongated diamonds suspended from the named waist band (fig. 25). The Spitfires are framed by two concentric squares (reminiscent of *fata*) filled with small squares having the crossed-line grid for colouring-in a *manulua* design. Unfortunately, we do not know the stencil maker or Tongan recipient of this piece, to interpret the *heliaki*. A piece of this *ngatu* was in a private collection in England[19] and its owner believed that it was brought to England in 1953 when Queen Sālote came for Queen Elizabeth's coronation. If this is the case, the airplane may have the double *heliaki* of the Spitfire and her trip to England (altough she went by boat rather than by plane). The *sisi* may have the double *heliaki* of referring to her husband Tungī and her son who was appointed to the Tungī title in 1945. The *manulua* may refer to Queen Sālote, her husband, and/ or her son – all of whom have high rank on both sides. The decorative designs are flowers, necklaces, and hair ornaments.

For some years through her musical compositions, Queen Sālote constructed a theme that Tonga was the best place for Tongans and that the

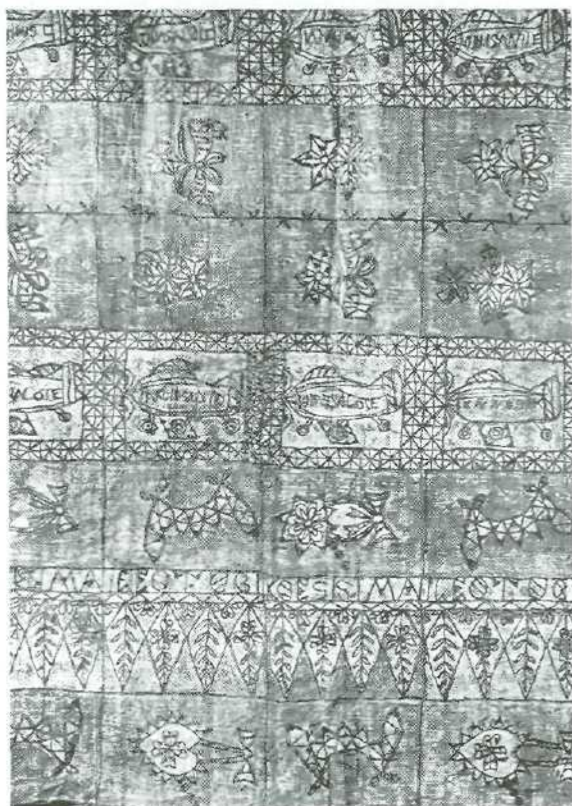

Figure 25. Ngatu with Sisi maile o Tungī design showing Spitfire, 1953? Private collection. *(Photo by British Museum)*

[19] The former owner, Gwyneth Lloyd, furnished the information that she bought it at an auction in Salisbury, Wiltshire. It is now in the collection of the Museum of Mankind in London.

Christian god as well as celestial and natural phenomena (through which the pre-Christian gods manifested themselves) took part in their daily affairs and national events. Her compositions of *lakalaka*, *tangilaulau*, and *hiva kakala* were building blocks that helped to shape the cultural identity of Tonga for much of the twentieth century[20]. On her trip to England in 1953 she is said to have seen a Bird of Paradise and on her return to Tonga she elaborated her theme to suggest that Tonga is paradise and her composition 'Manu 'o Palataisi' (Bird of Paradise) became a popular hit.[21] These compositions, as well as her sociopolitical decisions, focus on the importance of the retention of the social system, derived from Polynesian chiefs and ideas from European monarchy, for the continued independence of Tonga from the European colonial powers; the importance of genealogy and the continued mixing of the chiefly blood lines; the importance of village identity with their chiefly lines, and the importance of commemorating specific events – historic and contemporary. Through her support of these ideas and events, Queen Sālote encoded a widespread emotional attachment to traditional values of kinship and rank so important in the Tongan sociopolitical system.

Barkcloth use and design are the visual counterparts of these verbal aesthetic constructions. Barkcloth is still used for clothing for special events such as dancing (fig. 26) and costume parades; for blankets and napkins; for interior decoration; to protect chiefs from walking on the bare ground, and the bare ground from the *mana* of the chiefs (fig. 27); and especially for ceremonial presentations and acknowledgement of one's rank during important events (fig. 28). The social life of a piece of barkcloth begins as

Figure 26. Lakalaka of Kanokupolu with dancers wearing barkcloth skirts, 1975. *(Photo by A. Kaeppler)*

[20] See Kaeppler 1967, 1993, and in press b for musical examples of this theme.

[21] See Kaeppler (in press b), for an analysis of this song.

Figure 27. King Tupou IV walks on a ngatu pathway from Royal Palace to mala'e, 1975. *(Photo by A. Kaeppler).*

Figure 28. *Ngatu* encircling the grave of Queen Salote with *manulua* design, 1965. *(Photo by A. Kaeppler)*

an individual piece that becomes integrated into a large piece with specific designs; this large piece takes part in one or more important ceremonial or ritual events, usually associated with the monarch or village chief; it is cut into smaller pieces for lesser-status events such as non-chiefly weddings, funerals, or church functions; it may then be used for special clothing or interior decoration; finally it is used for blankets and throw-away purposes. It is like the social life of an individual: coming alone into the world, a child is integrated into a larger group whose life is a series of special events and everyday life and finally, after being irrevocably changed by these events, he/she is separated with altered characteristics by death.

The designs record a visual history of important events, places, and people of Tonga; they record new introductions such as gramophones and bicycles; they visually preserve *mātanga* that no longer exist; they objectify and celebrate the monarchy, chiefly rank, and prestige. In short, they are about national identity as an independent monarchy: about genealogical associations with one's village and chief; and about the social construction of the self – where one fits as part of all these identities.

As an anthropologist attempting to understand these multiple identities and how society is constructed, I have found that studying the poetics and politics of barkcloth has assisted in understanding the larger cultural system, while at the same time, studying social life and events has assisted in understanding the use and design of Tongan barkcloth.

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6

TO BEAT OR NOT TO BEAT THAT IS THE QUESTION

A STUDY ON ACCULTURATION AND CHANGE IN AN ART-MAKING PROCESS AND ITS RELATION TO GENDER STRUCTURES

Jehanne H. Teilhet-Fisk

Prologue

My initial introduction to Simon Kooijman's works was through his outstanding analysis of the 'Ancient Tahitian god-figures' (1964). This is one of the really intriguing interpretations of the *to'o* images. I then read his comprehensive treatise on Polynesian barkcloth, *Tapa in Polynesia* (1972). This book has been the ethnographic mainstay of most works on barkcloth and many, including myself continue to draw on it as the definitive source.

In the mid-70ties I had the pleasure of meeting Dr. Kooijman at a showing of his film TAPA, LIFE AND WORK ON A SOUTH SEA ISLAND (MOCE) (1974), a landmark in the field of low budget ethno-documentary cinematography. The film seeks to understand the continuity and change in Moce tapa techniques from a Fijian perspective. Kooijman has published a number of articles (1973, 1977, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1988) on the production of barkcloth in the Lau Group of Fiji. The are all rich in description and yield a high level of insight into the production and contextual meanings of Fijian tapa, *masi*. He is also responsible for opening a new, comparative discourse on the form Tonga tapa (*ngatu vakatoga*) takes in the eastern Lau Group (Kooijman 1979:361).

Kooijman's broad comparative based ethnographic interests in the 'interrelation between the techniques of manufacture and decoration, the size of the *tapas*, their design patterns ... and their function in society' differs somewhat from Adrienne Kaeppler's approach (see: 'Poetics and politics of Tongan barkcloth' in this volume) which is intertextual and seeks a deeper post-structuralist interpretation of the underlying importance of Tongan barkcloth (Kooijman 1973:109). Both approaches are key in helping us expand our knowledge of the tapa complex and both seat their interpretations, primarily, on the meanings of barkcloth as a 'fine art' that exists in a ceremonial context.

I have, however, chosen to pursue some of the issues Kooijman raises in 'Traditional handicraft in a changing society, manufacture and function of stenciled tapa on Moce Island' (1979). He distinguishes the fact that the 'manufacture of *masi kesa* on Moce takes place on two levels for two

different purposes. On the highest level, the tapas are made which play a part in a traditional ceremonial context ... [and] has a quality clearly distinguishing it from those made on the lower level and meant to be offered to foreigners outside the island' (1979:375-376).

Taking a closer look at the 'lower level' of the tapa complex allows us to follow Kooijman's lead and distinguish the changes that have taken place in the production of Tongan tapa. Changes in the tapa complex are important, be it in process, gender division of labor, style, form, skill, aesthetics, medium or intent – all are kinetically interrelated to changes in the economic, political and/or social system. When I first wrote this paper it was considered off-beat and sent to Dr. Kooijman to be juried. He encouraged my line of thought and sent me his comments. I could not acknowledge his useful observations at the time and so it is with great pleasure that I can now dedicate this work to him.[1]

Introduction

In the summer of 1985 I was sitting in a small, barnlike structure with a group of Tongan women who were making a large piece of tapa cloth. I often sat with this group of women, and as I had just returned to Nuku'alofa it was a nice way to say hello and let them know I was back for a while. It was a pleasant day, the women chatted and laughed, and in the background I could hear the distant, melodious sound of a woman beating tapa and another responding in a sort of counterrythm. I turned to Louisa and commented on the pleasing sound. Her reply stunned me. She told me that one of my countrymen had invented a tapa-beating machine (fig. 29). I was appalled by my immediate negative response to such a device. This sparked my interest in surveying the general reactions of women (and some men) in Nuku'alofa, the capital of Tonga, and led to this study on acculturation and change in an art-making process and its relation to gender structures.

The making of art objects, as a process, is a fascinating vehicle for exploring certain veiled aspects of acculturation and how it can affect symbolic meanings, gender structures, and production decisions as well as economic, social, and cultural factors.

Had I not been in Tonga, I might have viewed the introduction of a tapa machine as a modern 'evolutionary' transition and dismissed it from my thoughts. After all, the machine streamlines production, in this case without significantly changing the actual medium or altering the final art object's contextual uses. In this reading the art form fits into Graburn's heuristic classification of 'functional traditional': It is a modern day continuation of a traditional art form that has been modified by the presence of new tools and technology and adapted to the cultural needs of that generation (1984:396-397).

In pursuing the implications of this invention, I have come to realize that most publications on the acculturated arts of small-scale societies tend to be

[1] This article has been previously published, in a slightly different form, in the journal *Pacific Studies* 14(3):41-68. It is reprinted with permission of the editor.

Figure 29. Three tapa machines at the residence of Tupou Tonga, July 1985. *(Photo by Jehanne Teilhet-Fisk)*

object oriented, centering on changes in form, style, aesthetics, and use. Contextualized sociocultural information detailing concomitant alterations in the artistic process is lacking (Graburn 1984). This article will examine the different social and symbolic actions connected with the tapa-beating process, *tutu*, to bring into focus the manifold issues that arise with the adoption of a machine that replaces a traditional process.

As interesting and complex is the tacit division of the artistic process by gender and rank. Acculturation is not passive, nor should it be viewed as a detrimental form of assimilation. The participants, here artists, have an active choice whether to accept or reject an alien technology, medium, or style. However, few studies on acculturation fully address the changes that may occur when the introduced technique or medium is gender (or class) specific. Furthermore, this study will illustrate how alien tools or technology are more disposed to acculturation if they follow the indigenous culture's gender-specific divisions of labor. For instance, in Tonga as well as in most Pacific societies, when alien metal tools were introduced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they fell in alignment with indigenous art-making ideologies and were adopted exclusively for use by men.[2] The introduction

[2] Most scholars recognize that the introduction of iron tools such as axes, saws, and nails to Tonga led to an increase in local artistry in the nineteenth century, especially evident in the 'neatness' and intricacy of the bas-relief and the more pronounced use of 'decorative' imagery found on clubs and flywhisk handles (Martin 1981, 2:359). Replacing shark's teeth and stone with metal obviously expedites the carving process and allows the artisan to make even larger outrigger canoes or more clubs.

However, a detailed analysis is lacking of the actual changes that occurred in the traditional artistic process and whether the act of adopting Western tools concomitantly changed the role of the artist by reducing or enhancing his ability for achieving social status. As metal tools became more accessible, did they allow a greater pool of men to compete for that specialized role of artist? Were these acculturated tools responsible for perhaps secularizing a more ritualized process? And if more clubs were carved, do we attribute this to the introduction of labor-saving tools, more artists, a concomitant response to changing sociocultural conditions, or a combination of all these factors? Which has more importance and to whom, the process or the object? Many of these same questions can be asked of other small-scale societies; presumably we will never know the answers because the documentation of the process does not exist in enough detail.

of quilting by missionary wives fell in alignment with tapa making in Hawai'i, the Cook Islands, and the Society Islands and was primarily adopted for use by women. Tongan women, as will be discussed, basically rejected quilting; it did not become a popular acculturative art form as in the other island cultures.

Focusing our attention on the artistic process and medium can further provide new data for gender-specific studies (Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974; Ortner 1981; Schneider and Weiner 1986; Gailey 1987a, 1987b). In a materialist view, a deviation from the gender-specific art process or medium should reflect a change in gender structure that correlates with social reforms in a man's or woman's basic nature, status, and achievement. This in turn is linked to further ideological changes taking place in the culture. If, for example, Tongan women began carving tapa mallets, this could indicate that the culture was undergoing some dramatic social changes in gender ideology.

By placing a primary emphasis on the object's formal and aesthetic sources and its intended market, as Graburn proposes (1984:397), it is easy to lose sight of the subtle complexities and cultural dynamics manifested in the art-making process. My intent is not to criticize the studies on acculturated art forms; however, these seminal works do not in general completely address unseen sociocultural meanings embedded in the art process that technical changes can alter or eliminate (Graburn 1976, 1984; Jules-Rosette 1984; Kirch 1984). Furthermore, it is important to realize that any form of change is germane – be it in style, form, aesthetics, or medium – and has a kinetic relation to the artistic process.

Studies on acculturation and change in the contemporary arts of small-scale societies are often linked with the rise of tourism as a source of national income (Graburn 1976; Jules-Rosette 1984). Tourism is a relatively new phenomenon in Tonga. In 1958, '1,715 individuals arrived on three cruise ships, with additional 64 passengers arriving by air' (Kirch 1984:71). In 1969, the first hotel was built and tourism emerged as a potential source of income. The selling or trading of indigenously made 'functional traditional arts' to European travelers had its beginning some two hundred years ago, 'but its acceptance as a legitimate income generating strategy has been slow to materialize' (Kirch 1984:109). Within the contemporary context of 'functional traditional' tourist art, we will explore the marketing potential of tapa products and analyze how the machine was perceived as one way of helping achieve tapa's income potential.

The more I became involved in the issue, to beat or not to beat, the more I found that my questions and interest involved me directly, and though I tried to remain impartial and hide my initial reaction, in time I felt like a chameleon changing colors, clearly seeing and agreeing with the different positions people took in this situation. Therefore I have tried to write my analysis in a reflexive style, combining personal narrative with descriptive ethnographic accounts, recognizing that I bring to it my background as an art historian (see Clifford 1986, 1988:215-251).

The making of tapa cloth

Decorated tapa cloth (*ngatu*) and its process of manufacture still belong under the exclusive hegemony of Tongan women. Tapa cloth has lost its utilitarian and religious functions, being surplanted by Western goods and Christianity, but it is produced for ceremonial use and as acculturated art for tourist consumption (see Tamahori 1963; Kooijman 1972, 1973:97-112, 1988; Teilhet 1974; Kaeppler 1978a:174-193).

Tapa cloth is made from the inner bark of the paper mulberry tree (*hiapo*, *Broussonetia papyrifera*). Currently, the process has three essential stages. *Tutu* is considered the most physically arduous. In this stage the previously soaked inner bark, which is about two inches wide by several feet in length, is placed on a wooden anvil (*tutua*) and beaten with a heavy, four-sided mallet (*ike*) to produce small felted pieces (fig. 30). These pieces retain their length but now average eighteen to twenty inches in width and are called *feta'aki*.[3] *Tutu* can be done by one or more people. A strong beater might felt together twenty-five to thirty yards of *feta'aki* in a full eight hour day. The sheets of *feta'aki* are sun dried and then stored.

Figure 30. The tutu process. The inner bark is beaten with a four sided mallet (ike) on a wooden anvil (tutua), September 1972. *(Photo by Jehanne Teilhet-Fisk)*

[3] The initial beating breaks and softens the fibers with the side of the mallet that has the deepest groves; this is called *fakapa*. In the process of *'opo'opo* the woman continues the fold and beat the cloth with the less grooved sides until she thinks it has reached its maximum width and thinness. She then *talatala* (unfolds) each layer and gently taps it with the flat face of the mallet until the whole piece is laid out. A second strip can be beaten, merging the fiber with the first if the original piece is too thin. The resultant *feta'aki* requires, depending upon the age and strength of the woman, between twenty and forty minutes to beat (Tamahori 1963; Kooijman 1972, 1988; Teilhet 1974; Tapou Posesi Fanua, pers. com., 1985; Finau Moala and the 'Mofuike' *kautaha* of Kolomotua, pers. com., June 1985.)

Koka'anga is the process of piecing together the *feta'aki* to form a long sheet, which is then placed over a low, half-cylinder-shaped table (*papa koka'anga*) on which are fastened pattern boards (*kupesi*). The underlying designs are rubbed visible with a dye from the *koka* tree (*Bischofia javanica*). The entire process requires a communal effort of ten to sixteen women who belong to a women's cooperative (*kautaha*). They will spend the entire day making one or two *ngatu* (patterned tapa cloths), each averaging between thirty-five to fifty feet in length.

The final stage, *tohi ngatu*, the outlining of the *kupesi* pattern, is the responsibility of the maker-owner of the piece and usually executed by a few women friends at a later time (Tamahori 1963:37-41, 90-95, 111-114; Teilhet 1974; Kaeppler 1978a:264-265). This paper is only concerned with the first stage, the *tutu,* a process which had remained virtually unchanged from at least the time of contact until Geoffery Houghland, a former Peace Corps volunteer who served in Tonga, returned in the early 1980s with a prototype for a tapa-beating machine (Martin 1981:365). He felt that 'the beating of tapa was no longer a traditional act' and that the 'noisy process was the most time consuming and physically demanding aspect of manufacturing tapa cloth' (Houghland, pers. com., July 1985).

Houghland invented a simple, quiet machine that works like a wringer or toothed mangle. After soaking, the inner bark of the paper mulberry tree is first run through the teeth of a roller on the diagonal, breaking down the fibers. Thereafter the barkcloth is run straight through several times and, as the cloth widens, it is continuously folded for strength. When the desired width is reached, the *feta'aki* is hung up to dry. The machine takes less than five minutes to produce a *feta'aki,* a savings of twenty to thirty-five minutes (Houghland, pers. com., July 1985; personal observations of the machine and women at work, July 1985, April 1987, June 1988). Subsequent machines were reduced in scale to make them more portable. The size and shape of the roller's teeth were refined to prevent them from tearing the cloth.

Houghland rightfully boasted that the finished product was indistinguishable from hand-beaten *feta'aki* once it had been ironed or beaten for a few minutes with the smooth side of a mallet. It seems that his decision to make a tapa machine was predicated on the fact that he had the technical solution to a tiresome artistic process that seemingly had no cultural relevance or symbolic meaning. The machines sold for approximately US$ 400. Expense, though an issue, is not the sole reason few machines were sold and are operating.[4]

[4] Houghland was a benevolent entrepreneur who wished to share his invention, even though he put a relatively high price on the machines (approximately US$ 400 translated into 350 *pa'anga* in 1985 and 500 *pa'anga* in 1987). This he defended by staying that the machine would pay for itself in no time at all (pers. com. with Houghland, July 1985; Tupou Tonga, April 1987). He felt that the women's cooperatives, formed to make tapa cloth for social and ceremonial obligations, could raise enough money to buy his machine and thereby increase their production and expand into the tourist business for a cash profit. I was told that eight women's cooperatives raised enough money to buy machines (Tonga, pers. com., May 1987). To help defray the cost, women from other districts of Nuku'alofa were charged a minor fee to use these machines. Tonga said, 'I have a machine at my home. People come here and pay me something to use it. I charge them from two to five *pa'anga* for the day, or whatever they can pay. I don't care how much they pay me actually, I just care that they come' (pers. com., July 1988).

The issue: To Beat or Not to Beat

The question is, to beat or not to beat? This issue concerns alternative perspectives on how the *tutu* process is perceived by different social worlds and how they try to resolve the anomaly (see Becker 1974, 1976 for his use of social worlds). Houghland represents the etic view of the outsider: His is the social world of the egalitarian entrepreneur who comes from America and operates on the assumption that Tongan women who make tapa have acquiesced to a changing Pacific and that the production of their artistic heritage, tapa, is open to acculturation and modernization. Visiting tourists and commercial dealers who buy the finished tapa product as authentic 'handmade' souvenirs complete this etic view.

The chiefly ranks and the commoners represent the manifold emic views. Tapa plays an integral part in the matrix of their society. Tonga is a constitutional monarchy that still maintains principles of social status and societal rank based on primogeniture, genealogy, purity of descent line, and complex exchange structures. Commoners (*tu'a*), though emancipated from forced labor in 1862, are still differentiated within society from the chiefly ranks (*'eiki*), as are all societal rankings and groupings differentiated from each other by systems of exchange and dichotomous hierarchies (see Kaeppler 1971; Rogers 1977; Biersack 1982). Furthermore, it is interesting to note that all societal ranks participate in a form of status rivalry: 'persons compete assertively to dominate or elevate themselves above each other (with public approval or acquiescence) and at the same time are privately wary of attracting attention of becoming overly involved in any situation or relationship, preferring instead spectator or humble positions' (Marcus 1978a:242).

Tapa's cultural relevance, especially for women

Though Houghland represents the etic view, he is cognizant that the finished tapa has maintained a relevance to the culture, especially for women. It is a necessary valuable (*koloa*) that must be presented at all life-crisis occasions and status-raising or status-affirming ceremonies such as weddings, funerals, births, and graduations and as presents to 'chiefly' dancers (fig. 31). In a curious way, tapa and fine mats are of greater national importance today than, perhaps, in ancient times. They are, in a ceremonial context (along with formal kava bowls), the last vestiges of a plastic heritage that publicly reinforce and legitimize the dominant principles of societal rank and social status.

Furthermore, I would hypothesize that tapa is used in many public ceremonies to reinforce the superiority of the female status, particularly in the role of sister. In the Tongan descent system, sisters outrank brothers whereas the father's side outranks the mothers, giving the father's eldest sister (*mehekitanga*) and her children the highest rank (see Goldman 1970; Rogers 1977; Marcus 1978a, 1978b; Bott 1981; Biersack 1982; James 1983, 1988). This notion of women's abstract honors and sacred superiority is reflected in their obligatory displays, recycling, and ownership of *ngatu* and

Figure 31. Women presenting a finished tapa cloth to mark the seventy-fifth birthday of His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, July 1993. *(Photo by Jehanne Teilhet-Fisk)*

may be an important factor in understanding why quilting was not adopted as a likely surrogate for tapa cloth as it was on other Polynesian islands.

Tapa is always given by women who, in some sense, bask in reflected honor by sharing center stage with those women (and men) being singled out as the higher-status recipients of that occasion. In this view the continued sociocultural importance of *ngatu* rests more on the sustained importance of the woman's social as sister, hence fiver or receiver, than on the importance of marking societal rank. The importance of tapa argues in favor of James's statement 'that sisters' roles in Tonga have by no means been eroded although they may face new constraints, and that, in some institutional sectors at least, women's status may have improved' (1983:235). In addition, the highly charged, often theatrical, presentation of tapa is an interesting form of female status rivalry that Marcus seems to overlook (1978a). And even to this day, one certain way of measuring a woman's individual wealth and status mobility is by the amount of *ngatu* she stockpiles.

Artistic divisions of labor by gender, rank, and status

Tonga still maintains a strict gender division of artistic labor. Women are usually associated with goods made from soft materials that center on the home. Many of these soft materials are considered *koloa*, valuables of ceremonial significance (pers. com. with Tupou Posesi Fanua, June 1983, and Futa Helu, June 1985; James 1988:33-34; Cowling n.d.). Tools, technol-

ogy, and more physically demanding labors (called *ngaue*) are mainly associated with works outside the house produced by men from hard and soft materials that center on the plantation (Teilhet 1978; Gailey 1987b:97-101). 'In Tonga there is still the notion that everything outside the house belongs to the male province. Everything inside the house, mats and tapa, is the women's province' (Okusitino Mahina, pers. com., July 1988). However, it is not unusual for men's works such as an old kava bowl, to be considered *koloa*.[5]

The recent reevaluation of soft materials, cloth in particular, and their relationship with women has shown that these objects, though reflective of 'the home', are sometimes used in a sacred, religiopolitical context (Kaeppler 1978a; Gailey 1980, 1987a, 1987b; Hammond 1986; Weiner 1987; James 1988; Weiner and Schneider 1989; Berlo n.d.). However, in their zeal to reexamine and correct the litany, these studies tend to overlook the role of the berdache or effeminate male as well as the collaborative and perhaps controlling role that men play as providers of women's tools, technology, and, in some cases, media.

Men grow the *hiapo* used to make tapa but would never make tapa. Sometimes 'the boys might help beat the tapa because they are strong, but they are ashamed to do that. They are called sissies, *fakaleiti*' (like a lady) (Tupou Tonga, pers. com., July 1988; on *fakaleiti* see Cowling 1986; James 1983:240-241). Social sex roles and gender identity are highly correlated. If women worked with hard material (which by implication requires more physically powerful labor), this would be a role reversal and could be considered as a sign of masculinity or a form of transvestism, rather than an indication of modernity or women's liberation (Teilhet-Fisk 1987; West and Zimmerman 1987).[6]

Men make the mallets and anvils, thereby controlling the tools, technology, and (functional) process of beating tapa. Whether intentional or not, this safeguards the hard materials for their own use (see Teilhet 1978; Teilhet-Fisk 1983). It seems likely that Tongan society constructed, before Western contact, art-making ideologies that were aligned with their gender-based divisions of labor. These ideologies were a paradigm of an ideal social construction where gender (and class) lines were rarely crossed, a fabrications that remains artistically intact today. For example, some men carve tourist objects and women can help, but only by sanding the finished product, as carving is a hard medium that utilizes tools (pers. com. with male carvers Mone Vai, November 1983; Timote Tukutukunga, July 1985; Fatua

[5] It is debatable whether *koloa* and *ngaue* are in fact gender-specific terms (see James 1988:33-36). Though the term *koloa* is still associated with valuables that are made by women and given in a ceremonial context, 'a kava bowl carved by a man can also be called *koloa* when it is very old. Initially the bowl would be *ngaue* but after it has been in the family for a period of time it acquires a certain transactional (rather than purely utilitarian) value. *Ngaue* can refer to men's work, but it is becoming a common term for any kind of work. Women often refer to making tapa as *ngaue* ('Alamoti, Mele, and 'Afuha'amango Taumoepeau, pers. com., July 1988).

[6] Even Mariner quoted Tongan men as saying 'it is not *guale fafine* (consistent with the feminine character) to let them do hard work; women ought only to do what is feminine. Who loves a masculine woman? Besides, men are stronger, and therefore, it is but proper that they should do the art labour' (Martin 1981, 2:370-371).

Vakamilalo, April 1987; and with the wife of a carver, Sesalina Mau, April 1987). At this time it is still difficult for cultures like Tonga to assimilate gender-specific art technologies and media that do not conform to their pre-Christian art-making ideologies.

The tapa-beating machine is an example of this conflict. It is a male technology, introduced by an outsider for use in a female process. The art process and medium act as a kind of external control that defines the limits of proper gender behavioral roles. James suggests that in former times manhood in Tonga was associated with warfare, voyaging, gardening, and, I will add, artistry (1983:241). Even though these notions have dramatically

Plate 8. Tupou Tonga showing how the tapa machine works, July 1985. *(Photo by Jehanne Teilhet-Fisk)*

:hanged through Western contact and Christianity, James fails to indicate hat contemporary tools and technology (once linked with weapons) are still :orrelated with manhood and fall accordingly into the males' perception of heir behavioral role (1983:240-241).

Pursuing this gender-based approach I questioned why the men, who are nterested in and metaphorically associated with tools and technology, had not built a tapa-beating machine for the women.[7] I discovered that 'Tongan men don't think about women's things' (Posesi Fanua, pers. com., July 1985). One Tongan man reiterated what other men had indirectly expressed by saying that he didn't care about tapa! 'My wife cares about tapa. I is *she* that has to worry about the tapa because it is not going to shame me if we don't have any tapa on that particular occasion' (Drew Havea, pers. com., April 1987).A woman with a university degree responded, 'Men wouldn't think of beating tapa as drudgery. In fact, a lot of our more modern men would be pleased if women used the machine because that would mean women would have more time for doing something else. You would be amazed at how many women get out of doing other things by saying that they have to beat tapa or work on the *koka'anga* (Lata Soakai, pers. com., July 1988). These unexpected responses suggest that women, rather than crossing the gender division of labor and proper social behavior, initiate the request or barter for male tools that become feminized through association with women.

The sexual division of labor is so deeply ensconced within the social order that no one questions it (Leibowitz 1986:43-75). Therefore it seems that a tapa-beating machine could only have been introduced by an outsider who was unaware that such a simple invention could open the proverbial Pandora's box.

Acculturation and change, the need for civil approval

It is important to realize that the effectiveness of Houghland's labor-saving device was demonstrated in a sociocultural 'safe' zone, an area set aside for foreign industries. Houghland established his business, Polynesian Prints, in 1983 at the small-industries center in Ma'ofanga. Here he taught Tongan women how to machine-make *feta'aki* for his notepaper industry.

The machine needed official sanctioning by civil authorities, and to a lesser extent by Christian community groups, before it could be considered for assimilation by the populace. Graburn has suggested that these traditional arts ephemeral to a society are more receptive to acculturation and less likely to need cultural approval (1969). Tapa, however, is not an ephemeral art. To promote the machine's acceptance Houghland found an ally in Tupou Tonga.

[7] Tupou Tonga said that she had heard from someone that 'a missionary had made a tapa-beating machine from bicycle parts with attached hammers for King George Tupou II in the early 1900s' (pers. com., April 1987). This may be true or may be generated out of deference and respect for the royal family by linking the king's name with a new invention. I am amazed that Houghland did not solicit the patronage of the queen, for that would have been the proper action to take.

One evening, so I was told, at a meeting held in the Catholic basilica, an older woman sat in and listened to the discussion on whether to accept the machine. After all was said and done she exclaimed, 'Why not use the tapa machine?' Thereafter this woman, Popou Tonga, was credited as being the first Tongan to fully appreciate the machine's potential (plate 8). She became Houghland's major champion for its adoption to replace the *tutu* process. Tonga's support was not surprising when you really that she had always been an advocate for bettering women's conditions. A woman of some means and social mobility, she had married a magistrate, served as a Girl Guide commissioner, and started a family planning clinic.

Tonga told me how difficult it was to get the initial civic approval for the machine. 'I went to the minister of commerce, who told me to see the secretary. The secretary told me to write the minister a letter'. Armed with a petition signed by fifty women Tonga was finally allowed to demonstrate the machine. 'We made some *feta'aki*. The minister said, Is that all? I said yes. You bring in all sorts of machines for digging, for everything, but there is no help for us women. No machines for us. He said well, I don't know, but the other men said we will lose our customs. Once we have tapa-beating machines the girls won't know the old way. They will rely on the machines. Anyway I thought that was that and didn't take any notice. Later the minister called me up and said, 'Mrs. Tonga, I will approve your petition' (pers.com, July 1985, May 1987, July 1988).[8] Having gained civil (and church) approval to use the machine, Houghland and Tonga set out to convince the populace of its merits.

Divided opinions from the people of Nuku'alofa

I asked Tevita 'Alamoti Taupoepeau, an authority on traditional Tongan customs, his opinion on the tapa-beating machine. He had been living in Hawai'i and was stunned to hear about the invention. 'Although change is inevitable, I am concerned that following generations might not know that tapa was beaten. I am for the preservation of the original, the traditional' (pers. com., with translation assistance from Mele Taumoepeau and 'Afuha'amango Taumoepeau, July 1988). 'Alamoti Taumoepeau's concern is justified: Western Polynesia is the only place where tapa is made and presently Fiji and Western Samoa rely on Tonga for the large pieces of ceremonial tapa. In the rest of Polynesia the making of tapa cloth was replaced by quilting – a gender-specific female product that came to embody many of the cultural values and symbolic meanings inherent in tapa (see Hammond 1986 for an overview). The only beating that is now heard in Hawai'i, the Society Islands, or the Cook Islands comes from 'living' museum programs that reconstruct traditional art forms.

Papiloa Foliaki, a person of economic means, social status, and accomplishments, was the only woman elected to Parliament from 1976 to 1981.

[8] When I returned to Tonga in July 1988, I read Tupou Tonga a draft of this article and she gave me a slightly different account of what had happened. In 1985 she had told me the minister gave her two years to try the machines, after which the department would make a formal decision. As the machines are still in use, I quote her present account.

She supports women's rights like Tonga, but opposes the tapa-beating machine because she 'believes that the traditional system requires carefully planned and gradually implemented modifications' (pers. com., July 1985; reaffirmed July 1988). She considers herself a 'traditionalist' even though she is a very successful wage-earning business woman (Foliaki, pers. com., July 1988).

Drew Havea, who was educated in an American university, cautioned me on my use of this term. 'It is difficult to label Tongans traditionalist or progressive. This is a recent thing. We talk about dividing ourselves into traditionalists and progressivists, but it is not within our custom. We have a particular place in society and we know what we are supposed to say and when to say it; even if we think no we are supposed to say yes' (pers. com., July 1988). To suggest that Foliaki is a traditionalist and Tonga a progressivist is misleading, but on the issue of whether to beat or not to beat they stand divided and have a kind of status rivalry regarding the relative value of such a machine. Nevertheless, Tonga has a more progressive socioeconomic attitude towards the machine. 'Women don't have the leisure time to beat tapa anymore and it is too difficult for older women like me'.[9] Beating causes arthritis. Besides, no one can tell if the *ngatu* was beaten by hand or wrung by the machine' (Tonga, pers. com. May 1987).

Tongans were able to resist 'involvement in wage labor throughout most of the past 150 years' (Gailey 1987b:234). But currently Nuku'alofa suffers from overpopulation, inadequate employment, and a lack of available land for cultivation (Kirch 1984:65-69; Gailey 1987b:237-241). Women are now having to labor for wages to help pay a higher cost of living. Women who are too old, without job skills, or unable to find employment have the idle time or 'leisure' to labor traditionally and make tapa. With the expansion of the tourist market both locally and abroad, tapa is becoming an acculturated business that could support wage labor. But the process is physically demanding regardless of one's age, so again we ask why these women continue to beat, especially since the *tutu* process is slow and the quality is not superior to that produced by the machine.

Foliaki contends that women continue to beat because 'the process has therapeutic values. Beating is one of the main ways Tongan women have to get rid of their anger and frustrations' (pers. com., July 1988). This psychological interpretation may have some truth. However, Tonga counters by saying, 'Papiloa doesn't have to beat tapa because she is wealthy. She doesn't realize how heavy the mallet is. It cripples the hand, causes bad backs, and the noise can cause deafness. I only beat the tapa from eighty until noon, otherwise I will get sick the next day. I have to lie down after twelve to get my strength again' (pers. com., July 1985).

[9] Boas wrote 'that the first condition for the development of artistic handicraft is leisure' (1955:300). But this Western notion implies that leisure is the handmaiden of artistic production and unwittingly demeans art to a form of play, obviating its cultural importance. Tonga's sentiments are grounded in this ideology – tapa, which was traditionally made by women for trade or barter, is seemingly being relegated to a peripheral role because women have no leisure. But, who said tapa making what ever an idle activity? It would be more appropriate to suggest that tapa is no longer an effective means of commodity exchange in a time-oriented world.

Foliaki acknowledges that people of wealth, status, or rank do not have to beat tapa (pers. com., July 1985). Before emancipation all decorated *ngatu* was owned and its production controlled by the chiefly wives.[10] After emancipation commoners were allowed to make and regulate tapa for their own use, but their affiliate women's cooperatives must still supply the chiefly classes when asked (Posesi Fanua, pers. com., July 1985).[11]

It is evident from the comments elicited from Foliaki and Tonga that the issue of beating or not beating also impinges on the different positions women hold in Tongan social strata. An artistic division of labor distinguishes the chiefly classes from the commoners. Women of noble or chiefly status would beat only to gain knowledge of the process. Commoner women with 'chiefly' powers such as the *mehekitanga* (father's sister) would relegate this work to female relatives who are under obligation to them (see Rogers 1977 and Biersack 1982 for an overview). Commoner women with economic wealth would buy *feta'aki* in the market. These differentations in the status of women can also be affect by their husband's position, their position as 'daughter' of their father's sister, or their education and employment opportunities.

Kaeppler demonstrates how the three essential stages of making tapa have underlying structures that correspond to social organization. In her seminal analysis, the beating process is linked to the commoners' social domain (Kaeppler 1978a:267). Therefore, it would be appropriate to further suggest that performing the *tutu* process publicly validates, for all to hear, a woman's common status. Today, it especially announces the fact that these women are usually poor and lacking social status (as based on a survey of twelve women who were beating tapa in 1988). They are not ashamed (*ma*) to be beating, for it is considered a proper activity befitting their present social position. At the same time it is not an activity that will increase their social mobility.[12] But for 'Limulaki' and 'Maria', who lack any social status per se, beating tapa provides a new means of generating a small income. Their *feta'aki* is sold in the market by a vendor. They agree 'it's hard work' (pers. com., July 1985). When the right arm tires they beat with the left.[13]

In addition to interviewing Tongans from different social groups, I

[10] 'In the precontact period, when the rule by chiefs was still in full force, the manpower was centered around the chief and the womanpower around the chief's wife, who could dispose of the women as a labor force. When many *ngatu* were required, for instance because of important ceremonies connected with the marriage or death of people of rank, she called together a group of women who manufactured the colored sheets. The product bore her personal stamp to a high degree, because she made and kept possession of the required *kupesi*' (Kooijman 1972:319; see also James 1988:33-36).

[11] After emancipation the Tongan government formed strict regulations, particularly in regards to the beating process. 'It shall be lawful to beat tapa from sunrise till sunset excepting during the time of mourning for a chief and it will be with Government to determine the duration thereof' (*Tongan Government Gazette* (March 1888) 2, 86: section 7).

[12] Given this background, it is no wonder that the tapa-beating women I interviewed did a double take when they saw who was depicted beating tapa on the new brochure for the Tongan Cultural Center that officially opened in July 1988. The photograph is of Foliaki, who also found it ironic. Evidently the photograph was taken while she was demonstrating the process to tourists in her own cultural center behind her motel (Foliaki, pers. com., July 1988).

randomly questioned twelve women from various districts of Nuku'alofa about the process while they were beating tapa (June and July 1988). It appears that these women continue to beat for the following reasons: Two did not have access to a machine in their district, two could not afford the nominal usage charge, three had never heard about the machine, and the remaining five said they prefer beating.

Building on the works of Levy (1973:326-356), Marcus (1978a), and James (1983), I suggest that the art process and medium can also act as an external control that helps define the acceptable (steady-state) cultural limitations of a gender's social behavior. For example, implicit in some of the responses solicited from the tapa-beating women was their feeling that it might be socially inappropriate for them to use a tapa-beating machine. The employment of such a machine could be viewed by other Tongans as exceeding the behavioral norm of their social status and gender. The fear of being publicly ridiculed or embarrassed for working with an alien technology or unwarrantly elevating themselves seemed to curtail their interest. Older women of high social standing, like Tupou Tonga, would not be ridiculed. On the contrary, ownership and usage of the machine could add to Tonga's relative social standing, if and when the machine was fully accepted.

In analyzing the responses from both genders, it is evident that women continue to beat for reasons that vary according to the subject's gender, age, rank, and social status. Overall, most Tongans interviewed are reluctant to give up the *tutu* process because of its personal association with their pas. *Tutu* is a symbolic referent to the way their grandmothers, mothers, or 'aunties' made tapa. In this context, the process is thought of in terms of its historical depth and connected with aesthetic socialization and tradition for traditions' sake. *Tutu* produces an affective response that is associated with femaleness and female artistic heritage, making it less open to acculturation or radical change, especially when the alien technology tries to prematurely cross the gender line.

The introduction of a machine into an exclusively female field, however, also opens the door to gender equality in labor issues. 'After all', Tonga exclaimed, 'men have access to all types of machines to help them with their

[13] Such ambidexterity in the plastic arts is interesting; it strengthens the notion that the beating process is associated with labor, craft, and routine rather than skill, creativity, or sacredness. A process that emphasizes the use of one hand over two is usually less constrained in its technique and more open to innovation. For example, in small-scale societies painting or the act of using paints ranks above the act of sculpting or weaving for many reasons (Forge 1970:279-280). One reason Forge does not suggest is the relationship that the action has with single-handedness. Most art processes in small-scale societies reflect fundamental cultural values: Two-handedness is expressive of the solidarity and tension of working as a group or the giving out of generosity or obligation (Thompson 1974:54, 82, 112). The notion of using two hands simultaneously stresses the idea that the social group works as a community, whereas the emphasis on one hand – single handed – is reserved for leadership or 'singular' acts requiring 'special' skill, knowledge, and powers of execution. One-handedness over the other is also evident in the making of the esteemed *kupesi* pattern boards that were once made and owned only by chiefly women (Martin 1981, 2:366). Even today, common women who make *kupesi* earn respect and gain social prestige, whereas any woman can beat. However, when the *tutu* process is analyzed for its nonprocedural aspects, typified by tonal sounds, we have a different situation. In this context, ambidexterity could well be interpreted as a sign of skill in executing rhythm patterns.

work' (pers. com., July 1985, 1987). Those women who advocate use of the machine greet it as a device liberating them from hours of labor. Other women are critical of the *tutu* process because they feel that it publicly reinforces their commoner status. Nowadays, within the social matrix of a commoner, 'beating is often a sign of being under obligation, poor, or lacking job skills. If you have money you will pay someone to beat tapa' (Limu Havea, pers. com., May 1987). But whether one beats or not, most women are predisposed to maintaining the ceremonial tradition of tapa as it visually substantiates their preeminent position as women, particularly as sisters.

The machine's impact on ethnovalues and symbolic scale

I asked if the machine would change their standards of ethnovalue and lessen the tapa cloth's contextual use and symbolism within the culture. A similar analogy can be drawn between hand-sewn and machine-made quilts. According to Hammond, in contemporary Polynesia hand-made quilts have greater ethnovalue and symbolic meaning because of the care, time, and individual quilting skill expended by the maker (1986:4, 15, 21-22). And, I would suggest that the hand-sewning process, like beating, is associated with an acceptable gender division of labor, aesthetic socialization, and nostalgia for the past. Sewing machines, however, are finally becoming more acceptable and gaining in popularity, a reflection of a changing (more practical) era where decreased work time accommodates a cash economy and foreign market (Hammond 1986:4, 22).

Most Tongans interviewed agreed that beaten tapa has more symbolic value. But many, such as Lata Soakai, do not believe that the machine will affect tapa's overall ethnovalue. The tapa machine has no effect on the quality of the medium or its artistic principles (whereas the sewing machine does affect quilt quality because artistic principles and aesthetic merit are conjoined with the process and maker). Furthermore, in contemporary Tonga tapa's value is based on the age of a product, its contextualization, and the prestigious rank or status of its owner or past owners – not on the individual makers (Gailey 1987b:112-118; James 1988:34-35; pers. com., with the Honorable Ve'ehala, July 1985; Helu, November 1983, July 1985; 'Alamoti, 'Afuha'amango, and Mele Taumoepeau, July 1988). Size, artistic embellishments, and skill determine its aesthetic worth (pers. com. with Helu, November 1983; 'Alamoti, 'Afuha'amango, and Mele Taumoepeau, July 1988).

However, the machine could impact aesthetic appreciation for tapa's scale. A tapa's immense size is noted with a kind of reverence and spoken of metaphorically as having chiefly status; it is *'eiki* (plate 9). In former times the longer the tapa, the more powerful the chiefly wife because length symbolized hours of woman-power subjugated to make such a tapa. The continue, repetitive patterns are meant to be viewed from a distance and to heighten the appearance of length as a thirty-five-to-seventy-foot tapa oscillates and trembles in the hands of the women presenting it in a ceremonial context. Tapa's two-dimensional medium is transposed into a

Plate 9. A tapa's immense size is noted with a kind of reverence and spoken of metaphorically as having chiefly status; it is 'eiki. July 1993. *(Photo by Jehanne Teilhet-Fisk)*

floating three-dimensional sculpture, a kind of performance piece that is meant to be experienced in its entirety. Now, the emotional response (*mafana*) Tongans experience in the performative mode from such an immense piece of tapa could change dramatically if it was machine made.

Houghland has defended his machine by saying that if nothing else, it would easily accommodate the tourist market that places a different emphasis on tapa's value and meaning (pers. com., July 1985). To begin with, tourists do not want large pieces of tapa, for they are too difficult to transport and display. Tourists prefer small pieces to use as place mats, wall hangings, purses, or notepaper.[14] Here, new aesthetic principles take precedence over size and the machine obliges the market. Or does it? Houghland printed on the back of his note cards: 'The front of this card is genuine Tapa cloth.' The description goes on to explain the cultural importance of tapa cloth and the 'traditional' beating process of manufacture, blatantly implying that his cards are traditionally beaten by a 'mallet until the strips are paper thin ... Polynesian Prints is proud to offer you this attractive genuine hand-made Tapa cloth cards'. It is an interesting contradiction of terms – Houghland sold machine-beaten tapa that purported to be handmade.

[14] Tongan women recognize these preferences of foreign consumers and are now making small tapa paintings. They beat small sections of *feta'aki* about eight by twelve inches, piecing them with flour paste, and backing the resulting tapa on woven mats. The product is then painted by either gender with a store-bought brush. Women usually paint tapa designs and men may paint representational imagery, such as scenic views.

The *tutu* and *tutua*, symbolic meanings and tonal qualities

Finally, there is yet another view that argues against using a tapa-beating machine. This view emphasizes the nonprocedural, nonfunctional aspect of the process, typified by cultural and symbolic meanings apparent in producing the tonal sounds that are an inseparable part of the *tutu* process but have a role beyond the mere making of *feta'aki*. Indicative of this role is the fact that the only stage of making tapa that can be done year-round with or without the help of other women is the *tutu* process. The medium is easily stored and the process is not affected by weather.

Tutu is the heartbeat of Tonga. It stops only when a person in the village has died (pers. com. with Posesi Fanua, June 1985; Foliaki, July 1988). The silence announces death and with it the period of mourning, which can last from three days to three months depending upon the deceased's rank. The silence sets the ritual stage by framing the action and focusing one's attention on death and obligations to the deceased and especially to the deceased's kin, 'Frequent deaths within the same area or same noble family sometimes cause hardships to the non-ranking members of that social group and the villages concerned, in that their *ngatu* stores become depleted' (Tamahori 1963:127).

Tutu is the only Tongan art process that must stop when death occurs in a village. My research shows that all other crafts may continue, even construction work,so this is not just a ban against loud noise per se, but the particular symbolic noise of the *tutu*. This conceptual differation of noise points to the symbolic significance to the *tutu*. Furthermore, the interruption of this process by death can cause a major depletion in tapa stores, creating an additional hardship on women and their (status rivalrous) participation in the complex gift-exchanges. Tonga told me that she had not made any tapa since her husband died. 'It's been over a year. But', she smiled, 'I could make tapa with the machine because it doesn't make any noise' (pers. com., July 1988).

To announce the lifting of a tabu imposed on the village by the death of a chief or noble, the *tutua* is beaten with a mallet by ceremonially high-ranking female (*fahu*), who may be accompanied by two other women (Rogers 1977:167; Kaeppler 1978b:193, Biersack 1982:188). This ritual, called *tukipotu*, has an underlying sacred aspect marked by the fact that the process is conceptually different – it is not purposeful to making *feta'aki* – and it must be performed by the *fahu* (see Keappler 1978b:193; Teilhet 1990:224 on the significance of *tukipotu*). The sanctity of the act is underscored by the *fahu's* sacredness. Her participation takes it out of the secular realm of ordinary women and common labor, for under normal circumstances a *fahu* would never beat the *tutua*; it would be beneath her sacred status.

Older people do not always like the sound of the *tutu*. 'That sound worries you when you hear it and when you're sick you can't go to sleep with that sound. It seems that you get more sick by hearing that beating from next door. When we have a funeral you are not allowed to beat the *tutua*' (Tonga, in discussion with some older women in her *kautaha*, July 1985). The beating of the *tutua* seems to remind the sick and the elderly of their

vulnerability. The only complaints that I heard were generated in this context. Most Tongans of both genders like hearing the *tutu*.

Beating a rhythm, playing the *tutua*

The late Ve'ehala and the founder and headmaster of 'Atenisi school', Futa Helu, both eminent authorities on Tongan culture, agreed that women 'play' the anvil. Women often sit two or three to a *tutua* and consciously set up counterrhytms to pass the time more pleasantly (pers. com. with the Honorable Ve'ehala, June 1985; Helu, June 1985). Helu expressed concern that the beating machine would take the melody away. Mariner writes about he beating having 'a very pleasing effect; some sounds being near at hand, and others almost lost by distance; some a little more acute, others more grave, and all with remarkable regularity, produce a musical variety that is very agreeable, and not a little heightened by the singing of the birds, and the cheerful influence of the scene' (Martin 1981, 2:365).

While working on issues concerning gender division of labor, I asked if women ever played the Tongan drums called *nafa* or *lali*, knowing full well that women rarely play percussion instruments in most traditional societies.[15] (In 1988, I did see a woman play the *nafa* at the dances performed in honor of the king's seventieth birthday and noted it as a mark of changes to come.) Soakai replied that 'the drum is an instrument of authority that men beat to mark the tempo, not only in dance but in life as well.' Tongan women, she continued, 'realize that they are usually excluded from beating drums in a ritual sense, but we control the rhythm by beating tapa. Beating a rhythm while we make *feta'aki* is one way we display our control' (Soakai, pers. com., July 1985).

Though Kooijman's study cautions against comparing the functions and techniques of tapa production in western Polynesia with those of Hawaii and Tahiti (1973:107), it seems obvious that these cultures shared a common interest in the tonal qualities of the beating process. The anvil used by Hawaiian women (*kua*) had a hollow longitudinal groove, was raised to get a better tone, and 'for the women each *kua* had its own sound' (Kooijman 1972:105). The favorite woods were *kawa'u*, *na'u*, and *hualewa*: 'The *kawa'u* gave forth a pleasant sound when beaten and ... the *na'u* and *hualewa* gave out a sharp sound like the voice of the *lele* bird' (Kamakau, quoted in Buck 1964:180). Hawaiian literature abounds with stories about women who knew the sound of the each other's anvil (see Fornander 1918-1919:494; Brigham 1911:78; Pukui and Curtis 1951:162-167; Buck 1964:180; Kooijman 1972:105). Hawaiian women also used a well-understood code to signal or convey messages over a great distance (Brigham 1911:78; Buck 1964:180). Samoans also amused themselves at work by beating out various rhythms and had signals by which they could warn one another of approaching strangers and conduct a limited conversation (Kooijman 1972:214).

Mariner reports that the Tongan anvil was raised from the ground to provide some spring from the blows of the mallet and make a more powerful

[15] Tonga has two types of drums. The *nafa*, used in performances of song and dance, was originally a rolled mat, giving it a unique muffled sound. The *lafi* is used like a village bell to call people to meetings or prayer (Helu, pers. com., December 1983).

and melodious sound (Martin 1981, 2:365). Tongan women also chose certain woods for their tonal qualities (for example, *loi, Alphitonia zizyboides; mohokoi, Canaga odorata; or ahi, Santalum*) and protect their anvils from the elements to prevent cracking and loss of tone (Tamahori 1963:34). 'Alamoti Taumoepeau said that 'certain *tutua* were more valuable because of the tone, they even had a special name, *tutua loa*. My mother had one. She used it for beating tapa and also for lifting the funeral *tapu*. The sounds from the *tatua* were never discordant, even if four of five women were beating at the same time. The sound of the *tutua* was to create joy. The *tukipotu* was special, it sounded more like the *nafa*. The lifting of the *tapu* must be joyous' (pers. com., July 1988).

Ike

The tools of *tutu* – the mallet and anvil – were and still are categorized under gender divisions of labor, being made exclusively by men or schoolboys. Men can make, introduce, and maintain tools and technology that are metaphorically associated with maleness in order to expedite or facilitate the female art process. Whereas men maintain control and management of these tools, women seem to have some decision in the wood used. It is an interesting example of collaboration carried over from former times when the chiefly classes controlled the production of *ngatu* and implies some form of reciprocal exchange, mallets (i.e., the right to command goods, secular power) perhaps for tapa (i.e., goods of secular and social or even sacred value).

Mallets are devoid of any ornamentation. The preferred wood comes from the *toa* (ironwood tree, *Casuarina equisetifolia*) (Tamahori 1963:35). This hard wood was reserved for weapons in ancient times an the tree has always been considered sacred, though the mallet is presently considered to be a secular object.

'Nowadays, most mallets are made by schoolboys from cheap, green wood that splits and softens, making the grooves less effective' ('Alamoti Taumopeau, pers. com., July 1988). Though a link is difficult to prove, the prevalence of cheap, poorly constructed mallets made by young boys correlates with James's theory that the notion of Tongan manhood has 'undergone a radical change through such processes as the cessation of warfare and a Western cultural devaluation of traditional fighting prowess, the lessened need for skills associated with long ocean voyages by canoe and the devaluation of gardening skills' (1983:241). The abandonment of these male skills along with the decline of the professional male artisan class correlates with Tongan men's lack of interest in, but not lack of maintenance or control over, the male tools used by female artisans.

