Body Decoration and Dress in Collingwood Bay

The Papua New Guinea Photographs of P. J. Money

Lynne A. Auld

Master's Paper in Art and Anthropology

Winter Semester, 1984

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr. James B. Richardson, Chief Curator, Carnegie Museum of Natural History, for permission to use the Museum's collection of P. J. Money's photographs as the basis for this paper, and Ms. Claudia Medoff, Collections Manager, Section of Man, for making the photographs and working space available to me.

I am grateful to Prof. Aaron Sheon, Fine Arts, University of Pittsburgh, for his comments on ethnographic photography in general and P. J. Money's photography in particular. Thanks are also due to the following individuals who shared their time and knowledge of Pacific cultures and photography with me, and who aided in tracking down elusive information: John Barker, Anthropology Department, University of British Columbia; Ms. Baiba Berzins, Mitchell Library, Sydney; Ms. Lissant Bolton, Australian Museum, Sydney; A. L. Crawford, Bathurst, New South Wales; Ms. Lynn Davis, Bishop Museum, Honolulu; Gordon Maitland, Auckland Institute and Museum, Auckland; Ms. Terry Novak, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago; W. T. Tyrrell, Sydney; and David Wooters, George Eastman House, Rochester.

I am especially indebted to the members of my committee - Drs. Katheryn Linduff (Fine Arts), Richard Scaglion, and Leonard Plotnicov (Anthropology) - for their guidance and encouragement.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

1 Introduction

The invention of photography in the 1840s altered the way we see and perceive the world around us. While an appreciation of photography's own unique artistic merits was acknowledged only gradually, from the beginning photography has been utilized as a scientific tool, pursued for its ability to aid memory, to verify, and to record reality. A photograph theoretically represents a real moment in time, and therefore provides valuable documentation for interpretation by the viewer. Yet the scientific validity of photography must be evaluated for every endeavor; its shortcomings as well as its virtues must be taken into account.

When utilizing photographs as a primary vehicle for research, it is necessary to examine them closely and consider what they are saying and what they are not saying. How does one determine which photographs are valid tools for ethnographic research? How are photographs of other times and other cultures to be interpreted? What is "real" in the photograph, and what is not? How much is the photograph telling us about this other reality, and how much is it telling us about the photographer's own prejudice or perception of that reality?

The possibilities of photography as an aid to the study of culture are enormous. Using historic photographs we can see not only how a person or place looked at one moment in time but, through informants, we can also learn what is important or significant about a particular picture and why.

Photographs can provide a bridge between cultures and, with accurate interpretation, can increase our understanding of others and ourselves. They can also be used to perpetuate stereotypes and spread propaganda. The limitations of photographs as research material and the ease with which they can be misrepresented or altered have discouraged their use by ethnographers except for the most basic, straight-forward documentation.

Perusal of Percy John Money's photographs of life in Collingwood Bay, Papua New Guinea (Fig. 1)[1] at the turn of the century immediately poses some of the problems facing the would-be ethnographer. The photographs provide a glimpse of life in a faraway place long ago. Some of the photographs contain readily identifiable scenes: a family group seated in front of a house, a woman carrying a child, children playing in the ocean, men making a canoe. Yet a reading of most of the photographs requires specialized knowledge for meaning to reveal itself. Only if the viewer were familiar with Melanesian cultures, for example, would the photographs of the apparatus for processing sago or the lime-manufacturing kiln be significant. The scientific worth of the photographs is therefore directly proportional to the amount of accurate, pertinent documentation accompanying them.

Fortunately, Money has provided the beginnings of a meaningful context for the photographs in the form of captions. The photographs immediately acquire more importance because Money has recorded the names of the the villages and, in some cases, the individuals, along with short descriptions of the activities pictured. Thus we learn that a woman bedecked with flowers, armlets and a profusion of shell finery is a bride, and that a woman completely covered with dirty bark cloth, crawling along the ground, is a widow.

The knowledge acquired from the photographs and the captions is very specific and limited, however, so more written documentation was sought. Extensive library research revealed little substantial information. At the time the photographs were made, no ethnographer had studied the area in detail, and the few references to Collingwood Bay in the literature were made, for the most part, by missionaries and government officials, parties whose primary interests were not served by study and description of the local

---

[1]Throughout this paper, "Papua New Guinea" will refer to the contemporary nation of that name, and "New Guinea" to the island as a whole. "Papua" will refer to the territory administered by the British before World War I, and "Papuan" to the inhabitants of that territory.

cultures. Linguists and archaeologists working in Collingwood Bay have gathered oral traditions that relate the recent migration patterns of the various language-speakers, but this effort came more than fifty years after Money's photographs were taken. Without immediate interpretation of the photographs by local informants, the last hopes of binding the photographs to a truly meaningful context may be lost.

Although the dearth of writing on the ethnography of Collingwood Bay has presented obstacles to a full interpretation of Money's photographs, it should still be possible to come to some understanding of them. If a general theme can be ascribed to the photographs, it is the documentation of material culture and the portrayal of socially important activities for a scientific audience. Individual motives recurring throughout the photographs include games, dance, tool use, carving, canoes, pottery, musical instruments, and architecture, but the subject represented most consistently and completely in Money's photographs of Collingwood Bay is that of body decoration and dress. Perhaps nothing is more intimately connected to the concept of individual and, by extension, group identity than is the adornment of the body. Body decoration and dress communicate concepts of humanity and culture. By exploring the manifestations of body decoration and dress preserved in P. J. Money's photographs of the people of Collingwood Bay, something can be learned of the rhythm and meaning of their lives.

2 History and Ethnography of Collingwood Bay

Collingwood Bay lies on the northeastern coast of Papua New Guinea, between Cape Nelson and Cape Vogel, in what is now the Northern Province (Fig. 2).[2] It is bordered on the north by the Hydrographer's Range, on the west and south by the Owen Stanley Mountains, and on the east by the Pacific ocean. A narrow coastal strip situated along dangerous reefs consists of beaches and swamps with occasional areas of grasslands and forest fringing mountains which rise steeply inland. The Collingwood Bay peoples are thus able to exploit several types of habitats: the reefs provide fish and shellfish; the swamps provide sago, a starchy food prepared from the pith of the sago palm; grasslands shelter wallabies and other small mammals; and the forests nurture a great variety of birds, wild pigs, and uncultivated foods.

Collingwood Bay was discovered by John Moresby in 1874, when the *Basilisk* anchored there for several days to chop wood (Moresby 1876: 269). It is Moresby who supplies the first description of the natives of Collingwood Bay, "a dark, dirty-looking people, wholly destitute of clothing with somewhat hostile ambitions" (*ibid*: 270).

Although there seem to have been few other European visitors to the area, in 1885 the British administration in New Guinea declared Collingwood Bay and the D'Entrecasteaux Islands hostile and issued a warning to would-be travellers. The region came under control of the government of British New Guinea in the 1890s, when Sir William MacGregor, the new government's first Administrator, explored the coast, establishing government patrol posts. The first permanent European settlement in the area was made by the Anglican

---

[2] At various times in the past, Collingwood Bay has been considered part of the Papuan Northern and, later, Northeastern Division, along with the country immediately north as far as the old German border of New Guinea.

Mission at Wanigela[3] in 1898, followed by a government patrol post at Tufi in 1901.

Little has been written of the peoples of Collingwood Bay except by the Anglican missionaries who lived there and, in passing, by the government's Resident Magistrates of the Northern Division. The reefs presented a difficult landing for all but the most determined visitors, and the only other alternative to access by boat was access overland from Cape Nelson, again a difficult journey. As recently as 1966, Wanigela, Collingwood Bay was "accessible only by the mission boat McLaren King and rather expensive air transport" (Z. Schwimmer 1978: 2).

By 1906 or so, the natives of Collingwood Bay had ceased to present pacification problems to the government administrators and were under the influence of the Anglican Mission, which had posted missionaries in Wanigela and the surrounding villages since 1898. From 1901 on, Resident Magistrates filing their Annual Reports commended the work of the mission and essentially left much of the administration of the area to the missionaries.

Collingwood Bay has only recently been studied by an anthropologist,[4] and what little solid ethnographic information is available has come to us mainly through linguists and archaeologists. Collingwood Bay receives an occasional mention in the early literature of the area by people who have never been there who quote government officials and missionaries who have; the pottery middens at Wanigela also stimulated interest in the area briefly, but initial inquiries were not pursued and Collingwood Bay remained basically unstudied until the 1960s.

---

[3]"Wanigela" is the spelling used consistently on government maps and publications; early mission chroniclers prefer the spelling "Wanigera," considering it a more accurate linguistic rendering of the name. "Wanigela" is used by linguists today, however, and that is the spelling that will be used throughout this paper.

[4]John Barker, an anthropology graduate student from the University of British Columbia, has recently completed a stay of one and one half years in the village of Uiaku, where he has been recording histories of the twelve village clans.

2.1 The People

Linguistic evidence, local oral history, and early accounts by resident Europeans point to the conclusion that cultural influences from the predominately Non-Austronesian (Papuan) peoples to the north and the predominately Austronesian (Melanesian) peoples from the southeast met in Collingwood Bay.

The Massim area of New Guinea comprises the eastern extremity of the mainland from Orangerie Bay on the south coast to Cape Nelson on the north, along with the adjacent D'Entrecasteaux, Trobriand, Marshall Bennett, Murua and Louisiade island groups (Fig. 3). The Massim peoples speak Austronesian languages and are matrilineal. In their myths of origin, the ancestors emerged from caves, bringing with them "their totemic birds - such as the fishhawk, lory, green parrot and pigeon, to which are linked animal and plant totems" (Newton 1975: 3). Sorcery was pervasive in Massim life, the sorcerers using "their powers to kill, to inspire love, to control weather and garden fertility, and for success in trading ventures" (*ibid*).

Among the Massim, southern and northern culture areas can be differentiated. In the southern Massim area, some cultural characteristics were shared with the mainland Papuan cultures to the west. Settlements were usually small, dominated by clan-owned gable-roofed men's houses displaying trophy skulls. No one leader was commonly acknowledged, and cannibalism was practiced. The northern Massim built larger villages, their houses often lining a street or encircling a main plaza. Instead of men's houses, roofed platforms where men could gather together were built. Grades of rank were important, with hereditary clan chiefs holding the highest positions. Such men also worked garden and weather magic. Cannibalism was not practiced by the northern Massim.

Although Seligmann (1910) doesn't examine Collingwood Bay in detail, he considers it to belong culturally to the northern Massim, along with the Trobriands, Marshall Bennetts,

and Murua. Seligmann presumably bases his classification of the people of Collingwood Bay on the presence of significant prehistoric artifacts found at Wanigela that exhibit stylistic affinities with prehistoric artifacts found elsewhere in the Massim area.

Influences from the Papuan cultures to the north of Collingwood Bay can also be detected, however. The peoples occupying the territory north to the Waria River and east of the Owen Stanley range speak languages that comprise the Bindanere language group of Non-Austronesian languages, including Orokaiva. The Orokaiva are believed to be Papuan "but mixed with Polyno-melanesian [Austronesian] elements, latecomers in Papua, who spread to the Northern District via Maisina and Manigela [Wanigela]" (E. Schwimmer 1973: 33). Unlike the Austronesian-speaking Massim, the Binandere-speakers were patrilineal. They lived in small, scattered settlements based on clan groups, each of which had an associated plant emblem. Sorcery and cannibalism were practiced throughout the area. In the north, ceremonial cycles were centered around the enactment of religious dramas, while in the south, religious and social ceremonies were characterized by the use of the flute and bull-roarer.

Collingwood Bay, along with coastal southeastern New Guinea and the nearby island groups, has seen a complex pattern of migrations of peoples, with a resultant intermingling of languages and culture traits. During the first decade of this century, when Money took his photographs, Wanigela was a large village whose inhabitants had been "forced by hostile neighbours into defensive positions" (Egloff 1971: 14). It was comprised of several sections, based on the language spoken by the residents. The northern section of Wanigela was called Rainu, the southern section Oreresan. These divisions still obtain today. "Half a mile away, to the north, and across a river, are the large villages of Kumarbun and the few houses of Aiafi; a mile inland, the villages of Aieram, which still has its stockade, and Murin and Nonof; four miles to the south, along the beach, the village of Yuayu; and five miles farther, Uiaku, with Sinapa three or four miles farther still" (Chignell 1911:20). According to Chignell, "twelve or fourteen dialects are spoken at different points of the

two hundred miles which are included in the diocese [from Cape Ducie to the Mamba River], and a man would need to know at least half of them if he would speak to the different tribes of this one district of Collingwood Bay in the tongue that is most familiar to each of them" (*ibid*).

2.2 Languages

Most of the languages of Papua New Guinea are classified as Non-Austronesian (Papuan) languages. In certain pockets along the coast, however, Austronesian (Melanesian) languages and languages as yet unclassified are spoken. It is believed that Non-Austronesian languages were spoken by the indigenous Papuan populations and that the presence of Austronesian-speaking peoples at various points along the coast represents the relatively recent migrations of Melanesian peoples into New Guinea (Capell 1943 and 1962; Seligmann 1910). These migrations and the subsequent mixing of linguistic groups has lead to a confusion of languages in southeastern New Guinea (Fig. 4).

In Collingwood Bay (Fig. 5), Onjob, a Non-Austronesian language belonging to the Dagan Family, is spoken in the villages of Koreaf and Naukwate, several miles inland from Wanigela. Dutton acknowledges Medaris' 1969 patrol report in relating that "these two villages belong to two social groups, Onjob and Aiso respectively. The latter is said to have originated from near Karisoa [in the Kosirava district], migrated to Keroroa, thence to Waijug and Kaukwate. They are said to have spoken a 'language' called Aisoro, different from that spoken by the Onjob group who came from the Kwin River area and were given land by the Wanigela" (Dutton 1969: 17).

In different sections of Wanigela itself, the Austronesian languages of Ubir and Arifama-Miniafia are spoken. Dutton quotes from Medaris that the Ubir-speaking people of Komabun and Rainu in Wanigela "claim to have originated from either C. Vogel or Goodenough Island. They came by sea and settled near Fofo village" (Dutton 1969: 31).

Many of the rest of the Collingwood Bay coastal villages, including Uiaku and Sinapa,

speak Maisin, a language "whose status as either Austronesian-influenced Papuan or Papuan-influenced Austronesian is still being debated" (Wurm 1982: 13). Maisin is also spoken in Uwe, a coastal village farther north on Collingwood Bay, and "in several villages in the swamps of the Kosirava... district between the lower Musa and Bariji Rivers" (Dutton 1971: 8). The two dialects of Maisin, Uiaku and Kosirava, correspond to these two areas. Strong and Ray both studied Maisin in 1911, Ray concluding that Maisin was "originally Non-Austronesian with heavy Austronesian influence" (Dutton *ibid*), and Strong concluding the opposite. Dutton suggests that Strong may be correct in considering Maisin an Austronesian language with Non-Austronesian overtones (and this has been supported by more recent work by John D. Lynch, in Wurm 1982: 76), but stresses that not enough evidence has been collected to reach a definitive conclusion. Both Dutton and Strong (1911: 381) collected informant testimony that the Collingwood Bay Maisin emigrated from the Kosirava area only recently. The Kosirava Maisin are surrounded by Binanderean-speaking (Non-Austronesian) peoples, including the Orokaiva. The migration of the Kosirava Maisin into Collingwood Bay may help to explain some of the apparent Orokaivan influences (examined in detail later) in Uiaku Maisin culture.

Egloff reports that "though their oral traditions are not extensive and there is no genealogical depth beyond the second generation" (1971: 14), informants from the Ubir, Oyan and Onjob groups of Wanigela agree upon the following account of their recent history.

The Ubir founded Wanigela, travelling along the coast from their previous home on the north coast of Cape Vogel. The original village was built on a small island in a swamp at the mouth of the Anina River. The Oyan, who came from four kilometers to the north, then joined the Ubir at Wanigela. The Ubir and Oyan built houses on piles surrounded by a stockade for protection from their neighbors, who raided them from the south and west. The Onjob arrived in the area from Mt. Victory, founding the neighboring fortified villages of Aiafi, Murin and Aieram. "They lived in some degree of harmony with the

Oyan and Ubir while serving the useful function of warning the Wanigela villages of impending raids by the inland Doriri" (Egloff 1971: 14, citing Monckton 1900).

With the arrival of the Europeans, the Doriri raiding decreased and eventually ceased, and Wanigela was moved to a healthier location nearer the sea. In 1904, when the Anglican Mission moved one kilometer to the north, "the Ubir settled Rainu to the north of the station and the Oyan founded Oreresan to the south" (Egloff 1971: 15).

Linguistic information for Collingwood Bay is confusing indeed. The names and locations of villages change in the time that lapses between one study and the next, many villages disappearing entirely, and linguists are not agreed upon the names and groupings of language families. Maisin was apparently spoken in Uiaku and Yuayu, Onjob in Nonof, and Ubir, Oyan and Onjob in Wanigela (Chignell 1911: 20-22), but little is known of the exact relationships between these villages. It is known that Wanigela and Uiaku were rival villages (Wetherell 1977: 284-285), and that the different clans in Wanigela were sometimes at odds.[5] Of the languages spoken in these four villages in Collingwood Bay, Ubir and Oyan are Austronesian, and Onjob is Non-Austronesian. Classification of Maisin is still undetermined. Perhaps some of the conflict and rivalry between these villages is related to different cultural traditions reflected by the different languages, stimulated by the recent arrival of the Maisin to the area.[6] The familiar Melanesian pattern of antagonism between the shore and bush people (Newton 1914: 77) was thus played out between the coastal inhabitants of Collingwood Bay and the inland Doriri, and complicated by the influx of immigrants from the north.

---

[5]Wetherell writes that during the building of St. Peter's Church in Wanigela "different clans had worked on different days to avoid encountering one another" (1977: 278).

[6]In addition to being intruders, the Maisin were considered trouble makers by C. A. W. Monckton, the Resident Magistrate of the North-Eastern Division in 1903. They "descended periodically upon... [their neighbors], and carried off all their best-looking young women, as well as levying a blackmail of pigs" (1921: 194). This, of course, led to retaliatory raids upon the Maisin, and so on, requiring frequent government intervention.

3 Body Decoration, Dress and Ornamentation

"Art, in the most general sense of the word, as a phenomenon that attempts to reach beyond the everyday world and at first sight pursues no readily apparent or understandable purpose, is something that is found in all human communities" (Buhler, Barrow and Mountford 1962: 39). The various forms that artistic endeavor takes within different communities is dependent upon many factors. Aesthetic preference, climate and environment, type and availability of raw materials, and the tools and skill necessary to work those materials are among the most basic considerations governing the creation of art.[7]

The creative impulse is a strong one, and the end result is often pleasing to people besides the creator. Yet the enjoyment derived from the creation or contemplation of a work of art is only one aspect of its utility. Perhaps because of the analogy of the creation of art to the creation of life and because of its ability to communicate this relationship, art has assumed an important religious role in many societies, including our own. Understanding a society can be undertaken by attempting to understand its symbols.

