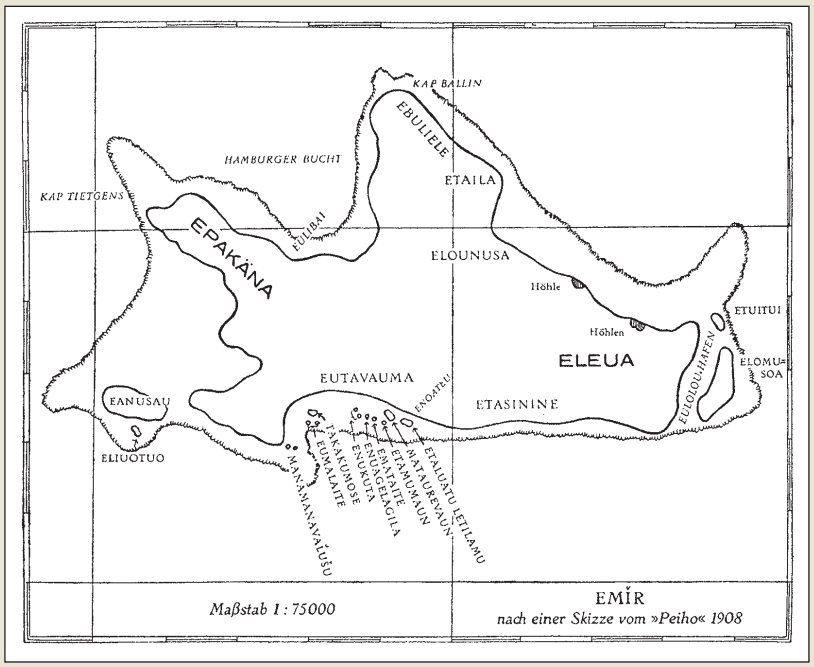
ST MATTHIAS GROUP

BY

DR HANS NEVERMANN



Translated by: John Dennison

Edited by: John Dennison, Glenn R. Summerhayes & Lisa Matisoo-Smith

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HAMBURG SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTE
AND CONSULTATIVE ASSOCIATION OF GERMAN SCIENCE

RESULTS
OF THE
EXPEDITION TO THE SOUTH SEAS
1908 – 1910

EDITED BY
PROF. G. THILENIUS
PROFESSOR OF ETHNOLOGY
DIRECTOR OF THE HAMBURG MUSEUM OF ETHNOLOGY

II. ETHNOGRAPHY: A. MELANESIA
VOLUME 2

DR H. NEVERMANN

ST. MATTHIAS GROUP

HAMBURG
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1933

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UND NOTGEMEINSCHAFT DER DEUTSCHEN WISSENSCHAFT

ERGEBNISSE
DER
SÜDSEE-EXPEDITION
1908-1910

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
DR. G. THILENIUS
o. ö. PROFESSOR DER VÖLKERKUNDE,
DIREKTOR DES MUSEUMS FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE IN HAMBURG

II. ETHNOGRAPHIE: A. MELANESIEN
BAND 2

DR. H. NEVERMANN

ST. MATTHIAS-GRUPPE

HAMBURG
FRIEDERICHSEN, DE GRUYTER & CO. G.m.b.H.
1933



Naphtali Kapty
Emirau

Background to the English translation

The need for an English translation of any of the classic Hamburg South Seas Expedition volumes is a matter of urgency for those not only working in the Pacific, but for the people whose families the Germans wrote about in the beginning of the twentieth century. A translation of Nevermann's classic volume on the St Matthias Island Group became apparent to us when we undertook research on Emirau Island. From 2007 to 2010 we undertook four field seasons of archaeological and biological anthropological research on Emirau. Our major objective was unravelling the earliest occupation on these islands dating back to 3300-3250 years ago (see Summerhayes et al. 2010 for details) and understanding their biological history. We took with us copies of early reports written on these islands. We previously noted the excitement of people when in 2002 copies of Dennison's English translation of Parkinson's classic work *Dreißig Jahre in der Südsee* were donated by Summerhayes to the Kavieng library. Within days after the donation word of the book's presence spread across the province and people from as far as Konos, some three hours drive down the Boluminski Highway, came to visit the library specifically to read the stories that Parkinson had written about their area. Most important were the photographs he published on the region. What became obvious was that people were coming to look at their ancestors and to read stories about their past.

When we took copies of 'Thirty Years in the South Seas' to donate to the Emirau community, the excitement was of a more intense nature. Emirau has been a Seventh Day Adventist enclave since the early 1930s and much of the knowledge of custom has been lost over the past 80 years. This is unusual for the peoples of New Ireland where custom is still strong. People were reading stories about their island that had previously been rumours or legend. Apart from copies of Parkinson, we brought with us numerous bound copies of Chinnery's 1925 report on Emirau, and also a facsimile copy of Nevermann's 1933 *St Matthias Gruppe* written in German. Many people came and looked through the volume, recognizing the odd name and indeed noting similarities in the facial features of people that had been photographed in 1908 with those living today. One of the local historians, Mr Naphtali Kapty, cried when he glanced at the book. Kapty, a retired school teacher, is in his late seventies. He said looking at this book was like being blind. He said there were stories of his customs that had been blurred and lost over the last 80 years. He needed to see again – that is read the book in English.

Back in Dunedin we approached John Dennison of the Department of Anatomy and Structural Biology to translate the 1933 *St Matthias Gruppe* tome into English. Apart from being a noted anatomist, he is a gifted linguist. John agreed straight away and within 24 months we have this amazing translation. John formatted the finished product himself, while we asked Adam Thomson an MA student in Anthropology to scan in at high resolution the plates from a copy of the original owned by Summerhayes. Anne Ford, another research scholar in Anthropology, placed the final scans into the text. Summerhayes undertook the final editing and proof reading.

We are proud to have this translation finished, and proud that the University of Otago can help the people from Emirau to see their past. In 2010 we took preliminary copies of the volume to Emirau. Kapty could now see and stories and customs of the past were brought back home. More copies will be distributed free of charge to the St Matthias communities.

Glenn Summerhayes and Lisa Matisoo-Smith, University of Otago

References

Chinnery, E.W.P. 1925. Notes on the Natives of Emirau and St Matthias. Anthropological Reports No. 2. Melbourne, H.J. Green Government Printer.

Summerhayes, G.R., Matisoo-Smith, L., Mandui. H., Allen, J., Specht, J., Hogg, N. and S. McPherson. 2010. Tamuarawai (EQS): An Early Lapita Site on Emirau, New Ireland, PNG. *The Journal of Pacific Archaeology* 1: 62-75.



Summerhayes presenting an advanced copy of the translation to the Head Teacher of Rongoe Primary School, Emirau

Translator's Preface

This detailed study of the St Matthias Island Group continues a series, and follows:

Thirty Years in the South Seas. Land and People, Customs and Traditions in the Bismarck Archipelago and on the German Solomon Islands, translation of Parkinson, R. (1907): Dreißig Jahre in der Südsee. Land und Leute, Sitten und Gebräuche im Bismarckarchipel und auf den deutschen Salomoninseln. Bathurst NSW, Crawford House Publishing (1999) xxxviii + 378 p. [ISBN 1-86333-167-0]

Translation of this 252-page volume started in November 2004 and has continued, in my own time, up to this day. At the end of a long day's teaching gross anatomy, carrying out physical anthropological research, or conducting a skeletal forensic investigation, it is quite relaxing to translate the findings from research undertaken one hundred and two years ago, and to make the author's work available to modern scholars.

Technology has advanced since I completed the Parkinson translation eleven years ago — the seven word-processor files making up this 118 MB typeset translation will travel to the publisher on a 'memory stick', rather than the two 1.3 MB diskettes of the earlier occasion.

Once again, I owe so much to my wife, Ann, who proofread my draft for spelling and phrasing, and then patiently discussed my draft with me, often far into the night. I am grateful to Professor Glenn Summerhayes, Head of the Department of Anthropology, Gender and Sociology, the University of Otago who, when an earlier avenue of publication became no longer viable, opened up another avenue, and who will see this work through to its final published form. And I am grateful to the staff of the Hocken Library of the University of Otago, the repository of our irreplaceable historical works, who had no problem with providing a photocopy of the original text, so that the translation could be undertaken.

We are a team, who have worked together to make the work of Hans Nevermann and his team available to you. I wish you well in your research.

K.J. Dennison
Dunedin, July 2010

Introduction

The present work is based on material from the diaries of Messrs Fülleborn, F.E. Hellwig, Wilhelm Müller(–Wismar), and O. Reche, and the collections that they made during their stay in the St Matthias group in August and September, 1908. In addition to their writings, the collection in the museums of Berlin, Dresden, Hamburg, Karlsruhe, Leipzig and Stuttgart were consulted as well. With regard to zoological matters, I am grateful to Dr W. Meise of the museums of zoology and ethnology in Dresden.

The peculiarities of tiny Tench Island made it necessary to draw particular attention to that island in each section. Where this does not happen, the text refers specifically to St Matthias and Emi̇r, and their offshore islands.

Where words are transliterated from indigenous sources, it is noted that in general they comply with W. Müller's transcription, and are merely supplemented by the writings of other members of the expedition, F.E. Hellwig in particular.

After the publication process had been completed, the author was made aware, by courtesy of Professor Speiser in Basel, that the Administration's anthropologist, E.W. Pearson Chinnery, had visited the St Matthias group and Emi̇r in particular between 2 July and 7 September 1925, and that he had published his findings in Anthropological Report N° 2 of the Territory of New Guinea, as *Notes on the Natives of E Mira and St. Matthias* (Melbourne, n. d.).

It must be added also that Dr A. Bühler carried out a collecting journey through northern Melanesia in 1931–32, on behalf of the Basel Museum of Ethnology. St Matthias is based also on this collection.

H. Nevermann

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A. General Section

I. History

The Discovery Period

According to Wichmann,[1] St Matthias, Emi̍r and Tench were seen first by Schouten and Le Maire on 3 July, 1616. However, they did not name the islands, and nobody paid much attention to their discovery. On the other hand, in Friederici's[2] opinion, those islands discovered did not belong to the St Matthias group since they would hardly be seen from New Hanover — more likely it was Tanga. Yet on 30 September, 1908, the Hamburg South Seas Expedition saw New Hanover in stark clarity from Emi̍r. Parkinson[3] too confirmed that in clear weather New Hanover was visible from St Matthias.

Dampier is the real discoverer. On the morning of 25 February, 1700, he approached the St Matthias group from the west. He appears to have observed only the main island, estimating its length as 9–10 leagues. He named it St Matthias, in honour of the calendar saint. He determined also that the island was mountainous, with forest, grassy flats and was apparently cultivated in places. On 26 February, he noted a second island, 7 – 8 leagues from St Matthias. This island was 2 – 3 leagues long, flat, and forested. Off its south-western tip lay a small, low, wooded island. This is evidently Ĕănŭsa͡u̍ (Ealusau)[4], while the big island is Emi̍r. Dampier named it Squally Island, because a storm arose as he approached it.

On 4 August, 1768, Bougainville[5] approached the islands in poor visibility and recognized them as Dampier's St Matthias and Squally Island (*Ile Orageuse*). He estimated the length of St Matthias as 8 – 9 leagues, and Squally Island 3 – 4 leagues. Bougainville thought he saw a small island between the two. It does not actually exist, although, as Danneil[6] [2] believes, he might have meant Ĕănŭsa͡u̍ or one of the islands to the south of St Matthias (Ĕlŏa̍ŭa, Ĕmănánus).

On 5 August Bougainville noted a small, low island which, according to his rather inaccurate account, lay to the west of the bigger islands. There is no island in that location.

Bougainville's chart does not fully match his report. In particular, the small island discovered on 5 August is shown lying north-west of St Matthias, although plotted to the south-east is a double island, at approximately the position of Emi̍r. Plotted east of St Matthias and north-east of the double island is a big island named Kyue, which must have been seen to larboard, but is not mentioned in the report. He named it for the Chevalier de Kyue, de Kué, or de Kerué.[7] This island could not have been confused with Tench. Bougainville evidently saw Emi̍r[8] as Kye.

On 12 January 1781, the frigate *Princesa*, with Francisco Antonio Maurelle[9] approached St Matthias.[10] He described it as mountainous, and plotted its southern point as 1°42'S.[11] On 13 August he saw a second island, plotting its southern point as 1°35'S., and 57' from St Matthias.

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[1] 1909, I, p.64 *et seq.*, and p.90
[2] 1912, p.6
[3] 1905, p.72
[4] Parkinson, 1905, p.71
[5] 1771, p.290
[6] 1902, p.282
[7] The script differs — on the chart, in the officer's drawing, and in the text.
[8] Danneil, 1902, p.283, after Milet-Mureau
[9] Maurelle is the sole Spaniard to have touched the islands. When von Hesse- Wartegg speaks of Spanish slave hunts on St Matthias for the gold mines in Peru, this is pure fantasy, (Wichmann, 1912, II,2, p.758).
[10] Milet-Mureau, 1797, vol.I, p.269 *et seq.*

This island seemed smaller than Orageuse on Bellin's[12] map of the Pacific published in 1742. Maurelle believed that it was Squally, or another small island very close to it. However, Maurelle does not appear to be quite sure of this, because, in addition to two small islands, he entered one big Y[a] Oragues on his chart, but he neither saw it nor recorded it in his log. As Wichmann pointed out, the island seen to the east of St Matthias was, in fact, not Emŕr, (Squally or Orageuse) — Maurelle had discovered a hitherto unknown island, Tench.

On 19 May, 1790, Henry L. Ball on the *Supply* stumbled on Tench, and plotted its position as 1°39'S.,140°31'E. In his account of Ball's voyage, published by Hunter,[13] Philip G. King writes 'The island cannot be more than two miles in circumference; it is low, but entirely covered with trees, many of which are the cocoa-nut.' In honour of Captain Watkin Tench, Ball named it Tench's Island. The natives gathered on the beach at the *Supply*'s arrival, and several canoes approached the ship but [3] 'it was with great difficulty they were persuaded to come near enough to receive a string of beads which were let down over the stern; after this, they all paddled ashore'.[14] Since no further contact with the natives presented itself, the *Supply* continued its westerly course. St Matthias was sighted the following morning. King writes, 'This island is pretty high, and appears to be about 70 miles in circumference, if I may judge from the lenght [*sic.*] of its east side, which I measured by angles. It is well wooded and there are a number of clear cultivated tracts of ground, on which something was growing that had the appearance of Indian corn, or sugar-cane.' They did not find anchorage on the east coast, although they suspected that anchorage did exist. King mentions also the sandy beach of the east coast, 'on which the surf beats with some violence'. Close contact with the natives does not appear to have happened there either. Ball named the island Prince William-Henry Island, in honour of the Duke of Clarence, and its peak Mount Phillip in honour of the Governor of New South Wales, Captain Arthur Phillip. Ball fixed the mountain's location at 1°32'S., 149°30'E.

When J.P.M. Willinck of the Dutch corvette *Lynx* sighted a coconut palm-covered island at 1°45'S. and 150°E. in the north-north-west, on 12 June 1824, while the west cape of New Hanover was lying south-east, he thought that he had rediscovered the island of 'Thense'. However, as Wichmann[15] was able to point out, Willinck had seen not Tench but Emŕr. Another island was sighted north by north-west, and was initially thought to be 'Squally Island' but was subsequently recognized as Prince William-Henry Island with its high mountain, which had to be Mount Phillip. Willinck appears to have regarded St Matthias and Prince William-Henry Island as two different islands, probably being led astray by Thomas Butler's 1804 chart, where Prince William-Henry Island is synonymous with Bougainville's Kyue.[16] Willinck's voyage did not bring about contact with the natives.

On 15 July 1825 the Dutch corvette *Pollux* under command of C. Eeg again entered the vicinity of St Matthias, which was sighted from 0°59'1"S., and 150°6'22"E. At first it was unclear whether this was Squally Island or St Matthias, since Dampier's chart seemed to indicate possible landfall with both islands. Nevertheless, Eeg correctly identified St Matthias.[17] Eeg's report, however, did not provide any fresh information about the island or its inhabitants. [4]

F.R. Stavers aboard the whaler *Tuscan* sighted Tench on 13 June 1836. He described it as a small, low island, scarcely more than three miles in circumference. Its position, as given by F.D. Bennett during Stavers' voyage, can, as Wichmann[18] established, be traced back to Ball's measurement and King's report, although it has been distorted by a printing error.

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[11] Wichmann, 1909, vol.I, p.232, note 3
[12] Based on Dampier's report
[13] Hunter, 1793, p.421
[14] Hunter, 1793, p.420
[15] 1909, I, p.317
[16] Wichmann, 1909, I, p.244, note 6, and p.317
[17] Wichmann, 1909, I, p.320
[18] II,1, 1910, p.41

The whaling captain Robert L. Hunter, who had previously sighted St Matthias on 27 October 1835, approached that area again in 1840 aboard the *Marshall Bennett*, and established the presence of several islands off the coast. Hunter cruised about for a fortnight but did not see any canoes. Ten miles to the south-east Hunter saw a low island about ten miles long with two hills, centred on 1°41'S. and 149°52'E. That island was Emŕr, as Danneil[19] recognized. To the east of it Hunter saw a small wooded island about four miles in circumference, which he thought was Squally Island. In actual fact it was Tench.[20]

The Period of Attempts at Access

Parkinson[21] reports that, in 1864, when labour recruiters from Fiji attempted to make contact with the natives of St Matthias, the natives drew back from the landing of a boat manned by two Europeans and a coloured crew. The two white men settled themselves down on the beach, but were suddenly attacked and speared by the natives, who had been timidly edging forward. After a brief struggle, the boat's crew were able to escape, with the loss of two men.

C.H. Simpson's attempt to visit St Matthias in 1872 in the British warship *Blanche* was aborted because no suitable anchorage could be found. Therefore, no contact with the natives took place. The reefs and small islands south-west of the main island are also mentioned during this voyage.

The islands were not approached in subsequent years, though probably often seen from a distance. On 7 December 1873, A.E.B. Brown sighted St Matthias from the barque *Albyn's Isle*, and on 17 July 1875 von Schleinitz sighted St Matthias and Emŕr[22] from *Gazelle*. He thought he saw small islets at the northern and southern ends of St Matthias. On 12 November 1879, von Miklucho–Maclay sailed between St Matthias and New Hanover, and in December 1882, Karchers passed St Matthias aboard the *Carola* and, to the east, saw [5] Emŕr with its two hills. However, he mistook it for 'Tenet' (Tench).[23] As a result of this voyage Weißer[24] said, '. .St Matthias, Squally . . . are high, fall steeply to the sea and have a palm-fringed shoreline.' Nor did the voyage of the *Sperber* under Fischer, although sighting St Matthias on 9 January 1893, lead to any closer contact.

Although St Matthias, Emŕr, and Tench had belonged to the German South Seas territory since 1885, it was not until 1895 that St Matthias was visited once more. In that year, station manager Wasa Mende came to St Matthias from Herbertshöhe, aboard the schooner *Senta* on a labour-recruiting voyage, and dropped anchor between the small southern islands. Although no workers were recruited, lively trading did take place. Theft by one of the natives led to dissension, and the St Matthias people began to throw spears. The black crew of the *Senta* returned fire with the newly-traded spears and the Europeans began to fire their guns. According to Danneil, 'a fairly extensive blood bath took place — the cost borne almost exclusively by the natives of Matthias Island'.[25]

In February 1898 the trader Casimir Gangloff on Kung, (New Hanover), suggested to the administrator O. B. . . [Oscar Baumüller] of Friedrich Wilhelmshafen, who was visiting on a recruiting voyage aboard the steamer *Herzog Johann Albrecht*, that he try recruiting workers on St Matthias. On board ship was Curt Danneil who, through his observations, laid the foundations of

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[19] 1902, pp.285–286
[20] Wichmann, II,1, 1910, p.49 *et seq.*
[21] 1907, p.313
[22] *Forschungsreise*, S.M.S. *Gazelle*, I, 1889, p.199
[23] Wichmann, II,1, 1910, p.303
[24] *Nachrichten von und über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel* II, 1886, p.22
[25] Danneil, 1901, p.113; Schnee, 1904, p.172; Wichmann, II,2, 1912, p.560; Parkinson, 1907, p.313

St Matthias[26] ethnology. On 13 February they spied Emḯr in the distance. Danneil described it as totally flat, elongated, and with many tall trees.[27] They anchored between the two 'southernmost, and biggest, offshore islands' of St Matthias — between Ĕlŏắŭa and Ĕmănắnus. Initial exchanges with the natives were friendly. The first attempt at landing also went favourably. However, at a second attempt, the natives threw spears, which were answered with gunshots. Since worker-recruiting was now out of the question, the *Senta* sailed away, with eight wounded seamen on board.

On 25 May of the same year, Monrad on the *Muruna* stumbled on Tench, plotting its central point as 1°40'S., and 150°29'E.[28] He thought that the island was the Squally Island of the older maps, which record it in place of Tench, while Dampier's Squally Island (Emḯr) is named Kerué. He described it as, 'flat, and encompassed by a beach of coral sand', and about one nautical mile long and half a nautical mile wide. However Monrad did stress [6] that the island that he saw was much smaller than the 'Squally Island' on the maps, and that there could be no confusion between it and Kerué, which he had spied 'earlier' while sailing 'south along St Matthias on the voyage from the Admiralty Islands', and had recognized its hills from a distance of eight nautical miles. At least 25 canoes from the island came out to the ship which was reluctant to enter into any trading.[29]

In 1899 Captain Deckner of the schooner *Minna* arrived off St Matthias to take on water. The crew was attacked with spears by hostile natives at the water holes in the 'nearby river', (probably at Ĕbŏ́lĭu). When Deckner shot two of the attackers, the rest fled.[30]

That same year the *Möwe* made a second attempt at landing, with von Bennigsen, Schnee, Thiel, Schulz–Mioko, and Dunbar on board. On 3 August 1899 they anchored near the south coast. They fixed the south-west point of the main island as 1°35'S. and 149°37'E., and the island to the south-east, (Musa͡u), as 1°43'S. and 149°58'E. However, this does not match the actual coordinates.[31] They went ashore at Musa͡u by boat and, although the natives appeared very reticent, they succeeded in getting a bit closer by handing over small gifts, (beads and the like). The unfamiliar reefs necessitated an early departure, before nightfall.

During the next visit on 7 and 8 May 1900, when von Bennigsen,[32] accompanied by Parkinson and von Hesse-Wartegg, stopped for three days off St Matthias in the *Seeadler*, they succeeded in making contact with the natives and initiating trade. However, the natives obstructed intended home visits, and von Bennigsen backed off, in order to avoid any embarrassment. They walked right around the island, and got the impression that it was sparsely inhabited, with the population being more concentrated on the small islands to the south. While the *Seeadler* lay at anchor off St Matthias, Hernsheim & Co.'s schooner *Mascotte* arrived with two English traders who wanted to reconnoiter the island, although they delayed establishing a trading post. However, after several visits by the schooner, Hernsheim & Co. set up a trading post and trepang fishing operation on Ĕkălĕ́ŭ that same year.

The traders' efforts to establish friendly relations resulted in the natives' slowly adjusting to the presence of the foreigners, and even starting to catch trepang to sell to them. [7]

In mid-March 1901, Bruno Mencke visited St Matthias on his steam yacht *Eberhard*, accompanied by Caro, Heinroth, and the ship's boy, Krebs. According to Müller, they set up camp at Ĕtăsḯtĕl about ten nautical miles from the Hernsheim trading post. Trading started out

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[26] *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* 1901, pp.112–127
[27] *Petermanns Mitteilungen* XLVIII, 1902, p.279
[28] Danneil reckoned from Monrad's earlier results that this would give a latitude of 1°36' S.
[29] Danneil, 1902, pp.279–280
[30] Schnee, 1904, p.172
[31] Wichmann (II,2, 1912, p.732) suspects a printing error.
[32] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, XI, 1900, pp. 637–641; von Hesse-Wartegg, 1901, pp. 562–568; Parkinson, 1907, p.314

peacefully, and this lasted for a while. However, towards the end of the month, when the Europeans set off on a day-trip around the main island, leaving behind only the coloured support crew in a newly-established camp, the men of Ětăsítěl, together with reinforcements from Ěbólĭu, attempted an attack on the camp. Whether, as has been claimed, Mencke's Solomon Islanders had inadvertently touched the locals' coconut palms, is still not clear. When Mencke's people regrouped, the natives, armed with spears, withdrew. They threw spears at two expedition members working in the bush, who drove them off with two gunshots, both of which missed. On the return of the Europeans the natives once more displayed a friendly demeanour. At eight o'clock in the morning of 31 March while Mencke and Caro were still asleep, the Ětăsítěl and Ěbólĭu men suddenly attacked the camp. Each attacker was armed with around five spears. Caro was killed instantly and Mencke seriously wounded by spears flying into the tent. Two members of the coloured crew fell and seven others were wounded as well as Heinroth and Krebs. Mencke's people had been in the process of cleaning their guns, and so they initially defended themselves with spears collected from the attackers. Once they began to shoot, the natives quickly retreated, but not before ten Ětăsítěl men and five from Ěbólĭu had fallen. At his request, Heinroth had Mencke transported to the trading post at Ěkălĕŭ, taking the whole party with him. There Mencke died on 2 April, and was buried beside the trading post. His coloured subordinate later found the abandoned camp completely ransacked.[33] The people of Ětăsítěl claim that they buried Caro themselves.

Two months later, eight coloured workers at the trading post on Ěkălĕŭ were attacked and killed.[34] The firm of Hernsheim & Co. subsequently closed it down. Their copra shed was taken apart by the natives.

As a consequence of this event, the cruiser *Cormoran* was dispatched to St Matthias on a punitive expedition. Accompanied by Hernsheim's schooner, *Mascotte,* she anchored off Ěkălĕŭ in July 1901 and sent a landing party ashore, including a unit of native police-soldiers. In the subsequent fight[35] they killed 81 Musa͡u natives, destroyed a number of huts and canoes, and took several women and children and one [8] youth to Herbertshöhe as prisoners.[36] Nothing was done about Ětăsítěl and Ěbólĭu, because at the time nobody would have known anything about their role in the attack on Mencke's camp.

Parkinson was able to observe the prisoners at Herbertshöhe.[37] They were returned to St Matthias on the *Seestern* by Hahl, who successfully resumed friendly relations.[38] He found Mencke's grave opened and the bones removed, except for one fragment of the upper jaw.

On 7 and 8 May 1904, Kornmajer visited the islands of 'Emsau' (Ělŏă̆ŭa?), Musa͡u, 'Evanan' (probably Ěnŏ^{a}nă̆ŭ), 'Evolin' (Ěbólĭŭ), and Ěmănánus on the *Seestern*.[39] Mencke's grave(?) was pointed out to him on 'Evanan'. Initial mistrust of the natives was soon put aside, and a lively trade began. No difficulties were reported with respect to their landing. The repatriated St Matthias people contributed to this atmosphere — eleven people became new recruits.

On 18 April 1905, the schooner *Nugarea* with Parkinson[40] aboard visited Tench. Parkinson described it as a flat, raised coral island surrounded by reefs on all sides, densely wooded and not much larger than 150 hectares. He gave its location as approximately 150°38'E., and 1°48'S. The natives' attitude seemed divided — several beckoned in invitation while others held back, ready for conflict. In spite of this, Parkinson ventured ashore and spent about two hours there. During re-

[33] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, XII, 1901, pp. 450–451
[34] Schnee, 1904, p.179; Parkinson, 1907, p.316
[35] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, XII, 1901, pp. 631
[36] Schnee, 1904, p.180; Parkinson, 1907, p.316
[37] 1907, p.320 *et seq*.
[38] Schnee, 1904, p.180; *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, XIV, 1903, p. 675
[39] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, XV, 1904, pp. 541 and 543
[40] *Globus* 88, 1905, pp.69-72; 1907, p.342 et seq.

embarkation, the natives began to show hostility, but were dissuaded from more serious violence by several warning shots. Finally, 'Kerué' was visited on 21 April, and plotted at 150°3'E., and 1°48'S. Its length was estimated as eight nautical miles. Parkinson established Emirau as the name of the main island. Interaction with the natives the following day was peaceful, and about fifty men were recruited as workers for the Ralum plantation. On 24 April they landed by boat at Ĕtălăt on St Matthias. Parkinson brought several contract workers back there, and met with a friendly reception. Nor did he encounter the slightest hostility on Ĕrŏĭtăn, Ĕlĕmăkŭn͡aŭr and the southern islands either. In fact, seventy workers were recruited without any difficulty. However, almost a third of the workers died during the initial stages of their employment. The rest coped well in the plantations.[41]

[9] In November 1906 the *Seestern* again anchored off Ĕkălĕŭ.[42] The island was found to be uninhabited although the natives were in their gardens. Mencke's grave, which Parkinson had earlier looked for in vain, was overgrown by bush and could no longer be found. The natives showed no shyness at all, and came out to the *Seestern* in their canoes.

On 12 September 1907 the *Seestern* paid a brief visit to Tench.[43] Thurnwald was on board. Once again the natives who came out in their canoes were overcome with shyness.

That same year the German Marine Expedition dispatched Walden to St Matthias where he was able to assemble a small ethnographic collection[44] on 15 and 16 November, as Thurnwald had done before him on Tench. The district officer landed at the village of 'Hipoli' (Ĕbŏlĭŭ) on the main island, but was prevented from entering the more remote part of the village by the natives' vociferous protest. At the same time the chief of police landed on the island of 'Enowut' south of the main island. The island of 'Enopanu' (Ĕnŏ^{a}năŭ), north-east of the anchorage off the main island was visited on 16 November, and the main island was circumnavigated. Because of the numerous taro plantations, it was presumed that the population was more heavily concentrated in the north-east of the main island, centred probably on Ĕtălăt. The attempt to recruit workers was 'not entirely unsatisfactory'.[45]

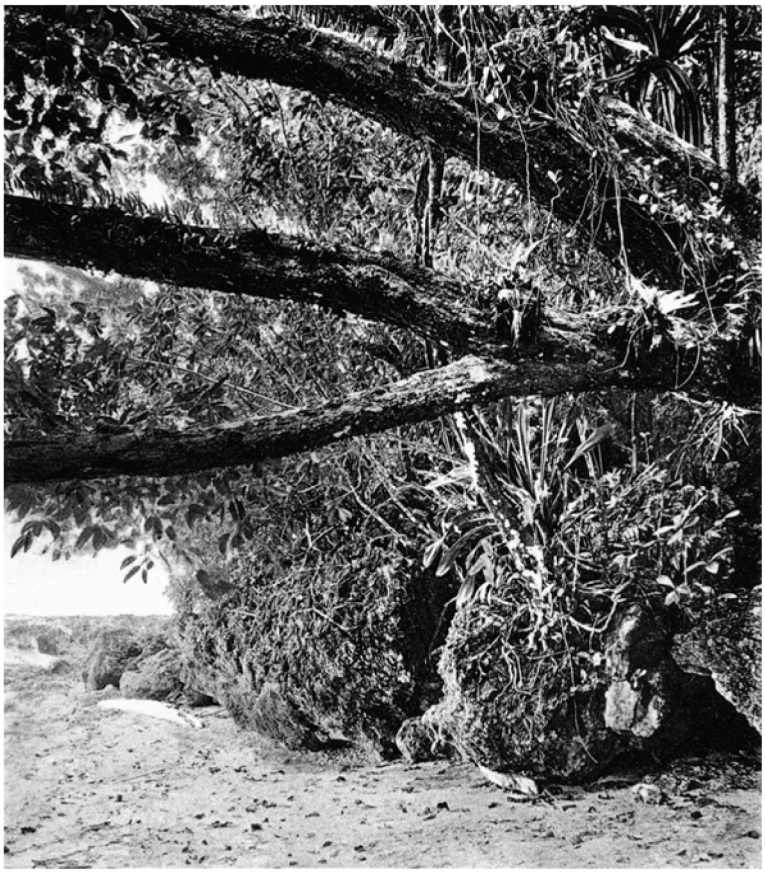
From 9 August until 27 September 1908, the South Seas Expedition of the Hamburg Scientific Foundation[46] sojourned near and on St Matthias. Initially, the expedition's vessel *Peiho* stayed among the small, southern islands. On 19 August the expedition made camp near Ĕn͡aĭ on the main island. They circumnavigated the main island, setting foot in the interior for the first time. Friendly relations predominated with the natives, and remained undisturbed by the Ĕtăsĭtĕl people's attempt to incite other natives to attack the expedition. The exploration of Emĭr was undertaken between 27 September and 1 October, the population proving approachable. Tench was visited on 2 October. Shortly after landing, an incident took place, leading to skirmishes with the natives and their chief being taken prisoner. He was set free the following day, after the return of items that had fallen into native hands. A second landing, on 3 October, went more smoothly although the people of Tench could not be persuaded to approach.