The Tongan *ike* shares a similar shape with the *i'e kuku* from ancient Hawai'i. The Hawaiian beater, however, is distinguished by the extraordinary number and variety of grooved patterns chiselled in the mallets. There, too, the making of beaters followed gender constructions and they were made by men. However, in Hawaii the makers were called 'expert' craftsmen and the women had to buy their beater from the experts' (Buck

1964:171). The distinction adhering to the makers is clearly evident in the extent of artistry expended on the 'highly creative designs' carved into the mallets, designs mistakenly attributed to the artistry of the women who use the beaters (Cox with Davenport 1974:4-5).

Those Tongan women who spend many hours of their life beating tapa seem to develop a rapport with their tools. The anvil has a special tone or voice, but what about the mallet? 'Alamoti Taumoepeau replied that 'the mallet was almost priceless in traditional times because they were so hard to make. Normally the mallet would have been given to a young woman by her mother or auntie and may even have come from several generations before. Therefore most women would be reluctant to give up their *ike*. A woman's love, *'ofa*, for her *ike* is similar to a man's love for his name' (pers. com., July 1988).

While researching grave art, I learned that women who died while giving birth to a healthy baby or while still nursing a child were buried with their favorite mallet. The mallet is believed to fool the spirit of the mother and keep her from coming back for the baby. 'The love from the graveyard is poisonous' (Posesi Fanua, pers. com., December 1983).

Epilogue

In the summer of 1988, I returned to Tonga to interview Houghland and check the final version of this article. I could not find him and was told by a number of people that he had given up his Polynesian Prints business and after working in computers eventually returned to the State.[16]

Tapa cloth and its process of manufacture – whether by hand or machine – still belong under the hegemony of Tongan woman. However, if the acculturation of this process is to work, then the responsibility has to be determined for maintaining and repairing this new crossgender (male-oriented) technology introduced by an outsider.

The machines that I inspected in 1988 were rusting. Where are they going to get new parts and who has the initiative and money to make more machines now that Houghland has left? (Sewing machines, though more complex, have a built-in Euro-American support system, being maintained by specific machine shops or male relatives who are mechanics.) This is not women's work nor do these concerns appear to be under the direction of the *kautaha's* leaders (Tonga, pers. com., July 1988). Whether the woman continue to beat or not may reside in their withdrawing from or working out a solution to these basic issues of acculturation. The gender division of labor found in the production of tapa is presently being enforced by women who really do not want any form of male intrusion in the manufacture of tapa

[16] 'The women complained about him making so much money from the tapa cloth cards. It was Geoff's own idea, but the women didn't like it' (Tonga, pers. com., July 1988). I do not know Houghland's interpretation. Were the women resentful because he was making more money on his machine than they were realizing in their endeavours? Or did the women get annoyed because he was an outsider, and a male to boot, who had entered their arena of work and managed to successfully capitalize, at least for awhile, on its economic potential in a foreign market?

cloth. Many of the men interviewed claim that they do not care about tapa as a cultural form, but they do see its new potential for generating a cash income.[17]

But these issues are ultimately linked to a deeper set of concerns marking the culture's general attitude towards all forms of acculturation and the nature of its impact on gender structures, status, and rank.

At issue are social perspectives on what is purposeful, secular, symbolic, and culturally relevant and the attempt to reconcile these discordant views in accordance with one's gender, rank, societal status, and attitudes towards acculturation and forms of modernization.

Essential to any analysis of acculturation and change are the nonprocedural (nonfunctional) aspects of the process in question, here typified by the cultural and symbolic meanings in producing tonal sounds. These sounds have been interpreted as noise, signals, rhythmic music, joyous melodies, and the heartbeat of Tonga. Such interpretations play a key part in marking context. For example, the *tutu* process and its resultant sound factor has underlying ritual aspects interpreted as sacred in association with its funerary role. This role, with all its symbolic associations, becomes most evident when the *tutu* process is threatened by a machine that produces almost no noise at all. But, unlike its ritual role, *tutu's* noisy, repetitive act is purposeful in the manufacture of tapa. And it is this purposefulness divorced from its rhythmic sound that led Houghland to assume that the beating process 'was a lot of loud noise that kept women from socializing' and was therefore open to acculturation without loss of contextualization (pers. com., July 1985).

Conclusion

In conclusion, studies on acculturation, change, and tourist arts tend to overlook the social and symbolic actions embodied in the art-making process. The introduction of a tapa-beating machine allowed me to analyze in a single framework the various sociocultural actions that would be lost or radically changed if the *tutu* process became acculturated. Placing an emphasis on the process and medium over the object's formal qualities contributes further to studies on gender concepts by yielding some novel insights into the role art plays in reinforcing or sustaining a culture's ideology on gender structure.

To think of the *tutu* process as being ripe for change because the mallets are poorly made or the tiresome process seems to fulfill the singular purpose of serving the end product has proven false. The controversy engendered by the machine makes clear that the arts (as exemplified by the *feta'aki*, which is at this stage a purely secular object) can still have cultural, symbolic, and even (sacred) ritualized elements embedded in the process of manufacture.

[17] The present enforcement by women of the gender division of labor in the arts is a sort of reverse backlash. Husbands rarely share in the say of tapa-produced income as it belongs to the wife and is often spent on her family (Limu Havea, pers. com., July 1988). Most women interviewed wanted to keep it that way.

It is evident, at least from an etic approach, why outsiders, uninformed tourists, and some commoners of low social standing view the *tutu* process as a mundane, secular activity. It is equally clear that it took someone who was not a cultural relativist to introduce a tapa-beating machine, which in turn gave some of the populace reason to vent already secularized attitudes.

From the position of the noble classes and the affluent, socially mobile middle and lower classes, the machine could be viewed as an instrument of acculturation that eliminates one way of marking a person's higher societal standing: Beating is a technique that lacks prestige and social status, and the process has not deviated from Mariner's description of 1806-1810 (Martin 1981, 2:365). Moreover, the process is still tied to gender conventions and subject to social control. From a structuralist interpretation, beating (as distinct from making the *kupesi* pattern board) not only marks commoners as being very ordinary; it also, to some extent, promulgates the inequality of the commoner in a monarchical state.

The *tutu* process is one example of how art-making ideologies align with gender, societal, and rank-based divisions of labor to form a paradigm of an ideal social construction. In cultures such as Tonga, acculturation and change in the arts – and this includes the arts made for tourist consumption – are allowed if sociocultural art-making ideologies are not disrupted. However, the tensions between these ideologies lie at the heart of Tonga's social system and are exemplified in the question that is yet to be fully resolved: to beat or not to beat.

Acknowledgements

I want to thank Tupou Tonga, Papiloa Fotiaki, Lata Soakai, and Limu Havea for their insights and friendship, without which this article would not exist. I am indebted to Geoffery Houghland for generating this study by inventing a tapa-beating machine and I thank him for answering my questions. I regret that he was not in Tonga when I returned and was therefore unavailable to add his remarks to this final draft. To the many Tongans who have helped answer my questions, I can only express my deepest gratitude for their generosity in allowing me to publish their knowledge. I would like to acknowledge the assistance of my young daughter, Samantha, who helped interview while learning to make tapa. Aletta Biersack, Susan Smith, and Zachary Fisk contributed useful suggestions. These acknowledgements do not in any way bind the persons mentioned to my interpretation, for it is only just that – an interpretation.

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7

GATU VAKAVITI
THE GREAT BARKCLOTHS OF SOUTHERN LAU, FIJI

Steven Hooper

Specialists in Pacific material culture studies owe a special debt to Simon Kooijman. His research in 1973 on Moce in Southern Lau, Fiji, has produced a monograph (1977), a film (1974) and several articles giving a very full picture of the technical processes and social contexts of barkcloth production on the island. These works, the most comprehensive studies of any single barkcloth producing area in the region, together with his authoritative survey of barkcloth in Polynesia (1972), provide a necessary and firm foundation for anyone wishing to study the subject. In addition, I can attest to the very positive response to his work in Fiji, and particularly on Moce, where he and his wife were fondly remembered – and his book highly regarded – during my own visits to the island in 1977 and 1978.[1]

Kabara, Moce and Affinal Relations

The research upon which this paper is based has mainly been conducted on Kabara[2], an island some thirty-five miles south-west of Moce, famous for its wood products – bowls, canoes, digging sticks and house timbers in

[1] I would like to acknowledge my personal appreciation of the assistance of Dr. Kooijman while I was planning my fieldwork. In response to an enquiry about the feasibility of undertaking research on woodcarving on Kabara Island, he wrote back encouragingly about the possibilities and of what he knew of Kabara. His advice, together with that of Professor George Milner, led to my decision to make Kabara and Southern Lau the location for my studies. I cannot now imagine a more enjoyable or fulfilling place to live and work. It was with pleasure that I met Dr. Kooijman for the first time in Wellington, New Zealand, in February 1978.

[2] My fieldwork in Fiji has been carried out over a period of c. thirty-four months during 1977-1979, 1980, 1983, 1986, 1987 and 1990 (c. twenty-seven in Lau). It is not possible for me adequately to record here my appreciation for all the help and encouragement which I have received from Lauans. A proper appreciation would occupy at least a page. In the context of this short paper it would be invidious to name a few particular individuals; a fuller acknowledgement appears in Hooper (1982) and will be given in a forthcoming monograph. I am very grateful to the (former) Social Science Research Council, St John's College Cambridge, the Smuts Fund, the Emslie Horniman Fund and the Museum of Mankind for financial assistance during the initial main period of research.

Figure 32. Map of the Fiji Islands. *(Map by Steven Hooper)*

particular (fig. 32). The people of the four villages of Kabara maintain close links with those of Moce. Many are related directly by marriage, and it is along these affinal pathways (*wakolo ni veiwekani*) that goods and services continue to be exchanged. Patrilineal inheritance and virilocal residence is the norm, and several women born on Kabara are married to Moce men and live there, while some Moce women live with their husbands on Kabara.

There were several formal expeditions between the two islands during my stay on Kabara, besides much informal visiting. Some visits were between clans related by marriage to conduct appropriate rituals and presentations, others were visits by representatives of villages. A notable example was the visit to Moce in August 1978 by a delegation from Naikeleyaga village on Kabara, who took five very large wooden bowls for mixing *yaqona* (one made by each of Naikeleyaga's five clans) as a *veisiko* (formal visit) presentation to the whole of Moce on the occasion of a major work which was underway – the cutting of a road across the centre of the island. The essential element of *veisiko* is to take assistance to an affine who is engaged in some major work, such as the building of a house or boat, or who is ill or is visiting your vicinity but not staying with you. The presentation usually takes the form of a feast and serves to remind the recipients of the important bonds between the two parties, the implication being that this will not be forgotten when the donor is in a similar position. Such a gift usually requires only the courtesy of a few formal words of thanks or some *yaqona* or a whale's tooth as its *iqaravi* (reciprocal gift). However, when *veisiko* takes place between units larger than a household or clan, there is often an expectation of direct exchange, particularly when there is a long-established exchange relationship of the kind which exists between forested Kabara and fertile Moce. In this case the presentation speech for the five bowls stressed the importance of affinal ties, and hopes for their continuation, but there was also direct reference to the need of Naikeleyaga village for rootcrop plantings in order to be able to cater for the Methodist Church Annual meeting which was to be held on Kabara the following year. This matter was discussed by the Moce elders after the presentation, and two days later the men of Moce had assembled one hundred and sixteen baskets of rootcrops for the Kabarans to take away with them. Meanwhile, the Moce people had not neglected to mention that their hurricane damage rebuilding programme was slow because of a lack of timber; later that year about twenty Moce men came to Naikeleyaga village for three months and, with local help, cut a considerable amount of timber for their houses.

This preamble is intended to show, not a materialist or economic interpretation of ritual, to which I would not subscribe, but that the relationship between the two islands, in these contemporary times of bulldozing roads and church conferences, is still very close and conducted according to familiar procedures based on kinship. At the heart of this relationship are women, who move on marriage and create the affinal pathways to which I referred above. These pathways between intermarrying clans are regularly used and reinforced at rituals associated with birth, marriage, death and other life crises, and it is the products of women's labour, principally barkcloth and mats, which are used as ceremonial beds, seats, shrouds and wrappings on these occasions. In the great majority of cases, female members of a Lauan household, even those based in Suva, consider it necessary and desirable to have a supply of barkcloth and mats in order to be able to participate in these regular rituals, especially those associated with death, which may come suddenly, and for which there may be no time for preparation. Accordingly, women have either to make barkcloth and mats or have a means of obtaining them by request, exchange

or purchase.[3] In Lau, most adult women know how to plait mats from dried strips of pandanus leaves, although there are some places, such as Komo, Vulaga, Ogea and to a certain extent Kabara, where the women are regarded as particularly expert.[4] Mat-making requires no specialist equipment, but the manufacture of barkcloth requires an anvil (*dudua*), beating mallets (*ike*), stencils (*draudrau*) and design tablets (*kupeti*). This skill is not so widespread, although most islands in Lau have specialists and even the relatively unskilled can produce sheets of raw material. On Kabara, as on nearby Moce and Namuka, most women have, or have access to, barkcloth making equipment and are skilled in its use, while there are acknowledged experts whose particular skill in cutting stencils and applying them are recognised, and who are knowledgeable about the types of cloth, their form, design and appropriate uses. The same types of barkcloth are made on all three islands using the same techniques; they are used locally and become widely distributed throughout Lau and the rest of Fiji.[5]

Types of Barkcloth

Kooijman (1977:18) distinguishes three categories of barkcloth made on Moce: *masi kesa*, *gatu vakatoga* and *gatu vakaviti*. Although a case could be made for subdividing the category *masi kesa* (Hooper 1982:72), these three categories nevertheless form an appropriate division on the basis of form and production. Kooijman (1977) has given very extensive and detailed descriptions of the manufacture of these types of cloth and of their decoration, so further description need not detain us here, other than a brief review of the three types.

Masi kesa means stencilled barkcloth; *masi* is the Fijian term for the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) and for the whitish cloth which is prepared from its inner bark; *kesa* is the dye obtained from the root or bark of the *gadoa* tree, which when mixed with soot or red earth (*umea* –

[3] European cloth, introduced in the 19th century, is classified with mats, barkcloth and scented coconut oil as women's *iyau* (valuables). Cloth, either in small one fathom pieces or in bolts, is regularly used on ritual occasions, but in Lau, and even in Suva, this has not eclipsed or made redundant the indigenous materials. Cloth may be used if no mats or barkcloth are available, or in addition to them, to, among other things, demonstrate the donor's command of a range of resources, 'traditional' and 'modern'.

[4] Ewins (1982b) gives a recent detailed account of mat-making techniques on Gau, Lomaiviti, which in most respects are the same as those used in Lau.

[5] I will not discuss here the issue of the commercial sale of barkcloth. As Kooijman reports (1977:100-108, 158-164), the sale of barkcloth has been an important feature in the recent history of its manufacture on Moce, and the same applies to Namuka. These two islands, with Vatulele, an island off the south-west coast of Viti Levu, have supplied, and continue to supply, the bulk of barkcloth which is marketed commercially in Fiji. Kabara occasionally supplies small barkcloths to commercial outlets in Suva, but various types of bowl, fly whisks and other wood products provide the principal source of income from handicrafts. Nevertheless, barkcloth continues to be made widely and regularly on Kabara, showing that income from the tourist market is not necessary for the persistence of this craft. Significant indigenous factors are at play, as I hope will become clear.

obtained from Komo Island) gives a black or reddish-brown colour respectively. In a technique unique to Fiji in the Pacific, this dye is then applied to the plain cloth with stencils made from various types of leaf or, more recently, X-ray film. These cloths currently include small c. 30 x 45 cm sheets made for sale, c. 50 x 250 cm fringed cloths used as wraparound ritual clothing and house decoration, and c. 180 x 250 cm cloths made as ceremonial seats and beds.

Gatu is a word of Tongan origin meaning barkcloth, and *vakatoga* and *vakaviti* mean 'in the Tongan style' and 'in the Fijian style' respectively. *Gatu vakatoga* are very large cloths assembled and decorated by teams of women. Stencils are not used (except for widely-spaced triple-dot *sea* patterns), and the designs are applied by rubbing reddish-brown *kesa* dye on the cloth over design tablets and netting. These cloths are usually 3-4 metres wide and can be between 5 and 60 metres in length, depending on the number of transverse sections (*lalaga*) present. The largest examples have 100 sections and are termed *lautefui*. These are made for large-scale presentations and are often carried onto the ceremonial ground and piled up to give maximum effect to their bulk and length. They have other uses which need not detain us here, but once presented they can be cut up into smaller sections, called *folo'oti* and *maukupu*, which can then be used as ceremonial seats, beds and clothing.

Gatu vakaviti are the main focus of this paper. They are large cloths, 4-5 metres square, which are usually made by a few closely related women who prepare the component plain sheets (which are much finer than those

Figure 33. Veitinia Senibau (centre) and Vakaloloma Mareca stencilling the *gatu vakaviti* illustrated in plate 10; Udu village, Kabara, August 1977. *(Photo by Steven Hooper)*

for *gatu vakatoga*), paste them together to the required size and decorate the finished sheet by a combination of stencilling and design-tablet rubbing (fig. 33). Their most public use is at weddings, when they are folded over a line and hung across the centre of the house which is the location for the main indoor rituals. In this way they appear rectangular to the viewer, with only the front part visible to the audience (plate 10). They are also used as burial shrouds and at mortuary rites, but not at other life crisis rituals. Exceptions to this 'rule' are when they are used in association with those of very high status, such as the Paramount Chief of Lau, Tui Nayau, or his children.[6] Aside from these uses for the paramount, the author has only seen them used during wedding and mortuary rituals.

The impressive size and fine appearance of *gatu vakaviti* has attracted the attention, but not the analysis, of a number of authors and commentators since the mid nineteenth century. I believe that Dr. Kooijman was the first to offer an analysis of their form (1980:50), where he states that the pattern of the *potuiloma* (see figs. 34-38) is 'dominated by the principles of balance,

Plate 10. A *gatu vakaviti* of small/average size made in Udu village, Kabara, in August 1977 by Veitinia Senibau, with the assistance of Vakaloloma Mareca, Mereseini Vuki, Mareca Savu and Wati Naomi. Senibau is the 'small mother' (father's younger brother's wife) of Gauna Sekope, who lived with them because his father had died. By the time he married two years later this cloth had already been used for the wedding of another of Senibau's relatives, having had the name changed. She made another cloth for Gauna. *(Photo by Steven Hooper)*

6 Occasions of this kind were witnessed in May, 1980, when a *gatu vakaviti* was draped over the litter on which Tui Nayau was carried ashore at Kabara, and at a ceremony in Rewa when one was hung at the back of the temporary pavilion which housed the paramount chief. Discussion of the equivance of the constant condition of the paramount chief, and of his or her subjects when the focus of key rituals, cannot be entered into here.

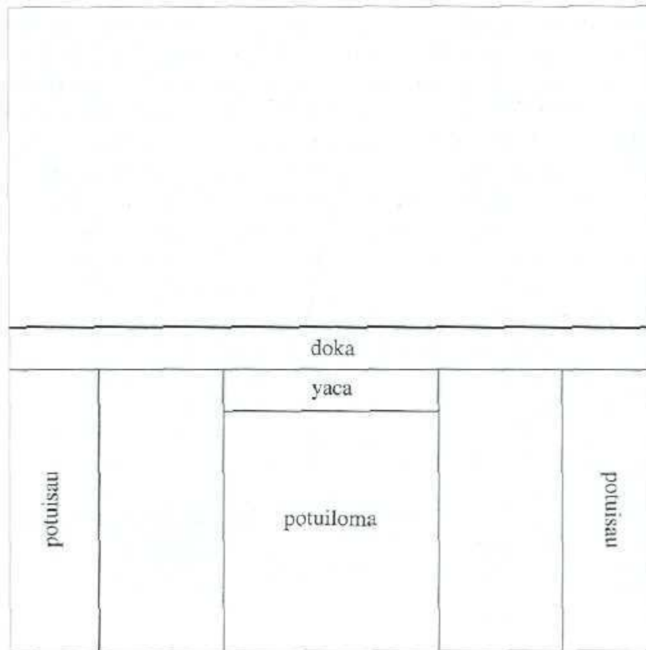

Figure 34. Diagram showing one of the most common forms of *gatu vakaviti* in Southern Lau (see plate 1). Variations include the incorporation of the *yaca* (name) panel within the *doka* (ridge pole) panel (see figure 4), the absence of the *doka*, and the continuation of the *potuisau* panel over onto the back of the cloth, where it is referred to as the *potuiyaco* (see figure 37). The thicker central horizontal line shows where the cloth is hung on a line to give it a front and back. The design areas between the *potuiloma* and the two *potuisau* are not named, but described in terms of the decoration applied to them, which may be *tasina* (Tongan-style rubbed designs) or stencilled patterns such as *qanivasua* (clam shell - see figures 33 and 35), *kalokalo* (stars - see figure 6) or other forms. Average overall dimensions are 4-5 metres square.

symmetry, and alternation'. This he relates to the reciprocal exchanges of barkcloth and food which are a major part of wedding ceremonies. The author would like to take this opportunity, in honour of Dr. Kooijman, to attempt to develop further an analysis of their form and significance.[7]

Gatu Vakaviti

Fergus Clunie (1986:193) makes the plausible suggestion, consistent with other aspects of material culture and ritual, that *gatu vakaviti* are probably a hybrid form, combining Tongan and Fijian styles and techniques, associated with increased Tongan involvement in the affairs of what is now eastern and coastal Fiji since the early eighteenth century. There is evidence that

[7] This paper is a preliminary foray into one aspect of barkcloth. A more detailed consideration of the subject, as one of a number of items classified locally as *iyau* (valuables), is in preparation. This will form part of a larger project involving the description, discussion and analysis of Kabaran and Lauan culture in its contemporary, historical and regional contexts.

these cloths date at least to the mid nineteenth century. Clunie (1986: no. 221) illustrates an example collected by R. B. Lyth between 1839 and 1854, the *potuisau* of which very closely resembles those made today. A similar example is in the Smithsonian Institution, having been collected on Kabara in 1899-1900 (Kooijman 1972: fig. 350). Illustrations of cloths in use are rare, but Williams (1858: frontispiece) shows a painting by J. Glen Wilson, artist aboard HMS *Herald* in 1855, of Cakobau, Vunivalu of Bau, reclining on mats before a large decorated cloth hanging like a screen behind him. Constance Gordon-Cumming (1881, II: opposite 60), resident in Fiji in 1875-6, provides a painting entitled 'A chief's kitchen', a crowded assemblage of genuine types of object, arranged to fill the picture frame, showing at the back a large cloth hanging across the upper part of the house, with someone sleeping on a pillow below.

Hocart, resident in Lau between 1908 and 1911, calls *gatu vakaviti* 'a noble thing (*metha vakaturanga*)' (1929:136), and gives a brief description of its manufacture. He states that on Lakeba stencilling work was done almost exclusively in Waciwaci village, and he illustrates (1929: plate IV) a section of a *potuisau* which again is very similar to contemporary examples. Laura Thompson, who worked in Lau in 1933-4, gives a brief description of Fijian 'sheet tapa', and offers the view that a study of it 'would probably yield valuable results' (1940:198). However, neither of these researchers appear to have published any first-hand accounts of the use of this cloth, nor attempted any analysis. Roth (1973: plate VIII) and Ewins (1982a:11) illustrate *gatu* being made on Vatulele Island in 1949 and 1980 respectively. Although this is a long way from Lau, the overall form is similar and shows that manufacture was by no means restricted to Lau. Troxler (1971) illustrates several *gatu*, but the text is a mixture of description and uncredited quotations from other sources, such as Hocart (pages 49-50 have passages virtually verbatim from Hocart, 1929:136). Indeed, until Kooijman's studies, there are practically no good accounts of how, when and why *gatu vakaviti* were used. In all, I have seen about twenty *gatu vakaviti* in Lau, either being made or used, or just shown to me and the previous use discussed. I will now give several examples of the use of *gatu* which I witnessed, followed by some observations of the makers and users.

In January 1978 the wedding took place between Aminiasi Livi and Takavoli Vere on Namuka Island. One of the main stages of a Lauan wedding is the *itevutevu*, the laying down of mats and cloth in the groom's house (or the headquarters of the groom's side if the couple are not going to reside in the village). Women from the groom's (Livi's) side were based in the house[8], and women from the bride's (Taka's) side came to the house bearing rolls of mats and cloth and a wooden bed frame (carried by men of the bride's side). They entered by the lower door and proceeded to cover the floor with decorated mats, put up a *gatu vakaviti* with Taka's name on it across the upper part of the room in front of the partition, and erect the bed frame. European-style sheets, pillows and cotton mosquito nets were also

[8] Most houses in Southern Lau still take the form of a large single room, with the upper third screened off by a European cloth curtain to separate the private from the public area. Increasingly, this curtain is being replaced by a solid partition, which was the case in this house on Namuka.

Figure 35. Female relatives of Luisa Tagi arrange the *itevutevu* (laying down of mats and cloth) for her marriage to Nikotimo Saini at Tokalau village, Kabara, October 1978. The *gatu vakaviti* being hung across the top of the house was made by her mother and sisters in Udu village, Kabara. *(Photo by Steven Hooper)*

brought and placed on the bed or hung up. The coloured yarn borders of the mats made one continuous carpet, leading up to a *ikotokoto* (bed) of fine mats and small sheets of barkcloth just in front of the *gatu*. When all was laid out to the women's satisfaction, including a stunning mat with thirty coloured borders hanging across in front of the lower part of the *gatu*, the groom's women brought their *itevutevu*. They proceeded to place similar (though slightly fewer, as was appropriate) mats on the floor and to hang up a *gatu vakaviti* with Livi's name on it across the lower part of the house just in front of the entrance. Anyone in the house, and all the bed-related materials, were literally enclosed between these two large screens. Once all was arranged, the couple were brought to the house dressed in barkcloth clothing and glistening with scented coconut oil for the *kana vata* (eating together) ritual. They were seated on the 'bed' in front of the *gatu*, and each was ritually fed by a woman of the opposite side, fish to the groom and pork to the bride. After the *kana vata* was completed, the serious decorum of the occasion was completely broken when many of the women launched into outrageous disco-style dancing with much shrieking and collisions between cross-cousins (*veitavaleni*), who have institutionalised joking relationships. This episode was explained in terms of the women of both sides expressing their joy at the successful conclusion of the main parts of the wedding. That night the couple slept in the house, on the special 'bed' and under the *gatu*. After four nights the *itevutevu* mats and *gatu* were distributed amongst the

Figure 36. Female relatives of Nikotimo Saini arrange his *itevutevu*, including a *gatu vakaviti* made by Penina and other women on Moce. Saini was a schoolmaster from Ogea, posted to Tokalau school on Kabara. This cloth had been part of the mortuary presentations for the death of Penina's father on Ogea, and had borne his name. It was distributed to relatives of Saini, who altered the name and used it for his wedding, where it was hung along one side of the house. Both *gatu* used at this wedding were extremely finely stencilled. The lady in the foreground is fixing the string for a cotton mosquito net, lower left. Tokalau village, Kabara, October 1978. *(Photo by Steven Hooper)*

women of both sides, the couple keeping a good proportion, including both *gatu vakaviti*.

Another wedding was witnessed at Tokalau village, Kabara in October 1978. On this occasion the groom, Nikotimo Saini, was from Ogea, but was a schoolmaster stationed at Tokalau school. His bride was Luisa Tagi from Udu village. Relatives from Ogea and Udu attended to support their representatives at the wedding and to carry out the appropriate rituals. The general sequence of events corresponded to that of the Namuka wedding described above. First the bride's women decked the wedding house with their *itevutevu*, hanging a large *gatu* bearing the bride's name across the top of the house above and behind the main 'bed' (fig. 35). Before this was finished, the groom's women laid their *itevutevu* on top of that of the bride, and also hung a *gatu* bearing his name along the right side of the house (viewed from the 'top', fig. 36). The *kana vata* then took place, followed by general mayhem between cross-cousins. The couple slept in the house on the special 'bed' before moving into Saini's house in the school grounds. They kept their *gatu* when both *itevutevu* were distributed. One other wedding was witnessed on Kabara and another in Tubou, Lakeba. The pattern was the same. The position of the groom's *gatu* varied slightly, depending on the circumstances and the shape of the house, but the bride's

was on all occasions across the top.[9] I also received a number of eye-witness accounts of recent weddings from principal participants, and saw and documented the *gatu* which had been used.

What are we to make of the appearance of *gatu vakaviti* at weddings? Let us first consider the views of women with whom *gatu* were discussed. The overwhelming emphasis was on the necessity or desirability of having a *gatu* for a wedding in order to demonstrate skill, industriousness and respect. The female relatives of a bride or groom were concerned that everything should be done properly, and by properly meant according to well-established patterns. Salote, the sister of Tui Namuka, who had been in charge of making the *gatu* for Taka's wedding, stated, 'we are just following the way of doing things of our forebears from the old days. The *gatu vakaviti* is a very important (heavy) thing. We see it, and we are following it. We don't know its meaning.' (*na kena ivalavalaga mai na qase e mada keimami sa muria tikoga mai. Sa dua na ka bibi saraga na gatu vakaviti. Keimami sa raicaga, sa vakamurimuri tu. Keimami sega ni kila ona ibalebale*). She also went on to say that if no *gatu* was provided, people would make comments that the women responsible were *vakaloloma* (to be pitied, feeble). To be considered *vakaloloma* is something which all Lauans wish to avoid. Malicious criticism (*kakase*) in small communities can be very hard to bear, and it is the endeavour of most to be considered industrious and respectful. For women, in the context of Lauan life, this involves active participation in life crisis rituals and exchanges. These activities are intimately bound up with notions of pride, honour, respect, duty and what is expected of a responsible mother or senior woman in a household.[10]

A lady on Ono said that if there was no *gatu* at a wedding, 'it was like being irreverent, awkwardly indolent' (*e vaka e beca, e sakasaka*). A Lakeban woman married to a Kabaran explained that the big *gatu* and multi-bordered mats were only used at weddings and funerals, and had no practical use. They were a lot of work, but nevertheless were necessary to avoid shame (*madua*). 'It is the bride's side's task to provide most mats, and if there was a poor showing, then it might be used against her in her

[9] Kooijman mentions the use of only one *gatu* at the wedding which he attended on Moce in 1973 (1977:88-95). This bore the name of the groom and was hung across the top of the house. I am not able to account for this in the light of my own data. It is possible that the bride's was completely obscured by the groom's (highly unlikely in view of Kooijman's attention to detail) or that the bride's side, for some reason, did not provide a *gatu*, and that the groom's was therefore hung across the top. It is also possible, though the subject for another paper, that the use of two *gatu* is comparatively recent. Indeed *gatu* may have undergone what I describe for whale's teeth (*tabua*) as a process of democratisation (Hooper 1982:87), whereby an increase in supply allows everyone potentially to participate in rituals which formerly were the privilege of chiefs, without the object involved (*tabua* or *gatu*) having its symbolic significance diminished. Nevertheless, if only one *gatu* was to be used, it would more likely be that provided by the bride's side.

[10] A striking aspect of contemporary *gatu vakaviti* is the presence of the name of the bride or groom across the top of the *potuiloma*. This is obviously a result of literacy in the 19th century, when whale's teeth, clubs and other objects also received inscriptions. In the case of *gatu vakaviti* this has now become a formal part of their design, and signals to the viewer that the female relatives of the named person have been diligent. Other implications cannot be pursued here.

husband's household. If a dispute arose, she might be told, "who are you to speak? You only brought a few mats and *iyau* (valuables) with you. We are supporting you." Comments can be very sharp.' Nevertheless, in most discussions the emphasis was on respect and pride, not on fear and shame. These practical, everyday explanations for *gatu*, linked to notions of women's identity, self-worth, honour and relative status, are a very important aspect of their meaning and of their continued production and use. However, they do not help explain the particular form of *gatu vakaviti*, since any labour- and skill-intensive product would be satisfactory if making a good show and avoiding criticism were the only requirements. Discussions with women, even specialist barkcloth makers, usually returned to the kind of statement made by Salote of Namuka – that this is how our forebears have shown us to do things, so this is how we do them; it is our Lauan/Fijian way; your way is different. These answers are perfectly reasonable, especially in a culture with a strong awareness of continuity of practice and where respect for seniors, elders and ancestors remains strong.

Nevertheless, symbols are very often polyvalent, and another comment, by Wati Naomi of Udu village, Kabara, in August 1977 led me to consider additional levels of meaning, relating to the specific form and design of *gatu*. During work on Gauna Sekope's *gatu* (fig. 33) she explained that at a wedding the cloth faced down the house so that the assembled people could see its beauty and witness the work which had been done. She went on to say that on the wedding night the couple would sleep inside it, like in a tent.

Figure 37. Ofia Bale of Naikeleyaga village, Kabara, surveys a *gatu vakaviti* made for her by a female relative, Meleana, on Namuka, October 1977. It was sent complete except for the *tasina* rubbed designs in the open areas, which were done by Ofia and her mother Luisa Paea. Ofia had no marriage in prospect, but she eventually married a man on Moce in 1984. The *potuisau* go all the way down the back and the designs between them and the *potuiloma* are *kalokalo* (stars). *(Photo by Steven Hooper)*

Plate 11. Female relatives of the late Pu (Granny) Rere put oiled *kilikili* stones on her grave in red and black triangular patterns framed by white. A post made of *vetau* wood can be seen at each end of the grave; these were later linked by a line suspending a sheet of *masi tutuki* (a type of *masi kesa*). Below the stones is a *solofua* barkcloth shaped like a miniature *gatu vakaviti* with two *potuisau* panels and a small central design. Below this are decorated mats. Udu village, Kabara, November 1977. *(Photo by Steven Hooper)*

I had just learnt that the long transverse design panel across the top of the front of the cloth was called the *doka*, a term used for the ridge-pole of a house. These pieces of evidence concerning house symbolism were strengthened during the decoration of the grave of Pu Rere in November 1977 (plate 11), when the species of wood for the grave posts was called *vetau*, which is the name of the main design down the centre of the *potuisau* (also called *vetau levu* – big vetau).[11] Further evidence of *gatu vakaviti*'s house-like attributes is furnished by the fact that an alternative name for them is *taunamu* (mosquito curtain/excluder). This term is not so commonly used now because it also refers to cotton mosquito nets which are widely available, but it was stated that formerly the *gatu* acted as a screen against the pestilential insects, and that people slept inside to protect themselves. However, it must be stated here that no explicit description or analysis of *gatu* as a symbolic house was given to me. When this was proposed by me in discussion, people agreed that this was plausible, and commented that 'the people in the old days were wise/clever' (*o ira a qase e mada, era a vuku*), but it was not the way in which Lauans chose to explain the 'meaning'

[11] A more alert reading of Hocart (1929) would have spotted this association with the tree species, since he makes this observation in the caption to plate IV. With regard to the question of the individual names of the stencil design elements in *gatu*, it can be said that there are a variety of names, some with explicit, others with obscure meanings. I am not competent at this stage to consider this topic further.

of *gatu*.[12] Its function as a tent was now incidental; the important aspect was its role in celebratory display and exchange. Yet, there can be no doubt that the form of *gatu* is of great significance. Women take great care to adhere to the 'traditional' form and designs, based on a notion that the elders/ancestors knew what they were doing, and that it is incumbent on responsible descendants to continue these cultural enterprises, even if the details of 'meaning' are now unclear.

In order to examine the validity of the hypothesis that one interpretation of *gatu vakaviti* is that they are symbolic houses, let us now consider why this might be a logical and appropriate possibility. Houses in Lau are built by men.[13] They are furnished with mats and cloth, made by women. It might be thought that the one is permanent while the other is temporary, but in reality (with hurricanes and fires) both houses and soft materials are ephemeral. What is permanent is the *yavu*, the house foundation, often walled about with stones, the place where the ancestors (*vu*) resided. The *yavu* is important and named, the house on top is secondary. The house and its furnishings, the contributions of male and female labour respectively to the establishment of a household, are subject to the same processes of creation and decay as human beings, yet, also like humans, they have protective functions which ensure the continuation of life. Procreative activities ideally follow the establishment of a new household at marriage, and the crucial role of women throughout the life of an individual is marked at life crises with wrapping, enclosing and separating by means of cloth and mats. If *gatu vakaviti* are symbolic houses, the most appropriate time for their deployment would be at weddings, which we find to be the case, when a new household is being established formally, with all that that implies in terms of procreative potential. They could be considered a statement by the female relatives of the couple of the importance of the protecting and nurturing aspects of both houses and women.

But let us now turn to the other main occasion for the use of *gatu* – mortuary rituals – to see if some consistency of interpretation can be maintained. In what way are graves, houses and barkcloths connected? It is said that formerly, in some parts of Fiji, burials took place in house foundations, so that the *yavu* becomes the grave. However, contemporary evidence is our concern here. First, let us consider *gatu vakaviti* and graves. *Gatu* are used as burial shrouds around the corpse or around the casket. Figure 38 shows the casket of Pu Rere resting on the *potuiloma* of a *gatu*. The *potuiloma*[14], with the *potuisau*, are the key named elements of a *gatu*.

[12] This goes to the heart of the unresolved issue concerning the nature and meaning of symbols and how and if they communicate, although this topic cannot detain us here, where we are more concerned for the present with an ethnographic example.

[13] I have seen a woman plait coconut leaf thatch for a house on Kabara, just as I have seen men help tend *masi* plants and bring them from the gardens. Nevertheless, in a classificatory sense, housebuilding and barkcloth making are considered male and female activities respectively.

[14] Professor George Milner has drawn to my attention the fact that in Samoan the word *potu* means room, as in place where some activity takes place. This certainly has a resonance with the argument being proposed here, although its implications require further thought.

Figure 38. The burial of Pu Rere, Udu village, Kabara, November 1977 (see also plate 11). The casket, which has *masi kesa* and a flowered cross on top, rests on the *potuiloma* of a *gatu vakaviti* and two large mats. It was lowered into the grave and wrapped in these materials. The *gatu* was made by Keleira of Moce some twenty years previously and had been used at the wedding of one of Pu Rere's grand-daughters. *(Photo by Steven Hooper)*

Potuiloma were described to me as the most important part of the *gatu*, and they are characterised by red and black triangular designs on a white ground. These designs reappear in another form during the final mortuary rites, the placing of oiled red, white and black stones (*vatu kilikili*) on top of the grave, which again is the work of women (see plate 11 and fig. 39). That these triangular designs are significant cannot be doubted, though an explicit analysis of them will not be attempted here. They are an old design scheme, and possibly one of Tongan origin, since fine baskets woven to this design scheme are documented to Captain Cook's visits to Tonga in the 1770s (see Kaeppler 1978:218-221). Another appearance of this schema is in the red and black coconut husk fibre bindings of the timbers of high status houses (including churches). These are done by men, which should make the researcher wary of oversimplistic male/female analytical constructs.

To return to graves and houses, although recognisable houses were not seen over graves in Lau, they were seen in Suva cemeteries (covered in *gatu*), and they were certainly in evidence in Tonga during Cook's third voyage visit in 1777, when Webber drew a *fa'itoka* (Joppien and Smith 1988:320-323) although Teilhet-Fisk (1990) shows that Tongan graves have developed in a variety of ways. Agate, artist on the Wilkes expedition, drew elaborate house graves at Macuata, Vanua Levu, in 1840 (Wilkes 1845, III: opposite 231), and a very dramatic and recent example of a grave house in eastern Fiji is provided by the mausoleum at Somosomo for Tui Cakau, Ratu

Figure 39. Female relatives of Latai arrange oiled red, black and white stones (*kilikili*) on his grave. They roughly follow the triangular patterns of the *solofua* barkcloth below, which rests on a *maukupu* section of *gatu vakatoga* and a fine mat with woollen borders (*yaba vakabati*). Naikeleyaga village, Kabara, October 1977. *(Photo by Steven Hooper)*

Penaia Ganilau, who died in December 1993. Editions of the Fiji Times for late December 1993 and early January 1994 provide numerous illustrations of the use of large *gatu* during the obsequies, including examples placed under, over and behind the casket during the lying-in-state in Suva and over the truck which carried the casket to the wharf for transfer to Somosomo. The mausoleum, shaped like a house, was completely covered by an enormous *gatu*, and the inside was entirely lined with *gatu* and multi-bordered mats.

I would like to end this sketchy and exploratory paper, which has raised more questions than it has provided answers, with some general reflections on barkcloth and the role of women in Lauan culture. Marshall Sahlins, the principal theorist in this area, has written of barkcloth as 'the pre-eminently feminine valuable' and has stressed its symbolic role in the 'capture' of the paramount chief/god at installation rituals (1981:117-119). There is no doubt that Lauan women identify closely with the cloth and mat products of their labour, which are described as 'our valuables' (*a weimami iyau*). Barkcloth has several aspects. The explicit social, competitive, honour/shame aspect has been reviewed above, but it is also used to separate, protect and enclose those people who are the focus of rituals, be they chiefs, newborns, newly-weds or corpses. By the mediation of women, and of their products, human life is brought into the world, nurtured, protected and taken out of the world. The mediation of women and their products also protects and separates those who are not in a sanctified state from those who are (chiefs

or those undergoing ritual). Critical in this regard is the disposal of the dead. There is explicit apprehension concerning the spirits of the dead, especially the recent dead, who are frequently reported as being seen around the village at night soon after death. The ritually appropriate intervention of women and their products, notably during the *kilikili* rite (which is described as serving to 'press down' (*bikabika*) the deceased), acts as a means of controlling the potentially disruptive influences of the recently deceased. Control is not too strong a word, since, as Sahlins explains (ibid.), in the rituals of installation the outsider paramount chief is captured, ensnared and his productive/destructive potential ultimately controlled through the agency of women and their products, notably the barkcloth with which the chief's head and arms are bound during the ceremonies. All this may seem a long way from the concerns of women at contemporary Lauan weddings that they not be regarded as *vakaloloma* (pitiable), and from the day-to-day business of making mats and cloth and running a household. However, it is in the nature of symbols to be tenacious and to have deep as well as surface meanings. I hope these preliminary investigations have been in some small way successful in revealing some of the 'wisdom of the ancestors' (*nodra vuku o ira na qase e mada*), and worthy of Simon Kooijman's pioneering work.

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8

NOTES ON THE ART OF BARKCLOTH PAINTING IN THE JAYAPURA AREA, IRIAN JAYA, INDONESIA

Jac. Hoogerbrugge

I

During the period 1956-1963, when stationed in Hollandia (now Jayapura) as a shipping agent, I visited Lake Sentani many times, making watercolour paintings of the picturesque lake villages situated at the foot of the mighty Cyclops Mountains, at the same time taking notes on local myths and ornamental art.

Thus a friendly relationship developed with the Sentani artists, which over the years enabled me to bring together a collection of art objects that was fairly representative of the art of the area – except for the fact that it did not contain a good specimen of the famous barkcloth paintings. This unfortunate gap was not caused by lack of attention on my part; on the contrary, in 1960-1961 I had shown Kooijman's book 'The Art of Lake Sentani', with photographs of eight selected barkcloth paintings (at the time still referred to as 'loincloths') in most of the Sentani villages, inviting the villagers to find me a man capable of making a *maro smo*, as these paintings are called, of comparable quality, and in their own style. Although I had promised attractive rewards, the response was slow, the common excuse being that the preparation of the cloth was a woman's affair. Collection of the required bark also took a great deal of time, I was told, because the trees are widely scattered in the jungle. Eventually, four or five paintings were produced which, regrettably, turned out to be of disappointing quality. They looked like awkward drawings, depicting nothing but a simple Sentani ornamentation, and showed no trace of creative imagination. They reminded me of the pieces of decorated barkcloth which, occasionally, I had seen for sale at the yearly Whitsun Fair organized by the Protestant Churches, at Yoka-village, Sentani. Thus at my departure in 1963, I had come to the conclusion that the art of barkcloth painting had died out, not surprisingly perhaps, because even in pre-war times good-quality paintings were scarce.

II

gramme), the work requiring that I stay in Jayapura for about three weeks of each year (1969-1974). This enabled me to engage in follow-up research which this time, on the advice of Kamma, also included the coastal village of Nafri.

Indeed, it was in this (Sentani-related) village that in 1971, after a number of introductory visits, I made the acquaintance of Hanuebi and Sriano, two aged men said to be capable, old-style *maro* painters. This claim proved none too excessive, and during the next two years these two men produced for me a series of fascinating barkcloth paintings, picturing 'the various spirits that live in our village'. Plates 12 and 13 document their artistry and prove that sometimes contemporary Sentani *maro smo* can be put on a par with the best of the pre-war Sentani paintings.

Plate 12 portrays 'Semrai Ondoforo', Hanuebi told me: that is, 'Chief Spirit', adding that he was not allowed to state the spirit's proper name aloud. He agreed, however, that the local village teacher write the name in my sketch book and so I learned that his proper name was 'Serhauw'. Then, of his own accord, Hanuebi, pointing to the fancy headdress, said that it contained many feathers of the bird of paradise and resembled the headgear used by the villagers themselves at the great feasts of the past. The small

Plate 12. *Maro smo*, 63 x 80 cm, made by Hanuebi, Nafri village, Yotefa Bay, 1971. *(Photo by Ben Grishaaver)*

Plate 13. *Maro smo*, 72 x 96 cm, made by Sriano, Nafri village, Yotefa Bay, 1972. *(Photo by Ben Grisbaaver)*

round spots around the body were the tiny lights which, at night, disclose the presence of the spirits, he added.

Plate 13 pictures two 'Semrai' with their two spirit children, dancing at one of their spirit feasts, Sriano explained. The ornamentation surrounding the figures was called *iro*, which means 'eyes'. This was all he ventured to say about his painting.

For further particulars I refer the reader to 'The Art of Northwest New Guinea', edited by Greub (1992). This book contains an essay on the art of the Sentani area written by Simon Kooijman, to which was added a special chapter on the art of *maro* painting. The closing sentence of the relevant chapter reads :

> '.. by 1976 both men had died. Did the spirits of the sea and the bush die with them, and were Nyaro Hanuebi and Sibo Sriano the last of the old-style *maro* painters?' (Hoogerbrugge 1992:139)

III

This was in fact not so, as I discovered almost 20 years later in 1993 and 1994, when I visited Jayapura again. There, to my surprise, I found a total of some 20 contemporary *maro smo*, several of high quality, others rather mediocre, in the collections of the University Museum and the new State Museum (Museum Negeri Irian Jaya), built around 1982 and situated next to the Expo-Grounds at Waena village, Sentani. About half of the paintings clearly originated from Lake Sentani villages. One of them was of really striking quality and compared well with the best ones of the pre-war period, as fig. 40 may confirm. Regrettably, no particulars could be traced as to the exact village of origin. Fortunately, a second piece of equally, superb quality was traced and documented on the spot (fig. 41). Thanks to the assistance received from Ben Mitaart (Department of small-scale Industries), former colleague on the Asmat Art Project, I could meet with Uwus Onggé, one of today's most experienced *maro* painters. Fig. 41 shows him in front of his house in the village of Harapan, just off the mainroad to Sentani. He had moved to this mainland village a couple of years ago because his native island of Asei had become too crowded.

He told me that he had made the *maro smo* about a year before (1993) and added that he had not made one since, because new gardens had to be cleared first. It pictured, he said, 'an evil spirit in his spirit world', and added, pointing towards the spiral ornamentation at the foot, 'above the clouds'. He also mentioned that he was experiencing problems in getting new barkcloth material and that, for that reason, he had recently made a three-day trip

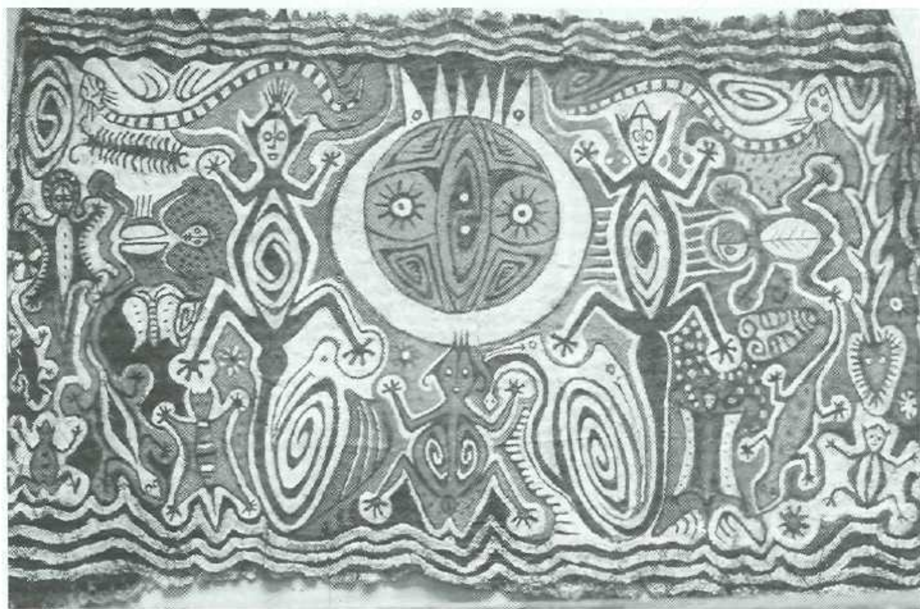

Figure 40. *Maro smo*, c. 60 x 120 cm, anonymous, Lake Sentani, c. 1993. *(Photo by Jac. Hoogerbrugge)*

Figure 41. *Maro smo*, 63 x 60 cm, shown by its painter Uwus Onggé, Harapan village, Sentani district, 1993. *(Photo by Jac. Hoogerbrugge)*

Figure 42. Barkcloth painting, c. 60 x 120 cm, Web River, Yafi area, 1994. *(Photo by Jac. Hoogerbrugge*

Figure 43. 'Sickness shields' form the main component of the fancy headgear. Ceremonial dance at Ubrub village, Yafi area, 1970. *(Photo from archives Franciscan Mission, Utrecht)*

through the jungle, hunting for young seedlings of the (scarce) barkcloth-tree. He had collected four pieces which were now doing well in the clearing behind his house, and which would supply the first pieces of bark in about three years' time.[1]

The other half of the paintings featured animals, such as lizards, snakes and turtles, set against a background with white dots, in a style quite different from the Sentani and unfamiliar to me. Also the cloth was thicker and more grayish in colour. These paintings had arrived in the Museum in early 1994. Fig. 42 shows a magnificent example from this group. I learned, to my amazement, that they originate in villages situated on the Web River, in the mountainous Yafi – Senggi area, some 120 kilometres south of Jayapura (as the crow flies). This seems to be quite a new phenomenon, which is all the more surprising because the area, to my knowledge, has no previous record of making barkcloth, let alone of making barkcloth paintings. Regrettably no further information was available.

In this context I recall that Galis, visiting the area in 1956, documented the existence of 'sickness shields', paintings made on the leaf sheath of the sago tree (or on 'the flat, pressed, base [pro]portions of sago palmleaf stems'[2]). They were made under supervision of the medicine men and depicted the 'spirit animals' that had brought sickness to the village.

After having been used at the ceremonial dance (see fig. 43, made in 1970 at Ubrub village, Yafi area), the shields were fastened to the walls of one of the houses in the village, probably to ward off further dangerous attacks from the sickness spirits. In 1956 H. Frankenmolen, Franciscan missionary

Figure 44. After the ceremonial dance the 'sickness shields' are hung from the wall of one of the houses, Amgotro, Yafi area, 1956. *(Photo by H. Frankenmolen)*

1 Photographs of these young, fast-growing *maro* trees indicate that they probably belong to the genus Macaranga (Euphorbiae); the *maro smo* from Nafri, mentioned earlier, were produced from the bark of the Antiaris Toxicaria (Moracae). Personal communication W. Vink, Rijksherbarium, Leiden.

2 See Kaufmann (1979:312).

Plate 14. 'Sickness shield', Yafi area, 1956. *(Photo by Ben Grisbaaver)*

Figure 45. Cave painting near a village east of Amgotro, Yafi area, 1957. *(Photo by H. Frankenmolen)*

stationed at Amgotro (Yafi area), made a photograph of a decorated house of this kind. With the various paintings hung from the wall, the house seems a real art gallery: see fig. 44.

In 1956 I obtained several 'sickness-shields' from Frankenmolen. One is reproduced here: see plate 14. The similarity between the design of the barkcloth painting of 1994 (fig. 42) and that of the leaf-sheath painting of 1956 (plate 14) is truly amazing.

It is also important to mention that both Galis and Frankenmolen have recorded the existence, in the Yafi area, of cave paintings. Fig. 45, taken by Frankenmolen in 1957, shows part of a decorated wall inside a cave a few miles east of Amgotro. Thus it appears that the area has a long tradition with regard to painting, and it is intriguing to see that, all of a sudden in 1993-1994, barkcloth paintings, thus far unknown to exist in the area, appeared in Jayapura. The question as to what actually caused this development has to remain unanswered for the time being.

IV

As to the arts and crafts production on Lake Sentani I talked with Herman Ohei, a well-known woodcarver on Asei island. He explained that, during recent years Sentani objects, *maro smo* included, had been receiving more attention than before because the two Museums, both situated close to Sentani, were attracting more visitors from both home and abroad. Consequently a small but steady demand had developed for good-quality art objects. It was in this connection, Ohei said, that he had changed from the carving of decorated bowls for the villagers to the carving of small Sentani statuettes for the Museum shop. Naturally the increased contact with visitors and tourists has also led to the development of a small-scale cottage industry, producing objects such as mini-sized drums decorated in gaudy colours, and small pieces of decorated barkcloth ranging from postcard-sized up to a square foot.

I saw some 40 pieces of such barkcloth souvenirs on Asei island, and found that occasionally they are rather attractive. The designs, carefully stylized and scaled-down Sentani motifs, are copied from old Sentani objects, or photographs thereof. They are made by young men who, for the postcard-sized objects, use stencils or blocks to produce the pattern. Afterwards the white and red colours are painted in by hand. Later I learned that a Protestant Church Organisation active in the area, in cooperation with a non-profit organisation in Holland, is offering help with the marketing of these small-sized barkcloth prints and paintings.

Later, in the State-Museum at Waena, I learned that the yearly Arts and Crafts Fair held at the Expo-Grounds has also had a stimulating effect, because the feasts have confronted the Sentani people with the arts and crafts from the other regions of Irian Jaya. Although this had caused some confusion and proliferation of style elements, the Fairs had also brought about a greater awareness of the value of their own Sentani culture.