Too often in the study of art and culture, the "lesser" artistic forms, the decorative arts, have been neglected in favor of the more spectacular paintings and sculptures usually associated with ritual. There are several reasons for this. In our own culture, there is a traditional distinction between art and craft. Painting and sculpture, as fine arts, are more highly regarded than crafts, which are considered less "artistic". This is in part related to our concept of the artist as a gifted being who is blessed by inspiration and visitations from a Muse. It is also related to a supposed distinction between the purely functional (craft) and the purely non-functional (art) which, not surprisingly, coincides

---

[7]Although this discussion is concerned with the visual arts, it is important to recognize that many of these observations are equally relevant for other art forms, including instrumental and vocal music, dance and story telling. The combination of various artistic elements - costume, music and dance, for example - in the performance of ritual is usually more significant than any one of the component parts.

with economic and social status factors. Then, too, most of the scholars who have examined the relationship between art and culture have been men. In working primarily with male informants, it is natural that the art forms that would entertain the most consideration are those that inhabit the male domain. In Melanesia, as in most of the world, men are the artists and women the craftsmen. Jehanne Teilhet (1978) has observed a sexual division of materials among artists, with women working with soft materials (primarily clay and fibers) associated with crafts and men working with hard materials (wood, stone, bone, etc.) associated with sculpture. That men use iron tools in their work is significant, too, as iron is often considered a dangerous or supernatural substance which women are forbidden to use.

Body decoration is one of the most distinctive and impressive forms of aesthetic expression in New Guinea. In societies which developed no grand tradition of masking, woodcarving or painting, decoration of the body often became the primary focus of creative endeavor. Body decoration consists of all the ways in which the body can be temporarily or permanently altered or adorned and includes such manifestations as face and body painting, tattooing, scarification, piercing of the nasal septum and ears, cranial deformation, and the wearing of clothing and ornaments. Body decoration is probably the oldest form of human artistic activity, serving either or both to distinguish humankind from the surrounding animals and to identify with them. Thus, the courtship dances of the birds of paradise are emulated by New Guinea Highlanders who don feather headresses to impress the members of the opposite sex with their beauty (Strathern in Kirk 1981: 31-33). Paulme has noted that "hunting peoples have retained a marked preference for adornments taken from animals" (1973:13).

The permanent or irreversible decoration of the body expresses the enduring characteristics of the individual, and is usually performed by a specialist under the supervision of the representatives of authority and tradition at appropriate times during the individual's life. Such permanent decoration as tattooing, scarification, and

mutilation of the body thus become markers of individual and group identification. Since the body is a kind of living canvas, an individual's permanent body decoration dies with him. Temporary body decoration, on the other hand, is often indicative of a transitory stage in the life of the individual, such as virginity, marriage, and widowhood. Temporary forms of body decoration (hairstyles, body painting, dress, and jewelry) frequently emphasize the difference between the sexes. Items of dress and ornamentation that can be transferred from one individual or group to another also acquire greater economic significance.

Contrast is an important element in body decoration. Not only is the contrast between individuals important, but the contrast between one group or society and another serves to reinforce group values and identity. Different social occasions also require contrasting visual indicators. Among the New Guinea Highlanders, the contrast between brightness and dullness, which indicate attractiveness or well-being and ugliness or illness, respectively, is visually conveyed through the decoration of the skin (Strathern and Strathern 1971). Health and sexual attractiveness are indicated by a well-oiled body, while death and illness are indicated by a dull, muddied body. The decoration of the body is determined by the nature of the situation; a muddied body is appropriate for a mourner, but would be inexcusable for a feasting dancer. In addition to texture, color provides contrast and corresponding meanings. Again, the choice and juxtaposition of colors must be appropriate to the situation.

Body decoration, then, not only expresses aesthetic preferences but also provides visual communication of a society's values and ideals. Tattoo patterns can identify a person's ethnic affiliation, can beautify and can convey erotic messages. Face and body painting, headdress, and clothing can communicate the wearer's origin, social status, prestige, sex, marital status, and membership in a special society or cult.

Because body decoration is so closely connected to group and individual identity, it plays a prominent role in many societies' rites of passage. Birth, puberty, marriage, death

and mourning are times during which the individual progresses from one state of existence to another, from one kind of identity to another. The initiation of a person into society symbolizes the change of status from childhood to adulthood, or into a particular cult, sect or association. Initiation represents nothing short of the metamorphosis of the initiate; body decoration can serve to protect the initiate during the dangerous period of transition and, like the wearing of masks, can serve to ritually conceal the identity of the initiate. The change of status is completed when the paint is washed away; the initiate emerges a new individual in the eyes of the community.

The aspect that an individual presents to the world communicates wealth, status, rank, and identity. A comparison with other members of the group will reveal relative social differences between individuals as well as the degree to which an individual conforms to the group's values and ideals. The photographs of P. J. Money provide a visual record of some of the forms that body decoration, dress, and ornamentation took in Collingwood Bay some seventy years ago. Examination of the photographs and comparison with written documentation of Collingwood Bay and neighboring societies reveal meanings conveyed through the presentation of self.

3.1 Body Decoration and Dress in the Life Cycle

Since body decoration and dress are so closely bound to the status and identity of the wearer, examination of the role that it plays in the life cycle of the individual is useful. As elsewhere in New Guinea, very small children go naked, except for the wearing of such ornaments as earrings, necklaces and armlets. Williams writes that Okokaiva boys generally "assume the perineal [bark cloth] band (*bo*) at various ages before they reach puberty" (1930: 98). By Williams' time, the assumption of the *bo* was no longer necessarily accompanied by formal ceremony, although when it was, gifts were bestowed upon the person who presented the boy with his *bo*. Upon his initiation, the boy receives a new *bo*, which is stained red. It is presented to him by a male relative. Orokaiva girls go naked until the termination of the seclusion marking the first menstruation. At this time a girl

returns to her home wearing a bark cloth skirt (Williams 1930: 99). In Money's photographs, only infants and toddlers appear to be naked. This could mean that in Collingwood Bay, children assumed clothing earlier than their neighboring peers, but it could also be attributed to mission influence.

Boys and men wear perineal bands, or loincloths, of undecorated or painted bark cloth. Girls and women wear bark cloth wrappers secured at the waist with plaited fiber belts. In Money Photograph No. 6 (Fig. 9), a young woman with a baby on her back wears a bark cloth wrapper secured under her arms, but this would appear to be a device for carrying the baby; under this mantle, she is doubtless wearing the usual waist-secured wrapper.

From P. J. Money's captions, and from the writings of Newton and Chignell, his missionary colleagues, the type of dress appropriate for particular social situations is known. Separate initiation ceremonies marked the end of childhood for both boys and girls. At this time, initiates were secluded for a period of several months during which they were prepared for their role as adults. Chignell writes that "mission influence has been used to reduce the period of seclusion to a week or two, and even during that short time it is usual for the retreatant to come to the services in Church, or even to school" (1911: 86). He later mentions that the mission's practice of keeping the children "as long as possible in school has resulted in their marriages taking place when they are fourteen or fifteen years old instead of a year or two earlier" (*ibid*: 87). Specifics of the initiation procedure are not recorded, but during this period boys wore many ornaments, including ornaments usually worn only by girls, and conducted themselves in a very proper and subdued manner. Girls undergoing initiation "are covered from head to foot with native cloth, and creep along under the shelter of houses and fences, as if to avoid observance" (*ibid*; see Money Photograph No. 20 [Fig. 13].) At the close of initiation, girls emerge from seclusion with tattooed faces and are elaborately coiffed and abundantly draped with shell and plant ornaments. They wear new, richly decorated bark cloth wrappers that contrast with the undecorated tattered bark cloth that they wore during their seclusion. The completion of initiation signifies the marriageability of the initiates.

A young woman's days of bachelorhood were few, for women were usually married shortly after initiation. Money Photographs Nos. 34-37 (Figs. 20-23) provide a glimpse of a marriage ceremony in Wanigela. The bride (Money No. 35 [Fig. 21]) is adorned with headbands, ear and nose rings, necklaces and belts of shell. On her upper arms she wears coconut shell armlets, stuffed with plants regarded as a love charm. Above the armlets on her right arm she probably wears an egg cowrie shell (*ovula ovum*). Her hair is dressed with coconut oil and red ochre. She wears a painted bark cloth wrapper.

Chignell (1911: 238-240) describes a wedding in Rainu village, Wanigela, in about 1909 that could well be that photographed by Money. The bridegroom and a few of his friends sat at one end of the street, dressed in feather headdresses, shell ornaments, and with faces painted red and white. They chewed betel nut as they awaited the bride, who approached in a slow procession, preceded by her brothers, accompanied by her girlfriends, and followed by a large crowd of observers.

When the procession reached the bridegroom's house, speeches were made by the bridegroom's relatives, who promised gifts of taro, fish and a pig to the family of the bride (Money No. 36 [Fig. 22]). When the bride's family was satisfied with the gifts, the bride and her attendants retired, the bride moving into her husband's home the next morning (Money No. 37 [Fig. 23]).

Married life brought an end to leisure, and the dress of the married woman reflected her new responsibilities. Married women in Collingwood Bay shaved their heads and wore modest ornaments (Money Nos. 4-6, 9 [Figs. 7-9, 11]). Their duties included gardening, fishing, cooking, child and pig rearing, sweeping the house and the village streets, gathering firewood and water, and making pottery (Money Nos. 58-60), bark cloth (Money No. 78 [Fig. 29]) and ornaments (Newton 1914: 107-118). Adult men were responsible for clearing garden plots, erecting fences, building houses, making canoes (Money Nos. 51-54), hunting (Money No. 71), fishing (Money No. 63), carving weapons and utensils (Money No. 66-68), and defending their community (*ibid*: 96-106). Newton also states that men made their own loincloths, and women their own wrappers (*ibid*: 106 and 118).

The difference between the status of men and women as reflected by dress is nowhere more apparent than in the treatment of widowers and widows. The harsh treatment of widows may be a mechanism designed "to give wives a strong interest in keeping their husbands alive. This may have been an outcome of marriage by capture or purchase" (MacGregor 1897: 48). Death is always accompanied by conspicuous mourning, perhaps to allay the suspicion that the mourner caused the death through sorcery (MacGregor *ibid*), and the mourner shows grief by weeping, wailing and gashing his or her head and shoulders with a sharp object, such as a piece of obsidian or shell (Chignell 1911: 346-347).[8] Mourners also cover their bodies with sooty coconut oil, contrasting with the clean, bright appearance of bodies oiled for feasts.

The period of mourning usually lasts until arrangements can be made and provisions accumulated for a series of death feasts - often many months in preparation (Newton 1914: 227). During this time, the principal mourner fasts and lives in seclusion; other mourners may wear hoods of bark cloth and blacken their bodies with a mixture of soot and coconut oil. Money Photographs No. 94 (Fig. 35) and No. 95 (Fig. 36) show widowers from Wanigela and Uiaku, respectively, in mourning. Their costumes and ornaments are more elaborate than everyday dress and more restrained than hunting and war dress. The mourning headdresses lay flat on the head, and special ornaments of Job's Tears (*coix lachrimae*) are worn.

The widower in Money Photograph No. 95 (Fig. 36) merely sits on his platform to publicly display his grief, but the severity of the mourning of the widow in Wanigela was notorious (Money No. 96 [Fig. 37]).

> There she is shut away all the time in a house, and should she have occasion to go out she must choose a time when no one is about, and even so she must crawl on the ground on all fours like an animal, and be completely covered from head

---

[8] Although such scars are not deliberately placed with regard to pattern or design, they are indicative of a deeply felt event in the individual's life and are expressive of commonly held values in that individual's society.

to foot with tapa cloth (Newton 1914: 226).[9]

Mourning for widows in Uiaku seems not to have been as severe (Money No. 97 [Fig. 38]). The different attitudes to widows evident in these neighboring villages must reflect different cultural traditions and origins. The Uiaku Maisin were recent immigrants to Collingwood Bay from the Kosirava area, where their neighbors were the Orokaiva. Williams' description of Orokaivan widows' dress (1930: 34) matches the costume in Money's photograph No. 97 (Fig. 38). The Wanigelan tradition of total concealment of the widow beneath bark cloth does not appear to be related to the practice of any neighboring groups, however. The final use of dress in an individual's life comes after death, when the corpse is wrapped in bark cloth for burial (Williams 1930: 213).

3.2 Tattooing

While the individual's choice of dress is made according to the demands of a particular situation and the considerations of wealth, status and rank, the permanent alteration of the body is more indicative of the individual's unchanging identity. In Collingwood Bay, the individual's identity was perhaps nowhere more effectively expressed than in the facial tattooing of the women. Tattooing in New Guinea is not practiced to a large extent except among the lighter-skinned Austronesian peoples living along the coast and on off-lying islands. According to Barton, tattooing is most consistently practiced "by the following tribes: Waima, Roro, Mekeo and Pokao to the West of Port Moresby; the Motu group, inhabiting the coast from Redscar Bay to Hood's lagoon; the Keakaro tribe; the Mailu tribe; one branch of the Southern Massim; and, lastly, a small group of tribes in the

---

[9]This allusion to animality is interesting. The taboo state of mourning is a time of danger, when people are vulnerable to the whims of the spirit of the deceased. Although male-female antagonism is much less apparent in southeastern New Guinea than in other areas, throughout Melanesia generally women are considered to be polluting to men, dangerous, and closer to animals than men are. Animals are beings without culture. Because of her intimate relationship with the deceased, the widow is a pariah of sorts, something not quite human, until the humanity-restoring manifestation of culture represented by the death feast is carried out.

Collingwood Bay District on the North-east coast" (1918:23).[10] Except for some instances of tattoos designating the perpetrator of a homicide, men are not often tattooed in southeastern New Guinea.[11] Rather, tattooing is typically reserved for the enhancement and indication of mature women.

Tattooing is usually performed by a specialist. In the Collingwood Bay area and throughout southeastern New Guinea, this specialist is always a woman who performs the operation for her relatives and friends. In those societies in which a large portion of the body is tattooed (Waima, Motu, Aroma, and Mailu), tattooing commences at an early age and in a specific order. Among the Motu, girls from five to eight years of age are tattooed on the face, arms, chin, the area surrounding the vulva, and the armpits and shoulder blades. At the time of puberty, the following areas are tattooed: the upper throat, the inside of the knees and thighs, the lower legs and feet, the buttocks, the chest and nape of neck, the sides and back, and the area between the navel and chest. Nearly the same sequence is followed by the Waima, Aroma and Mailu, except that the face is tattooed last. When all tattooing is completed, the girl is considered ready for marriage.

In Collingwood Bay, only the face is tattooed. This operation takes place during initiation ceremonies at puberty, when the girls go into seclusion. At the conclusion of their retirement, with newly-tattooed faces, a profusion of shell ornaments, and newly-painted bark cloth skirts, they display themselves in the village as marriageable women.

---

[10] In fact, Barton includes the Hula and Sinaugolo with the Motu, and later (1918: 53-54) discusses Aroma tattooing as well. The pattern thus established strongly identifies tattooing with coastal rather than with inland peoples.

[11] Among the Koita, who inhabit the coastal region from near Port Moresby to Redscar Bay, "a homicide was entitled to wear certain decorations which varied somewhat with the sex of his victim" (Seligmann 1910: 130). Tattoo marks designating specific types of homicide were worn on the chest, shoulders, back or upper arms, often in conjunction with significant ornaments such as hornbill mandibles and rosettes of white cockatoo feathers. Seligmann also reports that at the time of his writing many of the younger boys and men of Tubetube Island, near Milne Bay, who went away to work on plantations returned with tattoo marks on their chests, arms or cheeks, generally taking "some form of the common south-eastern scroll pattern" (1910: 493). Seligmann stresses that previously men were only tattooed in case of illness, while women "were always tattooed profusely" because "it makes the girl look nice and accentuates her good skin" (*ibid*).

Tattooing is achieved by inserting pigment beneath the skin. Barton's (1918: 26) description of the Motuan tattooing procedure will serve as a model for the operation in Collingwood Bay, for although there are no records describing the procedure there, the fundamentals are similar throughout the world. The girl who is to be tattooed lies down, usually accompanied by an adult female relative. This relative helps to hold the girl in position during the operation. The tattoo specialist uses a twig or a palm leaf rib to apply a sooty pigment in the form of a design to the girl's face or body. A thorn attached to a twig is tapped with a wooden mallet along the lines of the design to push the pigment under the skin. During this painful process, the girl must lie still and make no sound lest she be disgraced. When the tattooed areas have healed, they will appear as blue designs on the skin.

Tattoo marks can be clearly seen in eight of Money's photographs (Nos. 21-23 [Figs. 13-14 and 44-45] from Wanigela and Nos. 29-33 [Figs. 17-19 and 46-48] from Uiaku). Close examination of the photographs reveals a texture indicative of paint rather than tattoo, however. Indeed, the photograph (right half of No. 31 [Fig. 47]) reproduced in Buhler's article was identified in the accompanying caption as an illustration of face painting. Money, however, identifies the marks as tattoo. These photographs appear along with others of girls just after puberty ceremonies (Nos. 24-28 [Figs. 15-16]) and bedecked as brides (No. 35 [Fig. 21]); although girls completing puberty ceremonies and eligible as brides must have been tattooed, no trace of tattoo marks can be seen in the photographs. The "painted" tattoo marks, then, must have been just that - Money had the designs painted over so that they would be visible in the photographs. Seligmann (1910: 74) draws extensively from Barton's account of tattooing in southeastern New Guinea and acknowledges the difficulty of obtaining photographs of tattoo patterns,

> "the camera scarcely differentiating between the bluish colour of the tattoo, and the copper coloured skin of the Koita, so that it was necessary to paint the patterns afresh, before the photographs could be taken. The painting was done with the mixture of soot and oil, which is used in the process of tattooing, but in spite of the skill with which this was applied, the lines of the design present a coarser appearance in the photographs than is warranted by the really beautiful

harmony which exists between the tattoo patterns and the copper coloured skin into which they are pricked."

Little is known of the significance of tattoo designs in southeastern New Guinea. Generally, designs seem to be named, although the design does not always appear to be the literal representation of its name, nor is the name symbolic. From reading Barton (1918) and Seligmann (1910), who were first-hand observers, it seems that although tattoo designs were handed down from one generation to the next, they were not owned as such. The significance of tattooing was in the fact of the tattoo, which designated the status of the individual, rather than in the iconography of the tattoo.

Barton reports that along the coast between Cape Vogel and Cape Nelson, men are never tattooed; "the females of most of the coast tribes are tattooed, but only on the face and forehead" (1918: 61). Barton further asserts similarities between the tattooing patterns of the Iasi-iasi people near Cape Vogel, the Kworafi of Cape Nelson, and the Maisin of Uiaku, Collingwood Bay, stating that "these patterns consist of combinations of straight lines, zigzags, concentric circles and spirals" (*ibid*).[12]

Although Barton could find no indication that "any particular pattern 'ran' in a family" among the Motu (1918: 24), it is clear from his photographs that there is a distinguishable Motuan style of tattooing. This style is exemplified by the consistent occurance of tattooing on specific parts of the body and by the geometric motifs consisting of straight lines joining at forty-five and ninety degree angles. Motuan tattooing is also characterized by the filling-in of design areas. The same preference for geometric patterning and for the filling-in of pattern areas is evident in the tattooing styles of other southeastern coastal groups, including Aroma, Mailu, Waima and Mekeo (Fig. 49).

There are likewise similarities of pattern in Money's photographs of Collingwood Bay

---

[12]At a later point, the similarity between Collingwood Bay tattoo patterns, prehistoric engraved shells and pottery, and Massim art styles will be examined.

tattoos, even though two different villages, Wanigela and Uiaku, are represented.[13] Each photograph shows a repeated V design fanning across the forehead above the nose, with parallel vertical lines (usually three) continuing down the nose. The whole effect of the nose and forehead patterning is a kind of Y design. The hairline has been shaved to create a higher forehead. The rest of the face - sides of the forehead, cheeks and chin - is covered with straight and curved lines arranged in discrete units. Frequently double lines or a design repeated within a design, like the Y design on the forehead, are used. Although the first impression is one of bilateral symmetry, each half of the face is actually patterened slightly differently.