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[41] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, XIX, 1908, p.625
[42] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, XVIII, 1907, p.516
[43] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, XIX, 1908, p.292; Thurnwald, 1912, p.4
[44] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, XIX, 1908, p.183
[45] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, XIX, 1908, pp. 624-625
[46] *Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition* 1908-1910, I, p.76; Vogel, 1911, pp. 19-74; Vahsel, 1909, p.58 *et seq*.



Landscape: village of Ĕbūlĭĕ́lĕ, Emír phot. Fülleborn



Vegetation seen on Emír phot. Fülleborn

[10] In 1909, St Matthias was visited by the district officer from Herbertshöhe. He was able to report, 'that there had been success in again entering into peaceful contact with the natives and, through the establishment of headmen on individual islands[47] in making the first steps toward administrative organization'.[48] H. Schoede appears to have been present on this visit, and to have made a collection of ethnographic objects from the island.

The German South Seas Phosphate Syndicate's expedition on the *Natuna*, with Friederici and Wolf taking part, visited 'Ĕlŭa͡ŭe̯' (Ĕlŏa̋ŭa) and 'Emsa͡ŭ' (Musa͡u), and set foot also on the main island, St Matthias, although without coming into contact with natives. Landing on Tench was not possible, although native canoes were seen.[49]

The Hernsheim & Co. station was re-established on Ĕkălĕ̆ŭ the following year.

From 1 April 1913, St Matthias, Emi̇r, and Tench, which had up until then belonged under the jurisdiction of the Rabaul administration, were reassigned to the Kavieng administrative district.[50] The district officer visited St Matthias and Emi̇r that same month, and undertook a census covering the offshore islands of St Matthias, the northern, western and southern parts of the main island, and Emi̇r. Villages in the bush were visited as well. On St Matthias and Emi̇r health workers took care of wounds among the natives. Several young men were taken to Kavieng to be trained in health care.[51]

During this visit 168 men and 10 women were recruited from St Matthias, and 62 men and 15 women from Emi̇r. Sixty-one St Matthias men and eight from Emi̇r had already worked with white people.[52] A short time later Ĕna͡i and Ĕrŏĭtăn were also visited and enumerated.

On 14 August 1913, the government steamer *Komet* sailed to Tench, with the district officer on board. The natives, with whom understanding was achieved through an Ĕtăsi̇tĕl interpreter, refused access to the island, but finally yielded the way to the village on the west coast. The natives' impatience subsided only when the white men left their island two hours later.[53]

In 1914, the islands were lost to Germany, and were awarded to Australia as part of the mandate [11] territory of Papua. It has not been made public to what extent the islands have been sealed off once more. Nevertheless we can be sure that they were visited at least by labour recruiters.

The ornithologist A.F. Eichhorn, commissioned by Lord Rothschild, collected 38 birds,[54] on St Matthias between May and July 1923, and on Emi̇r during August.

As has become known, St Matthias and its neighbouring islands were visited more frequently by ships, because in 1908 Müller heard that labour recruiters had been near Ĕlŏli̇ăn̈ and north of Ĕūtānālī̇ū on the west coast of St Matthias. By that time iron blades for axes were familiar[55] on St Matthias, and even on Tench, which had been visited by the recruiting steamer *Samoa* shortly before 1908. Furthermore, the natives said that a burned-out ship had been washed up near Emi̇r a long time before 1908. Finally, in 1913, in Ĕbūlī̇ĕlĕ on Emi̇r there was a figure representing a sailing ship captain who had visited the island around 1899 or 1903, and who was alleged to have given the headman Pänai̯nŏ̋se a bottle.[56]

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[47] This usage originates in the Admiralty Islands, perhaps also on St Matthias.
[48] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, XX, 1909, p.1104
[49] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, XXI, 1910, p.141; Friederici, 1912, p.273
[50] *Amtsblatt*, V, 1913, p.37
[51] *Amtsblatt*, pp. 149–154
[52] *Amtsblatt*, pp. 154 and 247
[53] *Amtsblatt*, pp. 247–249
[54] Hartert, pp. 261 and 276
[55] *Amtsblatt* p.248; Parkinson, 1907, p.344
[56] Stübel, in the *Katalog Dresden* (No.32948/49)

II. Geography

Names

St Matthias

Dampier named the island 'Mathias' in honour of the calendar saint, because he discovered it on 25 February, 1700. It is duly entered on his chart as 'Mathias Is.' The French form *I. Mathias* appears in 1767 on G.R. de Vaugondy's chart.[57] This form was used by d'Urville[58] also, with reference to Dampier. Maurelle (in 1781) wrote *Y^a Mathias*;[59] Labillardière only Mathias; and Beautemps-Beaupré (1804) and A.J. von Krusenstern (1824),[60] *I. Mathias*. The more accurate form, St Matthias, which probably harks back to Bougainville,[61] prevailed only gradually over Dampier's spelling. In 1790 Ball named it Prince William-Henry Island, in honour of the Duke of Clarence. This name has never achieved prominence, although it appears frequently on charts right up to recent times, [12] in place of the name St Matthias. The name Musa͡u, which corresponds with one of the smaller islands south of the main St Matthias Island, was obtained in 1900 as the natives' designation of the main– and adjacent islands, and was initially corrupted to Musan as a result of a printing error.[62] Then it was recorded as Mussau, which, according to Schnee,[63] is the usual name given by the Bismarck Archipelago natives. The designation of St Matthias as Musa͡u by Păpítăl̓a͡i people from the Admiralty Islands, was due to their having been shipwrecked on the small island of Musa͡u. Up until 1901 the inhabitants of that island evidently held sway over the southern islands and the southern part of the main island, (Ĕlĕmăkŭná͡ur and Ĕna͡i), and appear to have been regarded on Em̓r as representatives of the St Matthias population. The result was that the Em̓r people used the name Musa͡u for both the main island and the offshore islands, and designated every St Matthias man as l̓íkīn-ĕ-mŭsá͡ŭ. The familiarity of the name Musa͡u elsewhere in the Bismarck Archipelago is most likely due to a transfer of the name by Europeans. The usage of Musa͡u by Melanesians in preference to St Matthias is probably because Musa͡u is easier for them to pronounce. Graebner's[64] spelling of 'Mutschau', is not justifiable in any way as a variant. In 1909, Friederici[65] heard the small island called Ĕmsá͡u and its neighbouring island as Ĕlŭá͡ue̯, while the Hamburg South Seas Expedition initially designated both as Musa͡u — differentiating them as Big- and Little Musa͡u, until Müller established the name Ĕlŏá͡ŭa or Ĕlŏá͡ŭe[66] for 'Big Musa͡u', and Ĕmŭsá͡ŭ or Musa͡u for 'Little Musa͡u'. Ĕlŏá͡ŭa being occasionally attributed to Musa͡u, derives from Parkinson's map,[67] where it is named 'Emusaun', while he gives Musa͡u as 'Vangalu' in the text and 'Vangala' on the map, after the Evan̓á͡ilu property. Since the names Big Musa͡u and Emusaun lend themselves all too easily to alteration, the name Ĕlŏá͡ŭa is preferable, with Musa͡u for the smaller island. Nevertheless the main island bears this name incorrectly, as does the entire

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[57] Wichmann, I, 1909, p.188, Fig.29
[58] Danneil, 1901, p.113, note
[59] Dalrymple, 1790, Plate 52
[60] Wichmann, I, 1909, p.336, Fig.45
[61] 1771, p.290
[62] *Mitteilungen an der Deutschen Schutzgebieten* XIV, 1902, p.240; Sprigade and Moisel's chart, Nov. 1902
[63] 1904, p.171
[64] *Globus* LXXXVIII, 1905, p.333
[65] 1912, p.273
[66] Vahsel (1909, Plate 9) and German Nautical Chart No.393: Eloaúe
[67] 1907, p.317, Fig.51

group, which, according to Parkinson,[68] lacks a collective name. Once Müller heard the main island called Bīpălā́nu and, on another occasion, Kinitămăn̓ălū́e.[69] However, both names are of dubious worth. Friederici believed he had established Elumakuna͡úra_as the name of the main island, but that is the name of a district on its south-eastern shore, (Ĕlĕmăkŭna͡úr). Namunutu, which has [13] been introduced also as the name of the main island,[70] cannot be identified, but may be the name of the headman Namanū́tŭ, (Nā́manŭt), of Ĕnŏ^{a}nā́u. Thus there remains only the name that Dampier bestowed on the main island and the entire group, its spelling later improved to St Matthias.

According to Parkinson,[71] the small offshore island to the south, where the Hernsheim factory was established, is called Kaleu. The Hamburg Expedition established the name as Ĕkălḗŭ. Since Mencke died there in 1901, it ought to be called Mencke Island,[72] in his honour. However, that name was not commonly used. On the other hand, the name Factory Island[73] is a better substitute.

The other islands south of the main island have the names:[74]

According to Parkinson	According to the Hamburg Expedition	Adopted in 1913[75]
Emanaus	Ĕmănā́nus	Emananus
Eiongane	Eunasúru[76]	Etongn
—	Ĕbŏ́lĭu	Eboliu
Noanaur	Ĕnoănau͡ū́lu, Ĕnŏ^{a}nā́ŭ	

In 1907 Enopanu was heard instead of Ĕnŏ^{a}nā́ŭ, with Enowut(?)[77] as the name of another island. The island of Ĕtăpătū́răn[78] or Etupaturánne was named Pigeon Island by the Hamburg Expedition.

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[68] 1905, p.72

[69] "Me call this fellow ship *ălū́ĕ*", cf. *pătŭn̓ălū́ĕ* according to the interpreter Măkĭrŏ́ăr^{i}.

[70] *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, 1913, V, p.149

[71] 1907, p.318

[72] Wichmann II, 2, 1912, p.767

[73] Vogel, 1911, p.19

[74] Names that were heard only by the Hamburg Expedition, do not appear here.

[75] *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, 1913, V, p.149 *et seq.*

[76] According to Vahsel (1909, Plate 9) *Eunacuru*

[77] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* XIX, 1908, p.624 *et seq.*

[78] *Etapaturau*, in Vahsel (*loc. cit.*) is a printing error.

Names of districts on the main island:

According to Parkinson	According to the Hamburg Expedition	Adopted in 1913
Elemakunaur	Ĕlĕmăkŭn͡aú̇r[79]	Elemakunaur
Roitan	Ĕrő̆ĭtăn, Roĭtăn	Roitanno
Itasidl	Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl	Tasitel
Etalat	Ĕtăl̆á̇t, Ĕtă̆l̆á̇tĕ[80]	Etalate
Ewiu	Ĕvĕr͡aı̆[81]	—
Tamaliu	Ĕūtānăl̆ĭ́ū	Utanaliu
—	Emağă̆m	Mangäne
—	Ĕlŏl̆ĭ́ăn̊	Lolianga

[14] The word ‘Hasial’ appeared in Parkinson’s first report[82] instead of ‘Itasidl’, owing to a nasty misprint. In 1907 ‘Hipoli’ was heard instead of the island name Ĕbő̆lĭu; and Parkinson took it to be the name of a district. Ĕlĕmăkŭn͡aú̇r appeared as ‘Elumakun͡aú̇ra’, the supposed name of the main island, in Friederici’s account.

The highest peak was named Mount Phillip by Ball in 1790, in honour of Arthur Phillip, Governor of New South Wales. Thus the occasional appearance of ‘Mt. Philipp’[83] is incorrect. Parkinson believed that the local name for the mountain was Malakat. In 1913 Malakata[84] was heard as its name. However, Mă̆lakăt is not the name of the main mountain but the name of a region and its inhabitants in the highlands beyond Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl and Ĕtăl̆á̇t, and is, strictly speaking, only the name of a smaller mountain feature: the so-called third terrace. Nevertheless, Hellwig heard Uéjĭ mălakă̆tĕ as the principal mountain’s name on one occasion, and only Úĕ̆, Ueĭ̆i, and Úĭ̆litte on other occasions. Müller heard Ű̆ēĭ́, Úṅ͡aı̆nő̆m and, from another interpreter, Ĕ-ŭṅ͡aı̆n͡aú̇m; Fülleborn heard Unguinom; and Vogel[85] Eunainaun. Therefore, although the names Ŭṅ͡aı̆nő̆m or Ű̆ēĭ́ are probably the genuine indigenous names of the mountain, it may be better to follow Fülleborn’s example, and indicate it merely as ‘central elevation’, until the matter is clarified.

Emi̇́r

Emi̇́r was given the name ‘Squaly’ (Squally) Island by Dampier, because a storm arose as he approached the island. Bearing Dampier in mind, Bougainville named it *Ile Orageuse* and Maurelle *Y^a Oragues*. The German name *Sturminsel*[86] or *Stürmische Insel* has been retained alongside the local name right up until the present day.

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[79] Vahsel (1909, Plate 9), and German Nautical Chart No.393: Elemakunáuru

[80] The local inhabitants say ‘Ĕtă̆l̆á̇tĕ’, and those of the southern villages ‘Ĕtăl̆á̇t’.

[81] Eabarái, according to Vahsel (1909, Plate 9)

[82] 1905, p.71

[83] For example, Danneil, 1902

[84] *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.149

[85] 1911, p.56; *Ergebnisse der Südsee–Expedition* I, 1927, p.377

[86] *Sturminsel* was the official name for Emi̇́r.

Due to Bougainville's imprecise detail and the contradiction between his chart and his text, the name Kué, Kyue or Kerué,[87] which he gave to Emŕr (appearing twice in his writing) in addition to *Ile Orageuse*, was often regarded as Emŕr's real name, whereas Squally was presumed to be Tench. In 1905, Parkinson succeeded in finding out that the island's local name is Emirau,[88] and in 1908 the Hamburg South Seas Expedition ascertained the name Emŕr or Emŕrră. The St Matthias people use this name for the island, whereas the Emŕr people themselves use only regional names or the names of the offshore islands. [15] The small offshore island west of Emŕr is called Ealusau, according to Parkinson, and the island to the east is Elemusoa. The Hamburg Expedition was able to confirm these names in the form of Ĕănŭsa͡ú and Ĕlōmŭsóă or Elomusáo.[89]

Tench

Ball named the island that he visited on 19 May 1790 Tench's Island, in honour of Captain Watkin Tench. The local name for the island should be Enus,[90] according to inquiries made by the *Komet*. However, until this detail is confirmed the name Tench-Island or Tench will have to remain. The various spellings, Thense,[91] Tenet,[92] and Tensch[93] are incorrect and should be discarded. The name Squally, often bestowed on Tench until Danneil's resolution of the name question, does not correspond with this island but with Emŕr.

Cartography

St Matthias and Emŕr appeared for the first time alongside Ĕănŭsa͡ú on Dampier's chart. St Matthias is drawn in full. As for Emŕr, the bays and prominences are, to some extent, recognizable as rough sketches. Ĕănŭsa͡ú was outlined incorrectly as a double island in the 1723 French edition of Dampier's journal. Bougainville[94] marked in an island north-west of St Matthias, another to the south-east, and two more islands somewhat further away. 'Isle Kyue' to the east appears poorly drawn, compared with Dampier, and lacks islands nearby. Maurelle[95] drew the islands roughly similarly to Dampier. His chart in the La Pérouse Atlas,[96] Labillardière's chart,[97] and Beautemps-Beaupré's (1804) chart however, depict Bougainville's presentation. It is totally incorrect on the La Pérouse chart of 1785,[98] where St Matthias is interchanged with New Hanover, and again on Fleurieu's (1790)[99] chart, which presents St Matthias as being identical with the Admiralty Islands. In de Vaugondy (1767), three small islands are marked in on the north coast of Emŕr, but no islands neighbour St Matthias. The outline of St Matthias, presented extremely well by

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[87] *Découvertes des Français*, 1790, Chart I: *île Kué*; Chart 9: *île Kerué*
[88] 1905, p.71
[89] Thus, on the German Nautical Chart No.393, and Vahsel (1909) Plate 9.3.
[90] *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.247. 'Enu (Tench I.)' is given in the Stübel collection in the Dresden Museum (N° 32920, fish figure).
[91] Thus, Willinck, 1824.
[92] Thus, Karchers, 1882.
[93] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* XVIII, 1907, p.516
[94] 1771, Plate 15; *Découvertes des Français*, 1790, Chart 1
[95] Dalrymple, 1790, Plate 52
[96] Plate 68
[97] Plate 1
[98] Parkinson, 1907, p.844, Fig.139
[99] Parkinson, 1907, p.845, Fig.140; *Découvertes des Français*, 1790, Chart 9

Bougainville, is not [16] shown so clearly on later charts, and assumes a totally false shape on that of Krusenstern (1824), while Emi̍r appears much smaller than before. Tench was represented only vaguely, and, until Danneil's (1901) investigations, it was depicted on charts as far too large an island.

In 1900, for the first time, St Matthias was depicted more accurately. Schack, aboard the *Seeadler*, established the outline of the main island and the southern offshore islands. The outcome of this mission was set down in German Admiralty Chart 161. Parkinson's map[100] is based on this chart. During the visit of the Hamburg South Seas Expedition in 1908, new features were conned from the *Peiho* by Vahsel, who charted both Emi̍r and Tench.[101] German Navigational Charts 393 and 517 are based on these determinations.

Position

The main island of St Matthias extends in a north-westerly direction from 1° 11' to 1° 32'S. latitude, and from 149° 30' to 149° 46'E. longitude. Its south-eastern point, Cape Thilenius, lies 1° 30.5'S., 149° 46.1'E.; its western tip, Cape Förster, at 1° 23.3'S., 149° 30.2'E.; and its northern point, Cape Siemers, at 1°17'S., and 149° 32.2'E. The southern tip of the island of Ĕmānā́nūs offshore to the south is at 1° 35'S., and 149° 36'E.

Emi̍r extends from 1° 35.5' to 1° 40.5'S., and 149° 56' to 150° 5'E. Cape Tietgens is at 1° 37'S., 149° 56.3'E.; and Cape Ballin at 1° 35.7'S., 150° 0.0'E.

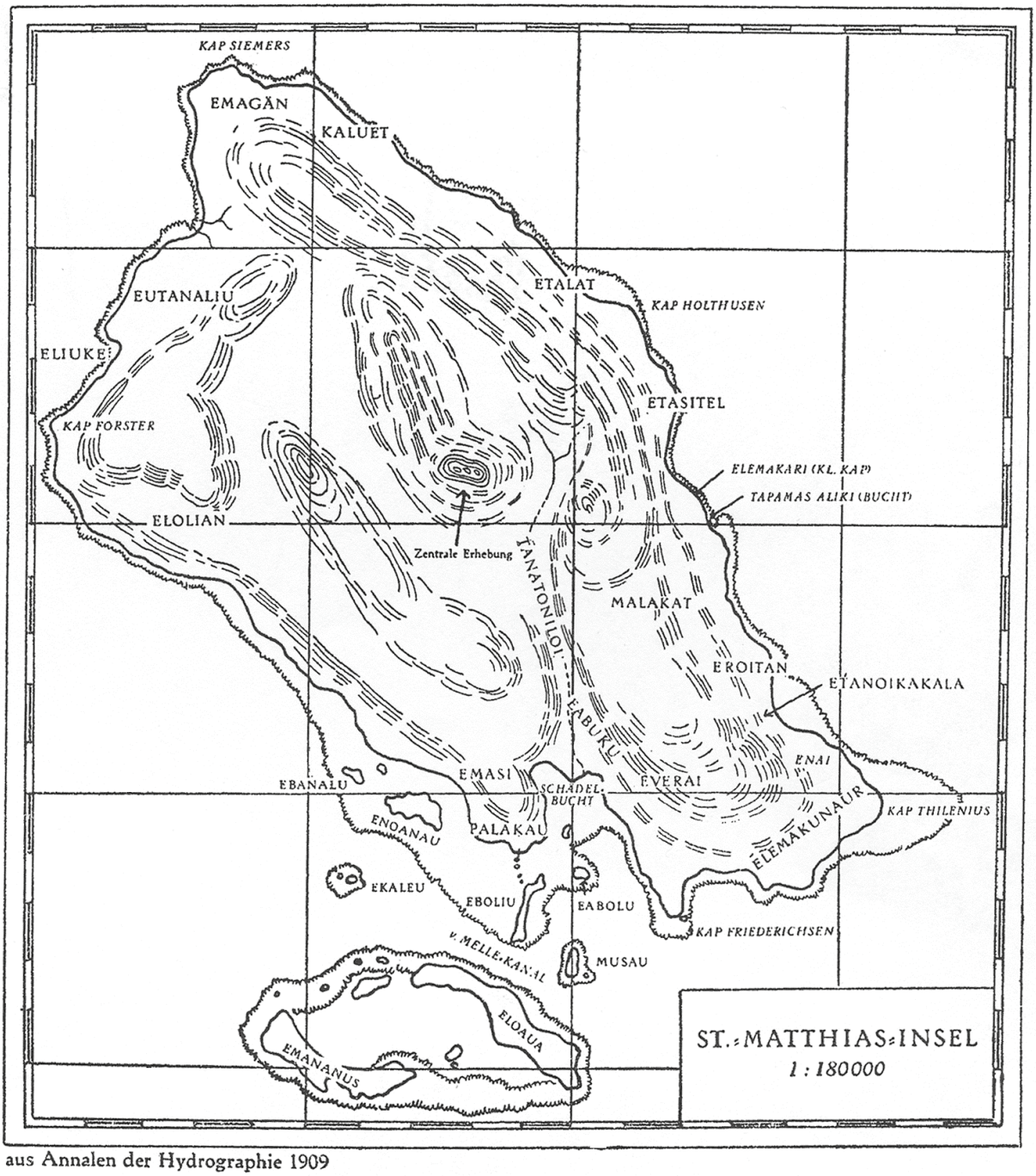
Tench is situated at 1° 38'S., and 150° 42' to 151° 42.5'E.

Size

The principle island of St Matthias covers about 300 square kilometres, and the main island of Emi̍r about 50 square kilometres. Of St Matthias' offshore islands, Ĕmănā́nus encompasses about 450 Ha; Ĕkălḗu 8 Ha; Musa͡ù 35 Ha; Etongn 90 Ha; Ĕlŏā́ŭa 500 Ha; and Ĕbŏ́lĭu 60 Ha. The island of Ĕănŭsa͡ú́ off Emi̍r covers about 60 Ha.[102] Charts earlier than 1905 gave the impression that Tench was a big island, but according to Parkinson[103] it covers an area of barely more than 150 Ha, or a mere square mile, as determined by the Hamburg Expedition.[104] It is about 800 m long and about 600 m wide. [17]

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[100] 1907, p.317
[101] *Annalen der Hydrographie*, 1909, Plate 9
[102] *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, pp.149–150
[103] 1907, p.337
[104] *Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition*, I, 1927, p.378



aus Annalen der Hydrographie 1909

St Matthias Island
from *Annalen der Hydrographie*, 1909

[18]

Planar Geography

East and west of the south-east tip of the main island of St Matthias, ranged around the southernmost promontory, Cape Friederichsen, and the south-eastern point, Cape Thilenius, are a number of quite well-defined bays, all with offshore reefs, several with a coral limestone shoreline, and others with sandy beaches. This region is known as Ĕlĕmăkŭnaûr. On the east coast, north of Cape Thilenius, the district of Ĕnaí[105] begins, the Ĕrārŭm stream emptying at Ĕtăn͡oikákălă, where the Hamburg South Seas Expedition camped. The rocky shore is about 20 m wide at this point. It backs onto thick bush growing across the flat that extends about a kilometre to the first rise. Just beyond Ĕnaî is a bay and the district of Ĕrŏ̍ĭtăn and, further away, the bay of Tăpắmăs ălĭ́kĭ, separated from the Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl district to the north by the tongue of land Ĕlĕmakā́rī. Beyond Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl the coast bends sharply round to the north-west at Cape Holthusen, with the Ĕtălắt district beyond. The hills running roughly parallel to the shore form the western boundary between Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl and Ĕtălắt, and the mountainous Mắlakăt region. The uninhabited coast north-west of Ĕtălắt is called Kắlŭĕt. It extends right to Cape Siemers at the northern tip of the island, where it is replaced by the likewise currently–uninhabited district of Emagắn. The alleged small islands at the northern end, sighted from the *Gazelle*,[106] do not exist. The coast then runs south as far as Eliúke bay, where two streams empty. From here the coastline turns south-west and, near the bush village of Ĕūtānālĭ́u,[107] it curves sharply round to the east for a short distance, before again running south-west as far as the western point, Cape Förster, finally running south-east. Following on is the extensive bush-clad Ĕlŏlĭ́ăn region. Then, succeeding one another from west to east, the districts of Éua(?), Tamatáo(?), Epaua(?), Taṅatuṅcíla(?), Eúe(?), Taumolan(?), and Emasi.[108] Emasi marks the start of a wide tongue of land whose southern part is occupied by the district of Pắlakaû.[109] To the east are the mangrove swamps of Skull Bay where the Lokunauru[110] or Ĕăbŭ́kū (Äwúku)[111] stream empties. A sandbar lies off the mouth of the stream. In the north-east of the bay is Ĕvĕraî. The Ĕlĕmăkŭnaûr district coastline, running south-west as far as Cape Friedrichsen, borders the east of the bay. [19] The little island of Tamakéomai lies off Cape Friederichsen. Lying off Skull Bay are the small islands of Ĕtăpătŭ́răn and Ĕăbŏ́lu. South of them are the islands of Ĕbŏ́lĭu[112] and Musaû, with the islet of Elalúna[113] south of the latter. The little rocky outcrops of Etaṅain (Tangaina), Eturabarauai (Kokola), Esapinok (Sapinoka), and Etalas (Tallasse)[114] connect Ĕbŏ́lĭu with the mainland, where the Malaî stream empties. South of Ĕbŏ́lĭu, the von Melle Channel separates an atoll consisting of

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[105] Enaíe, Naíe; on German Nautical Chart No.393, Eneie
[106] *Forschungsreise* S.M.S. *Gazelle*, I, 1889, p.199
[107] According to Vahsel (1909, Plate 9), Eutánaliu.
[108] Vahsel, 1909, Plate 9
[109] Ĕpắlakaû
[110] *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea* V, 1913, p.149
[111] Tăṅătŏ́nīloi (Vahsel, 1909, Plate 9) is the name of the upper reaches of the Ĕăbŭ́kū in the Mắlakăt highlands.
[112] The part of the mainland opposite the island appears to be called Ĕbŏ́liu or Ĕbŏlĭ́ū (Ĕbŏlĭ́ŭ) as well.
[113] Elatuna according to Vahsel (*loc. cit.*)
[114] *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, p.151; Vahsel *loc. cit.*

the islands of Ĕlŏa̋ŭa, Ĕmănan̋us, ‘Etongn’ (Eunasuru), Nussagila,[115] and several smaller islands. Ĕlŏa̋ŭa and Ĕmănan̋us are St Matthias’ largest offshore islands, stretching from south-east to north-west. Ĕnŏ[a]naűlu or Ĕnŏănau̯űlu, Tanaunagile, Ĕtăraì̯raì̯ and Ĕbăn̓al̋ū lie offshore west of Pa̋lakau̯u. Between Ĕnŏ[a]naű and the north-western tip of Ĕlŏa̋ŭa lies the small factory island of Ĕkălĕ̋ŭ, with the islet of Ekarokáe.

In the north-west of Emi̋r, broad Hamburg Bay with the Ĕūlībaì̯ pass cuts deeply inland. Its eastern shore runs from south to north as far as Cape Ballin and Ĕpŏănūămō̲s̲̣ū.[116] The coastline then bends south once more. The high ground is called Kăli̋ăbă, and forms a peninsula occupied by the village of Ĕbūlīĕ̋lĕ,[117] and its offshoot Ĕtaì̯lă[118] on its western side. The coast runs south-west, with the village of Ĕlōūnűsa followed by the Ĕlĕ́ūā[119] district; the long stretch immediately to the north is uninhabited and has limestone caves. Beyond, the coast curves to the south. The uninhabited islands of Ĕtűītűī and Ĕlōmŭsŏă[120] lie offshore. Between Ĕlōmŭsŏă and the mainland is Ĕulŏlóŭ Harbour. The coast curves sharply westward. The neighbouring coastal village is Ĕtăsĭn̓i̋ nĕ,[121] extending west as far as the flat island of Ĕtălūātū lĕtīlamű just offshore, and including Ĕsi̋ kāyĕ́ and Ĕu̯aù̯ună. A deep bay begins east of Ĕtălūātū lĕtīlamű, with many small islands — just mangrove clumps in some places. The mainland area, called Ĕūtăvaù̯ună,[122] where the Ĕnŏătĕ́ū[123] stream empties into the bay, is uninhabited. [20]

[115] The ‘Etongn’ of the Admiralty chart is Nussagila, and ‘Eunassuru’ on the chart is Etongn. Three small rocky islands north of Etongn, (*Amtsblatt*, V, 1913, p.149), are called Eunassuru. Vahsel (*loc. cit.*) indicates the small island of Calanipaua on the northern side of the atoll.

[116] *mō̲s̲̣ū* = pig

[117] Buliele (*Amtsblatt*, p.153); Vahsel and German Nautical Chart 393 incorrectly give ‘Ebediéle’.

[118] Not ‘Efaila’, as in Vahsel and on Nautical Chart 393.