In addition, I learned that the Sentani culture recently had received an important incentive following upon a special exhibition, in Jakarta, of Sentani arts and crafts, organized by the independent Indonesian newspaper 'The Jakarta Post', in the spring of 1992. The exhibition, at which one or two Sentani artists were present, had been a success, and all carvings and barkcloth paintings (which featured prominently) were sold, and the proceeds returned to the area. To support the show the newspaper had published a special edition, nicely illustrated, dealing exclusively with Sentani and focusing on the culture, past and present. To reflect the sympathetic message I can do no better than quote the final paragraph of the introductory article (by Raymond Toruan) reading:

> 'Should we remain indifferent and let the millennia-old ancestral soul of the Sentani people depart unrestrained from the lakeside? Or must we, in as far as we have a right to do so, somehow do our part to help the people of the Sentani district maintain their artistic and cultural identity? We do not contend to have the answers to those questions. But if this exhibition succeeds, in however modest a scale, in inviting all of us to ponder the issue, it will have achieved its purpose.'

In the other articles, the journalist Jim Supangkat reports on various aspects and problems of contemporary Sentani culture, using the data he collected personally on a trip covering most of the Sentani villages.

Recapitulating, I think that the Sentani exhibition at Jakarta, the annual Arts and Crafts Fair at the Expo-Grounds, and the activities of the two Museums, have had a stimulating influence on the arts and crafts of the area. They offered new incentives to the artists and supplied a regular outlet at the same time. Thus it appears that the spirits of the bush and the sea, formerly the main source of inspiration, are not yet dead as was feared 20 years ago. Rather, they seem to have joined forces with powerful new spirits like publicity, competition and cash. This new combination of incentives is keeping the art of barkcloth painting alive, at least for the time being.

V

Finally, I would like to record a unique event that only recently came to my notice, and was therefore not mentioned in my *maro* article of 1992 in Greub's 'The Art of northwest New Guinea', and which, curiously enough, has remained unnoticed in the professional periodicals, viz. 'The Arts and Crafts Exhibition' of 1929, May 12-20 which was organized by B.J.O. Schrieke and C.C.F.M. Le Roux on the occasion of the Fourth Pacific Science Congress, and held at the museum of the Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Royal Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences), now National Museum, Jakarta. Each province, including Irian Jaya, was officially invited to take part and was asked to delegate a team of capable craftsmen and women prepared to give a show of their skill and dances at the Museum. Although detailed information is lacking, newspapers of the day report that indeed a group of 35 men and women from the

north coast of Irian Jaya left for Jakarta. They travelled on board the regular KPM liner[3] and carried with them a great deal of festive attire, musical instruments and examples of ethnic arts and crafts. The Marind Anim team, scheduled to represent the south coast, cancelled their departure at the last minute, because they were 'afraid to die abroad from homesickness'.

In Batavia (now Jakarta) the team was lodged in army barracks, together with no less than 22 other teams, ten from specific cultural areas of Java, Bali and Sumatra, and twelve from Nias, Kalimantan, Sumba, Toraja, Ambon, Ceram, Menado, Halmaheira, Kisar, Tanimbar and Sangir, a gathering of some 450 people! At the Museum each team was allotted a place of its own for the demonstration of its traditional handcraft skills, and for the display and sale of its ethnic art-and-craft objects. The dances were held in the evenings, on the grounds of the Botanical and Zoological Garden. Notwithstanding the admission fee (Indonesian visitors 30 cents, Chinese 60 cents and European guilders 1.80, double on Sunday) the public thronged to the Museum en masse and, to prevent chaos, measures were taken to admit the public in lots of only 600 at a time. Nevertheless a total of 40,000 visitors were admitted, not counting those attending the evening performances!

Despite the overcrowding the teams, dressed in full festive attire, succeeded in presenting quite an attractive presentation, in an enthusiastic mood and competitive spirit, for eight days in succession. The teams from Kalimantan and Irian Jaya often stole the show, probably not so much because of their 'wild dances and naive arts', but more on account of their exotic appearance: the men heavily tattooed or wearing nose plugs, the women dressed in only barkcloth skirts and shell necklaces. Also the assumption that these people were probably former headhunters, will have played a part.

The public was excited, and ethnic arts and crafts were sold to the tune of 100,000 dutch guilders! One reporter wrote that the Irian Jaya team did a brisk business, selling among other things some 2000 arrows. After the exhibition the participants were entertained by the Government and were offered sightseeing trips throughout the city and a train journey to the town of Bogor. A film was shown picturing the various activities in which the teams had taken part.

Thereafter they began their return, the Irian Jaya group leaving by ship on May 28th. They carried with them a considerable load of fancy goods and, I am sure, were overwhelmed with new impressions. Fig. 46, copied from the magazine 'Woord en Beeld' of May 1929, pictures the group from Serui/Waropen, sitting amidst their arts-and-crafts collection. Fig. 47, copied from the magazine 'd' Orient' of May 1929, shows a Humboldt Bay man and woman; the man, selfconfident, poses as a fighter, the woman is dressed in a plain barkcloth skirt.

3 KPM stands for: Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij.

Figure 46. Waropen people (Serui area) at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition of 1929 at the National Museum, Jakarta. *(Reproduced from the magazine 'Woord en Beeld', May 1929)*

Figure 47. Humboldt Bay man and woman at the National Museum, Jakarta, May 1929. The man insisted being photographed in fighting position, the women wearing a plain barkcloth skirt. *(Reproduced from the magazine d'Orient, 18 May 1929)*

With regard to the use and sale of barkcloth at the exhibition, I would like to make the following comments:

1. several newspapers mentioned that the women of the Irian Jaya team were wearing barkcloth skirts. Nowhere was there any mention that these skirts were coloured or decorated. Also fig. 47 shows that these skirts were just plain pieces of barkcloth;
2. a magazine article by P. F. Dahler, referred to decorated barkcloth. The author observed a Humboldt Bay man in contact with a man from Bali comparing a piece of decorated barkcloth with a glittering '*kain songkat*'. He then overheard the man from Humboldt Bay saying, with reference to his native barkcloth: '*ini bagus juga*' – 'this is nice too', to which the Balinese gracefully assented (d' Orient', June 8th 1929);
3. in the newspaper 'Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad' of May 11th 1929 a journalist, reporting on the displays he had seen at the various stands, remarked that, when entering the Irian Jaya stand, he was struck by pieces of barkcloth decorated with 'naive drawings in bright colours'.

From the above reports it may appear that, in the Jayapura area, decorated barkcloth was being produced for sale as early as the beginning of 1929. This conclusion is of some interest, as most of the barkcloth paintings were collected after that date.

In this context I like to recall the following facts:

a. the large collection of arts and crafts brought together by Wirz during prolonged stays in 1921 and 1926, contain only one or two *maro smo*;
b. Viot, visiting Tobati in 1929 as a stranger to the area, collected no less than 50 *maro smo*, of which many show new designs; six of them are pictured in Peltier's study on Viot (Greub, 1992);
c. Fleischmann, calling at Humboldt Bay in December 1931, bought no less than 41 *maro smo*, many in a innovative style not seen before; five of them are shown in Meyn's catalogue 'Black Island Paradise', 1982.

How did it, come about that, Viot managed to collect such a large number of *maro smo*, and from where had the innovative style come? These questions have remained unanswered because Viot left no documentation on his collecting activities. From Peltier's study we learn that Viot signed the travel contract in Paris in April 1929. It therefore seems safe to say that Viot cannot have arrived at Tobati before the end of June 1929. It follows that Viot arrived only a short while after the Humboldt Bay team had returned from their successful show at the Jakarta Exhibition.

For Viot this coincidence proved highly fortunate: the excitement over the Jakarta experience had not yet died down, the memories of the Exhibition were still vivid and colourful, minds were open to new ideas. It is, I suppose, this festive and creative atmosphere in combination with Viot's eagerness and desire for *maro smo* which, in a plausible way, explain the revival and innovation of the art of barkcloth painting of mid-1929.

I will now conclude my account of the Jakarta Exhibition of 1929, a unique event which could, with good reason, also have been called: 'The first all-Indonesia ethnic Arts and Crafts Fair'. It is satisfying to see that the practice has survived and that, be it on a regional basis, nowadays an Arts and Crafts Fair is held each year at the Expo-Grounds at Waena, right on the borders of Lake Sentani. It is also interesting to note that decorated barkcloth, on display in Jakarta for the first time at the Exhibition of 1929, has finally returned after many presentations abroad to Jakarta, where barkcloth paintings were featured at the Sentani Exhibition of 1992.

For the sake of clarity I should point out that my trips of 1993 and 1994 covered only villages situated in the eastern part of Lake Sentani: lack of time prevented me from also visiting the central and western areas. For this reason the information obtained during these trips is not representative of the area as a whole. Nevertheless, I trust that they will be of interest to the imaginary author of the book 'Decorated barkcloth of New Guinea'. Such a book would link up nicely with Kooijman's 'Ornamented bark-cloth in Indonesia' of 1963.

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9

BARKCLOTH IN INDONESIA
SIMON KOOIJMAN'S VIEWS, AND ADDITIONAL RESEARCH ON ENGGANO ISLAND

Pieter ter Keurs

Introduction

In 1963 Simon Kooijman published his 'Ornamented barkcloth in Indonesia', as number 16 of the 'Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden', the same series in which more of his work appeared, and also the series in which this book is published. Kooijman was curator of the Oceanic Department of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde and therefore a book focussing on Indonesian material culture may seem surprising. Kooijman was apparently side-tracked, but with a good reason. In the 1950s Simon Kooijman began to work on the subject of barkcloth in Oceania, and more and more this interest evolved into a long-term activity that was to become a main focus of his professional career. Although the well-known book on Sentani Art (1959) interrupted his barkcloth work, he never really allowed himself to be completely drawn away from the subject. However, during his research (at that time only museum research) on Oceanic barkcloth, he felt the need to obtain more information on Indonesian barkcloth, since Indonesia and Oceania are part of the same cultural background (Kooijman 1963:VII). Indonesian material had to be studied to obtain a good basis for his Oceanic research. At that time Dr. Jan Keuning was Kooijman's colleague in the Indonesian Department, and apparently it presented no problem for him to allow Kooijman to study the barkcloth in the Indonesian collection of the museum. From the beginning the study was meant to be a preliminary phase in the study of Oceanic barkcloth. Kooijman never intended to do fieldwork in Indonesia and he limited his attention to the Indonesian collections of the main Dutch museums, especially the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (National Museum of Ethnology).

In the 1950s Keuning was working on an historical study of Enggano Island,[1] just before leaving the museum to be appointed Professor at the University of Leiden in 1960. His successor was Dr. A.C. van der Leeden.[2] Keuning's work later became the starting point for the Enggano research by

[1] Dr. Jan Keuning published two articles on the subject (1955, 1958).

[2] See also Van Wengen's introduction in this volume.

the author of this article. It is therefore my intention to discuss Kooijman's book on Indonesian ornamented barkcloth, to add some information from various sources, and finally to discuss barkcloth from Enggano island, which was mentioned only briefly in Kooijman's book.

Mededeling 16, Ornamented barkcloth in Indonesia

In this discussion[3] of the book 'Ornamented barkcloth in Indonesia' I will concentrate on chapter I. In the introduction Kooijman states that he will start his book with the conclusions from his research, justifying the order of his chapters thus: "This sequence seems not only desirable but justified, because it leaves to the reader the choice of whether he cares to laboriously struggle with the considerable amount of factual data on which the conclusions are based" (Kooijman 1963:1). The route towards the conclusions may be "a long and dull one", and Kooijman offers his readers the possibility of skipping the information that has no interest for their purposes. The comparison between the Indonesian area and the Oceanic area, related to the subject of barkcloth production, is given in the last chapter of the book, and Kooijman also remarks about this that its "place at the end of the book is due to the fact that the number of scholars interested in publications of this kind is relatively small" (ibid.:2). Two observations can be made, related to these introductory remarks. Firstly, Kooijman clearly positions himself as the educator and the teacher who knows how to give information in a balanced way; secondly, he modestly judges part of his work as to be less important for most people. Following Kooijman's own ideas about the book, I will first summarize chapters II and III briefly, and then discuss in more detail chapter I, probably the most interesting chapter, open to many points of discussion.

In chapter II the technical aspects of the production of ornamented barkcloth in Indonesia are discussed. Although not everything is known about the subject (ibid.:56), the chapter gives a fairly good idea of the production of barkcloth. Mainly based on the work of Adriani and Kruyt (1901, 1912-1914) and Kaudern (1944) Kooijman gives a description of the production of the Toraja[4] jackets (*lemba, karaba*) and headdresses (*siga*). He then discusses the Javanese *deluwang*, hardly mentioned in the concluding chapter I, before coming to a more general discussion on barkcloth production in Indonesia. There is very useful information about the trees used in several parts of the country for the production of barkcloth. After this Kooijman turns to the techniques used for ornamentation, including the dyes used to paint the designs on the cloths. Chapter II is especially valuable for putting together interesting information on the production of barkcloth

[3] I would like to thank Prof. dr. Jos Platenkamp and Dr. David Stuart-Fox for reading the draft of this article and for their critical remarks.

[4] In this article modern Indonesian spelling is used for geographical and tribal names. In 1963 Kooijman used the regular old spelling of that time. Thus, 'Toradja' becomes 'Toraja' and 'Ceram' becomes 'Seram'.

from very varied sources, enabling the reader to gain a clear picture of the diversity of the subject in the different culture areas of Indonesia.

Chapter III sets out to give a definition of the different styles of ornamented barkcloth, based on the available museum collections. Concentrating on the motifs, Kooijman discusses Kalimantan as a style area and goes into extensive detail about the Toraja of Central Sulawesi. Clearly influenced by the available ethnographic information, the discussion of the Toraja material is much more detailed than that of the Kalimantan material. The third geographical area is Maluku in which Seram and Halmahera are treated separately. Fascinating designs on the pubic belts from West Seram are discussed. The women's jackets from Halmahera (*kotangu*) are briefly mentioned. Finally there is mention of what is called the 'marginal area of West New Guinea'.[5] In this Kooijman has described the main areas of production of ornamented barkcloth. With the available museum collections and the related ethnographic information, he mapped a type of material culture which had never before been studied so thoroughly.

Chapter I is in fact a summary of the conclusions of the research. It is a fascinating summary, interpreting the available material after close scrutiny, ending in hypotheses. Kooijman was well aware of the drawbacks of his study, and at the same time he was careful enough not to fall into the trap of too many easy generalizations. His hypotheses are stimulating and inviting, especially intended as the base for more research in the field. Apart from literature Kooijman also uses unpublished material, such as information given by missionaries or, in the case of Borneo, information given by Tom Harrison with whom he corresponded. The thorough way in which the information is collected and the careful manner in which it is interpreted, are characteristic elements of Simon Kooijman's work.

As a result of a stylistic analysis of the motifs on barkcloth, some interesting conclusions are being formulated. In the process of coming to conclusions, Kooijman makes clear that he is well aware of the problem of name and meaning. He mentions 'the possibility that the name merely served to denote the designs without explaining their meaning' (Kooijman 1963:8). This problem has later been explicitly mentioned by scholars like Anthony Forge (1979). However, Kooijman was already conscious of the sweeping conclusions it could lead to, if the researcher were not aware of this problem. Therefore his main instrument was stylistic analysis; comparing designs without being too quickly concerned about their meaning. In the 1970s and the 1980s this kind of analysis would be called 'formal analysis', and some stimulating examples can be mentioned here. Laura Greenberg (1975) studied Hopi earthenware, and Ad Boeren studied the Asmat shields of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in this fashion.[6] However, Kooijman

[5] See also Hoogerbrugge's chapter in this volume.

[6] As a student of Prof. Gerbrands, Ad Boeren worked with Dr. Simon Kooijman during training practice at the museum in the 1970s. In this period he started his work on the Asmat shields. See Boeren's chapter in this volume.

never went deeply into that type of analysis. After studying the designs he always tried to reach some conclusions about the meaning of the designs, although he realized that the available information was not always enough. Boeren only allowed meaning into his research at the final stage, after the formal principles of order had been found and described.

In chapter I a discussion of ornamented barkcloth in Kalimantan and Sarawak leads to the careful conclusion that the designs are usually 'human related' (ibid.:8), making use of the *aso* motif (see also Sellato 1989). A combination of basic motifs is often used to depict designs with a meaning that should be interpreted at a different level. In the case of the Kenyah of Kalimantan, *aso* motifs are used to make designs that stand for human figures, probably ancestors. A similar situation, with different motifs, can be observed in the case of the Asmat of Irian Jaya. Gerbrands (1967) comes to the conclusion that the motif of the praying mantis (*wènèt*) is of central importance to understanding Asmat material culture. Two interlocking *wènèt* motifs become a human figure, an ancestor, and in this form the design can be seen extensively on shields. As with the Asmat '*wènèt*/human figure' relationship, the Kenyah use the '*aso*/human figure' relationship to create the designs on their ornamented barkcloth and shields. Kooijman also touches upon the role of Kenyah barkcloth in head-hunting and in the rituals performed at the death of a chief.

In discussing ornamented barkcloth from Sulawesi, Kooijman concentrates on the men's headdresses (*siga*) from the Toraja and the women's jackets (*lemba* or *karaba*). He distinguishes three style areas in East Indonesia, one of which is the Toraja area of Central Sulawesi. The other two are the barkcloth-producing areas of West Seram and North Halmahera. With regard to Sulawesi and Seram, a similarity is mentioned; in both areas there is a marked relationship between the use of ornamented barkcloth, the symbolism of the sun, and head-hunting. Basic designs are a stylized flying bird and a diamond-shaped motif with or without diagonals. 'For the Toradja it could ... be demonstrated that the square or diamond-shaped *siga* with their diagonals marking the division of the pattern, probably represent the upper-world or the heavens. This idea is confirmed, among other things, by the sun symbolism and the upper-world aspect of various motifs of the *siga* patterns. Thus the warriors and the head-hunters, are here connected with the Lord of the heavens, the sun, and the upper-world' (Kooijman 1963:52). Kooijman comes to this kind of conclusion after thorough study of the available information. He places ornamented barkcloth within a cultural context, although he ackowledges the lack of information on various aspects of the subject.

In the final part of chapter I, there 'is a temptation to mention ... the views offered by F.D.E. van Ossenbruggen and W.H. Rassers concerning the Javanese montja-pat conception' (Kooijman 1963:53). This seems to be one of the rare occasions when Kooijman begins to come close to theorizing; in the sense of paying lipservice to important theoretical anthropological views, current at that time. However, even in this situation he is careful.

Although a *monca-pat* design is visible in many barkcloth objects from Sulawesi and Seram he realizes that this aspect is only meaningful if it can be demonstrated that the four-five division is a central principle in other aspects of culture as well, e.g., social structure. Unfortunately, this 'could not be proved' (Kooijman 1963:54). It can also not be demonstrated that there is a relationship between the *oiale* design, a representation of the sun and four flying birds around it, on Seramese *lawani* (pubic belts) and the local social structure.

The last paragraph of the first chapter of 'Ornamented barkcloth in Indonesia' contains a message that still holds good in the 1990s. In fact, in the present period when museum policies are constantly being reviewed, and commercial elements are being introduced at the expense of thorough long-term research, Kooijman's final conclusion acquires a political dimension. As stated before, Kooijman realizes the difficulty of not having enough reliable information from fieldwork, but at the same time he stresses the importance of research in the rich storerooms of the museums. A better understanding 'can only be arrived at by the cooperation of scholars working both in the field and with the still insufficiently explored treasures of material culture and art stored in our ethnographical collections. It does not seem too bold to suppose that the present arm-chair ethnologists' views which are based mainly on the study of museum objects and documentary data of a highly fragmentary character, may, nevertheless, be of use to some future fieldworker by throwing light on cultural phenomena and intracultural relations, and thus perhaps contributing to a new perspective and stimulating others to find fresh and valuable new perspectives' (1963:55).

Additional fieldwork

Although a good deal of additional information on specific Indonesian cultures has become available since the publication of Kooijman's study, the subject of barkcloth does not seem to have been a central focus. This is, of course, not surprising. In most Indonesian cultures barkcloth ceased to be of importance at the beginning of the 20th century, and only during crisis situations did people start to make barkcloth again. In Central Sulawesi the local people produced and wore bark clothing during World War II, due to a shortage of textiles (Aragon 1991:157).

In two of the areas Kooijman writes about, more fieldwork has been done. Naomichi Ishige (1980) published a book on the Galela, and Jos Platenkamp (1988, 1990) studied the Tobelo of North Halmahera. Hetty Nooij-Palm (1979, 1986, 1989) reported extensively on her fieldwork among the Sa'dan Toraja of Sulawesi, and Lorraine Aragon (1990, 1991) more recently published some information on barkcloth production in Central Sulawesi, just north of the Sa'dan. I would also like to mention Eija-Maija Kotilainen's (1992) study on the material culture of Central Sulawesi. However, this recent book is almost entirely based on the study of museum collections alone.

Concerning the bark loincloths of Halmahera, Kooijman (1963:46) distinguishes two different types: the *pisa* and the *sabeba*. Both types are to be used by men, although the latter seems to be especially meant for boys. They had to be grown up before they were allowed to wear the *pisa*. A third type of ornamented strip of barkcloth was the *o sone ma sasawo*, made by a young woman as a gift to her father-in-law. This third type was longer than the *pisa*.

Platenkamp (1988, 1990) describes Tobelo society and touches upon the role of material culture, e.g., barkcloth, in Tobelo culture. In the museum catalogue for the exhibition 'De Waarde der Dingen' (1990)[7], where he notes that the Tobelo made their clothing from bark until the end of the 19th century (Platenkamp 1990:33), Platenkamp describes two loincloths (ibid.: 38) from Tobelo or Galela, hereby adding some details to Kooijman's material. The first loincloth (no. 600) may have been used as a ceremonial gift from the bride-takers to the bride-givers. The design is interesting, since it relates to the *monca-pat* problem also discussed, in critical terms, by Kooijman. In fact, the problem Kooijman describes (Kooijman 1963:54) is also touched upon by Platenkamp. The central design of the loincloth described resembles a rosette with four 'arms' which may represent the four descent lines which constitute a "house". The hypothetical way in which Platenkamp makes this statement suggests that he too has difficulty in proving this relation between a *monca-pat*-like design and the social structure.[8] The second loincloth (no. 48.301) has diamond and triangle motifs. It has probably been used by women as a loincloth, or as a cloth that covered the breasts. The loincloths for men were usually longer and less wide that those for women. In his Ph.D. thesis (1988) Platenkamp just briefly discusses the role of barkcloth as status symbols, in (marriage) ritual gifts, and in burials, when the dead person is 'stored' in an envelope of the dead (in Galela language *o sone ma sasawo*), a long piece of barkcloth (1988:153). Ishige, who gives a description of Galela material culture, mentions barkcloth only once: 'It appears,..., that by the beginning of the twentieth century most of the Galela had already started wearing imported clothes. It is known that barkcloth was formerly made in Sulawesi, Seram, and Halmahera. The Galela are also said to have worn barkcloth clothes before the introduction of textile goods, since they were not skilled at weaving. In this century, as cloth goods have come into common use, the villagers have forgotten how to make clothes of barkcloth, and none remain in Galela. It is said, however, that the people had to make barkcloth under the guidance of some old men, when goods became unavailable during World War II' (Ishige 1980:477).

The ethnographer of the Sa'dan Toraja, Hetty Nooij-Palm, does not report anything of interest to our subject. In her reports on several periods of research among the Sa'dan Toraja (1979, 1986) she repeatedly discusses the role of cloths in Toraja life. However, she seems to disregard barkcloth

[7] The exhibition 'De Waarde der Dingen', 'The Value of Things', was held in the Museon in The Hague, the Netherlands, and organised by Anne-Marie Boer and Jos Platenkamp.

[8] See also Platenkamp (1988:211) for a discussion of designs in Tobelo plaited artefacts.

completely. The barkcloth headdress (*siga*) for important men is not mentioned. Instead, the batik'd headcloth, *tale bate*, is mentioned as a part of traditional Toraja clothing (Nooij-Palm 1986:308). In a later publication Nooij-Palm describes some *siga* from the collection of the Museum of Ethnology in Rotterdam. In this case (Nooij-Palm 1989:218-223) the information she gives seems to be based on Kooijman's work on the subject, and not on her own fieldwork. However, in this context we have to review the concept of 'Toraja'. Formerly, all inhabitants of Central Sulawesi were called Toraja, and in Kooijman's book a distinction is made between the Western Toraja, the Eastern Toraja, and the Sa'dan Toraja (Kooijman 1963:17). Nooij-Palm worked among the Sa'dan Toraja, but most of the material Kooijman wrote about came from the area around Lake Poso, north of the Sa'dan. Since the Sa'dan Toraja were less isolated than their northern neighbours, it is most likely that their barkcloth was replaced by textiles much earlier. In fact Aragon (1990) reports that barkcloth is still made and used among the Tobaku and neighbouring groups, west of Lake Poso. She also gives a description of the technical aspects of producing barkcloth and stresses the relationship between the making of barkcloth and fertility (Aragon 1990:44).

Although not based on fieldwork, a refreshing study is Kotilainen's book on the material culture of Central Sulawesi (1992). The chapter on the role of barkcloth in Central Sulawesi is only a part of her study, but Kotilainen succeeds (by placing the subject within her analytical framework) in looking at barkcloth among the Toraja in a slightly different way from Kooijman's. Although she uses the same sources, her discussion on the relationship between barkcloth and textiles, transcendence, shamanism, death, the spirits, and the ancestors touches upon some problems that have never been discussed so clearly before. Technical descriptions are lacking. Apparently recent fieldwork is not always necessary to throw new light on a subject, especially when some good old ethnographic sources are available.

The Enggano case, barkcloth jackets

About 150 kilometres South of Bengkulu town lies Enggano island (map). Nowadays the island has the status of a *kecamatan* (subdistrict) and is part of the province of Bengkulu (fig. 48). Until now Enggano has only been accessible by boat and the boat service is rather irregular. As mentioned above, Keuning studied Enggano in the 1950s, but he never did fieldwork in the area. His research, although very useful, therefore has its limitations. He concentrated on an historical approach, especially focusing on the contacts the Engganese had with the outside world, and their devastating consequences (Keuning 1955, 1958). In the 1850s and the 1860s the population of Enggano declined dramatically, probably due to diseases like cholera and syphilis. Although the figures may not be completely reliable, they give an indication of the death rate between 1852 and 1864. Von Rosenberg (1855), who visited Enggano in 1852 counted 6420 people. Just twelve years later Helfrich (1889) mentioned a total number of 840 people. The Italian traveller Elio Modigliani (1894), the most important researcher

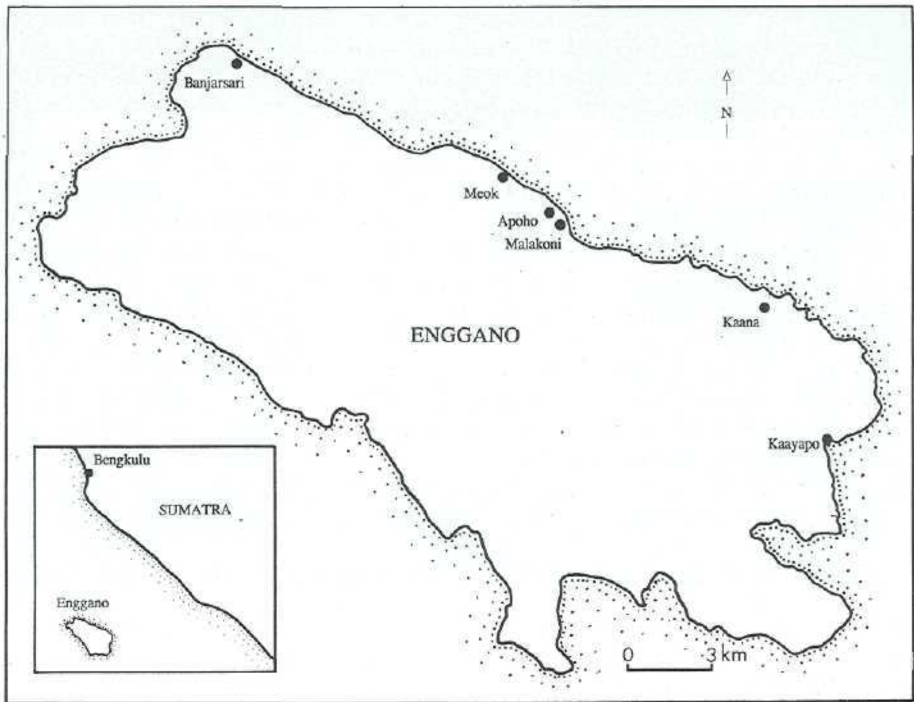

Figure 48. Map of Enggano Island. *(Map by Frans Stelling)*

of Enggano, also mentioned these figures. An enormous disaster must have happened. After that the Dutch authorities shared concern with the well-being of the Enggano people, and several times they sent medical staff to the island to look into the matter. However, I will not discuss this subject any further in this context. The main point is that since the 19th century many authors have stated that Enggano culture was dying (Keuning 1955:210; Suzuki 1958:14) and that museum collections would soon be the only survivals of this fascinating culture (see also Jaspan 1973:54).

In 1994 I had the opportunity to visit Enggano as a preliminary stage in a long-term research project.[9] The visit was planned in cooperation with the Museum in Bengkulu, and one of its staff members, Mr. Thaufik Yusba, accompanied me on the trip. Here, I will not report in detail on what we found on Enggano. A first conclusion can be that the Enggano language is still spoken by the local Engganese people. The population declined no further. According to information of the Kantor Statistik (Bureau of Statistics) in Bengkulu, 1420 people lived on the island in 1989, divided over six villages. However, 35.85 % of the population belongs to *suku* Koomayk

[9] The Enggano research is carried out in cooperation with the Direktorat Permuseuman in Jakarta, under the auspicies of LIPI (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia). The trip to Enggano in 1994 was financed by the Leids Etnologisch Fonds (Leiden Ethnological Fund).

Plate 15. Barkcloth jacket from Enggano. RMV 135-5. *(Photo by Ben Grisbaaver)*

('Pendatang' in Bahasa Indonesia) which is considered to be the kinship group for immigrants. The rest of the population belongs to the five 'real' Engganese *suku*: Kaahoa, Kaitora, Kaarubi, Kaaruba, and Kauno.

Due to the lack of material, Sumatra is not well represented in Kooijman's book. In fact, only one object from western Indonesia is mentioned: a

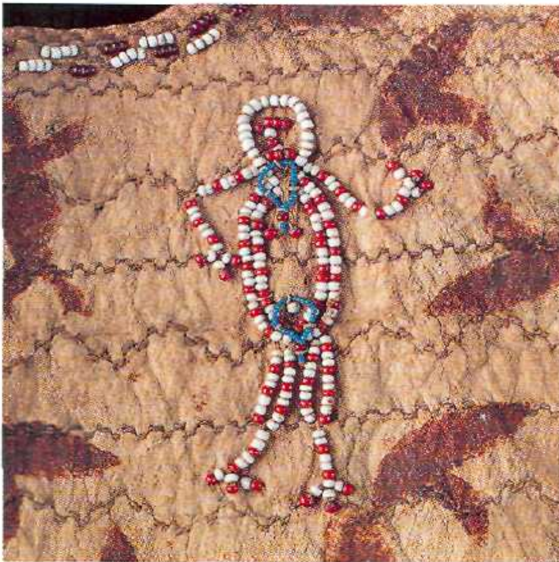

Plate 16. Detail of RMV 135-5. *(Photo by Ben Grisbaaver)*

painted barkcloth jacket, originating from either Enggano or Nias (plate 15) (Kooijman 1963:3, Plate 1). 'This piece shows ornamentation composed mainly of rows of painted figures. Along the upper and lower borders some patterns have been carried out with coloured beads. The designs applied to the surface by either painting or beadwork are for the most part more or less stylized representations of people and animals. It is of some interest to note the figures on one side of the jacket showing flying birds of a stylized shape similar to the birdforms of many of the *otale*-like patterns on Toraja *fuya* and on Seramese barkcloths belts. No comments can be made on the significance of these designs, however, there being no data available on either the exact provenance or the social function of this isolated piece' (ibid.:3).

Kooijman's doubt about the provenance of the piece is probably caused by an inexplicable note on the museum card. Someone wrote on the card the remark 'Enggano or Nias' with a question mark. The card and the description of the object had already been made when Kooijman studied the piece. However, it is not clear who compiled the card, and why the doubt about the provenance is mentioned. The original inventory lists of the museum show no doubt. There it clearly says, in handwritting, 'Enggano'. The provenance 'Nias' is unlikely since all the objects from series 135 come from Enggano or Java. The collection was bought from Mr. A. Hakbijl in 1871 and can therefore be considered an old Enggano collection. Further information, e.g., on how Mr. Hakbijl became owner of Enggano objects, is lacking.

Plate 17. Barkcloth jacket from Enggano. RMV 1904-284. *(Photo by Ben Grishaaver)*

I agree with Kooijman's suggestion that the Enggano piece stylistically resembles the barkcloth products from East Indonesia (Sulawesi and Maluku), and that the Kalimantan barkcloths are clearly different. The bird designs fit into the description of bird designs on Toraja *fuya* and Seramese *lawani*. The human-like figures (plate 16) made of beads, probably imported by Buginese traders who worked with Chinese capital (Boewang 1854), can be compared with the human figures on the *pisa* from Halmahera shown in Kooijman's book (Plate XV, fig.2).

Fortunately, a second barkcloth jacket from Enggano was found a few years ago. Due to a long (still ongoing) process of renovating the storage of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, I accidentally found an unidentified piece of barkcloth in one of the store-rooms. It appeared to be a second jacket from Enggano, and soon the original museum number could also be identified (plate 17). The sleeves were loose, probably due to inadequate handling of the object. According to the documentation the jacket originates from Enggano, and became part of the museum collection in 1914. It was a part of a collection (series 1904) which was given to the museum by the Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Royal Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences). This time the main motifs were not birds, but diamonds.[10]

When Thaufik and I were on Enggano in 1994 we showed photographs of old museum pieces to our informants. The two barkcloth jackets were included in the selection. However, the reactions were not very encouraging. Nobody recognized the pieces as Enggano cloths. Some people said that they had heard from their grandparents that barkcloth was used in the past, but they had never seen it. The designs of RMV 135-5 (plate 15) were recognized as bird motifs, because the designs really resemble birds, not because a special meaning was attached to them. On our questions about who used to wear such barkcloth jackets, reactions were also vague. In general the feeling was that they could have been worn by both men and women. The human-like figure made of beads could not be further identified.

It is not surprising that the people knew virtually nothing about the ornamented barkcloth jackets. When we look at the published sources on Enggano it becomes clear that this kind of object became extinct in the 19th century. Von Rosenberg (1855:375), who was on Enggano from September 10 until September 24, 1852, reported that both women and men used a vest of barkcloth (he wrote 'boomschors') only at festive occasions. Boewang (1854:393) reported that the Engganese had no special clothing. Van der Straaten and Severijn, two government officials, whose report is full of prejudices, were on Enggano in 1854 and mentioned nothing about clothing. They did mention, however, that dead bodies were wrapped in barkcloth

[10] Note the (perhaps superficial) relation to the diamond-like shape in Toraja ornamented barkcloth (Kooijman 1963:52).

(Van der Straaten and Severijn 1855:361) before being buried.[11] Walland (1864:103) reported that the women wore jackets of barkcloth while working in the gardens during rainy weather. An anonymous report in the Journal of the Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap (1870) – probably written by Van der Hoeven, a Dutch civil servant based in Bengkulu – mentioned that the women were 'more or less' dressed in sarongs and jackets made of cotton or barkcloth. Sometimes one can see also men wearing small jackets (the Dutch word 'buisjes') (Anonymous 1870:178,179). O. L. Helfrich, at that time 'controleur' at Bengkulu, wrote that the women usually had the upper part of the body covered with a jacket of white textile or chintz (Helfrich 1888:296, 297). Helfrich also collected for the Bataviaasch Genootschap in Batavia and for the Museum in Leiden. However, he did not collect barkcloth jackets. In the 'Notulen' (Minutes) of the Bataviaasch Genootschap of 1889, which includes a list of objects collected on Enggano by Helfrich (1889:V-VII), this type of object is not mentioned. Finally, Modigliani (1894:151) reports that barkcloth has been replaced by cotton at the time he was doing his fieldwork, which was in 1889.

Looking at the published evidence, we have to conclude that we have little information on the use and the meaning of the barkcloth jackets in the collection at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde. The pieces were collected in the 19th century, but the exact date of collecting is unknown. At least one of the objects was collected before Modigliani stayed on Enggano. It is most likely that the pieces were used during festive occasions. The designs, bird motifs, diamond motifs and X-shaped motifs cannot be identified more specifically. In the event that the Engganese material is related to the East Indonesian material Kooijman describes, the designs may have something to do with head-hunting and the upper world. In fact, bird designs did often occur in Engganese material culture. A wooden bird was attached to the roofs of the traditional houses, as well to the canoes. Both the houses and the canoes were owned and inherited by women (the *suku* are matrilineair); however, the bird designs may well be associated with the male world and the upper world. The men are the hunters,[12] the women ensure the continuation of life. There may also be a relationship between head-hunting and the position of women. Modigliani (1894:156) shows a woman in festive dress with an amulet on her back which is associated with slain enemies.[13] Gigliolli (1893:129) reports, and he probably uses Modigliani's notes, that on certain occasions women have an amulet on their backs and that each

[11] Van der Straaten and Severijn (1855:360) counted 4,870 people on the island in 1854, already a great many less than Von Rosenberg found two years before, but they do not find epidemic diseases, although they do mention venereal diseases, probably introduced by traders.

[12] Compare the situation in Maluku Tenggara. According to Toos van Dijk (personal communication) on the Kei islands the sea-eagle is the symbol of the man as a hunter. In other parts of Maluku Tenggara a cock is sometimes depicted on a canoe prow, occasionally also as a cock catching its prey.

[13] In the literature remarks can be found about captured heads of slain enemies and heads that were used to support houses (Von Rosenberg 1855; Helfrich 1888; Giglioni 1893:128).

string of the amulet stands for one victim. The women who wear such garments are what he calls wives of headmen. Unfortunately, the woman of Modigliani's photo (1894:156) does not wear a barkcloth jacket. This makes it difficult to expand on the relationship between barkclothing and head-hunting, as Kooijman did in his discussions of Kalimantan and Maluku barkcloth.

Figure 49. Mr. Yusak, in front of his house in Apoho, with some of his relatives. *(Photo by Pieter ter Keurs)*

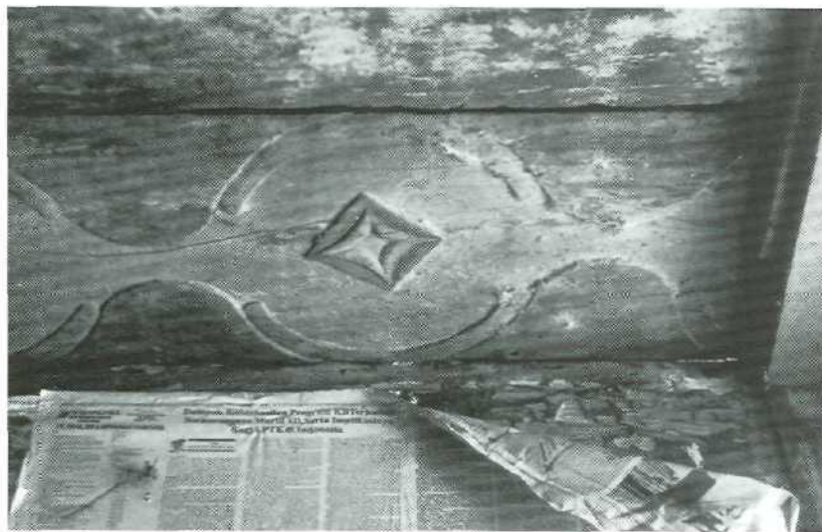

Figure 50. A plank, with a diamond design, in the ceiling of Mr. Yusak's house. *(Photo by Pieter ter Keurs)*

The diamond motifs on the second barkcloth jacket (RMV 1904-284) are also difficult to interpret. However, in this case too there is an obvious resemblance to East Indonesia. The central importance of the diamond figure in Toraja barkcloth, as observed by Kooijman, may be comparable with the position of the diamond design in Enggano material culture. Apart from the design on the jacket, one can also sometimes see the same kind of design in house decorations, for example the one in Mr. Yusak's house in Apoho (figs. 49 and 50). Related to this subject, and discussed by Kooijman (1963:53) in the context of Van Ossenbruggen's (1918) *monca-pat* hypothesis, is the diamond design with a clear centre, the four ends which become a unity because of its centre. Both in Toraja material culture and in the Seramese loin cloths this design appears to be the most important

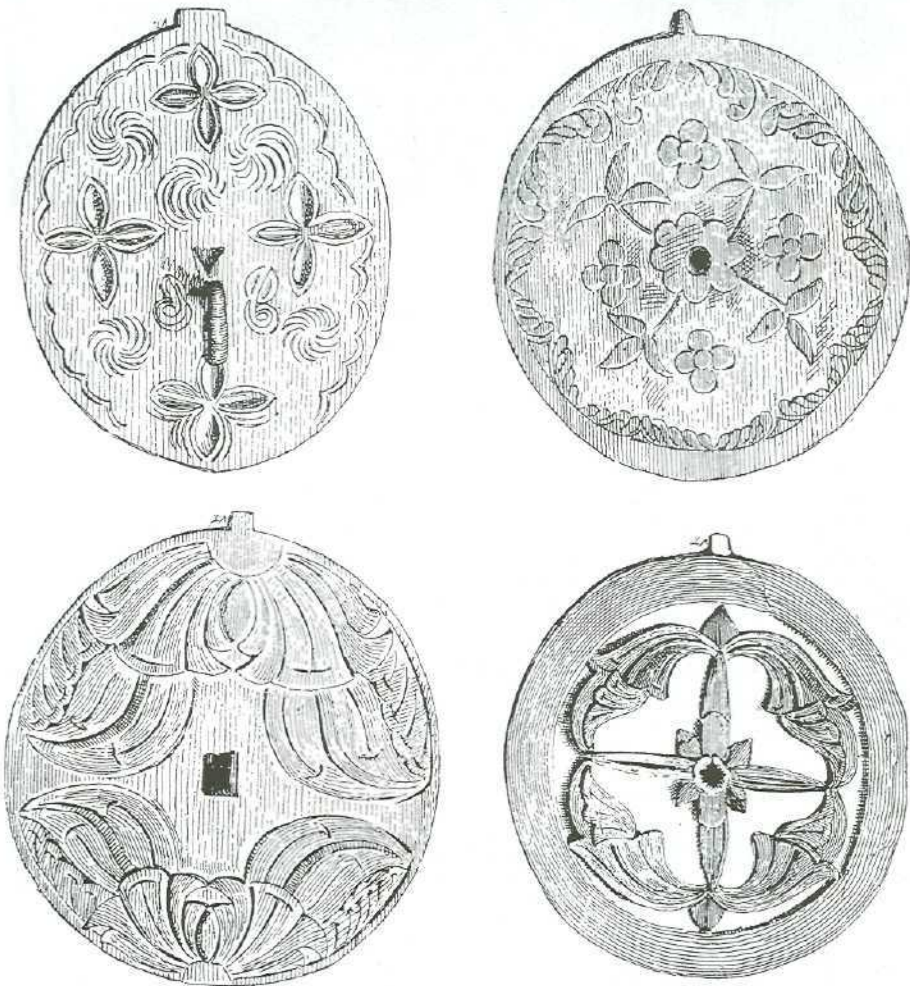

Figure 51. Designs on wooden doors. *(Illustration from Modigliani, 1894:119)*

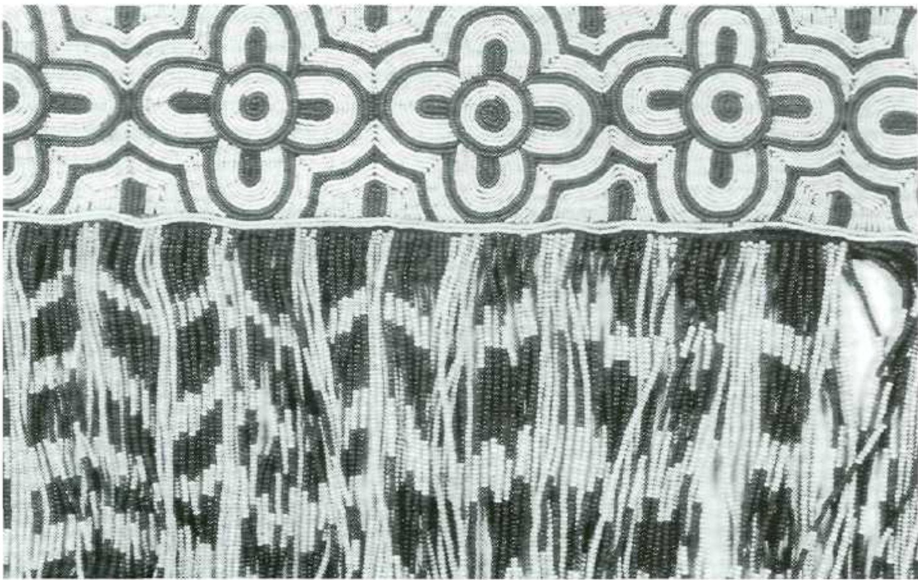

Figure 52. Belt for women. RMV 135-11. *(Photo by Pieter ter Keurs)*

ordering principle. In Enggano material culture the old wooden doors are the clearest expression of this design (fig. 51), as one sees from the doors Modigliani depicted in his book (1894:118, 119).[14] However, the same four-five division can be found in the beadwork of Enggano belts (fig. 52).

It is tempting to relate the diamond and the *monca-pat* designs of Enggano material culture to the five kinship groups (*suku*) mentioned before. Mr. Yusak, head of *suku* Kaahoa, explicitly related the first-placed and central house pole to the house owner's *suku* and the next four poles to the other four *suku*. A similar principle may be applicable to the diamond and *monca-pat* designs. However, this hypothesis may go too far. The myth of origin among the Enggano people reveals that in the beginning there were only three suku, and not five. How this relates to Mr. Yusak's story and to the so-called *monca-pat* design, is not clear.

Concluding remarks

The two barkcloth jackets from Enggano island in the collection of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde are rare pieces of a type of material culture

[14] W. L. Abbott (unpublished notes), who collected Enggano objects for the National Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C., believed that some Engganese designs were probably copied from Buginese boats, which frequently visited Enggano in the 19th century.
I would like to thank Dr. Paul Taylor for inviting me to study the Enggano collection at the National Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C.

that apparently disappeared early in the 19th century. Not much information is available to throw light on the use and meaning of this type of object. Lack of similar material from Sumatra is also a drawback. However, in line with Kooijman's study of ornamented barkcloth in Indonesia, one can observe a striking similarity to barkcloth products in East Indonesia. It remains doubtful whether or not these hypotheses about similarities in style and meaning can ever be tested during fieldwork. Just as in the case of the Enggano research, recent fieldwork in Indonesia, with the exception of Aragon's work, has not revealed much more detailed information about ornamented barkcloth in Indonesia. This makes Kooijman's work on the subject all the more important.

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WOODCARVING AND OTHER ASPECTS OF MATERIAL CULTURE

10

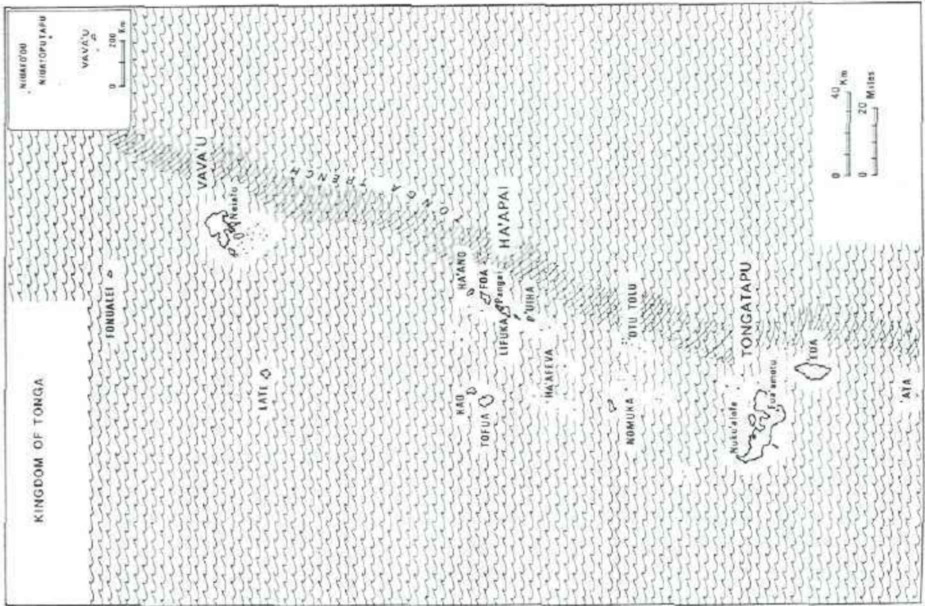
MADE IN TONGA
MANUFACTURE AND ART OBJECTS FROM LEAVES, BARK AND WOOD

Paul van der Grijp

Many contemporary products of Polynesian material culture are non-traditional, even when produced by traditional techniques: 'Such things as fake Hawaiian god figures carved by Tongans for sale to tourists are no more Polynesian art than plastic tikis made in Japan and sold in Hawaiian airport shops as souvenirs' (Kaeppler 1989:240). Art, for Adrienne Kaeppler, is 'any cultural form that results from creative processes that use or manipulate words, sounds, movements, materials, or spaces in such a way that they formalize the nonformal,' while aesthetics refers to 'evaluative ways of thinking about these cultural forms.' For a good anthropologist, as Adrienne Kaeppler surely is, art may best be understood as 'cultural forms embedded in social action' (1989:213). Anthropological analysis of material culture is therefore not just focused on objects, but is (or should be) part of ethnography in the widest sense of the word. In the 'ethnoscientific-structuralist' approach of Kaeppler artistic and social domains are 'surface manifestations of underlying structures of the societies' (1978:262). Artistic manifestations 'structure human experience and embody the deep structure, or presuppositions, of a specific society' (1989:234).

In the case of Tonga (fig. 53), for example, traditional art reflects and reinforces social status and societal rank. For this very reason the concept 'precontact fabrication' does not make much sense, except maybe, as Kaeppler says, for old-fashioned museum curators and private collectors. But the aesthetic value of a piece of woodcarving is not related to whether it is made with stone tools or iron, before the European contact or after. Kaeppler rejects the simple traditional/non-traditional dichotomy and proposes the concept 'evolved traditional'. Material objects and (other) art forms:

> must be tied to time frames that are more specific than precontact or postcontact, pre-Christian or post-Christian. Traditional art and its evolved forms need to be examined ethnohistorically, while studies of nontraditional art must be related to knowledge about the functioning societies that produced it. Exploring the relationship between artistic and societal change may help us to better comprehend the nature of both art and society, as well as the processes of sociocultural change. (Kaeppler 1989:236)



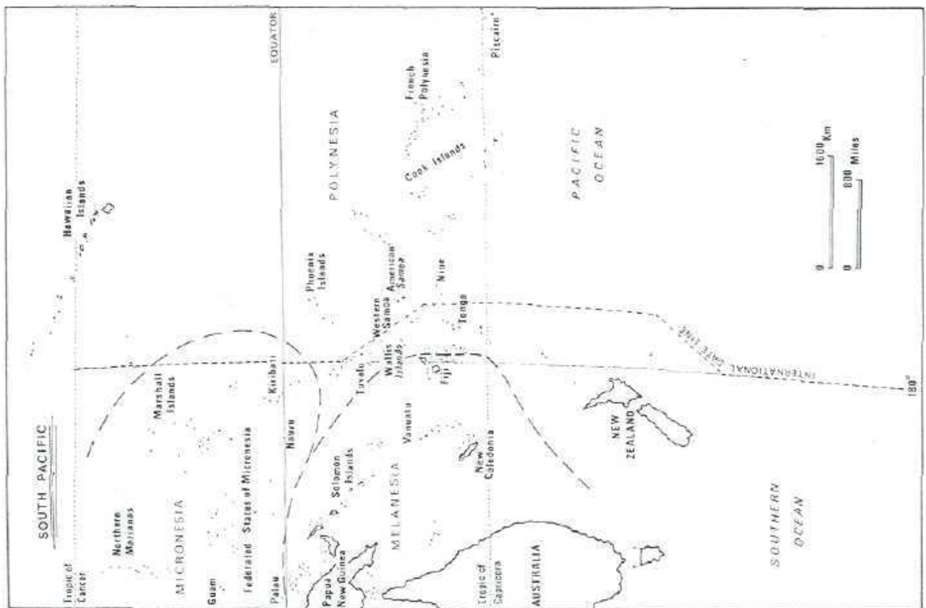


Figure 53. Map of the Kingdom of Tonga.

This is a very promising program. In this article I will only treat some aspects of the wide range of art forms Kaeppler discusses in her work: oratory, poetry, music, dance, sculpture, barkcloth, mats, decorative design, architecture, spatial arrangements, and exposure to olfactory sensations (Kaeppler 1983, 1985, 1989, 1993).

This article deals with (the production of) a number of forms of material culture which traditionally occupy an important role in Tongan society.[1] It offers a detailed description of three kinds of women's work: the fabrication of tree barkcloth, mats and baskets; and one kind of men's work: woodcarving, ornaments, etc. All these kinds of 'handicraft' are practised to a greater or lesser extent on all the inhabited islands of Tonga, although most of the tree barkcloth is made on Tongatapu and most mats come from Ha'apai. Ecological factors play a role in this: the fertile soil of Tongatapu and Vava'u is very suitable for the tree which provides the material for tree barkcloth, while the arid ground on Ha'apai is less suitable for this purpose but is suitable for the production of the materials used to make mats. Trees which are suitable for large-scale woodcarving, such as kava bowls, are becoming scarcer and scarcer as a result of the reduction of the rain forest.