The tattoo patterns of Collingwood Bay and the northeast coast are immediately distinguishable from those of the southeast coast. Overall, they present a curvilinear rather than geometric impression despite the repeated V forehead designs, which may also be a diagnostic feature of northeast coast tattoo design.[14] Even though the elements and motifs that make the Collingwood Bay style of tattooing so readily recognizable are present in each woman's tattoo pattern, no two patterns are exactly alike. The facial tattoos serve to identify each wearer as an individual, as a mature woman, and as a member of a particular group of people.

---

[13]Barton (1918: pl. XV, fig. 1) illustrates profile and full face photographs of two tattooed Maisin girls. Though unacknowledged, the photographs are stylistically identical to Money's photographs; neither appears in his collection, however. The tattoo designs are also compatible with those illustrated in Money's photographs.

[14]It may well be that this V design is not at all characteristic of the entire northeast coast, but since it appears in all of Money's photographs it should be considered significant at least for Wanigela and Uiaku. A recent photograph of Grace Jenny (May and Tuckson 1982: fig. 5.16), a potter of Oreresan, Wanigela, shows the repeating V forehead designs and curvilinear repeating designs on her cheeks and around her eyes. The authors photographed the potter between 1971 and 1975; her age is not recorded, but she may be one of the same girls photographed by Money before 1911.

3.3 Bark Cloth

In Money's photographs, the possible influence of Massim design on the art of Collingwood Bay is best seen in the women's facial tattoos, while possible Orokaivan-influenced design is apparent in their painted bark cloth skirts (Money Nos. 33, 90-91 [Figs. 52-53]). Traveling north from the southeastern extremity of New Guinea along the northeast coast, it was in Collingwood Bay that bark cloth first became the principal material of dress. South of Collingwood Bay women wore grass or leaf skirts, and in the mountains inland from Collingwood Bay perineal bands of bark cloth were worn. Orokaiva women to the north wore skirts of bark cloth with bold semi-abstract designs emblematic of clan identity (Figs. 54 and 56), and it was this fashion that prevailed in the villages of Collingwood Bay.

Bark cloth, often referred to by the Polynesian term *tapa*, is manufactured and used for a wide variety of purposes throughout the tropical regions around the world. Much of the bark cloth of Polynesia is made from species of the paper mulberry tree (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) (Leonard and Terrell 1980: 13). Although early accounts of travelers to Papua and New Guinea indicated the use of the paper mulberry for the manufacture of bark cloth (Chalmers and Gill 1885: 149; Hurley 1924: photograph opposite page 100), botanists have in fact been unable to ascertain the occurance of *Broussonetia* in New Guinea (Kooijman 1972: 446). Instead, Williams reports the use of species of *Artocarpus* (breadfruit) and *Ficus* (fig) for the manufacture of bark cloth in the Purari Delta (1924: 39) and among the Orokaiva (1930: 77). This has been most recently confirmed by Z. Schwimmer, who reports having seen the bark of breadfruit trees as well as *ajimo* bark[15] being exploited for bark cloth manufacture in the Northern District (1979: 6-7).

While most of the material for bark cloth is obtained from wild trees growing in the bush, Z. Schwimmer reports that *ajimo* is cultivated throughout the Northern District

---

[15]Williams identifies *ajimo* as an Orokaivan word for a tree which he believes to be *ficus* (*ibid*).

"though fewer are grown where the bush species are plentiful" (1979: 6-7). Suckers growing around the base of a mature tree are propagated and planted in gardens. Near rivers along the coast, the trees reach maturity in 18-24 months; inland, the trees mature in two to three years. *Ajimo* must be harvested young, before the bark becomes too hard to beat (*ibid*).

With some local variation, the basic technique of bark cloth manufacture is the same the world over. Horizontal incisions encircling the stems of the tree are made at each end and joined by a vertical incision. The bark from the stems can thus be peeled off in one piece. The inner and outer bark is then separated, either by peeling or scraping. This inner bark, or bast, is the material from which the bark cloth is made. It may be beaten immediately, dried and stored for future use, soaked, or fermented to break down or bleach the fibers.

Regardless of its preparation, the essential step in the production of bark cloth is beating. Barkcloth is a sort of proto-weaving technique, more akin to papermaking than to weaving. Where both weaving and bark cloth technologies are practiced, it is generally assumed that bark cloth is the older tradition. Articles woven of strips of bark cloth serving as weft elements, as in the capes made of woven cedar bark by the Northwest Coast American Indians, cannot be considered a type of bark cloth since the cloth is not created solely by the enlargement of bast fiber through beating.

During the beating process, the bast fibers expand to form a sheet of material. The bast is beaten over an anvil of some kind, often a log or stone, with a stone or wooden beater (Money No. 57 [Fig. 29]). Carved grooves or designs on the beater can be used to impress a "watermark"-like pattern on the bark cloth. Among the Orokaiva, the beater was made from "an elongated pebble (*kini*) with incised criss-cross lines (*jari*)" (Williams 1930: 78). In Samoa, Fiji, and other parts of the Pacific, the resonance and musical quality of the anvil was an important aspect of bark cloth production, but among the Orokaiva the artisans withdrew "beyond the edge of the village, ostensibly to remove the annoyance of the loud continued tapping" (*ibid*).

The cultivation, processing, and decoration of bark cloth intended for items of dress is performed by women. In other parts of New Guinea and Melanesia where bark cloth is used in the construction of masks and other objects of ritual importance, men take a more active part in its preparation. Whether or not all aspects of bark cloth production are undertaken by men in such circumstances is unclear, but the decoration of ritual objects, at least, is the responsibility of men.

Bark cloth is decorated or left undecorated depending upon the occasion for which it will be worn. Everyday clothing is undecorated, or may be decorated cloth that is old. Throughout the Pacific, many techniques are employed for decorating bark cloth, including stamping, stencilling, painting, dyeing, and cutting. Although Newton claims that bark cloth from Collingwood Bay is "stencilled with designs in black and red and brown" (1914: 113), there can be little doubt that his terminology is incorrect. All the decorated bark cloths illustrated in Money's photographs and in Williams' (1930) and Beaver's (1914-15: 194 [Fig. 54]) photographs of the Orokaiva appear to be painted.

Colors are applied to the bark cloth with a brush made of fibrous pandanus cone (Beaver: 1914-15: 194) or frayed betel husk (Williams: 1930: 78). Red is apparently obtained from many different plant sources. Black is made from pot black, "obtained by burning the resin of certain trees and catching the smoke in a potsherd" (Beaver: *ibid*), mixed with water. According to Beaver (*ibid*), brown is made by mixing red and black; yellow, obtained from turmeric, is made in some areas.[16] Coconut or cockle shell receptacles are used to hold the paint.

---

[16]Ziska Schwimmer, a recent visitor to Collingwood Bay and Orokaiva territory, reports additional sources of color. Among the Mangalese west of Mt. Lamington, yellow is extracted from the root of the wild ginger plant and masticated by young children learning the craft. Blues, greys and greens are obtained from clays and fungi (Schwimmer 1979: 7). Color photographs of painted bark cloth from the Collingwood Bay area also indicate that a pinkish or coral color can be obtained (Leonard and Terrell 1980: pl. 40). These could be faded reds, or they could be pink pigments obtained from clays rather than dyes obtained from plant sources.

In Collingwood Bay and among the Orokaiva to the north, the pattern is outlined first in black, then filled in with color (Z. Schwimmer 1979: 7). Painting is always done by women, who create designs that come "out their heads" (*ibid*). Schwimmer maintains that "in one coastal village the artist said she copied the tattoos" (*ibid*: 9). In Uiaku, each clan owns its own design, depicting "in characteristically semi-abstract style, the myth of the clan's origin" (*ibid*).

3.4 Ornaments

On one level, ornaments are worn as objects of personal enhancement. On another level, an ornament may be a badge of identity; "...those who see it recognise it as a symbol of its owner's moral integrity. It indicates that the owner has pledged to act in accordance with a historically established behaviour mode" (E. Schwimmer 1973: 175). Ornaments in Collingwood Bay - headdresses, pendants, armbands, etc. - are made primarily of feathers, hornbill[17] beaks, cuscus[18] fur, sea shells, coconut shells, boar's tusks, dog's teeth, and plant fibers. Sea shells and feathers, especially, are important items of trade and exchange throughout New Guinea, passing from one people to another and from one individual to another in ceremonies cementing the participants' relationship.

Williams (1930: 39-41) recognized seven categories of ornaments used by the Orokaiva (Figs. 58-59): teeth-held ornaments, forehead ornaments, forehead bands, nose ornaments, ear ornaments, necklets, armlets, and belts. He considered feathered headdresses separately from ornaments, although he classed the forehead bands that were worn with them as ornaments. Examples of all the categories of ornaments that Williams lists can be seen in Money's photographs. There may be a greater variety of ornaments among the Orokaiva than in Collingwood Bay, but the photographs may only show a small proportion of the types of ornaments worn there. It does seem, however, that the

---

[17] Large Old World birds with enormous bills, of the family Bucerotidae.

[18] A type of opossum.

ornaments worn in Collingwood Bay bear more resemblance to the ornaments of the Orokaiva than to those of the Massim.[19]

Babies and small children wore shell earrings and necklaces, as did married women (Money Nos. 2, 5, 6 [Figs. 6, 8, 9]). In addition, married women also wore coconut shell armlets and plaited fiber armbands, but their overall appearance was supposed to be modest. Many elaborate ornaments were worn by men in times of festivity, ceremony or battle (Money Nos. 38-43, 72-75 [Figs. 24-28, 30-33]), and by women at the conclusion of puberty rites and as brides (Money Nos. 21-33, 35 [Figs. 14-19, 21]).

Newly initiated young men and women (Money Nos. 18, 21-33 [Figs. 12, 14-19]) wear a variety of shell necklaces, many armlets, earrings and, in the case of some of the women, nose rings. Plants considered to be love charms are worn in the armlets. The bride pictured in Money Photograph No. 35 (Fig. 21) wears many of the same kinds of ornaments worn by initiates, but in greater profusion.

Feathers are used to construct elaborate headdresses made and worn by men (and occasionally women) for dances and in time of war. Headdresses are meant to enhance a person's appearance in courtship rituals and, along with face paint, to frighten one's enemies in battle. The people of Collingwood Bay were probably able to collect most of the feathers needed for their headdresses themselves; live cassowaries[20] and, after Europeans arrived, chickens were kept as pets and relieved of their feathers when the need arose, and hornbills, birds of paradise, and parrots were hunted for their feathers. Chignell (1911: 318) reports receiving a few feathers from a Doriri man in exchange for some tobacco on an expedition inland from Collingwood Bay, but relations between the Doriri and the coastal Collingwood Bay peoples were generally hostile and it is unlikely that regular trade in feathers or anything else was conducted between these peoples.

---

[19]Massim ornaments, including those used in Kula exchange, are illustrated in Seligmann (1910) and Newton (1975).

[20]Large birds of the genus *Casuarius*, closely related to emus.

At one time, hornbill beaks were incorporated into headdresses designating the wearer as having taken another's life. By Money's time, however, with pacification already well under way, this original significance had already been nullified or at least devalued, for boys (who had previously worn only armlets and necklaces) emerging from the seclusion of initiation were allowed to wear feather headdresses with hornbill beaks for the first time (Chignell 1911: 234).[21] Hornbill beaks were used in headdresses worn by warriors (Money No. 75 [Fig. 33]) and for hunting (Money No. 72 [Fig. 30]). The use of hornbill beaks as homicide insignia, designating that the wearer had killed a man, was also practiced by the Koita people to the south and by the Orokaiva people to the north of Collingwood Bay (Beaver 1918-19). As a rule, hornbill beaks were worn only by men. But in Nonof village, Collingwood Bay, two women (in Money Nos. 90-91 [Fig. 34]) are shown wearing feather headdresses with hornbill beaks. Chignell reports that when the "chief of the Aisora tribe" (see p. 8 of this paper) died at Aieram, a village near Nonof, his women relatives "dressed themselves as men, with spears and shields and all, according to the custom, and danced at his burial feast" (1911: 215-216). In his captions, Money further notes that this is "the only known tribe where women dress in men's war plumes" (Appendix: No. 91). Whatever the implications and significance of the use of men's headdresses by women at Nonof, it strengthens the suspicion that the original significance of hornbill beaks as insignia of homicide had changed in Collingwood Bay or existed alongside its function as an indicator of status.

Like the hornbill beak ornaments, strips of cuscus fur worn hanging from the armlets were originally insignia of man-slayers (Money Nos. 40, 73-74 [Figs. 26, 31-32]). The wearing of cuscus fur was observed by Williams (1930: 179) among the Orokaiva, where its purpose was

> apparently honorific. To the Orokaiva it is, or was, an ambition to kill a man, and the man-slayer was in a manner lionized. When a warrior who already had

---

[21] Interestingly, Williams reports that among the Orokaiva, ornaments usually considered homicide insignia were sometimes given to boys and girls at initiation, where there is no implication "that the recipient has been a man-slayer" (1930: 177).

> a victim to his credit held an enemy at his mercy, he might forebear out of generosity and call on another to administer the finishing blow, and so earn the right of wearing what to an Orokaiva was perhaps the proudest possible distinction.

Sea shell ornaments varied considerably in form, mode of wearing, and method of manufacture. Sometimes shells were incorporated into headdresses, or attached to headbands that augmented headdresses. Besides denoting status and wealth, shells also sometimes conveyed symbolic meaning. Thus, according to Money, the wearing of white cowries (probably *ovula ovum*) on his armbands indicated a chiefly descent to the warrior in Money Photograph No. 73 (Fig. 31),[22]) also wear egg cowrie shells, but their significance is not mentioned.] and the addition of baler shells to the headdress of the warrior in Money Photograph No. 75 (Fig. 33) was meant to "represent the eyes of a deceased foe" (Money caption).

Among the people of Wanigela, as among the Orokaiva, teeth-held ornaments were an important part of war dress. Large shell and pig tusk ornaments were worn as pendants except when dancing or fighting - then they were held with the teeth by a bar at the back of the ornament (No. 40, 41, 73).

"Most ornaments are acquired by hunting, foraging, barter, purchase or inheritance" (E. Schwimmer 1973: 176). Many ornaments (armlets and armbands, necklaces and earrings, for example) appear to be worn purely for pleasure, and "there are no restrictions on who may make or wear such ornaments, which are freely disposed of by barter or sale" *ibid.* Other ornaments are worn to indicate the status (as man-slayer) or the condition (as initiate, as widow or widower) of the wearer. Because of their beauty, scarcity, durability

---

[22]The wearing of egg cowrie shells is also restricted to members of the noble class on Manus Island. Warriors were also priveleged to wear the shells. "The practice of permitting a warrior, who is a commoner, to wear insignis otherwise restricted to the noble class appears to be prevalent in Melanesia and island Asia" (Safer and Gill 1982: 103). Several of the women photographed by Money (Nos. 32, 35, 90 and 91 [Figs. 21 and 34

and portability, ornaments are highly valued and often play an important role in ceremonial exchange, as heirlooms and as currency. The bestowal of a prestige ornament is a privelege that carries with it the implication that the wearer has paid for the ornament in the proper manner (whether by deed or by purchase) and a moral imperative that the wearer emulate the values symbolized by the ornament (Williams 1930: 190, 201-203).

4 Art Styles of Southeastern Papua New Guinea

If it were possible to compare Money's collection of artifacts from Collingwood Bay (now in the collections of the Australian Museum, Sydney) with artifacts from the Orokaiva or Binandere-speaking area to the north and the Massim area to the southeast, doubtless significant stylistic differences and similarities between them would emerge. This paper focuses on body decoration and dress because that is the aspect of artistic expression best represented in Money's photographs. From written and filmed sources (Wetherell 1977: 177, 282; Holecek 1983), it is known that figures and utensils were carved; perhaps examples of woodcarvings and other art forms also survive in Money's collection. Unfortunately, only tentative generalizations about the art styles of the area can be made from the limited photographic evidence available.

The interest of scholars in the cultures of Collingwood Bay was first aroused by the 1905 excavation at Wanigela of carved shell and pottery sherds, incised with curvilinear designs (Fig. 39). The people of Wanigela produced a different type of pottery entirely and had no knowledge of the producers of the excavated pottery (Poch 1907: 612). More recent excavations have located identical pottery on Goodenough Island, in the Trobriands, and at Dyke Ackland Bay, and scientists have dated this tradition at 1000-500 B.P. (May and Tuckson 1982: 14). Key (1968: 656) analyzed the local clay used by contemporary Wanigelan potters and compared it with the prehistoric pot sherds found at Wanigela and in the Trobriands, concluding that pottery was imported from Wanigela to the Trobriand Islands "at a time beyond human memory" (Lauer 1971: 205). Lauer (*ibid*) subsequently found that prehistoric pottery manufactured in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands, particularly on Goodenough Island, was also traded to the Trobriand Islands. Despite the evidence of at least indirect trade between Collingwood Bay and the Trobriands in prehistoric times, there is nothing to indicate that Collingwood Bay was directly involved in the Trobriands trade system known as the Kula ring. The source of the obsidian found in the mounds at Wanigela has been identified as the D'Entrecasteaux Islands (Egloff 1971: 6, citing Key); quite possibly, the D'Entrecasteaux Islanders, who occupy a geographic position midway

between Collingwood Bay and the Trobriands, acted as middlemen as well as participants in the region's trade.

To the southeast, in Boianai and Wedau, petroglyphs bearing curvilinear designs such as spirals, "concentric circles with hooks and sometimes spokes" (Williams 1931: 134) are found. Some of the designs illustrated by Williams (*ibid*: fig. 5, pl. X [Fig. 42]) bear a striking resemblance to the designs incised on the prehistoric Wanigelan pottery, as well as to the facial tattoo designs shown in Money's photographs. Williams' (1931) fig. 6 (Fig. 43) is a drawing of a modern tattoo pattern covering the face and back of the neck of a Boianai woman. Because only the profile is shown, a complete comparison with the facial tattoos of Collingwood Bay cannot be made, yet it would appear that the styles are remarkably similar. Both the Boianai and Uiaku styles would appear to employ the repeating V design, fanning out over the nose across the forehead, accompanied by vertical lines down the nose and bilaterally displayed asymetrical lines ending with hooks and spirals spreading across the cheeks. Unfortunately, definitive conclusions regarding Boianai style cannot be drawn from one example. In Williams' drawing, however, the Boianai cheek designs are oriented horizontally, while the Uiaku designs are oriented vertically; the spiral is more fully developed in the Boianai design, too, while in Uiaku a hook or incomplete spiral is more likely to be used.

Since at least the 1880s, the Massim have produced works of art for sale to Europeans (Newton 1975: 2). The fact that there were extensive trade networks in the area circulating pottery, ornaments, and carvings before and continuing after the arrival of the Europeans (Fig. 3) probably helps to account for the fact that a high standard of craftsmanship was maintained. Although some three-dimensional figurative sculpture is produced, the overall impression of Massim art, long famous for its distinctive curvilinear style, is one of two-dimensionality. Weapons, lime containers and spatulas for betel chewing, canoe prows, and dance paddles are among the most frequent manifestations of Massim art, characterized by elegant surfaces richly decorated with abstract designs carved in low relief (Fig. 40).

The design most associated with the Massim is the scroll or spiral pattern.