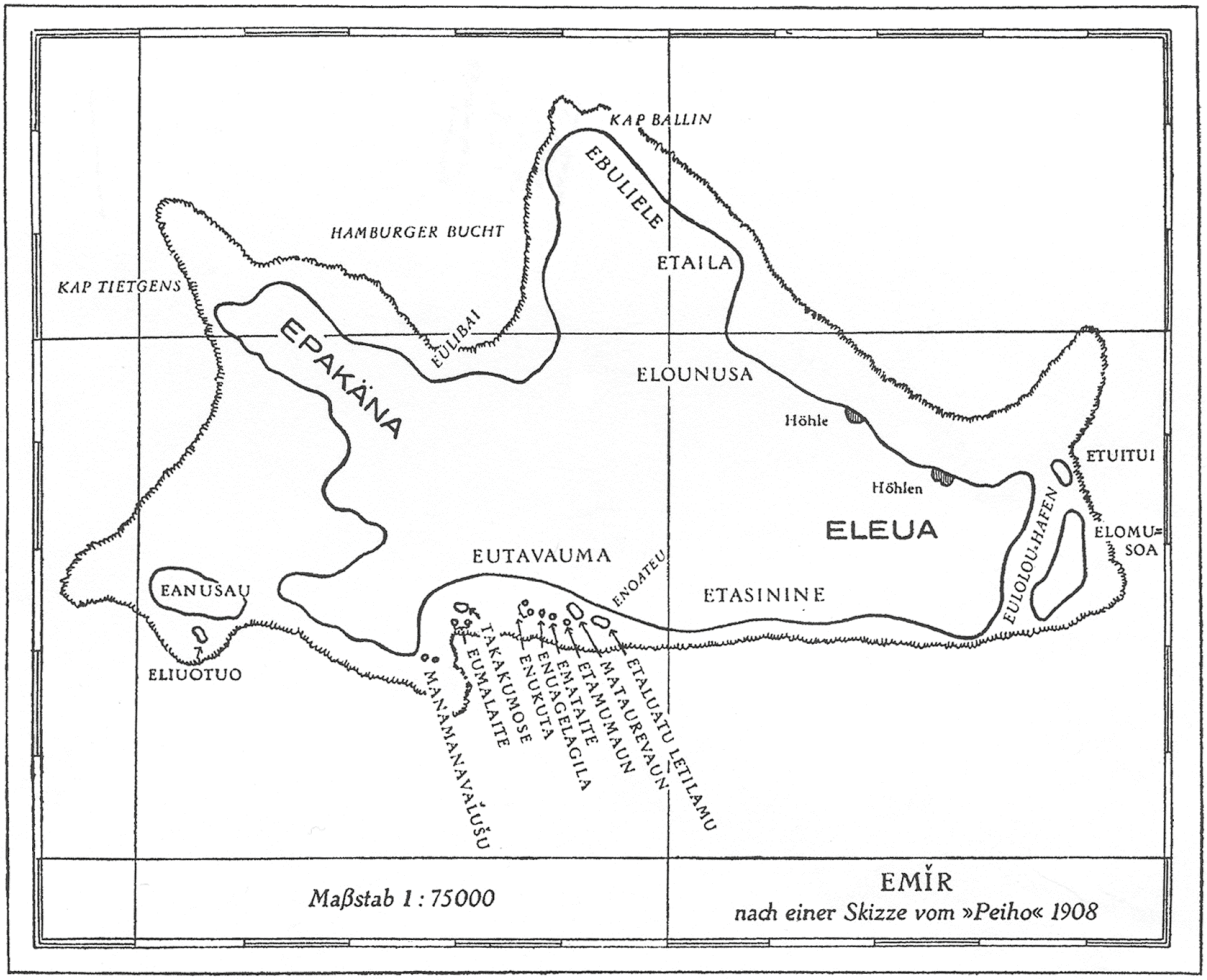
[119] Elewa. Incorrectly given as ‘Eléna’ by Vahsel and German Nautical Chart 393.

[120] Tuitui and Lomussau

[121] Tasinginna

[122] ‘Etavauma’ in Vahsel (*loc. cit.*)

[123] *ătĕ́ū* = water vessel made from a coconut, also the water in it; also, ‘fresh water’?



Emĭr, after a sketch from the *Peiho*, 1908. scale 1:75000

[21] The names of the offshore islands from west to east are: Mătaûrēvaún, Ĕtămūmaún, Ĕmătaítĕ, Ĕnŭăgĕlăgīlă, Ĕnūkūtắ (double island), Tăkăkūmŏ́ĕ,[124] the double island of Ĕūmălaítĕ offshore to the south, and the double island of Mắńămắńăvălŭ́ṣū[125] at the end of the bay. To the east is the Ĕpakắńă[126] district, then a long, uninhabited stretch of coastline followed by the settlement on the Tăpắsŏ́ăn stream which empties into the Tasiulilie[127] salt water lagoon in a broad bay on Emĭr's west coast. Off the bay lies the bigger island of Ĕănŭsaú, the smaller island of Ĕlĭ́ūᵘŏtŭ́ᵘŏ,[128] and the flat Saúĭ́lū[129] sandbank. The northern part of Ĕpakắńă thrusts north-west between the bay already mentioned and Hamburg Bay. It forms a peninsula, ending in Cape Tietgens.

Little Tench, with its rather egg-shaped outline, shows no breaks in the coastline.

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[124] Vahsel (1909, Plate 9) and German Nautical Chart 369: 'Takakunóse'.
[125] *balŭ́sᵘ* = pigeon
[126] Pakäne, "with both the dwelling sites Auretterette and Eussaussau" (*Amtsblatt*, p.153). Auretterette is Erŭteríte.
[127] *Amtsblatt*, p.153
[128] Eliwotue
[129] Sauelu

Reefs

Around the main island of St Matthias are reefs — on the Ĕtălắt coast, in the bay from Ĕnâ͡i towards the old-Ĕrŏĭtăn land spit, and in the coral basin at the river mouth in Skull Bay — low walls of coral limestone growths in irregular lines and curves, semi-circles, and almost complete circles. South of the main island, the little islands of Ĕtăpătŭrăn, Ĕăbŏlu, Ĕbŏlĭu, Ĕnŏ[a]nắu, Ĕbăn̓ălū, Ĕtărâ͡irâ͡i, and Tanaunagile rise from the reef itself. Ĕkălĕ́u combined with Ekarokáe, and Musâ͡u are surrounded by individual reefs. To the south, across the von Melle Channel, is a further reef bearing the atoll islands of Ĕlŏắua, Ĕmănắnus, and others, with depths of up to ten metres between them. In the south-eastern entrance to the channel, at 1°33.5’ S., and 149°42’ E., is the Peiho Reef. The reef surrounding the main island extends almost two nautical miles eastwards, near Cape Thilenius.

Apart from the narrow Ĕūlībâ͡i pass into Hamburg Bay, the main island of Emr̓ too is completely surrounded by reefs, also enclosing the offshore islands. A further reef lies off Cape Tietgens.

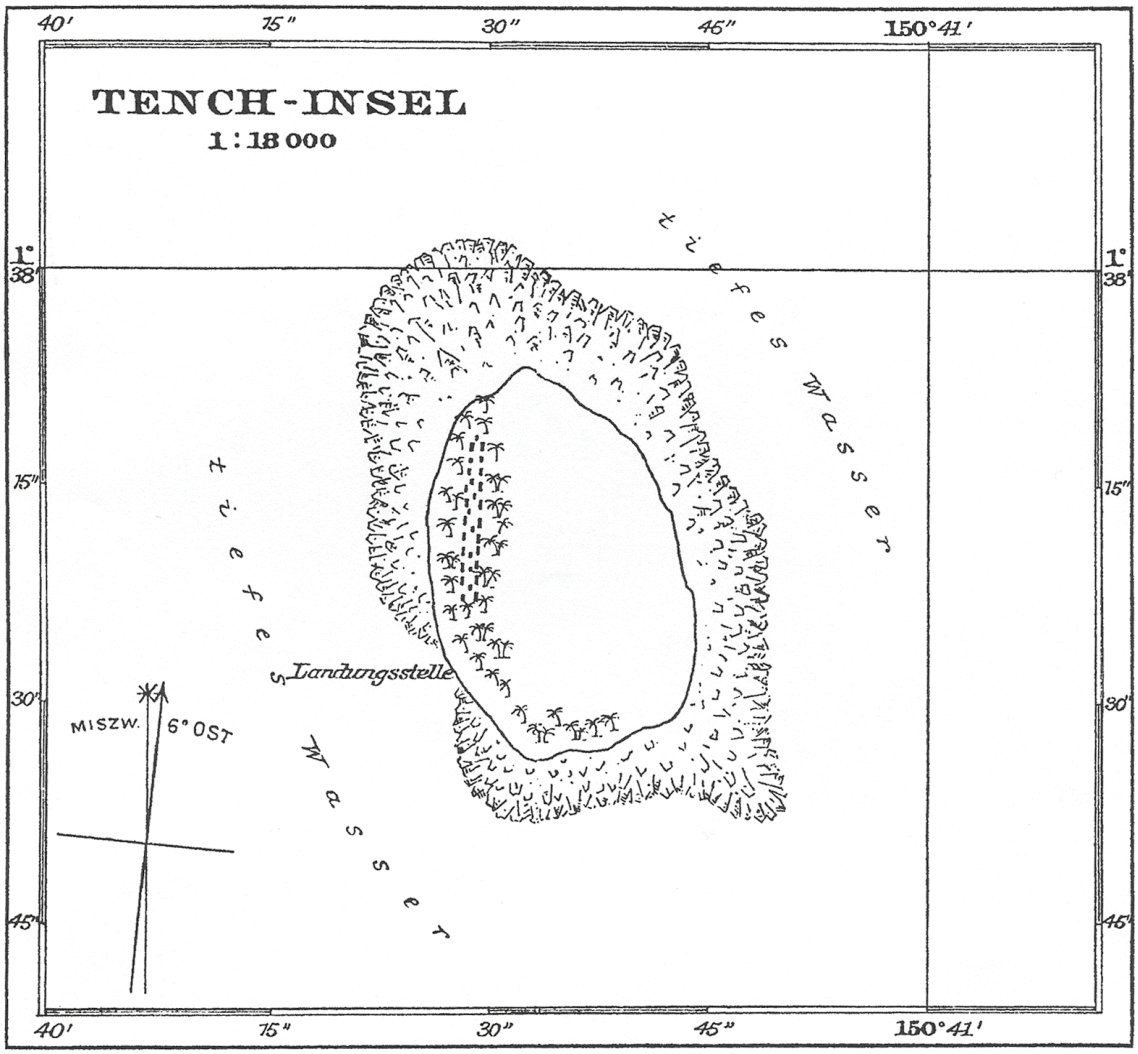
Tench is surrounded by a wide reef extending half a mile SSE out to sea in the south, and a quarter of a mile NNW in the north-west.[130] In other places, beyond a beach of fine-grained sand the coastline drops abruptly to depths from [22] 30 to 100 metres. The breakers are particularly strong on the north-east coast;[131] elsewhere, the island is exposed at only one spot, on the western side. Here is the sole landing site for boats, admittedly not without danger.

Anchorages off St Matthias are found south of Cape Thilenius, north-east of Ĕbŏlĭu, and at Ĕkălĕ́u; off Emr̓ — in Hamburg Bay, and south-east between the main island and Ĕlōmŭsŏă, in Ĕulŏlóŭ Harbour.

Also, ships should find protected anchorage on the west coast of St Matthias,[132] near Eliúke to the south-east. The expedition’s harbour off Ĕrŏĭtăn and Ĕnâ͡i is only small, and protected by offshore coral reefs. It is suitable for smaller vessels only.[133]

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[130] Vahsel, 1909, p.60
[131] Vahsel, *loc. cit*.
[132] *Amtsblatt*, V, 1913, p.149
[133] Vahsel, 1909, p.59



Tench Island 1:18000 deep water landing site

Topography

On the east coast of St Matthias, the main island, near Ĕnâ͡ı and Ĕlĕmăkŭnâ͡ur, beyond the 20-metre-wide shore flats covered with white stone and the [23] adjoining one-kilometre-wide flat land covered with tall forest, is a coral limestone terrace 70-100 m high. It is a very steep climb, leading to a high plateau. Further inland, the terrain again rises somewhat, until, about a kilometre beyond the first terrace, a second coral limestone terrace rises about 70 m above the first. The region between the coast and Ĕrŏĭtăn is similar but with ravines between the first and second terraces; these are non-existent on the high plateau near Ĕnâ͡ı.

Fülleborn determined barometric pressures as follows: at 3.55 pm on the Ĕnâ͡ı waterfront and at the foot of the first terrace: 742 mm; on the first terrace, 735 mm; and on the second terrace, 728 mm. On the descent from Ĕnâ͡ı to Ĕlĕmăkŭnâ͡ur he recorded 730 mm near the houses on the second terrace at 9 am; at the foot of the first plateau rise: about 742 mm; at 5.05 pm on the second terrace: 727 mm; at 5.20 pm on the first terrace: 772 mm; and at its foot 740 mm.

At one spot on the shore near Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl are three low terraces parallel with the shore, about one foot high and a few metres wide. The lowest of these is submerged at high tide; the middle one is around the high water mark, while the highest is evidently beyond the reach of high tide. The terrace where the main part of Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl village is located, is about 50 m high. These terraces are less pronounced than those near Ĕnâi. Beyond the second terrace rises a third, the Mắlakăt Range. It is 200–300 m high (barometric pressure at 3 pm: 733.5 mm). Down the deep valley that cleaves it from the central highlands, flows a stream. It is called Tăn̆ătŏnīlo͡i locally, and is probably the river emptying near Ĕbŏ́lĭu. At the river mouth, Hellwig heard that its source is on Mount Ma͡ulĕ. However, this name was not heard elsewhere. Two elevations west of the village of Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl bore the names Gắṣī and Gūna͡úrū. Distant ranges accessible from Ĕtălắt were called Boṅane, which seems to mean 'far away', or, 'clambering up and down'. In 1913, *pongane* was heard also as the name of a mountain.[134]

Near Ĕtălắt the shoreline generally rises, just as in the vicinity of Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl, that is, without accentuated terrace formation. At a rough estimate, the boundary range is about 200–250 m above sea level. At one point on this mountain range, where even higher elevations were visible to the south, the noon barometer read 732.5 mm, whereas at 9.45 a.m. on the beach it had read 758 mm. After they had climbed down about 100 m on the western side of the boundary range, (barometric pressure at 2.40 p.m.: 733.5 mm), Fülleborn and Vogel encountered a stream in a valley. After traversing several more mountain ranges of lesser height, they reached the final mountain chain, a higher range where the barometer read 718 mm at 11 a.m. On 14 September 1908, they reached the highest [24] peak in the central highlands (Ŭṅa͡inŏ́m, Ŭēĭ́). The barometer read 706.0 mm at 9 a.m. The altitude was therefore about 650 m. Danneil[135] had estimated it to be 500-600 m, and Parkinson[136] about 520 m.

At one point near Cape Mönckeberg a 160 m spur of a high range extends right to the shore, where it drops away sharply.[137] Elsewhere in the Ĕtălắt region the coral limestone terrace rises just beyond a sandy beach. Its maximum height is 100 m, lowering to 15-20 m at one point near the end of a spit.

On the island's west coast, a steep shoreline rises an average of 20 m, although it is 80–100 m in isolated places. According to Müller, beyond the steep shoreline near Ĕlŏlĭ́ăṅ lies a basin, where the village is located. However, in 1913 it was determined that a steadily-rising path led from the 30 metre-high terrace to the village.[138] A short distance to the north the steep coastline recedes, giving way to a flat, densely-overgrown beach extending back as far as 300 m. South of Cape Förster a stream cuts deeply inland. North of there, near Ĕūtānālĭ́ū in Eliúke Bay, the steep coast recedes as far as 500 m. In 1913 three terraces were found, with a depression beyond, containing a spring.[139] Further north, the steep coast was interrupted by a breech about 40 m wide, possibly an ancient pass through the reef. Müller believed that he clearly saw only a narrow coastal barrier with a plain beyond. However, Parkinson's chart indicates a high plateau.[140] A hundred and fifty metres further on, the steep coast either totally disappears, or again curves inland in a north-easterly direction, which seems more likely. Greater detail could not be found, due to the dense nature of the bush. The Ĕmăgắn region at the northern tip of the island showed no further

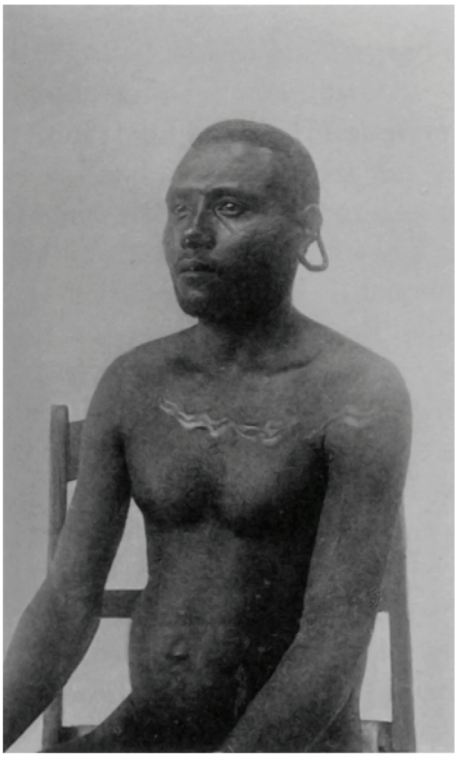
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[134] *Amtsblatt*, V, 1913, p.152
[135] 1901, p.116
[136] 1907, p.317 *et seq*.
[137] *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.152
[138] *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.151
[139] *Amtsblatt*, *loc. cit*.
[140] 1907, p.317

Nevermann, St. Matthias, Plate 2



Kinepan from Ĕlĕmăkŭnaur phot. Reche



Ŏlŏbĕ́lū from Ĕlĕmăkŭnaur phot. Reche



Bejewelled man, Ĕlĕmăkŭnaur phot. Fülleborn



Kapugui from Ĕlĕmăkŭnaur phot. Reche

elevations. There, the only large coastal plain on the island, known inland as Tapoka(?), extends as far as the hilly region of Epola(?).[141]

On the south coast of the main island, near the river mouth with a 50 metre wide sandbar, forested hilly terrain rises quite steeply to the first high terrace. Between Skull Bay and Cape Thilenius is a pronounced bluff.[142]

The small offshore islands are completely flat. On Musa͡u a coral limestone rampart rises 10-15 m almost vertically out of a 100 m wide flat and leads onto a high plain. Two rocky outcrops rise up 40-50 m in the interior of Ĕlŏa̍ŭa, the larger [25] on the eastern part of the island, and the smaller on the western part. The northern part of Ĕbo̍lĭu has a bluff about 15-20 m high.[143]

On Emi̍r the rocky shore rises steeply around Hamburg Bay. Wider coastal flats exist only in odd places. At odd spots, cliffs rise straight up out of the water. On the eastern shore of the bay, near Ĕbūlīe̍lĕ, the coral limestone wall is 30-40 m high. Vahsel[144] mentions heights as great as 50 m on the island. The coral lime of the main island is also raised, right as far as an often-absent beach zone, though to varying degrees. Between the Ĕūlībai͡ pass and Erŭteri̍te (Éŭrätära̍ta), Ĕpäka̍ nă district, a high plain was found, with the exit from the pass climbing only very gradually and almost imperceptibly up to it. The plain reaches a height of about 30 metres above sea level, and falls away quite steeply on the south-west coast near Erŭteri̍te in rather ill-defined terraces.

In 1840 R.L. Hunter saw two small hills on Emi̍r. In 1882 Karchers also noted both hills on Emi̍r. However these were not major elevations, but only two particularly high points of the coral limestone region rising above their surroundings, although not exceeding 50 metres.

Emi̍r's offshore islands show no significant elevations.

Tench too is completely flat. Only on the western side of the island, about 50 m from the shore, two protective walls of coral limestone fragments run parallel with the beach. They are separated from each other by a channel 15–20 m wide. The outer wall is about 10 m high; the inner rather lower.

Hydrography

The Ĕäbŭ̍kū river flows into Skull Bay on St Matthias. According to Hellwig, it rises on Mount Ma͡ulĕ. Inland from Ĕtäsi̍tĕl and Ĕtälä̍t, Fülleborn, Schirlitz and Vogel found a stream locally called Tăn̓ătŏ́nīlo͡i, flowing south between the Mä̍lakăt Range and the mountain chain of the central highlands. In a second valley on the western side of the boundary chain was a second stream, with yellow water, flowing south-south-east and probably joining the Tăn̓ătŏ́nīlo͡i. Fülleborn believes that he had also heard the name *Musau* for the Tăn̓ătŏ́nīlo͡i, but probably this indicated only the direction of its course. In addition, the dry bed of a mountain torrent was discovered during the descent from the central highlands. The Tăn̓ătŏ́nīlo͡i and the Ĕäbŭ̍kū are probably one and the same.

The water flowing down from the mountains to the coast facing Ĕbŏ́lĭu does not always stay [26] on the surface — only a thin trickle flows above ground in places. It does not sink completely into the chalky ground, because layers of limestone and red clay lie along its course.

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[141] Vahsel, 1909, Plate 9
[142] *Amtsblatt*, p.149
[143] *Amtsblatt*, p.150
[144] 1909, p.59

The mouth of the Ĕăbűkū has small pools like miniature lakes. The bottom is muddy, with a muddy bar offshore. It is 30 m wide at the mouth, (25 m according to Vahsel[145]), with a depth of 1-2 metres.

The stream is called Lokunaure[146] or Ĕăbűkū (Äwúku) at the mouth, flowing through thick bush to empty into the sea. Further upstream it has a very strong flow, with waterfalls. Its lower section is negotiable by vessels until fallen trees prevent further navigation.[147]

Near the mouth is a bay with a coral limestone shoreline where cool, very pleasant fresh water seeps through in various places and collects in an elongated basin, which is muddy in some spots and stony in others. This basin, known as Wáre, is cut off from the sea by mangrove islands and peninsulas. Into the basin flows a stream, which is still a small swampy channel when just 150 metres away from the coast.

The Malai stream with several side branches empties into the south-western part of Skull Bay at the spot where four small rocky islands stretch from Ĕbőlĭu to the mainland. The Malai divides about 800 metres above the mouth. By following the eastern branch, you soon reach a spring gushing out of the rock.[148]

In the valley between the central plateau and the fringing mountain chain there is no running water, apart from the streams mentioned. Clear, limestone water appears only on the beach, and probably under the sea as well. It seemed to Fülleborn as if there were deep basins on the slopes of the central plateau instead of run-off into valleys. Near the beach, between Ĕn͡a͡i and Ĕtăsĭtĕl is a hole fifteen metres wide and several metres deep, containing fresh water. It looks like a collapsed sink hole.

Small water courses were found flowing into the sea near Ĕn͡a͡i, Ĕtăsĭtĕl, south of Cape Förster, and in pairs in the bay near Pălak͡au. The stream near Ĕn͡a͡i is known as Ĕrārűm. Two streams empty into Eliúke Bay between Ĕūtānālĭū and Emagăn. One of these is called Eliúke.[149] A sandbank lies offshore from the rapidly-flowing, more southerly one. The northern stream flows slowly. About twenty minutes from the mouth it has a basin ten metres deep with rather brackish, greenish water. Further upstream, the river makes sweeping curves and then seems to bend round fairly sharply south-east. [27]

Only small water courses were found emptying into the sea on Emĭr. They are the Ĕnŏătēū stream on the south coast, and Tăpăsōăn in the Ĕpăkănă district, whose waters pour into the salt water lagoon of Tasiulilie.[150] In the interior, a swamp (*păru*) is reported to lie north of Ĕtăsĭn̓ĭnĕ.

Geology

The islands of St Matthias and Emĭr consist of raised coral limestone, and are surrounded by younger reefs which in turn form several smaller islands. Near St Matthias is a second reef to the south-south-west, on the far side of the von Melle channel. On this reef, an atoll formation lies off the small island of Ĕmănánus and its neighbouring islands. East of Ĕpăkăna, the presence of the salt water lake Tasiulilie as the remnant of a lagoon, confirms that Emĭr is a raised atoll.[151]

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[145] 1909, p.59
[146] *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.149
[147] *Amtsblatt*, *loc. cit*.
[148] *Amtsblatt*, p.151
[149] *Amtsblatt*, p.151
[150] *Amtsblatt*, p.153
[151] *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.153

Similarly, Tench consists of raised coral limestone, although it is low and flat. There, too, reefs are present on all sides.

Between the individual limestone blocks lying on the surface is a red clay, looking almost like laterite, which lies more deeply in sinks in some places. Washed-out chunks of coral limestone are also found on St Matthias, even on the highest tablelands. The big valley running between the mountain rim and the central highlands appears to have been created by erosion, by the Ĕăbűkū River. Another possibility is that we are dealing with a raised coral island with a reef wall, and that therefore the boundary chain of mountains is the old reef wall. Then of course, the groove of 100 metres or more between the central highland and the reef wall could also have been deepened by erosion. The appearance of eroded areas in the rain-washed karst mountains is of course not so easy to explain, and in some places deepened basins seem to occur on the slopes of the highest elevation instead of run-off valleys. That by far most water runs underground is because no water flows on either the highest plateau or the rim of mountains, apart from in the deep valley between the two; most of the water by far is obviously flowing underground, reappearing only right on the shore. The water which comes to the surface on the beach and probably also in places under the sea, is pure limestone mountain water, and is crystal-clear. The water flowing towards Ĕbőlĭu, between the rim mountain chain and the central highland, on the other hand, is clay-yellow. This water too does not always remain on the surface but flows in patches only as thin threads in appearance. The limestone of the substrate is clearly deposited in lenses at various places, with a heavy clay content. Also, thin beds of red clay occur between these lens-like limestone layers. These beds of lime and clay may be secondary fresh water structures which became isolated in lake-like bodies of water, like those still occurring over a small area of the course of the Ĕbőlĭu stream. [28]

Clay was already present on the slope of a 10–15 metre high coral limestone wall on Musa͡u, which rose almost vertically from an area about a hundred metres wide covered with coral lime, and led up to a plateau. The clay covered large sections, although rain-furrowed coral limestone poked through it virtually everywhere.

On Emŕr the reddish clay seems to be as deep-seated as on St Matthias. The coral lime of the main island is raised up all over the island, right down to a narrow coastal zone, which is often absent. However, the elevations do not reach the same height in all parts, so that the main island could very likely grown have together from several separate islands.

The red clay could have been formed as alluvium from the coral lime, that is, the residue left once the lime has gone. It might also be based on a blanket of volcanic ash from New Hanover, although it is too regularly spread for this. After treatment with hydrochloric acid, the coral lime of the most superficial layers of St Matthias reveals remains of algae and fungal mycelia which have penetrated deep into the lime.

Red clay is said to occur in great quantities at Etawőka, in the middle of the bush between Emagắn and Mắlakăt, and is collected by the people of Ĕlĕmăkŭna͡ur and Ĕna͡i among others, as a mineral dye-stuff (*gőtša tắlo*) for making red dye (*tắlo*).

Undermining of the coral limestone coastline is quite a regular event on St Matthias, and these washouts are found, ‘also at places which the sea does not reach today’.[152] A horizontal, straight, hollow canal occurs in the coral limestone wall near Ĕtălắt, continuing, uninterrupted, for several nautical miles. Stalactite formations are occasionally found in the washouts on the west coast. These also occur on the east coast near Ĕtăsĭtĕl, and on Ĕbőlĭu. There is a steep wall encrusted with stalactites on Ĕbőlĭu, from which a slit-like tube about ten metres high passes through coral limestone about thirty metres wide, to open above into the air. A low cave is on the beach near Ĕtăsĭtĕl, continuing as a narrow passage. Attached to it is a grotto with several low, opaque yellowish stalagmites and stalactites. The grotto has an opening towards the nearby river.

[152] Parkinson, 1907, p.318

However, the river still does not flow underground at this point. The total length of the cave is 40–50 metres. At one point on the Ětălăt coast was a cave-like washout, apparently open above, and about seven metres high. The native interpreter, Măkĭrŏ̂ăr[i], designated the reddish local stone as *tšakŏ́lo*, which is probably just a synonym for *ăt̆ū*, (stone or rock). He called the opening *liăn̆e*, cave; the upper slit *tărekăte*, and the stalactites in the cave as *šutaw͡aijŭ*. According to him, in the mountains of Ĕvĕr͡aí near [29] Ĕbŏ́lĭu is a big cave called Elíĕmalám or Etamaríri with two entrances, (*atamánĕ*), inhabited by bats and flying foxes. In Ĕlĕmăkŭn͡aúr there is said to be a similar, smaller cave, also with two entrances, containing stalactites. Along the route to this cave is the isolated limestone cliff, Elia Malaju, with a hollow at its base due to an overhang.[153] On Ĕbŏ́lĭu the women talk of a cave in Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl where a woman (or several women?) sit, turned to stone. Their bones are said to have become petrified a long time ago. This is evidently a stalagmite formation. Ĕănŭs͡aú or Etapalíen on Emĭ́r has a cave where there is special stone which they burn to a black colour, instead of lime charcoal. However, this is probably only a particular type of lime. Several limestone caves are located on the north coast of the Ĕlĕūā district on Emĭ́r.

On Mus͡aù and in Păl͡aku, and probably at other places on St Matthias, there are heavy, clumsy, clearly-rolled stones, allegedly found in the taro fields and used for solar magic. Accordingly, the natives call them, 'sun stones', (*ăt̆ū sĭ́năk*). They consist of epidotized porphyry[154] and have probably been washed ashore with trees. Also, just such a heavy stone was observed being used as a tool on Tench. On Emĭ́r the stones are called *măn̆amăn̆a*, and are used both as tools and for solar magic. Pumice occurs in small quantities on the St Matthias coastlines, evidently washed ashore. The odd small piece of obsidian is found along the bush line or close by, on St Matthias and Emĭ́r. Whether these pieces of obsidian (*păláńĕ*[155]) have also been washed ashore with wood, brought in by the natives, or come from the interior of the island, is unknown. Their location does not support their having being washed ashore, because they would hardly have reached the bush line, even had they been driven over the reef and up the beach by storm flood tides. Because of their location, importation by the natives is also quite unlikely. The natives do not know anything about a volcanic event on the islands or about mountain uplifts. Nevertheless, it is possible that recently-erupted stones form the nucleus of the two major islands, even though nothing of this has come to light so far. Parkinson's comment[156] that the central part of St Matthias consists of volcanic rock, is not supported by investigation.

Earthquakes, (*rukruk*, *rukĕrukĕ*) according to the natives, come from out to sea in the direction of New Britain, and are first felt by the fishermen [30] who experience a subterranean rolling motion coming from a long way off. In these situations the earth movement is said to be so strong that trees and huts sway, hanging baskets in the huts swing from side to side, and coconuts and other items in the huts fall down. And so the fishermen yell early warnings to the people onshore, and the warnings are passed from one to another, right into the bush.