Tree barkcloth and mats are produced for household use and for ceremonial purposes. They do not occupy a position of much importance within the monetary economy. The situation is different as regards the baskets and woodcarving, which were originally important for the subsistence economy, and still are to some extent, but which are nowadays the form of handicraft most suitable for sale and which are a part of commodity production. The latter forms of handicraft flourish above all on the islands which are regularly visited by cruisers with tourists, often from Australia.

The Kingdom of Tonga in Western Polynesia encompasses 150 islands, 36 of which are inhabited by some 96,000 people. The Tongan islands, situated between Fiji, Samoa and – at a larger distance – New Zealand, have a total surface area of 699 km2. Between 1900 and 1970 Tonga was a British protectorate. At present, Tonga is the only lasting, independent Polynesian kingdom. This island kingdom is divided into three parts for administrative purposes: the Tongatapu, Ha'apai and Vava'u Groups. The Tongatapu Group is in the south and is named after its main island Tongatapu. Nowadays two-thirds of the population of Tonga live on this island, which also contains the capital, Nuku'alofa. The Ha'apai Group is 150 km and the Vava'u Group is 300 km to the north of Tongatapu.[2]

[1] This is an adapted version of the article published in the *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 97:159-169 (see Van der Grijp 1993a).

[2] In 1982, in the very first week of my first fieldwork in Tonga, I had an interview with the chiefly lady Tupou Posesi Fanua, a recognized expert of Tongan culture and a member of the Tonga Traditions Committee. When I told her that I came from the Netherlands she replied: 'In that case you will surely know Mister Saimen who came here many, many years ago to ask me the same sort of questions you are asking me know. By that time he was still a young man. But now, his hair must be as white as mine. Send him my best regards.' Recently, Tupou Posesi Fanua's papers, interview transcripts and correspondence between 1959 and 1992 became available on microfilm (Pacific Manuscripts Bureau of the Australian National University). The two reels concerned contain information on tapa making, pandanus weaving, traditional stories, verse texts, kinship and genealogies, the late Queen Salote, history and culture, in short, a treasure of the sort of information we asked her about.

The fabrication of tapa

Tree barkcloth or tapa is made from the inner bark of the paper mulberry tree, called *hiapo* in Tongan (and Broussonetia papyrifera in scientific language).[3] Tapa is an exclusively hand-made product using natural materials. Before the arrival of the first missionaries, the only item of clothing worn by all Tongans, both men and women, was a piece of tapa wrapped around their waist and legs (with a small mat above around their waist). People also slept under a piece of tapa in those days (cf. Koch 1955:48-49; Gifford 1929; McKern 1929:2-6; Martin 1817:364-367). Nowadays everyday clothing (apart from the small mat mentioned above) consists of textiles imported from the West, as do the sheets and/or blankets used as bedding. The curtains used in the 'traditional' houses (*fale Tonga*) to separate the bedrooms from the central living quarters were also made from pieces of tapa. The woven coconut leaf houses have gradually been replaced during the past decennia by houses with corrugated iron roofs and wooden walls.[4]

Tapa still occupies an important place in ceremonies and in the exchange of gifts.[5] Tapa is used as bridal clothing, in dancing, to wrap the corpse at burials, and as a gift to kin, church, nobility and the royal family on certain occasions. An average piece of tapa cloth is four metres wide and 25 metres long. It can be given in its entirety or in pieces of varying lengths.[6] Tapa and certain mats form the *koloa* ('treasures') of a woman, in some way comparable to gold or other expensive ornaments in Western society, though the Tongan *koloa* have a greater emotional significance because of their value as gifts (Weiner 1982, 1992). A tapa cloth made for personal use is called *hoku ngatu*. A tapa cloth made for someone else, whether as a gift or not, is called *'eku ngatu*. At a different level, Kaeppler further distinguishes two kinds of tapa: *ngatu* and *fuatanga*. They vary in color and design: in *ngatu* 'the primary lines run crosswise and intersect with a set of long lines that run the entire length of the piece'; and in *fuatanga* 'the primary lines run lengthwise and intersect with a series of crosswise lines that measure its size'. But there is also a social difference: *ngatu* is used by commoners and

[3] The Tongan word *tapa* originally referred only to the undecorated edge of a tapa cloth. Its range was therefore much more restricted than the use of the word in most European languages.

[4] This change is common in Western Polynesia (a.o. Kooijman 1978; Rensel 1991; Simutoga 1992).

[5] See Bataille-Benguigui 1985, 1993; James 1988; Kooijman 1967, 1973, 1977, 1979, 1980. The most detailed comparative study on tapa production in Polynesia is Simon Kooijman's 1972-book. The pages 297-341 deal specifically with Tonga. When I first visited the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Hawaii, in 1984, I was invited by a curator to have a look at the storage of Tongan objects in the vaults of the museum, including large quantitites of tapa. When I mentioned the name of my fellow-countryman and senior colleague the curator answered me: 'Yes, of course, here in the museum we use Simon Kooijman's book as our tapa bible.'

[6] Measured in terms of the number of c. 50 cm strips (*langanga*). A piece of 4 to 7 *langanga* is called *fola'osi*, of 8 to 10 *fatuna*, of 16 to 20 *fatufa* and of 30 to 40 *fatuvalu*. A full 50-strip cloth is called *launima*, and a 100-strip cloth is a *lautefuhi*. The total length may even be 100 or 150 metres (Tamahori 1963:90).

Plate 18. Women's tapa beating group, 'Eua, 1984. *(Photo by Paul van der Grijp)*

Plate 19. Painting tapa. *(Photo by Paul van der Grijp)*

fuatanga by chiefs and aspiring commoners in ritual or ceremonies (Kaeppler 1989:219).[7]

The technical procedure for the production of tapa has hardly changed over the centuries (plates 18 and 19). However, there are exceptions (see Teilhet-Fisk 1991 and her article in this volume). Apart from a few minor changes in the tools used and in the decoration, it is as Koch wrote about Mariner, whose detailed account of this procedure 'could just as well have been written in 1952 as in 1816' (Koch 1955:221; cf. Kooijman 1972:336). One difference from Mariner's time imposed by the dominance of Christian churches nowadays is that the women now try to complete their *koka'anga* activities (gluing and painting) by Christmas, which is often marked by a collective exhibition of pieces of tapa and other handicrafts. They begin beating the new *feta'aki* in the first month of the following year.

Mat weaving

Mats also play an important part in Tongan life. They are used for clothing (fig. 54), housing, and as 'furniture'. The basic materials for mat weaving are coconut palm and pandanus leaves. For example, the walls, doors and roofs

Figure 54. Man wearing a large waist mat (*ta'ovala*). The man, who is a chief's attendant (*matapule*), is presenting a large living pig in a cage during a royal kava ceremony on the island of 'Uiha in Ha'apai, 1993. *(Photo by Paul van der Grijp)*

[7] The way in which tapa design is determined by social context is, according to Kaeppler, analogous with the presence or absence of human figures carved on old Tongan war clubs. Also these are to be linked with 'contexts that vary with the rank and prestige of their owners and users' (Kaeppler 1989:219).

of the houses used to be made of woven coconut palm leaf mats (*pola*). The undercarpet (*takapau*), 1.5 metre x 0.5 metre, which was laid directly on top of the sand and covered with other mats, was also made of *pola*. *Pola* are made by weaving the 'fingers' of the two halves of the coconut palm leaves together, resulting in a long, narrow mat (for example, 50 centimetres x 250 centimetres) with the original central stem (*palalafa*) running along one of the long sides. The *pola* are woven from the young leaves of the coconut palm while they are still fresh. They automatically turn from green to pale yellow in the course of use. *Pola* are used not only in the construction of traditional houses but also as place mats for food (*fakaha'atu'ia* or *pola kai*), which are also known as *pola* for short.[8] Other mats were made from pandanus leaves, which were also used in the making of baskets, bags, fans and other products. The *pola* and the *ta'ovala* (waist mats) are produced by individuals; all other mats are generally woven in groups (with three to six women per group). *Pola* are woven by both men and women; all the other weaving is done exclusively by women (fig. 55).

The pandanus tree (belonging to the family of the Pandanaceae) is the other basic material for mat weaving.[9] Once the pandanus leaf (*lou*) has reached the right age, it is cut off close to the trunk and both the sharp teeth on the edges and the central stem are removed. Most pandanus leaves, such

Figure 55. Women plaiting a mat, Matuku, Ha'apai, 1983. *(Photo by Paul van der Grijp)*

[8] For this purpose Tongans use the Cocus nucifera, the dominant tree on the islands. See for a description of the multifunctional use of this tree: Van der Grijp (1991).

[9] See for the scientific names of the different types of pandanus and other plants used as basic material: Yuncker (1959).

as *lou tofua*, are boiled for a few minutes and then bleached in brine and sun to turn their colour from green to white; some leaves, like the *lou paongo* and the *lou tutu'ila*, are hung in a dark place to dry, resulting in a dark colour in the case of the *lou paongo*. The finest type of pandanus turns a shiny white (*fibu*) after long processing and produces a silky finish when it is woven.

Different kinds of pandanus leaves are used as the material for mats to sit on, sleep on, to wear around the waist and for ornamental mats (Koch 1955:205-206). The mats for sitting on (*papa*) measure 1 metre x 2.5 metres and are made from the *lou paongo* pandanus. Usually, they are stocked rolled up. At special occasions, but also in daily use, they are spread over the floor (over the *takapau*) in the wooden houses (*fale Tonga*). The *lotaba* sleeping mats (literally 'one layer') measure 2 x 1.5 m. They are made from *lou tofua* pandanus and are decorated on two sides with woollen fringes in bright and variegated colours. They are used as the lowest mat for sleeping on, or as a mat on top of the *papa* for sitting on. Tongans travelling from one island to another prefer to take this mat with them as sleeping equipment. The *lotaba* mats are decorated with interwoven geometric figures in black. The fringes are decorated with bright coloured European wool.[10] The *fala tutu'ila* mats have the same functions as the *lotaba*, but are made from *tutu'ila* pandanus leaves, as the name suggests. The *fala tofua* mat measures 2 metres x 1.5 metres and is made from double woven *tofua* leaves (in contrast to the *lotaba*, which is made from the same leaves but is only woven in one layer). *Lou paongo* is interwoven with it for decorative purposes. The *fala tofua* forms the middle mat of a complete bed, and when it becomes old it is used as the lowest mat. This mat is also used as a single sleeping mat and is also given at weddings and burials. The *fala paongo* is made from *lou paongo* pandanus like the *papa*, but from narrower strips. This fine mat, usually undecorated, is highly valued. It is the upper sleeping mat and the most important one in the eyes of the Tongans. It is also given at weddings and is used as the mat on which the corpse is laid during a burial ceremony.

A number of Tongans have now followed the Western example of using beds, chairs and tables – in some cases home-made items of furniture – but in the vast majority of Tongan houses people still lie on mats, sleep on mats, and eat from mats (covered with banana palm leaves). Besides the mats for utilitarian purposes, there are ornamental mats (*fala fibu*, made from *lou kie* pandanus), which are mainly kept and given as gifts on special occasions, such as the wedding of a close relative or friend or their children. These mats are used as an article of clothing by the bride or to wrap the corpse in at a burial. According to Koch (1955:208) the 'daughters of chiefs' also slept under the *fala fibu*. Finally, the *kie Tonga* (which is also made from *lou kie*), the finest and most valuable of the mats, is an article of clothing for both bride and groom and is worn at religious ceremonies. It is especially ornamental mats of this kind which belong to the *koloa*, the treasures of the woman.

All Tongans, both men and women, wear a small mat around their waist, the *ta'ovala*, as a sign of self-respect and respect for other people on

[10] Koch (1955:106) dates the origin of the last mentioned decoration in the beginning of this century.

Sundays and feast days, ceremonial occasions, during mourning for a relative and in the presence of a Tongan of higher rank. The commonest of all the Tongan *ta'ovala* is the *ta'ovala tofua*, named after the material used (*tofua* = sort of pandanus). The *ta'ovala kie*, which is made from *lou kie* pandanus, was formerly only worn by high chiefs (Koch 1955:207), but it is now worn by commoners too. It is reserved for special occasions, such as weddings and religious festivals. The *ta'ovala kiekie* should also be mentioned in this connection. This is not a mat, but a woven belt from which hang plaited strands 75 centimetres long. This belt is woven from *lou tofua* pandanus and has the same significance as the *ta'ovala tofua*, but it is only worn by (mainly young) women.

All mats and tapa cloths must be aired in the yard on a sunny day every three weeks to prevent them from going mouldy and to keep insects out of the products which have been made with such care. Holes in tapa and mats are seen as a bad omen, according to some of my informants. The same applies to tapa and mats which have been nibbled at by rats. Tongans see this as a sign that someone in their immediate circle will become seriously ill or die. It is interesting, by the way, to compare this with the common Tongan interpretation of dreams. To dream that one receives a lot of small change in coin (*seniti*) is a good omen. It means that a child will be born or that someone is going to get married. But to dream about bank notes (*pa'anga*) is a sign presaging death.

Basket weaving

Baskets have been woven in Tonga for centuries (fig. 56). They are mainly used to carry and store food and small items. They can be roughly divided into two groups: those woven from coconut palm leaves and those woven from pandanus leaves. The *kato lou niu* (or *kato tokonaki*), used to transport tuberous vegetables, coconuts, etc., is woven from the green coconut palm leaf. The leaf is slit down the middle, the side leaves of each half are then woven together and joined at the bottom of the basket with a thick braid. The top of the basket is open and is very tough because it contains the slit central stem. It has an elongated oval shape. The basket can be made in ten minutes by both men and women, and it is seen as a sort of disposable product. Women use the coconut palm leaf to make the *kato kai tunu* to carry cooked food. This is made in the same way as the *kato lou niu*, except that the top is closed. *'Oa* baskets, used to carry fish, shellfish, copra, small fruit and sand, are made by both men and women in the same way and from the same material as the *kato lou niu*, but the leaf is younger and they weave it more finely. It takes between half an hour and an hour to weave an *'oa*, but it can be used continually for months.

The woven pandanus baskets and bags are mainly made by women. Mention should be made of the *kato lou 'akau* (made from *lou paongo* and/or *lou tofua* leaves), a rectangular bag with handles for carrying books and small articles; the *kato tongi*, which is similar but is woven from wider strips of leaf; the *kato lou kie*, a tiny handbag or purse for women, made from *lou kie*; the *kato tu'a niu*, a ball-shaped handbag for women, made from *lou*

Figure 56. Making a basket (detail). *(Photo by Paul van der Grijp)*

paongo and/or *lou tofua* woven around the secondary stems of the coconut palm leaf in a spiral technique; the *kato 'alu*, the traditional bridal basket in the form of a small, oval basket for the groom and a large round basket for the bride, woven from the split stems of the *'alu* (a native creeper with tendrils) in the spiral technique around the secondary stems of the coconut palm leaf. Some woven articles are decorated with pieces of tapa.[11]

Fans (*i*) are also woven. They are called after the leaf (*lou*) from which they are made, such as *i lou niu* from coconut palm and *i lou 'akau* from the pandanus leaf. The edges of the fans are often decorated with chicken feathers. Sandals (*teka*) and hats used to be made from pandanus leaves, but have now been replaced almost everywhere by plastic sandals and textile hats which can be purchased even in the smallest shops. During the past few years, old techniques and materials have increasingly been used to make new kinds of baskets and other woven articles for the tourist industry, such as washing baskets (*kato 'uli*), cradles (*kato pepe*), cradles for baby dolls (*kata tamapua*), drinks tables (*tepile*), serving trays (*loulou*), waste paper baskets, fruit baskets and place mats.

Case studies on Vava'u

I will present here some of my own fieldwork case studies of wickerwork and tapa production in households on the three island groups. The first case is a household in a village on Vava'u. A number of kinds of pandanus are

[11] See for more technical details and cultural background: Koch (1955:205-217); Martin (1817:367-368); Ewins (1982); Conner (1983); Kirch (1984); Marsaudon (1986, 1993: chapter 9); see also Koch (1961).

to be found on the edge of the plot of land beside the road to the village: 100 *tofua*, five *totolo*, eight *tapahina* and fifteen *paongo*. Most of the pandanus harvest is processed together with the veins of the coconut palm leaf to make baskets for sale to the tourists who arrive in cruisers from time to time. There are also 200 paper mulberry plants (*hiapo*), which are used to make tapa for domestic consumption. Unlike the other crops, mulberry and pandanus are planted by the head of the household, Funaki, together with his wife and daughters. (All personal names are pseudonyms) Pisila, Funaki's wife, is seen as the owner of the plants. Cutting, or harvesting, is only carried out by the women. Amelia, a married daughter who lives next door, makes free use of the plants. Pisila herself also cuts the mulberry on the plots belonging to three relatives of Funaki. One of them has more than 1,000 small mulberry trees on his plot, considerably more than the 200 on Funaki's plot, since Funaki prefers to concentrate on cultivating vanilla and other cash crops. If Pisila needs mulberry to make tapa, she can simply go to the neighbouring plots of three relatives and cut as much mulberry as she wants. She asks for their permission in advance and does not have to pay them anything. Pisila regards herself as fortunate in this respect, because it is becoming increasingly common nowadays for Tongan women to have to buy the raw materials for tapa elsewhere. Pisila can still obtain the mulberry she needs free of charge in the traditional way through relatives.

Pisila makes on average a single tapa cloth of 50 strips (a *launima*) each year. In other words, depending on the existence of full-grown mulberry on her own land or on that of certain relatives, she may make four *launima* in a single year and then not make any more tapa at all for two or three years in succession. Pisila is assisted in this work by one of her daughters, Sela. For gluing and painting the tapa Pisila and Sela belong to a women's group (*kautaha fefine*) with 25 members, of whom twelve or so are constantly present at any one time to make a tapa cloth. Pisila weaves an average of three *fala* mats per annum, while her daughter Sela makes two *lotaha* mats. The family's 17-year-old daughter, Ana, is 'not yet skilled enough to weave fine mats, but it is hoped that she will learn it in the near future', claims her mother. The 12-year-old adopted daughter, Seine, has just started to learn weaving and she now helps her mother to make the bases for cradles and fruit bowls.

While tapa and mats are only intended for personal use and for the ceremonial exchange of gifts, the baskets which the women weave are also sold and bring in the largest portion of the household income. Each year, Pisila makes some 50 (woven) cradles, 10 doll's cradles, 30 washing baskets, 50 trays and 30 drinks tables, while the 17-year-old daughter, who is still learning from her mother and who does not work as quickly, makes 20 cradles, 20 doll's cradles, 25 trays, 15 drinks tables and 50 five- or six-piece sets of place-mats. The materials used by Pisila and her daughters are the side veins of the coconut palm leaf and the leaves of the *tofua, totolo, tapahina* and *paongo* pandanus. The main customers are tourists from the cruisers which occasionaly visit Vava'u. The number of cruisers due to visit Vava'u each year is always uncertain. There were more than a dozen in 1984, and in January and February 1985 there were four a month. These are always the busiest months because they coincide with the Australian summer

holiday. The rest of the year there is one cruiser a month at most. In 1984, Pisila and her daughters earned a total of T$ 2,000 from selling baskets and other wickerwork.

Most girls learn the basic techniques of basket and mat weaving in school from the age of eleven. As for the fine points of the art, they learn these at home from an experienced sister, aunt or – as in the previous example – mother. By the way, not all Tongan women know how to weave. Amelia, for example, the daughter of Pisila who lives next door, occasionally tries to weave a doll's cradle, but she can barely manage it. 'There are problems every time I have to try to get a tourist to buy the faulty product', Pisila sighs. Amelia's only successes so far are trays, around 15 each year. Amelia herself blames it on the fact that she is too busy with the children to be able to concentrate on her weaving properly, but her mother's version is simply that she is all fingers and thumbs.

The entire basket production in Funaki's household is intended for the tourist trade. Each time the radio announces the arrival of a cruiser, Pisila and her daughters are busy weaving baskets day and night, only interrupting their work to snatch some sleep or to have a quick meal. They often do not sleep at all on the eve of the arrival of the ship; the women work all through the night by the light of an oil lamp. Funaki helps with the actual selling because he is the only member of the household with an English vocabulary, restricted though it is. Sometimes Pisila makes and sells baskets commissioned by the shop in the hotel of the regional capital Neiafu, but she prefers to sell directly to tourists instead of going through an intermediary because she earns more for the same products that way.

At the beginning of 1989, the income from household crafts by the women had fallen drastically. As many as 20 cruise ships used to visit Vava'u each year, but not a single one came in the previous year. A smaller cruise ship did moor in January 1989, but Pisila was 65 by now and not prepared to make an extra effort. She says that she is too old and tired for last-minute weaving at night. Her only sale in 1988 was T$ 50 for a woven cradle which she sold to the passengers on a visiting American yacht. Though the commercial side is thus poor, Pisila and her daughter Sela made seven mats and a tapa in 1988. She gave one mat and one tapa at a funeral of a close relative (her sister's son). Pisila and Sela are now making tapa for the imminent wedding of Ana. This is another reason why commercial activities have slackened. The women rate the production of household crafts for weddings and funerals more highly than earning money.

Case studies on Ha'apai and Tongatapu

The second case study concerns a group of three closely related households who use the same plot of land on the island of Matuku in the Ha'apai Group. Pandanus is the main cash crop here – in fact it is the only one apart from the coconut palm (copra). The land cultivated by members of the households contains 350 pandanus trees, divided as follows: 230 are Mo'unga's, 100 are Maile's and 20 are Sefanaia's (these are the heads of the three households). After being plucked, the long pandanus leaves are rolled

up, left to dry in the sun for a few days on the grassy areas between the houses in the village, and then rolled up again and sold on the market in Tonga's capital, Nuku'alofa. Mats are also woven from the dried pandanus leaves, partly for domestic consumption and partly for retail. There is no paper mulberry here and the three households do not produce any tapa. 'There isn't room on our small piece of land', they say, 'and besides it is too expensive to buy the material for tapa (the *feta'aki*) from other people'.

So, on this island the pandanus tree is a cash crop. A close relative of Mo'unga, his mother's brother's wife, has a permanent stand on the market in Tonga's capital Nuku'alofa, where she sells the pandanus to women who want to weave mats but do not have land of their own or the use of relatives' land. The dried pandanus leaves yield T$ 60 a month for Mo'unga's household and T$ 80 a month for Maile's household. In Sefanaia's household the pandanus is only used for the domestic weaving of mats. A number of mats are also sold by the same relative on the market in Nuku'alofa. Mo'unga's wife makes four or five *fala* mats a year. They are called 'ten feet' (*tekumi*) because of their size (1.5 x 3 m). Maile's wife and the mother of Sefanaia, who lives with him, each produce three or four a year. Maile's eldest daughter belongs to a different working group (*kautaha lalanga*) from her mother. She and the other participants in this team of weavers produce six or seven *lotaha* a year.[12] The daughter also makes some *ta'ovala* each year together with another woman. Almost all these mats are sold in Nuku'alofa. All the households also make coconut palm leaf (*kato lou niu*) food bags for their own use. Mo'unga's wife sells mats for around T$ 180 a year, while Maile's wife and Sefanaia each earn around T$ 140 for them.

The pandanus is not seen as exclusively female property in these three households. The men also play an active part in drying the leaves. Weaving the mats, however, is a task exclusively reserved for the women. They carry out the work in groups of five, the *kautaha lalanga*, which work on a mat of one member of the group for two weeks at a time.

Our third casus is a household in the village of Vaini on the main island of Tongatapu. On their plot of land there are 60 pandanus trees and 500 paper mulberry trees for baskets, mats and tapa. The pandanus and the mulberry are planted by Sioeli and harvested by his wife, Tupou. The plants are also seen as her property because she is the one who uses them. On average she makes one tapa (*launima*), six *papa* mats, ten *lotaha* mats and two *fala* mats each year. She does this work by herself and not in a *kautaha lalanga*, and all the mats are for domestic use or as gifts to relatives.

Tourist industry and marketing

Other products for the tourist industry not already mentioned range from woodcarving to ornaments. Wooden carved objects mark a break with the past. In the first half of the 19th century all wooden carvings and other images of 'heathen' spirits and deities were burnt at the instigation of the missionaries and their converts (cf. Thomas 1991; Van der Grijp 1989, 1992,

[12] The *lotaha* are in two sizes: 1.5 m x 3 m and 3 m x 4.5 m.

1993b). The contemporary woodcarvers who work for the tourists have no authentic models to fall back on. They generally copy images (*tiki*) of the gods of the original Polynesian populations of Hawaii, Tahiti and the Cook Islands (see Barrow 1979; P. Kirch 1985; Kooijman 1964). Only very few 'heathen' sacred images from Tonga have been preserved in the whole world. They were removed by the first European discoverers and are now located in various museums in Europe and the Pacific (cf. Clunie 1986:80-81, 165-166; Hiroa 1935, 1937; Kaeppler 1971, 1974). Tongan woodcarvers also make wooden masks, clubs, walking sticks, images of fish and turtles, and so on for the tourists. The kinds of wood used are the mahogany-like *milo* wood, the heavy *puopua* wood (Guettarda spec.), and the aromatic, rare and thus expensive *abi* or sandalwood (Santalum).

On the other hand, there is continuity in the manufacture of kava bowls (*tano'a*) and tapa beaters (*'ike*), although the production of these items nowadays is negligible compared with the woodcarving that is done for the tourists. Kava bowls and tapa beaters have been in use for generations and besides, the kava bowls imported from Samoa and Fiji are much cheaper than those that are made in Tonga itself. This is connected with the shortage of wood on the Tonga Islands. As a result, the large blocks of wood needed for the manufacture of kava bowls, which are cut in sections from very old trees, are too expensive for the majority of Tongans. The small-scale manufacture of ornaments for the tourist industry should also be mentioned in this connection: rings, arm bands, necklaces and earrings are made from materials like black coral, mother-of-pearl and other kinds of shells, shark's teeth, bone, *tuitui* nuts and coconut shells.

Another aspect is the marketing of handicrafts. Many Tongans become handicraft seller on a part time base to earn some money. According to Debra Kirch, it is this association with economic necessity that initiates status degradation for the Tongans concerned: 'For many, selling handicrafts is a public admission of poverty and of one's inability (for whatever reason) to succeed in culturally valued occupations' (D. Kirch 1984:vii-viii). Tourists who are not aware of these cultural values often bargain about prices and force the sellers in a position of competitive and culturally inappropriate behavior. The ideal relation between sellers and buyers in Tongan eyes would be a relation of cooperation and mutual trust, and without competition. A manifestation would be passive marketing techniques and uniform prices for similar products.

However, under the pressure of bargaining tourists and economic needs, some sellers eventually drop their prices. In doing so they break the market etiquette since they are in overt competition with their collegues. They are considered as 'socially disruptive and as 'without empathy' for other sellers'. Western tourists have an antagonistic and competitive market model. As strangers they inform one another about the 'convenient' buying and selling behavior and they distrust Tongan prices. However, sellers 'manage this status degradation by using covert ridicule to disqualify tourist statements and actions as irrelevant' (D. Kirch 1984:ix). This covert ridicule is expressed in Tongan among Tongans. Tourists remain unaware of it. This is important since awarenes of the ridicule might antagonize the buyer-seller relationship and break another code of the market etiquette (see also Hahn 1990).

Conclusions

One of the most important changes in the transition of Polynesian art from traditional to contemporary, according to Kaeppler (1989), is a shift from an 'aesthetic of inequality' to an 'aesthetic of equality'. By inequality, she means genealogical and quasi-genealogical inequality, especially the difference between commoners and chiefs, rather than economic inequality (this is Kaeppler's distinction). In New Zealand and Hawaii inequality in artistic production is becoming less and less evident because nowadays everybody is supposed to be able to become an artist or to acquire works of art.

I am not in a position to judge whether it really is true or not in the two Polynesian societies mentioned by Kaeppler in this respect, New Zealand and Hawaii, but social inequality in artistic production is certainly not becoming 'less and less evident' in Tonga. My hypothesis here is that recently in Tonga a new 'aesthetics of inequality' has developed: an inequality between the sexes. This corresponds with a new, contemporary form of asymmetrical ideology which also functions in other important domains of daily life, for example in agriculture and the ownership of the products thereof (Van der Grijp 1988, 1993c, 1993d, 1994). The different sorts of handicraft are now 'being rated differently by the Tongans themselves as a result of Western influence. The mainly male producers of woodcarvings are seen by many people as artists, while the female producers of tapa and woven articles do not enjoy this status (cf. Urbanowicz 1978; D. Kirch 1984; Hölper 1986). The paradox is that male woodcarvers actually produce (what Kaeppler once called) 'airport art' (1979:185), while most women still make tapa and mats on a large scale which function in traditional gift giving and ceremonies.

In Tonga, all the crops on the land are the property of male members of the households – or at least are considered as such – with the exception of those crops which provide the raw materials for the handicrafts performed by women: the paper mulberry and the pandanus for making tapa, baskets and mats. The paper mulberry and the pandanus are usually planted by men and women in conjunction. They are harvested exclusively by women, who are the owners of these plants. In our examples there is only one exception to this rule: pandanus is the main commercial crop on the small coral island of Matuku in Ha'apai. Here it is not regarded as the exclusive property of the women concerned, but the men own it too – at least that is how the participants see it. The actual transition from production to meet one's needs (subsistence) to production for the market apparently implies fundamental consequences for the strict separation of male and female preserves in the past.

I would like to conclude with a remark on museum affairs. There is no genuine museum in Tonga to date, but the Methodist Toloa College on Tongatapu has an antiquities room. There are no 'heathen' images here – after all, this Methodist boarding school was set up by missionaries. The antiquities room can be visited by special permission from the head of the school, but this is not intended for the public at large, including most Tongans. A National Cultural Center was built in 1988 with Japanese

development aid. Its focus is not on antiquities, but on contemporary forms of cultural expression such as song, dance and the production of tapa, wickerwork and (mainly tourist) woodcarving. The centre does have a museum section, but the collection is rather small (some showcases and a few larger objects) and is insignificant compared with the Methodist antiquities room. Besides the latter collection, I have seen vast quantities of ethnographical *realia* from Tonga in storage in museums in Suva, Auckland and Honolulu. A more effective policy on the part of the Tongan National Center should at least be able to acquire some of this material on loan.

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11

NGALA ART, A STYLE AND ITS AFFINITIES

(EAST SEPIK PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA)

Douglas Newton

For years I have owed my friend Simon Kooijman an intellectual debt which I have at last a pleasant opportunity to acknowledge. We first met when he was the guest curator of an exhibition on *The Art of Lake Sentani* held at The Museum of Primitive Art, New York, in 1959. About that time there was a general sense, based on classificatory concepts both necessary and useful then, that 'tribal' societies were circumscribed entities, with discrete art styles perfectly distinct from each other. Kooijman's discussion of Humboldt Bay-Lake Sentani relations, in his elegant and now classic text for the exhibition's catalogue, dispelled that fallacy for me, and helped to clarify the reasons for the many anomalies in Sepik River art styles. The following is a discussion of one such problem.

NGALA HISTORY

Place and people

Ngala or Nggala (perhaps properly Nggalera) is the native name of a small village near the upper Sepik River (fig. 57)[1]. The Berlin-Expedition of 1912-1913 came close to phonetic accuracy in calling it 'Kara' (Behrmann 1917; 1922: map; 1951-1952:325). On more recent maps it generally appears as 'Swagup', or some orthographic variation of it; but though current among other local groups, this name actually refers to a nearby site on the left bank of the Sepik (Kaufmann 1968:65), formerly often used by the Administration as a meeting place with the Ngala people.

[1] Ngala is the officially recognized name. Cognates occur in other upper Sepik contexts. For instance, *Ngga'alakwa'ari* was the name of one of the three early hamlets which united to form the Manambu's first village, Asiti, preceding the present Avatep. Harrison (1990: passim) gives the name Nggela'angkw for an Avatep clan-pair; he points out that nggela means 'black'; *garra* or *geln* is the Bahinemo term for sacred objects, also used by the Wogamusin for sacred slit-gongs. The Ngala word for 'black' is heard phonetically as *nggelya* (see Laycock 1965:163).

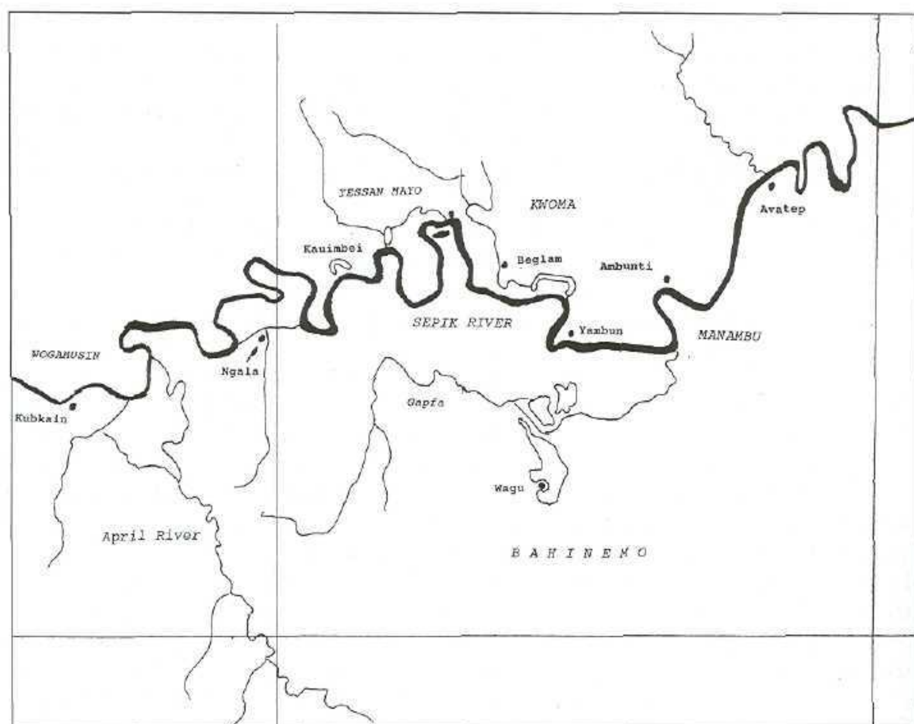


Figure 57. Map of the upper Sepik River, Papua New Guinea.

Between the Sepik River and its southern tributary the April (or Nigsek) River there runs a narrow and winding waterway the Ngala call Kadauwiya. About its middle it is met by another waterway from the southeast, Talpo. Ngala, at about 142°30'E 4°13'S, is on its banks a few meters off the junction. A little south is Kwaliyo, a lake used as a meeting place with other groups. Southeast again is the terminus of Ndjanggaramb (in Manambu; Ngala: Gapfa), a long waterway which passes for 40 km as the crow flies through swampland at the feet of the Hunstein Mountains. About mid-course it connects to a lake where Wagu, a Bahinemo village, is situated; at its eastern outlet it joins the Sepik near Yambun.

Ngala was built in two rows of houses, one on either side of the stream and facing it. It consisted of three wards, Nggraiyo (with the ceremonial house Amuwasi) and Dogoshoa (ceremonial house Kaukauwul) on the east, Wolbi (ceremonial house Kokombauwi) on the west. In 1949 the village numbered 22 dwelling houses and two ceremonial houses (Ormsby 1949). By 1977-1978 the east bank had a row of about 18 dwelling-houses, and a ceremonial house at each end; the west bank had 14 dwellings and a ceremonial house at the north end (Ruff and Ruff 1990:577). Formerly watchtowers were situated at the approaches to the place.

As to the history of the ceremonial houses: members of the Berlin-Expedition of 1912-1913 visited Ngala in September 1913 and made a

collection there[2], but Behrmann (1950-1951:325) states that at the time no ceremonial house existed, though this seems improbable; a ceremonial house, or houses, may have been mistaken for dwelling houses. As noted, in 1949 there were two ceremonial houses. In 1964 the ceremonial houses were of no great size, were in shabby condition. By 1966 Nggraiyo's house, *Amuwasi*, had been stripped of cladding, leaving its frame, second story platform and slit-gongs exposed; it had not been rebuilt thirteen years later. However, in 1966-1967 two entirely new houses were built for Wolbi and Dogoshoa; and these were said to be in the truly traditional style of the village.[3]

The Administration electoral roll for 1967 (Territory 1967:308-310) showed 44 males and 38 females qualified to vote. By 1973 local census records showed a total of 132 people, including 69 males and 63 females. Two men and one woman were presumed to have been born about 1906-1910; 28 had been born since 1960. Ngala was thus not a large community even by Sepik standards, and there are no indications it was ever larger. Nevertheless, as late as 25 years ago it had a formidable reputation: isolated and determinedly conservative, it was viewed locally as a nest of headhunters, cannibals, and above all dangerous sorcerers.

The Ngala were aware of the people living along the Sepik (*Namb nggu*) from Malu, the Manambu (*Mangsem*) village in the east, to Kubkain, a Wogamusin (*Yaruwiyo*) village in the west. The Yessan-Mayo (*Wakaru* or *Bwadipf*, and *Mayo*) live in between. The Ngala were also acquainted with the Kwoma in the hills to the northeast, the Kauimbei (*Wan*) to the north; and to the south the Bahinemo (*Wagu*), Sanio (*Bega*) and Bitara. Their primary trade was with Yessan and Kubkain - with the latter there was an ancestral connection (Newton 1975:199). Trade included foodstuffs and the cooking pots jars made by Ngala women.[4] The pots were traded on westwards from Kubkain to Hauna (an eastern Iwam village near the Leonhard Schultze River) in exchange for reeds Kubkain made into baskets and sleeping-bags in turn traded back to Ngala. Some intermarriage seems to have occurred with the Bitara and the Bahinemo, the latter being allies and, for reasons that will appear, considered virtually kinsmen. Well-remembered conflicts took place between the Ngala and the Manambu of Yambun village and Malu, Kubkain, Yessan, and the Kauimbei (who were decimated).[5] The Ngala also raided at least once Brugnowi, the Iatmul (*Mbene*) enclave from the middle Sepik.

The language called Ngala is only spoken in this village, and is a member of the Ndu Family, within which it has the lowest number of cognates (an

[2] Kaufmann (1990:593); Kelm (1966, 2: figs. 166-182) (n.b. fig. 170 is a Kwoma painting); Kelm (1968, 3:628)

[3] Hauser-Schäublin (1989: fig. 181), c. Kaufmann photograph, is a front view of Kokombauwi. See Newton (1971:38-39) for plan, elevation and section of the house.

[4] Those shown in Kelm (1966, II: figs. 147, 148), collected at Wagamush, are probably examples.

[5] About 1942, the remaining Kauimbei moved to and became integrated with Yasyin village (Martin 1962).

average of 33.3%) with other members. On this and glottochronological grounds, Laycock (1966:185) suggests that 'Ngala split off [first] from the common ancestor of the Ndu Family ... at an early date [possibly on the order of 3,000-2,500 years ago] and has continued to develop largely independently since that time.' (Relationships with non-Ndu languages are undefined except that Wogamusin is mentioned.) Ngala oral traditions hardly support Laycock's propositions, at least as far as time goes; although Laycock stated that these were relative, not absolute.

Legendary origins

The village's configuration reflects the Ngala conception of their history.[6] Like many other Sepik communities, the Ngala are highly conscious that they are not a monolithic group, but that each ward is an amalgam of clans with differing origins. These origins are explained in a number of stories, the casts of which are ancestral creator supernaturals. We may hope, even expect, that they provide a schematic version of historical realities.

Each of the three wards is associated in general speech with an animal: Nggraiyo with Cuscus, Dogoshoa with Eagle, Wolbi with Crocodile. Nggraiyo has Sapanokwa, Ambuken and Kokopfa clans; Dogoshoa has Manggopfa and Deb(?) clans; Wolbi has Yenuwi, Lumo and Bobapfa clans.[7] Each clan has its own myth about its ancestors' travels, each starting out from a hill or mountain. Here, as conspicuously among the Iwam of the May River to the west (Yoshida 1987), a paramount theme is *encounter*.[8] The primal totemic ancestor of one group encounters the equivalent ancestor of another group, they join forces and travel onwards together to their destination, the present Ngala. Eventually they and their canoes become water-spirits.[9]

The Wolbi anthropogenic myth takes place at Boba or Yitpapa, the hill at the eastern end of the range (Kwoma: Ndugupa) where Ambunti government station now stands. It is identical with the Abelam myth of a cassowary creatrix, here called Wurugwadep or Kweianui. The myth recounts the origin of the Ngala (younger brothers) and Bahinemo (elder brothers) from bundles of the cassowary's feathers. It is known along this

[6] This may not now be the fact. It has been reported that, apparently about 15 years ago, the people abandoned the traditional site for a new one on the Sepik River itself.

[7] An unpublished list made by L. W. Bragge includes several more names, some perhaps only versions of each other. All clan names take the Ndu *nyan*, ('son', 'daughter', or 'small' according to qualifier) as a suffix (*-pfa* may also be part of the suffix). Only the short versions are given here.

[8] One evening in 1967 I witnessed a practical example of this at Ngala itself. An Ngala man approached my Yambun companions (of Sambarap clan), and asked whether they had anything to eat. When they replied (untruthfully) they had not, he ran through a list of possible totemic beings they might all have in common. (There was a certain amount of charade about this, as the elder Yambun's father was known to have had close relations with the Ngala). When they mutually hit upon one, the Ngala man went away and returned shortly with a gift of food.

[9] In the following versions a number of incidents, names of rafts, and so forth, are omitted.

section of the Sepik to the Kwoma, Yessan-Mayo, Wogamusin, and eastern Iwam: there are indeed grounds for suggesting that it was introduced to the river people by the Ngala.[10]

The Wolbi-Dogoshoa migration myths begin with the Crocodile ancestor, Dagelabegela, who lives at the mountain Diyabugei. He sets out to travel along Ndjanggaramb, walking backwards because his head is the wrong way round, and blowing his wooden trumpets. Partway he meets two Bahinemo ancestors (of Wagu), a married couple called Yebikai (m.) and Yebitowe (f.), who restore his head to its proper position, and give him sago instead of dog faeces to eat. Dagelabegela in return makes pots for them.

The Eagle ancestor, a pig called Budienauwi hears the trumpets, joins forces with Dagelabegela, and they proceed together westwards in canoes, following Ndjanggaramb. Crocodile's canoes are Yaunbi (Yenuwi clan) and Dolwap (Lumo clan); Eagle's is Banggiwai (Manggopfa clan). Another Wolbi clan, Bobapfa, comes with totemic cassowary and the canoe Tokauwul. Eagle leads the way, singing a headhunting song, while Crocodile plays his trumpets. They create Kwaliyo. Here Dagelabegela creates crocodiles, ceremonial houses and slit-gongs. Budienauwi swims to Kauimbei, and creates a sago swamp.[11]

After further creative acts, the ancestors retire to various lakes and streams, where they now live as water-spirits.

The Nggraiyo myths begin in the ranges far south of Ngala, the area of Sanio people, and possibly among them or the Setiali.

In the Kokopfa myth, the ancestor Gekenauwi lives at Tauwubugiyo mountain. He loads his bamboo rafts with people and plants, including coconuts. A banana that has fallen in the water is picked up by Wobeiyau, the ancestor of Sapanokwa and Ambuken clans, who also carries with him plants and people. The two go down the April River. They wish to stay with the Bitara, but are sent on their way.

Gekenauwi stays on the April River. He hears a sound from a trumpet of snake skin blown by Dimbegela, the ancestor of [Hornbill] clan who comes from Kwanba mountain in his canoe Kipfauwi. Gekenauwi comes along a waterway overgrown with vines, cutting them away with a mussel shell and meets Dimbegela. They go together to Ngala, where they are greeted by Eagle and Crocodile, who have arrived previously. They create shrimps and fish, and return to live in lakes and streams.

Yenuibegela, another Nggraiyo ancestor, lives on the Sepik River at a mountain called Libamasen. He builds rafts loaded with people, plants and so on, and proceeds downstream, making the Sepik as he goes. He first stops at Kabarok (Karok hill, now Kubkain), and disembarks his cargoes at several

[10] A number of versions of the myth have been published; for example an incomplete but representative Mountain Arapesh version in Mead (1938-1949:364-365). See Newton (1971:51) for part of the Wogamusin version. Bowden (1983:106-110, 135-144) has an extended Kwoma text which however does not include this episode.

[11] This claim to an important economic source might well account for Ngala's hostility to the Kauimbei people.

places. At Kauimbei he meets an ancestor of Boba clan, and some people go to Ngala. Others go to Bargam (?Beglam) 'where the (Kwoma) Saseriman now live.'[12]

In sum, in Ngala we have a community that believes itself, probably correctly, to be composed of several immigrant groups: from the upper April River (the Sanio); the Hunstein Mountains (the Bahinemo) and the Ambunti Range (the Kwoma area). The question may well be asked, to what extent these beliefs can be true.

In the first place, the myth of Yenuibegela, like others of the upper Sepik, is based on a cosmogenic myth that describes the creation of the rivers by a floating mountain, a python, a crocodile or an ancestor (Newton 1971:18; 1979:202-203) that distributes people, plants and animals to various locations. This, from our point of view, establishes perhaps some early inhabited sites, but not the people's ultimate origins.

Some corroboration of the Wolbi-Dogoshoa origins comes from the traditions of neighboring groups. About six to seven generations ago (before 1970), the Ambunti Range was inhabited by people at Beglam, whom the Manambu of Yambun called Ngala, and at the Ambunti hill, whom they called Swarudi. The Kwoma, migrating in from the northwest, called them all Ngala.[13] The Yambun, now living about 6 km above Ambunti, were then situated much closer to it. Fighting seems to have gone on for a couple of generations. Finally, attacked by the Kwoma led by Arugutumb, and the Yambun led by Tenembau and Ndjinndjin[14], the Ngala-Swarudi were slaughtered or dispersed; perhaps about the last quarter of the 18th century. They were not entirely eliminated from the scene. One man, for instance, was sheltered by a Yambun, and is said to have descendants at Avatep-Labunggai. Other survivors became ancestors of the Nggala clan of the Kwoma (Kaufmann 1972:206). It seems highly likely that the Wolbi who went to Ndjanggaramb were Ngala-Swarudi refugees. For their part, the Bahinemo claim that the Ngala came from the same original village, Kenesua, as themselves: referring presumably to the Dogoshoa.

With this first series connections in mind, one can examine the art of the Ngala in terms of its stylistic affinities. It must be allowed that the actual corpus of objects is rather small, and that it is limited in the types of objects extant. The range, however, is slightly increased by a number of works produced for commerce that are obviously fairly faithfully based on the memory, or descriptions, of past examples.

[12] Following this he lands the Sambarap clan at Yambun; hence they look upon themselves as kin to the Ngala. Later, as in several contemporary versions of the myth, he attains the mouth of the Sepik, to reach (or become) Manam Island – a place which must have been completely unknown in ancestral times.

[13] E.g., the important Ngala warrior called Suri Wolo is known to the Yambun as a Swarudi.

[14] Bowden (1983:22-26) gives a long Kwoma account of this conflict.

NGALA ART

Architecture

The ceremonial houses (nimburam) are two-storey buildings about 30 m long and 7.5 m high. The thatched roofs are supported by a ridgepole on a central row of posts, from which they slope past the upper floor, which thus had no walls, nearly to the ground. The floors are supported on a secondary system of shorter posts and beams. The houses fall into three distinct sections. The front is a porch occupying about a third of the whole structure, with its sides slanting back from the peak to the beginning of the main body of the house. It is supported by a separate beam attached to the main ridge pole; the sides are held in position by rafters rising from short posts, with no other function, at the main section end. Further, the peak of the porch is held up by a single tall post; behind this is a forking pair of posts which take the weight of the rafters, and beyond again a further beam-support pole and shorter poles supporting the sides. The porch in fact is an addition to the rectangular, gabled form of the usual dwelling house on which the midsection is firmly based. At the rear, a shallow apsidal addition is composed by a downward extension of the roof. A fringe of sago fibre runs all around the roof concealing the ground floor interior. Under the eaves of the entire roof ran a continuous basketry tube to which, at the porch, were fixed small painted pottery discs. Access to the upper storey is by log ladders; in the front they rise to a shallow platform backed by a screen of vertical palm-wood slats sharpened to points. Two entrances through the screen are for the elder men; young men enter through the apse in the rear.

The decoration of the house is concentrated at the porch. At its peak the roof beam has fastened to it a finial carved with a bird's head and (in some cases) an attached mask. Above the finials, projecting further, were lanceolate plaques with engraved designs. (Smaller, probably uncarved versions are on some dwellings.) The interior beams of the porch are also carved, with masks and serial hooks.

The ground floor and the interior of the upper storey are quite undecorated. The latter housed the sacred paraphernalia and men's sleeping-bags. It is the stage of ritual.

Each of the three sections replicates a feature of neighboring types of architecture. Viewing the central section as a version of the normal dwelling-house, we find it corresponds to the buildings of the Wogamusin.

The extended porch follows very closely, not in its engineering details, but in visual effect, the general form and specific decoration of Yasyin, Kwoma and Nukuma ceremonial houses. The main difference is that owing to their construction techniques the Ngala houses are not saddlebacked, as those houses were. They also have carved interior beams, woven encircling tubes (at Yasyin), and finials; though theirs are longer and much more elaborate, with a richer complement of images and references to mythology.

The lanceolate panel is a significant detail, a literal representation of a common form of woven or wooden ceremonial headdress used by the Nukuma and Kwoma, Sawos, Mountain Arapesh, Boiken and Abelam.

The apse is based on the Bahinemo model of ceremonial house, which

itself a variant on the type built by other groups in the southern Sepik Hills, including the Ewa (Kaufmann 1974: fig. 5) and the Alamblak (Haberland and Seyfarth 1974:51-59).

Conventions and designs

Faces were represented in several conventions. Masks were constructed of long oval sago bark sheets, paired front and back, painted with faces and with wooden birds' heads mounted above them (Newton 1971: fig. 87). There are two designs for these masks.

Design 1: a continuous narrow band of paint which runs all around the bark sheet and at the top arches over on both sides and extends down the middle of the mask to express the nose. Round cutout eyes appear on either side of the band, a teardrop shape painted below or beside each. The mouth is a cutout crescent (fig. 58a).

Design 2: circumscribed by an oval narrow band, a figure 8 indicating the brow and lower part of the face, with the nose and crescent mouth inside it, and annular eyes at the waist of the 8 (fig. 58b). A modified version of this layout also appears on shields. This style of face also occurs in the carvings of the Ewa (fig. 58c), in which it occurs either inside or in an enclosing band.

The carved wooden faces on canoe-prow shields are in three designs, all based on narrow ovals.

Design 3: repeats design 1.[15]

Design 4: the upper part is a serrated pattern above the horizontal brow, annular eyes with crescents below them and the bridge of the nose are bracketed by an elongated kidney shape on each side; the nostrils appear below this area. Below again, on each side, is an incurved lune framing a serrated form, with the crescent mouth below again (fig. 58d). One such belonged to Pfagliwoto, the canoe of Ambuken of Nggraiyo (Bühler 1960: plate 9). Another simpler version (Kaufmann 1980: fig. 106) has the provenance 'Yauna' (Iwam: Hauna village), but was said by Ngala to be from the Yaunbi canoe of Yenuwi (Wolbi).[16]

Design 5: the face repeats the lower section and the framing shapes of 4, but the nasal bridge at the upper end is an oval, with small eyes on each side above two down-turned ovals above the small crescents (fig. 58e). This is used for Wolbi canoes.

[15] Kelm (1966, 1: fig. 18) – unless, as is conceivable, this is actually part of a mask.

[16] Another carving on the same model is on a canoe-prow shield in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, no. 1979.206.1790 (Newton 1967: fig. 74), said credibly by the vendor to be from Ngala. The Ngala repudiated this on the grounds – perfectly correct – that the painted background was in the Iwam style. How this pastiche came about is unknown.

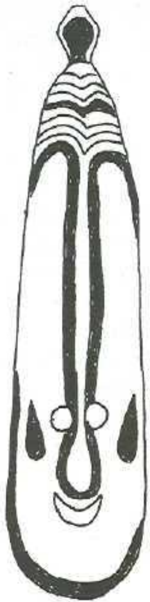


Figure 58a. Mask. Sago spathe, black, red, white paint, h. 114 cm. Basel, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vb 21193.

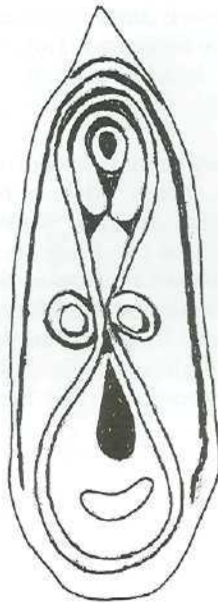


Figure 58b. Mask. Sago spathe, black, red, white paint, h. 76 cm. Collected 1912-1913. Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde, VI 47 976. After Kelm (1966, II: fig. 169).

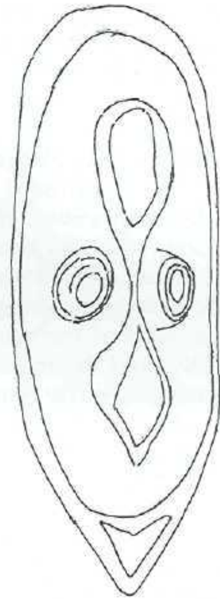


Figure 58c. Head of figure. Ewa. Wood. After Haberland (1968: plate 73).

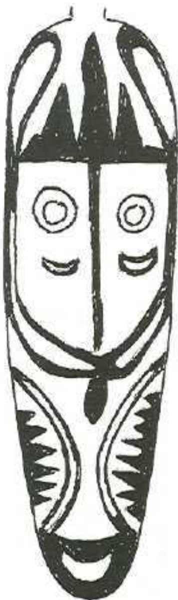


Figure 58d. (left) Canoe prow shield mask (detail). Wood, paint, h. 53 cm. Basel, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vb 15925.