> In its most abstract form the units are arranged in continuous bands, in parallel to each other, and sometimes symmetrically opposed. Variants are very numerous, and even include extremely stylized heads of birds... This representational aspect of the pattern convinced Haddon that this bird head was the point of departure for the design, and that the variants on it showing progressive degrees of abstraction or, as he termed it, 'degeneration' (Newton 1975: 6).

The use of the scroll pattern on carvings and bark cloth from the Lake Sentani area along with a certain treatment of faces on figurative sculpture lends Sentani art a striking resemblance to that of the Massim (Fig. 41). This type of face occurs in the arts of various peoples along the northern coast of New Guinea from Lake Sentani to the Huon Gulf, possibly forming "a continuum which is largely co-extensive with that of the Melanesian-language speaking [Austronesian] groups" (Newton 1975: 12). Other scholars have attributed the presence of the Massim and Sentani spiral design to the influence of the bronze-working Dongson culture of southeast Asia, Golson including the carved shells excavated at Wanigela (Fig. 39) as evidence of this Asian influence (Heine-Geldern 1966; Golson 1972). Clearly, the intricacies of the migration and interaction of peoples in prehistoric New Guinea are only beginning to be fathomed.

The tendency to decorate is much less apparent among the Orokaiva than among the Massim. There is a sexual division of labor in Orokaiva, with women making pottery, bark cloth, pandanus mats, string and small fish nets, and men making weapons, ornaments, wooden bowls, coconut mats and baskets, large fish nets, houses and canoes (Williams 1930: 76). Tattooing is not practiced with any great degree of regularity or skill among the Orokaiva and other Binandere groups (*ibid*: 36); rather it is in the painting of bark cloth that similarities with the art of Collingwood Bay can be noted.

By comparison with the curvilinear Massim style, Orokaivan design is predominately but not exclusively geometric (Fig. 54). The painted bark cloth designs illustrated by Williams (1930: pl. V [Fig. 55]) are of two types: large designs with a dominant central

motif, and small repeating design units. Large designs tend to include circular or semi-circular elements in combination with geometric elements; the small repeating designs tend to consist of straight lines, diamonds, dentates and triangles. Designs are outlined with a dark color and filled in with solid color or, more often, with parallel lines or "cross-hatching."

In the bark cloth of Collingwood Bay, it may be that two painting styles coexist. One style at Wanigela consists of elements of straight or meandering lines ending in hooks or curves, combined with concentric circles (Money Nos. 4-6 [Figs. 7-9, 50-51]). This style shares some similarities with the style of Collingwood Bay and Boianai facial tattooing, and perhaps with Massim design. At Uiaku, a geometric style of bark cloth painting featuring straight lines, triangles and dentates resembles Orokaivan design. The three bark cloths illustrated in Money Photograph Nos. 90 and 91 (Figs. 34-35, 53), at Nonof, are even more strikingly like the Orokaivan designs illustrated by Williams, utilizing parallel lines or "cross-hatching" to fill in design areas.

Unfortunately, at this point nothing more conclusive than simple impressions and observations about apparent similarities of design can be advanced. It appears as though a geometric style from the northwest and a curvilinear style from the southeast meet in Collingwood Bay, but without further linguistic and ethnographic research such a hypothesis cannot be fully substantiated. The difficulty of relying solely upon photographic sources is clear. In Money's photographs of facial tattoos, we are shown a profile or a full face view, but rarely both. Photograph Nos. 22 and 23 (Figs. 36-37, 45) show us the profile and front views of young woman's tattoos, but the shadow in No. 22 (Fig. 36, 45) obscures part of the design between the ear and the jaw. Likewise, the entire design of the painted bark cloths is never seen, because the bark cloth is being worn. Analysis and interpretation of the bark cloth and ornaments, at least, could be furthered by study of such objects (preferably collected in the same time period) in museum collections, and by showing the photographs to informants in Collingwood Bay and recording their responses.

5 The Photography of Percy John Money

In order to begin research of the Collingwood Bay photographs of P. J. Money, from whom Carnegie Museum of Natural History had purchased the photographs in 1911, it was necessary to determine who Money was and how he came by the photographs. Several of the photographs had been published previously. Number 6 (Fig. 9), of a woman wearing a bark cloth wrapper and carrying a child on her back, was printed in Terrell's and Leonard's *Patterns of Paradise* and attributed to A. B. Lewis. But perusal of Lewis' diaries at the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago revealed that Lewis had never visited the Collingwood Bay area of New Guinea and that he had purchased photographs taken in that area while visiting in Sydney, Australia in 1911.[23] In addition to Money Photograph No. 6 (Fig. 9), the Field Museum also holds negatives of several other Money photographs[24]. The Money photographs were possibly obtained by Lewis in Sydney through the Australian Museum, which purchased a collection of artifacts as well as the same set of one hundred photographs from Money (Lissant Bolton, A. L. Crawford, personal communication). It is doubtful that Lewis obtained them through Henry King. W. T. Tyrrell, who holds the surviving negatives from King's Studio, was unfamiliar with Money's name and his photographs (personal communication). Since the photographs

---

[23]Part of Lewis' entry for September 4-21, 1911 (Book 5, p. 176) reads, "Spent in Sydney. Got photos from King and from Kerry, and a number of specimens from Tost and Rohu." Henry King and Charles Kerry were photographers based in Sydney. King had himself photographed in Papua and in the Solomon Islands sometime before 1900, and Kerry photographed in some of the Pacific Islands in the 1880s or 1890s. Haddon writes that "the Rev. W. G. Lawes, of Port Moresby, has taken a large number of most excellent photographs illustrating Papuan ethnology, and he has generously deposited the negatives with Mr. H. King...in order that anthropologists might have the opportunity of purchasing authentic photographs" (1894: 275). King died in 1923, and Kerry purchased his photographs. These were in turn obtained from Kerry by Tyrrell. Modern prints made from original negatives and prints held by King and Kerry can be obtained from W. T. Tyrrell, proprietor of Tyrrell's Book Shop in Sydney.

[24]Photographs by P. J. Money held by the Field Museum (FM) include: No. 2 (Fig. 6) - family at home, Wanigera (FM neg. 76695), No. 61 - making a pot (FM neg. 76694), No. 5 (Fig. 8) - women carrying loads (FM neg. 76693), No. 91 - women in dancing costume (FM neg. 76676), No. 73 (Fig. 31) - man dressed for hunting or fighting (FM neg. 76682), No. 35 (Fig. 21) - bride (FM neg. 76702), No. 62 - husking cocoanut (FM neg. 76692), and No. 80 - drinking cocoanut milk (FM neg. 76701), and No. 4 (Fig. 7) - woman carrying baby in net bag (FM neg. 76703).

were not taken by Lewis, Ms. Terry Novak of the Field Museum's anthropology department suggests that the glass negatives were made at a later time by the Museum's photographic services from prints (personal communication).

An unattributed illustration of the girl pictured in the right half of Money photograph No. 31 appears in an article published by Alfred Buhler in 1948. The caption describes an "Utaki [Ubir?] girl of Collingwood Bay (British New Guinea) with ornamental stripes painted on the face."[25] It is possible that the Basel Museum, where Buhler worked, acquired a whole or partial set of Money's photographs.

Through correspondence with librarians and collections managers at other museums, it was learned that Money had offered sets of photographs of Collingwood Bay for sale for 10.10.0 postpaid. In addition to Carnegie Museum of Natural History, the Australian Museum, and possibly the Basel Museum fur Volkerkunde, complete or partial sets of the photographs are held by the Auckland Institute and Museum, the South Australian Museum, the Western Australian Museum, the Queensland Museum, and the Bernice P. Bishop Museum. Quite possibly, the photographs appear in other museum collections as well.

5.1 The Anglican Mission in Collingwood Bay

Money took the Collingwood Bay photographs while serving as a lay missionary for the Anglican Mission from 1901-1910. A letter in the archives of the Australian Museum from Money's sister says that the photographs were taken from "around about 1903 onwards" (A. L. Crawford, personal communication). The mission station at Wanigela was founded in 1898, and Money soon replaced the first priest, who had a "drinking 'problem'" (J. Barker, personal communication). The village of Wanigela was located on a swamp, a site not surprisingly deemed unhealthy by the missionaries, and land was dug up, the swamp

---

[25]The facial painting was in fact meant to make facial tattoo designs visible on a photographic print rather than to illustrate a style of facial painting.

filled in, and the village moved closer to the sea. In the process, a pottery midden was disturbed, and Wanigela came briefly to the attention of archaeologists.[26]

Money arrived in Collingwood Bay in June, 1901. He lived first in Rainu village, Wanigela, and in September, 1901 opened another mission station in the village of Uiaku, about six miles south along the coast. For six years, Money, a layman, worked alone in Collingwood Bay, with occasional visits from the Bishop (Chignell 1911: 351-352). He conducted Sunday school classes, athletic drills, ministered to the sick, and "to the distress of his bishop, Money spent a good deal of time not only collecting items of material culture, but also photographing scenes of village life" (Egloff 1971). He was admired by fellow clergy and New Guineans alike for his athletic prowess (Wetherell 1977: 59).

Money took an active interest in the peoples and cultures of southeastern New Guinea, and was consulted as an authority on local customs and languages by scholars.[27] Chignell, who consistently refers to Money as "my Better Half," mentions that Money once participated in a government expedition to the Musa River and that he kept a written account of that trip (1913: 152-153). The whereabouts of this account are, unfortunately, unknown. Money also accompanied the Resident Magistrate, C. A. W. Monckton, on an expedition to Mount Albert Edward in the Owen Stanley Range. During that expedition, Money and Monckton recorded the height of the mountain and made a collection of

---

[26]In 1905, Dr. Rudolf Poch and Resident Magistrate G. O. Manning excavated an archaeological deposit in Rainu, Wanigela. Artifacts from this excavation were sent to the British Museum, the Museum fur Volkerkunde in Vienna, and the Australian Museum. Some of these artifacts, including incised marine shells, were subsequently illustrated in various scholarly publications (Joyce 1912: 545-546, pls. LXVI - LXVII; Monckton 1905: 31-34; Poch 1907: 67-71; Seligman and Joyce 1907: 325-341, pls. VIII-XIII). Although serious archaeological study in Wanigela wasn't resumed until the 1960s with the work of Key, Lauer, and Egloff, archaeological artifacts from the area occasionally found their way to various museum collections. The Queensland Museum received an extensive collection from Sir William MacGregor in the 1890s, and Money himself collected pottery and archaeological artifacts, ornaments, clothing and tools for the Australian Museum. Details of the history of archaeological interest in Wanigela can be found in Egloff 1971.

[27]Seligmann (1910: 432) acknowledges Money for information on the Wamira of Bartle Bay, and Strong (1911: 381) consulted Money about Maisin vocabulary and grammar.

artifacts and natural history specimens for the British Museum (Monckton 1922: 20-76). "Papuan policemen who climbed Mount Albert Edward with him exclaimed admiringly, 'Mr. Money, he all same cuscus, he all same dog'" (Wetherell 1977: 59).

During his tenure at Collingwood Bay, Money collected artifacts for the Australian Museum in Sydney using money given him by The Museum Trust. Money's collection of over 500 artifacts is "one of the finest which this museum holds" (Lissant Bolton, personal communication). It was not always necessary to purchase artifacts, however. In 1903 when sorcerers in Wanigela converted to Christianity, they wanted to get rid of their carved figures. Money "asked to be allowed to keep some of them as curios, saying, however, that if they wished it, he would burn them all. The sorcerers said courteously, 'These things are yours, we have given them up altogether. Do as you like'" (Wetherell 1977: 177).

In 1910, Money married another lay missionary, Annie Ker,[28] and left New Guinea shortly thereafter. Celibacy was the Anglican ideal for its clergy, and very few missionaries who met and married in the mission field remained to work there. The course of Money's life after he left New Guinea is unknown, but in 1910 and 1911 he sent his Collingwood Bay photographs to museums around the world.

5.2 Style and Ethnographic Photography

P. J. Money's photographs are concerned with life in the villages of Wanigela, Uiaku, Nonof and Yuayu in Collingwood Bay. Although taken in the first decade of the twentieth century, Money's photographs reflect nineteenth century concerns and aesthetics.

The nineteenth century was an age of technological advances and scientific discovery. The camera, in keeping with the century's ideal of objectivity, was early discerned as an invaluable tool for recording scientific data, for making a visual inventory of the diversity

---

[28] Annie Ker was a translator who wrote *Papuan Fairy Tales*, a collection of folk stories.

of life on earth. European intellectuals became obsessed with the concept of race, and the camera provided documentation of exotic peoples destined, it would seem, to be supplanted by their European superiors. Scientists measured the skulls of different peoples, determined to prove a relationship between race and skull size and shape, i.e. innate intelligence. The camera was likewise turned on non-Europeans (and, incidentally, European lower classes and criminals) in every corner of the globe in an effort not only to record vanishing and diverse groups of people, but to reduce these diverse groups to a number of classifiable native "types".

Native type photographs typically pictured artificially arranged groups of natives or individuals standing in front of a plain cloth backdrop, often stripped of clothing. Multiple photographs were sometimes taken of individuals or of groups, showing frontal, profile and back views. The effect of such type photographs was meant to reflect scientific objectivity by denying the individuality, perhaps in some cases even the humanity, of the individuals photographed. The individual was regarded as a representative of his race in much the same way an "artifact was valued as a representative sample, or type of a larger generic group, and not for its individuality or uniqueness" (Davis 1981: 139).

By the late nineteenth century, scholars were applying Darwin's theories of evolution and natural selection to many fields of study. A. C. Haddon, a biologist by training, studied the art of the Massim peoples of southeastern Papua in museum collections in Britain and put forth a theory of evolution of art styles. This theory held that designs evolved from naturalistic representations of people, plants, and animals into abstract designs whose meaning is eventually forgotten. That he termed this process "degeneration" is indicative of the commonly held European tenet that naturalism was the highest form of artistic expression. Similarly, "it was a simple step to apply Darwinian ideas of natural selection to imperialism and conquest" (Davis 1981: 141).

Money's style as a photographer relates to practical as well as aesthetic concerns. He photographed as closely as necessary to ensure proper illustration of his subject. When he

wanted to show facial tattoo designs or a feather headdress, he framed the subject's head and shoulders. When, on the other hand, he photographed an entire costume, or a group of children playing a game, the camera was necessarily withdrawn. Money framed his subjects carefully; the composition is closed, with rare intrusions by passersby or random dogs into the space surrounding the subject.

Money's subjects were aware of his presence; they were posed for the camera in the process of performing some special activity (beating bark cloth, making a canoe, making a net, etc.) or merely staring back at the photographer. Only when the camera was withdrawn to photograph a group activity or a cluster of houses was there a possible lack of awareness of the photographer on the part of the subjects.

Money's principle subjects are generally in sharp focus, with a blurry but recognizable background. In photographs in which the subject is farther from the camera, there is a greater depth of field. Except for photographs that have faded, the sepia-toned photographs exhibit a whole range of values, from very light tan to dark brown. The photographs were probably all taken out of doors using available light: in some of the photographs, bright sunlight prevailed; in other photographs, the lighting is more even, perhaps indicating the use of open shade.

Although most of the photographs were made in natural settings, some were made against neutral, artificial backdrops, in the ethnographic style. These include a close-up and a three-quarter length portrait of a chief of Wanigela dressed for a dance (Money Nos. 39-40 [Figs. 25-26]), a baby suspended in a string bag (No. 4), and a number of photographs of young girls, some of which show the facial tattoo designs (Money Nos. 21-23, 25-27, 29-32 [Figs. 14-15, 17-18]).

Money's photographs are "cabinet size on bromide paper" (P. J. Money to W. T. Brigham, Bishop Museum, December, 1910). A number of the photographs were made with oval or circular frames. These include several of the portraits taken against a neutral

background, showing facial tattoos (Money Nos. 22-23, 29-30 [Figs. 14 and 17]) as well as a photograph of a man preparing fiber for netting (No. 44), a series relating to pottery manufacture and use (No. 58-60, 65), and a man making a spear (No. 67). Money probably used some type of box camera with an oval or circular frame that he could slide into the camera when photographing. But why were these particular images framed in such a way? It is possible that Money had some specific purpose in mind for these simple images. Perhaps they were intended for eventual publication, perhaps merely to satisfy aesthetic curiosity or provide a diversion. Without some kind of evidence it is impossible to know why Money chose to use oval frames for these photographs. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that Money organized his photographs in terms of themes.

Money's selection of one hundred photographs, from what must have been a much larger body of work done over a period of at least seven years, is itself concerned with a number of themes. The overall subject matter of the photographs is life in Collingwood Bay, but it is the smaller, specific themes of body decoration and dress, games, dances, ceremonies, and manufacture of material goods that constitute it. What is also noteworthy is what is not represented by the photographs. Although they present a record of what people looked like in a particular place at a particular time, they are a rather grim group of images. In only one photograph (No. 2 [Fig. 6]) is anyone really smiling, and only in the faraway images of games, dances, and feasts and in several images of a family (No. 2 [Fig. 6]) and pairs of people (Nos. 7-9 [Figs. 10-11]) do we get any sense of how people interact. The photographs give us a feel for the appearance of life in Collingwood Bay without giving us a sense of the psychology of the people. The subjects do not appear to be afraid of the camera, but it has inhibited their ability to express spontaneity and personality.

It must be remembered that this selection of photographs was assembled for sale to ethnological museums. Money chose specifically those images which he thought would be of most interest and use to scientists, images in which items of material culture are being manufactured, used and worn and in which events of social significance are taking place.

Money's photographs are sympathetic, but there is also interest in the curious and the macabre (No. 100), and perhaps a prurient interest, apparent especially in the recumbant poses of the adolescent girls in No. 33 (Fig. 19), typical of the times as well.[29]

Money must have been aware of the currents of anthropological thought of his day; he certainly evidences knowledge of techniques of ethnographic photography. Besides his use of neutral backdrops and the portrayal of the same sitter full face and profile, Money also employs the device of pairing. Pairing (Nos. 5, 21, 31-32, 41, 68, 97 [Figs. 8, 18, 27 and 38]) is used by photographers to indicate how common or typical a feature is. Money, who was an architect before joining the mission (Monckton 1934: 42), was doubtless also aware of the aesthetic appeal of pattern repitition of pairs, trios (Nos. 26, 41, 47, 89-90 [Figs. 27 and 34]), mirror images (No. 66), and line (No. 12-14). That he was interested in combining the aesthetic with the scientific is also clear from his use of closed composition, triangular composition and symmetry (No. 26, 41 [Fig. 27]). In addition, Money photographed artifacts alone and artifacts in use (No. 3-5, 70 [Figs. 7-8]).

The intent of the photographer is known, finally and completely, only to the photographer himself, but some intent can be inferred from the uses the photographs were put to and from their contents. Clearly, the photographs are meant to document a vanishing way of life. One of the earliest uses of photography was the documentation of architectural monuments and city streets that were threatened by modernization and city planning. Travel photography and later ethnographic photography were also used to document strange places and human curiosities regarded as lower beings on the

---

[29]As Wetherell (1977: 110) relates, Money was honest and sensitive enough to sympathize with a Melanesian Christian teacher at Wanigela who had broken his vows of celibacy.

"Many of the S.S.I. [South Sea Islander] teachers now have had trouble of this kind; they are very close to the Papuan in sympathy and general living in their native homes and I am not surprised that they fall into a sin which I, a *foreigner*,in every sense ... find so hard to keep free from. To me the temptation is severe. What must it be like to them? I make no boast of having withstood it for wicked lustful thoughts have often filled my mind."

evolutionary scale. Although there are some photographs of games and play (No. 10-14, 16-17), most of the photographs are concerned with work rather than leisure activity. Some of Money's photographs appear in books describing and promoting mission work written by his colleague at Wanigela, Rev. Arthur Kent Chignell. Could the photographs have been taken, at least subconsciously, to show the people of Collingwood Bay as hard-working, industrious Anglicans?