Climate

On the islands a moderately damp, tropical marine climate prevails — probably little different from the climates of New Britain and New Ireland, where mid-year temperatures reach 26.1°. The main rainy season seems to occur during the southern summer, (December to April), as on the more southerly islands, and to coincide with the north-west monsoon. From May to November the south-east trade wind predominates, although there is no actual dry season. The

[153] Hellwig in *Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910*, I, 1927, p.70
[154] *Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910*, I, 1927, p.440
[155] This name was unfamiliar in Ětălăt.
[156] 1905, p.71; 1907, p.318

Hamburg South Seas Expedition visit took place during the south-east trade period, which is mostly squally, often with gale–force wind. At night, instead of the south-easterly wind, either a land wind or calm prevailed at times. The wind was quite changeable during the second half of September, with many calm periods.[157] Although there were no regular diary entries about the weather by the expedition members, it is nevertheless acknowledged that during our 57 days on the islands it rained on at least 23 days, and probably a few more as well. Steady rain fell on odd days, although there were mostly squally showers. There were always clouds about. Clearing weather was mentioned on only three days. On Emŕ the people distinguished 'heavy rain', *lăn̂ítī*, from 'light rain', *bâū* ,and they had a special word for the rain stopping, (*mākâtī*).

The tide turned twice in 24 hours.[158] At the end of September 1908, low water occurred in the morning and high tide in the evening. Prior to this the tides were quite irregular. The rise is small, 40–100 cm, according to the tide.[159]

With a fresh south-easterly wind Vahsel observed 'a roughly WNW flow of approximately 20 to 50 nautical miles per day's reckoning.'

Botany

The north-east and the interior of St Matthias is heavily forested. Odd high trees rise out of the low scrub, quite widely dispersed and rarely [31] in groups. In the south-west, the coast is mangrove swamp, with wide grassy flats of scrub and pandanus beyond. Only thin brush-wood and light scrub grows on the offshore islands. The vegetation is more luxuriant on Emŕ than on St Matthias. This is probably attributable to the thicker layer of loam on the main and nearby islands. Thicker high forest grows on Ĕănŭsấu, off Emŕ. Tench is completely covered in stands of old trees. King[160] has already mentioned the close, dense forest on Tench. Starting right on the beach, the height of the forest surprised both him and, later, Bennett. The Hamburg Expedition found mostly tall, fairly light forest cover with little undergrowth.

Among the individual plants of the rich flora of St Matthias and Emŕ both Parkinson[161] and the Hamburg Expedition observed: *Cordia subcordata* (*ît͡au*?), *Calophyllum*, *Pandanaceae*, hibiscus, Barringtonia, *Pangium edule* (*kārŏ́ĭrŏ́ī*?), *Palaquium* (*tấbŏ͡ai*?) tree ferns, rattan (*kára*), mangroves (*raráne* only in the south), crotons, ferns, alang-alang (high ground), *Dracaena* (*íĕrī*?), palms, and lianas. In 1913 *Afzelia bijuga* was also noted.[162] A big tree bearing edible fruit with a green or red leathery skin, called *t͡au*, *t͡aun*, *t͡aúnŏ*, or, on Emŕ *t͡aú*^{o}, is identical with the *galip* nut tree (*Canarium*) of the Gazelle Peninsula according to Hellwig, while Vogel[163] compares its 'big sweet berry' with 'the lychee of the Chinese.'[164] During the voyage of the *Seeadler* in 1900, casuarinas were also found.[165] There is no bamboo. Washed up pieces of bamboo are found only on the beaches. Driftwood is called *úle*.

In the bush (*tăpātŭ́pĭ*), in addition to what has already been mentioned, there occur the following plants occur, known only by their indigenous names:

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[157] Vahsel, 1909, p.59
[158] Hefele in *Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910*, I, 1927, p.401
[159] Vahsel, 1909, p.59
[160] J. Hunter, 1793, p.421
[161] 1907, p.326 *et seq*.
[162] *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.150
[163] 1911, p.62
[164] *Nephelium litchi*
[165] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, XI, 1900, p.640

a͡iiĭṅitáli, *ba͡u* or *bo*, *kŭr*, *gigíma*, *a͡uwirăma*, *talaṅa͡i*, *ra͡ŭa͡i*, *adiṅása*, *ắsă*, (trees);

kăbṓ, *oasaṅitúe*, *kăla͡u*, *tawále*, *amắsa*, (lianas);

ŭaṅa͡i, *ŭ́si*, (orchids);

măla͡i or *măla͡iĭ*, (tree with yellow, apple-like edible fruit the size and shape of a hen's egg);

tā, *a͡itābắgĭ*, '*aisacka*'[166] (trees with edible fruit);

sŭ́,[167] (tree with coconut-sized, brown edible fruit with several yellow seeds); [32]

ĭ́, (tree with big, almond-like edible fruit);

ūănăwắŭ, (convulvulus-like plant bearing green fruit with white longitudinal stripes, the size of a large gooseberry);

ŏsa͡usă, (with nut-like fruit);

năt̆ŭ, (with green, tomato-like edible fruit);

ălĭṅăçă, (tree with big leaves and grape-like bunches of egg-shaped fruit);

kalamáke, (whose bark provides useful fibres);

kára͡u, *kara͡u*, *kārṓū*, *kăró*, or *káro*, (shrub with root that produces dye);

pĭ́rĭpĭ́rĭ or *pŭ́rpŭ́r*, *ra͡ira͡iĕn*, (herbs with red leaves[168]);

ṅaṅắsa, creeper yielding dye);

a͡ika͡uruáne, (shrub?);

tutŭ́lă, *úrgata͡i, unĭ́ĕ*, (= ?).

They grow coconut palms, (*nĭ́u*); *Areca* palms, (*bŭ́ĕ*, *bŭ́ē*, or, according to Parkinson, *búa*); breadfruit, (*ŭ́lō*, *ŭ́lŏ*); bananas, (*úri*); fibrous bananas, (*kălăbúĕ*); cooking bananas, (*gĭ́di*); tapioca, (*badūm*, *batūm*); taro, (*ajet*, and the big-leafed type *ĭ́a*, occasionally, due to foreign influence, also called *tắrō*; or *ási*, according to Parkinson[169]); papaya, (*pa͡ia*); and *Lagenaria* (*a͡ŭ́to*, *ŏta͡u*, *ŏto*). Tapioca has been introduced by the workers from Herbertshöhe, and hence it is often called *tapióca*.

On Emĭ́r there is, in addition, ginger, (*la͡iyă*); lemons, (*sa͡ŭsa͡u*); potato-like fruit; and a plant called *naginắkĕ* which looks like Virginia creeper and bears fruit 1.5 cm long like gooseberries. *Naginắkĕ* climbs over slender trees and hedges. A small sago swamp lies in the centre of Ĕănŭsa͡ŭ, off Emĭ́r.[170]

Coconut palms are sparse on Tench, and bear extraordinarily small nuts.[171] Betel palms are nonexistent. Parkinson mentions *Inocarpus edulis* as a food plant on Tench. King[172] describes, 'a number of large trees which bore a very fine red blossom, but the red was so very conspicuous that I am inclined to think the leaves were of that colour.' Hibiscus were seen here in 1908. It was noted from the *Komet* in 1913 that '*aisacka*'; breadfruit, (*nata*); pandanus, (*aum*); a type of tree with a fruit called *arana*; and another with red fruit, (*katai*[173]), like gherkins; were grown as food plants.[174] Small quantities of swamp taro are grown on Tench. [33]

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[166] *Amtsblatt*, p.248
[167] According to Schoede, 'zu'.
[168] Croton?
[169] *Amtsblatt*, p.152: 'aso' (?)
[170] *Amtsblatt*, p.153
[171] Parkinson, 1907, p.345
[172] Hunter, 1793, p.421
[173] *Gurume* on New Ireland.
[174] *Amtsblatt*, p.248

Among the fungi, the edible variety, *kărŏ́ĭrŏ́ĭ*,[175] is mentioned on St Matthias; and among the algae *Halimeda opuntia* (family Syphonidae); the edible grape-like species of *Fucus*, *bó̲rū* (*gŏ́ ru*) *la͡ijĕ́ne*; and other species.

The Animal Kingdom

Mammals living on St Matthias and Emĭ́r include pigs, (*mó̲ṣŭ*); a small species of possum, (*ărŏ́ă*); one marsupial; rats; and dogs.[176] Dogs were introduced probably only in recent times, as house pets. Pigs are kept as domestic animals, but have to a large extent become feral once more. In the Etamariri grotto near Ĕvĕra͡í live flying foxes (*mărĭă̆bĕ)*, and bats (?) or smaller flying foxes (*rúsĕ*). *Makắto ira͡úrĕ* seems to be another indigenous name for the flying fox, although possibly they bestow this name on a species of bird. Dolphins (*pătĭŏ́ňă)* are common in the waters around Emĭ́r.

The avian world of St Matthias and Emĭ́r closely resembles that of New Hanover, and also that of the Admiralty Islands. The great number of unique forms is astonishing. Of the 38 birds that A.F. Eichhorn distinguished on St Matthias, 17 were indigenous.[177] The birds of St Matthias and Emĭ́r are plovers; swamp hens; pigeons, (*Ducula*, *Ptilinopus*, *Gallicolumba*, *Macropygia*, *Chalcophaps*, and *Caloenas*); herons, (*Demigretta*); parrots, (*Micropsitta* and *Trichoglossus*); fulmars;[178] bee-eaters; rails; swifts; fly-catchers;[179] cuckoo shrikes; wood warblers; thrushes; mule shrikes; honey-eaters; humming birds; starlings; and sparrow hawks.[180] In addition, on Emĭ́r Eichhorn[181] discovered scrub fowl, and a falcon (*Haliastur*) which was seen also on St Matthias in 1908. There are no owls, according to Eichhorn, yet they seem to have been seen by members of the Hamburg Expedition, and bear the local name, *makắto ira͡úrĕ*. The natives distinguish a black bird from a white bird among the herons, (*kū* or *kăribó*). There are no pigeons on Ĕkălĕ́ŭ. The *Ptilinopus* species is called *balŭ́s*^{u}. The sparrow hawk is called *ta͡ufa͡ukŏ* or *mănĭtá͡u*, and the falcon *kĕrá͡ură* (*kĕra͡uắlă*, *tĕrá͡ura͡u*, *ró͡ura*). Further local names to do with birds are: *rīŭ́rī* (small), *suăki* (in the bush), *tŏ́nē*, *ĕtĕ́lĕ*, *mălĭ́lū*, *ălĭūkắŭ*, *çăbắlăt*, *pălā́*, *kīnăpūrĭ́ĕ*, *drū*, *kŭtŭmắnăm̆ắnă*, *lĭńĭ́ç*, *mắsū*, *rīrĭ́būī*, and *rīkắsă*.

Island reptiles comprise a turtle, (*ó̲nū*); a lizard, (*a͡iróši*); an iguana, (*kapa͡u*, *kapo*), the crested crocodile (*ŭắ*); frogs; the little snake, [34] *tắrītī* (*tắrĭtĭ*, *tắrĭtī*, *tărĭ́tĕ*); the *mălĭ́ĕ* (*mălĭ́a͡u*) snake; and the *kŏ́tu* (*kŏ́du*, *kắtu*) or *ăbatúa* snake, which is considered dangerous as its bite causes swelling of the limbs, which may often prove fatal. However, this is doubtful because, according to the natives, the unexpected sighting of the snake is enough to bring about this result. Added to these, a little sea snake lives in the waters around the reefs.

Bonito; horned pikes, (*Belone*); small black-and-white ringed moray eels; sharks (*ba͡íō*, *ba͡íŏ*); the black *šóla͡u* with rounded yellow tail fins; the large *la͡íně*; the little *pắně*, (*pắnăpắnă*, *pắnĕpắnĕ*, *kalắulắu*) which live outside the reef; and species called *putuńĭ́ŭko*, *mălătŭ́*, *kačma͡i* (?), and *áosita͡uma͡ia* (?) are all specifically grouped under the common name *kŏ́kŏ*. Of the reef-

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[175] Cf. *kărŏ́ĭrŏ́ĭ*-rattles from the fruit of *Pangium edule*.
[176] Vogel, 1911, p.37
[177] Hartert, 1924, p.261 *et seq.*
[178] Heinroth, 1902, p.438 and Plate VIII
[179] Heinroth, pp.451, 457 *et seq.* and Plate IX
[180] Hartert, pp. 262-275
[181] Hartert, p.276 *et seq.*

dwellers Vogel[182] mentions, 'black, orange, and white-striped, blue and green-changing, dark red types, and still many others', that seek shelter in the reef grottoes from the larger ravenous fish. At least three species of freshwater fish live in great numbers in the basin of the more northerly of the streams emptying between Ĕūtānālĭ́ū and Emagắn, and in freshwater sumps on the beach between Ĕnâ͡i and Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl.

Other St Matthias and Emĭ́r sea creatures are octopus, (*manĭ́lĭ*); starfish, (*siṅakô͡ijŭ*); marine worms, (= *ĭ́nes*) living within the reef; corals (*mắmămắmă*); the common crab, (*bắ̲s̲īk*, *bắ̲s̲īk*^{j}); all kinds of crustaceans; and trepang (*mŭmŭko*), whose numbers are low, according to Parkinson.[183] Vogel speaks of black and grey trepang; von Bennigsen[184] the so-called 'prickly red'. The molluscs noted were: *Tridacna*; *Nautilus*; *Amphiperas ovum*[185] (*wű́lĕ*, *bű́lē*, or, according to Friederici, *bụ́lę̆*); *Cypraea tigris*; *Burgos*; *Trochus niloticus*, (*mắrĕ*, *mắre*); *Triton* (*káue* according to Parkinson; *ka͡úve* according to Friederici); goose-necked mussels; mother-of-pearl shells, (*manĭ́tó* = black pearl shell, *Meleagrina margaritifera*); *Cardium*; the mussel species *nĭmărő́*, *tű́gū*, *tŏtę́mō*, *ārĭ́ rīp*[186] (*äriríp*, *mű́e äriríp*) and *silíp*: and the snails: *tiṅako͡ija* with the white 'house', and *ābắtīpīla͡ú* . The (*Cardium*?) shell fastened to the coconut scraper is called *piro*, according to Schoede.[187]

Awaiting mention among the land animals are: spiders; leeches; ants, (*lóa*); millipedes; scorpions; great green grasshoppers; butterflies, (*ka͡úwắwe*); the greenish *Carabus* species, *s̩ĭ́năr̆́ṅr̆ĭṅ*; flies, (*pătukĭ́răka͡ubắbă*[188]); and mosquitoes. *Anopheles* were not found but, on the other hand, there were a lot of *Stegomyia*.

Numerous rats; pigeons; sandpipers (*tő́ra*);[189] and a species of lizard are found on Tench. There are no pigs. According to a carving obtained by one member of the Hamburg Expedition, *Chelone midas* turtles live also on Tench [35].

III. The Settlement Situation, and Population Statistics

St Matthias

Parkinson[190] estimated the total population of St Matthias and the offshore islands to be not much more than one thousand persons and felt that he could prove that men were decidedly in the majority. Consequently his estimation was too low. The Hamburg South Seas Expedition estimated the number of inhabitants of the east coast alone to be at least 1,500 by virtue of the individual buildings in the villages. Therefore you can count[191] on a current population of about 2,000 inhabitants for the main island and the islands offshore. In the 1913 census[192] undertaken by the administration in Kavieng the minimum population was recorded again as 1,559.

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[182] 1911, p.20
[183] 1905, p.72
[184] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, XI, 1900, p.639
[185] = *Ovula ovum*
[186] 'ārĭ́rĭp' appears to include several species of mussel, among them tű́gū and tŏtę́mŏ.
[187] Museum of Berlin, VI 31877
[188] *patuki* (?) = 'wing'?
[189] *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.248
[190] 1907, p.333
[191] Vahsel, 1909, p.59
[192] *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, pp.154 and 247

The most densely populated place is the village of Ětălắt on the north-east coast, comprising the settlements of Ětălắt in the north and Kătűlūsa͡ì in the south. The houses are either isolated or in groups of up to three. Groups of up to ten houses are also believed to exist, although these were not seen. Kătűlūsa͡ì comprises nineteen groups of houses, with an average of three to a group. Estimating six people for each house — a minimal number[193] rather than one too high — you get a total of 342 inhabitants in Kătűlūsa͡ì; and for Ětălắt, with 24 groups of houses, 432 inhabitants. Grouping them into a unit, the village had at least 700 inhabitants in 1908. However, in 1913 only 312 inhabitants were counted in Ětălắt.[194]

In 1913 Ětăsĺtěl had 136 inhabitants, after an incomplete count.

There were four groups of houses in Ěrő̆ĭtăn long before 1908 — before the Ětăsĺtěl people attacked the village. In 1908 the few survivors of the slaughter lived as fugitives in five isolated huts near Ěna͡ì. However 68 people were recorded in Ěrő̆ĭtăn in 1913. In view of the decline in other places, this increase in population cannot be attributed to natural increase, but only as due to renewed immigration. It is also possible, however, that in 1908 only a portion of the Ěrő̆ĭtăn huts had been found.

Twenty-six inhabitants were recorded for the two Ěna͡ì beach settlements known as Ětăkūna͡úru, which consisted of two or three huts. In 1913 Ěna͡ì had 120 inhabitants, including the higher, main part of Ětălūěrő̆ń. [36]

In 1908 Ělemakuna͡úr was not recorded as a village in the true sense, but a loose group of several houses with smaller individually-named farms scattered through the group. In 1913 three villages were found in the Ělemakuna͡úr area — Tagatuwonguluo with 59 inhabitants, and Elungitan and Elunakulu with 112 inhabitants between them.[195]

On the south coast of the main island, village populations have altered markedly. Ěbő̆lĭu was abandoned after the Ělemakuna͡úr people had killed twenty of the inhabitants. The Ěbő̆lĭu people settled in Pắlaka͡u, which was devoid of men at the time. In 1908 Pắlaka͡u was a village of several widespread groups of houses including one with eight people, (six men and two women), living in its four huts. In 1913 Pắlaka͡u was not even mentioned. On the other hand, going from west to east along the south coast: Tangaitutu (83 inhabitants); Erringan (30 inhabitants) on the inland heights; Salemakarakan (abandoned); the village of Takanussu, inhabited by the Salemakarakan people (49 inhabitants); and the abandoned villages on Skull Bay.[196] Shortly before 1913 part of the Tangaitutu population moved to the small rocky outcrop of Tangaina near the coast for health reasons, avoiding having to live in the mangrove swamp.

In 1913, 94 inhabitants were counted in Ělŏlĺăń; 149 in Ěūtānālĺū; 106 in the village of Lobarań on the west coast plateau near Eliuke Bay; and 53 in the village of Lumussus in the bush near Lobarań. Thus the west coast is more densely populated than either Parkinson or the Hamburg Expedition had assumed. They had reported major settlement only in the east, particularly the north-east with the big beach flats, and in the low south-west of the island.

In 1908 and 1913 the Emagắn district on the northern tip was found to be devoid of people. It had been inhabited until 1901 or 1902, but became depopulated after a raid by the Ětălắt and Ětăsĺtěl people. The Kắlŭět region between Emagắn and Ětălắt is similarly devoid of people, and does not show any traces of earlier settlement.

The island's interior has been inhabited only in the hinterland of Ětălắt and Ětăsĺtěl. Fülleborn and Vogel had seen a plot of land apparently reclaimed on the heights of the mountain chain. Old settlements had been observed near the central high ground further southward above

[193] Often, several wives of one man, or several families, live in one house.
[194] *Amtsblatt*, p.154
[195] *Amtsblatt*, p.151
[196] *Amtsblatt*, *loc. cit.*

Ěnâi, stretching at least a kilometre wide just below the highest point. Fülleborn and Vogel also saw a ruined hut there, with two taro boards inside and a banana plant in a hollow. On their way back from the central highlands they came across three more old settlements in valley floors on the slope and at varying altitudes, [37] and saw taro fields a kilometre in width along the mountain slopes. Bananas, betel- and coconut palms were growing round the ruins of huts. In one of these settlements a circular well had been dug in the red clay, about 30 metres across. These sites had not long been abandoned, and were possibly still visited occasionally, to harvest fruit. They were probably settlements of the Mǻlakăt people, who had retreated to Ěnâi and Ětăsĺtěl, as a result of attack by the Ěbőlĭu people. They found a welcome in the Ětălūěrőn section of the village and settled just beyond Ětăsĺtěl, no more distant from the village than were its groups of houses from one another. In 1913 the newly-formed village of Mǻlakăt could have been counted as a single unit incorporating Ětăsĺtěl.

The village of Ĭūé is said to lie in the bush behind Ětălǻt. It can hardly be very far inland and is probably not very big.

Apart from the bush villages near the coastal villages, the interior of St Matthias has been uninhabited since the abandonment of the old Mǻlakăt settlement. Elsewhere, there are no signs of earlier or recent settlement.

The offshore islands of St Matthias are fairly lightly populated. The main part of the population lives on Ělŏăŭa. Three villages were found in 1908 — Tăkŭnâuru in the west with five huts; Ělĭ[u]ěně or Ěliuǻne in the central part of the island, with two groups of houses; and Ělűŭńŭâi[197] in the east, with the adjoining dwelling site of Tālēkălűěte on the north-west tip of the island. A total of only ten men were seen in Tăkŭnâuru and Ělĭ[u]ěně. The population of Ělűŭńŭâi would have been larger, but the major portion had been recruited for plantation work in Ralum. The 1913 census[198] yielded five sites, with 124 inhabitants: Taliukalai, Eurungattu and Luungwä (= Ělű ŭńŭâi), with 32, 8 and 67 inhabitants respectively on the north coast; Tamulieng (= Ělĭ[u]ěně?) with six inhabitants, on the south coast in the eastern part of the island; and Saumäre (= Tăkŭnâuru or Tālēkălűěte?) with eleven inhabitants on the western tip.

There was only one small settlement on Ěmānǻnŭs in 1908, with few people. In 1913 on the other hand, 62 locals plus immigrants from Ekalĺu lived on the western third of the island while the rest was uninhabited.

In 1908 Ěnŏ[a]nău had only a single farm, called Evańâilu. The neighbouring island, Ěbăńǻlū, was reportedly inhabited. However, the total number of inhabitants of Ěnŏ[a]nău and its neighbouring islands would scarcely have been more than twenty.

Ěkălĺŭ had 20–30 warriors before 1901, but was depopulated by the *Cormoran*'s punitive expedition, and by later Ěbőlĭu raids. In 1908 there were only a few inhabitants. When the Hernsheim factory was [38] set up a second time on Ěkălĺŭ, the locals freely chose to move to Ěmānǻnŭs prior to 1913.[199]

Ěbőlĭu was an uninhabited island in 1908 and in 1913.

About forty people lived on Musâu before 1901. In 1908 the estimated population comprised eight adult males, seventeen boys and at least eleven women and girls. In 1913 Musâu was no longer inhabited.

The reason for these frequent changes of location was a fear of hostile attack; this is also why the gardens around the villages did not amount to much.[200]

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[197] Also: Lŭŏńuai
[198] *Amtsblatt*, p.150
[199] *Amtsblatt*, p.150
[200] *Amtsblatt*, p.152

Taking into account the departure of 168 men and 10 women for plantation work in 1913, the total population of St Matthias and its offshore islands was barely more than 1,600 in that year, compared with 2,000 inhabitants in 1908, when there was also a large number of departing workers.

The reason for the decline in population is mainly feuding among the villages. This explains also the large number of orphans.[201]

The number of men exceeds the number of women. In 1913 there were 274 male and 209 female children, and 565 male and 512 female adults, not including the departed workers, where the number of men again exceeded the number of women. Only among the elderly was the number of women (13) greater than the number of men (7).[202]

This imbalance was further increased by a few men being polygamous. Of 355 married couples in 1913, 36 were polygamous; there were 210 bachelors.

Couples with many children are extremely rare. There were only 485 children from the 355 marriages.[203] Many couples were childless, 'likewise virtually all the men recruited earlier'.[204] Even though the incidence of sexually-related diseases on St Matthias was indeterminate, the cause was probably disease-based, ('penile disease', lung problems, '*kaskas*', and so on).

Emi̍r

Parkinson[205] recorded that the population dwelt on the south coast, at the eastern end of the main island and, 'would not have exceeded 500 souls in [39] all'. Vahsel[206] reports the number of inhabitants as about 700, and 603 people (317 male and 286 female) were counted in 1913, distributed across four villages: Ĕbūlīe̍lĕ with 169 inhabitants; Ĕpăka̍nă, 142; Ĕle̍ūā, 120; and Ĕtăsĭn̍i̍nĕ with 172 inhabitants.[207]

Before 1908 the population of Ĕlōūnu̍să (Emanaa͡u̍năne) village had dwindled to twelve, as a result of feuds. At the Ĕta͡i̍lă (Eta̍wilu) farmstead in 1908, one house lay in ruins. Between its four corner posts there was no longer any space for burial. From the vegetation it was concluded that several farmsteads had existed previously on the beach and in the bush. In 1913, abandoned dwellings were recognizable by large stands of coconut palms. The offshore islands were uninhabited both in 1908 and in 1913.

The population of Emi̍r is more dense than that of St Matthias, and, furthermore, shows no clear signs of a decline. In 1913 there were 169 adult women for 166 adult men. In particular, there were more women than men in Ĕle̍ūā and Ĕtăsĭn̍i̍nĕ. The 72 couples, (18 polygamous), produced 268 children. Also, the number of elderly men (6) and elderly women (5) was proportionately higher than on St Matthias.[208]

On Emi̍r too, the marriages of the previous plantation workers were either childless or produced low numbers of offspring.[209] Orphan numbers were also high.

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[201] *Amtsblatt*, p.150
[202] *Amtsblatt*, pp. 154 and 247
[203] The inclusive number of orphans is not recorded.
[204] *Amtsblatt*, p.151. The number of men recruited previously was 61 in 1913.
[205] 1907, p.335
[206] 1909, p.59
[207] *Amtsblatt*, p.153
[208] *Amtsblatt*, p.154
[209] *Amtsblatt*, p.153

Tench

Only estimates of the Tench population exist. King[210] writes, 'A great number of canoes were lying on the beach, and, from the number of natives we saw there, besides what were in the canoes, there cannot be less than a thousand inhabitants on the island.' King probably assumed that only a small portion of the population appeared on the beach whereas, in reality, all the men and at least several women would have been there. King's estimation of the circumference of the island, which stands in good agreement with the current dimensions, demonstrates that in his time Tench was no bigger than it is today and at that time, apart from the current village, hardly any other would have existed.

Parkinson[211] then declared that King's estimation was far too high, as it would have been impossible for the small coral island to nourish so many people; he felt there would be around 150 inhabitants. Monrad[212] says that the small island must be very densely populated, 'because at least 25 canoes came alongside'. [40]

The Hamburg Expedition was greeted by 38 men distributed among 12 canoes. From the number of adult men, youths,[213] and houses that the Expedition saw, there was about 200 head of population.[214]

In contrast with Parkinson's and Monrad's reports of having seen only a few coconut trees, King's statement that he had seen many coconut palms under the trees may not be regarded as an indication of an earlier larger populace. This is because King was definitely off the island's landing place, and from the palms, which then as now stood only around the extended village, he made an assumption about the vegetation of the rest of the island. Added to this, King made his observations from a sailing ship which could come inshore only with difficulty. This lends weight to Parkinson's[215] comment that the stock of trees showed 'that larger plantings had never existed.'

There is no support for a drop in population to ¼ or ⅕ the number at King's time. On the contrary, the visit of the *Komet*[216] to Tench reported that the natives appeared healthy and there were many children. After a two-hour visit to the island the population was estimated at 'several hundred head'. It was ascertained from the natives through an Ětăsĭtěl interpreter that another village lay on the eastern side of the island with numerous paths leading to it. This information is quite doubtful and is probably based on a misunderstanding. But even if a second smaller village did exist, it would not significantly increase the number of inhabitants.

Since Tench can support no more than 150 to 200 people, and there is absolutely no sign of a drop in population, it is safe to assume that the island has always been inhabited by an average of 150 to 200 people.

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[210] 1793, p.241
[211] 1907, pp. 338 and 345
[212] Danneil, 1902, p.280
[213] The number of children could not be estimated more precisely.
[214] Vahsel, 1909, p.60
[215] 1907, p.345
[216] *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.248



Women from Ětăsı̄tĕl with heavy loads St. Matthias phot. Fülleborn



People from Ĕlĕ́ūā, Emı̄r phot. Fülleborn

Population and Property Census of the Beach Settlement of Ěnấì, on 8 September 1908

1. Tebăkeníuníu farmstead. The owner is Wű́ră, 35–40 years old. The farm buildings consist of a semi-house and a complete house, plus a house in the bush occupied only when working there; the pigs are fed outside it. The farm's food plants comprise about twenty coconut palms, two *t́*-trees, and a lot of banana and taro plants. It does not have breadfruit trees but harvests those growing wild in the bush. The fishing nets of [41] the man Kusâì, who lives in the bush, are stored at Tebăkeníuníu. In return for this and for assistance with fishing, he hands over a portion of his catch to the farmstead. Besides Wű́ră, his wife Tamâì, (about 30 years old), and his children: A͡ijibâù (a girl of about 11), Róro (a boy of 5-6 years), and Goŕli (a boy about 4 years old) live at the farmstead.

2. Etákunấur farmstead. It is owned by the chief, (*bâu*), Lăbŏkŏrő̲rī who is about 35 years old. The property consists of a fairly new semi-house, 10 metres long, 3 metres wide, and 3½ metres high; plus a complete house somewhat longer, 5 metres wide and 3½ metres high; 24 coconut palms close by; a further number in the bush; as well as breadfruit trees, taro, banana, betel palms and the like in the bush. Lăbŏkŏrő̲rī had six wives but only Kinapắlĕ, (about 21 years old), was there on the census day. The other wives were Ganagalím, Káṅa, and Namú, all on their way through the bush, plus A͡imak and Laìkam,[217] who were living in Lăbŏkŏrő̲rī's house in Ěrő ĭtăn at the time. Lăbŏkŏrő̲rī's children were: Baganunúa, Kinapắlĕ's five-year-old son; Sawâùwâùwắn, Káṅa's four-year-old son; Namú's daughters, ten-year-old Panâìtalúăroṅ, and Mő́ rĕmő́rĕ; A͡imak's six-year-old son, Alikibâù, and three-year-old daughter, Kuru; Ganagalím's two daughters, Kinakôìkôì and Tamlŭka; and Laikam's son, Gonosiṅâì. Only Baganunúa, Sawâùwâùwắn, Alikibâù, and Kuru were there at the time. Also living at the farmstead were Lăbŏkŏrő̲rī's labourers: Kấùpă (32 years old), Dīlă (30 years old), Ubá́li (28 years old), and A͡imá́lī (a 27-year-old widower); Kấùpă's wives, A͡irăníĕ (40 years old), and Amắtĕ (30 years old); and their children: Laìwé́lo (a boy of eight), two six-year-old boys, Kŭsólob and Ărónétakű́ru; and two girls, five-year-old Laìljúlĭú, and two-year-old Suŏgâù. Kấùpă is the eldest of Lăbŏkŏrő̲rī's four brothers (step-brothers?) who had two more (natural?) brothers (*neṅána*?)[218] who were away, and a sister, Gâùi, who was there on an extended visit. Dīlă and Ubá́li lived at Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl and were spending a year in Etăkunấur. A͡itakóa and his 18-year-old wife, Niṅắne, plus Lôìĕwé́l, (Niṅắne's 14-year-old sister?), were staying with Lăbŏkŏrő̲rī for a while. A͡itakóa is said to have a house in Ĕlĕmăkŭnấur (?) where he has a further wife and children. In addition, non-local women and children were there at that time, packing sea grass into baskets for transport to Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl. [42]

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[217] Identical with Pŏlīkắm, who is named as Lăbŏkŏrő̲rī's wife? Otherwise he would have seven wives.