Figure 58e. (right) Canoe prow shield mask (detail). Wood, paint, bark, cane, total h. 128 cm. Morton D. May collection, St. Louis Art Museum 1970.640. After Parsons (1975: fig. 69).

Design 4 is also used in three dimensions, that is as a sculpture with the face slightly dished below the forehead, and with a long, protruberant nose and conical eyes, with the head mounted on a shaft (fig. 59a). This is practically identical with the *yena* heads of the Nukuma and Kwoma (fig. 59b).

Many Ngala carvings incorporate hook forms, either serial (unidirectional) or in opposed groups, often with a feature between the groups (Haberland 1964). Allied styles are now known to occur in a remarkable number of Sepik areas. North of the River, it is found among the Abelam, and some related masks exist on the lower Sepik. The main range of the style, though interrupted, is south of the River. From east to west, it is used by groups of the middle Ramu River (Kominimung, Rao, Breri); the Biwat of the Yuat River; the Alamblak and Ewa of the southern Sepik Hills; the Bahinemo in the Hunstein Mountains; the Ngala and the Sanio.

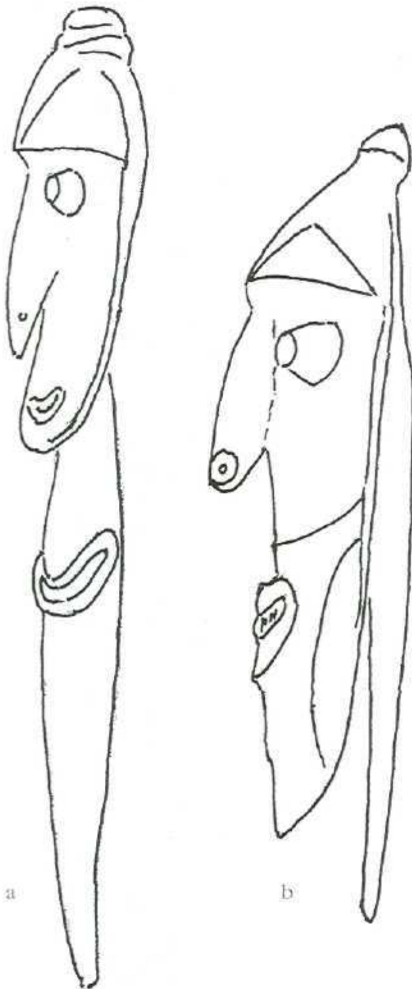


Figure 59a. Figure. Wood, paint, h. 120 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979.206.1790.

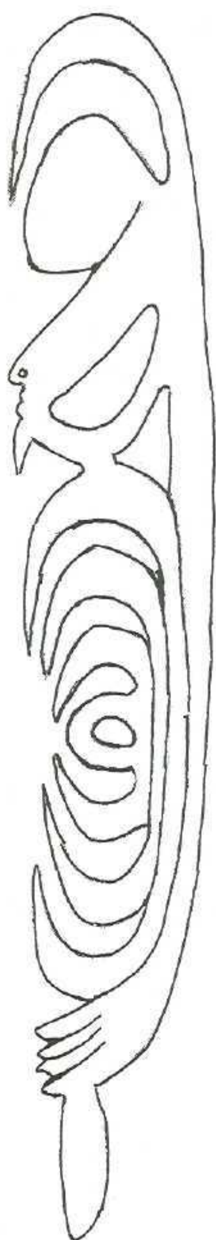
Figure 59b. Head (*yena*). Yessan-Mayo. Wood, paint, h. 71 cm. Private collection.

a

Figure 60a. Canoe prow shield mask (profile). Wood, paint, h. 126 cm. Basel, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vb 15924.

b

Figure 60b. Canoe prow shield mask (profile). Wood, paint, h. 130 cm. Basel, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vb 15925.



c

Figure 60c. Figure (*yipwon*). Alamblak, Gemnanenbek village. Wood. h. 190 cm. Frankfurt, Städtisches Museum für Völkerkunde, NS 41938. After Haberland and Seyfarth (1974: Tafel 24, 2).

A number of canoe prow shields, and carvings associated with them, exist. The Ngala version of the canoe-prow shield is unique in that the trident sago bark frame has exceptionally long 'wings' that permit the usual mask to have a long shaft rising above it terminating in a bird's head. The length of the shaft is carved with small hooks, usually serial, pointing downwards (fig. 60a). One example (from an Nggraiyo canoe) has a small human head at the top, a sequence of down-pointing hooks below it, below that a sequence of upward-pointing hooks, and below them again another small head (fig. 60b). Considered without the heads, it is a version of a Bahinemo garra; with it, the configuration is close to being a version of an Alamblak yipwon (fig. 60c), the large figures representing war- and huntingspirits. Again, another type of cult object represented by both old and commercial carvings is a panel with a face and a series of upturned hooks below it.[17]

Carved staffs are used in magic to bring draughts of catfish, and are placed at flood time in palm-leaf shelters built on the sacred mounds in front of the ceremonial houses. These shelters strongly resemble the form of Kwoma *yena* altars.[18] A commercial carving which probably represents a magician's staff has a human head and rows of opposed hooks down each side and the front.[19] This configuration is also found on some Kwoma sacred *mindja* carvings (Newton 1971: fig. 168). Among other staffs are examples with human heads at their tops with lateral curved prongs (birds' heads or fish hooks) just below them, and with one or more panels wider than the shaft along its length.[20] An exactly similar carving is made by the Wogamusin of Kubkain, associated with a myth of a girl thief who was caught on the prongs.

Each ceremonial house had one or more large sacred carvings in the form of masks, although they were not used as such; possibly they were sometimes displayed lying on the slit-gongs. Two masks from Amuwasi were in the style of face design 1 but have been lost. Small model masks, perhaps from Wolbi, have recently been made, one with a vertical row of opposed hooks down its back, identical to the cult masks of the Bahinemo.[21] Only one pair of masks (from Dogoshoa, called Kumam) now appears to exist (Kaeppler, Kaufmann and Newton 1993: plate 230, 311). These extraordinary works ostensibly show faces with relief forehead bands, and

[17] The commercial version is Newton (1971: fig. 82); the old version is now in an unknown private collection.

[18] Two or three of these were seen at Ngala during the 1973 flood clearly containing something. We were not allowed to approach them.

[19] Newton (1971: fig. 84)

[20] An example, probably not made for sale is now in the National Museum, Boroko (E7996); it was seen at Ngala in 1965. The head wears an old-style policeman's cap. At least one copy was made for sale in 1967 (Newton 1971: fig. 85); other commercial carvings of the general type are in Los Angeles (1967:62).

[21] American Museum of Natural History, New York; private collection, New York, both collected in 1970.

three peg-like projections above them; relief elements at the sides; and three birds' heads curving upwards from the chin. In fact these are double images. For slit-gong ceremonies celebrating headhunting, they were set upright on the 'pegs' (legs and genitals) with the birds' heads overarching the face.

Beyond this, the Ngala use a fairly large range of 'abstract' designs, engraved or in low relief, or sometimes painted, which are named and refer to natural objects. Some of them are also used by the Wogamusin and to a lesser extent by the Iwam, with different interpretations in each case.

RELATIONSHIPS

We can consider three aspects of relationships in the art of Ngala: those existing internally to the village; those that have taken effect since the village was established, and the implications of its antecedents.

One may consider the intracommunity relationships of objects and designs. Some upper Sepik groups, the Kwoma for instance, seem to have a quite rigorous claim that designs are specific to different clans. The Ngala also state that certain designs are clan- or ward-specific, including bark-painting designs, some of those engraved on the sides of canoes. This also applies even to some works such as gong-beaters: those with human head terminals are Dogoshoa, those with registers of inverted cones ('banana stalks') are Wolbi.[22] How far this is adhered to is uncertain; there seems to be some overlap (type 4 masks being made by more than one ward) but this may simply indicate that the design is part of a general stock or, with more complexity, that certain circumstances permit such use. These could be rights to designs acquired through marriage or (what seems to exist) overlaps of clan ancestors across ward boundaries.

External, intercommunity relationships after settlement at the Ngala site are clearer. The Yambun people say that their greatest ceremony, Ndumwi[23], which involves the simultaneous beating of at least six slit-gongs to imitate the dancing of a female water-spirit, was imported by their Yimar clan. They claim that it was then adopted by the Ngala, who say the Wolbi group in turn sold it to the Wogamusin.

Ngala slit-gongs fall within the type also used by the Bahinemo, the Wogamusin, the Iwam and probably the Sanio. The hollowed barrel of the gong occupies only a quarter to a third of the whole instrument; the remainder tapers the rest of its length to terminate in a carved finial. Both Ngala and Wogamusin agree that when some Ngala went to live at Kubkain, perhaps in the first quarter of the 19th century, they introduced the slit-gong ceremony and certain flute tunes (not necessarily slit-gongs and flutes). As far as visual art is concerned, they certainly brought in the Ngala models of canoe-prows, paddles and shields (and one might guess gong-beaters and

[22] See Kelm (1966, II: fig. 179) for human head terminal, and the same (figs. 173, 174) for banana stalks.

[23] See Harrison (1990) for a detailed account of this from Avatep. The Yambun seem to place much more stress on the gong-beating component, as do the Ngala and Wogamusin.

canoe-prow shields), subsequently modified and elaborated by the Wogamusin.

As for the antecedents of Ngala art, we may recapitulate the origin of the village. Groups of people, evidently very small, under stresses of one kind or another, arrived consecutively at a particular site over a number of years from very different original locations, and made accommodations (often based on improvised totemic relationships) which allowed them to live there together in some sort of harmony. But each group did not forget its origins (if they had done so we would know nothing of them), and brought with it various elements of cultural baggage.

One element is, of course, language; and we may ask what was the origin of the Ndu component. Clearly it was not from the Bahinemo or the southern area ancestors, which leaves only the Wolbi group. This implies that the group - or part of it, as it could itself have had complex origins - came from the northeast or the east: that is, the areas either of the Wosera Abelam or the middle Sepik people (the Sawos).

The baggage included art motifs which continued to be used as an affirmationof cultural identity. The alternative, that after reaching their village they picked up the stylistic units from their neighbors, seems far less feasible. So the art of Ngala, so far as we know it, evinces not so much a style as an assemblage of disparate stylistic units; there is no such thing as a coherent, unified Ngala style. What Ngala carvers, painters and architects were making -as no doubt they were well aware - was a hodgepodge composed from several stylistic traditions, none specifically local. These derived from, anteceded or were related to those of the Kwoma/Yessan-Mayo, the Sepik Hills groups (Bahinemo/Ewa), and Ndu-language speakers (Sawos/Iatmul).

If this is the case some historical implications may exist, even based on the little firmly known about the village's age. Some slit-gongs of the Sawos and Iatmul, said by them to be in an archaic style, are in exactly the form of Ngala-Wogamusin canoe-prows, suggesting a certain antiquity for the design of both. Again the fact that certain facial designs are akin to those of the Kwoma and Nukuma may well suggest that the designs themselves have been in use at least since, and probably before, the Kwoma entered the region. The hook style, judging by its interrupted distribution, seems to be another archaic -and perhaps earlier even more widespread - style, later replaced by various naturalistic styles.

Hauser-Schäublin (1989) proposes what seems incontestable, that the ceremonial houses of the Sepik are based on a prototype introduced from the north coast, and that its variants can be arranged in a phylogenetic order. In this scheme the Kwoma and Ngala variants are branches on a single limb, the latter with a Bahinemo contribution. There are two ways this could have come about. One is that the Ngala merely, in recent times, copied the example of their Yasyin neighbors and trading partners. Or, in the early part of their history before their migration, the Wolbi at least shared the Yasyin-Kwoma model and carried it with them to Ngala, integrating the Sepik Hills apse on the way because of their relationship with the Bahinemo.

To express it another way: clearly many of the combinations we see in Ngala art are incongruous. Congruity implies variations, if any, within the

compass of a single theme. In Ngala art one major theme does not imply another - that is, if we have a naturalist mask, then a system of hooks is not implied within the naturalistic system. The principle of congruity has been used by Conklin (1985) to unravel the history of an ancient Peruvian architectural complex by equating forms: contemporaneity: 'coherent matrix.' Incongruity (or thematic anomaly), then, implies change through time. The examples of incongruity in a Sepik style are, I believe, capable of similar analysis.

How does incongruity arise? Clarke's summary of information theory (1968:90), condensed further, says a system gains information from internal sources (invention) or extended sources (by diffusion). The system may reject information. If it accepts, the system will find the information new (gain), alternative (disjunctive), contradictive (equivocation), confirmative (redundant). All acceptance therefore leads to change.

In case of a large group, such as the Abelam, a central core shares language, social structures, technology, religion, art, etc., while only perimeter groups are susceptible to information from surrounding groups. Local movements within the core will hardly convey contradictive information, gain or disjunction will be minor. A large group may therefore tend to conservatism, and only produce changes through major environmental or ideological constraints (see again Hauser-Schäublin on Abelam ceremonial houses). One might expect an exponential fall-off in influence in distance from the source.

In the case of small societies (which may previously have gone through the same process), when migrations between them take place, one will bring to the other information which will represent gain or disjunction, and reciprocally receive the same. If several such transactions take place, the gain from several incoming groups will lead to a marked series of changes in the constantly modulating host group. The effects of a very high quotient of contradiction would lead to catastrophic changes. These appear to have been common enough in the Sepik and sometimes affected the arts. They may quite often account for 'dropouts', that is signs of discontinuous distribution, in the thematic repertoire. That is, a succession from current usage to obsolescence demonstrates a diachronic sequence, or phase of art history. This would appear to be evident in the small cultures of the Sepik area; but it is worthwhile examining the larger cultures, which themselves have probably gone through phases of accretion from smaller units, from the same point of view.

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12

ARROW DESIGNS IN NORTHERN AND CENTRAL NEW GUINEA AND THE LAPITA CONNECTION

Barry Craig

Introduction

A few scholars (Green 1979, Newton 1988, Spriggs 1990a) have suggested the value of exploring the continuities between designs on prehistoric Lapita pottery[1] and those on historical and contemporary artefacts of the Pacific. The time difference is not excessive (around 2000 to 3000 years) and geographical continuity is assured so the weaknesses of a diffusionist approach are irrelevant.

The Australian National University's Lapita Design Project, arising out of its Austronesian Project, was envisaged in three stages (Spriggs 1990a:1-2):

- an analysis of the Lapita decorative system;
- an examination of prehistoric material elsewhere in the Austronesianregion;
- a study 'of related decoration in other media within the Austronesian world: tattooing, tapa manufacture, woodcarving and rock art... Since some of these are crafts practised in the ethnographic present, some connections with contemporary decorative systems might be established' (ibid.: 2).

Both Green and Newton have attempted to demonstrate that such continuities exist: Green for Polynesia and Newton for Melanesia. Green deals with the material from the perspective of an archaeologist, Newton from the perspective of an art historian; Green is interested in motifs and the way they are structured into whole designs whereas Newton focuses on a limited set of complex motifs. Ballard (1992) has commenced a study of rock art sites in western Melanesia with the intention of identifying Austronesian prototypes.

[1] Lapita is the name given by archaeologists to a pottery tradition that has been associated with communities believed to have been speaking languages ancestral to present-day Austronesian languages, and located in the Bismarck Archipelago and island Melanesia around 2000 to 4000 years ago.

My aim in this paper is to examine designs found on arrows of northern and central New Guinea to determine the extent to which they correspond to designs found on Lapita pottery of Melanesia, particularly of the region of the Bismarck Archipelago.

A couple of sherds of Lapita pottery have been found in the vicinity of Aitape (fig. 61) on the north coast of the New Guinea mainland (Swadling et al. 1988: plate 44; Spriggs 1990b:6; Spriggs 1990c:100), and the north coastline and offshore islands are host to several enclaves of Austronesian speakers (Laycock 1973; Ross 1989; Voorhoeve 1975; Z'graggen 1975), so geographical continuity is satisfied[2].

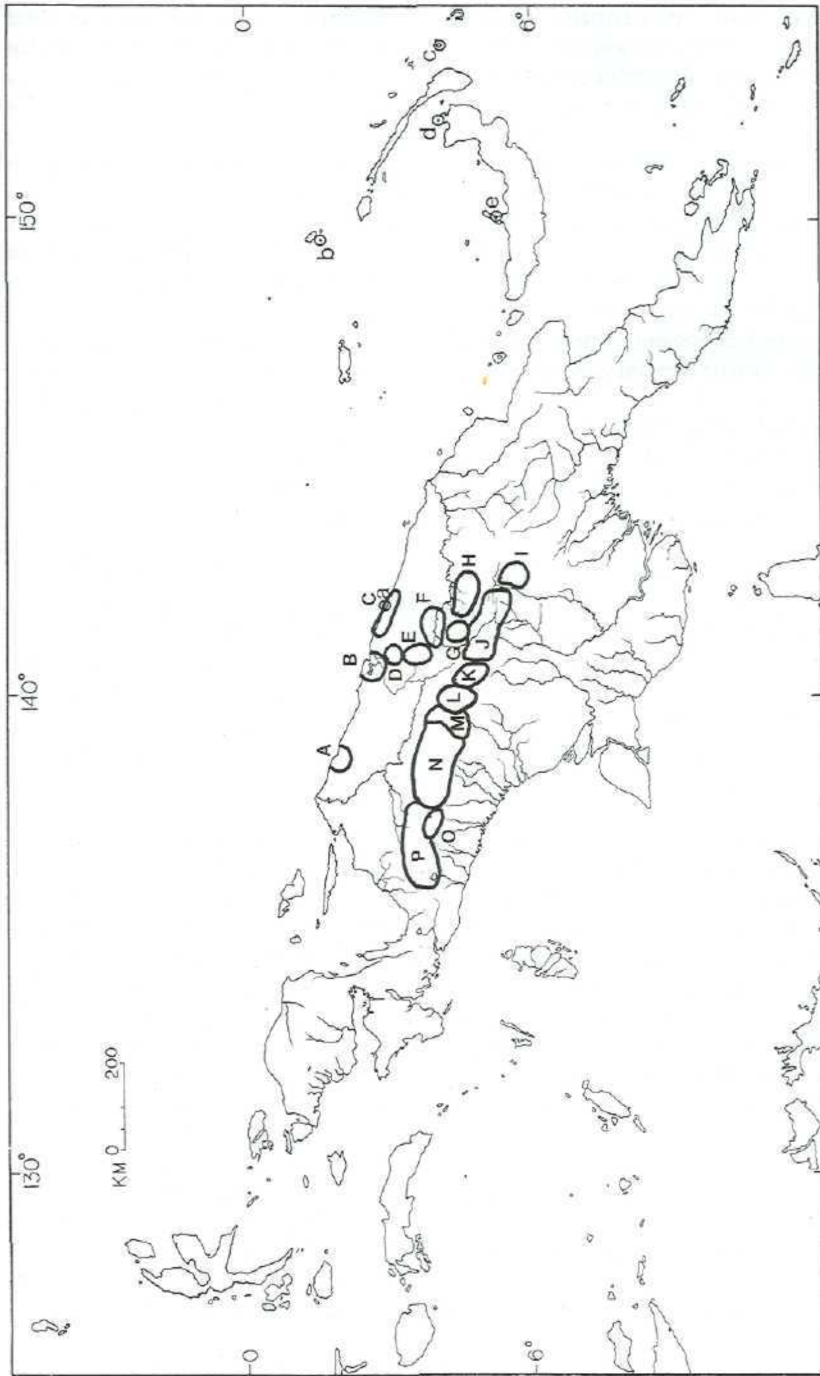
The recent work of Swadling (Swadling et al. 1988:14-15; Swadling et al. 1989; Swadling et al. 1991; Swadling and Hope 1992:31-37) in exploring the hypothesis of a Sepik-Ramu embayment which would still have existed, though diminishing from its maximum extent, during the time Lapita pottery was being manufactured in the Bismarck Archipelago between about 3850 and 2200 BP (Spriggs 1990b: table 1, 22-23) is also relevant, as Austronesian enclaves may well have colonised the embayment.

Thus contact between Austronesians of the Lapita tradition and non-Lapita mainland New Guinea populations could have occurred along the north coast of the mainland and in the region of the present-day Sepik-Ramu basin, some considerable distance inland from the present coastline. The present-day distribution of slit-drums, generally considered to be an Austronesian artefact, is anomalous in the Sepik-Ramu basin (Niles 1983; Swadling et al. 1988:66-7), and this also may be an indication of Austronesian enclaves along the shores of the embayment.

One does not have to postulate migrating Austronesians to account for Austronesian cultural traits further into the interior of New Guinea; trade and warfare were adequate mechanisms for achieving this. Whilst the two most significant classes of objects favoured for long-distance trading in New Guinea were stone tools and shell valuables, over the mediumrange lowland blackpalm bow staves were traded into the central ranges; I and others have noted this for central New Guinea (Craig 1988:46; Kooijman 1962:27; Swadling 1983:111 and footnotes 5,6). Arrows also were a trade item, particularly from the north to the Mountain-Ok region of central New Guinea (Craig 1988:47 and 1990:131; Cranstone 1990:38; Kooijman 1962:27 and map p.17).

In addition to their use as a trade item, arrows were salvaged after inter-group conflict (Craig 1988:47; Van der Leeden 1962:92) or were ceremonially exchanged at funerals, were given as gifts to visiting relatives or were exchanged to resolve disputes between hostile, or potentially hostile, groups (Van der Sande 1907:243 for Humboldt Bay; Van der Leeden 1962:90,

[2] Ross (1989) suggests that the present Austronesian groups along the Sepik north coast of New Guinea migrated from the Vitiaz Straits in the east, via Manam Island but it is not clear when this happened. However, it is possible that trading voyages preceded actual settlement, perhaps by hundreds of years.



A. Sarmi; **B**. Lake Sentani; **C**. Sepik North Coast; **D**. Keerom; **E**. Border Mtns; **F**. Abau; **G**. West Range; **H**. Sepik Hills; **I**. Duna; **J**. Mountain-Ok; **K**. Ngalum; **L**. Mek; **M**. Ngalik; **N**. Dani; **O**. Uhunduni; **P**. Ekagi, Moni, Dem; **a**. Aitape; **b**. Eloaue; **c**. Ambitle; **d**. Watom; **e**. Talasea.

Figure 61. Map of New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago.

96-9 for the Sarmi area further to the west).[3] Heider (1970:282, 285-6) notes the role of warfare in ensuring widespread consistency in arrow design among the Dani of central Irian Jaya.

Method

Having established that the circumstances were most likely conducive to exchange of cultural material between the Lapita-producing Austronesians and mainland New Guineans, and that subsequent expansion of Austronesian cultural traits can be explained by the mechanisms of trade, gift-giving and warfare, it remains to demonstrate that this may indeed have happened in relation to the designs on arrows.

I propose to do this by:

- identifying the range of design elements on arrows of north coast and central New Guinea, and the structural principles which organise these design elements;
- identifying the range of design elements of Lapita pottery in Melanesia (particularly the Bismarck Archipelago) and the structural principles which organise these design elements;
- examining the results for continuities and discontinuities between the prehistoric Lapita pottery designs and the recent arrow designs.

I will be allocating the arrow designs wherever possible to language groups, or at least to relatively small regions (such as 'Sepik North Coast'). I do not mean to suggest that cultural variations necessarily correlate with linguistic differences; sometimes they do and sometimes they don't.[4] Rather, it is simply a way of providing reasonably small units for analysis to avoid masking significant geographical variations in the data.

I must caution, however, that this is a preliminary exercise to explore whether or not there seems to be sufficient evidence to proceed with the analysis in a more thorough fashion. The analysis of Lapita designs has been carried out in a different way to my analysis of the arrow designs, and there is some considerable difficulty in identifying structural principles for Lapita design since so much of the evidence consists of sherds which present only a portion of the total design; it is much easier to identify design elements.[5]

To establish an inventory of Lapita pottery design elements and to identify the structural principles by which these design elements are organised, I refer primarily to the work of Anson (1983) on the Lapita

[3] Via the ceremonial exchanges the arrows pass from hand to hand and often become distributed over great distances (Van der Leeden 1962:96).

[4] See also Welsch et al. (1992).

[5] See footnote 12.

designs of Melanesia, including the Bismarck Archipelago, since that is the body of Lapita material geographically closest to the region of New Guinea with which I am concerned. For the arrows[6], I have already analysed a large body of material for conference papers in 1984 (Craig 1990) and 1990 (unpublished). I will integrate these analyses, adding material accumulated in the museums in Berlin, Leiden and Basel immediately prior to the 1990 conference. I will be using my own terminology for the structural principles I derived from my study of the arrow designs but I will refer to other descriptive and taxonomic systems where relevant, particularly that of Mead (1975) and of Washburn and Crowe (1988).[7]

Although I will be examining design elements, structural principles are believed to be much more significant for comparative purposes. Washburn and Crowe (1988:40) state:

> *Friedrich's now classic Tarascan study (1970) has shown that design elements are very easily dispersed among groups, but layout configurations seem to be more specific indicators of shared work groups.*

An implication of this is that structural principles are more resistant to change than are design elements. I have analysed a situation where a foreign (lower Sepik) shield design was introduced into the upper Sepik area about 1968 (Craig 1976, 1983). I compared the local shields and their designs to the shields following the foreign style by examining form, technique, motifs

[6] Designs on arrows were recorded during several fieldtrips in the Mountain-Ok area (1964, 1967, 1983), and in the Upper Sepik area (1968, 1969, 1972-3). I also took rubbings from arrows collected by other fieldworkers in the Mountain-Ok and Upper Sepik areas and from arrows in museum collections in Sydney, Darwin, Port Moresby, London, Salem (Mass.), Berlin, Leiden and Basel. I am grateful to the directors of those museums and to the curators of those collections for providing access. The 1964 fieldwork was carried out whilst I was a schoolteacher at Telefomin in central New Guinea. The 1967 fieldtrip was partly financed by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research in New York and partly by Prof. Jean Guiart, then of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris. Wenner-Gren also partly financed the 1968 fieldtrip. I should note my gratitude to Dr. Simon Kooijman who, as deputy director of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden, agreed to assist with financing the 1968 and 1969 fieldtrips in the Upper Sepik area. My thanks are also due to Dr. Gerd Koch, then-Director of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin and to Dr. Frank Talbot, then-Director of the Australian Museum in Sydney, who also assisted with financing these two fieldtrips. The 1972-3 fieldtrip was conducted whilst under contract to the Commonwealth Art Advisory Board in Canberra and the 1983 fieldtrip was conducted while I was Curator of Anthropology at the PNG National Museum and Art Gallery. Individuals who have generously given me access to their arrows and associated documentation include Dr. George Morren (Mianmin), Dr. Wilson Wheatcroft (Tifalmin), Dr. Anton Perey (Oksapmin), Dr. Pat Townsend (Sepik Hills), and Bruce Macleay (West Range).

[7] Washburn and Crowe (1988) have provided an extremely detailed and thorough system for descriptive analysis of patterned design based on the geometric principles of crystallography. Unfortunately I obtained a copy of this work too late for me to use for the purposes of this paper as it would involve a lengthy reanalysis of almost 2000 designs. Their book describes a culturally neutral system that could be used universally for the analysis of patterns developed from repetition of design elements and motifs organised according to the rules of symmetry. As may be expected, there are correspondences between the systems used by myself, Mead, and Washburn and Crowe.

and composition (i.e., structure). I concluded that 'technique and composition are more durable aspects of style than motifs' (1976:193).

This analysis was of an event that took place more-or-less at one point in time, not over hundreds or thousands of years, but it does not seem an unreasonable inference that the resistance of aspects of a local style to influences of a foreign style has diachronic implications. Taking this further, I referred to the identical structure of a design on a Telefolmin shield and a design on a Simbai shield (the areas are 330 kilometres apart), although technique and motifs were different. This suggested to me 'not merely a coincidence, but more likely a survival in these areas of an ancient, common mode of perception' and that 'compositional principles are the most durable, technique somewhat less durable, and motifs the least durable aspect of an art style' (ibid.:194).

Analysis of arrow designs

My analysis of the characteristics of the designs on arrows of central and northern New Guinea has derived from looking at around two thousand rubbings of the designs on the heads and foreshafts of arrows. Impressions of the designs were obtained by rubbing a black lumber crayon over a piece of paper wrapped around the arrow (see Craig 1988:47, fig. 32). This made it much easier to 'read' the design.[8] It also resulted in a design which was repetitive along an axis at right angles to the length of the arrow (the 'east-west' axis in Mead's system – Mead 1975:22). Of course, the method of recording the design increased the number of times an element was repeated from two, occasionally three, times on the arrow, to as many times as I chose to continue the rubbing. I also indicated the distal and proximal ends of the design so the 'north-south' axis in Mead's terms is indicated, which is the axis of the length of the arrow itself.

Arrows are made by men only. The designs are 'chiselled' from the arrow head or arrow foreshaft with the incisor of a rat or small marsupial so that the raised relief bands and relief forms[9] indicate the pattern or 'figure' against the chiselled-out areas which are the 'ground' and usually filled with red and white (and sometimes yellow) pigments. West of the Mek area in Irian Jaya, the chiselled out areas are infilled with white lime – no other colour is used – and the relief bands are generally much finer (less than 2 mm wide) than among the Mek and their neighbours to the east. The relief bands of the Sepik North Coast arrows are the widest (more than 2 mm wide). Those of central New Guinea and the upper Sepik basin are around 2 mm wide.

[8] Bush did not do this in her study of arrow designs and consequently it would have been much more difficult for her to determine what the design elements were and how they were put together. For example, it appears that she has considered to be a design element (1985: fig. 10, iv) the heart-shaped chiselled-out area formed by the process of carving barbs.

[9] Definition of 'relief band' follows Schefold 1966:259, footnote 133: 'By "relief-band" we understand a simple projection in low relief, of constant width and depth, and with a rectangular cross section...' A relief form is the same as a relief band except that it is of varying width.

My method of design analysis was to place all designs together that were essentially the same, then to place together all those that varied in only a minor way. The variations were usually at the level of design elements so this process of looking for similarities began to yield an understanding of the way the design elements were put together to make whole designs. Of course, there were some ambiguities but these did not significantly affect the identification of the basic structural principles. Also, some designs are examples of more than one structural principle. Figure 62 provides an inventory of the most common design elements and figure 63[9a] gives examples of the five major structural principles:

i SINGLE ELEMENT[10] – a single design element repeated at right angles to the length of the arrow (east-west);
ii SERIAL REPETITION – a single design element repeated both at right angles to the axis of the arrow (east-west) and along the axis of the arrow (north-south);
iii INVERSION SYMMETRY – a design element or complex of design elements subjected to mirror image symmetry around an axis at right angles to the length of the arrow;
iv DIAGONALLY DEFLECTED SYMMETRY – a design element or complex of design elements subjected to mirror-image symmetry as above but with the 'reflected' image shifted a half-position to one side, often so that the two halves inter-penetrate;
v AGGLUTINATION – a design built up through the addition of several different or alternating elements which are integrated along the axis of the arrow (north-south).

9a Note on Figures: The Lapita motif numbers are those assigned by Anson 1983. USEE 1968 and 1969 refer to the two collecting expeditions I conducted in the upper Sepik area in those years. In some cases I was provided by the receiving museums with the registration numbers for the pieces I collected and these numbers are provided in the captions without reference to the USEE collection numbers but not all the pieces with museum numbers were collected by me. Where I do not have the registration numbers, I have indicated my collection numbers and the museum to which the piece went. AM = Australian Museum; PNGNMAG = Papua New Guinea National Museum & Art Gallery; RvV = Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde; MfV = Museum fur Volkerkunde. I also took rubbings of many arrows in the field without collecting the arrows; I have indicated this where relevant. The scale (cms) applies only to the arrow rubbings and is more accurate in the vertical than in the horizontal direction because of the vagaries of the process of taking rubbings.
The arrow designs were reproduced by photocopying the rubbings at half size and inking over the black lines and forms. Thus there were two possibilities of distortion - at the stage of rubbing the design with the crayon and at the inking-over stage. Although the reproductions are as close to accurate as can reasonably be expected, they lack the finesse of the original designs; in short, the New Guineans are much better at carving than I am at drawing. For this lack of skill I apologise to the many craftsmen whose work is represented here, and to the reader.

10 In previous publications I have named this structure as 'single asymmetric motifs' (such as a line of linked spirals) but I have since realised that the linking of *symmetrical* design elements (such as lozenges, rectangles or ovals) along an east-west axis is an example of the same structure. The main difference within this category is between *discontinuous* repetition (where each element is isolated from its neighbours) and *continuous* repetition (where each element is linked with its neighbours). This is a characteristic of designs noted also by Mead (1975:40).

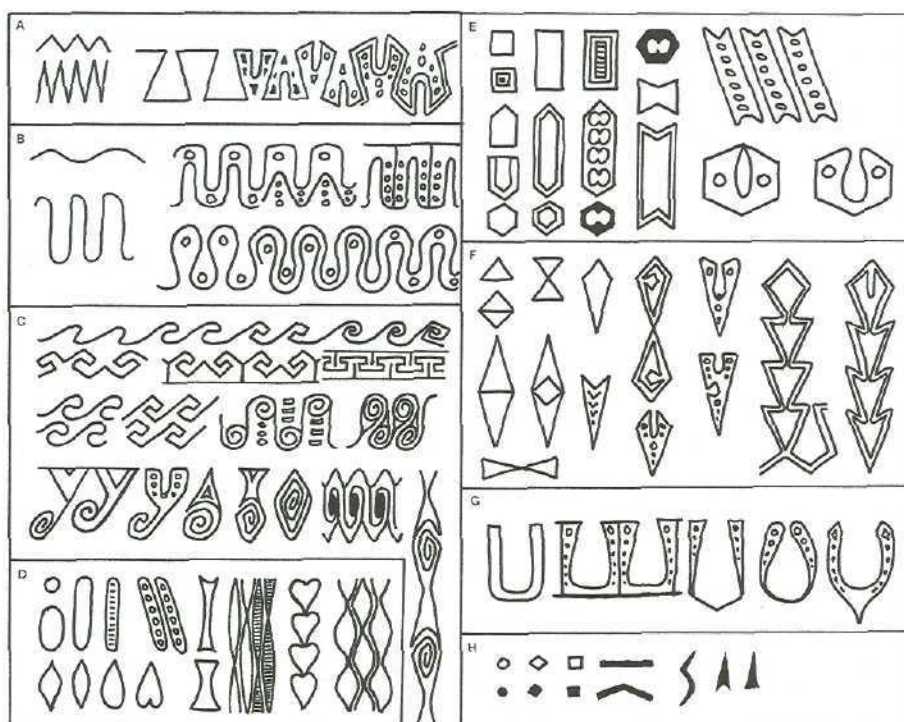


Figure 62. Inventory of the most common design elements on arrows of northern and central New Guinea.
A. Zig-zags; **B**. Wavy lines; **C**. Spirals and meanders; **D**. Circles and other curved figures; **E**. Squares, rectangles and other multiple-sided figures; **F**. Triangles and lozenges; **G**. U-shapes; **H**. Infill elements.

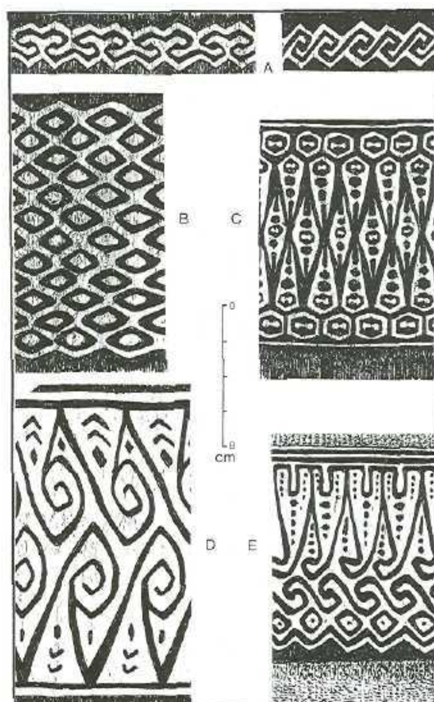


Figure 63. Examples of the five major structural principles of designs on arrows. **A**. Single Element (SE) - both Telefol, Mountain-Ok (not collected); **B**. Serial Repetition (SR) - Yuri, Border Mtns (AM, Sydney, E.6432); **C**. Inversion Symmetry (IS) - Mianmin, Mountain-Ok (G.Morren #6); **D**. Diagonally Deflected Symmetry (DDS) - Waina, Border Mtns (PNGNMAG, E.7382); **E**. Agglutination (AGG) - Mianmin, Mountain-Ok (not collected).

Figure 64 gives examples of designs that incorporate more than one structural principle, or can be read as either of two structural principles. Where designs incorporate more than one structural principle, this was resolved by categorising the design according to its overall structure rather than according to the structure of a part of the design. Other ambiguities were resolved by looking at similar designs that were not ambiguous and applying their structural principle to the ambiguous design.[11]

Table 1 provides an analysis of the arrow designs in the study area according to these structural principles. The first point to be made is that the percentage of designs that can be characterised by the five basic structures varies from language group to language group, but that certain clusterings of language groups occur. These clusterings I have indicated in bold type and they roughly correlate to areas sharing relatively distinct cultural traits.

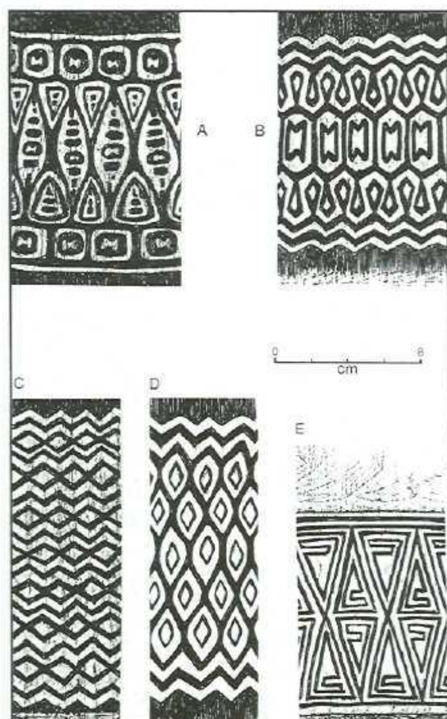


Figure 64. Examples of arrow designs incorporating more than one structural principle or that can be read as either of two structural principles.
A. Inversion Symmetry that could also be read as Agglutination - Telefol, Mountain-Ok (not collected); **B**. Diagonally Deflected Symmetry within an overall Inversion Symmetry pattern that could also be read as Agglutination - Yuri, Border Mtns (USEE 1968 #659, RvV, Leiden); **C**. Inversion Symmetry that can also be read as Agglutination - Eastern Abau (PNGNMAG, E.7310); **D**. Serial Repetition that can also be read as Inversion Symmetry - Mek (MfV, Berlin, VI 53695-a); **E**. Inversion Symmetry but note infill elements break the rule - Faiwol, Mountain-Ok (not collected).

[11] That I had to do this indicates that my categories are not entirely satisfactory. I expect that by using the system proposed by Washburn and Crowe (1988), this difficulty would be overcome and would significantly improve the overall analysis.

Comparing the structures of arrow designs of each 'culture area' with the 'North Coast' as an arbitrary baseline, it may be observed that:

- arrow designs of the Border Mountains are almost entirely characterised by Diagonally Deflected Symmetry;
- the Abau have rather more designs structured by Serial Repetition and rather less structured as Single Elements, favouring Diagonally Deflected Symmetry;

Table 1. Analysis of the Structures of Arrow Designs

Language Groups or Area	TOTAL N	TOTAL %	SE %	SR %	IS %	DDS %	AGG %
Aitape	105	100	24	2	26	42	6
Keerom (Waris)	22	100	18	5	27	36	14
Total 'North Coast'	127	100	23	2	27	41	7
Border Mountains (Waina, Amanab, Anggor, Yuri)	134	100	6	4	5	82	3
Eastern Abau	47	100	9	9	19	57	6
Central Abau	94	100	3	22	14	58	3
Western Abau	63	100	3	14	21	54	8
Sobger River	18	100	–	17	22	61	–
Idam/August Valley	66	100	5	18	14	48	15
Total Abau	288	100	4	17	17	55	7
West Range (Amto, Bo, Blimo)	35	100	–	20	17	14	49
Sepik Hills (April, Wogamush, L-Schulze)	154	100	12	12	8	14	54
Mianmin	246	100	11	2	18	8	61
Oksapmin	29	100	14	3	7	35	41
Telefol	263	100	14	2	22	27	35
Tifal	106	100	12	2	27	30	29
Faiwol	85	100	20	3	24	34	19
Total Mountain-Ok	729	100	14	2	21	22	41
Ngalum	111	100	–	39	43	18	–
Eastern Mek	45	100	–	31	53	16	–
Central Mek/Langda	76	100	3	45	39	13	–
Total Sibil-Mek	232	100	1	39	44	16	–
Nth/Sth Ngalik	36	100	3	50	22	8	17
Dani	38	100	8	24	21	18	29
Total Ngalik-Dani	74	100	5	36	22	14	23
Uhunduni	11	100	–	9	9	82	–
Ekagi, Moni, Dem	63	100	–	6	33	61	–
Total 'Western'	74	100	–	7	30	63	–
TOTAL	1847	100					

- the West Range arrow designs strongly favour Agglutination as do the Sepik Hills designs;
- the adjacent Mianmin in the northern Mountain-Ok area favour Agglutination even more than do the West Range and Sepik Hills groups but this structural principle drops off in significance in the southern Mountain-Ok area in favour of Inversion Symmetry and Diagonally Deflected Symmetry;
- the Sibil-Mek favour Serial Repetition and Inversion Symmetry, with no Agglutination;
- the Ngalik-Dani also favour Serial Repetition, and Agglutination reappears as a significant structural principle;
- the 'Western' group strongly favours Diagonally Deflected Symmetry, with no Agglutination or Single Elements.

It must be made clear that these frequency differences are not likely to remain the same over long periods of time; indeed it is highly probable that much of the variation has to do with 'fashion'. That is, a particular population of men may favour a particular design during a particular period of time and this may to some extent determine the percentage of designs falling into each of my five basic design structures.[12] In any case, it would be futile to compare the frequency of use of the various structural principles of arrows with that of Lapita pottery. The best that can be done is to consider presence or absence of particular structural principles.

I have indicated in figure 62 the most common arrow design elements for each 'culture area'. I have not attempted to do a frequency analysis of the design elements as this would require a computer analysis, for which I do not at present have resources. In any case, frequencies for design elements probably vary in a similar fashion to frequencies for structural principles. For comparison with Lapita pottery designs, it is sufficient simply to consider presence or absence of particular design elements.

As noted above, a comparison of design elements does not carry the same weight as a comparison of the *structures* of designs. Washburn and Crowe (1988:27-28) make this point by citing an example from ancient Greece:

> Previous studies of the element distributions revealed their presence throughout the occupied area of Greece. However, a symmetry analysis revealed mutually exclusive regions of different arrangements of these common elements (nets, flames, zigzags, and steps) during the Early and Middle Neolithic, but a grouping of symmetry classes, possibly indicating market centres, by the late Neolithic.

[12] Certainly it would have been a major difficulty to provide an analysis of structures of Lapita design based on thousands of small sherds, very few of which could be joined to provide a clear idea of total patterns. However, the Lapita Homeland Project of 1985 and subsequent excavations have vastly added to the material available and there are now a large number of whole designs represented (Golson, and Spriggs, personal communications, January 1995). Unfortunately these have not yet been illustrated and published so were not available for this study.

Analysis of Lapita pottery designs

Despite the fact that an analysis, within a particular tradition, of the distribution and frequency of design elements is not likely to be as significant as an analysis of the distribution and frequency of certain structural principles, Anson has chosen to base his study on design elements rather than structures. Nevertheless, it is possible to infer from his table 12, showing the percent representation and distribution of 516 design elements or motif types from the Bismarck Archipelago, Reef Islands & Santa Cruz, New Caledonia, Vanuatu and Fiji, which structural principles appear to organise the design elements on Lapita pottery of Melanesia. Examination of the work of others, particularly Mead for the Fijian pottery, confirms these. These structures include:

- continuous and discontinuous repetition of a motif or design element in 'east-west', multiple or (rarely) north-south directions (Mead's rules 1-5, Mead 1975:40-41) equating to my 'Single Element' and 'Serial Repetition' structures;
- mirror image patterns (ibid.:41), equating to my Inversion Symmetry;
- a pattern resulting from 'shifting the mirror image chain a half place to the side' (ibid.), equating to my Diagonally Deflected Symmetry;
- 'very complex compositions' (ibid.), equating to my Agglutination structure.

One significant aspect of Lapita design is 'zoning', that is, 'arrangement of design fields into horizontal layers' (ibid.:43). In Lapita pottery, these zones are generally delimited by horizontal lines or narrow bands of minimal design elements, called 'zone markers' by Mead (1975:24,27).

On the basis of his analysis of design elements, Anson (1983:261) demonstrated that:

> the pottery decoration of Lapita can be subdivided into two groups. The first group consists of Ambitle, Talasea and Eloaue. The second group consists of Watom, Reef Santa Cruz, New Caledonia, Vanuatu (New Hebrides) and Fiji.

Further, he stated that:

> Ambitle, Talasea and Eloaue appear to represent an earlier Lapita period in the Bismarck Archipelago which predates the Lapita expansion eastward into the Pacific by some centuries (ibid.: 277).

Thus it appears that the percentage of shared design elements decreases over time and, where there has been movement of the cultural group through space over a period of time, there will be a decrease in shared designs elements over space as well. If this was so for the several centuries it took for the Lapita style of pottery decoration to move from the Bismarck Archipelago to the Melanesian islands further east, it would be even more

obviously the case over the two to three thousand years or so between the Lapita period and the present.

Thus the identification of only a few of the Lapita design elements among the corpus of arrow design elements in northern and central New Guinea would not constitute a difficulty if, in addition, the Lapita designs and the arrow designs demonstrate a coincidence of design structures. Since I have identified only five basic design structures, it could be argued that such an analysis would not be fine-grained enough. However, the intent of this exercise is not so much to *prove* a connection between the two bodies of design but to explore a method and to see whether it would be worthwhile spending the time and resources to do a more sophisticated analysis using, for example, the system of Washburn and Crowe (1988).

Continuities and discontinuities

Zoning: As stated above, zoning is a significant feature of Lapita pottery design and zone markers are common; this does not appear to be the case for the arrow designs. However, it can be argued that zoning is often implied, and sometimes made explicit by zone markers (usually a line or multiple parallel lines), especially in designs structured by the principle of Agglutination (figure 65).

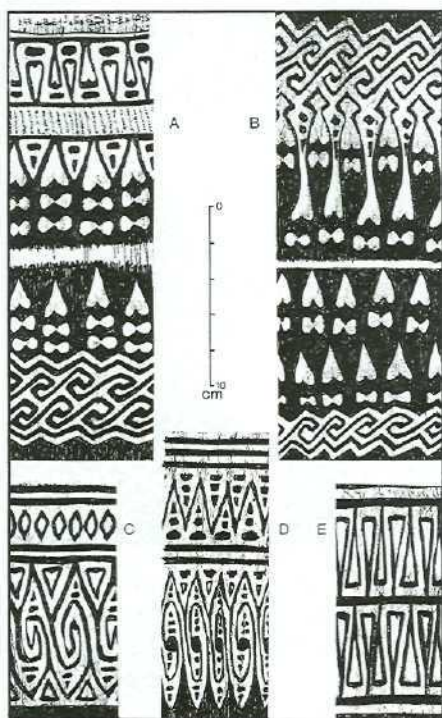


Figure 65. Examples of implied and actual zoning in arrow designs.
A. Actual zone division at top and implied where barbs divide the design - Telefol, Mountain-Ok (not collected); **B**. Implied zoning where barbs divide design - Telefol, Mountain-Ok (W.Wheatcroft F.378);
C. Actual zoning - Dulanmin, Mountain-Ok (not collected); **D**. Actual zoning - Sugamin, Mountain-Ok (not collected);
E. Implied zoning - Abau (not collected).

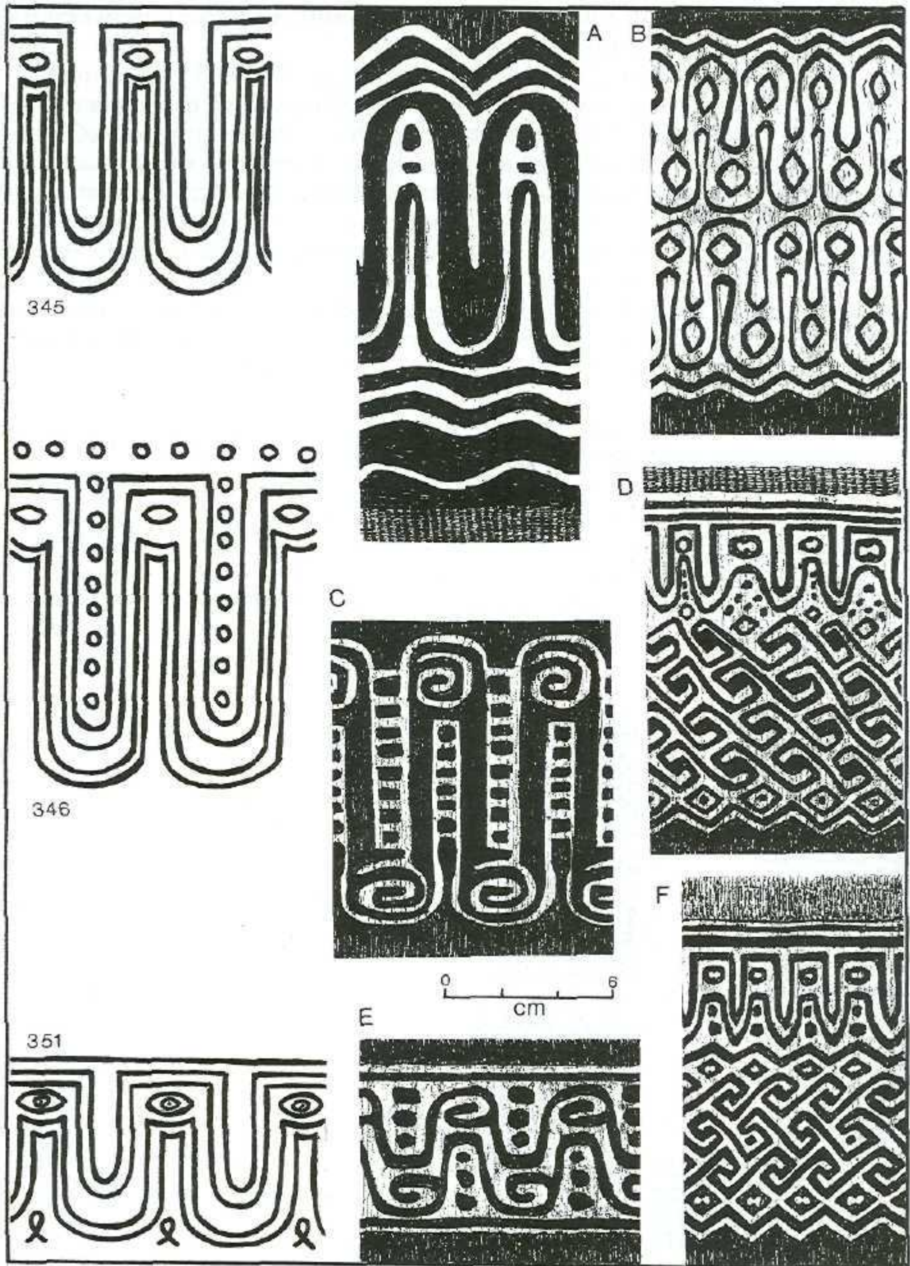


Figure 66. The Lapita "face" design elements and corresponding arrow designs. Anson 345, Watom; Anson 346, New Caledonia; Anson 351, Vanuatu; **A**. Keerom River, 'North Coast' (RvV, Leiden, 2027-19); **B**. Abau (not collected); **C**. Aitape, North Coast (AM, Sydney, E.29506); **D**. Mianmin, Mountain-Ok (not collected); **E**. Aitape, North Coast (AM, Sydney, E.29506); **F**. Telefol, Mountain-Ok (not collected). Note: **C** and **E** are doubtful correlates.

Structures: The analysis of arrow designs shows that SE (repetition of a single design element in an east-west direction) and AGG (Agglutination) are two design structures that are virtually absent for the Sibil-Mek (eastern Irian Jaya highlands) and the Uhunduni, Ekagi, Moni and Dem (western Irian Jaya highlands) designs. There were only 35 West Range designs and the absence of any of SE type may be accidental; otherwise the distribution of design structures for this area resembles that for the Sepik Hills.

It was my impression from scanning illustrations in Anson (1983) and in several other publications on Lapita, that the most common structure by far is of SE type, that SR is infrequent, IS and DDS common and AGG not common but possibly because of the lack of published sherds large enough to suggest more than a fraction of the whole pattern.

Design Elements: Several simple, and a couple of more complex, design elements can be identified which are common to the arrow designs and to Lapita Pottery. The coincidence of the simpler elements, such as straight lines, zigzags, ovals, circles, rectangles (fig. 67a, A-C), lozenges (fig. 67b, A-E) is difficult to consider a significant indicator of an historical relationship between Lapita pottery design and recent northern and central New Guinea arrow designs. The complex motifs are more convincing, especially the design and its variants shown here in figure 66; called "face motifs" by Spriggs (1990c: fig. 1). This design element was found in its least complex

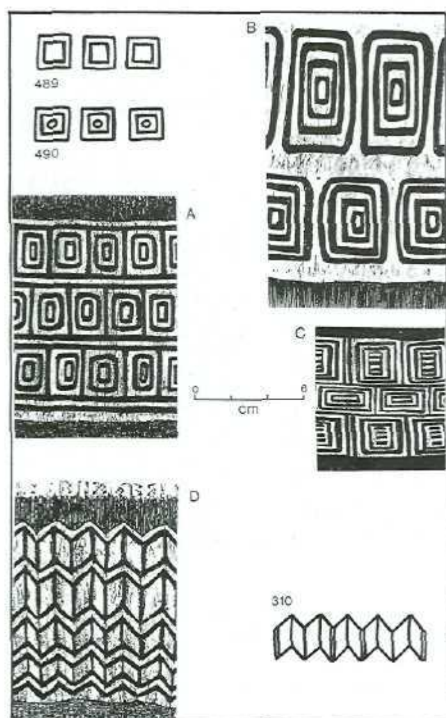


Figure 67a. Anson 489, 490, Ambitle, Eloaue; **A**. Mianmin, Mountain-Ok (not collected); **B**. Waina, Border Mtns (USEE 1969 #569, AM, Sydney); **C**. Mek (MfV, Berlin, VI 52732); Anson 310, Fiji; **D**. Abau (PNGNMAG, E.7360).