Whatever his intent, P. J. Money has left an invaluable record of life in four villages in Collingwood Bay in the first decade of the twentieth century. The shortcomings of these photographs may say more about the inadequacies of photography as a primary research material than about Money or his subjects. For even such rich visual material cannot entirely compensate for the lack of written documentation.

Appendix: Photographs of Native Life in Collingwood Bay

Captions by P. J. Money

Accession 4341, Carnegie Museum of Natural History

1. Returning from work. The man goes first to protect his family (Wanigela).

2. A family at home (Wanigela).

3. Child in bag-cradle (Wanigela).

4. Method of carrying child in a bag (Wanigela).

5. Method of carrying child on top of loads (Wanigela).

6. Method of carrying child on the back (Wanigela).

7. Inspecting a friend's scalp (Uiaku).

8. Blowing cocoanut oil on to a man's hair (Wanigela).

9. Shaving a married woman's head (Wanigela).

10. Girl's game. *Jaki*. Tossing sand rolls so that they will fall into the water and make a noise (Uiaku).

11. Boys playing in the sea (Wanigela).

12. The Cuscus game. The boy clambering represents the cuscus, and the others' arms the branches (Wanigela).

13. The Wallaby race game (Wanigela).

14. The *Mogas Viriviri* game. Running under upheld arms (Wanigela).

15. Spearing a vegetable discus with sharpened midribs (Wanigela).

16. The wild boar game. The bait set and boar coming (Wanigela).

17. The wild boar game. The capture of the boar (Wanigela).

18. Boy just after puberty ceremony (Yuayu).

19. Young girl (Wanigela).

20. During puberty ceremony girls are tattooed and must cover their faces in this way when going out (Wanigela).

21. Tattoo marks (Wanigela).

22. Tattooed girl side face (Wanigela).

23. Tattooed girl full face (Wanigela).

24. Type of girl just after puberty (Yuayu).

25. Type of girl just after puberty (Yuayu).

26. Girls just after puberty (Yuayu).

27. Type of girl just after puberty (Uiaku).

28. Type of girl just after puberty (Uiaku). Love philtre in arms.

29. Tattooed girl (Uiaku).

30. Tattooed girl (Uiaku).

31. Tattooed girls (Uiaku).

32. Tattooed girls (Uiaku).

33. Tattooed girls (Uiaku).

34. Marriage customs. Friends lamenting with prospective brides (Wanigela).

35. Marriage customs. The bride adorned (Wanigela).

36. Marriage customs. The present of food to bridegroom's family on wedding day.

37. Marriage customs. The delivery of the bride at groom's house (Wanigela).

38. Boy dressed for his first dance (Wanigela).

39. A Chief dressed for a dance (Wanigela).

40. A Chief dressed for a dance (Wanigela).

41. Various types of headdresses (Wanigela).

42. Group of dancers (Wanigela).

43. The Wanigela dance (Wanigela).

44. Preparing fibre for net making (Wanigela).

45. Making a section of a big net (Wanigela).

46. Lacing sections of a big net together.

47. Big net finished (men going fishing) (Wanigela).

48. Finishing off a landing net (Wanigela).

49. Women unloading fishermen's canoes (Uiaku).

50. Fishermen drying their nets (Uiaku).

51. Mortice holes are chopped and the divisions split out (Uiaku).

52. The canoe is then hollowed (Uiaku).

53. The prow is then trimmed and shaped (Uiaku).

54. The finished canoe (Wanigela).

55. Lime making. Arranging shells in kiln (Uiaku).

56. Lime making. Burning the kiln (Uiaku).

57. Lime making. Slaking lime (also woman beating tappa) (Wanigela).

58. Pot making. Forming the base (Wanigela).

59. Pot making. Putting on the rim (Wanigela).

60. Pot making. Finished and half finished pots drying (Wanigela).

61. Woman making pots (rolling a rope of clay). Men sewing thatch (Wanigela).

62. Method of husking a cocoanut (Wanigela).

63. Native spearing fish (Wanigela).

64. Making a net for catching wild boars (Wanigela).

65. Woman carrying pot of water (Wanigela).

66. Men making a spear (early stage) and a head rest (half finished) (Wanigela).

67. Man making a spear (nearly finished) (Wanigela).

68. Men making a head rest and a sago mallet (Wanigela).

69. Man washing sago starch out of the pounded pith (Wanigela).

70. Display of weapons, etc., Wanigela. a. sting ray rasp, b. type of drum, c. landing net, d. hornbill bead head-dress, e. disc club, f. long shield, g. man's dilly bag, h. two handed wooden sword, i. boar tusk mask, j. short shield, k. bamboo-smoking pipes, l. pineapple stone club, m. saucepans (pottery).

71. The meet for a hunt (Wanigela).

72. Type of dress for hunting (Uiaku).

73. Man dressed for hunting or fighting. The cowries denote his chiefly descent (Wanigela).

74. A warrior (Wanigela).

75. War plumes. The shell ornaments on temples represent the eyes of a deceased foe (Wanigela).

76. Method of muzzling a dog when sending away (Wanigela).

77. The customary present to one who has given valuable aid (Wanigela).

78. Taboo erected by chief (only) to taboo cocoanuts and areca palms (Wanigela).

79. Method of drinking a cocoanut front view (Wanigela).

80. Method of drinking a cocoanut side view (Wanigela).

81. Typical house (Uiaku).

82. Types of villages. Coastal (Wanigela). Canoes hauled up.

83. Types of villages. Coastal (Uiaku). Children on beach.

84. Types of villages. Komarbun (Wanigela). Girl lying in sun to cure fever.

85. Types of villages (Wanigela). Note rows of houses and dancing ground in between.

86. Types of villages. Komarbun (Wanigela).

87. Types of villages. Aiaram a little inland from Wanigela.

88. Typical grave near a village (Wanigela).

89. The bodies of those slain at a distance are put on platforms. The bleached bones are afterwards carried home and buried (Wanigela).

90. Women dressed to dance at the funeral of a Chief (Nonof).

91. Women dressed to dance at the funeral of a Chief (Nonof). (The only tribe where women dress in men's war plumes.)

92. Nonof women doing the funeral dance (Nonof).

93. The customary dance by men after people of an adjoining tribe have been killed by an enemy (Wanigela).

94. A widower in full mourning (Wanigela).

95. A widower in full mourning (on his platform) (Uiaku).

96. A widow in full mourning. She must not go out except when positively necessary and then only in this way (Wanigela).

97. Widows in full mourning. Both relicts of the same man (Uiaku).

98. Preparing a feast after period of mourning (Uiaku).

99. Women delivering the share in the feast distributed by men (Uiaku).

100. Method of keeping a victim over night before cutting up for a cannibal feast (Wanigela).

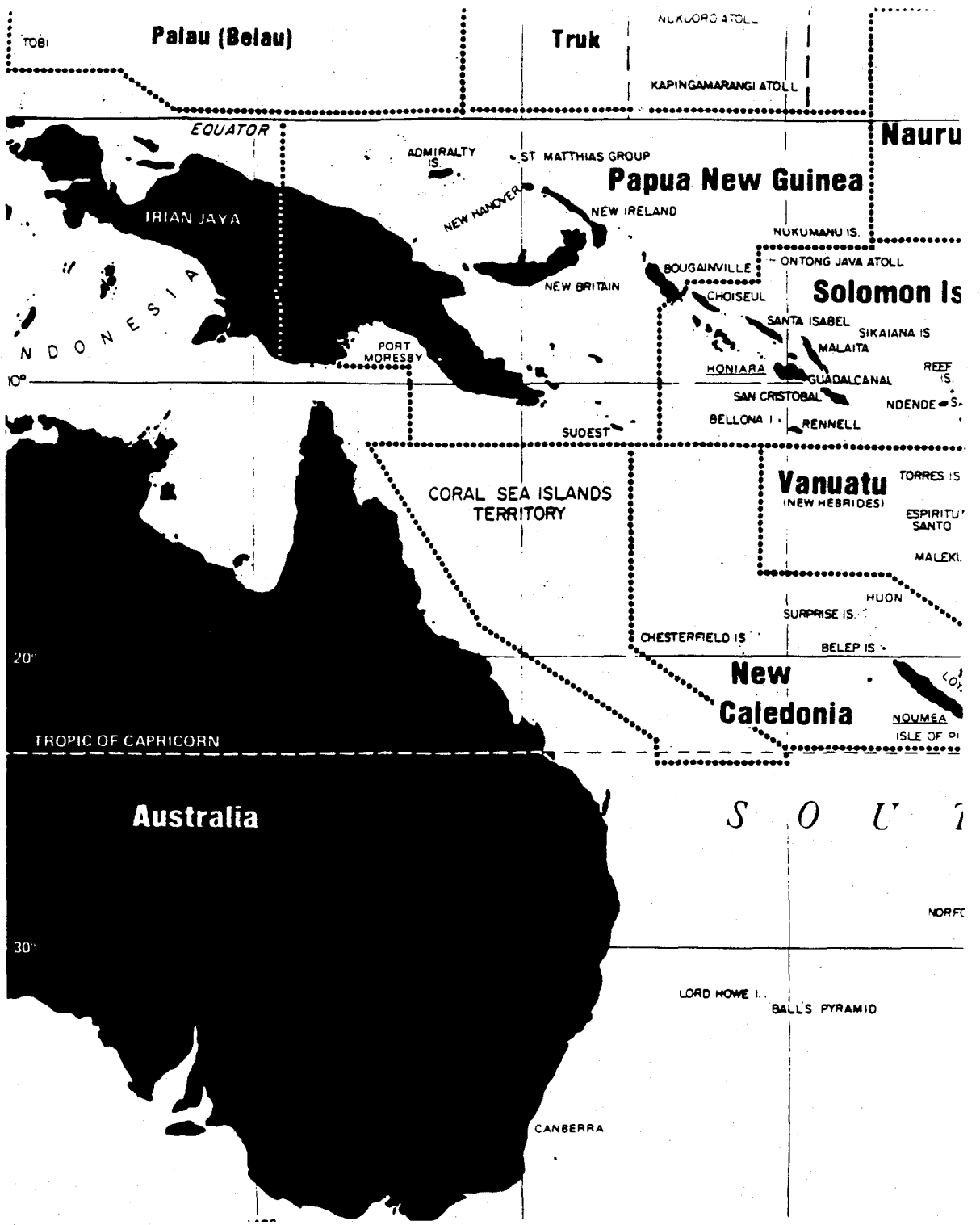


Figure 1: Papua New Guinea (The New Pacific Map, Hawaii Geographic Society, 1980.)

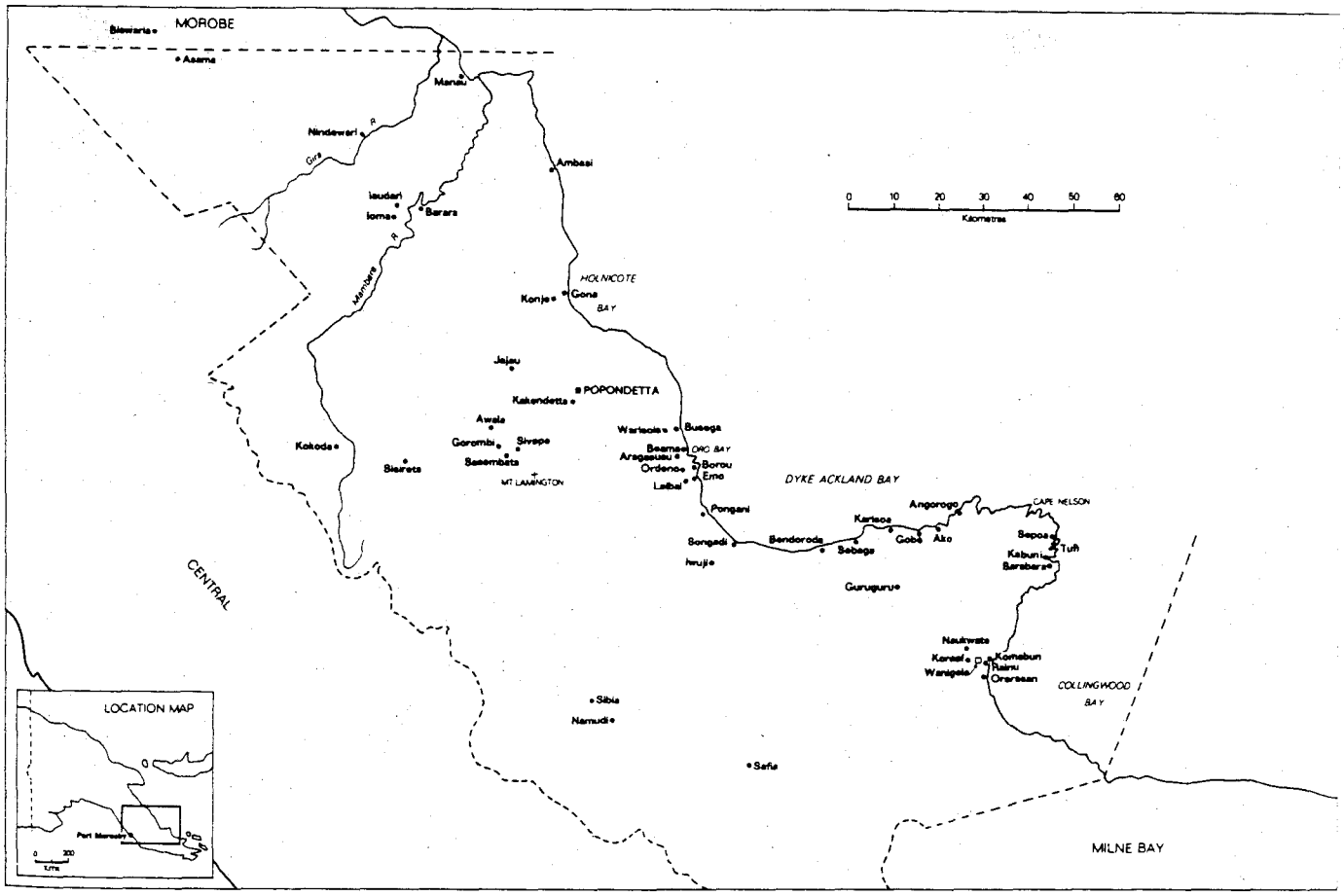
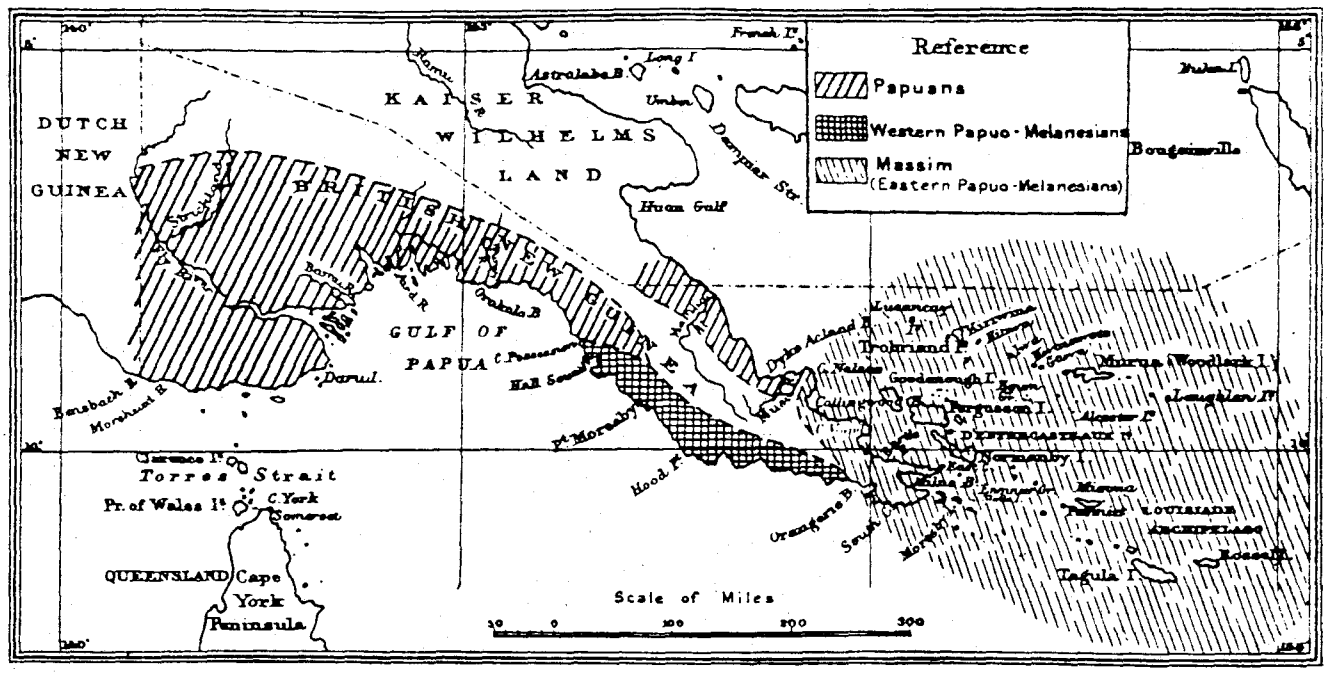


Figure 2: The Northern Province (May and Tuckson 1982: 119).



Massim area and its trade routes

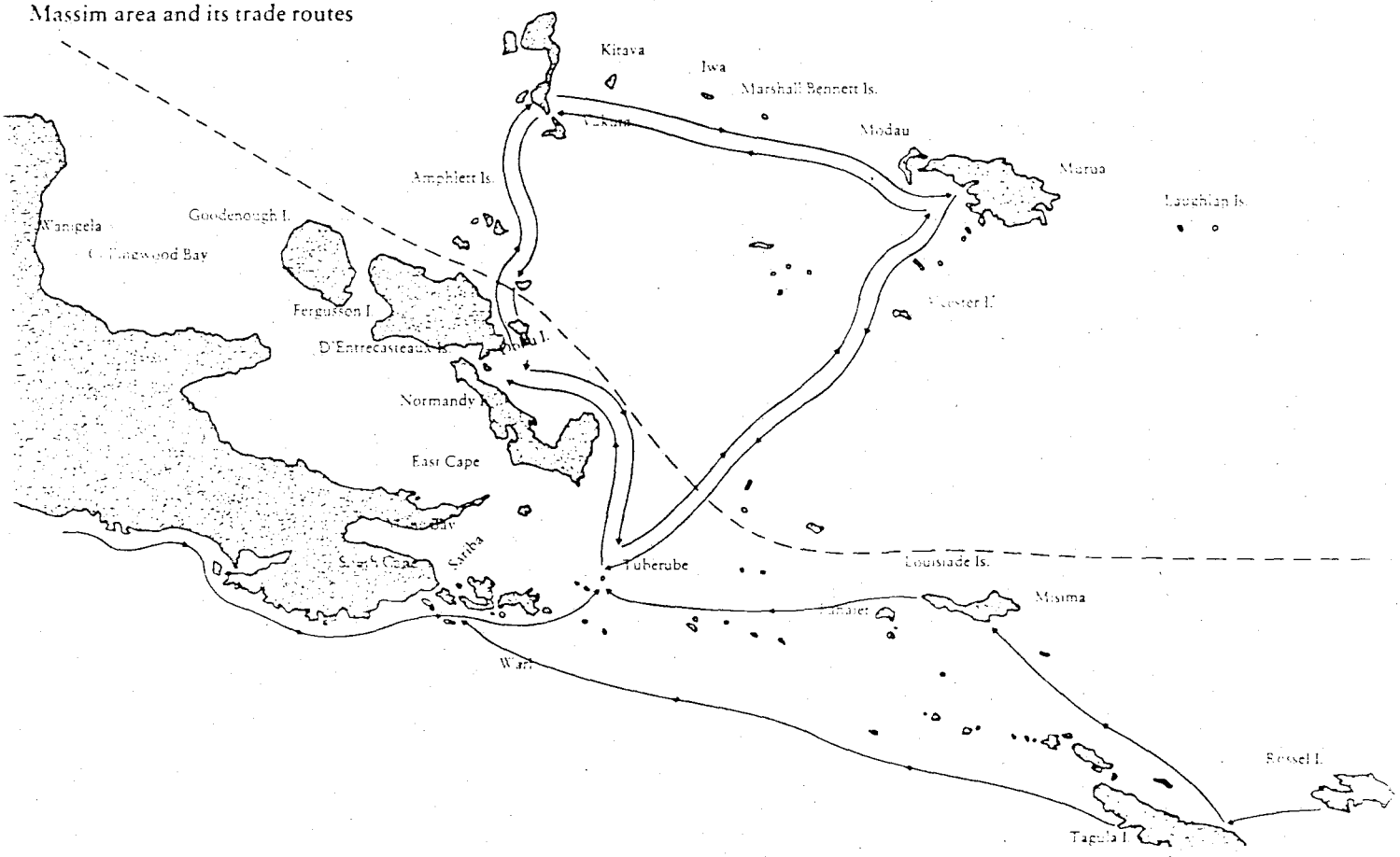


Figure 3: The Massim Area (Seligmann 1910: 6, above; Newton 1975: 2, below).