[218] Síolok on Emĭ́r and Pakuláva

IV. Demography

Anthropology

During the *Seeadler*'s visit, the resemblance of the St Matthias inhabitants to the decidedly dark-skinned Melanesian Admiralty islanders astonished von Bennigsen and von Hesse-Wartegg.[219] Schnee[220] was of the opinion that the natives were close to the people of New Ireland in skin shade and appearance.

On the other hand, later reports said that the St Matthias population did not give a uniform impression. Parkinson[221] regarded them as Melanesians 'with a fairly strong Polynesian admixture, probably originating from the Micronesian islands'. Reche distinguished one type with long skulls, very broad low faces, very wide flat noses and pronounced prognathism, from a second type with shorter skulls, narrower faces, and a slender nose with a high bridge, in some instances reminiscent of the 'Semitic' nose. Body form is slender in both types, of medium height, and having a very wide mouth with rather bulging lips, well-developed cheek bones, a supra-orbital ridge not markedly pronounced, and an occipital region that quickly drops away quite abruptly. The back of the head juts out in only a few individuals. The skin is light or dark chocolate brown, the face often paler. Both types show extensive intermingling. For example, high-bridged somewhat-arched 'Semitic' noses occur also in conjunction with long skulls and pronounced prognathism. In just one instance Reche felt sure that he recognized an almost-Polynesian Type, in a man named Mátej from Ĕnaì̯. This man was surprising, with his paler skin, sharply-chiselled features and higher nose. In Ĕtălăt the rough, coarse features were more prevalent than in the south. Quite a number of women were also surprisingly small. Statures of 1.45–1.50 m were quite common. Reche found that of the ten women who had turned up, five or six attained only this stature, with the rest not much taller. The husband of a woman who was 1.43 m tall, was also quite short, at just 1.54 m. He was solid and powerful, but gave the impression of a pygmy. His face was very broad, with a broad flat nose. Essentially the inhabitants of St Matthias are related to the people of New Hanover and New Ireland, but also show a Micronesian influence with their straight hair.

The skulls of Musaû̯ people, found near Ĕvĕraì̯ reveal a [43] series of anomalies: for example in the frontal process, the prenasal fossae, and the frontal suture. On Musaû̯ Reche saw one man with the second and third fingers of the right hand fused except for the terminal phalanges. His fourth and fifth fingers were not normal either, bending inward. Curvature of the finger joints, particularly those of the fourth and fifth fingers, and, even more commonly, toe distortions, were seen in Ĕnaì̯ as well. In Ĕtălăt Reche came across powerfully developed arm muscles only in the odd person, while even otherwise strong muscular people had extraordinarily thin weak arms. Schnee[222] was astounded by the slender legs of the St Matthias people, 'because this feature is almost absolutely characteristic of the Melanesian race.'

The breasts of the southern women are relatively small and do not hang down very far. They could almost be considered cone-shaped. On the other hand, almost without exception, the women of the Ĕnaî̯ region had slack, pendulous breasts, surprisingly small in cross-section, frequently looking almost like sausages.

Eye colour ranges from brown to black, low and usually half screwed up. In Ĕtălăt Reche saw three boys, evidently brothers, whose irises were a very dark brown partially suffused with a

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[219] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* XI, 1900, p.640; von Hesse-Wartegg, 1901, p.565; Danneil, 1901, p.122
[220] 1904, p.174
[221] 1907, p.320
[222] 1904, p.174

warm somewhat golden tone, differing from the normal iris shade, and not appearing in Martin's table of eye colours.

The man Laŭ^{u}a on Musa͡u showed pigmentation deficiency, both on his palms and the back of his hands. On St Matthias' small offshore islands, Friederici[223] saw a flax-blond albino woman with rosy-white skin without freckles. He did not notice any signs of light-avoidance. Speaking of the skin of a baby a few weeks old, Parkinson[224] said that it had, 'a tinge of grey'.

Their hair is tightly rolled, densely crinkled and 'gathered into tiny locks, as on New Ireland and the Gazelle Peninsula'.[225] It is dark brown. Hair form matches No. 28–29 on Fischer's chart. Parkinson saw straight hair or just the merest wave, as did the Hamburg Expedition on Ĕna͡i. On Musa͡u Reche found several people with virtually smooth hair, without crinkles. Admittedly, these were people who wore their hair short — it is not impossible that otherwise crinkly hair would grow straight when cut short. One Ĕna͡i youth had really black curly hair, although he was no different from his countrymen in skin and eye colour. Parkinson found that the crinkly-haired islanders [44] were always darker than those with, 'curly or straight hair'. According to him, the hair on an infant's head was, 'almost completely smooth in the initial post-natal months; becoming curly with increasing age although it did not come together in the characteristic, cork-screw, tightly-spiralled bush of pure Melanesian children of the same age'. Besides natural dark brown hair, there is hair dyeing in every shade from auburn to blonde. In one Ĕrŏĭtăn or Ĕlĕmăkŭna͡ur man, Reche was able to determine auburn genital hair in addition to the auburn hair on his head. However, in a second man both genital hair and moustache were black whereas the hair at the corners of the mouth was auburn, due probably to the betel lime in the salivary dribble. Nevertheless, people steadfastly denied that their head hair was dyed with lime, declaring that the dyeing was an effect of seawater. Also, their hair is always dark brown at the roots while the parts exposed to sunlight are lighter in colour. The lighter shade is probably due to hair drenched by seawater drying in the sun. This is supported by the fact that younger people have red to sandy hair, while old people who probably seldom go into the sea, always have dark hair, never a fair shade. Also, Reche noticed a youth with dark brown hair who came into the camp one day with fair, reddish-brown hair. Whether the colour change was intentional, by use of seawater, or whether it was accidental, could not be ascertained.

Old people were not seen with completely grey or white hair. Only the odd dirty greyish brown hairs permeated the darker hair. The grey-brown shade is probably natural — not due to lack of hair care.

Reche was able to find a surprisingly large number of the older men in Ĕlĕmăkŭna͡ur and Ĕtălăt with a tendency to baldness. Hair loss usually starts in the middle of the crown, but often also on the forehead.

In boys and youths under twenty, and more rarely among adults, a blonde down is thickest all over the back, especially along the spine, and mainly between the shoulder blades; on the rump; often densely spread over the small of the back, and occasionally involving the upper arms and forearms, and thighs and calves. Among many children, especially those with a well-defined lanugo, thick blond hairs up to two centimetres long occur on the cheeks in front of the ears from the hairline right down to the angle of the chin. They occur especially above the eyes, often joining brows to hairline, leaving only the middle of the forehead untouched. Often the two regions of [45] blonde hair unite at the hairline so that many foreheads are often quite hairy. These little fair hairs are often thin and slightly wavy, frequently curly, but never in tight crinkles like the dark brown hair on the head. The colour usually matches No.10 on Fischer's hair colour chart. In one quite darkly pigmented boy, the hair at the angle of his forehead angles was darker — truly dark brown. Often the arms and legs of older men, and their chest, hips, and rump are covered with fairly long,

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[223] 1912, p.32
[224] 1907, p.321
[225] Parkinson, 1907, p.320; Schnee, 1904, p.174

dull black hair. This had already surprised von Hesse-Wartegg[226] in 1900. Reche found tight curls of this black hair only on the chest of one older man; he had rather long sandy hair on his arms and legs and from his shoulder blades to his rump.

In contrast to the St Matthias population, the people of the north-west of Emŕr gave a much more uniform impression in terms of facial features and skull type, and by their somewhat darker skin shade, which Reche described as 'a warm, dark, chocolate brown'. The dark Melanesian type predominates on Emŕr. The pale type is intermingled only to a limited extent, and is usually swamped by the dark type. On the other hand, this type is not so uniform in the south-west. Admittedly, most south-western individuals do resemble those of the north-west; however we also saw several surprisingly pale-skinned people. While only straight bridges of the nose were found in North-West Bay and on St Matthias, we frequently came across 'turned-up' noses in the south-west, particularly among women. In a turned-up nose the nasal bones themselves do not rise above the plane of the face, but the cartilaginous part does, at a rather acute angle. This gives rise to a clearly defined point[227] on the bridge of the nose. Parkinson[228] on the other hand feels that the population of Emŕr is no different from that of St Matthias, 'it is, then, that they . . . appear better nourished and more powerful than the latter'. Occasional marriages between Emŕr and St Matthias people contribute to the evening out of the types.

On Emŕr too a portion of the youths have sandy hair which is darker at the roots. Fülleborn observed even straw-yellow hair on many men. Paler hair occurs among the women just as infrequently as on St Matthias. In Ělĕūā and elsewhere on Emŕr Fülleborn saw several old men and women who to some extent had snow-white hair. Hair style is quite uniform on Emŕr. Among fifty people from the south-west, Reche saw only 'woolly heads', with hair rolled up.

The population of Tench appeared uniform to King[229] and Monrad.[230] On the other hand [46] Parkinson[231] said, 'The type is without doubt Melanesian, but the relatively large number of individuals with curly, almost smooth hair reveals a Micronesian influence here as well. The men are of medium build, dark brown, and quite powerfully built...The women are smaller than the men and somewhat paler.' King[232] reports their skin shade as 'a copper colour', and Monrad labels them 'not very dark skinned, that is, compared with Solomon and Admiralty islanders'. Besides medium-sized men, the Hamburg Expedition found tall men as well, including one individual who was six feet tall. Well-built men are in the majority, however there were many people who were surprisingly out of proportion and 'sagging weaklings', with a long fat trunk, long arms, and long skinny legs. Their skin shade is paler than on St Matthias and Emŕr, with a golden brown tone. In the ten people on whom Reche was able to make observations, the colour of the forehead lay usually between No. 21 and No. 25 on von Luschan's chart but none gave a perfect match to any of the little pieces of glass. Also, the body was pale in front while the back was darker. Hence the shade of the shoulder blades lay between No. 25 and No. 28 on the colour chart. Eye colour is dark brown, with jet black hair. Beard and body hair and, especially, genital hair, are black as well. The hair is usually woolly, although tending to curliness in odd cases. Parkinson records seeing the odd elderly man with a full bushy beard, greyish brown in colour.

Their skulls are fairly narrow. In old people the temporal lines meet the forehead very abruptly. The temples themselves are sunken. Facial variation is particularly surprising. The cheek bones usually project markedly anterolaterally. Their noses are usually flat and very broad, but never present the so-called Inferior Nasion. Besides, there are better-vaulted noses right through to

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[226] 1901, p.565
[227] The 'inferior Nasion' as Klaatsch calls it; it is often found among Australian Aborigines.
[228] 1907, p.335
[229] J. Hunter, 1793, p.420
[230] Danneil, 1902, p.280
[231] 1907, p.280
[232] J. Hunter, 1793, p.420

those of a Polynesian type. Reche found slanted eyes in two men, and in one case a well-defined Mongoloid fold. He noticed Mongoloid eyes quite often elsewhere as well. Since both men with slanted eyes were paler-skinned, they almost gave the impression of being southern Chinese.

Parkinson noted that the teeth of the Tench people were shiny white, and traced this back to the fact that they did not chew betel. On the other hand, the Hamburg Expedition established that not one of the men they studied had a full dentition, the exact opposite of the good dental condition seen on St Matthias and Emŕr. The reason for this state of affairs lies most likely in the pathological sphere.

The female sex gave Parkinson the impression, 'as if they aged exceptionally early'. He traced this to the fact that young women barely grown out of childhood were already mothers. [47]

Among men, the great mobility of the testicles was quite surprising. They were almost perpetually in motion, either falling and rising in unison, or one rising while the other fell. This movement appeared to grow more rapid during animated conversation.

The preceding observations are sufficient, without detailed measurement, to draw the conclusion that the population consists of at least two juxtaposed elements, one of which can be designated as Melanesian while the other is Micronesian or Polynesian. When King[233] says, 'Their hair resembled that of the New-Hollanders', this justifies the conclusion that a Micronesian or Polynesian element already existed on Tench in the second half of the eighteenth century. It is surprising that both types have remained relatively distinct, in spite of long inbreeding. The Tench inhabitants were questioned from the *Komet*[234] in 1913 through an Ětăsítěl interpreter as to whether they were actually from Emŕr and shipwrecked on this island. This requires further detailed clarification.

Illnesses

In Ěnâî Fülleborn observed a very solid, quite pronounced spleen, enlarged almost as far as the navel, in a pot-bellied child. Even though the clinical picture appeared to indicate lingering malaria, the presence of malaria could not be proven. Of mosquitoes, only *Stegomyia* was observed in the bush and near the camp, but not *Anopheles*. However it is possible that *Anopheles* may be in the huts.

A boy and his sister lived apart, in a squalid little hut in Ěnâî. The boy had severe fractures of the knee joint of both markedly-wasted legs. Apart from that he was thin and miserable. Müller learned that the boy had been infected by *kắtū ăbătű̆ă*, which had 'bitten' him. Fülleborn diagnosed his illness as poliomyelitis. It could not be determined whether anyone else lived in the hut besides the boy and girl.

In 1913 a lot of foot and leg wounds were observed among the natives of St Matthias and Emŕr, 'caused by walking on the sharp coral, and usually ignored'.[235]

Of skin lesions, *Tinea imbricata* was very widespread on St Matthias in 1913 but had been, 'according to local information, introduced only a few years previously'. In 1900 the absence of ringworm and other skin diseases surprised von Hesse-Wartegg.[236] [48] In 1907 the natives were reported[237] as 'fairly clear of skin diseases'. Conversely, in 1908 *Tinea imbricata* was quite often seen[238] on St Matthias. Reports of its introduction from outside are therefore sustained; probably

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[233] J. Hunter, 1793, p.420
[234] *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.247
[235] *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.151
[236] 1900, p.566
[237] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* XIX, 1908, p.625
[238] Vahsel, 1909, p.59

the disease was introduced by returning plantation workers. Up to 1913 no skin diseases were seen on Tench.[239] The Emŕ population seemed to suffer less from ringworm than did the St Matthias people. *Tinea* infection sites were ring-fenced with dotted scars to prevent their spreading further. These scars had the appearance of small warts and, like the illness, were called *kăĺĕkăĺĕ* or *kăĺăkăĺă*. Fülleborn saw these scars on an Ĕnâi youth as two converging rows above the nipple and, in Ĕrŏĭtăn, a fairly recent circular cut around a fresh *Tinea* site on a youth's forehead. *Tinea* seems to occur on the penis too.

The wearing of a penis gourd is associated with any penile disease. An Ĕtăsĭtĕl man who wore such a gourd had, from Fülleborn's examination, an apparently normal penis, although there were discrete areas of possible healing on the glans. Admittedly other people also reported that this man's penile disease had healed. Hellwig was told that this man's sickness was called *kaskas*.

In Elĕūā on Emŕ Fülleborn saw a severely ulcerated penis that looked like a phagedenic chancre. However infectious sexual diseases are not thought to occur on the islands.

Through ulcerous processes the noses of several people in Elĕūā were completely destroyed, with the nasal cartilage, and probably also the bony framework, sunken. In many of these people the lips had thickened as well, and were involved in the disease process. Fülleborn also noted deep greyish-yellow ulcers at the lower end of the nose of one such patient. In one woman where the disease process apparently originated on her nose, he noted two somewhat pea-sized yellowish suppurations below her left nostril. This woman had lost the four outside toes of one foot, as in *Lepra mutilans*, and was surprisingly hoarse. Also, in one man with an 'expired' nose, where the acute phase was over, his voice was surprisingly weak. The clinical picture resembled that of *Lupus*, with its frequent skin ulcerations. However, any connection is uncertain. The clinical picture also shows similarities with *Lepra* and rhinoscleroma. Nasal and penile ulceration would have already been prevalent in Elĕūā a long time.

Furthermore, large, lower leg ulcers were surprisingly more common in Elĕūā than on [49] St Matthias, where they were seen only seldom. In one case the extremity covered in ulcers was in the *pes equinus* position. On St Matthias Reche and Hellwig saw an older man from Ĕlĕmăkŭnâur whose lower leg had many open sores and appeared swollen, making them think of elephantiasis. They did not find traces of elephantiasis anywhere else.

Reche was surprised to find an Ĕnâi man with only an indicative scrotum, since his testes had not descended.

Framboesia was not observed. A sixty-year-old chief in Eruterite on Emŕ had a cervical cyst with soft mushy contents, probably an atheroma.

According to Hellwig, dysentery and lung disease were a frequent cause of death among adults and children on St Matthias. Also, the prevalence of coughing surprised Fülleborn. Children in particular were said to suffer lung diseases.

A snake bite (*kottu*, *kattu*, *koddu*, or *ăbatúa*) would cause a swelling of the bitten limb with death a frequent consequence, according to comments by St Matthias natives. Admittedly, they also declared that suddenly spotting a snake attracted illness. If anybody urinated in the taro fields then the snake that drank that urine would come into that person's hut during the night, bite him, and make him ill.

A young girl from Musâu, with a big bluish-grey spot on her left eye, seemed to be presenting keratitis. A ten-year-old girl from Ĕbŏĺŭ was observed to be blind in one eye.

A peculiarity of Tench is the deficiency in the dentition of its inhabitants. Not one of the men whom Reche studied had a full dentition. They commonly lacked both upper incisors, occasionally the lower incisors and, in other cases, the canines or premolars. Almost all the older men appeared to have very few teeth left. Given the frequency of a deficient dentition, their explanation of it being due to injury, can be dismissed. Stones thrown during squabbles, even if

[239] *Amtsblatt*, p.248

these were frequent occurrences, would hit the body rather than the highly-mobile head and, at any event, they would leave behind lasting signs — broken bones, bruises, and scars, none of which, however, were seen. Even should such damage to the teeth occur, the explanation for the deficiency in dentition probably lies much more in the sphere of pathology since, in addition to the gaps in the teeth, crookedness and peg shapes were often noted. On the other hand, the good condition of St Matthias and Emı̂r dentitions surprised Reche.

Reche saw several spinal curvatures on Tench, one case of kyphosis where the whole body appeared collapsed inwards, lopsided builds, and one case of prognathism. [50]

Psychological Behaviour

Reaction to foreigners When St Matthias was visited by labour recruiters in 1864, the natives initially drew back, and then attacked the visitors. In 1895 after initially peaceful trading, the situation soon turned to dissension with the crew of the *Senta* — a situation which was repeated in 1898. A little later, Monrad failed to start real trading, and in 1899 an attack was again made, on the crew of the *Minna* who had landed on St Matthias. However, that same year von Bennigsen, by a cautious approach and the handing over of small gifts, was able to win some trust. During his visit in 1900 he succeeded, with great care and a lot of effort, in entering into communication with the natives, 'who initially shrunk back shyly, their spears in their hands'. However, in spite of many attempts and some guile, entry to the villages was strenuously denied. He consequently considered it beyond any doubt 'that this group of islands had suffered earlier from kidnappings conducted in the Pacific by foreign ships on many occasions since the beginning of the nineties. For that reason they were filled with mistrust of all Europeans — a mistrust difficult to overcome, a mistrust that with the slightest careless move could lead to a catastrophe at any moment. On the other hand, the people of St Matthias have a great greed for European goods, and attempt, with ever-increasing skill, to take trinkets unlawfully.'[240]

This mistrust by the natives and a ready tendency to attack were evident also on later visits — Mencke's in particular. Even though the breaking of a *tabu* or infringing on property right over coconut palms by Mencke's people might have played a role in the cause of the attack, and also the greed displayed by several natives for trade goods[241] may have been a reason for their participation, the real reason for the attack, according to the local explanations expressed to the Hamburg Expedition, was simply that they did not want white people there.[242] Following the *Cormoran*'s punitive expedition, the tendency towards shows of strength was certainly reduced, but mistrust of foreigners remained. While the Hamburg Expedition was there, the natives tried every means of barring approach and entry to the huts. They tried to prevent entry to the villages by excited gesticulation, a loud '*tăkă, tăkă*' (back!); by excuses like: the path is bad, there are vermin there, and the like; by putting obstacles on the path; and by contaminating the path with excrement. [51] The women were always kept away, and they fled at any approach. Children, however, moved freely among the men. The fearful questioning of natives brought in for a short time as interpreters revealed that this behaviour was based, at least in part, on fear of forced recruitment. Even after an extended stay, when friendly relations had been built up between the expedition and the locals, the expedition was requested by chief Lăbŏkŏr̲ŏ́rī of Ĕnâ̂ı̂ to leave St Matthias again. The reason for this was an attack on the expedition planned by the people of Ĕtăsĭ́

[240] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* XI, 1900, p.639
[241] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* XII, 1901, p.451
[242] 'All he no like whitiman he stop.'

těl, and the rivalry between Ětăsítěl and Ěnâì.[243] On Emŕr a more friendly mood was found right from the beginning, than on St Matthias.[244]

The tendency to thieve, mentioned by von Bennigsen, was experienced by the Hamburg Expedition[245] only as isolated — from time to time admittedly quite sophisticated — instances, although the natives scattered about during their visits to the expedition's camp, and opportunities for theft were not rare. On the other hand, the desire for European goods did exist, especially for glass beads and pieces of red cloth, even though they did not twist 'their thick lips into a predatory grin' at the site of these treasures, 'so totally different from the genuine smile of friendship', as Parkinson[246] exaggeratedly reports. The people wanted to be paid for everything, even a proffered flower, and for the slightest handout. The open palm was held out instantly, with a demand for '*avŕs*' or '*kavŕs*' (beads). Even children were cheeky enough to beg for beads several consecutive times, even though they had received beads already.

Although the natives showed that they were highly excitable, they still did not display any great wonder at their first sight of unfamiliar European objects on view, in marked contrast to the behaviour of other natives of the Bismarck Archipelago. They showed the greatest interest in wall mirrors, humming tops, and Parkinson's collections from St Matthias. The people then behaved with no inhibitions, took hold of the monkeys on the expedition's ship and went down into the engine room with them, quite fearlessly. Only one in three showed any fear of the pounding machinery. Yet in spite of all their lack of inhibition, they showed no sign of audacity. During a test of firepower the natives, who were familiar with firearms as a result of the punitive expedition of the *Cormoran*, showed some interest, but were not excited. They received a firework just as equably, with mild laughter [52] but no outbursts of wonder. Even setting up, organizing and listening to the phonograph evoked no sign of particular internal emotion. Only the reproduction of their own singing caused a certain astonishment to show in their faces. This item provided evident humour. There was no sign of any anxiety. Women showed fear only once, when they saw how the magnetic needle of a pocket compass was caused to move by holding a pocket knife close to it; they drew back timidly. Men, on the other hand, were dispassionately interested in this event. They regarded it as rain or sun magic. A spatula-carver offered us a lime spatula in exchange for a pocket compass, which he called *gălắs sīnắku*, 'sun glass'. He did not value the instrument any higher than that. Clothing material, buttons, shoes, stockings, pocket knives, note books, signal pipes, watches, even white men's limbs, were examined without shyness, prodded, and discussed. Hellwig[247] records that only the impression made by people, wagons, shop windows, and stone houses in Manila on the St Matthias youth, Măkĭrṓăr[i], brought about, according to Hellwig[247],'head shaking and tongue clicking, with wide-open eyes and mouth'.

Astonishment is expressed universally as an '*á á*'. It is accompanied by much head shaking. For greater surprise, the hands are clapped against the chest. Other signs of greater astonishment are hissing through the teeth and tongue, and hissing with the lips, both done by sucking air in while at the same time striking the upper arm on the ribs.

Willingness to work The natives' willingness to help with work is linked probably with their lively interest in European items and equipment. Von Bennigsen had easily been able to motivate a native: for payment of a small piece of cloth, he had no trouble persuading the native to chop down a tree with an iron axe.[248] Also, about thirty Ěnâì people voluntarily helped the Hamburg Expedition to clear the bush for a campsite. Women and girls who, in spite of the

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[243] *Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition* 1908-1910, I, 1927, p.54 *et seq.*
[244] *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.154; Vahsel, 1909, p.59
[245] Vahsel, (1909, p.59), in contrast with the other members of the expedition, calls the natives obtrusive, cheeky, and with a tendency to steal.
[246] 1907, p.320
[247] *Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition* 1908-1910, I, 1927, p.182
[248] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* XI, 1900, p.640

entreaties of the chief and the expedition, did not take part in this task, settled down nearby and kept quiet, although now and then they broke out into joyous laughter. The natives worked quite willingly on this occasion. Only a few could not be persuaded to take part. Subsequently, Ěnấì people were always ready to take on smaller tasks such as cleaning the campsite, and boys quickly and willingly gathered *malấì* fruit whenever they were asked. Also, the relatively good results of the many worker-recruitment campaigns on St Matthias, where the initial obstacle had been mistrust of Europeans, is probably, to a great extent due to their interest in Europeans, for, as soon as work needed to be done that had no connection with European [53] items and equipment, their enthusiasm was always much less. This applied especially to attempts by the Hamburg Expedition to recruit guides and bearers for the trip into the interior of St Matthias. Besides a lack of staying power, the fear of hostile populations in neighbouring areas may have had some bearing on the refusal of guides.

Courtesy Besides the interest in Europeans, the willingness of the natives to work for the Expedition was at the same time, an expression of their natural courtesy, which revealed itself time and again in various ways. For example, the chief Wúra in Enấì was always considered courteous — he produced items when he had promised them, he shared with others, he made the effort to absorb our language, and he even brought his children along with him so that the language uptake might be improved by their repetition. He was always very calm and easy-going. If he came into the camp and found a lot of visitors there, he would sit down quietly until he was noticed, whereupon he would wave people to approach him. He always brought a gift, inside his folded rain mat. He and another older man got the children to keep flies away from the white men, while on Emŕ women, with great patience, held rain mats over the white men during a shower. During excursions into the interior of St Matthias, the natives alerted the white men to the best paths through difficult terrain, and were delighted when their advice was followed. In the evenings, unsolicited, they fetched big leaves for comfortable seating, and firewood. Unsolicited, they also brought water-containing plant stems for refreshment, and edible shoots as well.

Gestures It is considered a sign of friendship to take another person by the hand, pat him on the shoulder, or put an arm round his shoulders. Also, patting of the stomach appears to be a playful sign of friendship. Friendship is especially emphasized by the expression, *măsi bấu*,[249] 'Good sir'.

To express peaceful intent, they crouch down. Laying aside their penis shell appears to demonstrate the same intent.

The men's normal squatting position is seated on the ground with knees drawn up, or one knee drawn up and the other along the ground. Both postures were seen on Tench,[250] plus one knee on the ground and the lower leg bent back.

Beckoning someone to approach is done with the whole hand, finger tips pointing downward.

As a sign of agreement the head is raised, the forehead wrinkled, and accompanied by a long, drawn-out *ā*. [54]

A special form of greeting was not noted. Even after a long separation relatives gave no sign of deep emotion. Conversely, a woman on Emŕ gave a hearty laugh on recognizing members of the expedition. Children were generally trusting and uninhibited towards the expedition, and played near the camp. The odd child showed a talent for flattery, appealing to Europeans. Girls were rather more shy than boys, but still much more trusting than girls of the Gazelle Peninsula for instance.

Unfriendliness In contrast to the generally friendly behaviour towards white people once initial mistrust had been overcome, there were isolated cases of intentional unfriendly behaviour. For instance, the chief Sūkūlī in Ětălắt, whose behaviour was also definitely governed by mean-

[249] According to Hellwig, 'matse bấu'
[250] Parkinson, 1907, Figs 52 and 59

spiritedness, gave not the slightest concession during a visit to his farmstead; and the chief Kīnălŭ on Musa͡u would suffer gifts to be given but otherwise remained totally passive.

Mood swings Changes of mood were not unusual among the natives, and would happen quite abruptly. People who came, laughing, to trade, turned round cursing when business was not done. The chief Lăbŏkŏr̲ŏ́rī in Ĕna͡i who felt slighted by not enough fuss being made over receiving a small bowl (*lása*), immediately turned to leave, and was calmed down only after a lot of effort. In another case, armed and aroused Ĕlĕmăkŭna͡ú̇r people calmed down immediately, by having their faces painted.[251] The mood changed with equal rapidity during payment in glass beads for a completed job, when a couple of natives believed that they had been short-changed. Rational explanations proved totally acceptable, and they declared that they were content, with a '*măsina͡iⁱă*', ('it is good').

Cheerfulness Greater familiarity with the natives increasingly revealed a cheerful nature and a tendency to harmless jokes among themselves. For example, if children received beads as gifts, they laughed, and the overjoyed grown-ups laughed out loud. A sixteen-year-old Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl youth was observed pushing a long stalk through his nose, knotting it to a ring, and letting the ring drop playfully onto his forehead. Cigar smoking was imitated by a man putting a fruit like a cigar into his mouth and imitating smoking it. When the light from a cigar was offered to him in fun, there was general amusement. When an expedition member climbed a tree, very nimbly for a European, it was observed with great amusement, and when another white man copied the movements of the spear dance several people rolled on their backs or their stomachs with laughter. Sexual jokes also, such as the performance of obscene songs [55] by children, or imitation of the female genitalia by a nine-year-old boy clamping his penis between his legs and making erotic movements, were greeted with uninhibited laughter by both men and women.

Sexual matters St Matthias men and youths often tried to grab at the genitals of the coloured members of the expedition, under their lava lavas. This could hardly be construed as a pederastic impulse, but, as elsewhere in the Bismarck Archipelago, it was intended only as a friendly joke. Boys tried to feel the white people out of curiosity but stopped immediately on the reprimanding gaze of an adult. The men of St Matthias and Emĭ́r usually clutched their own penis when standing up, without meaning anything at all.

Sexual items such as the penis gourd were discussed quite openly in front of women and children, and sexual jokes were understood and laughed at by the children too. Penis shells were quite openly taken off and put on without any thought. Relatively adult girls of about thirteen years old still did not wear any clothes, although, when they visited the camp or when anyone visited their huts, they placed leaves over their genitals.

The natives' behaviour is more likely to indicate that they regard their sexual lives naively and simply, than that they are dissolute. How far this way of thinking extends over their premarital life is unknown. Indeed women are not restricted in their freedom of movement, and almost always conduct themselves in an informal manner with men, although people do try to keep children away from sexual conduct. Also, the concealment of women from the white men during the period of initial mistrust, and their denial that divorce ever occurs, do reinforce the idea of certain restrictions in their sexual life. Even though the men do not show jealousy, and women or adult girls once adorned two coloured members of the expedition and gave the expedition every appearance of being prepared for sexual conquest, in that instance the craving for glass beads, cloth and the like, was the decisive factor, and therefore it did not give any clue as to their behaviour in everyday life. Coquetry in virtually the European style, as shown by the women and girls, was astonishing — they knew how to 'flutter their eyelashes'.