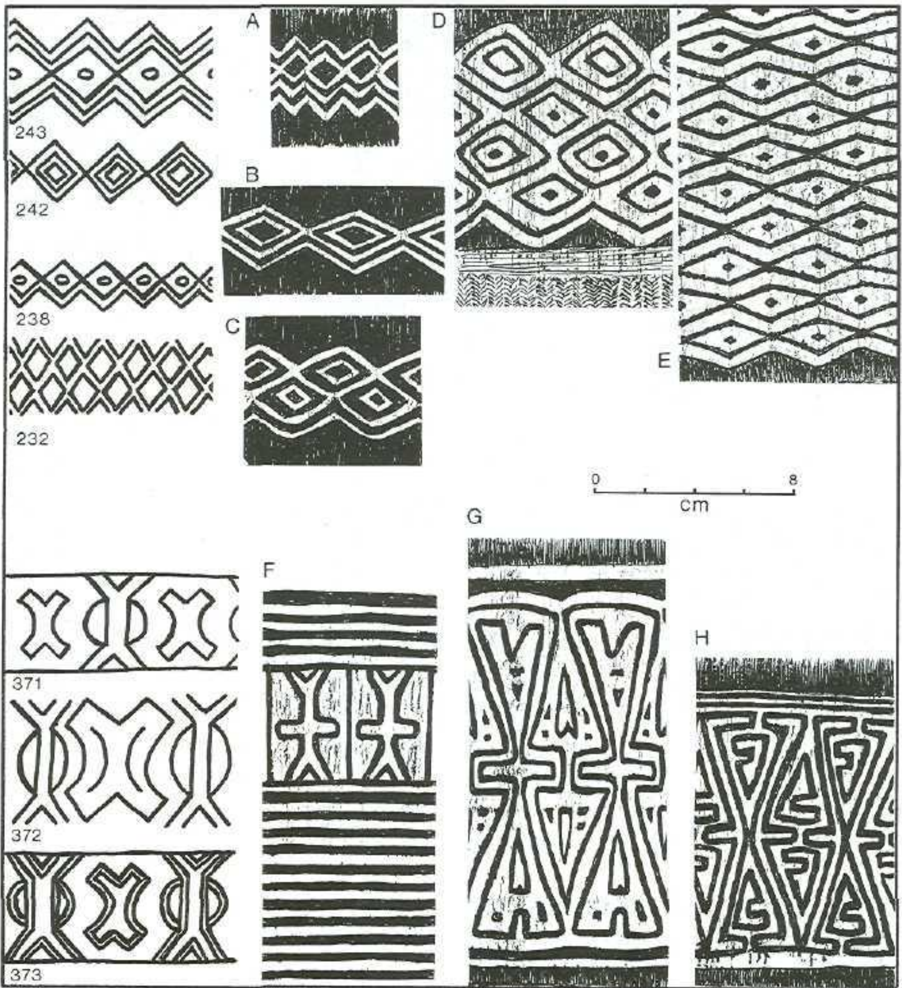


Figure 67b. Anson 242, 243, Ambitle, Eloaue; Anson 238, Santa Cruz; Anson 232, Reef, Santa Cruz, New Caledonia, Vanuatu; **A**. Mek (MfV, Berlin, VI 53698-o); **B**. Telefol, Mountain-Ok (not collected); **C**. Sibil, Ngalum (RvV, Leiden, 3664-169); **D**. Abau (USEE 1969 #315, MfV, Berlin); **E**. Abau (USEE 1968 #481, RvV, Leiden); Anson 371, 373, Reef; Anson 372, Watom; **F**. Abau (not collected); **G**. Abau (not collected); **H**. Mianmin, Mountain-Ok (G.Morren collection).

form on one arrow from Aitape and on one from the upper Keerom River (west of Imonda); the more complex forms were not found until as far inland as the northern foothills of the central range, and then it was common throughout the Mountain-Ok area and among the Duna around Lake Kopiago to the east of the Strickland Gorge (Bush 1985: figs. 28d, 31). Figure 67a-f shows other Lapita design elements and some equivalent arrow designs.

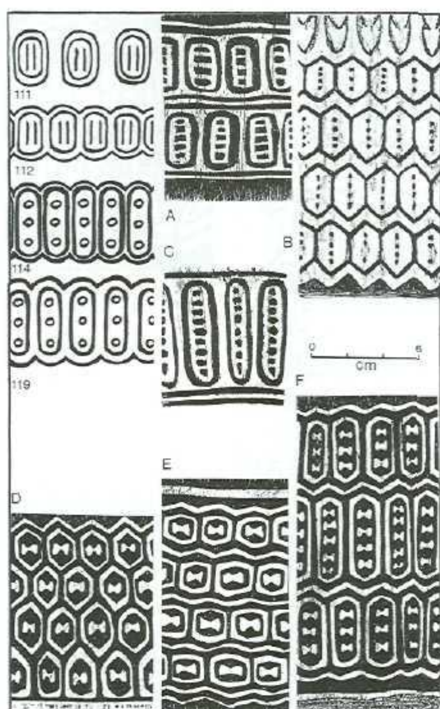


Figure 67c. Anson 111, 112, Fiji; Anson 114, Reef; Anson 119, Ambitle; **A**. Aitape, North Coast (AM, Sydney, E.29511); **B**. Abau (USEE 1969 #363, RvV, Leiden); **C**. Aitape, North Coast (AM, Sydney, E.29503); **D**. Telefol, Mountain-Ok (not collected); **E**. Mianmin, Mountain-Ok (not collected); **F**. Telefol, Mountain-Ok (not collected).

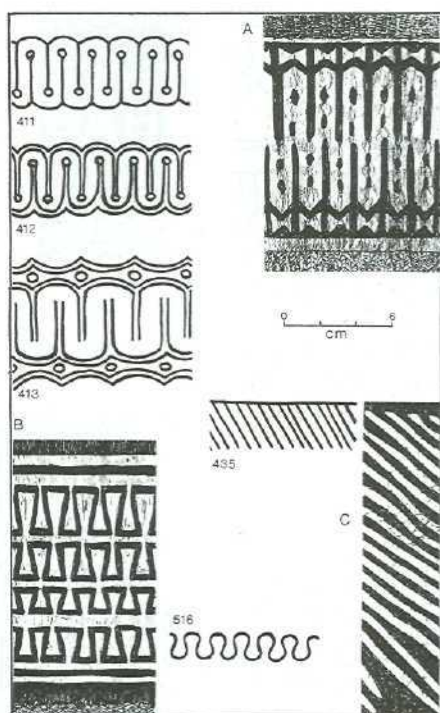


Figure 67d. Anson 411-413, Reef, Santa Cruz; **A**. Yuri, Border Mtns (not collected); Anson 516, Ambitle, Talasea; **B**. Abau (W.Wheatcroft 1969 #5); Anson 435, Reef, Santa Cruz, New Caledonia; **C**. Abau (PNGNMAG, E.7333).

Discussion: The simpler Lapita designs from the earliest Lapita period, represented by material excavated at Ambitle, Talasea and Eloaue on the Bismarck Archipelago (Anson 1983: table 12, 168, 242-243, 417, 489-490, 516) can be found on arrow designs throughout most of northern and central New Guinea, suggesting that they may have been in the repertoire of design elements *before* Austronesians settled on the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago and developed the Lapita pottery style.

Most of the more complex Lapita designs for which equivalent arrow designs can be identified are not from the earliest Lapita period represented by material excavated at Ambitle, Talasea and Eloaue on the Bismarck Archipelago[13], the area geographically closest to mainland New Guinea, but from the *later* Lapita period represented by material excavated at Watom (on

[13] This statement might have to be modified in the light of the material excavated by Kirsch at Eloaue, as yet unpublished (Spriggs, personal communication, January 1995).

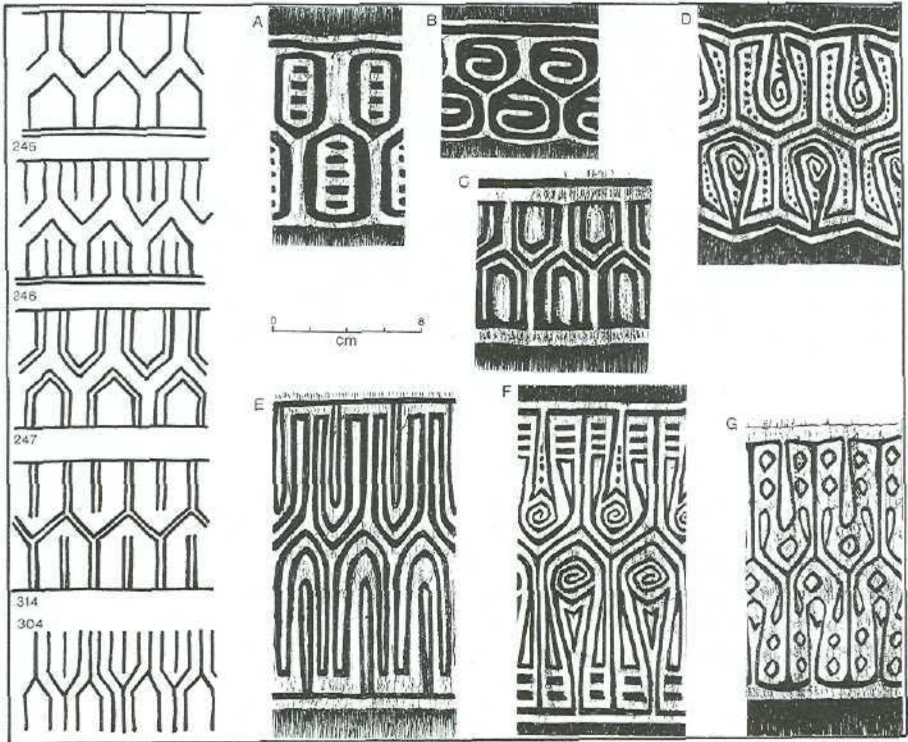


Figure 67e. Anson 245-247, 304, Fiji;
A. Aitape, North Coast (AM, Sydney, E.29512);
B. Aitape, North Coast (AM, Sydney, E.29506); **C**. Waina, Border Mtns (USEE 1969 #567, RvV, Leiden); **D**. Anggor, Border Mtns (USEE 1969 # 1204, MfV, Berlin); **E**. Yuri, Border Mtns (USEE 1969 # 1435, RvV, Leiden); **F**. Abau (AM, Sydney, E.64362); Anson 314, Reef , Santa Cruz; **G**. Abau (USEE 1969 # 359, RvV, Leiden).

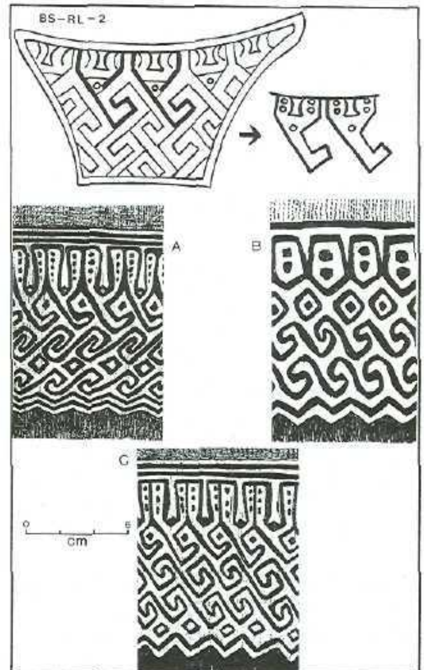


Figure 67f. **BS-RL-2**, Reef (from Green 1979:24, Fig.1-5) - note minimal change required to derive contemporary motif, and its juxtaposition to complex of spiral/key elements below;
A. Mianmin, Mountain-Ok (not collected);
B. Leonard-Schultze, Sepik Hills (MfV, Basel, Vb 21637-e); **C**. Telefol, Mountain-Ok (not collected).

the Bismarck Archipelago) and from sites in Reef Santa Cruz, Vanuatu, New Caledonia and Fiji (Anson 1983: table 12, 129-132, 245-247, 304, 310, 314, 345-346, 351, 371-373, 411-413, 429 BS-RL-2 in Green 1979). The Lapita sherds found at Aitape appear also to be of this later period and are consistent with designs found on sherds excavated on Vanuatu (Spriggs 1990c:100).

Further, the arrow designs most likely related to the more complex of the later Lapita designs are not those from the north coast of the mainland but are almost entirely from well inland, along the northern slopes of the central range (West Range, Sepik Hills) and throughout the central highlands from the Mountain-Ok through to Lake Kopiago. This is not what I expected to find.

Conclusion

Although the results of this rough analysis do not support the hypothesis that the more complex arrow designs of northern and central New Guinea most likely were derived from early period Lapita pottery designs as represented by material excavated at various sites throughout the Bismarck Archipelago, they do suggest that arrow designs found throughout the northern foothills, and the central range from the Mountain-Ok to Lake Kopiago, could have derived from the *later* period of Lapita pottery designs represented by material excavated at sites on Watom and throughout central and eastern Melanesia. Although I have not attempted to demonstrate this in this paper, the more complex designs on north coast mainland New Guinea arrows would appear to be more closely related to contemporary southeast Asian designs, particularly in their frequent use of spirals and this is also characteristic of designs further inland, especially in the West Range, Sepik Hills, Mountain-Ok and Porgera-Lagaiap River regions.[14]

These features suggest perhaps three episodes of influence on designs on arrows of northern and central New Guinea:

i the earliest period characterised by the simplest design elements, also shared by the earliest Lapita designs from the Bismarck Archipelago, found on arrow designs throughout the north coast and central New Guinea regions (there is no necessary implication that the arrow designs were derived from Lapita designs);

ii a later period characterised by the more complex design elements, deriving from later Lapita pottery designs, found on arrow designs in the northern foothills and central highlands of New Guinea east of the Irian Jaya-Papua New Guinea border;

[14] The spiral element in these inland regions is used in a different way to its use in the north coast and upper Sepik regions. In the former regions, the spirals are usually arranged within an SE, SR or AGG structure whereas in the latter regions they are usually arranged within a DDS structure.

iii a more recent period characterised by design elements that appear to be relatively contemporary and southeast Asian in origin, found on arrow designs of the north coast, Border Mountains, upper Sepik, Mountain-Ok and Porgera-Lagaiap River regions.[15]

This scenario requires a more thorough analysis and the method proposed by Washburn and Crowe would appear to offer a fruitful approach. This would require the re-examination of as much Lapita material from Melanesia as possible and a re-analysis of the arrow designs using the same system, with the results analysed by a suitable computer program.

In addition, other analyses could be made to explore the relationships of graphic designs on a range of objects of the Lake Sentani area and of the Border Mountains-upper Sepik area. A cursory perusal shows direct comparisons can be made between the designs on smoking equipment, bamboo and gourd limepots, bamboo flutes, handdrums and wooden bowls of Lake Sentani and equivalent paraphernalia of the Border Mountains and upper Sepik (Kooijman 1959, plates 56-58, 60-61, 70-71, 73-81, 87-89; Van der Sande 1907, figs. 100 a and b, 149-151 and plates 1, 4-6, 28-29). The designs engraved on arrow shafts of the Sarmi area to the west of Sentani could also be considered in this context (Van der Leeden 1962: figs. 2-4). This line of enquiry may elucidate 'the more recent period' of southeast Asian influence hypothesised above and would complement the linguistic studies of Philsooph (1990).

Although there is much scepticism about the value of looking for parallels between prehistoric and contemporary graphic designs, it is likely that well-conducted analyses, using a large number of objects and employing a culturally neutral and fine-grained analytic method could yield worthwhile results.

Acknowledgements

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[15] This proposition cannot be examined here; it is a project on its own.

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13

A MATTER OF PRINCIPLES
RULES OF COMBINATION AND TRANSFORMATION IN ASMAT ORNAMENTATION

Ad Boeren

Introduction

In 1976 I spent three months in the cellars of the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, studying the collection of Asmat war shields. The study was to lead to a doctoral thesis, and the research topic was suggested to me by Prof. Adrian Gerbrands, at that time Professor of Anthropology at Leiden University. At the museum my work was supervised by Dr. Simon Kooijman, who introduced me to the museum, the collection of Asmat artifacts, the relevant literature, and the principles of precise description of artifacts and their stylistic characteristics. Due to his inspiring guidance my daily descent into the cellars of the museum became a fascinating journey into the fabulous world of the Asmat woodcarvers' creative imagination.

The aim of the study was to define the stylistic characteristics of Asmat war shields and their geographical origin. My attention was soon caught by the systematic resemblances and differences in the ornamentation of the shields. Influenced by Levi Strauss' structural analyses of cultural phenomena which, in those days, were quite popular among Leiden anthropologists, I decided to face the challenge of trying to 'discover' the underlying system of Asmat ornamentation. For this purpose, a thorough comparison was made between all the major ornaments, on the basis of their formal characteristics. The result of the analysis was a number of rules which seemed to govern the system of ornamentation. When I presented these results to fellow anthropologists, few of them shared my enthusiasm. Their reaction was that of the average visitor to a museum of modern art: 'Very interesting, but what does it mean?' Obviously, we were talking about two different sorts of 'meaning'. To me the results of the analysis constituted the 'deeper' meaning of the ornamentation, pointing to fundamental ordering principles which may govern the Asmat culture in all its aspects. The 'meaning' of the individual ornaments represented a different level – a more superficial and not very reliable level for that matter, since the sources which had attempted to establish the meaning of the individual motifs quoted many different interpretations of one and the same ornament.

Almost ten years have passed since the results of this 'formal analysis' were published in *Teken van leven, studies in etnocommunicatie* (1985), a Liber Amicorum for Prof. Gerbrands. A more extensive article on the subject, in English and richly illustrated, was meant to appear in a book on Asmat art, which never appeared. Therefore, I am very happy to have the opportunity of presenting the results of the formal analysis in this volume, this time in English. Despite the passing of time and the inevitable change of ideas in anthropological discourse, I am still convinced of the value of formal structural analysis in the study of human culture, and it is fitting that this testimony appears in a commemorative book for the man who shares the responsibility for my interest in the nature of Asmat ornamentation.

The Asmat

The Asmat people live in a vast area situated on the South coast of Irian Jaya (Indonesia) an area covered with tropical forest and traversed by a great number of rivers and interconnecting waterways. The area is inhabited by some 64,000 people, divided into several groups distinguished by language, dialect and other cultural differences (Smidt 1993a:15). Nevertheless, similarities in ways of life and material culture underline the cultural unity of the area. In the coastal areas hunting and gathering predominate, while the inland groups depend on domesticated pigs and horticulture for their livelihood. Traditionally, ancestor beliefs formed the core of their religious thinking, and until recently the Asmat had the reputation of being fierce head-hunters and cannibals. The area is famous for its material culture in the form of ancestor poles, canoes, spears, drums and war shields, all extensively decorated with a great variety of motifs. All decorations refer, in form or in content, to ancestors, c.q. head-hunters, or their substitutes. This article focuses on the decorations of war shields. They were traditionally made at a shield festival, which served as the preliminary to a head-hunting raid. The pattern carved on the front of the shield often refers to various ancestors. The naming, and consequent presence of the ancestors' spirits in the shield, gave the warrior supernatural support in battle (Smidt 1993a:23).

STYLISTIC ANALYSIS

The stylistic analysis of 1976 was performed on 372 shields of which the provenance had been fairly specifically documented. Of this total number, 318 originated from the North-west and central Asmat area, and 54 from the more easterly areas surrounding the Wildeman-, Ederah and Digul rivers. A total number of 131 shields belong to the collection of the National Museum of Ethnology. The rest of the research population was made up of black-and-white photographs of Asmat shields.[1] In 289 cases a fairly

[1] Apart from the 131 shields in the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, 93 photographs of shields in the photo archives of the museum, 67 photographs by Jac. Hoogerbrugge, and the illustrations of shields in *The Asmat, the journal of Michael Clark Rockefeller edited by Gerbrands* (1967b), have been used.

accurate date of acquisition or photographic registration was available. A substantive number of the shields (128) had been collected between 1958 and 1961. Seventy shields dated from the period 1966-1975. The rest had been collected before 1954, the oldest being a shield which was acquired by the Museum in 1906.

After careful observation of the shields, nine distinguishing stylistic characteristics were defined. They included:

1. The shape of the shield.
2. The ornaments that form the decoration on the front.
3. The level of symmetry in the ornamentation.
4. The utilization of available space.
5. The frames bordering the ornamentation.
6. Sculptures at the top of the shield.
7. The use of colour.
8. The depth of the carved relief.
9. Ornamentation on the back of the shield.

Next, the analysis established the geographical distribution of the various appearances (i.e., variants) of these stylistic characteristics. For a detailed account of the methodology which guided the stylistic analysis, I refer to Boeren (1976).

With due regard for the imperfect composition of the research material, the analysis seemed to justify the assumption of eight sub-style regions in the territory. Of these eight regions, four produce shields with specific and distinct characteristics. These 'core-style regions' are: the upstream of the Pomatsj River (region A); the Casuarinen Coast (region B); the Wildeman River (region C); and the area along the Digul and Ederah Rivers (region D). The shields from these regions clearly differ with regard to the shape of the shields, the utilization of space, the balance between colour areas, top ornaments and decoration. The shields from the other four regions are stylistic blends which combine characteristics of the more distinct style regions.

Fig. 68 indicates the geographical provenance of the core-style regions. The shields of figures 69-76 can be regarded as characteristic for the respective regions.

In his article on style regions and motifs in Asmat woodcarving art, Smidt (1993b) presents specimens of four stylistic regions: the North-West style region; the Central-style region; the Citak-style region; and the Brazza-style region. The first three regions more or less correspond with what we have called the upper Pomatsj River, Casuarinen Coast and Wildeman River. The fourth region mentioned by Smidt, that of the Brazza River, lies just north of the Citak area. The shields from these two regions are fairly similar in appearance. The 1976 analysis did not include shields from the Brazza River. At that time, Gunter and Ursula Konrad had already collected an impressive group of Brazza artifacts, but these had not yet been fully documented and published (Konrad, Konrad and Schneebaum 1981).

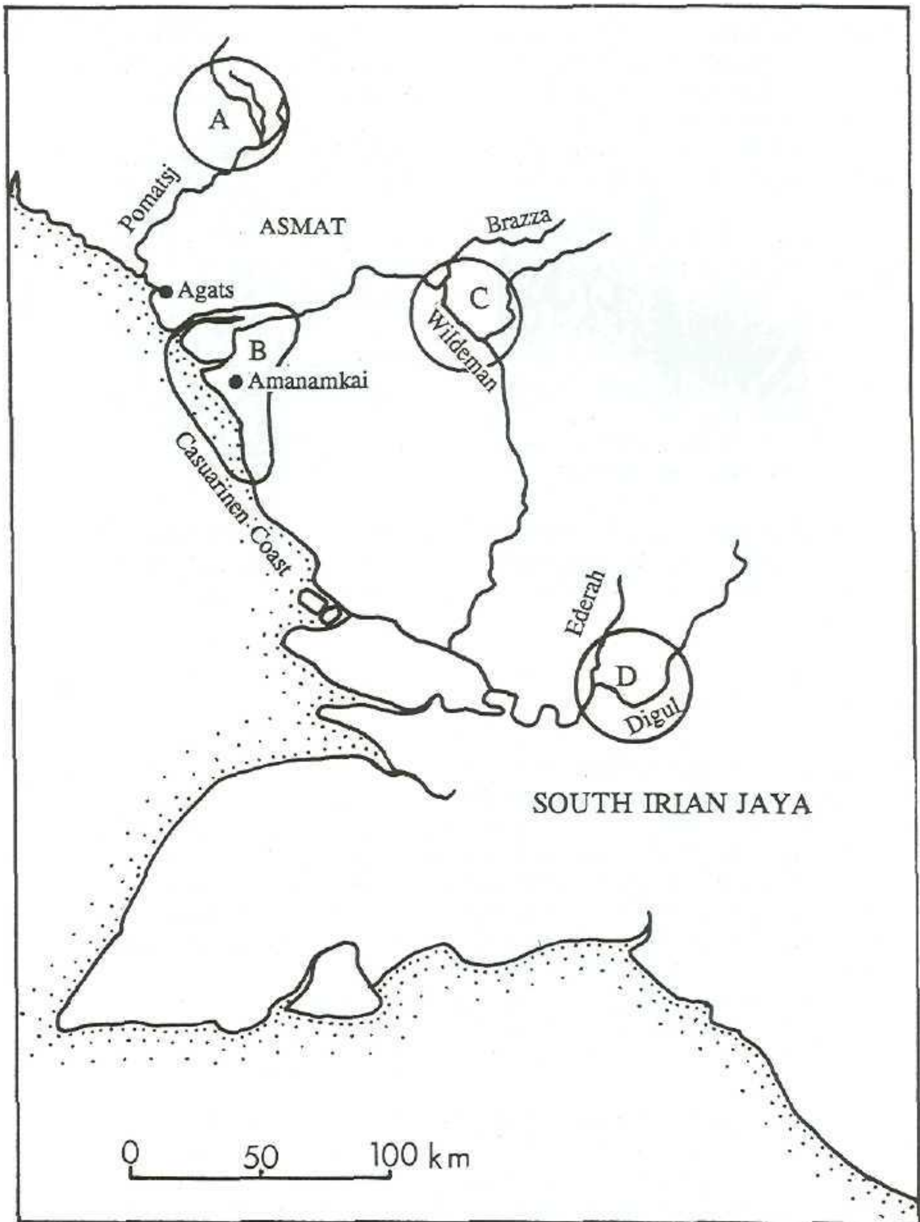


Figure 68. Map of South Irian jaya. The four 'core-style regions'. *(Map by Frans Stelling)*

Style region A
'Upper Pomatsj River'

Figure 69. Navarpi. Collection Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. RMV B116-2.

Figure 70. Komor. Collection Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. RMV 3070-235. *(Photo by Ben Grisbaaver)*

Style region B
'Casuarinen Coast'.

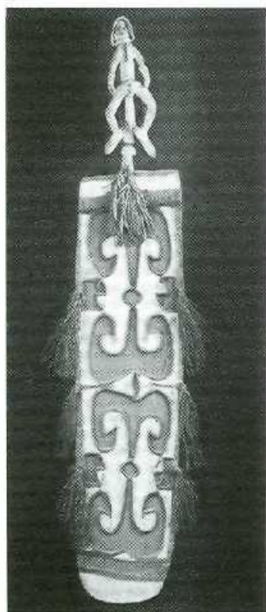


Figure 71. Atjamut. Collection Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. RMV 3790-529.

Figure 72. Atjamut. Collection Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. RMV 3790-524.

Style region C
'Wildeman River' (Citak).

Figure 73. Woméni. Collection Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. RMV 3530-4.

Figure 74. Woméni. Collection Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. RMV 3530-1.

Style region D
'Digul and Ederah Rivers' (Awju)

Figure 75. Bijet. Collection Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. RMV 3070-157.

Figure 76. Bongéran. Collection Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. RMV 3070-162.

Smidt's presentation does not include specimen of shields which originated in the areas along the Digul and Ederah Rivers. It can be argued that this area which is inhabited by the Awju and Yakai falls beyond the Asmat territory. However, the shields from this area (core-style region D) are very interesting. On the one hand their motifs are strongly related to the ones utilized in the three other regions; on the other they contrast in a systematic way with the shields from their westerly neighbours. They differ systematically in size, shape, the balance between colours, and in ornamentation. In many respects they are the antipoles of the 'Asmat' shields, and this fact makes them important 'informants' in the search for systematic rules in ornamentation which govern the woodcarving of the territory at large.

Observations in connection with the stylistic analysis

The analysis of style characteristics led to some interesting observations. The shields from the Asmat area, as well as those of the Wildeman, Oba, Ederah and Digul rivers, are very similar in their composition. Despite variation and variety in form, the ornaments on all the shields seem to be closely related. If the ornaments were to be arranged according to similarity, they would form a series in which the forms shade off into one another, an effect comparable with the famous drawings (the metamorphoses) by M. C. Escher (Locher 1971).

The shape and ornamentation of the shields vary considerably, but always between two extremes. They are oval or rectangular in shape – or a shape in between. The shields are either covered with an array of smaller ornaments, or the front is dominated by a few major motifs – or there is a combination of these two options. The ornaments are realistic representations, or they are abstract forms – or a level of abstraction in between the two.

The shields also vary widely in the predominance of a particular colour. Three colours are used throughout the territory: red, white and black. In some shields red-coloured ornaments stand out clearly against a white background. In others, the coloured areas seem to be completely in balance, with the result that the ornamentation can be 'read' in red as well as in white. In yet others, white is the colour of the individual ornaments against a red background.

The stylistic analysis made a few things clear. First, the Asmat carving is of a dynamic nature. The artist apparently has great liberty in experimenting with forms, and uses this opportunity in a very inventive way. Second, this experimentation appears to be based on a set of rules that influence the selection of elements and their combination. Third, these rules are effective in both the Asmat area and the areas surrounding the Wildeman, Oba, Ederah and Digul Rivers.

FORMAL ANALYSIS

The formal analysis which followed the stylistic analysis was designed to discover the rules which seem to govern Asmat ornamentation. It was hypothesized that these rules might well explain the fairly obvious interrelationship between shields from geographically remote areas, as well as shedding light on the dynamic character of Asmat woodcarving. The methodological approach to the analysis consisted of a systematic comparison of the shields on the basis of similarities and differences in shape and ornamentation. It resulted in two sets of rules, one set which governs the combination of elements into ornaments and of ornaments into series, and another set which consists of transformations, i.e., simple operations by which ornaments can be 'translated' into others.

Rules of combination

The rules of combination can be observed at three levels: a) the composition of individual ornaments; b) the combination of these ornaments into series; and c) the arrangement of the ornamentation on the front of the shield. In Asmat decoration these three levels are closely interwoven, with the understanding that the same rule of combination underlies the three levels, and that the rule which defines the composition of the individual ornaments influences, to a great degree, the combination of ornaments into series.[2]

All major Asmat ornaments are compositions which are made of the same 'building block'. In figure 77 this building block, which has the form of a 'comma', has been depicted in four different positions. Next to them stand two 'S' shaped forms which constitute a rotation of the 'comma' over an angle of 180°. With these basic elements all major Asmat ornaments can be created or reconstructed. Creation or reconstruction of Asmat ornaments is achieved by systematically reflecting the basic elements along horizontal and vertical axes. The results of this generative process of reflection are shown in figures 78-83. The compositions which emerge are to a certain extent theoretical in nature. Not all ornaments which can possibly be derived from these compositions are used by the Asmat woodcarvers. Ornaments which appear frequently on Asmat war shields have been given an asterix.

Figure 77. The basic elements of Asmat ornamentation

[2] Some of these rules are discussed by Gerbrands (1977).

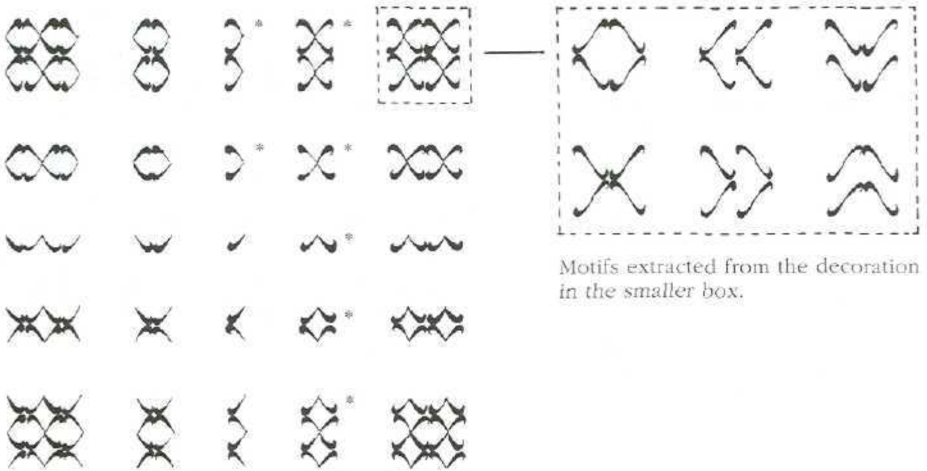


Figure 78. Possible motifs on the basis of reflecting the basic element along horizontal and vertical axes. The motifs with an asterix appear frequently on Asmat warshields

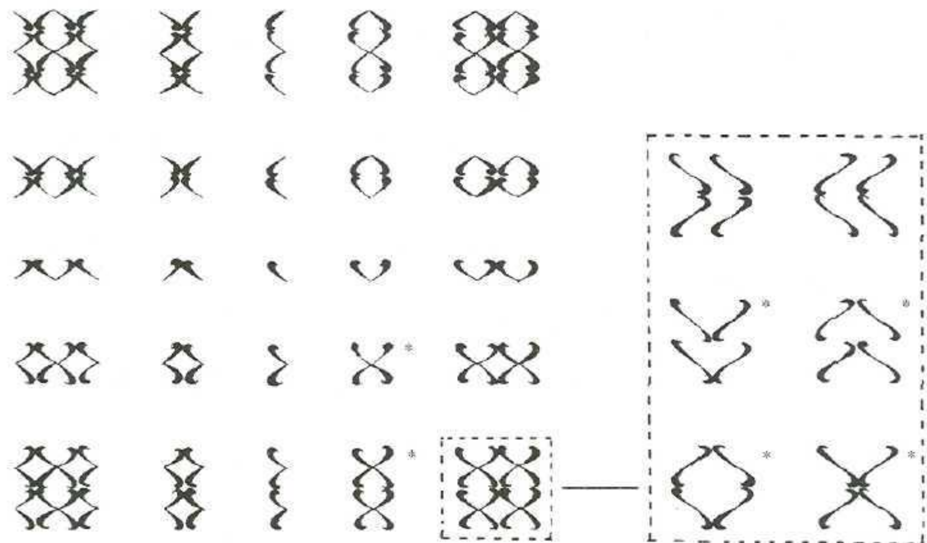


Figure 79. (Same principle as figure 78)

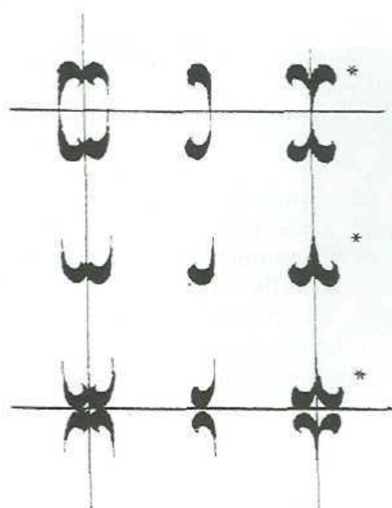


Figure 80

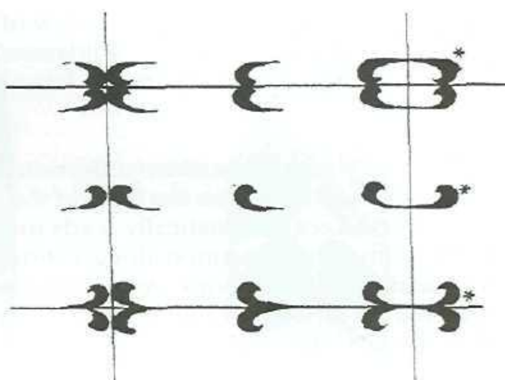


Figure 81

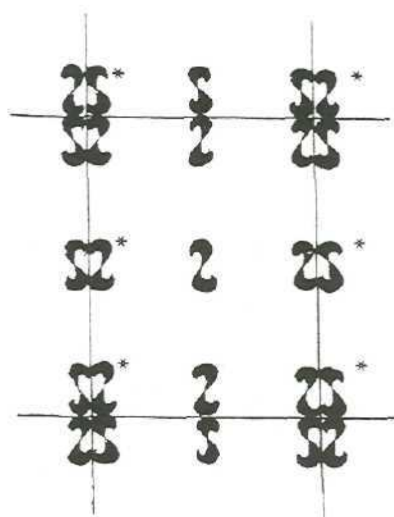


Figure 82

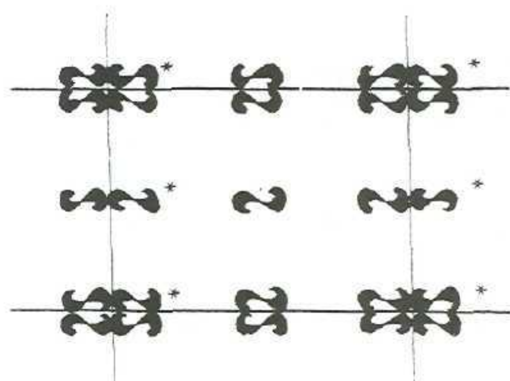


Figure 83

The figures also show that this rule of combination tends to generate series of identical ornaments. Series can also be created by repeating identical ornaments along vertical or horizontal axes. In the case of some ornaments, reflection or repetition gives the same result.

The ornamentation of Asmat shields consists predominantly of reflected or repeated series of identical ornaments. Exceptions are the shields from the 'upper Pomatsj' region which have combinations of differing ornaments grouped along a vertical axis. Usually, the upper half of these shields is symmetrical with the lower half. In all style regions, the series tend to be

one-dimensional (a single vertical row of identical ornaments). However, a minority of shields from the 'Wildeman' and 'Digul' regions shows two-dimensional series (the ornaments have been reflected horizontally as well as vertically).

Both rules of combination (reflection and repetition) have consequences for the spatial division on the front of the shield. Reflection along horizontal and vertical axes automatically leads to bilateral symmetry, horizontally as well as vertically. Repetition along a vertical axis equally results in bilaterally symmetrical compositions. As a consequence, all shields, irrespective of reflected or repeated ornamentations, are bilaterally symmetrical along a vertical axis. This axis runs down the middle of the front.

Rules of transformation

On the basis of simple operations it is possible to 'translate' certain ornaments into others, and to show the connection between ornaments that are not shown in figures 78-83 with ornaments that are. Three operations are of importance: a) rotation, b) inversion and c) transposition. They are employed separately as well as in combination.

Inversion of colours between shields.

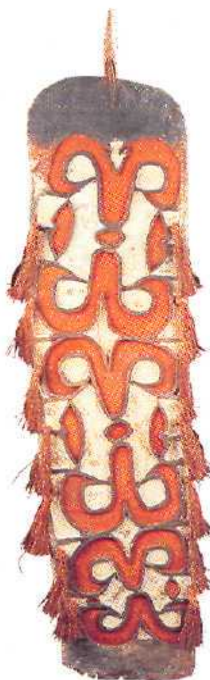


Plate 20. Casuarinen Coast. Collection Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. B 109-5. *(Photo by Ben Grishaaver)*

Plate 21. Kwé (Awju). Collection Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. RMV 3070-159. *(Photo by Ben Grishaaver)*

Inversion of colours between shields.

Figure 84. Kuti River. Collection Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. RMV 3070-351.

Figure 85. Chetwiki (Awju). Collection Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. RMV 3092-28. *(Photo by Ben Grishaaver)*

Balance of Colours

Plate 22. Oerébi (Citak). Collection Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. RMV 3530-6. *(Photo by Ben Grishaaver)*

a) Rotation. As has been explained above, the figures 78-83 have been composed on the basis of the six elements in figure 77. Basic elements a, c, and e can be transformed in elements b, d and f respectively by rotating them through angles of 90° or 270°. Consequently, the compositions in figures 78, 80 and 82 can similarly be transformed into the compositions of figures 79, 81 and 83, simply by rotating them through the same angles. A substantial number of ornaments which are typical for the 'upper Pomatsj' region can be transformed into 'Casuarinen Coast' ornaments by applying this rule of rotation. This process of transformation can also be reversed, of course.

b) Inversion. The figures 78-83 also include a number of 'hidden' ornaments. These are the white areas enclosed by the dark motifs. When observed on shields, these forms are coloured not white, but red. Red and white are the colours of contrast in Asmat ornamentation. Hence, by inverting the colours in figures 78-83 another set of ornaments appears.

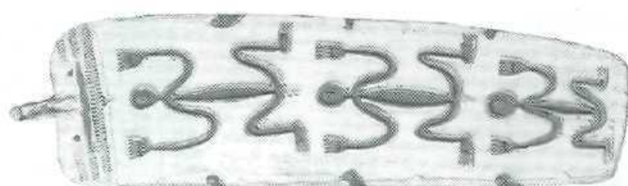
In Asmat shields, inversion of colours can be observed in two types. One type of inversion occurs between shields, i.e., two shields are identical with respect to ornamentation, the only difference being that what is coloured red on the one shield is coloured white on the other, and vice versa. Examples of inversion between shields are shown below. The ornamentation on the shield of plate 21 is an inversion of that on the shield of plate 20. The same rule of transformation applies to shields 84 and 85. Inversion of this type occurs between shields from within the 'Digul' region and between shields from this region and those from the 'Casuarinen Coast'. In other words, certain Casuarinen Coast ornaments can be transformed in Digul ones by inverting the colours red and white, and vice versa.

In the other type of inversion, the ornamentation of a shield is in contrast with itself. The white and red coloured areas are in complete balance, in such a way that both colour areas form separate ornaments. The example provided by the shield of plate 22 speaks for itself. This type of inversion is found on many shields from the 'Wildeman' and 'Digul' regions.

c) Transposition. The third type of transformation is transposition, and the result of this process is an overlapping of elements and ornaments. In Asmat ornamentation transposition occurs in two forms.

In the first, an ornament or element partly overlaps its reflected counterpart. The result is an independent ornament. An example of this (formative) transposition is depicted in figure 86. Through transposition, the ornaments of the shield on the left can be transformed into those on the right. This type of transformation relates a number of ornaments from the 'upper Pomatsj' region with ornaments from the 'Casuarinen Coast'.

The second form of transposition occurs when a series of identical ornaments is made to overlap. figure 87 shows a number of examples. This type of (decorative) transposition is quite common on shields from the 'Wildeman' and 'Digul' regions.



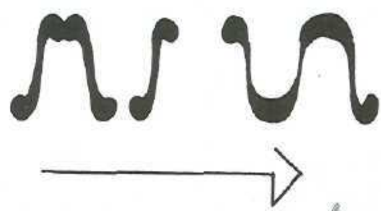
Atjamut. Collection Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. RMV 3790-524.

Figure 86. **'Formative' transposition.**

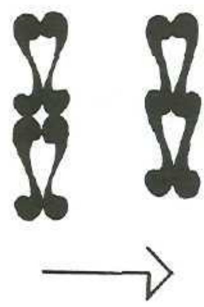
Sawa. Collection Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. RMV 3070-236. *(Photo by Ben Grishaaver)*

Figure 87. **'Decorative' transposition**

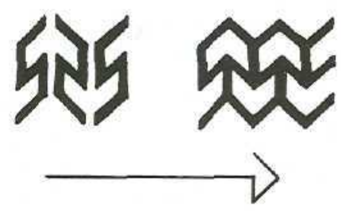
Downstream Pomatsj River. Collection Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. RMV 3070-238. *(Photo by Ben Grishaaver)*



Manep. Collection Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. RMV 4455-1.



Owus. Collection Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. RMV 3070-250.



Ederah River. Collection Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. RMV 4937-21.

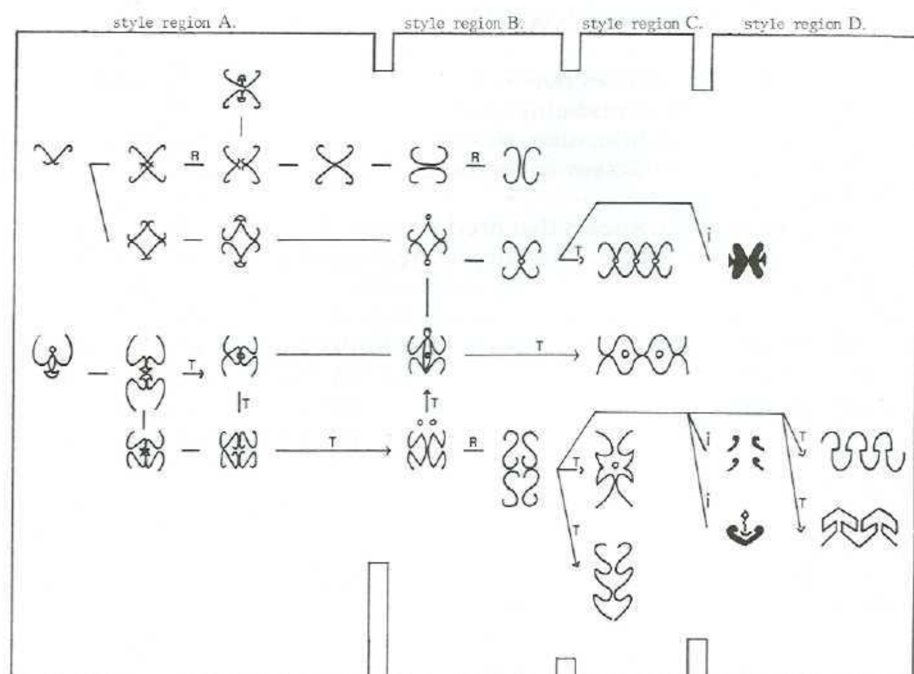


Figure 88. Interrelatedness of ornaments

R = rotation
T = transposition
i = inversion

The style analysis and formal analysis combined

The formal analysis provides the explanation for the earlier observations that the shields from all over the greater Asmat territory, despite great variety in appearance, show a strong relationship. All ornaments, from the westerly and central as well easterly regions, are based upon combinations of a single basic element, the 'comma'. Ornaments are made, and compositions formed by systematically applying the rule of reflection to this element (and the derived S-figure) along vertical and horizontal axes. One of the results is that all shields are bilaterally symmetrical along a central vertical axis that runs down the front.

Reflection and combination of the basic elements results in a number of characteristic Asmat ornaments. This number is expanded by applying three rules of transformation to these ornaments: inversion of colours; rotation; and transposition. In figure 88 an attempt has been made to show the relationships between a number of characteristic motifs of the core-style regions by using these rules of transformation.

Examined together, the rules of combination and transformation account for the intricate relationships which exist between various ornamentations and individual ornaments throughout the territory.

REGIONAL DISTINCTIONS

The regional differences between the shields are not just confined to a difference in the ornaments being used. They extend to differences of shape, use of colour, composition, rules of combination and transformation, as well as to the level of abstraction in the ornamentation.

The majority of ornaments that predominate in the North-western 'upper Pomatsj' region are iconic. They depict, recognizably, flying animals such as herons and flying-foxes. Iconic representations are also found in the 'Casuarinen Coast' region in the form of human figures, praying mantises and shell nose-ornaments. Moving to the North-east ('Wildeman' region) and to the East ('Digul' region), the ornaments become more abstract in nature and are quite often integrated into ingenious patterns. This often coincides with inversion of colour and overlapping ornaments. It looks as if, starting in the West and moving towards the East, the decorations become increasingly decorative and less iconic.

Other West-East differences relate to the rules of combination and transformation. In the 'upper Pomatsj' and 'Casuarinen Coast' regions, the dominant motifs are combined into series along one single vertical axis. In the easterly regions shields can be found which combine ornaments along multiple vertical as well as horizontal axes.

Transformation of ornaments by rotation is most common in the 'upper Pomatsj' and 'Casuarinen Coast' regions. Also common to these regions is the rule of transposition whereby two ornaments are merged to form a new one.

Inversion is a rather 'easterly' phenomenon and the type in which ornaments seem to contrast with themselves is quite specific for the 'Wildeman' region. The two easterly regions are also quite unique in applying the rule of transposition whereby series of identical ornaments are interlocked.

The balance of colours is another feature which distinguishes westerly and easterly ornamentations. In the West the dominant motifs clearly stand out against a white background. In the 'Wildeman' region red and white are often in balance, while in the 'Digul' region quite a number of ornaments are executed in white.

The observed differences apparently coincide with geographical denominators. Below, pairs of opposing characteristics have been grouped in line with their geographical provenance. A word of caution is in order, however: the observed distinctions are 'tendencies' rather than fixed rules, since even within style regions, ornamentations are pluriform.

West	**East**
• *iconic representation*	• 'abstract' representation
• combination along a vertical axis	• combination along vertical and horizontal axes
• generative transposition	• interlocking transposition
• rotation	• inversion
• dominant colour: red	• balance of colours and white as dominant colour
• combination of individual ornaments	• intricate patterns

To a great extent the 'easterly' characteristics are related, and even evoke each other. More abstract representation easily leads to interlocking transposition, balance and inversion of colours, combination along a multiple of axes, and consequently the forming of complex patterns of entangled ornaments.

The interrelationship between the 'westerly' characteristics is less strong. Iconic representation and dominant colour go together in order to distinguish the ornament from its background. The other characteristics, e.g., rotation, formative transposition and combination along a single vertical axis, do not necessarily relate to iconic representation.

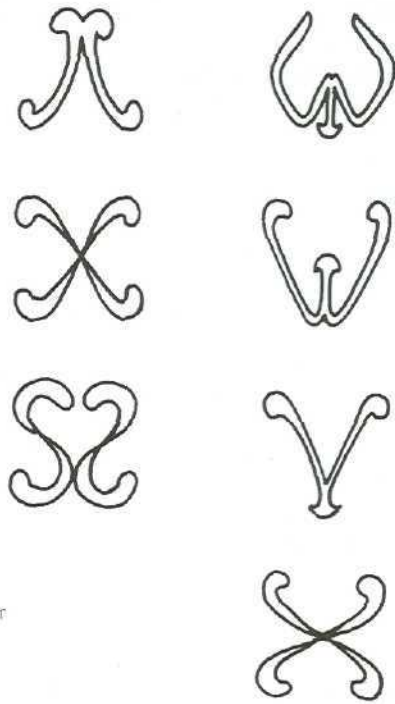
Discussion

The results of both analyses evoke a number of interesting hypotheses about the relationships between ornamentation and local interpretation, between regional variation in ornamentation and variation in other cultural aspects, and about the function of art in society at a conscious and unconscious level. Above we have observed that the ornaments of the 'upper Pomatsj' and 'Casuarinen Coast' regions are more iconic than those of the easterly regions. Depictions include herons and flying-foxes ('upper Pomatsj') and human figures, praying mantises and shell nose ornaments ('Casuarinen Coast'). As can be seen from figure 88 these ornaments are related. By means of rotation and formative transposition they can be translated into each other. In the areas situated in between these core-style regions the ornamentation of the shields seems to blend the two styles. Their forms mediate between ornaments that are common to the two regions. In a way, they visualize a process of transformation.

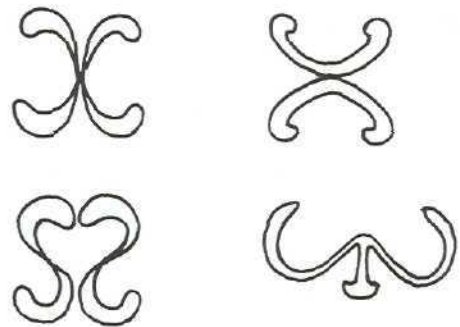
In a few shields this process of transformation seems to be the main subject of the decoration. Figure 89 shows two shields from the 'Casuarinen Coast' region. Next to them, a number of ornaments are depicted which are obtained when the complex ornamentation pattern is disentangled. The two ornamentations have been viewed from a vertical as well as a horizontal position (which means a 90° rotation). Some of the 'separated' ornaments are specific to style region A, others to style regions B and D. The intricate ornamentations themselves are only found on shields from region B. Therefore, these ornaments not only show an ingenious synthesis of ornaments but also of styles.

Amanamkai. Collection Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. RMV 3790-199

Figure 89. Synthesis of separate motifs.



Amanamkai. Collection Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. RMV 3790-196



Apparently the woodcarver through his work, consciously or unconsciously, tries to establish a synthesis between separate elements. This process of transformation, mediation and synthesis in the woodcarving art seems to be a visualization of a similar process which takes place at the ideological level of Asmat culture. This assumption is not as far-fetched as it may appear when we consider the mythological system to which the ornaments refer. From the literature we know that certain animals such as birds, flying-foxes, *wènèts* and wild pigs are regarded by the Asmat as symbolic substitutes for the human head-hunter (Gerbrands 1962, 1966, 1967). The festive outfit of the head-hunter exhibits parts (*pars pro toto*) of these animals. In Asmat thought the head of a human being is regarded as a fruit and head-hunting as picking fruits from trees. Hence, fruit-eating animals are closely associated with head-hunting. The association of head-hunter with the *wènèt* is based on another type of analogy. After mating, the female *wènèt* apparently bites off the head of the male. In this act, life and death, killing and procreation are intertwined. To the Asmat, head-hunting has the same connotations. The hunting of heads, i.e., harvesting of fruits, is a necessary condition for procreation. In former days newly hunted heads were a crucial object in the initiation ceremonies for boys. The head permitted the transition from boyhood to that of manhood, i.e., to sexual activity and the starting of a family.

There exists a strong homology between the visual transformation system of the ornamentation and the conceptual transformation system which allows the exchange of identity between human and animal head-hunters. The concept of continuity which, in the head-hunting ideology, is expressed in acts of procreation and the linking of successive generations, finds its equivalent at the ornamentation level in the rules of combination which compose series of ornaments. It looks as if the process of interchanging identities between human and animal head-hunters finds its counterpart in the rules of transformation which enable individual ornaments to be 'translated' into others. In their creative work, the collective of Asmat woodcarvers not only accomplishes a synthesis between separate ornaments, but also between ideology and ornamentation. They bridge the gap between entities which at first sight are imcompatible, and bring the world of the living into balance with the world of the spirits.

Note: All drawings by the author, except figure 68.