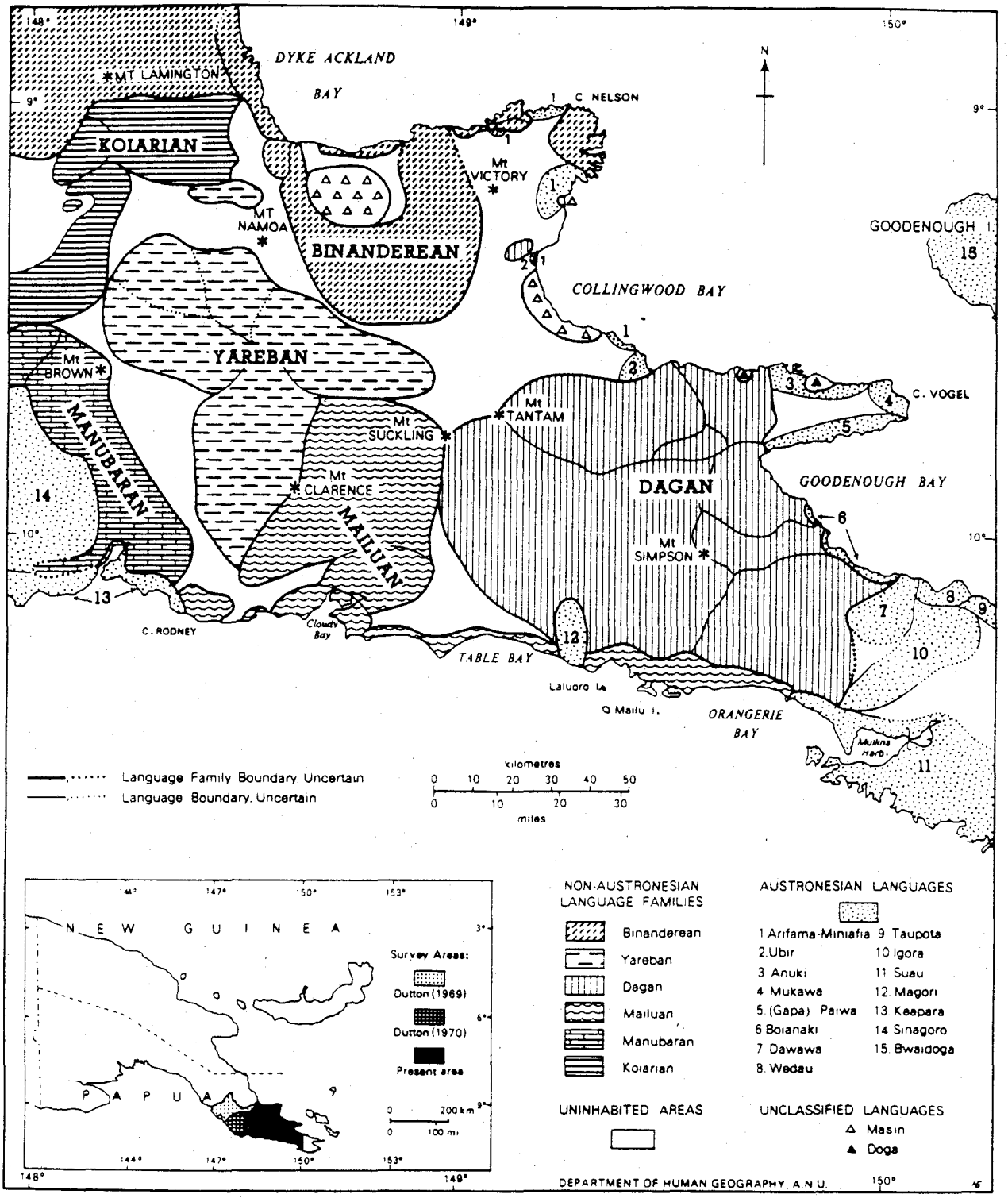


Figure 4: Languages and Language Families of Southeastern Papua (Dutton 1971 [Biblio. No. 27]: Map 1).

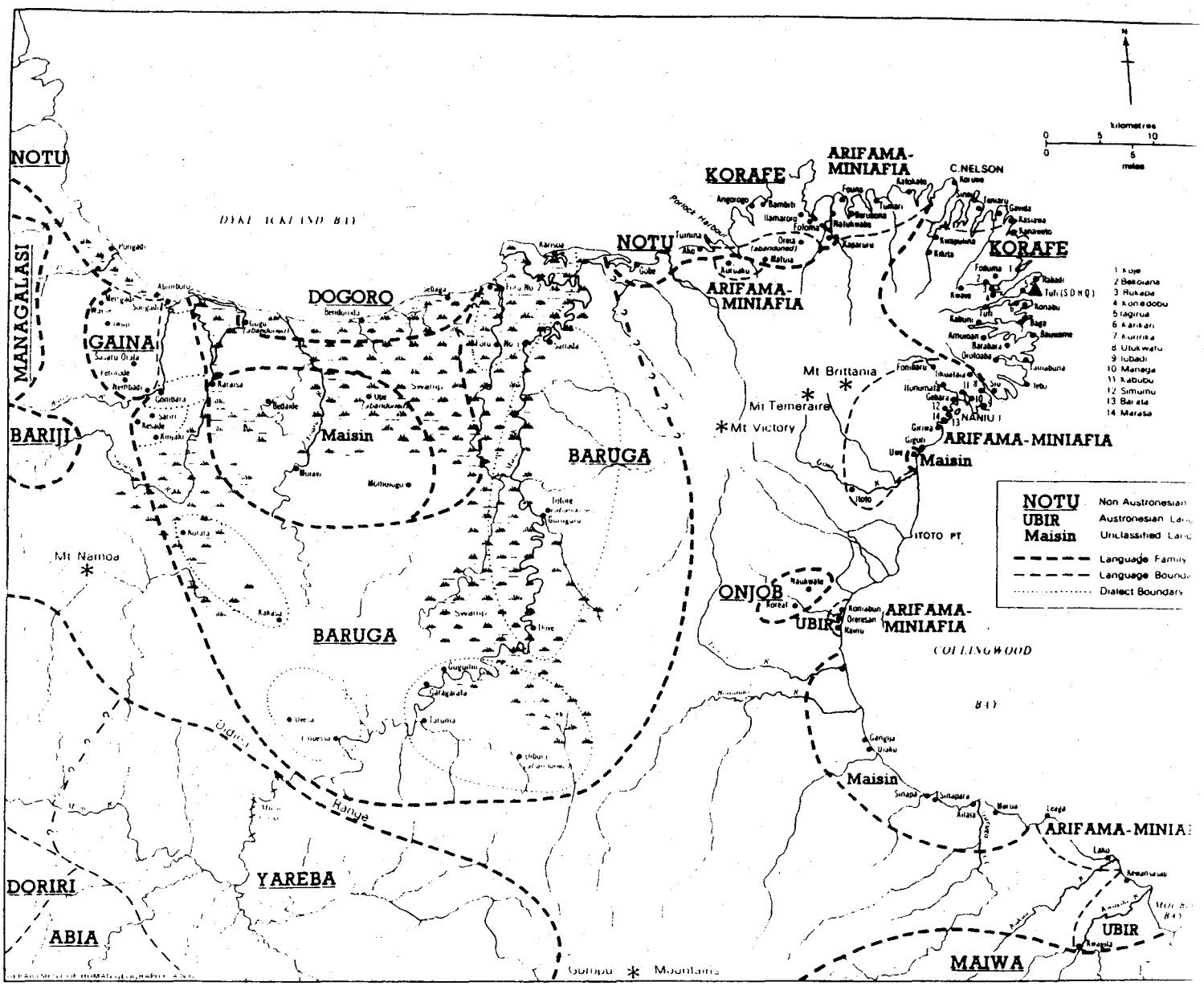


Figure 5: Languages of the Cape Nelson Area (Dutton 1971 [Biblio. No. 27]: Map 2).

Figure 6: A Wanigela family at home. Money No. 2.

Figure 7: Method of carrying a child in a net bag in Wanigela . Money No. 4.

Figure 8: Carrying a child on top of loads in Wanigela. Money No. 5.

Figure 9: Wanigelan mother and child. Money No. 6.

Figure 10: Man blowing coconut oil onto another man's hair, Wanigela. Money No. 8.

Figure 11: Shaving a married woman's head, Wanigela. Money No. 9.

Figure 12: Boy ist after puberty ceremony, Yuayu. Money No. 18.

Figure 13: During the puberty ceremony girls are tattooed and must cover their faces in this way when going out, Wanigela. Money No. 20.

Figure 14: Wanigelan tattoo. Money No. 23.

Figure 15: Girl after puberty ceremony, Yuayu. Money No. 25.

Figure 16: Girl after puberty ceremony with love philtre in armlets, Uiaku. Money No. 28.

Figure 17: Uiaku tattoo. Money No. 30.

Figure 18: Tattooed girls at Uiaku. Money No. 31.

Figure 19: Tattooed girls at Uiaku. Money No. 33.

Figure 20: Friends lamenting with prospective brides in Wanigela. Money No. 34.

Figure 21: A Wanigelan bride. Money No. 35.

Figure 22: Presentation of gifts to the bridegroom's family on the wedding day, Wanigela. Money No. 36.

Figure 23: The delivery of the bride to the groom's house, Wanigela. Money No. 37.

Figure 24: A boy dressed for his first dance, Wanigela. Money No. 38.

Figure 25: A chief dressed for a dance, Wanigela. Money No. 39.

Figure 26: A chief dressed for a dance, Wanigela. The tusk-lined pendant hanging on his chest can be held by the teeth and worn for dancing or fighting. Money No. 40.

Figure 27: The teeth-held ornaments are worn as pendants when the wearer is not dancing or fighting, Wanigela. Money No. 41.

Figure 28: A group of dancers at Wanigela. Money No. 42.

Figure 29: The men are slaking lime and the woman is beating bark cloth, Wanigela. Money No. 57.

Figure 30: The headdress incorporates a row of hornbill beaks, a type of prestige ornament originally meant to designate a man-slayer. Money No. 72.

Figure 31: Wanigelan man dressed for hunting or fighting. He wears a teeth-held shell ornament, hornbill beak headdress, and white cowries denoting "his chiefly descent." Money No. 73.

Figure 32: A Wanigelan warrior, with teeth-held tusk ornament, nose ornament and cuscus fur streamer in his armband. Money No. 74.

Figure 33: A Wanigelan man dressed for war, wearing hornbill beaks and baler shells at the temples, representing "the eyes of a deceased foe." Money No. 75.

Figure 34: Nonof women dressed in men's headdresses to dance at the funeral of a Chief. Money No. 90.

Figure 35: A Wanigelan widower in full mourning. Money No. 94.

Figure 36: A widower in full mourning, Uiaku. Money No. 95.

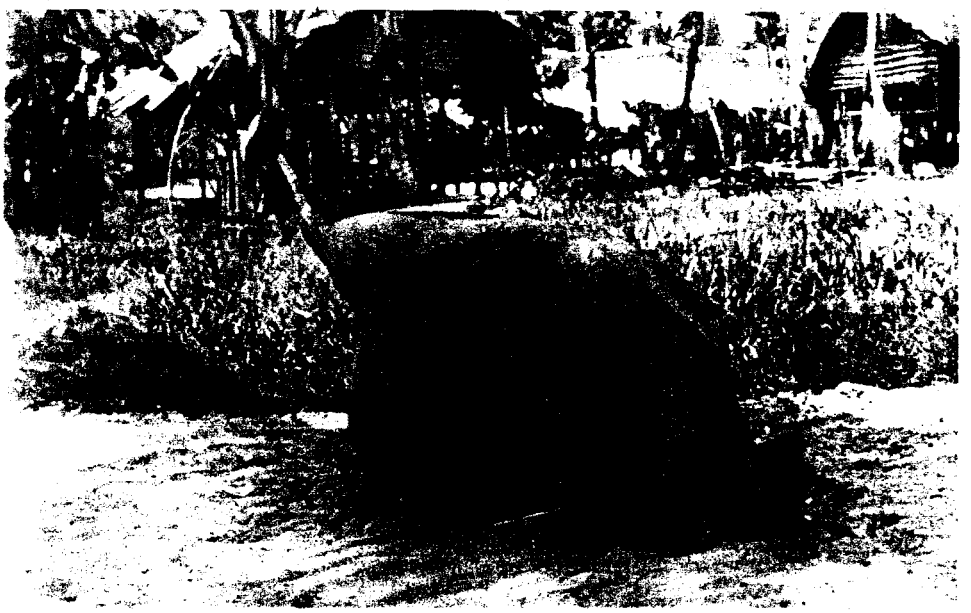


Figure 37: A Wanigelan widow in full mourning. Money No. 96.

Figure 38: Widows in full mourning, Uiaku. Money No. 97.

Figure 39: Prehistoric carved shells and pottery sherds found at Wanigela (Seligmann and Joyce 1907: pl. VIII, 3-5 and pl. X, 1-8).

Figure 40: These carved lime spatulas exhibit the characteristic curvilinear scroll or spiral design of Massim art (Newton 1975: illus. 15-16).

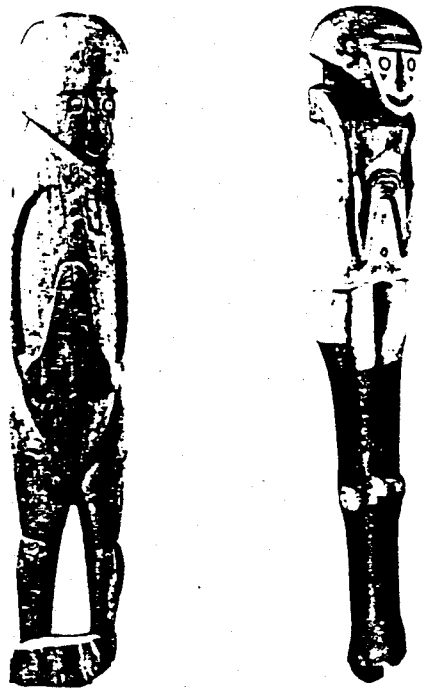


Figure 41: The similarities between such carvings from Lake Sentani (left) and the Massim area (right) have led scholars to suggest a correlation between language groups and art styles (Newton 1975: 12).

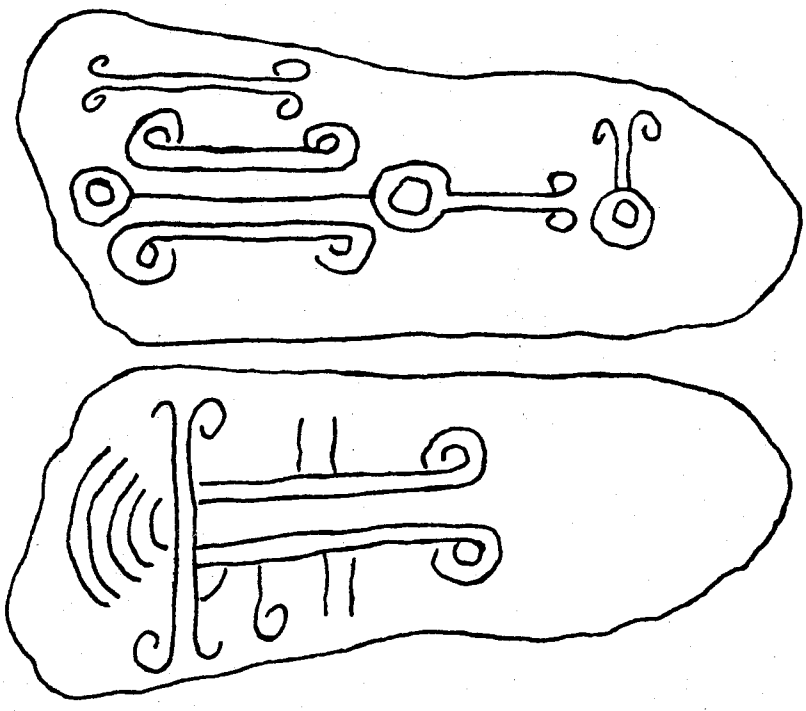


Figure 42: Incised petroglyphs, Wedau (in: Williams 1931: illus. 5). The designs bear a marked resemblance to facial tattoo designs from Boianai and Collingwood Bay.

Figure 43: Boianai facial tattoos resemble those from Collingwood Bay (Williams 1931: illus. 6).