Shame and disgust Urinating is not subject to any feeling of shame, and is done quite ingenuously when others are present. Only one man, who wore a penis gourd for medical reasons, went into the bush to urinate, probably so as not to be laughed at, or because others experienced

[251] Vogel, 1911, pp. 47–48

disgust. Excrement causes great disgust. The natives' idea is that faecal deposits serve to make paths that should not be trod totally [56] unusable. They defecate normally on the beach, usually near drift logs. Only men were observed, and it is possible that both sexes seek out different locations, (beach and bush?). However, on paths that should not be used, on one occasion a man and on another occasion a young woman were seen quite openly in an unmistakable posture. Furthermore, disgust is shown at spitting, expressed by turning away from the one spitting, drawing the foot away, and a uttering a cry of disapproval. If anyone has to spit, he turns his head away, spits, reaches back and covers the spit with sand. By the same token, spitting is regarded as a sign of contempt. For example, the Ětăsĭtěl people spat surreptitiously on the weapons hanging from the shoulder straps of our police contingent. On the other hand the Ětăsĭtěl people spat without a second thought when smoking, just like the paperhanger would at one time sprinkle the drops. Cigars passed from mouth to mouth in Ěnaí̯, and so it is unlikely that there was repugnance of oral saliva. It is not known whether disgust at expectorant and faecal matter is based on grounds of magic, bordering on fear.

Fear Conversely, men nearing the skull site in Ěvěraí̯ clearly displayed fear of the bones of the slain Musau̯ people, and requested that the skulls, belonging to their relatives and countrymen, not be touched. They then accepted the inevitable. One Pắkalau̯ man mulishly refused, in a sullen manner, to step onto the site and acted as though he was unaware that bones had been uplifted from there. Even later, after he had brightened up through trading, he betrayed nothing about the removal of bones. An Emĭ́r man showed great fear at the site of a rock fall on the coast near Ětaí̯lă, detouring in a wide arc through the water, and quickly going on his way. Another man from Emĭ́r told the expedition's coloured policemen that the big blocks of stone could wander about, and that the largest of them had already gone right down to the water's edge and run back again in a single night. Besides, spirits were believed to live there. That not all natives thought like this, was demonstrated by a native dwelling site in a cavity in the rock wall near by, which had still been in use not long before.

Attention span All the interpreters in the expedition declared that question-and-answer sessions exhausted them and made their mouths sore, 'too much pain belong talk'. In particular, picking up dialects tired them very quickly. Seldom could they be persuaded to repeat a word several times, and after a short time they began to yawn ostentatiously. In spite of high pay they shied away from every interview. On the other hand, there was a strong disinclination for this to happen in front of their friends and relations, when they immediately felt ashamed. However, if they were able to stay on board and explain something by pointing it out with their hand, they were satisfied.

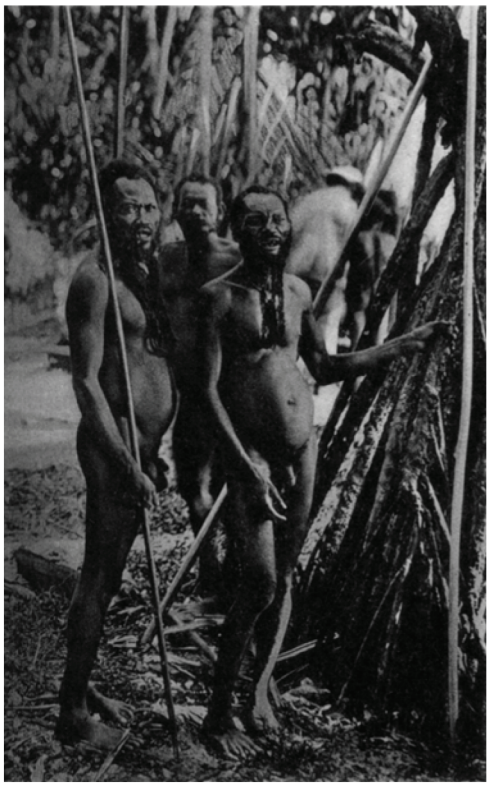
[57] If people wanted to get somebody's attention, for example when they had a request for someone sitting nearby, they would scratch his arm with their finger. One particularly lively Ěnai̯ woman of about forty, poked her tongue out a little while looking upward, in order to attract somebody's attention, and to greet him at the same time.

Slyness A certain refinement was shown in carrying out several acts of theft. One Ětăsĭtěl man walked along beside Fülleborn for a while, putting his arm round his shoulders and holding him under the arm while continually calling out, '*mắsi baú̯*', in order to slip his hand into his pocket totally unnoticed and extract beads. Another Ětăsĭtěl man walked on the other side of Fülleborn, similarly attempting to take him by the arm, evidently intending to distract his attention. Also the situation of Ěnaí̯ people tending to give their neighbours taro contaminated allegedly by their sun sorcery on taro, in order to distract their suspicion, demonstrates a certain sophistication, insofar as the allegations are true.

Musical appreciation The natives are quite musical in some areas. One man copied European melodies accurately without any problem. German words were often repeated absolutely correctly.



People from Tench phot. Fülleborn



People from Tench phot. Fülleborn



People from Tench phot. Fülleborn

Numeracy They count with the help of fingers and toes. In 1913 on St Matthias *lima* was heard as the word for hand, (*luma* by the Hamburg Expedition), while the word for five was *olima*.[252] Likewise, they included the numerals *katangaulu*, ten, and *galuangaulu*, twenty, (*lua* = two) in a decimal system, in 1913.

Ability to draw Skill at drawing was demonstrated by a young man from Ĕnâi who entered quite good decorative designs into a notebook, in spite of the awkward position of the book on his knee and in spite of his unfamiliarity with pencil and paper. Elsewhere their ability to decorate lime calabashes was at varying levels, and the more skilful people often decorated calabashes for their less-skilled friends.

Vanity Vanity was expressed mainly by men, and was seen in their desire for glass beads and red cloth. Their craving for red lead for body painting was even stronger. One man in Ĕlĕmăkŭnâur was particularly surprising in his pride at showing off his coiffure. People from Emĭr who had acquired tropical suits as plantation workers did not dare to bring these suits or rather, their remnants, into contact with water. Normally however, people did not pay too much attention to their external appearance and, for example, often neglected to shave. At any rate, they probably did anything about their appearance only on special occasions, such as feasts, war expeditions and the like.

Sense of community The feeling of 'belonging' was strongly developed within the separate regions, although admittedly it was, to a great extent, based [58] on a common determination to defend themselves against hostile neighbours. Natives did not show any kind of excitement at catching sight of the homeland they had not seen for a long time.

The sense of family appeared to be even stronger. When Măkĭrŏărⁱ's father, an Ĕbŏlĭu man, was killed by Ĕlĕmăkŭnâur people, Măkĭrŏărⁱ, himself an Ĕlĕmăkŭnâur man through his mother, swore revenge upon the Ĕlĕmăkŭnâur people, and wanted to join in a retaliatory undertaking. Also, the fact that chiefs, in contravention of the prevailing maternal line of succession, named their sons as their successors, was an indication of their domination by this sense of family. This was supported by the genuine grief shown by the chief Pākĕlŭ from Musâu on the death of one of his wives; the obedience of children to their parents; and the fact that circumcision of boys was stopped when their mothers wailed too much. In spite of this, there was no sign of deep emotion when long-separated relatives saw each other again, and Măkĭrŏărⁱ did not make the expedition aware that his own mother was among the acquisitive people, even though he knew that a glass bead gift was intended for her. Again, Kĭkĭ showed no sign of joy at seeing his wife and child again, and did not greet either of them but simply pointed out his wife, 'This mary belong me.'

Orphaned children were taken care of by the natives, through the chief handing them over to a married man to look after.

The Tench Psyche On each visit to their island, the behaviour of the Tench natives has tended towards hostility. Admittedly when Ball visited they came out to the ship in their canoes, but, 'no invitation or intreaty [sic] could prevail on them to come along-side; at length two of the canoes, which had seven men in each, and two others, with two men in each came close under the stern, but none of them would venture on board, and, it was with great difficulty they were persuaded to come near enough to receive a string of beads which were let down over the stern; after this, they all paddled on shore'.[253] Monrad[254] had the same experience, as did the *Seestern* in 1907.[255] Parkinson[256] too recorded the distrust of the Tench people, who could not be persuaded to

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[252] *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.152
[253] King, 1793, p.420
[254] Danneil, 1902, pp. 279–280
[255] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* XIX, 1908, p.292
[256] 1907, pp. 338–342

come alongside. ‘However their greed made them forget their fear sufficiently to approach close enough to stretch out and pass us a plaited basket on a long pole, with the intention of collecting anything in the way of gifts. While doing this their entire bodies were quivering, and they seemed to want to conceal their fear by loud talking and calling out.’ On the other hand, the impression that the Hamburg Expedition got on their arrival off Tench was that there was less fear than great excitement, which was expressed by calling out loudly to the ship and among themselves. [59]

Parkinson’s landing was accompanied by half an hour’s trading, with gifts playing a major role. Only a few men were trusting enough to receive gifts from the boat. When he set foot on the island he was immediately surrounded, and was obliged to satisfy the greed of a few. A volley of shots caused them all to cower, and they followed Parkinson at a respectful distance on his way to the village. Nevertheless, an undercurrent of hostility remained on the part of the natives. When it turned into a minor outburst, the attack of a daredevil Matthias man had the effect of putting a greater number of men to flight for a while. The Hamburg Expedition’s landing was not hindered by any hostility. In spite of all the distrust, a certain friendliness was noticeable. Admittedly, upon entering the village there were loud cries and animated gestures, but once we were in the village the people accepted that all obstacles had been overcome, without protest, and even drew our attention to danger spots such as booby traps. In the first instance they all disappeared, right down to the chief and his retinue, but then they hesitantly returned. Only men and youth were present. The initially-friendly trade was interrupted by violence, evidently started by only a few people. Possibly, the cause lay in careless behaviour of the coloured police team, whom the Tench people feared more than they did the white people. When shots were fired, everyone, including the chief, fled into the bush. Four men in a canoe ventured to follow the chief, brought him on board as a hostage, and negotiated with him. On the removal of their chief, great grieving seemed to arise on the beach. The following day, a canoe ventured out to the ship and the paddlers began to negotiate from a prudent distance, and shouted loudly when they saw their chief unharmed. When the chief was rowed back to shore, immediately after missing items were returned to the expedition, there arose a loud howl of joy, and he was lifted from the boat and carried into the village on the shoulders of several men. Gifts of iron nails and cloth which he had taken back with him were, astonishingly, not paid the slightest attention. On other occasions, once white people had penetrated the island, European goods evoked neither great wonder nor particular craving, which may, perhaps, be due to their fear and upset. At a second landing, only a few people, including the chief, came forward on beckoning, their entire body quivering. Then, one by one they disappeared once more. The village was found to be empty. However, people were hiding in the bush watching the foreigners in the village; when called, they ran away. Only one old man dared to confront the intruders, [60] and spoke with them in a friendly manner. All their personal belongings were hidden in the bush among the scrub. After a lot of conversation, a few men returned to the village, including the chief who wanted to hand the gifts back straight away, probably to demonstrate that he did not want to have anything to do with white people. Women, girls, and small boys were seen only at a distance for the entire time.

The reception of the *Komet*[257] in 1913 showed once more the marked reticence of canoe visits to the ship. The people brought with them a fish carved from wood as a gift, and accepted a knife and a loincloth in return, but they shied away from any further exchange of gifts. With the assistance of an Ĕtăsĭtĕl interpreter a lively conversation ensued. It is quite indicative that the emphatic expressions used most frequently were ‘*kapa tamaloan*’, (I don’t want to), and, ‘*mammataut’* (I am frightened). Furthermore, the locals urgently implored them not to land. The landing, with the beach devoid of people, was reported as follows: ‘The bravest of the natives had armed themselves with long poles and held the entrance over the wall. They steadfastly refused gifts offered to them and, in response to the extended address by the interpreter, Pellat, who wanted to convince them of our peaceful intentions, they constantly gave the same answer that they would have given to earlier visitors, when it had always ended in conflict: they bade us to leave the island

[257] *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, pp. 247–248

quickly. After protracted negotiation, they finally surrendered the path to a village.' During the visit to the village the natives shyly kept their distance 'and fearfully observed every movement, yet expressed their joy when none of their equipment was touched, let alone taken away.' The people did not become more trusting over time, but showed growing impatience. 'On the return journey to the boats the natives let out loud shouts of joy, although they restrained themselves from any hostile acts.'

Even though bad experiences with labour recruiters might have played a part in this withdrawn, fearful reaction, these are certainly not the sole culprit, since the people's behaviour was the same even during Ball's time, long before any recruiting.

The conduct of the chief taken aboard as a hostage by the Hamburg Expedition is likewise remarkable. Even though he did not know his fate, he quickly resigned himself to anything, entered into jokes, ate and drank, looked all round the ship with mild astonishment, right down to the stoke hold, slept peacefully, and even displayed a certain trust, which was no longer noticed the following day when he was released ashore. [61]

B. Specialist Section

I. Body Care and Grooming

Body Care

The natives are unfamiliar with regular care of their bodies. Even though they do not look dirty, they do not appear to bathe regularly, leaving the cleaning of their bodies probably to rain or seawater, with which they have chance contact. On the other hand, washing the hair in seawater is a frequent occurrence, with the intention of bleaching their hair.

Whether, and how often hair is shaven is a personal choice. Some natives shave regularly, others only on special occasions. The custom of shaving genital hair might have developed with the idea of restricting a lice plague, although this is uncertain. The men's hair is checked for lice by the women or by other men, and lice are destroyed.

A leaf apron worn by women under their woven kilt may be related to menstruation, but it is worn too often for that.

Ring-shaped raised scars protect the skin from the spread of ringworm. Men prevent infection of a diseased penis by wearing a calabash over it. Children are occasionally rubbed over with sawdust (*līb̆ṅa̍ĭ*).

As fly protection and for circulating fresh air around grown-ups, St Matthias children use bunches of leaves. This behaviour shows that they are familiar with fanning, (*pa̍lepa̍le*).

Fans of woven coconut palm are common on Tench.

Circumcision

According to Parkinson,[1] St Matthias men are circumcised with no exceptions. Friederici[2] too saw only circumcised men on Mus͡au and Ĕlŏa̍ŭa. However, in [62] 1908 half of the boys in E̲bŏ́lĭu were uncircumcised, and among the men over thirty, three remained uncircumcised. Of the people on St Matthias' offshore islands, one uncircumcised adult was seen as well as uncircumcised boys. The cutting style used is circumcision.[3] It is reportedly carried out on newborn infants on St Matthias, but may be withheld at the mother's request. On Emi̍r it seems to be performed only on six- to ten-year-old boys.[4]

On Tench Parkinson[5] noted circumcision on all the men and boys, 'even relatively young boys, so that the procedure must be carried out at a very early age'. This observation was confirmed by members of the Hamburg Expedition, who saw only circumcised males on Tench.

Body scars

On St Matthias, scars were made on the body as decoration or for healing purposes. Decorative scars, (*ka̍lĕka̲̍lĕ*, *kălĕka̍lata*), were incised with obsidian, more recently with bottle glass. Blood was blotted up with bast, or washed away. The edges of the wound were raised or pulled upwards between the tips of thumb and index finger. Curative scars were produced the same

[1] 1907, p.321
[2] 1912, p.47
[3] Friederici,1912, p.47
[4] Parkinson, 1907, p.336
[5] 1907, p.342

way, using obsidian. Decorative scars have the healing process interrupted by repeated stirring with little wooden sticks to create narrow or wide rims, varying from 2 mm to almost 10 mm, and from 1 mm to almost 6 mm in height.[6] The edges of some wounds were not pulled upwards. These usually looked like bands. Many of them looked as if they had been polished.

The curative scars were parallel incisions in the skin, usually in several rows of up to four or five incisions, one above the other. Occasionally these incisions were carefully reproduced in the centre of the round decorative scars. From time to time curative incisions were used also for healing within the decorative scar ring. An example was seen in three by five parallel incisions (three rows of five incisions one above the other) on women in Ěnâi.

The aim of the curative scarring is to block incipient ringworm. A circular scar is drawn around the infected patch of skin, its height preventing the ringworm infection from spreading further. The scar site therefore depended on where the [63] ringworm infection started. These scars were seen, for example, on the forehead, thigh, buttocks, and so on. Both curative scars and decorative scars are called *kǎlěkǎlě*, which designates ringworm as well.

In addition to incised decorative scars there are dotted, wart-like decorative scars, allegedly not chiselled with obsidian but burned on with coconut shell. However, this style is rare, compared with the chiselled scars. It was seen above the nipples as two rows of dots converging towards the midline; and in another example as a line of dots curving gently upwards, above the nipples and topped by a vertical line of dots.

In many instances the incised scars are so tiny that they resemble the branded dots. For example, a Musâu man had a row of these small incisions from the pit of the stomach, over the navel and down as far as his genitals. Around each nipple were two concentric circular scars, while above the left nipple, slightly towards the middle of the body was a markedly swollen, sausage-like circular wall, probably a medicinal scar.

Curative scars were often transformed into decorative scars after recovery, so that in many cases it is difficult to differentiate the two types of scar. The curative scars can be distinguished from the better, more symmetrically–organized decorative scars, only by their haphazard locations.

One Ěnâi man displayed a number of complex scars of both kinds, as well as therapeutic scars that had been transformed into decorative scars, on his left thigh, left shoulder blade, left buttock, left upper arm and right shoulder. On his left shoulder blade was a circle, occupied by a parallel pair of horizontal and vertical lines forming a cross inside the circle. His right shoulder had an oval scar with a small cross inside it; nearby was a scar looking almost like the outline of a triangle. On the left upper arm were three rhomboids, the two lower, bigger ones, in turn each enclosing a further rhombus, with a vertical midline. The small rhombus above had the same vertical line. Incised above the three vertically-stacked rhomboids were three rather slanting curved lines with odd smaller lines between them and in some places ovals, open below, with a vertical midline. The left buttock had an oblique triangle whose apex touched two concentric semicircles bisected by a curve and an oblique line. The narrow base of the triangle bore three short vertical lines. Below them ran a horizontal line with three similar lines running off it. On the left upper arm were several downward curves or wavy lines, one above the other. Above this was a further, smaller semicircle, open at the side, with three vertical lines inside it. [64]

A second man from Ěnâi had surprisingly thick, sausage-shaped scars on chest and back. Two straight lines ran from his shoulders across his chest to just above the nipple. In addition he had a small semicircle curving upward, above the right nipple. A downward semicircle ran across his back from shoulder to shoulder. It consisted of short scars arranged mostly in pairs. An isolated dotted scar lay above and to the left, with three almost horizontal scars above it.

A common pattern of scarring on the chest was two smaller downward curves intersecting at a point in the middle, above the nipples. Two parallel curved lines formed from long thick scars

[6] Hesse-Wartegg, 1901, p.566

were seen in the same position. Designs of concentric circles made up of small scars occur around and above the nipples. In several instances ring-shaped scars display an incised cross.

In Ěnáî two parallel rows of tiny vertical lines arching slightly upwards were seen as a decoration on the forehead.

A jagged, somewhat curved band running across the chest from shoulder to shoulder was called *kěr͡auálа*, hawk, by its owner, Kinepan from Ělěmăkŭnáur. Women in Ěnáî gave *alién* and *kătun͡aîn̆ŭ͡aî* as the names of their decorative scar designs.

Particular scar forms did not seem to predominate either for men or women, but the form of scar seemed to depend on individual taste and the need to overlay old curative scars prompting the desire to transform them. Decorative scars seen by von Hesse-Wartegg in 1900 were however decidedly different from the usual curative scars which would not have existed before 1900–1907 when ringworm was introduced.

In Ětălắt the scars were less common and less varied than further south in Ěnáî and the southern islands. Only a few Ětălắt youths had several small circular scars, the height 'of a small man's finger', on chest and back. It is likely that these were therapeutic scars and that pure decorative scars were notably absent in Ětălắt.

Nothing is recorded of decorative or therapeutic scars from Emĭ̊r. If ringworm were also more uncommon there than on St Matthias, it did not mean that decorative scars were completely unknown, but at least they were very rare, as in the north of St Matthias.

No kind of adulteration of the skin, either by scarring or tattooing, was seen on Tench.

Genuine tattooing is also unknown on St Matthias. It always involves incising the skin to produce scars or perhaps branding as well, without any colouration. [65]

Hair Style

Hair styling on St Matthias appears to be a matter of personal taste. Many people wear their hair quite long while others cut it very short or even shave it. Reche got the impression that many men considered it stylish to shorten or shave off both the hair on their head and on their genitals. Hair is put into order in this manner especially on festive occasions. When, for example the Ěnáî people mounted an expedition against the Mus͡au people, almost all of them had carefully styled their hair. Most of them had their hair cut short and, in addition, many had shaved off two partings, one over each eye. Many had shaved off their full beards as well, leaving only a goatee. The people of Ěnŏ̆năn͡aŭ̊lu who had stolen the expedition's stick-knife for a shaving tool, subsequently all had smoothly-shaven heads. Given their inclination to shave their head hair and genital hair as often as possible, it is quite understandable that they placed great value on glass bottles to make slivers for shaving.[7] Conversely, there were also people who did not shave, as for example the man from Ělěmăkŭnáur who had dressed the strands of his topknot with big blue beads.

Even where the hair was not short, it was not long enough to cover the neck entirely;[8] it was worn medium-length. Parkinson's observation agreed with that of the Hamburg Expedition — women and girls wore their hair short,[9] never medium-length or shaven like the men. They also fancied a parting on one- or both sides by razoring.[10] Hellwig saw a big and a little residual fleck of hair on one side of the smoothly-shaven head of a four-year-old boy, as well as a tuft over the forehead. A two-centimetre high strip of hair ran lengthwise over the crown from forehead to neck

[7] Parkinson, 1905, p.72; observed also by the Hamburg Expedition
[8] Parkinson, 1907, p.321
[9] Not 'shaven completely bald', as Parkinson (1905, p.72) mistakenly reports
[10] Parkinson, 1907, Fig. 54

of another boy, with the rest of the hair shaven off. Reche found only one example of long hair — a thick bush around the head of the chief of a small village on Musa͡u.

Earlier, sharp shells were used for shaving. As well as shaving their head they also shaved their beard. In Ěna͡i Fülleborn saw a man who had shaved his beard right to the tip of his chin with two strips attached to these remnants, extending up to the level of the middle of [66] the cheek bone. Friederici was astonished by the number of men on Musa͡u and Ělŏa̋ŭa who shaved their genital hair.[11]

They were unfamiliar with the use of lime for colouring their hair. On the other hand there were many instances of men and boys with russet and even blonde hair, which had been bleached by washing in seawater and later drying in the sun. This bleaching was probably accidental in most cases, but in other cases it was most likely a deliberate attempt to beautify the hair.

Combs were not used in hair-dressing but only as ornamentation, fastened behind the ear on the right or the left.[12] With this hair style, only people with frizzy hair could adorn their hair with combs; straight-haired people could not.

Shaven heads were less common on Emi̊r than on St Matthias. Usually they wore their hair quite long. One man who caused some surprise with his 'poodle locks', announced that he had adopted this style because his brother was away in Herbertshöhe. Older men often had long, full, curly black beards.

Artificial hair colouring did not seem to occur on Emi̊r. Paler hair happened unintentionally, as on St Matthias. It was probably the sun and salt water effect there too. In many cases both men and women rubbed oil into their hair, although not regularly.

Occasional men on Tench had totally-unkempt hair. Others took regular care of their hair and kept it five to six centimetres long. One elderly man's hair was so short that his scalp was visible. Yet other men pulled all their hair up into a topknot between forehead and crown, held in place by a band. From one of Parkinson's[13] photographs, women's hair appeared to be five to six centimetres long and combed back. Beards were often left unkempt or shaved off. One characteristic beard style had already surprised King:[14] 'Some of their beards reached as low as the navel and there was an appearance of much art being used in forming them into long ringlets; so that it should seem as if the prevailing fashion on this island was that of keeping the beard well combed, curled, and oiled. Two or three of the men had something like a bead or bone suspended to a string, which was fastened round the neck.' Monrad[15] described a beard, 'starting at the chin, very long and hanging down on each side in two thin ringlets. It looked as though people [67] had stuck a thin strand of beard on either side of the chin.' Parkinson[16] reports that 'the men let the chin beard grow, and arrange it in two to four long twisted plaits that hang down as far as their navel. Probably to keep the long bearded locks out of the way while working, the ends are tied together with a cord which is fastened around the neck so that the tips of the beard sit beneath their chin.' Recorded in the report of the 1913 visit by the *Komet*, 'The men have long beards braided into three to five plaits. They loop them around their neck, or press them firmly against the skin through a string tied around their neck, to avoid being hindered by them'.[17] The Hamburg Expedition too noted the ends of the beards pushed through a neck band. However, the beard was not braided into plaits but separated into strands and matted, by rubbing in a 'substance that looked like dirty clay' and by using dead hair. And so the long beard was styled artistically, and the effort devoted to it demonstrated the wearer's pride in this adornment.

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[11] 1912, p.38. Whether this custom occurs only out of vanity, or, whether it is a means of combating plagues of lice, as elsewhere in Melanesia, we do not know.
[12] Parkinson, 1907, p.322
[13] 1907, p.339
[14] J. Hunter, 1793, p.420
[15] Danneil, 1902, p.280
[16] 1907, p.342
[17] *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.248

Deformation

On St Matthias and Emi̯r both nasal septum and ear lobes were pierced for wearing jewellery. Both men and women did this. There were very few adults with no deformations. It was quite common also for septum and ear lobes to be pierced but jewellery worn only on festive occasions.

The perforations in the ear lobes were gradually enlarged using spirals (*irára*) of pandanus leaf. Some ear lobes hung down almost as far as the shoulders. However usually the ear lobes could take a leaf spiral of about 6 cm in diameter.[18]

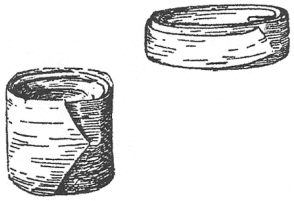


Fig.1 Ear enlarger, Pălakâu M. 43I,1—2 4 and 2 cm wide

Septum piercing was not seen on Tench. Virtually all the ear lobes there had a fairly big hole, but were not enlarged.

Body Painting

Parkinson[19] says that on St Matthias men and women rub ochre into their hair and body, applying it with oil. However hair is not dyed in this manner, but is bleached by sea water, so that it takes on a reddish or sandy tinge. [68]

Painting of the body with ochre was not observed in 1908. On the other hand, the men showed a great tendency to let members of the expedition paint them red, (using red lead and the like). Occasionally men painted a string beard with charcoal.

For spear dances and probably for battle as well, the men painted their entire face, or only their forehead and cheeks, and their chest, with coral lime, (*tšaṅína*). The chest was given one or two horizontal lines, one vertical line, or a V-shaped line.

Women in Ětăsĭṅĭ́nĕ on Emi̯r painted their faces with various black patterns as a sign of mourning for their husbands. In contrast, a Musâu man strenuously refused to let himself be painted by the expedition after the death of a relative.

Children on St Matthias are rubbed over with sawdust, (*lībĭṅă̆ĭ̆*).

II. Ornamentation

Compared with Tench where, apart from leaf belts and simple cords around neck and head (serving more for arranging the hair than as decoration), no other items of adornment were seen,[20] ornamentation on St Matthias and Emi̯r is somewhat richer. Most often, pearl ornaments were worn around their neck. Women were usually more richly adorned than men, with the greatest expression being seen in children. Necklaces of other kinds were worn equally by both sexes. On St Matthias a cut nut was worn on the chest as a special children's jewel, and wrapped and plaited arm bands. *Trochus* arm bands were seen worn only by men, pandanus-leaf leg bands and decorative belts by both men and boys, and penis decoration only by adult men. Likewise, only grown men seemed to put on headdress. Both men and women wore nasal ornaments through their pierced septum; only men wore turtle shell ear rings; and again both sexes wore pandanus leaf spirals in their enlarged ears. Only men wore combs. We saw only men wearing rattles on their legs, fingers and hips, on festive occasions. Necklaces were the most common jewellery. All other

[18] Von Hesse-Wartegg, 1901, p.565
[19] 1907, p.325
[20] Parkinson, 1907, p.343; however, King (1793, p.420), speaks of pendants on the necklaces.

jewellery, apart from ear spirals and penis calabashes, which were not purely decoration, were put on only during feasts or by vainer people. [69]

Head Decoration



Fig. 2.
Forehead band
Tench
F 4061.

Thin twisted cords of coconut fibre were seen tied around the head on Tench and more rarely on St Matthias. They probably served to keep their hair in order, rather than for decoration. A head cloth (woven fibre or pandanus leaf?), worn loosely over his hair by a Tench man, giving the impression of a piece of paper laid over his head, was likewise probably less for decoration but considered more as sun protection.

A real head ornament on St Matthias was worn as a hair pin on the forehead. It consisted of a flexible plant stem with one or two pigeon feathers (*úwălŭs*) pushed into it, so that they flicked across the forehead every time the body moved. Another ornament was worn similarly. From its thin stick-like lower end extended several vibrating stems with legs of the green-shimmering species of the *ṣĭn̓ărĭn̓rĭn̓* beetle pulled over them.

A man in Ĕlĕmăkŭn͡aŭr known to be particularly vain wore big blue beads firmly knotted into the hair around his face. No head ornaments were seen among the women.

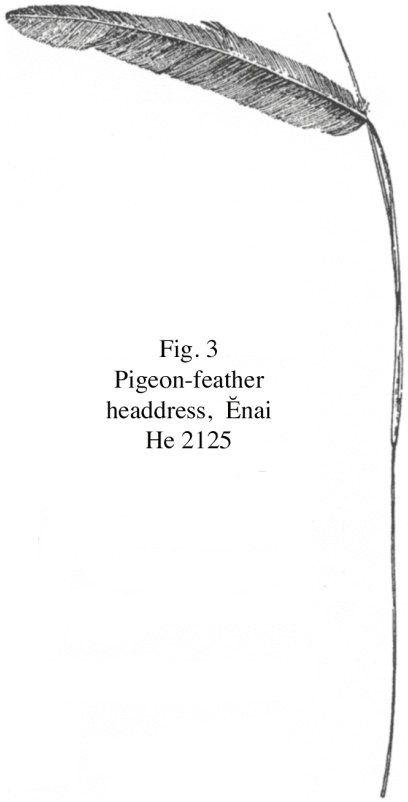


Fig. 3
Pigeon-feather
headdress, Ĕnai
He 2125

Combs

The most important hair ornaments of men on St Matthias and Emĭr were combs (*a͡ĭsĭ́lĕ*, *a͡ĭšĭ́lĕ*, *ăĭsĭ́lĕ*, *ăĭsĭ́la͡ĭ*, *ăĭsĭ́lĕa͡ĭ*[21]), worn behind the left or right ears. In 1908 they were worn only on special occasions, such as dance festivals for example, but also during a raid on enemies fishing on the reef. They were not worn as a rule during battles in the bush, where they would be a hindrance. They consisted of single little sticks of wood, (*lăn̓ga͡u*), bound together with wrapping, painted white, and decorated in red and black. Between six and fifteen ends of the little sticks extend from the main part of the comb as teeth (*măt̆ăn̓ ăĭsĭ́lĕ*). Above them soars the plaited and painted decorative part of the comb.