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RELIGION AND RITUAL

14

THE ORO-MARO-ARIOI CONNECTION

Henri J. M. Claessen

Kooijman and Oro

Some years ago Simon Kooijman devoted a substantial article to the 'Ancient Tahitian god-figures', which appeared in the prestigious *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (1964:110-125). In it he describes and analyses the *to'o*, the material representations of the Tahitian gods.

> *To'o* are shaped like a club, and have a core consisting of a wooden stick. This core is entirely or partially covered with plaited sennit, in many cases showing a kind of relief decoration consisting of 'appliqué' strands of cords made of twisted fibres. Attached to this covering, as principal attribute of the deity, were feathers 'impregnated with the essence of divinity'. (Kooijman 1964:110).

The feathers have since disappeared, but the remaining wooden sticks with the plaited sennit (= braided cordage) covering can be found in several museums, for example in the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden (fig. 90).

On the basis of the literature then available Kooijman discusses the role of these statutes in traditional Tahitian society. It appears that their main interest lay not so much in the religious field, but in the *political*: such god-figures, in combination with feather girdles, decided the rank and status of the competing *arii*. Small wonder that the possession of these idols was fiercely contested in eighteenth century Tahiti. Several of these objects have been preserved and are now in the possession of museums. Kooijman mentions at least seven of such idols (1964:117-118). It is not clear, however, if all these idols represented the god Oro, the Tahitian god of war, or nted other deities or spirits. This also holds good for the Leiden *to'o*, ich no particulars are known' (Kooijman 1964:118; cf. Verslag . The Leiden idol strongly resembles the god-figures assumed to be ntation of Oro, but that is all there can be said. Kooijman, on the n extensive survey of the literature, therefore concludes:

Figure 90. *To'o*, god-figure, Tahiti. RMV 3299-1.

> It must by now be clear that the sennit-clad god-figures from Tahiti called *to'o* represent either the god Oro himself or divine or deified beings closely related to Oro. (Kooijman 1964:120).

This makes sense, for if it had been relatively easy to make Oro images, there would have been no necessity for the fierce competition to obtain an Oro image, as occurred in Tahiti in the eighteenth century.

Finally, Kooijman points out that Oro was not only the god of war and death, but that, being the tutelary god of the Arioi society, Oro also had connotations of fertility (1964:122, 123). This view has recently been discussed by the French anthropologist Babadzan (1993), who – though agreeing with the fertility hypothesis – quite surprisingly accuses Kooijman of not having understood that, apart from the Oro statues, there have been other figures, which:

> figuraient tout au plus *dans* un culte souvent consacré à Oro (et en tout cas toujours à une divinité majeure), sans pouvoir être pour autant légitimement confondus avec la représentation de cette divinité. (Babadzan 1993:97)

The above quotation from Kooijman's article demonstrates, however, that he was very well aware of the fact that not all *to'o* figures represented Oro. Babadzan's comments in this respect thus seem wide of the mark.

Since Kooijman's article several important publications on traditional Tahitian society have appeared (e.g., Morrison 1966 [1793], Oliver 1974, 1988 [Bligh 1792]; Rose 1978; Babadzan 1993). It thus seems possible now to present in more detail the role of the god Oro in the turbulent history of Tahitian polities in the eighteenth century. There is no reason here to go into the material aspects of the 'ancient Tahitian god-figures'; these have been covered already in an exhaustive way by Kooijman.

Of Gods and Girdles

There are various versions of the origin of Oro and the Oro cult, but Oliver (1974:891 ff.) thinks that we may safely assume that Oro was male, a descendant of the high god Ta'aroa, and that his worship originated on the island of Raiatea, some 200 kilometres west of Tahiti. The first *marae* connected with Oro was Taputapuatea, located in the district of Opoa in Raiatea. From the very beginning Oro was associated with war. In due course the Oro worship spread to other islands, and finally reached Tahiti, probably at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In the course of this process some more-or-less local forms of the Oro cult developed. In Porapora Oro became associated with yellow feathers, attached to a girdle, the *maro tea*, and in Tahiti the Oro cult became associated with red feathers, attached to the *maro ura* (Oliver 1974:904).

These *maros* had great political value. Only the highest *arii* were entitled to wear such girdles during specific ritual occasions (Rose 1978). This right was connected with 'named kin-Titles', which were the property of the leading family lines associated with specific temples (Oliver 1988:45). These titles passed from parent to child, preferably to the eldest son. It must be emphasized, however, that women also could (and often did) hold kin-Titles. The kin-Titles (to use Oliver's term) of both parents passed immediately after the birth of a son to that child (1988:46). Usually the father continued to rule the polity, but now as the regent for his son; in this way he was no longer hampered in his political activities by ritual obligations, as his son now bore these responsibilities (Cook 1968:134; Claessen 1978:452 ff.). This situation often led to great tensions between father and son, the one having the title and the ritual obligations, the other having the actual political power. Bligh's journal of his second visit to Tahiti (Bligh 1792) contains several indications of such tension between father and son Pomare (I will use these names, as they have become well known; moreover, the Tahitian custom of repeatedly taking new names makes the identification of specific *arii* quite difficult.

The political landscape of Tahiti was rather complex in the eighteenth century. There were a number of more-or-less independent polities, some

of which had reached the level of early states (Claessen 1978). The most important were Papara in the south, Tautira in the east, and Pare-Arue (Te Porionuu), and Atehuru in the west. In the rivalry between these powers the possession of the Oro image, and the right to wear one of the sacred *maros* associated with Oro, played a crucial role. To obtain the support of Oro, human sacrifices were necessary 'and the only persons qualified to preside over such a sacrifice were holders of certain Opoa kin-Titles', the *arii rahi*, or *arii maro ura* (Oliver 1988:49). Moreover, such rites could be performed only at *marae* called Taputapuatea, temples dedicated to Oro as god of war, and in the presence of images serving as receptacles for that god (Oliver 1988:49, 117, 145). Though this statement of Oliver's is quite clear, it does not explain the position of the *maro tea*, the yellow girdle, which was closely connected with the Oro cult on the island of Porapora. I will return to this girdle presently. First I will present some data on the human sacrifices.

The first description of a human sacrifice was given by James Cook, who with some of his officers witnessed such a ritual in September 1777 (Cook 1967:198-204). The corpse of the victim was brought by canoe to the large *marae* at Atehuru (the exact location of this *marae* is not clear. According to Cook's editor Beaglehole, footnote 6, p. 198-199, it was probably the *marae* in the Paea district of Atehuru. Oliver, 1988:117, confirms this identification). The presence of Pomare I ('Otoo' by Cook) was necessary – for he was entitled to wear a *maro*:

> During this prayer a man who stood by the Priest held in his hands two small bundles seemingly of Cloth, in one as we afterwards found, was the Royal Maro and the other, if I may be allowed the expression, was the ark of the Eatua. (note 3, p. 200: the image or symbol, of the god) (Cook 1967:200)

After several prayers, some hair was pulled from the head of the sacrifice, and then one of the eyes was taken out and presented to Pomare I. The *arii* did not eat the eye – as was sometimes thought – but gave it back to the priest. Finally the corpse was buried at the foot of the 'altar', together with some red feathers. In long prayers the help of Oro against the enemy was asked, and finally a dog was killed and offered to the god. The next day the ceremonies continued. There were prayers, a number of red feathers were presented to the god (still hidden in his 'ark'), and finally the *maro* was taken out and spread out at full length on the ground before the priests:

> It was about five yards long and fifteen inches broad, and composed of red and yellow feathers but mostly of the latter; the one end was bordered with eight pieces, each about the size and shape of (a) horse shoe, with their edges fringed with black pigeon feathers; the other end was forked and the ends not of the same length. (Cook 1967:203)

Cook adds that the barkcloth was sewn to the 'upper end of the English Pendant, Captain Wallis displayed, and left flying a shore the first time he landed at Matavai'. It has become customary to call this *maro* the Wallis

maro. After long prayers the *maro* was placed upon the altar. Finally also the other bundle was opened, but the British officers were not allowed to examine the object more closely. At the end of the ceremony the sacred objects were wrapped in their bundles again. To transport the bundles there were some canoes, 'on the fore part of each was what they called a Morai made or covered with palm leaves like some of their alters' (Cook 1967:204). Such mobile *marae* are reported also by Bligh (1792:114, 119), who presents a fairly similar description of a human sacrifice in which Pomare II figured as *arii*, and Ha'amanemane (who originally came from Raiatea) as high priest (1792:123). The *maro* used at this occasion was also the Wallis *maro* (Bligh 1792:125).

Here is the point at which to return to the question of the *maro tea*, the yellow feather girdle. This girdle was connected with the Oro cult of Porapora. According to Arii Taimai (1964:6 ff., 24) the *arii* of Papara in Tahiti were also entitled to wear the *maro tea*, while the right to wear the *maro ura* was originally reserved for the *arii* of Vaiari and Punaauia. It is not clear how the yellow girdle became the prerogative of the Paparan rulers, since Arii Taimai's mythical explication is not very helpful in finding the historical reality behind the *maro tea* (1964:12). She in fact states only that this girdle was given – or promised – by a kind of demi god to the child he had fathered on a Vaiari princess (1964:11). This child left Vaiari and build his own *marae* in what later became known as Papara, in which he was entitled to wear his *maro tea*. This implied – even to Arii Taimai – that the yellow girdle was slightly less important than the red one, which stayed in the older – thus higher – Vaiari (cf. Oliver 1974:763). Oliver (1974:679) points to the possibility that the demi god might have been an inhabitant from Porapora from whence, as mentioned above, the yellow girdle originated (cf. also Oliver 1974:1214). I do not know the whereabouts of the Vaiari red girdle.

In more historical times the *arii* of Papara also became entitled to wear a *maro ura*. Oliver (1974:1214; 1988:128, 159) relates how, in about 1760, a son of the Opoan kin-Title holder married a Paparan wife and this connection brought the Paparan leaders the right to wear a red feather girdle. An image of Oro also came to Papara via this connection. The possession of an 'original' (i.e., Raiatean) Oro image *and* two exalted feather girdles made the son of Amo and Purea, in whom all these rights came together, the highest title-holder of Tahiti. To demonstrate his status his mother, Purea, set out to build the largest *marae* of Tahiti: the *marae* Mahaiatea, which was described at length by Joseph Banks in 1769, who stated that 'Its size and workmanship almost exceeds beleif...' (Banks 1962 :303). Cook prizes the buildings as 'a wonderful peice of Indian Architecture and far exceeds everything of its kind upon the whole Island...' (1968:112). Yet the temple never fulfilled its function, for shortly before the arrival of the British, the combined forces of Para-Arue and Taiarapu had invaded Papara. The Paparans were defeated and had to flee. The Pare-Arueans 'made off with the Papara Image (of Oro) and the Wallis *Maro*' (Oliver 1988:160). Their leader Tutaha, for some reason or other, moved the sacred objects to Atehuru, to the Paea temple. In 1790 these objects were,

with the help of the mutineers of the Bounty, captured by the Pare-Arue rulers (Morrison 1966:81-83). From that moment on, the *arii* of Pare-Arue were the only rulers who could boast the possession of the feather girdles and an Oro image. From then on only they could preside over human sacrifices. Oliver (1988:117) suggests that the high priest Ha'amanemane also had such a right; he, however, was not entitled to 'receive' the human sacrifice (to simulate the eating of the eye).

In describing the incidents connected with the Oro image and the Wallis *maro*, we have lost sight of the yellow feather girdle. After the fall of Papara this girdle is no longer mentioned in the sources. Thus there is a possibility that the girdle was lost during the war. Another possibility is that the *maro tea* – being apparently of lesser value than the red ones – was used in the construction of the Wallis *maro*. The fact that this girdle was adorned with a great number of yellow feathers is suggestive of this view (Cook 1967:202; Bligh 1792:125). It is even possible that the Wallis *maro* was made of *both* the Paparan girdles, for there is no indication that yet another girdle was captured in Papara (i.e., the one that came to Papara in 1760). If we proceed from this hypothesis the disappearance of all the Paparan feather girdles after its defeat is explained. It also explains why, from that moment on, only the *arii* of Pare-Arue possessed *maros* (their own, and the Wallis girdle) and the Oro image. Every ruler who wanted Oro's support in war, needed from then on the support of the Pomares.

The *arii* of Pare-Arue possessed, as stated above, several *maros*, namely the girdle they captured in Atehuru (which was conquered from Papara), and the girdle they already possessed. This *maro ura* had come into their possession via the marriage of the eldest daughter of Tamatoa III of Raiatea, to Teu (or Hapai) of Pare-Arue. This daughter, Tetupaia, was the elder sister of Ha'amanemane, whom we have already met in this article. With this girdle their son Pomare I (who was known to Cook as Tu, and to Bligh during his first visit as Tina) had been invested, and later on the son of Pomare I and Itia, Tu (later called Pomare II) (Bligh 1988:47). This investiture had been witnessed by Bounty mutineer Morrison. He informs us that the *maro* 'est faite d'un filet très fin sur lequel on a fixé des plumes rouges et jaunes de façon à ne plus voir le filet' (Morrison 1966:91). The ceremony took place in the new *marae* at Pare, constructed, as Morrison states 'pour recevoir le marae mobile etc. que nous avions rapportés d'Atahuru et dans lequel ces objects étaient maintenant conservés' (ibid: 91). This formulation of Morrison's suggests that the *maro* used during the investiture was not the Papara one. The investiture of Pomare II was accompanied by three human sacrifices, whose eyes were offered to the incumbent (Morrison 1966:92).

In summary, it can be stated with some safety that there have been at least two *maros* at Tahiti: the Wallis *maro*, and the Pare-Arue *maro*. There is no indication that there ever really existed a *maro ura* in Vaiari, while the view can be defended that both the Paparan *maros* (the yellow one and the red one of 1760) were combined into the Wallis girdle. Concerning the number of real Raiatean Oro images, we only know with some certainty that such

an image was brought to Papara in 1760, the image that finally came into the possession of the rulers of Pare-Arue.

Oro and Arioi

Most of our sources contain references to the Arioi society, a group of people dedicated to the worship of Oro. As their rituals often had an 'indecent' character, and as the members of the society were obliged to remain childless (i.e., they killed their offspring at birth), the missionaries especially, picture the Arioi in a most negative way. 'Many of the regulations of this body, and the practices to which they were addicted, cannot be made public, without violence to every feeling of propriety', thus the missionary Ellis (1831 I:229-230). Elsewhere he states that 'on public occasions, their appearance was, in some respects, such as it is not proper to describe' (ibid.:235). He thus restricts his description of the Arioi society (1831 I:229-247) to the more innocent aspects, the remaining activities being 'all monstrous, all prodigious things', 'abominable, unutterable', 'the worst pollutions of which it was possible for man to be guilty', and so on (all qualifications on p. 243). Obviously this reticence whets one's appetite for further investigation! Fortunately there were reporters with fewer scruples – such as the Belgian merchant Moerenhout (1837) to whose statements I will return presently. Apart from the missionaries (those of the Duff also had their say on the Arioi: Wilson 1799:59 ff., 174, 194), other visitors also make harsh judgements. Joseph Banks, for example, (1962 I:351) speaks of customs 'devilish, inhuman, and contrary to the first principles of human nature', and James Cook, after having mentioned 'a very indecent dance', and 'singing most indecent songs and using most indecent actions' states that the Arioi have customs 'inhuman and contrary to the first principles of human nature' (1968:127, 128). On the other hand, Georg Forster, who accompanied Cook on his second voyage,. states only that 'Die Errioys geniessen mancherley Vorrechte, und werden in allen Societäts-Inseln sehr hoch geachtet. Das sonderbarste ist, dass sie selbst ihre grösse Ehre darinn setzen, keine Kinder zu haben' (1983:615). After having mentioned that the Arioi consume enormous quantities of food and goods, and thus are a burden to the population (cf. Claessen 1991:302), he observes that most probably 'die Nation, auf einer andern Seite, wichtige Vorteile davon hätte' (ibid.:615).

The French anthropologist Babadzan (1993) devotes a good deal of attention to the role of the Arioi society. He bases his analysis to a large extent on the writings of Moerenhout (1837), Ellis (1831), and De Bovis (1980), who all provide data on the society. Yet it should be borne in mind that these visitors came relatively late to Tahiti, and had to rely on information produced by Tahitians converted to Christianity (cf. Moerenhout 1837 I:viii; De Bovis: iii). It is not clear to what extent their views have been distorted because of their conversion.

The principal activity of the Arioi society was the worship of the god Oro. This was done by travelling from place to place and performing ceremonies and entertainment in exchange for lavish hospitality. Their dances and farces had heavily erotic overtones, and during the feasts they were also 'sampling the sexual wares of their hostesses and hosts' – to use Oliver's succinct phrase (1988:103; cf. Oliver 1974:925). The emphasis on sexuality in many of their performances, and the promiscuity that was prevalent among the Arioi themselves, gave several scholars the idea that theirs was a kind of fertility cult (Kooijman 1964:123 expressed this view already quite early). It is especially this aspect that is emphasized by Babadzan. The songs, the sexual activities, the farces, in short the whole performance of the Arioi 'n'avaient sans doute pas seulement pour propos d'*évoquer* la création, mais bien de la mettre en acte' (Babadzan 1993:269). Their relation to fertility comes especially to the fore in the seasonal activities of the society: in the period of abundance the members travelled around and gave their performances. When the season of scarcity arrived, the Arioi withdraw from the public, 'pour pleurer l'absence et la mort de leur dieu' (Moerenhout 1837 I:503; Babadzan 1993:80).

As mentioned above, the investiture of an *arii* was connected narrowly with the presence of the Oro image, and the donning of a *maro*. In this ritual also the Arioi society played an important role. James Morrison, who witnessed such a ceremony in 1791, mentions Oro, the *maro*, and the human sacrifices, but says nothing on the role of the Arioi in the ceremony; neither does he mention the two sharks – supposed to swim around the *arii* during the purification ritual (Moerenhout II:26; Ellis 1831 III:111; Henry 1968:200[1]; cf. Babadzan 1993:183). Moerenhout, and Ellis, who did not themselves observe an inauguration ritual, both mention the Arioi society, but only Moerenhout dares to present details of their activities. He refers to dances:

> où plussieurs hommes et femmes entièrement nus, entouraient le roi, et s'efforcaient de le toucher des différentes parties de leur corps, au point qu'il avait peine à se préserver de leur urine et de leurs excrémens, dont ils cherchaient à le couvrir. (Moerenhout 1837 II:27)

The most important moment in the inauguration of the *arii rahi* is his investiture with the *maro*, which – according to Babadzan (1993:187) – renders the incumbent for some moments 'divine'. The homage of the two (semi-divine) sharks, and the exclamations by the assembled population testify to this. The human sacrifices and the offering of an eye to the new *arii* confirm the new royal status. Babadzan (1993:188 ff.) then refers to the necessity of a ritual to make the 'divine' *arii* human again. After the Oro image is placed in its bundle, and the *maro* has been wrapped again, the activities by the Arioi mentioned above make the *arii* human again. Although the Arioi for these and other services are rewarded with red feathers, there is no indication that the leaders of the society ever wore a *maro*.

[1] The description given by Henry (1968:195-204) is not unambiguous, for in it, data from different islands have been put together.

Summary and Conclusions

In this paper I have tried to place the Tahitian god Oro against his background: the 'Oro-*maro*-Arioi connection'. Oro was an 'immigrant' from Raiatea, and with him came the feather girdles, the Raiatean *maro ura* and the Poraporan *maro tea*. There are indications that the yellow girdle belonged to the leaders of Papara, who via a fortunate marriage also gained a red girdle and the Oro image. The Pare-Arue rulers had the right to wear a red girdle. Papara's haughtiness was punished heavily; after a military defeat its 'Wallis *maro*' (possibly containing the red as well as the yellow girdle) and the Oro image were captured and placed in a *marae* at Atehuru – from where they were stolen by the Bounty mutineers on behalf of the *arii* of Pare-Arue, who from that moment on owned all pivotal pieces. As Oro was the god of war and fertility there were many reasons for Tahitian rulers to invoke his support. In order to obtain this, human sacrifices had to be made – and only an *arii* who possessed a *maro ura* was entitled to preside over such a sacrifice. Moreover, this could be done only when the Oro image was also present. In this political game an important role was played by members of the Arioi society, who (apart from their reputation as warriors) were famous (or notorious) because of their fertility rituals. They indulged in ritual sexual activities, and had the obligation to remain childless. Tough this was often mentioned in the sources, the background of their customs remained quite obscure. As Oro worshippers they were welcomed by the *arii*, while the population had to carry the burden of their maintenance. In all important religious and royal rituals the Arioi society played a role. They were not connected directly with the feather girdles, however.

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15

THE BITER BIT
THE NUNGGUBUYU MYTH OF CROW AND TWO OLD WOMEN

Lex van der Leeden

Introduction

Simon Kooijman, my former and highly respected senior colleague at the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, has always insisted on the importance of interpreting material culture in its wider social and cultural context. A keen interest in mythology appears in this connection from many of his publications. I do not hesitate, therefore, to honour Simon Kooijman here by presenting a myth of the Nunggubuyu Aborigines who live in the south-eastern part of Arnhem Land, Northern Territory, Australia (see fig. 91A). I shall try to explain its functions and symbolism in Nunggubuyu society and culture.

It concerns the myth about the revenge of Crow after having fallen in a trap set by two Old Women. I recorded the myth during anthropological field research in the Nunggubuyu area, in 1964-1965.[1]

The story is the property of a sub-clan considered as the spiritual owner of the territories of Guluruid and Mabanadjaruid (see fig. 91B). The Guluruid-Mabanadjaruid sub-clan is part of the larger Murumurungun clan. I should mention that the Nunggubuyu have a social system very similar to that of the Mara to the south of Roper River, the south-eastern border of Arnhem Land. Their society is based on patrilineal clans, divided between four sub-moieties and two moieties, Mandajung and Mandaridja. Each of these moieties has two sub-moieties. Like the sub-moieties of the Mara moiety which corresponds with the Nunggubuyu moiety of Mandajung, those of the latter are called Murungun (of the northern Mandajung clans) and Mambali (of the southern Mandajung clans), respectively. Mandaridja,

[1] Fieldwork was carried out with a grant for travel and research expenses from the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Pure Research (ZWO). In Australia, it was sponsored by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (AIAS, nowadays AIATSIS). I am most thankful to the AIAS for supplying me with the field equipment necessary for the recording of texts and songs. I am also grateful to the Church Missionary Station for all living and working facilities they offered me during my stay at their Numbulwar mission station.

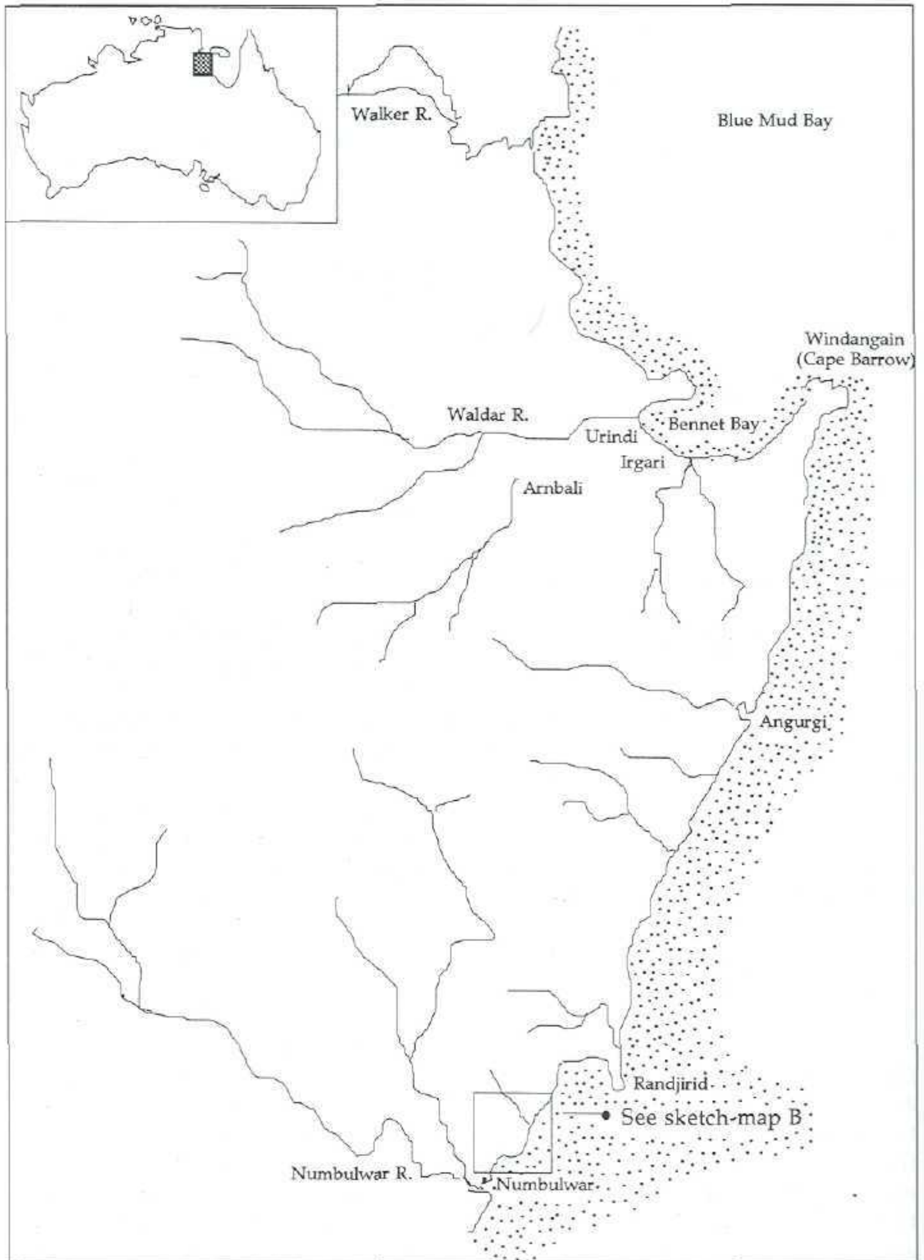

Figure 91 A. Sketch map A. Nunggubuyu territories. *(Computer drawing by Paul Haenen)*

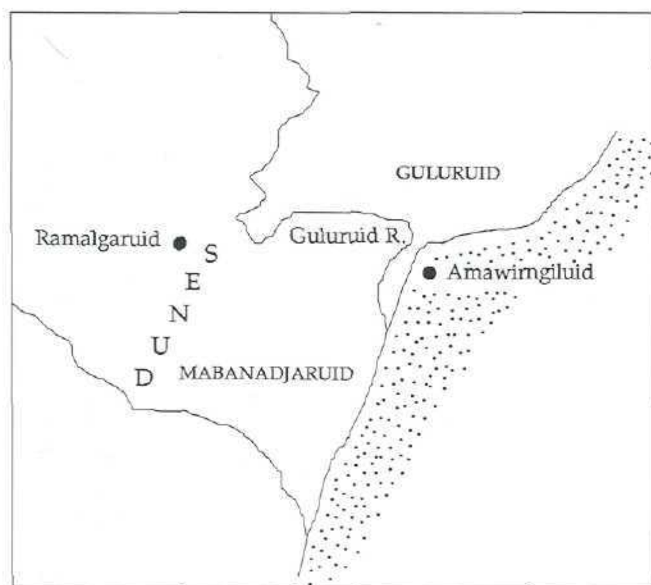

Figure 91 B. Sketch map B. The plain of Mabanadjaruid. *(Computer drawing by Paul Haenen)*

too, has a northern and a southern sub-moiety, but these are unnamed. We may call these after their ritual traditions Ru:l A and Ru:l B, respectively.

At first sight, the myth offers a profane tragicomedy, meant to entertain and amuse non-ceremonial gatherings of men, women and children. And it does so indeed. It is in many ways what Australian Aborigines call a 'funny story'. My field recording of the myth is at places almost unintelligible because of the laughter of the listeners. However, interested Nunggubuyu listeners realize and appreciate the fact that the story is has two levels of meaning. Underneath its humour, on a deeper ideological level, the mythical events described in the Crow myth hide another, in this case esoteric, mythological theme. I shall explain this further in my interpretation of the myth below.

The Nunggubuyu text of the story was told by Madi from Windangain, the totemic or 'dreaming' centre of another Murumurungun sub-clan. It was told on the place where the mythical events are said to have taken place, i.e. on the great coastal plain of Mabanadjaruid to the north of the Numbulwar River (see fig 91B). The plain borders the sea on the eastern side, separated from it by a narrow strip of scrubs and bushes of coastal trees. High sand dunes mark the western border between the plain and interior territories. Guluruid Creek separates it to the north from another territory of the same sub-clan. We, that is to say Madi, his brother-in-law Mindyugag from Angurgi-Umaidjbar, Madi's son's son Magun, and I myself, visited and camped on the plain during the dry monsoon, from 16th until 18th June 1964. A bone-chilling fog covered the whole area during morning hours, but disappeared after a few hours of sunshine, gradually making visible ever more sites and locations of totemic interest, and also awakening

the many crows which inhabit the plain. The closing scene (11) of Madi's story, told on Wednesday 17th just after our visit to all sites relevant to the myth, offers an excellent impression of these natural conditions on the plain during the Dry.

Returning to the characters of the myth, I should add that the myth also involves two other characters beside Crow and the Old Women, be it in passive roles, as baits (in imitated forms) to catch, or take revenge on, a rival. These are Bandicoot and an *amadarngga* fish. Bandicoot, whose burrow is imitated by the Old Women in an effort to play a trick on Crow, should be introduced still further. Both the story and the pen drawing of a bandicoot burrow, which Magun made during the analysis of the text (fig. 92), testify

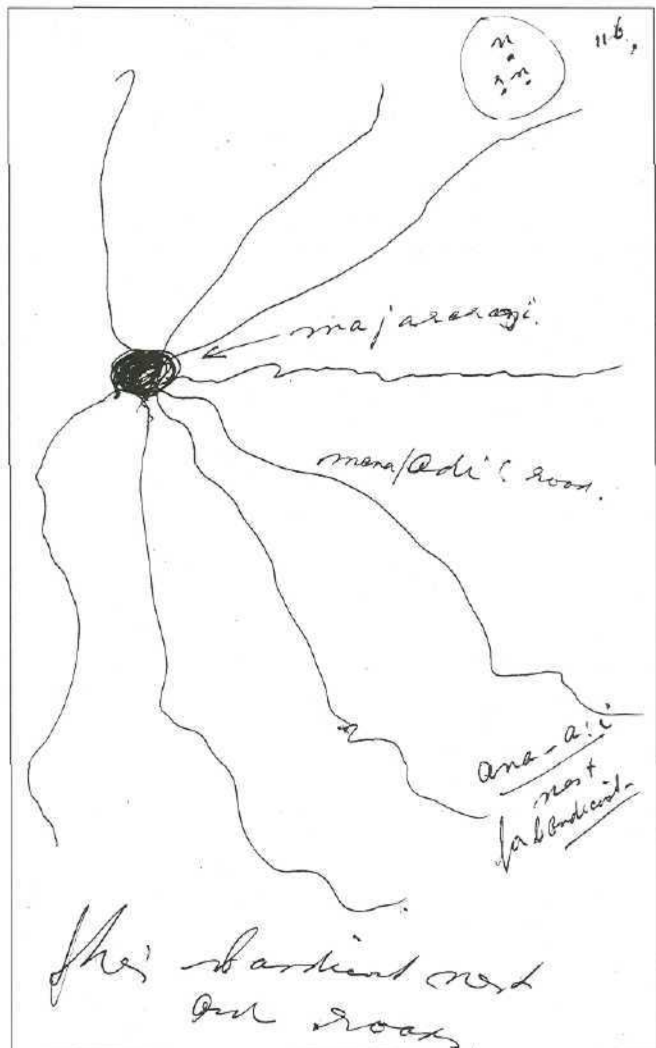

Figure 92. The burrow of a bandicoot. *(Pen drawing by Magun in my field notebook. Notes added in my handwriting)*

to excellent observation of actual bandicoot habits. It concerns the burrow of a subspecies of bandicoots called *(ma)barngurrag* in Nunggubuyu, or 'bilbies' in English. Ellis Troughton informs us that:

> Bilbies are the only bandicoots excavating actual burrows for occupation during most of the daytime, and their powerful broad-nailed forearms make them expert tunnellers. The burrow is easily identified by the characteristic tracks and tail-mark, as well as the unusual construction of the burrow which descends in a fairly steep and widening spiral for about five or more feet. Unlike many other kinds of burrows, it has no exit hole. A striking feature, as with the burrows of most animals of the Centre, is that although much soil (a barrow-load or more) must be displaced during excavation, the entrance mounds rarely exceed a bucketful. It was noted by Shortridge that the tail, as in some rat-kangaroos, has a peculiar downward curl though not having any prehensile power. In association with the horny spur at the tip, the feature suggests that the tail has some special use while burrowing, or in arranging the nesting materials. (Troughton 1967:70)

However, my informants translated *(ma)barngurrag* consistently as 'bandicoot' in English. I shall in this essay follow their custom.

The myth

The story was recorded in the Nunggubuyu language and afterwards analyzed with Mindyugag and Magun, my two language informants. A first draft of the myth, including the original text in Nunggubuyu, was prepared in 1970.[2] It has never been published, but it was sent to the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

Madi from Windangain was a great story-teller. The following free translation of the text, which nevertheless follows the original Nunggubuyu text as closely as possible, cannot possibly do justice to his talent and the literary qualities of his story. I can only point to the elegant symmetry of the question-and-answer dialogues in scenes 4 and 9. Further, the closing scene 11, in which Crow expresses both his conquering mood and his attachment to the natural scene of Mabanadjaruid, was actually not *told*, but it was *sung*, and accompanied by Madi's rhythmic piercing of the ground with a stick, in demonstration of the way in which Crow had stabbed the Old Women through their legs with his spear.

The following translation contains notes between square brackets either to smooth away abrupt passages between successive events in the English

[2] I owe very much to Dr. A. P. Borsboom, then still a student at the Institute of Cultural and Social Anthropology, Nijmegen University, for his invaluable assistance during the preparation of the 1970 draft.

translation or to explain implicit but untold implications of the original Nunggubuyu text.[3]

1.

Today, let me tell the story of that place [Ramalgaruid, just west of the sand dunes, and just south of Guluruid River], where Crow kicked [a bandicoot burrow] with his feet.

2.

Well, [departing from Umilid, just south of Guluruid Creek] two Old Women went that way [to Aniribura], where they ate *lardu* shellfish and slept. From there, they continued their long footwalk [until they finally reached Ramalgaruid].

3.

[Now planning to trick Crow] they said to each other: 'Let us make [the burrow of] a bandicoot. Let us catch Crow.' And so they made a bandicoot burrow by pulling *marda* grass and imitating bandicoot tracks, and roads which bandicoots make to enter and leave their burrows. They made it look exactly like a real bandicoot burrow (see fig. 92). [That finished,] they went back to sleep at Mabanadjaruid.

4.

They returned the following morning to see the burrow again, and they called out for Crow [thus initiating the following dialogue with him]:

'*Barngurrag Barngurrag Barngurrag.*[4] Come and catch it for us', they called out.

'What might it be? Might it be a *maburr* string?', Crow asked.

'*Barngurrag Barngurrag*', the Old Women replied, 'catch it for us'.

'Might it be a digging stick?'

'*Barngurrag Barngurrag.* Catch it for us', the Old Women replied.

'What is it this time? Might it be a *lbabarau* basket?'

'*Barngurrag Barngurrag.* Catch it for us', the Old Women said.

'What is it? Might it be *lbiwa* paper bark?'.

'*Barngurrag Barngurrag*', the two of them replied.

'Might it be a *maburr* string?'

'*Barngurrag Barngurrag.* Catch it for us', the two of them said.

'Might it be a goanna?'[5]

[3] Nunggubuyu names and other words appear mainly in phonetic transcription based on the AIAS spelling conventions of December 1974. This implies amongst others the use of [r] for a retoflex vibrant, [rn] for a retoflex nasal, [rl] for a reflex lateral, [rr] for a lamino-dental trill or flap, and [lh] for a lamino-dental lateral. Palatalized [dj] and [nj] are in final word position transcribed as [d] and [n], respectively. Phonemic transcription is applied to the stops. In Nunggubuyu, no phonemic distinction exists between [p] and [b] or between [k] and [g]. It suffices to represent them by the voiced series of stop symbols.

[4] Bandicoot is throughout this dialogue referred to by its Nunggubuyu name *Barngurrag.*

[5] An Australian variety of Iguanna.

'*Barngurrag Barngurrag*. Catch it for us', the two of them said.
'Might it be sugar bag?'[6]
'*Barngurrag Barngurrag*. Catch it for us', the two of them said.
'MIght it be *Barngurrag*?'
'Yes, *Barngurrag*. Yes, yes, yes indeed.'

5.
Crow now took his two-pointed spear, and ran and ran. When he stopped, he asked: 'Where, where is it?' 'Over here, over here, in this little hump' [the Old Women replied]. Crow put his spear on his spear thrower, ready to shoot. (But the Old Women, who had also made a hole in the burrow) now cried out: 'No, no, no, put your foot in the burrow. Put your foot on one side of the burrow.' Crow now put one foot forward, [but the Old Women interrupted this by crying out:] 'No, no, no, the bandicoot might escape, jump with both feet together'. And then Crow jumped with both feet in the burrow. *Bbbb, rrrrt,* off he went into the burrow. 'He went down fast, didn't he!', the Old Women said, going over to the edge of the burrow and observing Crow's disappearance in it. 'What shall we do?' [Considering what to do next,] they broke off a hooked branch from a tree, and turned it around in Crow's head feathers. Finally, they pulled him up by means of the hooked branch, and laid him down beside the burrow. Little red ants now started to clean with their snouts the dirt from his body and feathers. They cleaned the dirt from him. Crow stood up as soon as the ants had finished their job (and went back to Mabanadjaruid].

6.
[In the meantime,] the Old Women, too, had returned to Mabanadjaruid, where they went to sleep. Afterwards, they started making plans again: 'Let us go to our fishing place [at Amawirngiluid, in the sea near Guluruid River, but on this side of it] and look for fish'. 'I am going down to that place [to see my own fishing place]', Crow said. So the Old Women asked him to look first at their fishing place for them. And Crow did so.

7.
When he was out of sight, *daid*, a pandanus tree, cut by Crow, fell on the ground. [He started to carve an imitation *amadarngga* fish out of the wood.] He carved the tail fin first, then successively the breast fin, the lower back fin, the upper back fin, the fin bones, the teeth, the head, the gills, the eyes, and finally the nose of the fish. Upon finishing it, he took the wooden fish and dropped it in the Old Women's fishing place. He then caught all living fish [leaving the fishing place empty except for the wooden fish] and brought it right up to this place [where we were now camping]. The Old Women, who were sitting there [and saw him with all that fish], cried out: '*Jaka*, wait a second! What about the two of us? Have you seen our fishing place?' 'No', Crow answered, 'I have neither seen nor touched it'. The Old Women now decided to see and inspect their fishing place themselves. And off they went, *arrarrarrarrarrarrarrarra*, with fast sounding footsteps.

6 Aboriginal English for 'wild honey'.

8.

Then, after having reached and inspected their fishing place, they cried out [thinking they had seen a real fish]: 'A big black fish! *Wai*, what shall we do? It might escape from us. Let us call out for Crow. Let him catch it for us.' And so they did.

9.

[In the meantime,] Crow sat high on the Aiwaduid dune of Mabanadjaruid, from where he watched the Old Women. The latter, turning around to look at [although at first not being able to see] him, called out: '*Gurgin Gurgin.*[7] Catch it for us.' But Crow did not listen. [The Old Women tried again:] '*Gurgin Gurgin.* Catch it for us.' Crow did not listen yet. Again: '*Gurgin Gurgin.* Catch it for us. That fish over here.' But Crow kept to his silly attitude [that is, kept on pretending not to understand the Old Women]. Again: '*Gurgin, Gurgin.* Catch it for us.' [Crow finally responded, thereby initiating the following dialogue with the Old Women:]

'Might it be a digging stick?'

'*Gurgin Gurgin.* Catch it for us.'

'Might it be a *lhabarau* basket?

'*Gurgin Gurgin.* Catch it for us.'

'Might it be a *maburr* string?'

'*Gurgin Gurgin.* Catch it for us.'

'Might it be a *walwurr* string?' Crow talked like that.

'*Gurgin Gurgin.* Catch it for us.'

'Might it be *lhiwa* paper bark?' Crow said, still pretending not to understand.

'*Gurgin Gurgin.* Catch it for us.'

'Might it be a digging stick?'

'*Gurgin Gurgin.* Catch it for us.'

'Might it be a fire?'

'*Gurgin Gurgin.* Catch it for us.'

'Might it be an *alaid* lizard?'

'*Gurgin Gurgin*'. Catch it for us.

'Might it be a fire?'

'*Gurgin Gurgin.* Catch it for us.'

'Might it be *Gurgin*?'

'Yes, yes, yes indeed.'

10.

Crow then took up his two-pointed spear, and he ran down the dunes and over the plain while shaking his spear up and down. He ran and ran and ran, and finally stopped on the beach. 'Here', the Old Women said, 'the fish stands up over here. Catch it for us.' 'No, no', Crow answered, 'I might miss if I [try to] spear it [in the ordinary way]. *Arraka*, [go and sit in the water and] cross your legs over each other's legs. You [one Old Woman] over here, and you [the other Old Woman] over there, so that you have the fish in the middle between you. Then I am able to hit the fish properly. Yes, you sit here and

7 Gurgin is the totem (or dreaming) name of the *amadarngga* fish.

you over there, with one another's knees closely put together'. Crow now lifted his spear with his spear thrower [and aimed at the Old Women's legs], ready to shoot, *arraka*, when one of the Old Women saw with half closed eyes what he was doing. '*Ai*, good heavens, are you trying to hit us? Are you killing us? Don't do that, don't do that, don't do that!' [Covering his real intentions, Crow answered:] 'The wind blew my spear aside. I am not trying to hit you. It is really because of the wind. Now I might miss if the two of you do not truly close your eyes.' But then, when the Old Women had truly closed their eyes, *karrap*, [with this sound] Crow threw his spear through the legs [right above the knees] of both Old Women. *Karrap*. [He crowed loudly:] *Wa:g wa:g wa:g wa:g wa:g wa:g wa:g*. He had hit the Old Women and pushed his spear down [through the Old Women's legs with such a force thit stuck] in the sand. Again he crowed: *Wa:g wa:g wa:g wa:g wa:g wa:g wa:g*. The spear went right to its shaft opening into the sand. The Old Women cried out: 'You scoundrel, why did you hit us?'

11.
[Crowing loudly, Crow now sang out his song of victory:]
Wa:g wa:g wa:g wa:g wa:g wa:g wa:g.
The fog lies down before it drifts away. Warlmadhang fog.
Unurrumurru fog.
Oh. The fog lies down and quietens the sea.
Ah. The fog now rises and drifts away over Iwarwar, the plain with the young *lhuin* trees.
Oh. It drifts away to the sea, and disappears.
Oh. The sea is calm. There is no wind.
Warlmadhang fog. Unurrunurru fog.
Oh. They [people and animals] want to see my fog. It lays down before drifting away.
Oh wa:g wa:g wa:g wa:g.
From Ubumaye and Ngambarlbarlo.[8]
Oh. From Uragaruid[9], the fog drifts away to the sea.
Ah. From Yangulgarainyu[10], the fog drifts away to the see.
Ah. From Ngarringudjarain[11], the fog drifts away to the sea.
Ah. From Wilinbilin, Inaramba, Ugarlamar, and Adama.[12]
Ah. the Gubandai fog drifts away. It disappears.
Wa:g wa:g wa:g.
They [people and animals] keep on watching my fog.

[8] Both countries, to the west of Mabanadjaruid, are totem (or dreaming) places of the Murumurungun sub-clan of Guluruid and Mabanadjaruid. Ngambarlbarlo is a small lake (or *billabong*).

[9] A billabong, dreaming place of the same sub-clan.

[10] A cape to the south of Rose River.

[11] A territory to the south of Rose River.

Ah wa:g wa:g wa:g.
Ih. From Burindyi[12], Lumawirri[12], and from Wilinbilin, the fog drifts away to the sea.
Ih. From Arlama[12], the fog drifts away to the sea.
Ah. Over Larmunduka[12], the fog spreads out and disappears over the sea.
Wa:g wa:g wa:g wa:g.

An interpretation

On the individual level, there is no doubt that the secular qualities of the myth, especially when told, as in the case of Madi, by a good story-teller, always attracts large audiences. People enjoy its humour, the ludricrous behaviour and silliness at times displayed by both Crow and the Old Women, and the elaborate ways in which both parties set up their traps. During story-telling, small children imitate with great hilarity how Crow kicked the bandicoot burrow, and how the Old Women sat with crossed knees, nailed down to the ground by Crow's spear. Moreover, the myth often induces people afterwards to sing the *ungubarl* or secular songs of Crow and the Mabanadjaruid plain. This is also what happened after I had recorded Madi's story on the plain. In anticipation, Magun had during our morning visit to the Bandicoot site already cut a stringy bark tree to make a *lbambarlbarl* or 'dijeridoo', in Aboriginal English also called 'bamboo', for the rhythmic accompaniment of the songs to be sung.

General implications of the myth, on the other hand, become apparent when we consider its functions on the clan and moiety levels. On the clan level, both Crow and the Old Women are the totems, or 'dreamings', as the Nunggubuyu people say in English, of the Murumurungun sub-clan which is the spiritual owner of the Mabanadjaruid plain and every site which belongs to it.[13] In spite of their mutual antagonism, both dreamings in fact represent mythological tricksters whose wanderings and activities establish, even bridge, the geographic opposition between an inland territory (in this instance of Ramalgaruid, on the western side of the plain of Mabanadjaruid; scenes 1-5) and the sea (in this instance the Old Women's fishing place at Amarnwilgiluid, the eastern sea border of Mabanadjaruid; scenes 6-11).

The presence of trickster figures as such is far from exceptional in Australian Aboriginal clan myths. As for the Nunggubuyu, I have described the interplay between a mythological trickster, a mythical hero, and a supreme being in a publication on their Thundering Gecko and Emu myth

[12] All of these are names of sea shallows near the mouth of Guluruid Creek.

[13] Crow occurs in many parts of Aboriginal Australia as an important totem symbol. For instance, Crow symbolism is highly significant in the Maradjiri ritual complex of the Djinang Aborigines of northern Arnhem Land (Borsboom 1978:57-60, 92, 109-113). As apparent from Blows (1975), Crow is of central importance in the Aboriginal mythology of South-east Australia.

(Van der Leeden 1975). However, the Crow myth is unique in presenting the unusual number of two tricksters. Both Crow and the Old Women represent typical mythological tricksters (although Crow combines this with a hero role). This has several implications which distinguish the Crow myth from the Thundering Gecko and Emu myth. First of all, our present tricksters are not shown in mutual interaction with other characters having what might be called hero or supreme being features. It is as if these features are partly embodied in the personages of both Crow and the Old Women, unless of course we might catch a glimpse of the always vague features of a supreme being in the passive roles played by Bandicoot and the *amadarngga* fish.

In the second place, the movements of Crow and the Old Women are unidirectional, between one place and only one other place. Unlike the Thundering Gecko and Emu myth, in which the hero and the trickster move and act in different directions, applying different methods, the Crow myth restricts the movements of Crow and the Old Women to one and the same path. Both parties move first inland from Mabanadjaruid to Aniribura (where they interact, and where Crow is trapped by the Old Women), and then in reversed direction seaward from Mabanadjaruid to Amawirngiluid at sea (where they interact again, but where Crow cheats the Old Women).

This uniformity in movement is further strengthened by their oral exchanges and their tricking methods. The two dialogues are phrased in almost identical ways. Despite differences between Crow's and the Old Women's methods of setting up traps, these have one basic feature in common. Both Crow and the Old Women do not use living creatures as baits to catch one another as a prey, but both use imitations, either of the habits of a living creature (in the case of the Old Women: imitating the burrow of a bandicoot) or of the natural appearance of such a creature (in the case of Crow, using a wooden imitation of the *amadarngga* fish). All of these features distinguish the double trickster Crow myth from other Nunggubuyu myths with only one trickster in interaction with a variety of other actor types. They add up to the explicitly symmetric structure of the myth.

As mentioned in the introduction, the Crow myth also hides a more fundamental mytho-ritualistic theme. Or as my Nunggubuyu spokesmen explained, the Crow myth lies 'on top of' another myth. This concerns traditions on the (sub-)moiety level, in this case that of the sub-moieties of the northern Nunggubuyu clans. I should explain that the Mandaridja Ru:l A sub-moiety and the Mandajung Murungun sub-moiety are associated with separate mythological traditions, shared by all clans belonging to these sub-moieties, respectively. The Ru:l A tradition is traced back to an Old Man who brought a number of secret and profane tokens during his journey from Groote Eylandt (east of Arnhem Land) westward through the Urindi and Irgari territories along the Waldar River, right up to Ridharngu country in the source area of Waldar River (Van der Leeden 1975: 51, 56). The Murungun Gunabibi tradition, to which the Crow myth will be seen to refer, forms a local variant of the Gunabibi initiation cult of the Murngin in north-eastern Arnhem Land, but it is also related with initiation cults in many other parts

of, and indeed also outside, Arnhem Land. It is considered to have been brought by a large group of Murungun ancestors from Lulmara (a region along the north coast of Blue Mud Bay) southward along Nunggubuyu territories such as Windangain and Guluruid-Mabanadjaruid, and further along Warndarang territories between Rose River and Roper River, and across the Roper River right up to territories in south-central Arnhem Land (ibid.:49, 50, 56). All along the way, they stopped at particular places to 'line up', as the story has it, and sing about the food they consumed, every now and then turning around in a nostalgic mood to look back at their home country, Lulmara.

It is important to add some mythological details which underlie the Gunabibi initiation cult. The Murngin version is based on the myth about the Wawilak Sisters, who were swallowed by the snake Yurlunggur (or Julunggul in the Yirrkala version) while trespassing on the latter's country. The women were afterwards regurgitated alive onto an ants' nest. Following Julunggul's example, a young unmarried male snake started to swallow all youths, but they remained dead when vomited up again. He was punished for this and speared to death by the men. In memory of Julunggul, the men made an image of him. Re-enacting these mythical events, Murngin initiation ceremonies are held around a trench representing the womb of the elder Wawilak sister. Images of Julunggul are placed on the edge of the trench. The women are led to believe that their sons are being swallowed by the snake. Afterwards, when they see them again, the lads are smeared with red ochre symbolizing blood of the uterus of the Wawilak Sisters (Hiatt 1975b:149-150).

The Nunggubuyu Murungun myth is more in line with the Mara version of the Gunabibi myth. It is about a cannibalistic Old Woman. Her Mara name, Mumuna, is also used by the Nunggubuyu. Mumuna cooked and ate men, whom she afterwards regurgitated onto an ant-bed. She was punished and killed for this by Eaglehawk (that is, in the Mara myth), who in her memory 'cut down a tree and made a bullroarer, which contained the old woman's dying cry' (ibid.:150-151). The Nunggubuyu Gunabibi initiation ceremonies follow this theme. The ceremonies are held around a crescent-shaped trench representing Mumuna's womb. When the novices are isolated, and the men start swinging the bullroarers, the women believe that their sons are swallowed by Mumuna. It is the men's secret, however, and the novices soon learn this, that it is in reality not Mumuna, but a man-made object, an imitation, that produces this sound.

We may now return to the Crow myth, for the plain of Mabanadjaruid forms of old an important site of Gunabibi initiation ceremonies according to the Murungun tradition. The Crow myth strongly reminds its listeners of the mythical journey of the Murungun ancestors, and how they hunted Mumuna and kept her away from the youths. It is no wonder that Madi continued telling the Murungun story as soon as he had finished the Crow story. Both stories fit in the same mythological pattern. Other mythical events were added; events said to have coincided with the arrival of the

Murungun ancestors at Mabanadjaruid. For example, the scene of a little girl, Djuamima, who cried because she was hungry, and who was chased away until she vanished in a mangrove where her eyes can still today be seen shining. I was shown the remains of her footsteps, and also those of the man Walokar and his wife. They had been busy pushing a boat into Guluruid Creek, and were fishing at sea when they heard the little girl crying. Walokar then chased the pursuers of the girl, hooked them up with a net, and threw them into the sea. However, some people escaped through the meshes of the net from this ordeal. It is they who brought the Murungun tradition further southward.

It is only a small step further to assume that the treacherousness of the two Old Women of the Crow myth strongly reminds Nunggubuyu mythologists of the one Old Woman, Mumuna, of their Murungun myth, especially because of the important role of Mabanadjaruid as a traditional initiation centre in the Nunggubuyu region. But what about Crow, if his actions have any inner meaning at all besides his obvious double role as trickster and hero? A similar question concerns Bandicoot and the *amadarngga* fish. If it is true that myths contain no coincidences, then much more must be hidden behind their passiveness in the Crow myth, or more precisely, behind the fact that they appear in imitated forms.

The answers to these questions, I think, must be sought in the initiation theme which underlies the Murungun myth. As mentioned before, this myth is almost identical with the Mara Gunabibi myth, one of the transformations of the Murngin myth about the Yurlunggur snake which according to Hiatt (ibid.:147) 'is merely a particular instance of a cultural phenomenon found throughout Australia'. Its basic theme is the swallowing (or eating) of people, especially boys, by a snake or an Old Woman. The boys are afterwards regurgitated and revive. These mythical events are re-enacted during Gunabibi initiation ceremonies. There are many variations on this theme, but the general occurrence of its basic motif suggests 'a widespread association in Australia between the myth motif of 'swallowing and regurgitation' and the induction of young men into secret religious cults' (ibid.:154). On the assumption that the Crow myth, too, reflects the basic implications of this general mytho-ritualistic theme, we may interpret Crow's adventures as an analogy to the ordeal which novices undergo during their initiation into the Gunabibi secret ritual. Crow falls in a hole as if swollen by, and returning to the womb of, the Old Women (who represent Mumuna of the Murungun myth). The myth makes it clear that the bandicoot burrow is not real. It cannot be real, because the myth is in this regard ritualistic. An imitation is necessary to hide the fact that it is actually Mumuna's womb which is imitated, just as much as the trench of the Gunabibi initiation ground is an imitation of her womb.