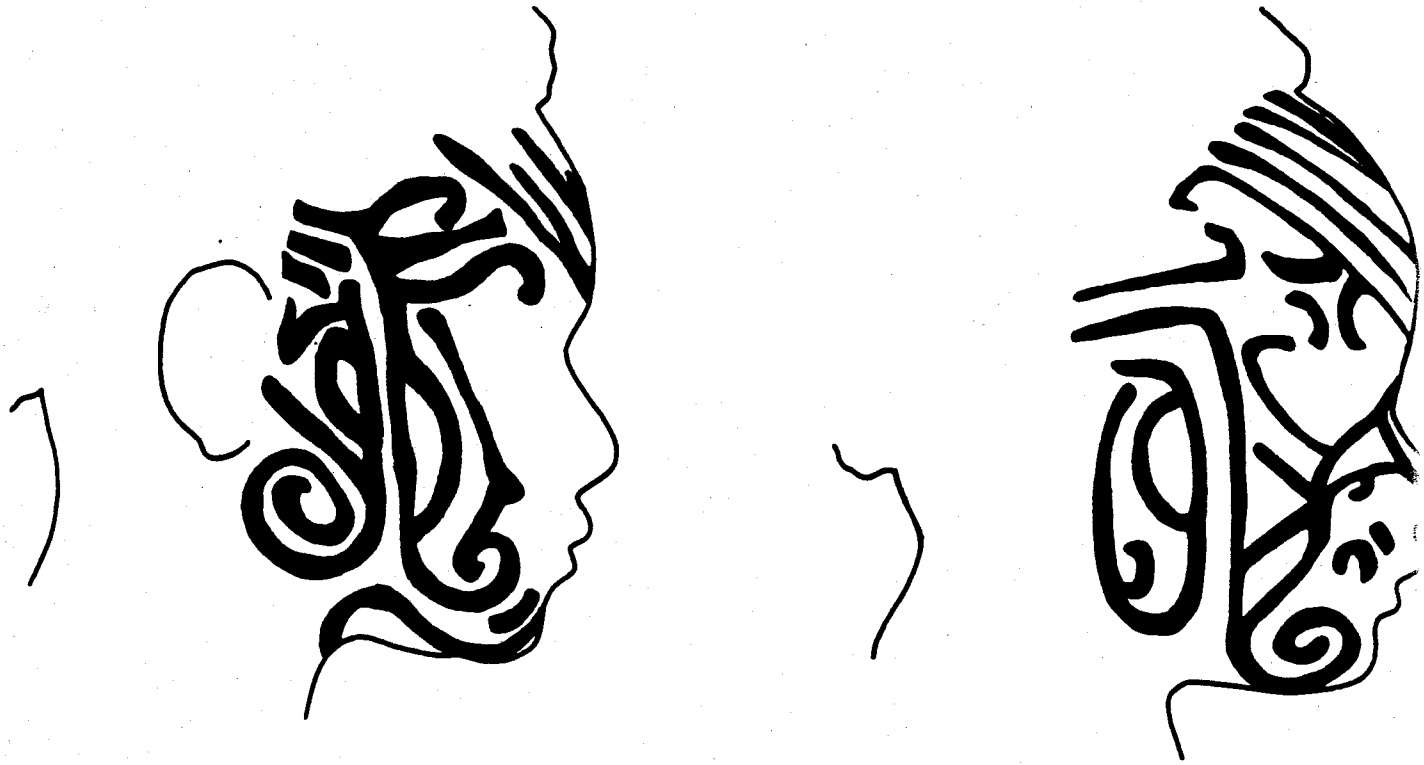


Figure 44: Tattoo designs from Wanigela, Money No. 21.

Figure 45: Profile and full face tattoo design from Wanigela, Money No. 22 (left) and 23 (right). Part of the design below the ear on No. 22 is obscured by shadow.

Figure 46: Tattoo designs from Uiaku, Money No. 29 (left) and 30 (right).

Figure 47: Tattoo designs from Uiaku, Money No. 31.

Figure 48: Tattoo designs from Uiaku, Money No. 32.

Figure 49: The tattoo styles of the non-Massim peoples of Southeastern Papua is geometric, as in this Koita example (Seligmann 1910: pl. XI).

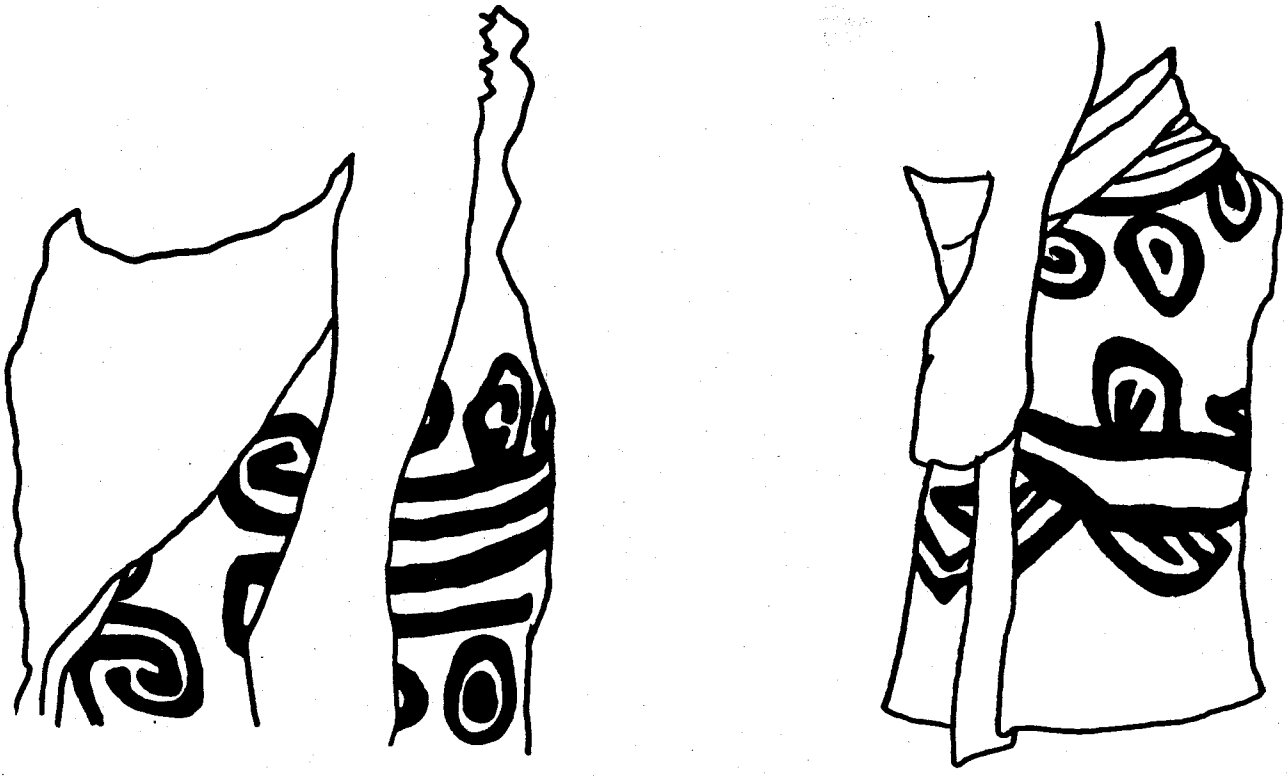


Figure 50: Bark cloth designs from Wanigela (Money No. 4 and 5) are similar to the facial tattoo designs of the area as well as to the Wedauan petroglyphs (fig. 42).

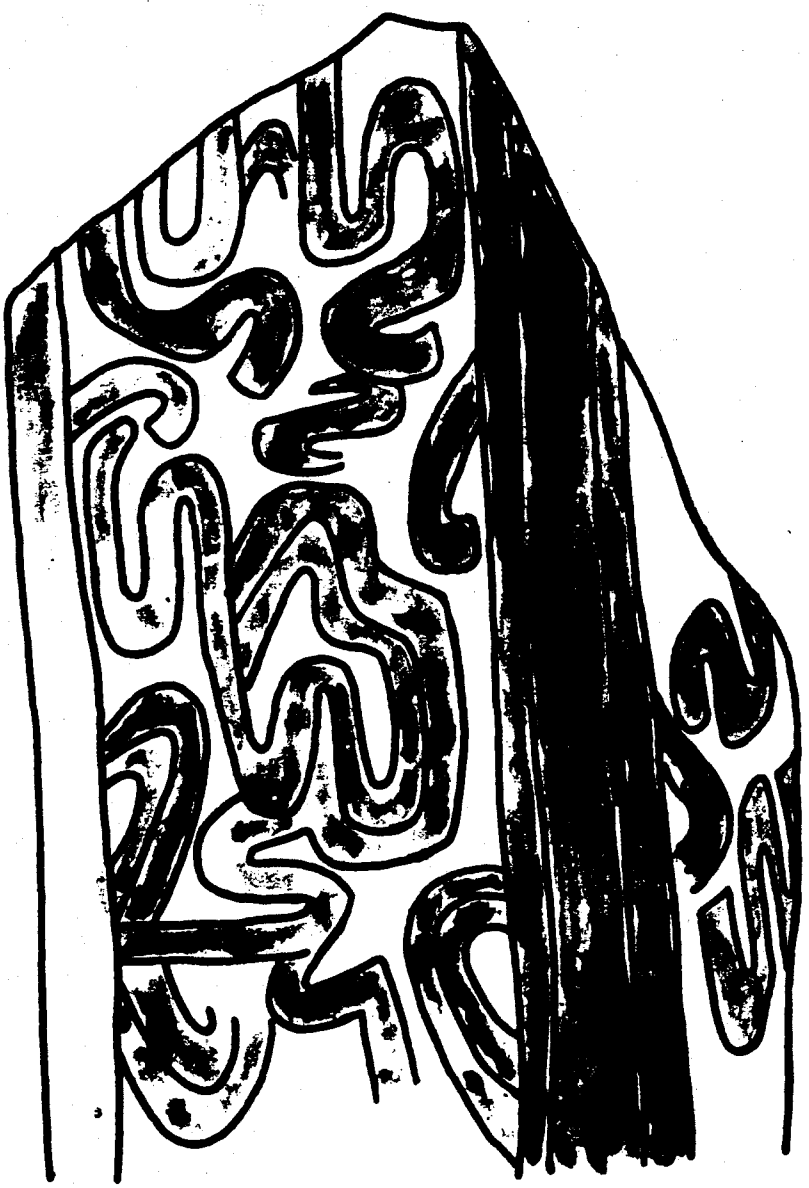


Figure 51: The meandering designs on this Wanigelan bark cloth (Money No. 6) are similar to the facial tattoo designs and the Wedauan petroglyphs (fig. 42).

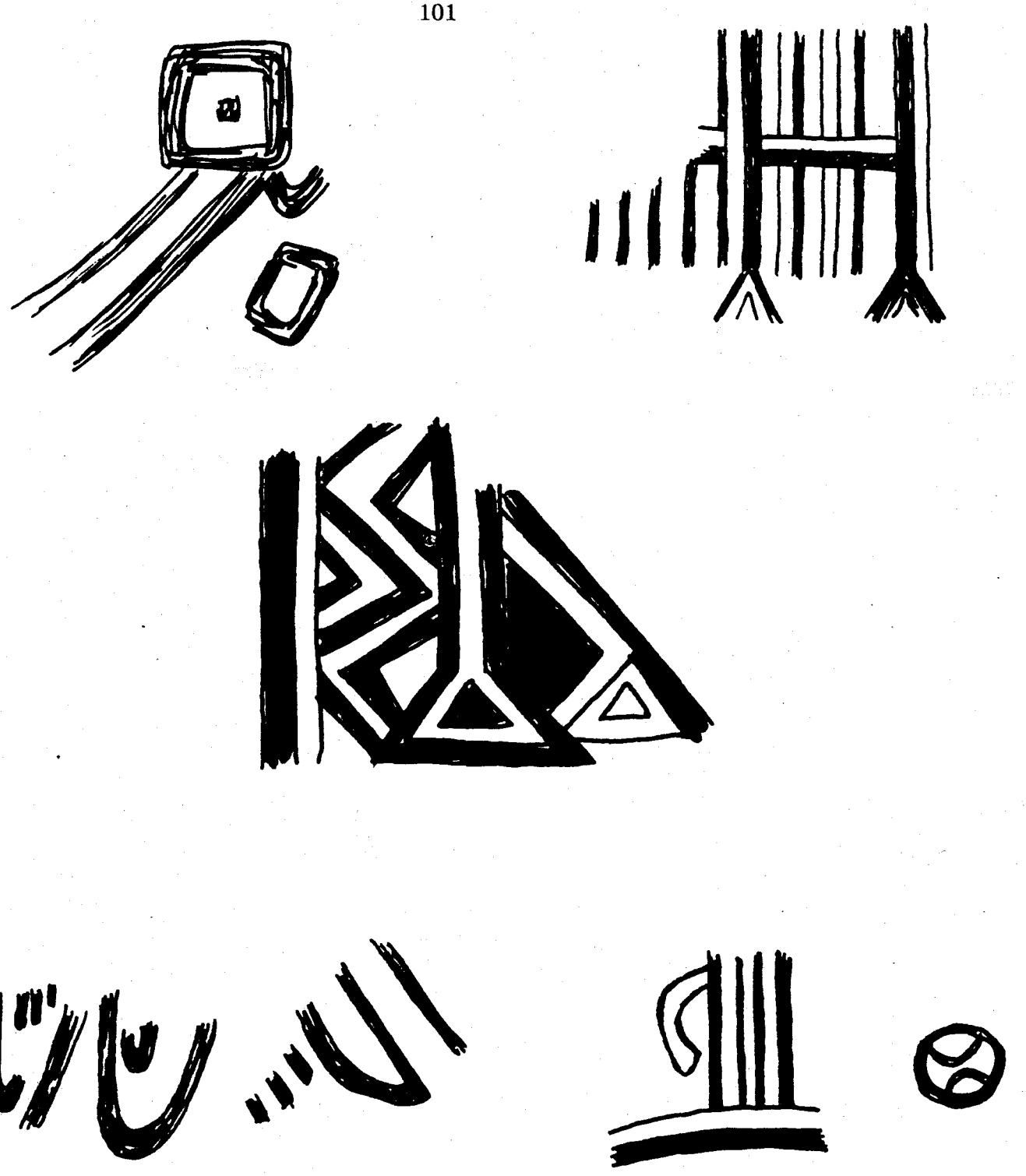


Figure 52: Bark cloth motifs from Uiaku (Money No. 33). Geometric elements characteristic of Orokaivan design predominate, but curvilinear elements more reminiscent of Massim design are also represented.

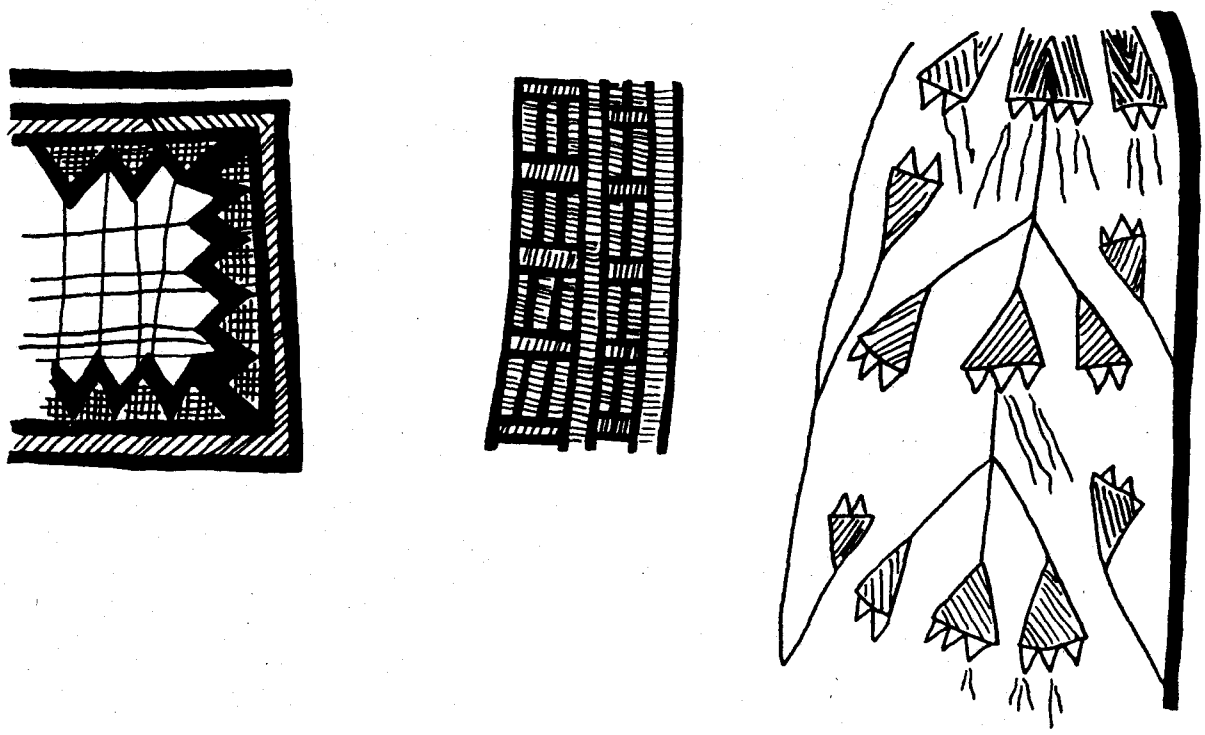


Figure 53: Bark cloth designs from Nonof (Money No. 90 and 91). These designs resemble the geometric and semi-abstract designs of the Orokaiva.

Figure 54: Orokaivan woman painting bark cloth (Beaver 1914-15: 194).

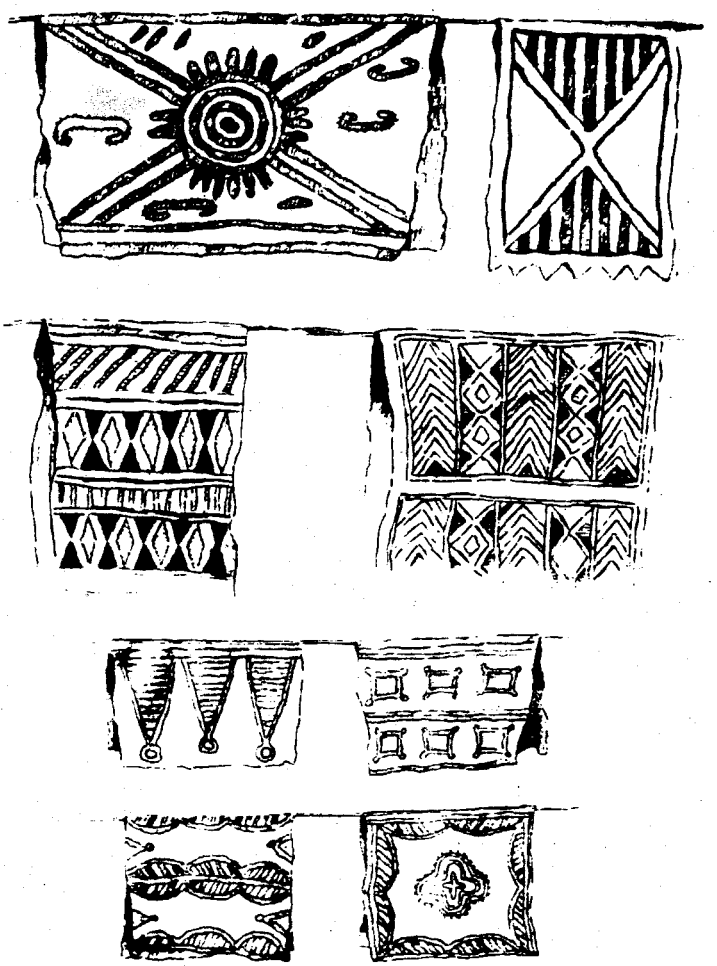


Figure 55: Orokaivan bark cloth designs (Williams 1930: pl. V).

(*a*) A man of the River Gira

(*b*) Woman and child of Wasida

Figure 56: Orokaivan dress. The man wears a headdress with hornbill beaks, an honorific homicide insignia; the woman wears painted bark cloth (Williams 1930: IV).

Figure 57: An Orokaivan man wearing feather headdress, a teeth-held shell ornament, shell beads, shell and coconut armlets, and painted bark cloth loincloth (Williams 1930: frontispiece).