The size of the comb, (teeth and decorative part combined), ranges from 30 to 66 cm. Of this, 7–14 cm are the teeth. The width is [70] 4–27 cm. The following types of comb are worn on St Matthias and Emĭr:

[21] According to Parkinson, 1907, p.322: *zili*; according to Schoede (Mus. Berlin VI, 36240 *et seq.*): *haischil*

1. Several little sticks side by side and tapering downwards, form the base. Above the lower part, comprising the teeth, it is bound tightly with plaited bast, giving rise to an extended plaited rectangle, whitened by rubbing. The ends of the little sticks rise above the plaiting.[22]

2. Ring-shaped plaiting is pushed over the teeth, near the woven part. This plaiting either runs the full width of the comb or extends a long way beyond either end. The ends of the little sticks, which rise above the plaiting, are painted red.

3. Decoration is missing from the plaited section. Those parts of the stick framework appearing in these places are painted red or black, like the ends of the little sticks rising from it.[23] The ring-shaped plaiting around the teeth may be replaced by red over-plaiting of the upper part of the teeth, just beneath the lime-whitened upper plaiting. If the teeth do not rise easily above the white plaiting, a little stick, semicircular in cross-section and of a length just slightly exceeding the width of the comb, is laid over front and back of the teeth at those points, and secured to the teeth by cross-over cord plaiting front and the back.

4. Like 3, but expanded by separate little sticks near and between the teeth sticks, barely extending beneath the plaited part.[24] Instead of filigree plaiting, the totally-limed plaiting may be painted. The part plaited over is trapezoid in wider specimens.

5. The central sticks project a long way from the plaited part, and are in turn plaited over. They carry a plaited and filigreed wider piece, formed by attaching further short sticks to right and left of the elongated stick in a rectangular or trapezoid shape, which can itself be filigreed.[25] The binding section of the elongated little sticks may also occur in pairs or multiples.

6. Two projections of elongated, plaited-over sticks both carry a plaited-over rectangle.

7. The projections are attached to the sides of the comb plaiting, and rejoin above them as a single plaiting not containing any further little sticks.

8. Both processes unite into a narrow semicircle which is plaited over. [71]

9. The semicircular process in turn contains semicircles, circles, snaking lines and the like, which are plaited over in a group.[26]

10. The processes projecting right out of the plaiting carry Type 8 additions. This type resembles Type 6.

11. Three single little sticks plaited over with bast project out of a wide, Type 4 plaiting, and each carries a circular plaited disc with a hole through the centre. The disc, in turn, contains pale triangles on a dark background, around the hole.

12. A similar disc rises from a plaited process of Type 5.

13. Two plaited processes rise closely together over the middle of a Type 4 comb, and bend in opposite directions in a semicircle.

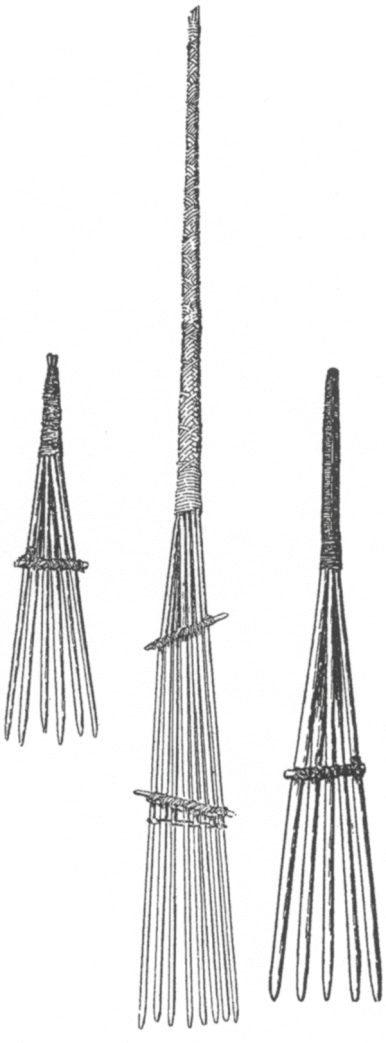


Fig. 4. Simple combs
He 2013[I] (Ělŏáŭa, 15,5 cm),
He 2251[I] (Ětálăt 41,5 cm),
Stuttg. IC 60913 (St. Matthias, 26cm).

[22] Danneil, 1901, p.118, and Plate IX,2
[23] Danneil, 1901, p.118, and Plate IX,1
[24] Danneil, 1901, p.118 *et seq*., and Plate IX,4–5
[25] Danneil, 1901, p.119, and Plate IX,3
[26] *Deutsches Kolonial–Lexikon*, I, 1920, Plate with p.322, Fig.1

14. A Type 1 comb, 66–72 cm long and 2.5–3 cm wide, tapers towards the upper end, wearing a bunch of green feathers as a crown.[27] The upper ends of the little sticks may be bound into a round unit by spiral wrapping. The limed plaiting may show open weave below.

15. A Type 3 comb is bound together using cord plaiting, with two semicircular sticks, open above and decorated with bast knots, lying horizontally across it. Further bast knots are fastened to the interruptions in the comb plaiting and to the little sticks nearby. The central comb sticks are combined into one, by wrapping above the plaiting, with a bunch of green feathers above the wrapping. This comb is not painted.

Odd combs have cords or bunches of bast (*ăyĕrăç*) hanging down as decoration on one or on both sides of the upper end, or at the ends of the projections.



Fig. 5.
Hair pin
Ĕnā́i, F 1087[I].
19.5 cm long.

The decorations created on the combs by making gaps in the plaiting, painting the lime-whitened plaiting, or by using different- [72] coloured material for plaiting over the sticks, form crosses, triangles in various configurations, lance-shaped figures, zigzag lines, simple horizontal lines, wavy lines, shapes like arrow heads, angular figures, and so on. The associated colours are black and red on a white background and, more uncommonly, and only since initial European contact with the islands, laundry blue. Occasionally you see patterns from particular styles of plaiting, and from the use of natural, unlimed fibres.

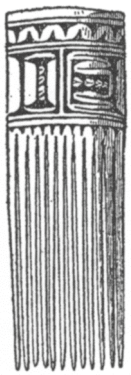


Fig. 6.
Bamboo comb,
Ĕtăsĭtĕl, M 93[I].
14.5 cm high.

Odd combs with no decoration reveal a different style of manufacture. Five to eight little sticks are put into a round unit by wrapping their upper ends in bast, and are held apart at the lower, toothed end by tying on one or two cross sticks. Rarely is the wider part, above the teeth, plaited and limed. The height of these combs ranges between 15 and 42 cm, with a maximum width between 3 ½ and 4 ½ cm. They are worn in the hair at the side, behind the ear.

Even more basic, are the hair pins made of a round, smooth little piece of wood 20-22 cm long, split into 4-5 teeth.

A bamboo comb with twelve teeth, decorated by branding in the St Matthias style, was seen in Ĕtăsĭtĕl in 1908 in the possession of a worker returning home. Since this was the only specimen of this type, it was obviously a recent innovation.

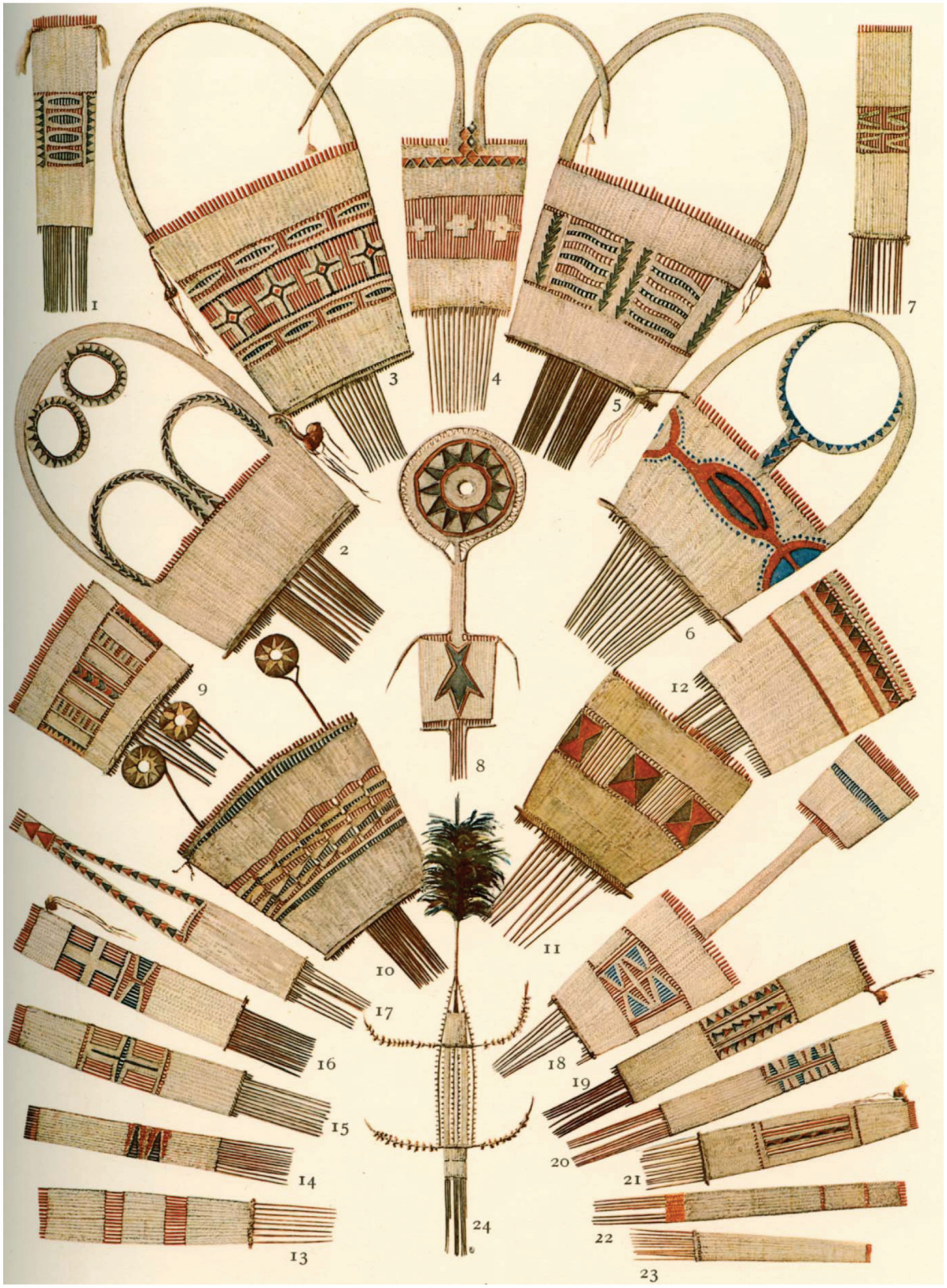
Ear ornaments

Men on St Matthias and Emŕr wear turtle shell discs as ear ornaments, pushed into the pierced and enlarged ear lobes. Since it is a very pale monocolour, the shell is probably from the underside of the turtle (*g̱nū*). The turtle shell discs, (*bắbă*, *bĕ́bĕ*) are usually circular or roughly round, and about 3–4 cm in diameter.[28] They have a hole about ¾ cm wide in the centre, with a slit, (*tšálắne*), running out to the rim. This slit serves to fasten the disc to the edge of the ear lobe. The surface of the disc is decorated with triangular openings, (*siṅarárĕ*), arranged in concentric circles; linear openings, (*mălíĕ*, *mălía͡u*), arranged in pairs at an angle; [73] dotted holes, (*bíṅălá͡u*); long narrow openings, (*a͡irináte*), in groups of four, forming circles; and other engravings. Discs were never worn singly in the ear lobes, but always in great numbers. For instance, we counted a ring of about 200 discs in one ear lobe of a man from Ĕlĕmăkŭna͡ur, extending almost down to his shoulders, with a ring of more than 150 turtle shell discs in the other, less-extended, lobe.

[27] From a species of fowl (bush hen?)

[28] According to Parkinson, 1907, p.325: 2½ - 3 cm

Nevermann, St. Matthias, Plate 5



Combs, about ¼ actual size
No. 2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 19-21, 24 Hamburg,
" 1, 6, 8, 9, 12, 16, 18 Stuttgart,
" 4, 7, 13-15, 17, 22, 23 Karlsruhe

Besides the *bắbă*, St Matthias men also wore big round or oval turtle shell discs with similar decoration as ear jewellery. However, this ornament, which is rather like the *kapkap* discs of New Ireland, is not very common.

Differing in form, although still called *bắbă*, are turtle shell ear ornaments resembling a fish figure or a simple leaf, with a narrow ring for the ear lobe at one end. These pieces have triangular openings in the centre. Around the centre are four rows of longer, strip openings.

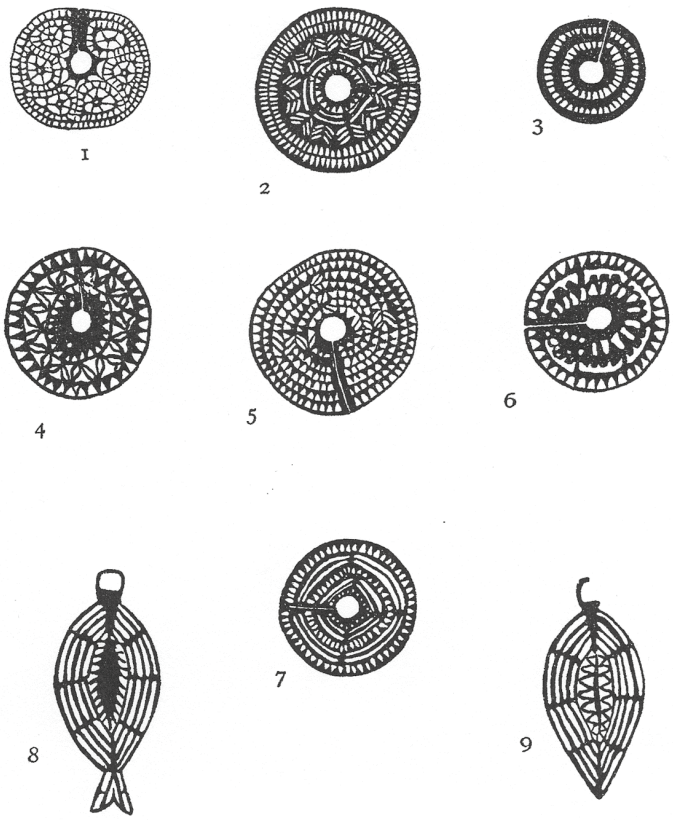


Fig. 7. Turtle shell ear ornaments, ½ actual size
1. Stuttg. IC 60826, St. Matthias
2. Stuttg. IC 60825, St. Matthias
3. M 206[I], Pălakaû
4. He 2132[I], Ĕnaî
5. He 2034[I], Ĕlĕmăkŭnaûr
6. He 2133[I], Ĕnaî
7. He 2033[I], Ĕlĕmăkŭnaûr
8. He 2264[I], Ĕtălåt
9. F 1087[I], Ĕlĕmăkŭnaûr.

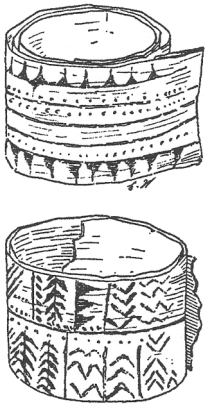


Fig. 8. Ear expander, belonging to a pair, Ĕnaî. He 2063[I], 1—2.

To widen the perforated ears, strips of pandanus leaf (*irára*) 2–5 cm wide are rolled up into a spiral and inserted into one ear lobe hole or both. They are frequently branded with patterns (*ŏpiti*, *bibidŏti*) of triangular lines (*panapana*); zig-zags, (*mălíĕ* = snakes); angles; straight lines with short lateral lines on top; sun-shaped figures, and the like. These ear spirals are worn by both men and women. [74]

Nasal ornaments

Parkinson noted 'small turtle-shell rings, (*puatil*), about 7 mm in diameter in the nasal septum[29] of men and women. Von Hesse-Wartegg[30] mentioned these rings too; he saw, 'two to three dozen' in the septum. In 1908 the nasal rings (*būētĭ́lĭ*) were seen only in men. When not in use, up to about 60 are put onto a thin stick about 10 cm long, secured by bark wrapping on the end.



Fig. 9. Turtle shell nasal rings, Ĕnŏ[a]năŭ. M 30[I].

For dancing or only in play, stalks or bunches of grass, or a *pŭ́rpŭ́r* leaf are pushed through the hole in the septum. Beads too were seen in the septum of St Matthias men, arranged on a cord. Schnee[31] saw a man with a 'wooden nasal ring' through his septum.

[29] 1907, p.325
[30] 1901, p.565
[31] 1904, p.174

Neck and Chest Ornaments

Necklaces were made from the legs, bored lengthwise, of the iridescent green beetle (*Carabus*) *ṣĭn̆ăr̓i̇n̆rĭn̆*, or made out of its wings, pierced and strung by the upper end. Like the beetle, the necklaces were called *ṣĭn̆ăr̓i̇n̆rĭn̆* too, or *bue šiṅă̆nĕ*. On Musa͡u the designations *ră̆ră* (*ră̆rĕ*), and *īūră̆ră* (?) were given to beetle-leg necklaces. These beetles are found most often during preparation for planting, once the tall trees have been caused to die, on nearby bushes and low scrub.

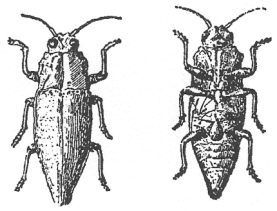


Fig. 10. Beetle ṣĭn̆ăr̓i̇n̆rĭn̆, Stuttg. IC 60894.

On Emi̇r dolphin teeth (*i̇šĭ pătĭṓn̆ă*) are bored through the middle or at the end and strung on a cord, with one or two knots between pairs of teeth. Dolphin teeth are also traded from Emi̇r to Ĕlĕmăkŭna͡ur. Ĕlĕmăkŭna͡ur exchanges *Dasyurus* teeth (*i̇šĭ ărṓă*) for them. These are made into necklaces on Emi̇r. *Dasyurus* teeth are also bored through the end on St Matthias, and strung symmetrically with white and green beads. A band of *Dasyurus* teeth was seen wound six or seven times around the neck of a Mă̆lakăt man, separated at some points by knots, and at others by white shell discs 3-4 cm in diameter. [75] Pig teeth (*i̇šĭ mă̆ṣ̲ŭ*, *ĭsmă̆ṣ̲ŭ*) were seen also strung on necklaces on St Matthias.

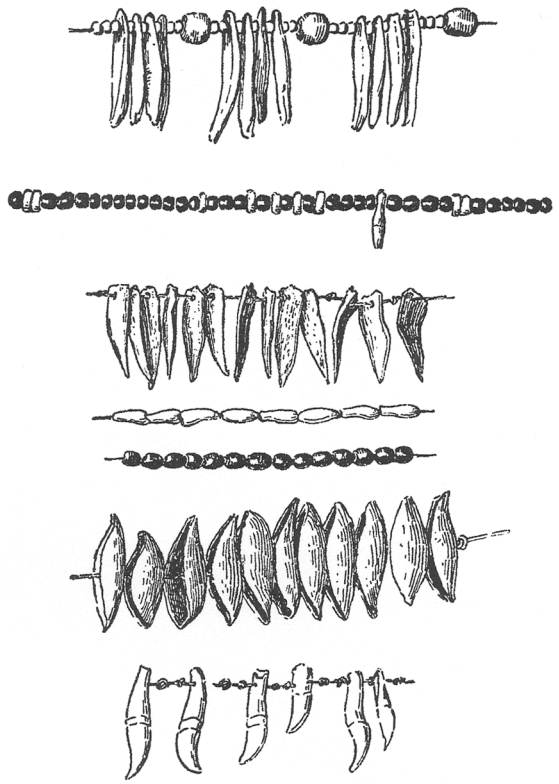


Fig. 11. Necklaces
Stuttg. IC 57985, St. Matthias: phalanger teeth and glass beads
Stuttg. IC 60827, St. Matthias: coconut beads and *Conus* discs
M 60I, Musa͡u: beetle wings
F 1002I, Ĕnŏᵃnă̆ŭ: beetle legs
He 2200I, Ĕnă̆i̇: wooden beads
M 29I, Ĕnŏᵃnă̆ŭ: *Palaquium* shells
M 508I, Ĕlĕūā, Emi̇r: Dolphin teeth

Parkinson[32] saw, 'long strings of circular shell discs called *wungoos*' on St Matthias men and women, the little whitish-grey discs interrupted at long or short intervals by one or more little black discs, and he was able to find out that a small *Conus* shell was the raw material for the little shell discs. By 1908 the little discs of shell had become extremely rare.[33] Apart from the necklaces mentioned from the Mă̆lakăt region, they were no longer seen. Earlier, individual little shell discs were strung between even smaller coconut discs, together with a few dolphin teeth, and worn as necklaces on St Matthias. In 1908 strings of beads (*ăbi̇̆ç*, *ăbīcī*, *avi̇̆s*, *kavi̇̆s*) were very commonly worn.

Black wooden beads (*úŏgúlu*, *ŭ̆ŭgúlŭ*, *ŭa͡ugŭ̆l*, *wóăgúlĕ ma mă̆lakăt*) were strung on cords on St Matthias, and were said to have come from a plant growing in fresh water[34] (as seeds?) in the mountain regions of Mă̆lakăt. They were used as means of exchange but were probably not actual money but rather items of jewellery.[35]

Necklaces of strings of gaudy orange-coloured betel nuts were seen on many Ĕtălă̆t men.

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[32] 1907, p.324

[33] In 1899 several such chains were obtained (Mus. Berlin VI 18047 a b, 18439, 18440a) during the *Möve*'s brief visit.

[34] 'Stop long Tă̆n̆ătṓnīlōĭ'.

[35] Such cords were already familiar, (Mus. Berlin VI 18438), in 1899.

Seen worn as a dance necklace on St Matthias was a string of [76] half-shells of a pointed nut (*Palaquium*), called *tắbŭ͡aĭ* like the dance rattles made from the same material.

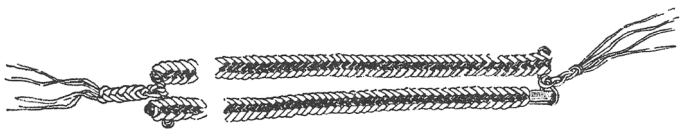


Fig. 12. Plaited neck band, Emĭr. He 2413I. 26 cm long.

Plaited neck bands (*a͡irī*) occur on St Matthias and Emĭr. They are plaited from yellow and black bast, like the waist band and, in common with the latter, they carry a triangular design, or a pattern of black strips framed in yellow. Pairs of these necklaces were worn on Emĭr, tied round the neck with shared ends of a cord. Only a single neck band was worn on St Matthias.

Occasionally, children on St Matthias wore a nut (*ŏsá͡usa*), about 5 cm long, decoratively carved in the style of spear and dance staves and rubbed with lime at these points. The nut was bored through at both ends and hung round the neck on a pull-through cord.



Fig. 13. Chest ornament for children, Ĕnā́ĭ. He 2127I. 5,2 cm long.

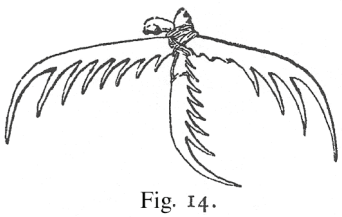


Fig. 14. Breast ornament of *Squilla* pincers, Ĕnā́ĭ. He 2169I.

As a breast ornament for grown-ups and similarly hung round the neck on a cord, on St Matthias we saw three pincers of a *Squilla* (?) (*kărăke góă*) tied together. In the Berlin Museum[36] a mother-of-pearl disc 3 cm in diameter and bored through the centre, might also have been a breast ornament.

No neck ornaments were seen on Tench. There, only simple cords for securing long beards were seen tied round the neck. However, King noticed 'something like a bead or bone' worn on a cord around the necks of two or three people.[37]

Arm ornaments

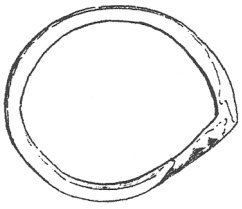


Fig. 15. *Trochus* arm ring, Ĕnā́ĭ. He 2072I.

On St Matthias and Emĭr arm rings (*mă̲rĕ*) were prepared from *Trochus* shell (*mă̲rĕ*). Seven to ten of these arm rings formed a set. A *Trochus* ring was usually worn above each elbow, by men. This ornament was not common.

St Matthias children wore [77] arm rings, (*sokosókŏ*, *sokosókŏ ădĕ̆we*) made from cane wrapped in yellow bast, or left unwrapped. Often the children wore several arm rings together, on one or both arms.



Fig. 16. Arm rings for children, Ĕnā́ĭ. He 2242I (in progress) and 2240I.

Leg ornaments

St Matthias men secured a pandanus leaf about 8–10 cm wide above their ankle in such a way that by tying the frayed ends several vertical rows of knots were formed one above the other, with the ends of the fibres separated from them horizontally. Boys wore proportionally smaller leg bands of the same style, sometimes only around one leg. A variant of these leg bands, (*ūĕ*, *ŭắ*), was offered as trade to the Hamburg Expedition; instead of the horizontal fibre ends, it had cords plaited out of them on one side, while on the other it carried a separating triangular tag of pandanus

[36] VI 18435, Schack Collection, 1899
[37] King, 1793, p.420

leaf. This kind was painted with betel spittle, and had probably been made solely for trade. It was not seen in use.

For dances, rattles or bunches of grass were tied round the legs.

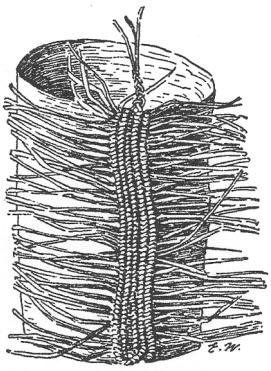


Fig. 17.
Pandanus leaf leg band, common Form, Ěnáĭ.
He 2143I. 9.8 cm high.

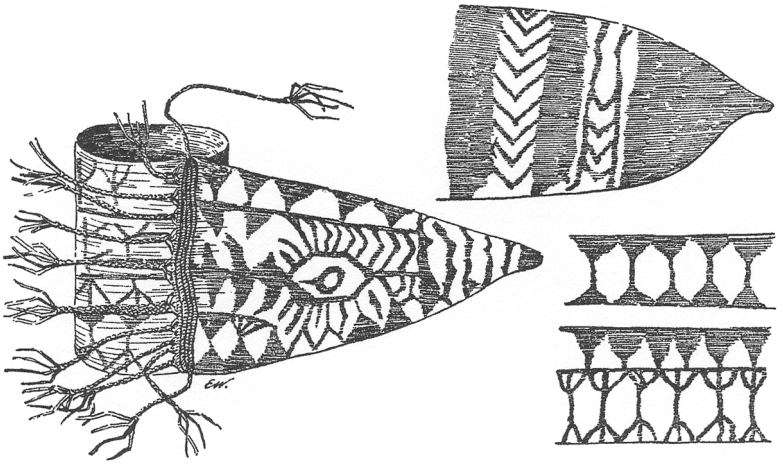


Fig. 18. Pandanus leaf leg bands, modern form, painted, Ělěmăkŭnâûr. M 125I, 1—3. 8.5 cm high.

In 1908 some men wore leg bands of red cloth instead of pandanus leaves.

Decorative belts

As for the woven belts obtained on St Matthias, Danneil[38] had suggested that, due to their short length, they could have been worn not as genital covering but [78] as hip decoration. This opinion was confirmed by the Hamburg Expedition's observations. Parkinson[39] attributed the same purpose to plaited belts. The woven belts, (*bầiçe*, *bầišī*, *bầìs*), consist of banana bast with a pattern

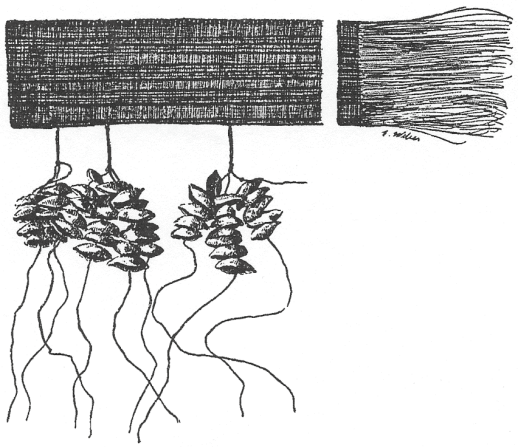


Fig. 19. Woven dance belt with a suspended rattle of *Palaquium* shells, Ěnáĭ, He 2452I. 6 cm wide.

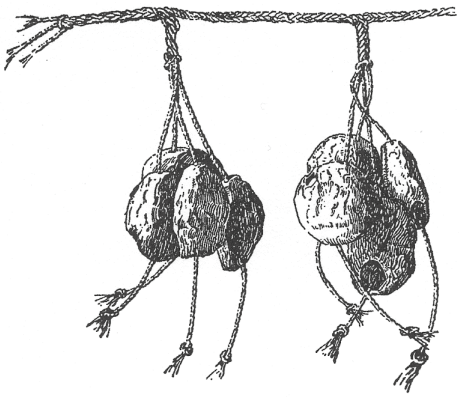


Fig. 20. Dance belt with a suspended rattle made from *Pangium* shells, Ěnáĭ. He 460I. 60 cm long.

of dyed threads and are knotted around the hips in such a way that the knot sits roughly over the

[38] 1901, p.120
[39] 1907, p.324

navel with both ends of the belt hanging down over the upper part of the genitalia. The plaited belts (*aīrī*, *aìrĭ*, *aīríĕ*, *ŏlī*[40]) are made from black and yellow bast, and display triangles in these alternating colours, or a black central stripe framed by two yellow stripes, or combinations of these patterns. The yellow patterns are called *ŭrŭn aì*, the black *tābắlă* or *tāvắlă* (‘stop long bush’). They knot the plaited belt together over the navel[41] with cords, (*ŏsĕsaúlĕ*), which are left hanging. Two to four such belts may be worn one on top of another, and are then joined together at the ends by cords.

Neither type of belt is worn very often as decoration, and then only by men. Women wear woven belts only to secure their kilt. Plaited belts were also seen on boys. The belts constitute probably a dance or festive decoration, and are worn as everyday wear only by vain men. As a dance decoration woven belts, or even simple cords bound round their body, have rattles made from nut shells suspended from them.