Crow is then hooked up by the Old Women and put onto an ant's nest. This is highly symbolic of the mythical Gunabibi scene in which Mumuna regurgitates and thus revives her former victims. This conclusion is particularly strengthened by the ant scene. It can be no coincidence that similar

events occur with quite analogous implications in two Gunabibi myths, i.e. in the Mara myth (ibid.:150), and, as mentioned before, also in the Murngin myth, in which Julunggul regurgitates the Wawilak Sisters onto an ant's nest.

The Crow myth scenes of Crow cutting down a tree to make a wooden *amadarngga* fish and spearing the Old Women through their legs while they hold the wooden fish in between them, calls up details of two different but interrelated myths. In the Mara myth, as we already saw, Eaglehawk celebrates his revenge on Mumuna by cutting down a tree and making a bullroarer, the sound of which represents the crying of the old woman. It does not appear too far-fetched to assume that Crow's wooden fish symbolizes a bullroarer. The Nunggubuyu, too, believe that the sound of the bullroarer imitates Mumuna's crying. As mentioned before, Nunggubuyu men, like their Mara fellow men, consider it as their secret that it is not Mumuna but a man-made object, an imitation, that produces the sound.

Further, spearing through the legs is a motif which also occurs in a structurally related Murinbata myth, in which the man-swallowing Old Woman is revenged by a left-handed man who spears her through her legs, and by a right-handed man who breaks her neck with a club (ibid.:151).

All of these details offer sufficient ground for the assumption that the Crow myth, although a clan myth, also reflects the ideology which underlies the Murungun myth and associated initiation ritual. The Crow myth is double-sided. It is both secular and esoteric. In this respect, the Crow myth is not unique. It shares this double function with many other Nunggubuyu clan myths. And not with other Nunggubuyu myths alone. We are here dealing with a characteristic feature of Australian Aboriginal mythology in general. On the grounds of this synchronic blending of secular and esoteric features I agree with Hiatt (1975a:2, 3) that the distinction which the Berndts (1964; cited in Hiatt ibid.) have drawn between (sacred) myths and (secular) oral literature, does not appear to be tenable, at least not as far as Australian Aboriginal mythology is concerned.

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16

THE INDUCTION RITUAL AND BODY DECORATION OF RECENTLY INITIATED YOUNG MEN IN THE MIMIKA REGION

G. A. Zegwaard

Introduction

In South-West Irian Jaya at the beginning of the twentieth century, a series of scholarly expeditions and some military exploration produced a great stream of ethnographic material which ultimately found its way to ethnographical museums, particularly in The Netherlands and in Britain. Since little was known about the function of these objects, they remained curiosa for several decades.

It has been one of Simon Kooijman's scholarly achievements that, with the patience of a medieval monk, he has produced analytical descriptions of the objects to be found in four museum collections in the Netherlands, and three in Britain. This analytical description has been set out in his book *Art, art objects and ritual in the Mimika culture* (1984). This publication is outstanding for its excellent photographic material and its solid study of sources.

The publication of this book coincided happily with the beginning of my retirement, providing me with the opportunity to devote my attention, after a prolonged interval, to the (further) study of Mimika/Asmat culture. Since then Kooijman's study of Mimika art has always lain close at hand on my desk, together with the studies by Pouwer (1955); Van der Schoot (1969); Drabbe (1937); and Coenen (1960).

Some time ago, while I was occupied with the nose-piercing ritual and its associated induction feast for the young men just initiated, I read in Kooijman (1984:129-146) an extensive description of penis shells or sheaths, followed by an examination of their function. These penis covers play an important part in the induction ritual. This gave me the idea for offering the essay on the induction ritual, printed here, for inclusion in the volume being presented to Simon Kooijman for his eightieth birthday.

Atuka

In November 1951 in the village of Atuka, I witnessed the first and second

stages of the induction ritual that, since time immemorial, had constituted the final phase of the nose-piercing ceremony. At that time, nose piercing had not been celebrated for twenty-five years, yet enthusiasm for the feast had still not subsided, as one could see from the fact that Atuka people spontaneously grasped the opportunity (arising accidentally) to organise the feast. Twelve young men had just returned from the Vogelkop, in North-West Irian Jaya, where they had been working for the past year as contract labourers for the N.N.G.P.M. (the Netherlands New Guinea Petroleum Company). The youngsters were walking around in new, brightly coloured clothing, and they had brought back splendid presents for their own families and for those of their fiancées. There were quite a few marriages in the offing. The mothers were proud of their sons, and the brides-to-be were full of happy anticipation. The prevailing atmosphere reminded the villagers of the feeling that had in former times predominated after the nose-piercing ceremony, and this gave them the idea of organising an induction ritual. Enthusiasm, and the festive atmosphere, loosened people's tongues.

Men's life cycle

For better understanding of the induction ritual, it is necessary to make a few comments on the male life cycle, the age groups, and culminating point of the initiation ritual. Judging from the names for the various age groups, the life of Mimika men passed through five stages. Only the transitions from the first stage (the boy) to the second (the adolescent), and from the second to the third (the young man) were accompanied by initiation rituals. This transition, accomplished through nose piercing, was publicly proclaimed and validated by a ritual induction.

Small and growing boys, as a group, were called *Aj-ru*. 'Aj' means new, little, beginning. Boys were thus 'little people with potential for growth'. Adolescents were called *mut-apoka*, which means 'provided with testicles', a name doubtless referring to the adolescent's physical development. After undergoing the nose-piercing ritual, the group of adolescents received the title of *Ko-apoka*. Interestingly, the Mimika Papuans have never been able to provide foreigners with a satisfactory explanation for this name. Pouwer writes of 'those who carry a penis cover' (1955:107). Later on in this essay the meaning of the word *ko* will be discussed further. Middle-aged and old men were called *Ajper-apoka* and *Per-apoka* respectively: i.e., those turning grey, and those with completely grey hair.

The sagopalm leaves apron celebration

It would seem, from the descriptions of many observers (for example, Keiese teachers) that the initiation of adolescents was a rather simple one. The youths were festively dressed in aprons, in several layers, which hung from the waist to the ground and which were then cut off at ankle-level. The accompanying activities and songs suggest that these aprons, made from the fibres of young sago-palm leaves (*tawri*), signified pubic hair. Abundant

pubic hair was highly desirable for boys and girls alike. The youths were described in song as young dogs (remarkable for their luxuriant hair).

The nose-piercing feast

The piercing of the nasal septum (and nostrils and earlobes) was once a common phenomenon throughout Irian Jaya. Among most Papuan tribes, nose piercing was done when the boys and girls were young, without public celebrations; it was simply performed on a convenient day. The aim of the usage was probably to establish the possibility of using the openings for the placing of attributes or ornaments which, through their protracted contact with their wearers, would transfer their distinguishing characteristics to those wearers. Accordingly, the pierced body parts functioned as a kind of power sockets, carrying current from the attributes, to a person.

It is especially worth noting that, for the Mimika Papuans, nose piercing clearly possessed the character of an initiation ritual, and particularly of *the* initiation ritual which turned adolescents into adult, fully equipped men. The celebration had a set pattern; it was observed on a regular basis, and with the active participation of the whole community, including the dead.

Looking back, one could find it a cause for regret that this ritual was prohibited (on 'hygienic' grounds) after the advent of the Administration, and the Catholic Mission. It was the foreign missionaries and the Moluccan schoolteachers who had witnessed the celebration with their own eyes, who protested most strongly against to the 'barbarous' and 'hazardous' custom. The Moluccan teachers succeeded in working on the young people's feelings to such an extent that they rebelled against the 'old guard' who wanted at all costs to retain the celebration. As a consequence of this prohibition in the 1930s, no systematic study of the nose-piercing celebration has ever been made, and we are left only with a knowledge – based on hearsay – of the course of the celebration. We thus have only a comparatively vague idea of its meaning: it concerned the adolescents' initiation into manhood.

Father (Monsignor) H. Tillemans, who witnessed the celebration in several villages, told me about a case in the village of Umar in western Mimika where Dorothea, the affianced of Josef Pati – son of the village headman, and later on headman himself – was extremely worried because she had been told that Josef, who refused to submit to nose piercing, would never be able to give her the children she wanted so much. Tillemans gave the following description of the culminating point of the nose piercing ceremony, as told to (and recorded by) Boelaars (1953:8).

Shortly before the nose piercing was to begin, all the candidates ran in terror into the forest. Their sisters' husbands pursued and overcame them, subsequently coaxing them to the two-metre high platform of piled sago in front of the nose piercing feast house. The brothers-in-law squatted with their backs to the front wall of the initiation house, while the candidates lay on their backs with their heads towards the older men, so that the latter could grasp the youths' heads firmly between their knees. Before proceed-

ing to the actual nose piercing, they cut short the candidates' long sago leaves aprons.

Meanwhile, a swarming crowd of people had assembled in front of the initiation house, fighting among themselves for a place. The classificatory 'mothers', especially, worked themselves into a state of hysteria, and climbed half-way up the platform of sago in order to be as close as possible to their 'sons'. One of the brothers-in-law then took a thin peg made of hard palm wood, which he had rendered razor-sharp, and thrust the peg with great force through the muscus membrane of the front part of the nasal septum. The first blood spurted out of the small (nose) artery, starting to trickle along the platform to drip beneath it. The blood was licked up with avidity by the 'mothers'. The brothers-in-law continued with their work of gradually enlarging the opening. For this they used increasingly thicker and longer plugs or pins, measuring 25 cm – 50 cm in length. The last plug was one to two metres long, the length being determined by the numbers of brothers-in-law (eight to ten men) who had to grasp the plug with both hands. After the last plug had served its purpose and had been removed, the brothers-in-law pushed a rolled tree leaf through the new opening, to prevent the wound from closing again. In the meantime the 'mothers' had become maddened by licking up the great quantity of blood streaming down, and behaved like veritable Furies. In 1910 Father M. Neyens talked of 'female devils' straight out of hell! (Personal communication from Mgr. H. Tillemans).

This treatment was followed by the supreme moment. The candidates had to summon up all their strength and courage in order to stand upright and look the public in the eye. They were immediately taken, moaning with pain, to their family houses, where they were nursed for several weeks; there was swelling of the nose, high fever, difficulty in breathing and swallowing, and generalised physical weakness resulting from the considerable loss of blood.

The induction ritual

Once recovered from the after effects of the nose piercing, the young men were presented to the village community in a series of festive ceremonies, as the new additions to the group of men who had left puberty behind, who had mastered all the masculine skills with bow and spear, and who were completely ready to be the fathers of children. In the vernacular the ceremony was called *Ukamé*: 'hair-extensions house'. As was customary, the whole celebration was indicated by the name of the first stage. In this case, it was the first phase of the decoration ceremonial, i.e., the decoration of hair with false extensions made from the fibres of sago leaves. The Mimika Papuans often used the *pars pro toto* indication. In my view, there is a rising line clearly visible in the composition of the ritual. For a general survey of the events, I divide the ritual into three phases: the farewell to adolescence; the final examination in masculine skills; and the display of virility.

In Atuka 1951, a separate shed was built for the occasion. This shed was two metres high, and was closed on three sides with sago leaves (*atap*). Half

a metre was left open only in the upper part of the front wall. Not all of the ceremony took place in this shed, since it was necessary at times to operate in the open air. The building was constructed close to a river (a tributary), since a great quantity of water was needed for the ritual. The floor was of sand.

It was the members of the family/local group of the *ko-erepimara*, *ko*-people, who occupied the foreground in the ritual, as master(s)-of-ceremonies. This group formed a guild which acted as the owners of the *Ko* secrets, the 'masters' or specialists of the *Ko*, and which were acknowledged as such by the other guilds. These *Ko* specialists were the spiritual fathers of the *ko-apoka*, i.e., the young men who were 'provided with *ko*'. The first stage of the ritual consisted of two parts which appeared to have little connection with each other; they were a food-ceremony and a sauna. They did both take place in the same shed, and were both performed in the morning hours.

1. The food ritual

The young men were fed as if they were children, first with the soft pits (*ota*) of the pandanus (*maroka*), and then with small mussels and crabs (*omo-k-ukupu* and *pea-n-ukupu* respectively). The brothers-in-law first bit off pieces of the palm pits, mussels and crab meat, and pushed the remainder into the young mens' mouths, saying *ota anamakami* – 'I am giving you a pandanus pit to eat'. The male members of the family, standing around the brothers-in-law, called *Anama, Anama* – 'Let him eat, Let him eat'. The female family members and the rest of the public standing outside the shed began to dance the '*ni*dance: they twisted their hips (*ni*), raising their right and left hands alternately from their hips to the back of the head, and letting them fall again to the hips. Each upwards and downwards movement was accompanied by the call 'aah-aah', finally interrupted suddenly with a brief 'uuh'. The ceremony was repeated many times over.

The easily digested foodstuffs which constitued the first 'children's menu', and the repeated use of diminutives (*ukupu* means 'small') lent a childlike and intimate atmosphere to the scene. In the myths and rites, all three kinds of food bore a special relationship to women. As boys and adolescents the young men had been constrained by prescription to avoid 'soft' foods; these were believed to prevent the young males' development into 'hard' (i.e., strong, tough) men. The constraint did not apply to adult men. In my view, the ceremonial eating of soft foods showed that they no longer belonged among the adolescents, but in their manner of eating were identifying with that of the adult males. They were taking leave of their childhood.

2. The sauna ritual

The organisers of the ritual, the *ko* people, egged on the villagers to collect a great deal of easily combustible material: dry leaves and branches, old coconut husks, and tree bark. The material collected was piled up in the

ceremonial shed, in readiness for the approaching ceremony. The young men were painted from head to toe with white chalk, black ashes, and red ochre. Their buttocks were decorated with big leaves. The family members, both men and women, also adorned themselves, but the decoration was markedly rudimentary; this was connected with the fact that the adornment would suffer greatly in the course of the ritual. Meanwhile, a fire was being lit in the shed.

The brothers-in-law brought the young men to the shed, where the heat and smoke rapidly built up. The fathers and brothers, the masters-of-ceremonies and the drummers/singers followed them after a short while. The shed became continually more packed with people, the men standing pressed shoulder to shoulder. It became steadily hotter and closer. The mothers and sisters sought places at the front of the hut, as close as possible to their sons and brothers. They had brought long bamboo containers full of water. When they saw the young men beginning to sweat heavily, they emptied the bamboo containers of water onto their sons' and brothers' shoulders, utilising the opening in the front wall. They refilled the containers, and gave the young men a second shower bath when the cooling process had been succeeded by another period of sweating. This procedure was repeated many times. With each shower bath, the brothers-in-law drank the water running from the young men's shoulders, while the young men drank, in their turn, the water from the shoulders of their brothers-in-law.

A sauna or steam bath of this sort was customary among the Mimika (and Asmat) Papuans, as a kind of purification for ridding themselves of alien impedimenta, influences and forces which they had experienced on long journeys, or through visits from strangers. In the village of Suru (Asmat) the men who had been on board a visiting ship were 'fumigated' in this way. According to the people themselves, this was done in order to rid the body of the strange smells to which those boarding the ship had been exposed. For the contract labourers of Atuka who had been working for the oil company in the Vogelkop, this sauna was a practically mandatory treatment. Together with the preceding eating ceremony marking the end of childhood, we can probably interpret the sauna ritual as a clearing-away of childish characteristics such as playfulness and impudence, and as a banishing of all the obstacles that could hinder the young men from coming to adulthood.

The second stage, consisting of four ceremonies, was concerned with the teaching and demonstration of male skills: use of the bow and spear, the art of fish-spearing, and the way in which a newly adult young man must behave towards his mother, and women in general.

1. Use of bow and arrows

At this stage the guild of archers temporarily took over the guidance of the group. They pushed a plank (*kuparo*) into the ground as a target: this had been the side of an old canoe which had fallen to pieces. The oldest man in the archers' guild let fly the first arrow. He was followed by his 'brothers' and 'sons', first the sisters' sons (*peraeko*), and then his own sons, and those

of his brothers (*are-eté*, meaning 'of his own blood'). After the archers it was the turn of the young men's own family members, and finally the young men themselves shot the last arrows into the plank.

2. Spear throwing

This ceremony followed the same order of procedure. Guidance of the event lay with the guild of spear throwers.

3. The manner of asking for sago

When darkness had fallen and it was time for the evening meal, all the young men went to stand together. The leader of the *ko* guild (called *Ko-aruru*) stood at their side. Beating his drum, he sang the following formula: *Eneako, Potarokopa, amaa nemaro, maperapokoko*: 'Mother, Potarokopa, give me sago, you with the red genitals'. (One of the young men's mother was named *Potarokopa*. The other young men used other names.) *Maperap-oka* is a swear word which the men sometimes use when they want to exercise their masculine authority.

The drum was pressed into the hands of each young man in turn, and each had to sing the formula. If any of them made a mistake out of nervousness – e.g., if he handled the drum in the wrong way – this was considered the excuse for great hilarity on the part of the audience.

This ceremony was probably intended to demonstrate that the status of adult males brought change into the relationship between a son and his mother (and other women). The young men who shouldered masculine duties also gained masculine privileges: they were boss in their own homes!

4. Fish spearing

This ceremony was held the following morning, under the guidance of the fishermen's (*ereka-wé*) guild. All the village men climbed into the canoes; as usual, the young men were supervised by their brothers-in-law. As the vessels departed seawards, all the participants threw generous quantities of chalk in front of them, i.e., in the same direction. The brothers-in-law had brought along fish spears and empty coconut shells. En route, they drank water from the river mouth by scooping it up with their hands, the young men following suit. A little further on, the brothers-in-law threw the coconut shells into the sea and used them as imitation fish (*tiri marapiri*). They skewered the 'fish' with a fish spear, the young men following their example. This procedure was repeated a number of times until they reached a sand bank, where they climbed out of the canoe before returning to the village, once more throwing chalk in front of them.

The third stage of the induction ritual, not performed in Atuka in 1951, used to take place (according to informants) in the same place, but on a

different day, and it constituted the finale, the apotheosis of the ceremonial. All the ceremonies were connected with fitting-out the young men with pieces of equipment, insignia and attributes that showed their physical maturity, and especially their virility.

First the young men were painted all over with chalk, ochre and ash, after which they were given wide straps to wear on their upper arms and calves. Then their upper torsos were decorated with thin midriff bands, crossed over. After this, it was the turn of the hair, nose and genitals.

1. Hair extensions, *U Tawri*

Thin strips of the young, golden-yellow fibres of the sago leaf, roughly 15 cm – 20 cm long, plaited into string, were attached to the ends of the young men's hair, and draped over the back of the head and the neck, to reach the shoulders. While fitting the hair extensions, the brothers-in-law sang *Ko-apoka paroro amaa-u amumukami*: 'Splendid young man, I am putting the ends of sago leaves on you.' *Amaa* is the vernacular for sago. The basic meaning of the word *U* is: end; upper part; protrusion; top; point. A thin palm tree which always reaches up above the other trees is called *u-are* (*nibung*). The word for a tusk is *u-ki* or *u-ku*. 'Head' is *u-pao*: enclosure or container for the upper end. *U-pao* also signifies 'thumb' and 'big toe'. *Uu* was the name for the crowned pigeon, a bird with a handsome head-crest.

In the Mimika Papuans' world view, the ends of things; things sticking out or up; the tops of trees and plants, young leaves, shoots, buds; the heads of people and animals; male genitals: hair and nails were considered to contain a high concentration of life force, vital energy. Ends, tops, protrusions and so on, were identical with concentrated life force. The word *U* therefore had a clear link with 'life force', and also meant 'name' or 'personality'.

In my view, in this ceremony the vital energy concentrated in the young men's hair was revealed in the vigorous ends of young sago leaves. The hair extensions did actually lend a certain glow to the young men's heads. This radiance from the heads was associated in myth and song with the radiance of the heavenly bodies; for example, during the splendid sun dance, held the night before the nose piercing. In the Mimika language, the fitting of hair extensions and the piercing of the nasal septa are expressed by the same verb: *o-k*, or 'take care of the head'.

2. The slightly bent nose-attribute, *Pané*

The second outfitting ceremony was connected with the nose: the young men's faces. In this, the opening in the nasal septum served as a kind of coat hook or buttonhole, into which the attribute could be inserted, and held in place. The Atuka people gave me three variants, all bearing the name *pané*.

The first variant consisted of two pieces of the hornbill's beak (the hornbill is *Ko-maj* or *Iro*) tied together on the underside with rattan or string. They were then glued fast with resin or wax. The second variant comprised

two equal segments of a seashell (*upu*), fastened together then glued on the under side in the same way as in the first variant. The third variant was used less often, although it was certainly observed by Wollaston in 1910-1912 (1912:111).This was a combination of two pigs' tusks, also used as a neck ornament.

While the brothers-in-law were manoeuvring the *pané* through the opening in the nasal septum (using the required amount of effort), the singers performed the song *ko-apoka paroro pané amumukami*: 'Very virtuous young man, I am fitting you with the *pané*.' The meaning of the word *pané* is partly clear to me: *pa* is the general term for something bent or curved, for example the scales of a fish or reptile, the crooked aerial roots or buttresses of some kinds of tree, a board made from the side of an old, broken canoe. In the related Asmat language, the moon past the first quarter is called *pir pané* (*pir* = the moon). *E* is a general verb and has the sense of 'tying together'.

It can be no accident that all the variants of the *pané* outlined above have a curved shape. In several places in the neighbouring region inhabited by the Asmat people, two curved snouts from the rhinoceros beetle, or two bent stems of the cassowary's feathers, are pushed into the nose opening (Konrad, Konrad and Schneebaum 1981:143, figs. a and b). The sickle form also plays an important role in other adornments, for the neck and the breast, for example, and for figures in woodcarving. The term for the nasal septum is *mirimu kamare*. 'Mirimu' = nose, while 'kamare' is a general word for protruding things, such as the leaf of the palm while it is still closed; the penis; the spout of a coffee pot. In the Asmat language it is also the term for the prow of a canoe, the jutting 'flag' of an ancestor image/spirit canoe. As we saw earlier on, the ends of things, and things that jut out -particularly protruding parts of the human body such as the penis and nose -were believed to contain a high concentration of vital energy or life force, as in the case of the palm leaf on the point of unfolding and revealing itself.

After the opening up of the Asmat region in the 1950s, the *pané* made of shell segments, or from pigs' tusks, became known all over the world, while the existence of the *pané* made from two pieces of a hornbill's beak is known only from a few scanty references in travel accounts dating from the beginning of the century. Wollaston observed, in 'Pygmies and Papuans' (1912:111) the existence of 'a carved ornament of a piece of the bill of a hornbill'. In view of the fact that this *pané* variant has never been recorded as a nose ornament in other areas of the south coast, the variant appears to be a typical element of Mimika and Asmat culture, and from hereon I shall confine my attention to examination of this *pané*.

In the Mimika region, some clan groups maintained special relationships with particular trees or animals; for example turtles, porpoises, flying-foxes, and hornbills. These creatures were regarded as former human inhabitants of the country, who had suffered a humiliating experience and, in response to the shame, had decided to undergo a metamorphosis and metempsychosis into an animal of one kind or the other. They had taken with them their *ipu*, the soul or complex of characteristics belonging to their previous selves.

Throughout the coastal region between the Digul and the Etna Bay a myth is related which tells how the hornbill came into existence. Each village had its own version of this myth, and the Mimika versions differ from those of the Asmat.

In the Mimika versions the gist of the story is that a group of boys committed some mischief or other, thereby arousing the anger of two old women. The boys fled from the village by hiding themselves inside a hollow tree which was drifting down river to the sea, and from thence over the 'other side' (the horizon). The tree was eventually washed up on land and the boys, who had since grown into young men, met a colony of unmarried women who immediately and enthusiastically took the young men as husbands. The following day there was a slight incident between the 'oldest brother' – the young men's leader -and his new wife. The woman argued that he was a stranger who betrayed the fact by his bodily odour. Furthermore, he was arrogant.

The young man was so intensely humiliated that he decided to leave his wife and to live henceforth as a hornbill, taking his 'younger brothers' with him. The young man's name was Maramuku. 'Maramo' means 'chisel' and 'uku' means 'equal, the same as, together with'. The name thus meant 'the man who always has a chisel with him' – a man who forms a unity with his chisel, thus a very skilled woodcarver. The young man went about carrying out his plan in the following way: he searched for a block of wood from the wild clove tree (*Ki-iko*) and chiselled out of it two wings, a tail, a big beak, and other parts of a hornbill. Then he decorated these pieces of equipment with big tree leaves, varying in colour from extremely dark to extremely light green, from almost black to almost yellow. By this means the gear was given colours adapted to those of the hornbill.

First he made a trial flight on his own, and when this was successful, he next made many more suits of the same gear for his younger brothers. All of this was done in secrecy. When the women saw their husbands flying away, they begged the young men to return, but the men flew on. After a long flight they alighted in a place where a great many hornbills are still to be found, and which even today is still known as 'the hornbill place' (*Iru-a*).

This myth was not only related and sung; it was also dramatised in a ritual, for example of the 'Bone-House ceremony'. The story explained and emphasised the fact that the hornbill bears the traces of its former existence as a human being, in both body and soul – i.e., in its nature and characteristics, particularly the skill in the use of its chisel for giving shape to previously shapeless material.

Showing a shield bearing the image of a hornbill, the villagers of Atuka once pointed out to me all the bodily parts (*Kao*) which had been transferred from Maramaku to the hornbill: the head, eyes, the 'point' (the nose or bill), the mouth/beak, the teeth, chin, the Adam's apple (sic), the chest, the upper and lower stomach, the backside with its little anus surrounded by hairs, the legs/feet. They called the bird *Ko-maj*, a name which refers to the long feathers or lank, straight hair of the wings, and particularly of the tail, which indicates the hornbill's former existence in the 'other' world, the world of the foreigners. The long hair/feathers had a metallic green shine (*ko*), a

reminder of the colour of the tree leaves which Maramaku had used in making the birds' wings and tails.

The hornbill showed not only the bodily traces (*kao*) of his previous human existence, but also the nature (*ipu*) of Maramaku. He always carried a chisel with him, in the form of a long, curved bill. Here we have to remember that before the importation of iron tools, the Mimika Papuans used a curved segment of a seashell (*upu*) as a combined chisel and plane. The obvious similarity in shape between both attributes suggests their 'spiritual kinship', which can also be confirmed by the similarity in their function. The Papuans noticed that the hornbill chipped and hammered at the trunks of certain trees with its bill, in order to enlarge or reduce the size of a nesting hole. With the same bill the bird spread plastering material and tamped it down securely. It was able to move its bill in any direction, with remarkable dexterity, and could even use it to catch the fleas with which its body was infested.

In common with the cassowary, the hornbill has no stomach, only an abdominal cavity. Its food – fruit and small animals – together with leaves and small scraps of wood, is collected in this cavity. Before feeding the hen bird, confined to the nesting hole, or (at a later stage) before providing the nestlings with food, the male hornbill regurgitates the foodstuffs into the end of its beak. He tosses away indigestible fruit pits and other detritus, before reaching into the entrance of the nesting hole with the edible parts of the food. In regurgitating food in this way, the bird shakes its head and neck (Bartels 1956). The movements show a striking resemblance to the movements of a penis in ejaculating sperm.

In another way the hornbill's nesting behaviour reminded the Mimika Papuans of the sexual comportment of a man who, in the frequent practice of coitus, 'fed' the unborn child in the womb with small quantities of sperm, thus causing the foetus to grow until, after some time had elapsed, it came out of its hiding place into the outside world. In other words, the hornbill revealed the traces of its previous human life, by its actions in raising its brood. Like his 'father' Maramuku, Hornbill always carried a chisel with him, and was able to use the tool with great skill. He could not only use it for woodworking; he was also able to feed his 'unborn' offspring with it.

In this line of thinking, it is thus no matter for surprise that the hornbill fulfilled a role as 'patron of boys and young men' in the initiation rituals, such as during, or after the nose piercing ceremony and in the 'Bone-House ceremony'. During the latter event, the boys were shut up for a period in the Bone House, which represented a mythical womb. In this house they were all subjected to trials to render them strong and hard. For example, they were beset by dressed up ghosts (*mii paata*) who threatened them with spears; they were also obliged to hang upside-down on the walls like bats, and allow themselves to fall to the ground (*tako paata*). They also had to deck themselves out as hornbills, For instance, in Atuka imitation hornbills (*komaj paata*) fabricated from coconut fibre were tied onto the hair extensions; the brothers-in-law then shot at them with small darts (*tepere*) while the boys squatted on their haunches and mimed flying movements and imitated the hornbill's trumpeting sound. Long pieces of rattan were attached to the imitation hornbills; these were used to draw the boys outside

the house, so that their 'mothers' could sing their praises and embrace them. This event was probably intended to portray a ritual birth, and to develop in the boys the male nature of the hornbill, just as at an earlier stage, they had been imbued with the characteristics of the flying-fox.

3. The anus shield, *Wa-ko*

According to my Atuka informants, in earlier times the young men were provided not only with the *panē* in the nasal septum, but also with an anal shield or *wako* (*wa* means 'anus' and *ko* is a coloured, shiny object). It consisted of an oval, almost round segment of a white seashell, the *upu* (cymbium), from 12 to 15 cm. in circumference. This was attached to the loins with a cord, while singers chanted *Koapoka paroro, wako amumukami*: 'Beautiful, fully trained young man, I am fitting you with an anus shield'. I know nothing more of this anus shield from other sources. If the Atuka information is correct, this anus shield would have been a duplicate of the penis shell (still to be discussed), and together the two pieces would have constituted equipment that enclosed the genitals from in front and behind. One can take it for granted that, for the Mimika Papuans, this double genital covering was associated with a shellfish, especially the mussel, whose soft parts are closed in (protected?) between two shells.

4. Penis shell and penis cover/sheath, *Kamare-po-ko*

The fourth, and last, piece of equipment concerned the penis, and like the nose *panē*, it was not uniform. There were two variants: the penis shell, which duplicated the anal shield; and the penis cover, or sheath, made of bamboo. The brothers-in-law fitted it while the singers chanted *Koapoka paroro, kamarepoko amumukami*: 'Fully equipped young man, I am fitting you with a penis sheath/ penis cover'.

Penis covers attracted special attention from the participants in the expeditions to the Mimika region at the beginning of the century. Consequently the museums can show many examples. Kooijman gave extensive attention to the penis cover in his Mimika publication (1984). He cited Wollaston (1912:111) who observed that the penis sheath was the commonest kind of penis covering, but that the penis shell was also frequently found. It seems likely to me that the use of these two attributes was connected with local circumstances; shells were found on the coast, while bamboo grew inland. Both attributes differed markedly in material and form, yet they bore the same name, which leads one to presume that both kinds fulfilled the same function.

Explanation of the name

Before we move on to the function of the shell and bamboo covers, it is necessary to establish which name the Mimika Papuans use for these

attributes. This is all the more important because Pouwer created some confusion by writing the name wrongly as *kamar-apoka* (1955:107). I shall keep to Drabbe's vocabulary (1937) and my own notes, and write the name as *Kamare-po-ko.*

As we have seen earlier, *Kamare* bears the general meaning of a protrusion, and is used for the young, unopened palm leaf, the penis, the spout of a coffee pot, and so on. In this context it means 'penis'. *Po* is also a word with a generic meaning always present in a number of specific cases. *Po* is used for the empty space in a groove or slot. Where we would talk of a groove with a hole in it, the Papuans talk of the hole which occurs inside a groove: for example, in the middle of a sago leaf, in tree-leaf stems, between the serrations on the head of a sago chopper, between a boy's filed teeth, between the ridges of the wedge-shaped shoulder joints, elbow, adam's apple, hips, knees, ankles, the small bones of the fingers and toes. Combined with 'penis', the word means 'the penis groove ' or the crown of the *praeputium.*

Ko bears the general meaning of shining, beaming, gleaming, glittering, changing colour, differing in pigmentation – especially when these phenomena result from an opening up, an emergence. It is used for the great heavenly bodies; for stars; for flowers which remain closed during the daytime but open at night; for clothing spread out on the ground to dry. *Ko* frequently occurs as an adjunct nominal of generic verbs in verbal expressions; for example, for dying, because death is established by blue and red patches on the skin of the lower body. Whenever asked, people explain this word, *ko*, by pointing to the inside of their fingers, which is markedly less pigmented than the outside. The very common ship's worm (Teredo, a kind of mussel), is called *ko* because of the thin, gleaming layer of lime on its skin; this leaves traces in the tunnels the worm makes in the wood it has attacked. The word *ko*, used as a term for the penis shell and the penis cover/sheath, thus draws attention to the shell's glistening layer of mother-of-pearl, and the gleaming skin of the bamboo stem. Taking into account that the penis and its cover are one, the proper translation of the word *kamare-po-ko* is therefore, not just penis shell or sheath, but 'shell or sheath which gleams, and gives a shiny appearance to the *praeputium*'.

The manner of fastening

This translation accords well with the way in which the shell and sheath are attached to the penis. Doctor Wollaston (1912:113-114) cited by Kooijman (1984:113) describes the manner in which the shell is fastened:

> Another equally common fashion of covering is the shell, sometimes as much as six inches in diameter. It is worn on a string which passes through two holes bored in it and is tied tightly round the loins. The convex surface of the shell faces forward and the *praeputium* is pulled upwards and clipped under the lower margin of the shell.

Other investigators, for example Le Roux (1948:141-142), Koch and Rouffaer (also cited by Kooijman) are less clear on this point. Nonetheless they appear to be indicating that the wearing of the penis shell or cover was intended to keep the *praeputium* bared.

My Atuka informants told me that the bamboo penis cover was preferably made from the *éeke*, but without stating why they chose this variety of bamboo. A penis cover was made from one segment of bamboo, which was cut off several centimetres above a joint on one side. The uppermost part of the cylinder, roughly one-third of the whole, was left intact, but one wall of the remainder was removed, and the other was cut into the form of two small human legs (Kooijman 1984:142-143) Unfortunately I can provide no further data on the figures carved into the rind or skin of the entire surface of the cylinder.

In the middle of the joint/partition a round opening was made; its diameter was carefully measured to match the size of the *praeputium* of the young man who was to wear the cover. When the cover was fitted, only the *praeputium* was pulled through the opening, while the foreskin (the *kamare-pu-ru*) was pushed to the outside above the joint opening. The cover, which was not very heavy, was thus well anchored; it was not very difficult to tie it in a vertical position to the lower abdomen. I have never been able to check this information; according to Kooijman, no photographs remain of any Mimika Papuans wearing the penis cover. Nonetheless, I see no good reason for doubting the accuracy of the description.

The possible function of the penis cover and penis shell

The explanation for the name of the penis sheath or shell, and the probable manner of attaching it, means that we have to allow for the possibility that these pieces of equipment were intended to keep the *praeputium* (of both young men and adults) exposed. We may be dealing here with a parallel of the circumcision practiced by other peoples, past and present. For the moment we are concerned with a reasonably plausible hypothesis concerning only the Mimika region. Thus there is a need for further research.

In such future research attention has to be devoted also to examining the correctness of the explanation for circumcision as given, for example, in the E.N.S.I.E. encyclopaedia (Pos et al. 1949, Volume 6:283, 581); i.e., that 'the result of the continual exposure of the *praeputium* is that a thin layer of epidermis on the *praeputium* becomes even thicker and harder, thus rendering the part tougher and less sensitive. This toughening and the reduced degree of sensitivity ensure that copulation lasts longer and sexual pleasure is increased'. Where the Mimika people are concerned, an examination is necessary of whether the gleaming of the *praeputium* also influences their view that an exposed and tougher *praeputium* affords greater efficiency in copulation.

As in the case of the nose-*pané*, the *kamare-po-ko* also fulfills the function of a power socket in the Mimika-Papuan mode of thought. Through the continual physical contact between the penis shell or cover, and the

penis/*praeputium*, the property of the object's shine (*ko*) is transferred to the person. Consequently a 'souls (*ipu*) relationship' is created; this renders the penis/*praeputium* more perfect, and better able to perform its function.

Kooijman (1984:142) draws attention to the similarity between the penis cover and a mask, which suggests the presence of an ancestor, or ancestors. Given the view presented above, that the dead and living together constitute a village community, it is my opinion that the Mimika Papuans assume that, at this important point in a young man's life, the ancestors (or a particular ancestor) were/was present. The last preparation for marriage took place under the eyes of the ancestors, and with their assistance. It is a pity that we do not know whether or not the penis covers were named after particular dead personages.

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SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF DR. SIMON KOOIJMAN

18 February 1915	Born in Amersfoort, the Netherlands.
1933-1938	Studied geography, history and ethnology (cultural anthropology) at the University of Utrecht.
1938	Doctorandus (M.A.) degree in social geography.
1938-1940	Conscripted in the army as candidate reserve officer in the infantry.
1940-1942	Teacher of geography and history at the *Haags gymnasium* (a major grammar school in The Hague) and the *Christelijk lyceum* (Christian lyceum) in Zeist.
1942	Doctoral degree from the University of Utrecht. Promotor: Professor H. Th. Fischer. Title of Ph.D. thesis: *Sabala, tondi. De begrippen 'mana' en 'bau' bij enkele Sumatraanse volken*.
1943	Appointment as research assistant at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden; responsible for the 'South Seas and Australia' Department.
1946	Appointment as Curator.
1947-1950	Reserve officer with the Netherlands Forces Intelligence Service in the former Netherlands Indies.
1950	Return to the museum (13 June 1950). Resumption of the curatorship of the 'South Seas and Australia' Department.
1952-1954	Study leave to conduct a population study among the Marind-anim (South New Guinea) under the auspices of the South Pacific Commission.
1954	'Kooijman shipment Merauke', collection of more than 500 artefacts assembled by Kooijman (to a large extent acquired from missionaries, government officers, dealers, businessmen and anthroplogists), mainly from the Asmat, Mimika and Marind-anim. Registered in the museum collections under number RMV 3070. Marind-anim photographic collection of circa 1000 black-white photographs.

1962-1972	Secretary of the *Vereniging van Vrienden van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden* (Society of Friends of the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden).
1966	Appointment as Deputy Director.
1968	Officer in the Order of Orange-Nassau on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his museum service.
1971	Three months field research in West Polynesia (Samoa, Tonga and Fiji), trial investigation into Polynesian barkcloth, and selection of suitable location for prolonged research. Collection of circa 80 artefeacts, registered under number RMV 4518. Photographic collection of circa 750 colour slides and circa 700 black-white photographs.
1973	Eight months field research in Fiji (Moce Island, Lau Group) into the process of manufacture, ornamentation and social significance of barkcloth. Collection of more than 200 artefacts, registered under number RMV 4706. Photographic collection of circa 2250 colour slides and circa 800 black-white photographs). Film: *Tapa. Life and work on a South-Sea island (Moce).*
1980	Retirement (1 March 1980). Temporary activities in the Oceania Department until appointment of successor (1 March to 1 September 1980).
1980-1989	Secretary of the *Werkgemeenschap Oceanië* (Dutch Society for Oceanic Studies).

THE AUTHORS

1

G. D. van Wengen

Ger van Wengen was until his retirement in 1991 Head of the Presentation Department in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. He graduated in Ethnology and took his Ph.D. degree at Leiden University in 1957 with the thesis *Social aspects of the co-operative movement in Ceylon and Southern India* (1957). In the course of his career he developed a strong interest in Javanese culture. Apart from his geograhical fields of interest, he specialised in ethnomusicology and museology, particularly with regard to museum education. At the museum he was instrumental in developing its Education Department during pioneering years in the 1950s and 1960s, when education became an essential part of the museum's service to the public. In his work at the museum he tied together his varied interests in a practical way, for example by instructing classes in playing the Javanese gamelan. From 1977 to 1983 Dr. Van Wengen served as Chairman of the Committee for Education and Cultural Action (CECA) of the International Council of Museums (ICOM). On the invitation of the Indonesian Government he made several trips to Indonesia to advise on the establishment and development of local museums and to give museology courses. Since his retirement he has been writing a book on the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, its history, functions and future perspective. His publications include *The cultural inheritance of the Javanese in Surinam* (1975), and *Educatief werk in musea* (1975).

2

A. A. Trouwborst

Emeritus Professor of Social Anthropology at the Catholic University of Nijmegen, the Netherlands. He studied Indology (Indonesian studies) at Leiden University where he also obtained his Ph.D. degree in 1956 with a dissertation on *Vee als voorwerp van rijkdom in Oost Afrika*. He carried out anthropological fieldwork in Burundi (East Africa) several times since 1958 and among the Matawai in Surinam in 1963. He was Curator of the African department of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde from 1952-1960. He went to Canada in 1960 as an assistant professor at the Department of Anthropology at the Université de Montréal. In 1964 he was appointed as a senior lecturer and later as a professor at the Catholic University of Nijmegen. He has published mainly in the fields of political anthropology and the history of ethnography. Regionally, he is interested in Africa and Indonesia. His publications include: *Le Burundi* (1962) and *De Atjehers van Snouck Hurgronje* (1993).

3

Dirk A. M. Smidt

Dirk Smidt is Curator of the Department of Oceania at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden. He graduated from the University of Leiden where he studied anthropology, specializing in the art of New Guinea. From 1970 to 1980 he held several positions at the National Museum and Art Gallery in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea. He has undertaken fieldwork in various areas of New Guinea, especially among the Kominimung and neighbouring peoples in the Middle Ramu River region, the Abelam (Papua New Guinea), and among the Asmat (Irian Jaya). His recent publications include the Oceania part of *Sculptuur uit Afrika en Oceanië / Sculpture from Africa and Oceania* (1990), and articles in the symposium volumes of the Pacific Arts Association: 'Kominimung one-legged figures, creative process and function' (1990) and, with Noel Mc Guigan, 'An emic and etic role for Abelam art (Papua New Guinea), the context of a collecting trip on behalf of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden' (1993). He edited *Asmat art, woodcarvings of Southwest New Guinea* (1993) and, with Pieter ter Keurs, *The language of things, studies in ethnocommunication* (1990).

4

Wim Rosema

Wim Rosema studied Cultural Anthropology at the University of Leiden and graduated in 1989. He made a film about the Saami of Norway, and carried out research on Saint Nicholas rituals on Ameland, one of the northern islands in the Netherlands. Since 1974 he worked in the educational department of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. After graduation he became keeper of the collection of photographs, films and sound recordings in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde. At present he is working on an inventory of the photographic collection.

5

Adrienne L. Kaeppler

Adrienne L. Kaeppler is Curator of Oceanic Ethnology at the National Museum of Natural History/National Museum of Man, at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. She attended the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and received her B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Hawai'i. From 1967-1980 she was an anthropologist on the staff of the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, Hawai'i. She has taught anthropology, ethnomusicology, anthropology of dance, and art history at the University of Hawai'i, the University of Maryland, College Park, The Queen's University in Belfast (Northern Ireland), Johns Hopkins University, and the University of California, Los Angeles. She has carried out field research in Tonga, Hawai'i, Tahiti, Easter Island, the Cook Islands, the Solomon Islands, New Guinea, and Japan. Her research focusses on the interrelationships between

social structure and the arts, especially dance, music, and the visual arts. She has published widely on these subjects; her recent books include *Poetry in motion, studies in Tongan dance* and *Hula Pahu, Hawaiian drum dances,* and she is co-author of *L'Art Océanien* (all published in 1993). She is currently working on books on the social history of early English museums, Tongan material culture, and Hawaiian art.

6

Jehanne Teilhet-Fisk

Jehanne Teilhet-Fisk, Emeritus Professor of Art History, University of California at San Diego, is a Professor of Art History at Florida State University. Her Ph.D. is from the University of California at Los Angeles. Her initial interest in Polynesian art was generated by her study of Paul Gauguin's Polynesian works, *Paradise reviewed, an interpretation of Gauguin's Polynesian symbolism.* She first visited the Kingdom of Tonga in 1972 to make a 16mm film *Tapa production in Tonga* and has been returning ever since. Her publications on Polynesia include: 'The equivocal nature of a masking tradition in Polynesia' (1979), 'The role of women artists in Polynesia and Melanesia' (1983), 'Tongan grave art' (1990), and *Dimensions of Polynesia* (1973). She is currently writing an article on the Miss Heilala Beauty Pagent.

7

Steven Hooper

Steven Hooper is Director of the Sainsbury Research Unit for the Arts of Africa, Oceania and the Americas at the University of East Anglia, Norwich, England. He completed his doctorate at the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Cambridge in 1982, having conducted fieldwork in Lau, Fiji, in 1977-1979 and 1980. He is a specialist in the arts, ritual and exchange of the Pacific region and North America. For ten years he has been engaged as editor, co-author and production manager of the three-volume *Catalogue of the Robert and Lisa Sainsbury collection* (owned by the University of East Anglia), to be published in 1996. Other publications include *Art and artefacts of the Pacific, Africa and the Americas, the James Hooper collection* (1976) and *The Fiji journals of Baron Anatole von Hügel 1875-1877* (co-editor, 1990). He is currently beginning work on a series of studies of Lauan and Fijian art, ritual and culture.

8

Jac. Hoogerbrugge

Jac. Hoogerbrugge, born in Rotterdam in 1923, spent his working life in Indonesia, in the shipping business. As a practising watercolour artist he soon became a keen student, and collector, of Indonesian ethnic arts and

crafts, particularly those of Irian Jaya where he lived from 1956 till 1963. After a twenty years' stay he left Indonesia in 1966. At the request of UNDP (United Nations Development Project), New York, he returned to Indonesia to set up the Asmat Art Project in 1969. Guidance received from J. van Baal, K. W. Galis, A. A. Gerbrands, F. C. Kamma and S. Kooijman added substance to the experiences he had gained in the field, and led to the publication of a number of booklets and articles on the arts and crafts of the Lake Sentani and Asmat areas. At present he is collecting, from the archives in the Netherlands, data and photographs documenting the pre-war culture of specific areas of the north coast of Irian Jaya, and ensuring that copies of this documentation is returned directly to the villages concerned.

9

Pieter ter Keurs

Pieter ter Keurs studied cultural anthropology at Leiden University, where he graduated in 1985. He did fieldwork on the Siassi Islands of Papua New Guinea, and he has published several articles on the material culture of this area. In 1989 Ter Keurs was appointed Curator for Insular Southeast-Asia at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden. Since then, he has created several exhibitions on Indonesian subjects. Together with Dirk Smidt, he edited *The language of things, studies in ethnocommunication* (1990). In 1994 Ter Keurs began a research project on changes in material culture on Enggano Island (Indonesia).

10

Paul van der Grijp

Paul van der Grijp, a senior research fellow at Utrecht University, is currently working on the project 'The Comparative Study of Cultural Change, Production and Power'. He studied philosophy and anthropology in Nijmegen, and anthropology at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes et Sciences Sociales in Paris. In 1987 he obtained his Ph.D. from the University of Nijmegen. Between 1988 and 1993, he was a Researcher of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW). At present, he is the European representative of the Tongan History Association and he is a Board Member of the Centre for Pacific Studies (Nijmegen) and co-founder and Board Member of the European Society for Oceanists. He conducted fieldwork in Tonga (five lengthy periods between 1982 and 1994), Wallis and Futuna (1988-89), Rotuma (1991, 1993), and Western Samoa (1991, 1994). His recent publications include *Vertekende vergezichten, perspectieven op de kenbaarheid van andere culturen en samenlevingen* (1992), and *Islanders of the South, production, kinship and ideology in the Polynesian Kingdom of Tonga* (1993).

11

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Douglas Newton was Curator and Director of the Museum of Primitive Art in New York City from 1957 to 1975. He was Evelyn A.J. Hall and John A. Friede Chairman of the Department of Pimitive Art at the Metropolitan Museum in New York City from 1975 until his retirement in 1990. He was educated in London. He is an expert in the art of Oceania, in particular that of New Guinea. He did extensive fieldwork in the Upper Sepik area (Papua New Guinea). Among his several publications on the art styles of New Guinea, *Crocodile and cassowary* (1971) deals specifically with Upper Sepik art styles and their ritual associations. His other publications include *Art styles of the Papuan Gulf* (1961), 'Prehistoric and recent art styles in Papua New Guinea' (1979) and the 'Introduction' to *L'Art Océanien* (1993). He is co-author of *The art of the Pacific Islands* (1979) and co-editor of *Islands and ancestors* (1988).

12

Barry Craig

Barry Graig is Research Co-ordinator of the Aboriginal Family History Project at the South Australian Museum. He began researching art and material culture among the Mountain-Ok of Central New Guinea in 1964, extended the area of research to the Upper Sepik region in 1968 and 1969 by conducting two museum collecting expeditions on behalf of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, the Australian Museum, Sydney, and the Papua New Guinea Public Museum and Art Gallery, Port Moresby. In 1969 he obtained an M.A. in anthropology from the University of Sydney, with a thesis on the houseboards and warshields of Central New Guinea. In 1972-1973 he continued his research in the Idam valley of the West Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea, assembling collections on behalf of the Commonwealth Art Advisory Board, Canberra, and the Papua New Guinea Public Museum and Art Gallery, Port Moresby. In 1980-1983 he was Curator of Anthropology at the Papua New Guinea National Museum and did fieldwork in Central New Guinea, the Middle and Lower Sepik and the Bismarck Archipelago. In 1992 he arranged for the performance and explication of masks by people from Tabar Islands (New Ireland) and from Wide Bay (New Britain) during the 5th Pacific Arts Symposium in Adelaide, South Australia. His publications include 'Is the Mountain-Ok culture a Sepik culture?' (1987), 'Relic and trophy arrays as art among the Mountain-Ok, Central New Guinea' (1990), and *Art and decoration of Central New Guinea* (1988). He is co-editor of *Children of Afek, tradition and change among the Mountain-Ok of Central New Guinea* (1990). He is currently completing a Ph.D. thesis on the collection, documentation and preservation of the material cultural heritage of Papua New Guinea.

13

Ad Boeren

Ad Boeren studied anthropology at Leiden University, The Netherlands. He worked for FAO in East Africa for five years (1978-1983), developing audiovisual materials for extension services and training extension officers in development support communication. He was lecturer in visual communication at Leiden University, Department of Anthropology, for a period of two years (1983-85). In 1986 he joined the Centre for the Study of Education in Developing Countries (CESO) in The Hague, where he still works as education specialist. He has produced video documentaries for FAO and CESO, and written and edited articles and books on visual communication, media and adult education. His anthropological interests focus on the cultural dimensions of communication and systems of visual communication. Boeren's most recent publication is *In other words, the cultural dimension of communication for development* (1994).

14

H. J. M. Claessen

H. J. M. Claessen is Emeritus Professor of Anthropology at the University of Leiden. Between 1956 and 1970 he was a teacher of geography and history at St. Adelbert College (Wassenaar). After obtaining his Ph.D. at the University of Amsterdam in 1970 he was appointed Associate Professor of Anthropology at Leiden University, and in 1984 Professor there. He specialised in political anthropology and published widely on the origins and development of the (early) state. He retired from Leiden University in 1994. His publications include *Over de politiek denkende en handelende mens* (1988), *Verdwenen koninkrijken en verloren beschavingen* (1991). With Peter Skalník he edited *The early state* (1978), and with Pieter van de Velde *Early state dynamics* (1987). With Simon Kooijman and others he wrote *Inleiding in de culturele antropologie* (1969), which was reprinted many times.

15

A. C. van der Leeden

Lex van der Leeden, former Curator of the Indonesian collections at the Municipal Museum of Ethnology in Rotterdam (1956-1960), the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden (1960-1969), and afterwards Senior Lecturer in Cultural Anthropology at the Catholic University Nijmegen (1969-1978), has since 1979 lectured in Indonesia at the Universitas Cenderawasih in Jayapura (1979-1985) and at the Universitas Indonesia in Jakarta (post-doctoral studies; from 1985 onward). He has carried out field research in Sarmi, northern Irian Jaya (1952-1955), amongst the Nunggubuyu Aborigines in southeastern Arnhem Land, Northern Territory, Australia (1964-1965), and on the Raja Ampat Islands, Sorong, western Irian Jaya (1979-1985). His

most important publications are: *Hoofdtrekken der sociale struktuur in het westelijk binnenland van Sarmi* (doctoral thesis, Leiden, 1956), 'Social structure in New Guinea' (*Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*, 1960), 'Thundering Gecko and Emu, mythological structuring of Nunggubuyu patrimoieties' (1975), and *Ma'ya, a language study, a phonology* (1993).

16

G. A. Zegwaard, m.s.c.

In 1946, after completing his seminary training, Father Zegwaard sailed as a missionary for Netherlands New Guinea (m.s.c. is the abbreviation of Missionarius Sacratissimi Cordis). Between 1947 and 1953 he devoted a good deal of attention to the culture of the Mimika people. Aided by his knowledge of the local languages, he produced an extensive collection of folk tales. In the Mimika region he made contact with the Asmat people, and finally settled in Agats in early 1953. There, also, he studied the indigenous culture, its myths, social structure and rituals. In this period he wrote a number of articles in Dutch journals, and a survey of 'Headhunting practices' (*American anthropologist*, 1959). From 1956 on he fulfilled a number of Church functions at the regional and national level in Merauke, Hollandia (Jayapura) and Jakarta. He returned permanently to the Netherlands in 1982, and for several years acted as regional representative of Memisa (abbreviation of Medische Missie Actie) for Asia. After retirement in 1987 he resumed his old interest in Mimika and Asmat culture.

EDITORS' ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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No.27. Rita Bolland, Tellem Textiles, Archaeological finds from burial caves in Mali's Bandiagara Cliff. Published in cooperation with the Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam. 1991. 321 pp.
No.28. Dirk A. M. Smidt, Pieter ter Keurs and Albert Trouwborst (eds.), Pacific Material Culture, Essays in honour of Dr. Simon Kooijman, on the occasion of his 80th birthday. 1995. (this volume)

COLOPHON

The first copy of *Pacific Material Culture* is presented to Dr. Simon Kooijman, accompanied by Mrs. To Kooijman-van der Craats, by Dr. S.B. Engelsman, Director of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, on Friday 17 February 1995, the day before Dr. Kooijman's 80th birthday.

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