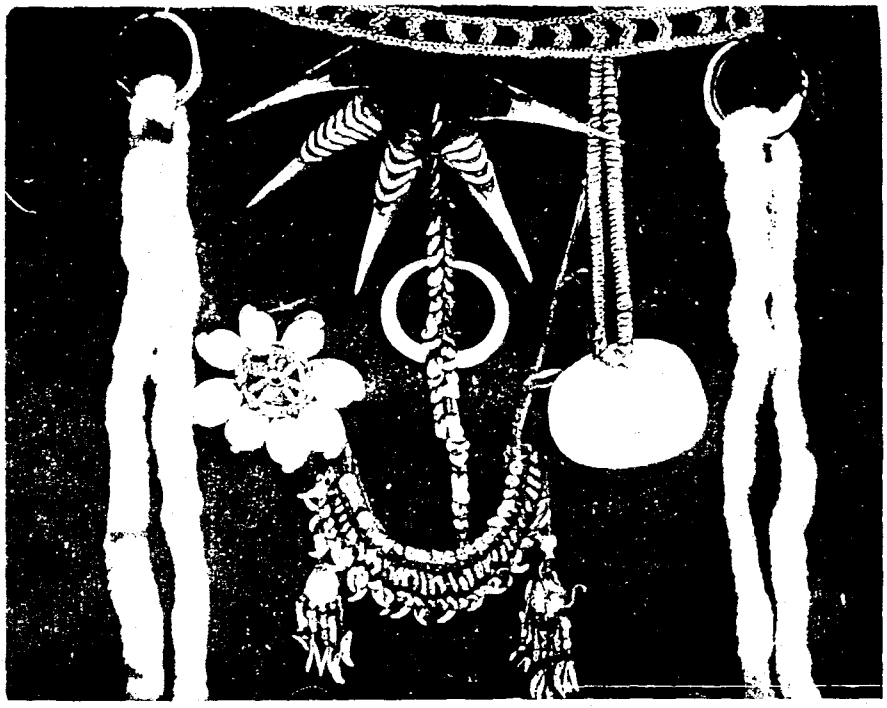
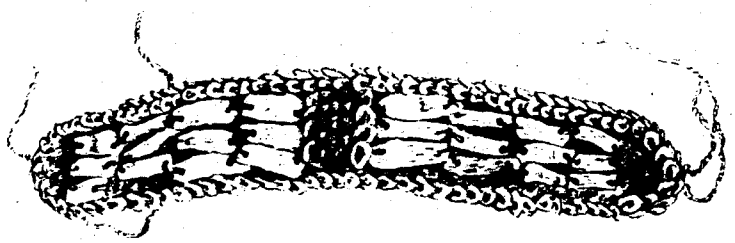
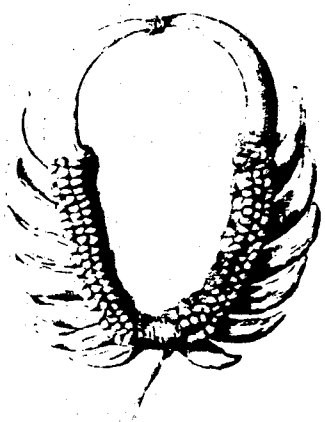


Figure 58: Orokaivan ornaments, including armlets draped with cuscus fur and a headband of hornbill beaks (Williams 1930: pl. VI).



(*a*) *Nanemo*, about 18 in. long



(*b*) *Gana*, about 8 in. by 7 in.

Figure 59: Orokaivan ornaments: a. headband, and b. teeth-held tusk ornament (Williams 1930: a. pl. VIII; b. pl. VII).

Bibliography

[1] Allen, M. R.
Male Cults and Secret Initiations in Melanesia.
Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1967.

[2] Altman, Ralph C., Adrian A. Gerbrands, Philip L. Newman, George C. Kennedy, Laurie W. Austin, and Jehanne H. Teilhet.
Art of New Guinea. Sepik, Maprik and Highlands.
The Ethnic Art Galleries, U.C.L.A., Los Angeles, 1967.

[3] Ashley-Montagu, M. F.
Ritual Mutilation among Primitive Peoples.
CIBA Symposium 8, 1946.

[4] Barton, F. R.
Tattooing in South Eastern New Guinea.
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 48:22-79, 1918.

[5] Beaver, Wilfred N.
Photographic Examples of the Technology of the Orokaiva Tribes of Northern Papua.
Papua Annual Report :191-197, 1914-1915.
Appendix XV.

[6] Beaver, Wilfred N.
The Use of Emblems or Insignia of Man-Killing among the 'Orokaiva' Tribes of the Kumusi Division.
Papua Annual Report :97-99, 1918-1919.

[7] Beaver, Wilfred N.
Unexplored New Guinea. A Record of the Travels, Adventures, and Experiences of a Resident Magistrate Amongst the Head-hunting Savages and Cannibals of the Unexplored Interior of New Guinea.
Seeley, Service and Co. Ltd., London, 1920.

[8] Biskup, P., B. Jinks and H. Nelson.
A Short History of New Guinea.
Angus and Robertson, Sydney, London and Melbourne, 1968.

[9] Blackwood, Beatrice.
The Technology of a Modern Stone Age People in New Guinea.
Oxford, 1950.
Pitt Rivers Museum, Occasional Papers on Technology, no. 3.

[10] Brain, Robert.
The Decorated Body.
Harper and Row, New York, 1979.

[11] Buhler, Alfred.
Dyeing among Primitive Peoples.
Ciba Review 68:2478-2512, 1948.

[12] Buhler, Alfred, Terry Barrow, and Charles P. Mountford.
The Art of the South Seas.
Greystone Press, New York, 1968.
Revised edition.

[13] Bulmer, R. N. H.
The Strategies of Hunting in New Guinea.
Oceania 38:302-318, 1968.

[14] Bulmer, R. N. H.
Pacific Anthropological Records, no. 12.: The Role of Ethnography in Reconstructing the Prehistory of Melanesia.
Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, 1971, pages 36-44.
In *Studies in Oceanic Culture History*, vol. 2, edited by R. C. Green and M. Kelly.

[15] Campbell, Shirley F.
Attaining Rank: A Classification of Shell Valuables.
Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983, pages 229-248.
In *The Kula. New Perspectives on Massim Exchange*, edited by Jerry W. Leach and Edmund Leach.

[16] Capell, A.
The Linguistic Position of Southeastern Papua.
Australasian Medical Publishing Co., Sydney, 1943.

[17] Capell, A.
Oceanic Linguistics Today.
Current Anthropology 3:371-428, 1962.

[18] Capell, A.
A Survey of New Guinea Languages.
Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1969.

[19] Chalmers, James.
Pioneer Life and Work in New Guinea 1877-1894.
The Religious Tract Society, London, 1895.

[20] Chignell, Arthur Kent.
An Outpost in Papua.
Smith, Elder and Co., London, 1911.

[21] Chignell, Arthur Kent.
Twenty-One Years in Papua. A History of the English Church Mission in New Guinea (1891-1912).
A. R. Mowbray and Co. Ltd., London, 1913.

[22] Chinnery, E. W. P.
Notes on the Natives of Certain Villages of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea.
Anthropological Report 1, 1925.

[23] Chowning, Ann.
An Introduction to the Peoples and Cultures of Melanesia.
Cummings Publishing Company, Menlo Park, California, 1977.
Second edition.

[24] Cranstone, B. A. L.
Melanesia: A Short Ethnography.
British Museum, London, 1961.

[25] Davis, Keith F.
Desire Charnay. Expeditionary Photographer.
University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1981.

[26] Dutton, T. E.
Pacific Linguistics Series B, no. 9: The Peopling of Central Papua: Some Preliminary Observations.
Australian National University, Canberra, 1969.
Reprinted 1971.

[27] Dutton, T.
Papers in New Guinea Linguistics, No. 14. : Languages of South-East Papua.
Linguistic Circle of Canberra, Australian National University, Canberra, 1971, pages 1-46.

[28] Ebin, Victoria.
The Body Decorated.
Thames and Hudson, London, 1979.

[29] Edge-Partington, J.
An Album of the Weapons, Tools, Ornaments, Articles of Dress of the Natives of the Pacific Islands.
Privately published, Manchester, 1890-1898.

[30] Egloff, Brian J.
Collingwood Bay and the Trobriand Islands in Recent Prehistory: Settlement and Interaction in Coastal and Island Papua.
unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, 1971.

[31] Egloff, B. J., C. A. Key, P. K. Lauer and R. L. Vanderwal.
Archaeological Research in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea.
Asian Perspectives 14:58-64, 1971.

[32] Egloff, Brian J.
Pottery of Papua New Guinea: The National Collection.
The Trustees, Papua New Guinea National Museum and Art Gallery, Port Moresby, 1977.

[33] Elkington, E. Way.
The Savage South Seas.
A. & C. Black, London, 1907.

[34] Firth, Raymond.
Art and Life in New Guinea.
Studio Publications, London and New York, 1936.

[35] Gash, Noel and June Whittaker.
A Pictorial History of New Guinea.
The Jacaranda Press, Milton, Queensland, 1975.

[36] Goldwater, Robert.
Primitivism in Modern Art.
Vintage Books, New York, 1967.
Revised edition.

[37] Golson, J.
Both Sides of the Wallace Line.
Intercultural Arts Press, New York, 1972.
In *Early Chinese Art and Its Possible Influences in the Pacific Basin*, edited by Noel Barnard and Douglas Fraser.

[38] Haddon, A. C.
The Decorative Art of British New Guinea: A Study in Papuan Ethnography.
Academy House, Dublin, 1894.
Reprinted in 1977 by AMS Press, New York.

[39] Haddon, A. C.
A Classification of the Stone Clubs of British New Guinea.
Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 30:221-250, 1900.

[40] Haddon, A. C.
Migrations of Cultures in British New Guinea.
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 50:237-280, 1920.

[41] Hambly, W. D.
The History of Tattooing and Its Significance. With Some Account of Other Forms of Corporal Marking.
H. F. and G. Witherby, London, 1925.
Reprinted by Gale Research Co., Detroit, 1974.

[42] Heine-Geldern, R.
Some Tribal Art Styles of Southeast Asia: An Experiment in Art History.
Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1966, pages 165-221.
In *The Many Faces of Primitive Art*, edited by Douglas Fraser.

[43] Hinton, Alan.
Shells of New Guinea and the Central Indo-Pacific.
Robert Brown and Associates Pty. Ltd., Port Moresby, 1972.

[44] Holecek, Barbara Gullahorn.
Papua New Guinea: Anthropology on Trial.
WGBH Transcript of a NOVA program, originally broadcast on PBS on November 1, 1983.

[45] Hughes, Ian.
Recent Neolithic Trade in New Guinea. The Ecological Basis of Traffic in Goods Among Stone-Age Subsistence Farmers.
Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, 1971.

[46] Humphries, W. R.
Patrolling in Papua.
Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1923.

[47] Hurley, Frank.
Pearls and Savages.
G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1924.

[48] Irwin, Geoffrey J.
Chieftainship, Kula and Trade in Massim Prehistory.
Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983, pages 29-72.
In *The Kula. New Perspectives on Massim Exchange*, edited by Jerry W. Leach and Edmund Leach.

[49] Jackson, J. Wilfrid.
Shells as Evidence of the Migrations of Early Culture.
The University Press, Manchester, 1917.

[50] Joyce, T. A.
Note on Prehistoric Pottery from Japan and New Guinea.
Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 42:545-546, 1912.

[51] Key, C. A.
Pottery Manufacture in the Wanigela Area of Collingwood Bay, Papua.
Mankind 6(12):653-657, 1968.

[52] Key, C. A.
Pottery Manufacturing Techniques in Papua-New Guinea.
Asian Perspectives 14:65-75, 1971.

[53] Kooijman, Simon.
Tapa in Polynesia.
Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1972.

[54] Lauer, Peter K.
Changing Patterns of Pottery Trade to the Trobriand Islands.
World Archaeology 3(2):197-209, 1971.

[55] Leach, E. R.
A Trobriand Medusa.
Man 54:103-105, 1954.

[56] Leach, Jerry W. and Edmund Leach, eds.
The Kula. New Perspectives on Massim Exchange.
Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983.

[57] Leonard, Anne and John Terrell.
Patterns of Paradise. The Styles and Significance of Barkcloth Around the World.
Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1980.

[58] Lett, Lewis.
The Papuan Achievement.
Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1944.

[59] Lewis, A. B.
Anthropology Design Series, No. 4: Decorative Art of New Guinea: Incised Designs.
Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1925.

[60] MacGregor, William.
British New Guinea: Country and People.
John Murray, London, 1897.

[61] Malinowski, Bronislaw.
Argonauts of the Western Pacific.
Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1922.

[62] Malinowski, Bronislaw.
The Sexual Life of Savages in Northwestern Melanesia.
Routledge, London, 1929.

[63] Malinowski, Bronislaw.
A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term.
Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., New York, 1967.

[64] Mamiya, Christin J. and Eugenia C. Sumnik.
Monograph Series Number 18: Hevehe. Art, Economics and Status in the Papuan Gulf.
Museum of Cultural History, U.C.L.A., Los Angeles, 1982.

[65] May, Patricia and Margaret Tuckson.
The Traditional Pottery of Papua New Guinea.
Bay Books Pty. Ltd., Kensington, N.S.W., 1982.

[66] Mes, Marcel Dixon.
Ubiri, Oro Province.
Law Reform Commission of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby, 1983, pages 177-188.
In *Customary Law in Papua New Guinea. A Melanesian View,* Monograph No. 2, edited by Richard Scaglion.

[67] Monckton, C. A. W.
North-Eastern Division.
British New Guinea, Annual Report for the Year Ending 30th June 1904 (Appendix D):31-34, 1905.

[68] Monckton, C. A. W.
Taming New Guinea. Some Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate.
John Lane Co., New York and London, 1921.

[69] Monckton, C. A. W.
Last Days in New Guinea. Being Further Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate.
Dodd Mead and Co., New York, 1922.

[70] Monckton, C. A. W.
New Guinea Recollections.
John Lane, The Bodley Head Ltd., London, 1934.

[71] Moresby, John.
Discoveries in Eastern New Guinea by Capt. Moresby and the Officers of H.M.S. *Basilisk.*
Journal of the Royal Geographical Society 45:153-170, 1875.

[72] Moresby, J.
New Guinea and Polynesia.
London, 1876.

[73] Munn, Nancy D.
Visual Categories: An Approach to the Study of Representational Systems.
American Anthropologist 68(4):936-950, 1966.

[74] Murdock, George P.
Genetic Classification of the Austronesian Languages: A Key to Oceanic Culture History.
Ethnology 3(2):117-126, 1964.

[75] Newton, Henry.
In Far New Guinea. A Stirring Record of Work and Observation Amongst the People of New Guinea, with a Description of their Manners, Customs, and Religions, etc.
J. B. Lippincott Co. and Seeley, Service and Co., Philadelphia and London, 1914.

[76] Newton, Douglas.
Art Styles of the Papuan Gulf.
The Museum of Primitive Art, New York, 1961.

[77] Newton, Douglas.
Massim. Art of the Massim Area, New Guinea.
The Museum of Primitive Art, New York, 1975.

[78] Paulme, Denise.
Adornment and Nudity in Tropical Africa.
In *Primitive Art and Society*, edited by Anthony Forge, pp. 11-24.
Oxford University Press, London and New York, 1973.

[79] Poch, Rudolf.
Travels in German, British, and Dutch New Guinea.
Geographical Journal 30:609-616, 1907.

[80] Powell, Wilfred.
Visits to the Eastern and North-Eastern Coasts of New Guinea.
Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society 5(9):505-517, 1883.

[81] Ray, Sidney H.
The Languages of British New Guinea.
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 24:15-39, 1894.

[82] Ray, Sidney H.
Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits.
Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1907.
Volume on Linguistics.

[83] Ray, Sidney H.
Comparative Notes on Maisin and Other Languages of Eastern Papua.
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 41:397-405, 1911.

[84] Ray, Sidney H.
The Languages of the Eastern and South-Eastern Divisions of Papua.
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 68:153-208, 1938.

[85] Safer, Jane Fearer and Frances McLaughlin Gill.
Spirals from the Sea. An Anthropological Look at Shells.
Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., New York, 1982.

[86] Schmitz, C. A.
Wantoat. Art and Religion of the Northeast New Guinea Papuans.
Mouton and Co., The Hague and Paris, 1963.

[87] Schwimmer, Erik.
Exchange in the Social Structure of the Orokaiva.
C. Hurst and Company, London, 1973.

[88] Schwimmer, Ziska.
Tapa Cloths of the Northern District, Papua New Guinea.
Pacific Art Newsletter (9):6-11, 1979.

[89] Schwimmer, Ziska.
Arts and Crafts of the Northern District of Papua New Guinea.
Unpublished paper presented to Workshop 2 at the Second International Symposium on the Art of Oceania, Wellington, New Zealand, 1978.

[90] Seligmann, C. G. and Strong, W. Mersh.
Anthropogeographical Investigations in British New Guinea.
Geographical Journal 27(4):347-369, 1906.

[91] Seligmann, C. G. and T. A. Joyce.
On Prehistoric Objects in British New Guinea.
Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1907, pages 325-341.
In *Anthropological Essays Presented to Edwards Burnett Tylor*, edited by W. H. R. Rivers, R. R. Marett and N. W. Thomas.

[92] Seligmann, C. G.
A Classification of the Natives of British New Guinea (Parts 1 and 2).
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 39:246-276 and 314-333, 1909.

[93] Seligmann, C. G.
The Melanesians of British New Guinea.
Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1910.

[94] Simmons, D. R.
Tapa of the Pacific.
Auckland War Memorial Museum, Auckland, 1978.

[95] Speiser, F.
The Many Faces of Primitive Art.
Prentice Hall, New York, 1966, pages 133-160, chapter Art Styles in the Pacific.
Douglas Fraser, ed.

[96] Strathern, Andrew and Marilyn.
Self-Decoration in Mount Hagen.
University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Buffalo, 1971.

[97] Strathern, Andrew J.
The Kula in Comparative Perspective.
Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983, pages 73-88.
In *The Kula. New Perspectives on Massim Exchange*, edited by Jerry W. Leach and Edmund Leach.

[98] Strong, W. M.
The Maisin Language.
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 41:381-396, 1911.

[99] Strong, W. M.
Some Personal Experiences in British New Guinea.
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 49:292-308, 1919.

[100] Teilhet, Jehanne H.
The Equivocal Role of Women Artists in Non-Literate Cultures.
In *Heresies*, Winter, 1978.

[101] Tomlin, J. W. S.
Awakening. A History of the New Guinea Mission.
The New Guinea Mission, London, 1951.

[102] Tuckson, Margaret.
Pottery in New Guinea.
Pottery in Australia 5:9-16, 1966.

[103] Wetherell, David.
Reluctant Mission: The Anglican Church in Papua New Guinea, 1891-1942.
University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1977.

[104] White, J. P.
Ethno-archaeology in New Guinea: Two Examples.
Mankind 6:409-414, 1967.

[105] Williams, F. E.
Orokaiva Magic.
Oxford University Press, London, 1928.

[106] Williams, F. E.
Orokaiva Society.
Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1930.
Reprinted by Oxford University Press in 1969.

[107] Williams, F. E.
Papuan Petrographs.
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 61:121-155, 1931.

[108] Williams, F. E.
Drama of Orokolo.
Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1940.

[109] Williams, F. E.
Trading Voyages from the Gulf of Papua.
Oceania 3:139-166, 1932-33.

[110] Williamson, R. W.
Some Unrecorded Customs of the Mekeo People of British New Guinea.
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 43:268-290, 1913.

[111] Wurm, Stephen A. and S. Hattori.
Series C, no. 66: Language Atlas of the Pacific Area. Part I: New Guinea Area, Oceania, Australia.
Australian Academy of Humanities in collaboration with the Japan Academy, Canberra, 1981.

[112] Wurm, Stephen A.
Ars Linguistica. Commentationes analyticae et criticae. Volume 7: *Papuan Languages of Oceania.*
Gunter Narr Verlag Tubingen, Stuttgart, 1982.