[79] The manufacture of plaited belts was men’s work. During trading, the belts were measured by the arms, from shoulder to finger tips. Women made woven belts, especially on Emír.

Leaf strips, (*ruńarána*, *uruńitaū*), of pandanus leaf (*ilắ*) were also worn round the hips, sometimes three to four on top of one another so that the knots are in front. Likewise, simple cords served as belts.

In spear dancing a coconut palm frond split along the rib may hang from the belt.

On Emír the same situation predominates as on St Matthias. On Tench we saw only belts made of leaf strips, with a knot over the navel.

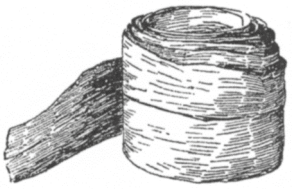


Fig. 21. Belt made from pandanus leaf, Ĕnaĭ. He 2038I,1.

Penis ornament

Ball and Danneil[42] did not see any penis shells during their visits to St Matthias. However, penis shells were seen during the *Seeadler*’s visit[43] to the island. Parkinson emphasized that they were worn only occasionally. Friederici[44] too saw only few penis shells among the Musaū and Emír people. The Hamburg expedition made the same observation on St Matthias and Emír. Of ten to twenty men, only one wore a penis shell. Not one visitor to Tench saw a penis shell.

The term ‘penis shell’ is not quite correct, since these decorative items are made from the white shell of the sea snail *Amphiperas ovum L.*[45] (*wűlĕ*, *bűlē*[46]). The internal winding of the snail shell is removed and the natural opening towards the pointed end is artificially enlarged, so that the shell can be clamped around the penis. Many penis shells are worn without decoration. Others display engraving of horizontal lines, toothed lines, zigzags, circles with other patterns inside, angles, and other decorations, at the upper end, opposite the enlargement. Furthermore, the

[40] According to Parkinson, *aili*; according to Schoede, *olli*. A particular type from Mălakăt was called *airíĕ pắnĕ pắnĕ*.
[41] ‘Tied beneath the nipple, round chest and back’. (H. Schoede to the Berlin Museum VI 31871).
[42] 1901, p.117
[43] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, XI, 1900, p.641; von Hesse-Wartegg, 1901, p.565; Parkinson, 1907, p.321 *et seq*.
[44] 1912, p.154
[45] *Bulla ovum*, *Cypraea ovula*, *Ovula ovum*
[46] According to Friederici (1912, p.203) *bŭlę̆*

engraving may continue onto the thicker side at the edge of the natural opening of the shell. With use, the engravings gradually fill up with dirt, and stand out starkly against the white shell.[47]

On Emĭr, besides *Amphiperas ovum,* a fawn speckled snail shell (*ūrără*), *Cypraea tigris*, only 6 cm long, is worn over the penis. It [80] is not engraved and is not artificially enlarged at the end of the opening, but in the middle towards both sides.

The penis covering made from a small species of gourd, which Parkinson[48] saw on Emĭr and regarded as a feature unique to this island, was also seen on St Matthias by the Hamburg expedition. The gourds, (*otau͡*, *oto*[49]), are provided with an opening at the end for the penis. Only one penis gourd on Emĭr showed any decoration — a few simple straight dentate and zigzag lines. Possibly, the wearing of a penis gourd indicates disease of the penis. One Ětăsĭtěl man had healed wound sites on his penis, and another man was alleged to have 'cuscus scratches' on his penis. Since these men did not urinate unabashedly like the other men, but went into the bush to remove their gourds, a lot of weight is given to the argument that the gourd concealed an affected penis.

On Emĭr a 4 cm long nut shell provided with a wide hole, was worn over the glans as a penis cover.

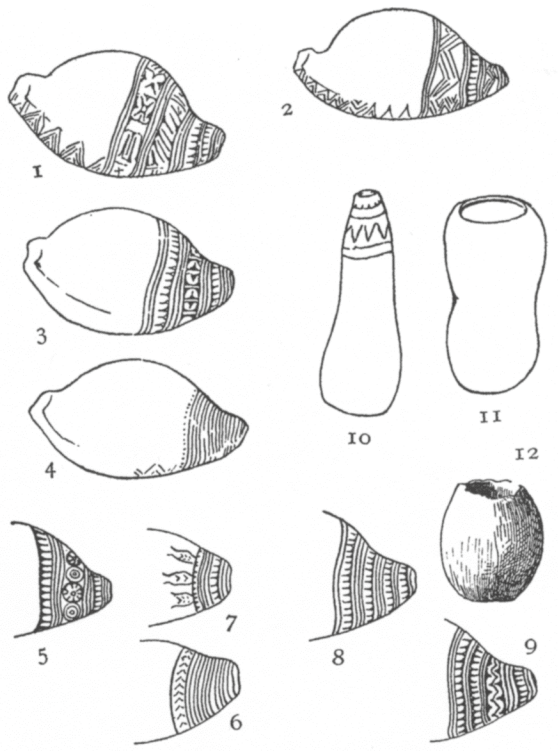


Fig. 22 Penis ornaments, made from *Amphiperas* (1–9), calabashes (10—11) and a nut shell (12):

1. He 2434[I], Eruterĭte, Emĭr
2. He 2256[I], Ěnăĭ
3. M 388[I], Ětăsĭńíně, Emĭr
4. He 2433[I], Eruterĭte, Emĭr
5. He 2255[I], Ěnăĭ
6. He 2360[I], Emĭr
7. He 2433[I], Eruterĭte, Emĭr
8. R 7059[I], St. Matthias
9. He 2022[I], Ěnăĭ
10. M 391[I], Ěbūlĭělě, Emĭr
11. M 391[I], 1. Emĭr
12. V 232[I], Emĭr.

III. Clothing

Men's clothing

Men and boys on St Matthias, Emĭr, and Tench do not wear clothing of any description. Plaited or woven belts, or belts made of knotted leaves serve exclusively as ornament and do not cover the genitalia. Likewise, [81] penis shells, which are worn only by adults, are regarded as decoration. On the other hand, penis gourds appear to be worn by men who are ashamed to show their diseased penis or possibly want to protect it from external influences in order to hasten healing.

As far as men's clothing goes, the most that can be said is of individual men, especially plantation workers returning home in 1908, who were in possession of items of European clothing.

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[47] Parkinson *loc. cit*.
[48] 1907, p.335
[49] cf. *ụtĭ́gị* = 'my penis', (Friederici, 1912, p.215).

A coconut palm frond split along the rib for a dance kilt, is regarded only as decoration, not as clothing.

Women's clothing

Likewise, little girls on St Matthias go about naked. This is true even of girls around thirteen years old. However, after the onset of menstruation, girls wear clothing, although prior to this they occasionally cover their genitals with a leaf. This was observed among 9–12 year-old girls by the Hamburg expedition, but appeared to be only on account of the expedition's presence.

Adult women wear woven kilts (*kălĺŭ*, *ūrŭṅ ārắṅ*); kilts made from betel wood bast (*ṅabúē*); or bunches of leaves, as clothing. The *kălĺŭ* and *ūrŭṅ ārắṅ* kilts differ, however, in that the *kălĺŭ* (*kălĺū*, *kălĺŏ*, *kắliu*) is woven out of banana bast (*sūsűk*), while the *ūrŭṅ ārắṅ* (*uruṅarắnă*, *uraṅarắnă*, *ŭruarắnă*, *ruarắnă*, *ruarắnä*, *urúṅărắne*) is woven from pandanus leaves. The *kălĺŭ* are finer and more flexible. Occasionally the men call them *kălĺŭ bấušĕ*,[50] while the women call them *kăliowŭtűĺĕ* (*kăliowŭdűĺĕ*), *kăliotiőlu*, *kaliotúlu*, or *kălioătúle* (*kălióădúle*). They are 70–125 cm long, and anywhere from 19 to 58 cm (although usually 30–35 cm) wide, and are wrapped round the hips and secured by a belt. They are normally made from natural-coloured banana bast and painted red with *kārőū* dye, in all manner of patterns. The fibre ends not filled with weft threads during weaving are cut off in these *kălĺŭ*. Other, less common *kălĺŭ* retain the ends of the fibres and display a decoration similar to the woven decorative belt (*bấišī*), with red and russet-dyed groups of warp threads arranged symmetrically.

While *kălĺŭ*, produced on Emĺr in particular, are worn by local women and by women on St Matthias, the *ūrŭṅ ārắṅ* appears to be exclusive to St Matthias. As Parkinson[51] described, they are 'fastened with a belt in such a way that one of the mats hangs down in front, with the other behind, extending from the waist to the knees'. The [82] *ūrŭṅ ārắṅ* do not have any decoration, yet painted and woven banana bast can be worn in the same manner, and is then called *ūrŭṅ ārắṅ*, like the woven pandanus leaf. Parkinson means these banana-bast kilts when he talks of, 'quite fine mats, painstakingly produced'.

Often only one woven piece is fastened to the belt and hangs down either in front or behind, with a bunch of leaves on the opposite side. The leaves are taro, tapioca, fern, and often *pűrpűr*.

Furthermore, women commonly wear leaves beneath the woven kilt. The idea that this relates to menstruation is refuted by the high frequency of wearing leaves.

Instead of leaves or woven material, St Matthias women occasionally wear a painted piece of betel wood bast (*bűấī*, *năbŭĕ*, *ṅa búă*, *ṅabúĕ*[52]) hanging from the belt. It is 61–72 cm long and 26–32 cm wide, and is painted with decorations of various kinds and natural representations of nature, using *kārőū* dye or a yellowish dye (betel spittle?). For example, one *ṅabúĕ* from Ĕnấī bore an image of the man Kấùpă with his particularly prominent bald patch, in its upper section, while the lower part had an image of F.E. Hellwig and one of the Hamburg expedition's police boys, wearing caps.

On Tench the women wore woven kilts after the style of the *kălĺŭ* with 2–3 lengths sewn together, or after the style of the *ūrŭṅ ārắṅ*.[53] Little girls ran around naked.

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[50] *bấušĕ* = woman
[51] 1907, p.324
[52] *búĕ* = betel palm
[53] Parkinson, 1907, pp. 355, 343, and Fig. 58, and Plate 21; *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, 1913, p.248.

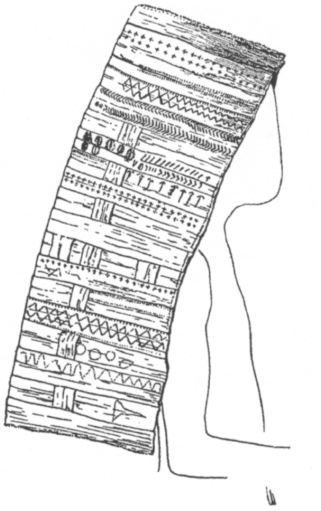


Fig 23. Rain mat, Ĕpakă̆nă, Emĭr. He 2442[I].

Rain mats

The women on St Matthias and Emĭ́r wear rain mats (*ĭ́lă*; *ŭrŭkúlu*(?)) made from strips of pandanus leaf, (*ŭ̲rŭ*; *ŭrŭkúlu* (?); *tĭ́v͡aĭ*) sewn together, to protect them from the rain. Folded together, they also serve as purses. The strips of leaf are sewn together with banana bast (*sūsŭ́k*) thread, (*mătāṅĕ*, *mătaké*), and decorated by branding or by sewing on pieces of pandanus leaf (*makŏti ärá͡ŭră*). The mats are folded together and often sewn together again on one side with *sūsŭ́k* fibres, thus forming a pointed cap extending a long way down the back. The odd man appears to use a rain mat as well.

[83]

Containers for personal items

The men of St Matthias and Emĭ́r often carry betel lime calabashes clasped in their left armpit. They carry betel nuts and small items in plaited bags (*o̲ă̆çĕ*?[54]), or purses (*téši*, *tšéši*[55]), made from a single piece of material woven and patterned from banana fibre on Emĭ́r, which is folded together, sewn up the sides, and held by a twisted cord. The men also use tiny baskets (*kŏlŏmă̲̆ṣŏ* and *mă͡uliŏ̆lĭ*) for storing all kinds of small items, such as sharp pieces of shell, little bundles of leaves, sea snails, and the like.[56] Bags, purses and little baskets are carried in the hand. Eating utensils made from pig bones are fastened to the *kŏlŏmă̲̆ṣŏ* and calabashes by a cord.



Fig. 24. Net bag for women, Ĕnaĭ. He 2196[I]. 13 cm lang.

For storing their personal needs women carry folded rain mats (*ĭ́lă*) under their arm, or they carry net bags, (*kămă̆tĕ*), and little baskets, (*kă̆rŭ̲*), made from plaited coconut leaf fibres in their hands.



Fig. 25. Purse made from pandanus leaves (?), Tench. He 2475[I].

On Tench they rarely seem to carry little baskets plaited from coconut fibre. Since enjoyment of betel is unknown there, they are also unfamiliar with lime calabashes and betel nut containers. Possibly they carry small purses made from pandanus leaves stuck together.

[54] Name of the cord for the net?
[55] According to Parkinson (1907, p.326) *tess*.
[56] Parkinson, 1907, p.326

IV. Sustenance

Vegetable plants

Fairly small taro tubers form the staple diet on St Matthias. Taro leaves are eaten as well. Add to this coconuts, bananas, the fruits of the *t͡aú̯nŏ*, *ī́*, *ṣŭ́*, *a͡ìtābắgĭ*, *nắtŭ*, *mălá͡i*, *tā*, *ălĭ̈nă̈çă*, '*aisacka*',[57] and *ī́ĕrī* trees, papaya, breadfruit and, on Emi̇́r the vine *naginắkĕ*, [84] potato-like tubers, ginger roots, and the fruit of the wild lemon. Although said to be 'not good', the fruit *ūănăvá̆ŭ* is eaten also, on St Matthias. Recently the tapioca tree was introduced on St Matthias by returning plantation workers. It is beyond our knowledge as to whether the small stands of sago on Ĕănŭsa͡ú near Emi̇́r were exploited. The stems of a tall plant with big leaves were chewed in the Mắlakăt area of St Matthias, more for quenching their thirst than as food.

On Tench they ate the surprisingly small coconuts, swamp taro roots,[58] breadfruit, pandanus fruit, and the fruits of the tree species *arana*, *katai*, '*aisacka*' and *Inocarpus edulis*.[59]

Of the fungi, on St Matthias they enjoyed the species *kărő̆rő̆ĭ*, probably only as a relish. They also ate the seaweed *Halimeda opuntia* (Fam. Siphonidae) and the *Fucus* species, *bó̱ru* (or *gó̱ru*) *la͡ijĕ́ne*. These are gathered on occasion in Ĕna͡i and Ĕlemăkŭna͡ur, and traded to Ĕtăsi̇́tĕl.

Food animals

The most important meat on St Matthias, Emi̇́r, and Tench is fish. On the west coast of the main island of St Matthias where they do not have canoes, white meat is of course restricted to what people can find on visits to the reef. Of the many species of fish that are eaten in the islands the major ones are shark and bonito. Of the mammals, they eat marsupial possums,[60] pigs, and, on Emi̇́r, dolphins as well. These animals do not occur on Tench. Although pigs are raised on St Matthias and Emi̇́r, and are also hunted as wild pig, they furnish the table only on feast days. However, on those occasions pork is consumed in great quantities.

It has been neither reported nor observed whether turtles and crabs were eaten; it is assumed that they were. Similarly birds were eaten. This is true especially of sparrow hawks (*t͡autá͡ukŏ*).

Among the animal foodstuffs we observed: a wood mite, grasshoppers, shellfish species (*ărı̇́rĭp*, *manĭ̈tó*, gooseneck barnacles, and other types), snails, and octopus, (*maṅı̇́lĭ*). They also ate head lice.[61] Sea slugs were not eaten, nor was the iguana, (*kapa͡u*).

Cannibalism

The natives of St Matthias and Emi̇́r strenuously denied eating human flesh, and also denied this of hostile neighbours. No signs of the presence of cannibalism were found either among them or on Tench. [85]

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[57] *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.248
[58] The information that taro did not grow on Tench (*Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, *loc. cit.*) is based on an error.
[59] Parkinson, 1907, p.345
[60] Parkinson, 1907, p.327
[61] Vogel, 1911, pp.66–67

Forbidden food

The totem animal was not eaten. However, members of another totem could eat it.

Women could not eat grated coconut, but only coconuts scraped with a spatula. Grated coconut was a male prerogative.

For three months after a death, the relatives of the deceased could not eat taro. During this period *mălai* fruit formed the staple diet.

A taboo sign (*aišī nĭŭ*) in the shape of a coconut palm leaf on coconut palm trees in Ĕnai, was a prohibition for women to drink coconut milk from the nuts of that tree, declaring, 'Belong man; mary no drink him.' The purpose of similar signs elsewhere however, was protection against theft.

Getting Food

Food gathering

The women regularly searched the coral reefs, gathering edible shellfish (*ărĭrĭp*, *manĭtó*, and gooseneck barnacles), and edible seaweed (*Halimeda opuntia* and *Fucus* spp. *gŏru laiję̆ne*). Seaweed was occasionally traded from Ĕnai and Ĕlemăkŭnaur to Ĕtăsĭtĕl.

In the bush they gathered snails, wood mites, grasshoppers, and fungi (the *kărŏĭrŏĭ* species), although not as regularly as on the reef.

Exploitation of fruit trees growing wild in the bush and the coconut plantations of abandoned villages formed a major part of the foraging process as well.

Animal husbandry

Pigs



Fig. 26. Spatula made from a pig bone, St. Matthias. 1092I.

Originally, the only domestic animal on St Matthias and Emĭr was the pig (*mŏ̱ṣŭ*), which resembles the pigs kept on other islands in the Bismarck Archipelago but without their long snout, and rather resembling the wild pig in appearance.

Tame pigs are recognizable by having their ears slit artificially. Indeed people tolerate their pigs foraging for their own food in the bush, but they also provide them with food at certain feeding places, to prevent their wandering too far from home and turning wild. For instance, a bush hut belongs to the Tebăkeníuniu farm in Ĕnai; the pigs were fed regularly outside it. Among other things, coconut milk is fed to piglets. A *Tridacna* shell filled with water is set up near the house for the pigs to drink. [86]

The pigs are often very tame, and piglets play around people. However many pigs wander so far away from the houses that they finally become completely wild animals — to be feared, and to be caught in nets (*kămătĕ*), like the wild pigs.

Chinese pigs are very much sought after, for improvement of the local stock.[62] In 1908 two local pigs or one little girl were offered in exchange for a small sow. Workers returning from

[62] Vahsel, 1909, p.59

Herbertshöhe had brought back two or three castrated boars to Musa͡u, (later to Pa̍laka͡u), and to Ěkălĕ̍ŭ, and it was planned to acquire a breeding boar.

Pig bones, (*bălăkă̍* on Emi̍r), are made into lime spatulas or eating utensils, coconut openers, and scrapers. Boar's tusks (*ĭsmo̍o̲ṣŭ*, *ĭsmo̍o̲ṣ*, *ĭtšmo̍o̲ṣ*) are used to polish spear shafts and other wooden implements.

Pigs were not seen on Tench. In 1913 the inhabitants of Tench expressly assured an Ětăsi̍tĕl interpreter that they did not have any pigs.

Dogs

On St Matthias, and probably on Emi̍r as well, the natives kept dogs, which looked as though they had been poorly looked after. To all appearances they had been introduced only recently to the islands, probably by plantation workers returning home.

Birds

Nothing has been reported about domestic fowls or other poultry. The only birds kept are tame pigeons and 'shore hens' (*tŏ̍ra*) on Tench, perching in great numbers on the hut roofs.[63] Keeping these birds might be more as a hobby than for farming purposes.

Hunting

Totally wild pigs on St Matthias are found, among other places, on the Ěbŏ̍lĭu coast and the Mă̍lakăt highlands. They are hunted with spears (*a͡išŭ̍ă mo̍o̲ṣŭ*, *a͡išamoṣ*, *aišŭ̍ta mo̍o̲ṣŭ*, *aišŏ̍ă mo̍o̲ṣŭ*, *bă̍la͡u mo̍o̲ṣŭ*,), which are very similar to battle spears. These pig spears were made on Ěnŏ[a]nă̍ŭ, in Ěna͡i̍, Ěrŏ̍ĭtăn, and Ětălă̍t. Wild pigs, and tame pigs feared to [87] be turning wild, are caught with nets, (*kămă̍tĕ*), made from plaited ropes, (*oăsa kămă̍tĕ*, *ŏăça*), or from bark fibre, (*ă̍ŭ*), or from a creeper. A conch horn, (*ka͡u̍ĕ*), is blown during the hunt. The live or dead pig appears to be transported in the capture net, or one similar. On Emi̍r they kill pigs with a club (*a͡iparu mo̍o̲ṣŭ*) made of heavy black wood, which they use to break the pig's neck. However they seem to do this only to restrained pigs or to tame pigs.

Pigeons (and probably other birds), and phalangers are hunted as well. We do not know how they go about this.

Dolphins are driven ashore with canoes on Emi̍r at two suitable spots on the coast.

Fishing

Every village goes reef fishing. On the other hand, sea fishing is done only by coastal people. The St Matthias fishermen trade part of their catch, exchanging it for taro, which they themselves have little of. On the west coast of St Matthias there are no canoes in Ělŏlĭ̍ăṅ, Lobaraṅ, Lumussus, and Ěūtānālĭ̍u,[64] hence there is no sea fishing. In contrast with reef foraging, any form of fishing is men's work.

They fish with spears, fish hooks, weir baskets, hand nets, sink nets, and fish kites.

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[63] *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.248
[64] *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.152

Besides many unnamed species of bonito, the fish caught for food are bill fish, sharks, *šólau̯*, *ɬau̯ině*, *pa̋ně*, *mălătŭ*, and *putuńĭ̆ko*. Octopus (*mańĭ́lĭ̆*) is caught as well. Deep sea fishing might predominate on Tench. Even if the reef were foraged as much as the forest, the former would not provide any noteworthy offering because there are no big lagoons.

Fish spears

They use three kinds of fish spear on St Matthias and Emĭ̆r: multi-pronged spears, big single-pronged spears, and smaller single-pronged spears. The multi-pronged fish spears, about three metres long, bear the name *lĭ̆mă-lĭ̆mă* after the individual prongs, which are regarded as *lĭ̆mă*, 'hand', whereas the group of prongs is called *mată̋na* or *mată̋ńa*, (his?) eye. The number of betel palm wood, (*bŭ̋ĕ*), prongs is usually six, but can be as many as twelve.[65] Mangrove wood (*rară̋ne*) is used also in the manufacture of smooth prongs. The shaft is of *bărarŏ̋ńă* wood. *Rau̯ai* wood also is used as a shaft. The prongs are bound on by fastening (*gĭgītš*, *gĭgīč*) with [88] a cord (*bŏ̋bŏ*^{u}, *bŏ̋bŏ*, *wówo*, *wau̯wau̯*). The fastening may be striped white with lime (*tšánĭ̆nĕ*), and decorated with black and red stripes against this background. The black dye is produced from the roasted leaves of a species of creeper (*nańásă*), and the red from the rind of the roots of the *kārŏ̋ū* tree (*kăro*, *kărau̯*). Both dyes are put on with spittle. While Parkinson describes the fish spears as being, 'completely without ornamentation', this is not always true. The butt (*rŏńă̋nă*) of the fishing spear consists of a bamboo tube tied on. This is linked to the shaft above by carvings consisting of lines running round the wood and several other simple patterns. On one spear the carving was called *pĭ̆pīdŭt*. The spear butt may carry plaiting instead of the bamboo tube .

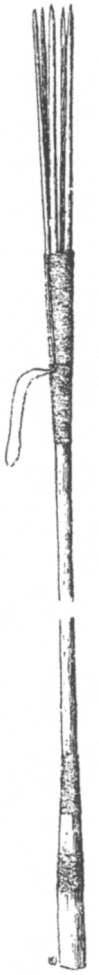


Fig. 27. Fish spear, Élŏáŭa. M 213I. 228 cm long.

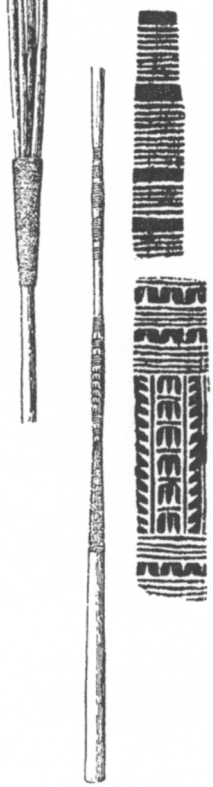


Fig. 28. Fish spear with carved decoration, Énaĭ. M 2341I. 205 cm long.



Fig. 29. Single-pronged fish spear, Érŏĭtăn. He 21081. 221 cm long.

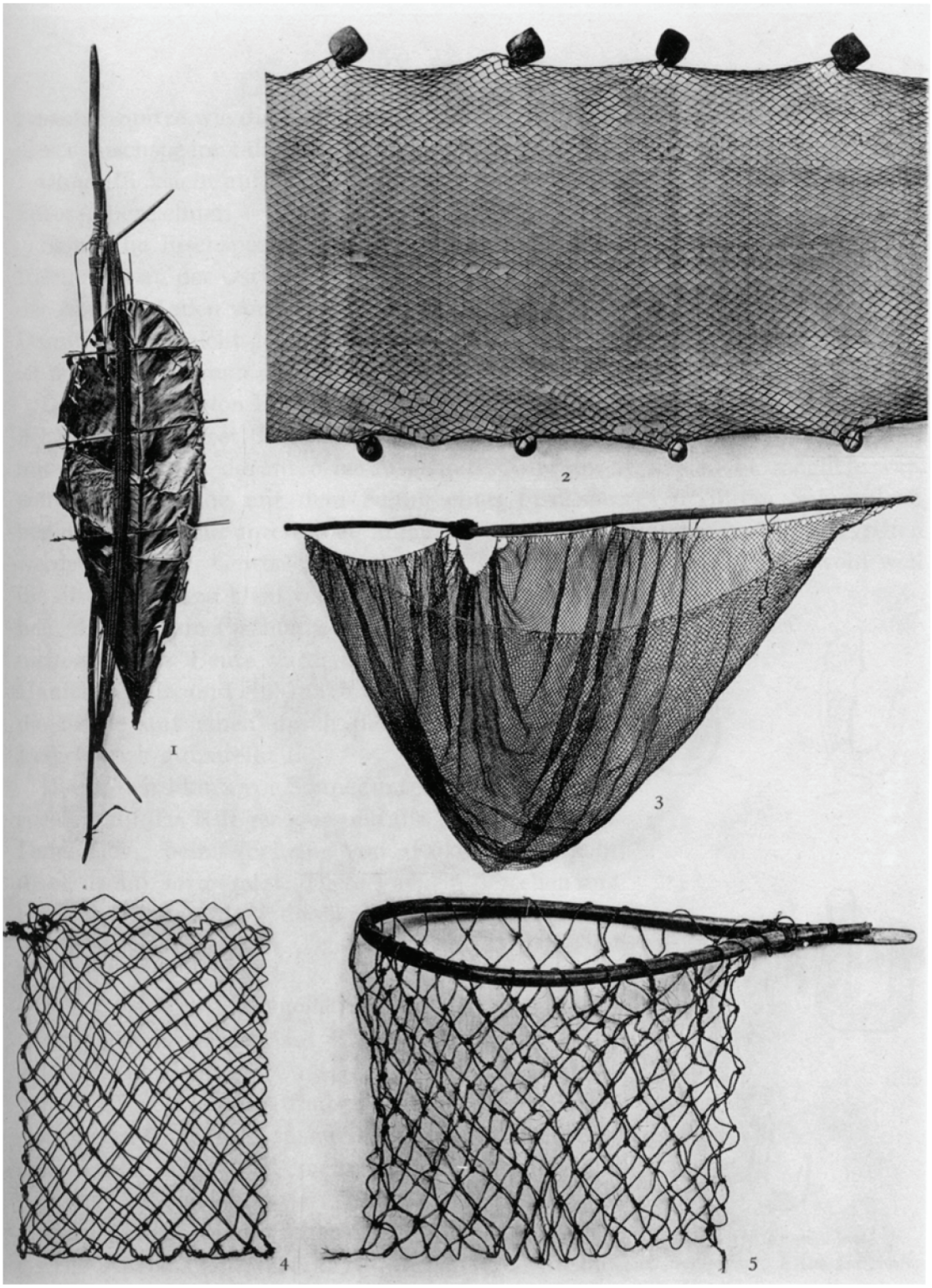


Fig. 30. Fire brand Énaĭ. He 2304I. 255 cm long.

The single-pronged fish spears bear the names *au̯ĭšŏă ɬau̯ĭtă*, *óără̋ne*, and *mă̋tăbŭ̋ĕ*. The *au̯ĭšŏă ɬau̯ĭtă* is used also for fighting. Its shaft is a poorly-smoothed thin branch which is simply sharpened. A spiral band is smoked around the tip as decoration. *Óără̋ne* designates only the

[65] Parkinson, 1907, p.328

Nevermann, St. Matthias, Plate 6



1.	Fishing kite, length 0.50 m.	355[1] St. Matthias
2.	Fishing net, length 34m., width about 1.10 m.	2443[1] Emír
3.	Net, length of the staves 0.60 – 1.35 m.	67[1] St. Matthias
4.	Net, length 0.33 m., width 0.25 m.	2372[1] Emír
5.	Fishing net, length of the frame 0.61 m. depth of the net, about 0.35 m.	2437[1] St. Matthias

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substance of the spear, which is made from mangrove wood, (*raráne*). Similarly, *mắtăbűě* means only 'tip, eye (*mắtă*) of betel palm wood (*bűě*)', but always designates especially the small single-pronged fish spear. The bigger single-pronged fish spears have either a smooth or a [89] jagged point, like the battle spears. It is possible that the local name of these fish spears, *tắlăn͡aĭ*, comes from the type of wood of the same name.

Regardless of their form, fish spears are called *a͡ĭšŭă kŏkŏ*, 'fish spear'.

Collections of fish spears were seen only on Emĭr, the islands offshore from St Matthias, and on the east coast of St Matthias in Ĕrŏĭtăn and Ena͡i. They were not seen on the rest of St Matthias, nor on Tench. However, this need not mean that fish spears were unknown, because it is possible that they used battle spears for fishing as well.

Fish spears were seen used at lowest ebb on the reef. Fish were driven under coral rocks and pulled out by hand. Only when this was impossible, the fish were disturbed in their bolt hole by the butt of a spear until they fled under another rock where they could be seized. In this situation the spear was not thrown, probably because the fish were too small. The men and boys taking part in fishing worked together. The catch was distributed into several equal piles, and one youth was delegated to string the fish on a cord of creeper threaded through the gills.

They often go out spearing fish on the reef shortly before sunset, continuing fishing in the dark by the aid of coconut palm leaf torches, (*ŭ̲sŭl*, *ŭsúlŭ*). These fire brands consist of dried palm fronds, their plumes tied together with string.

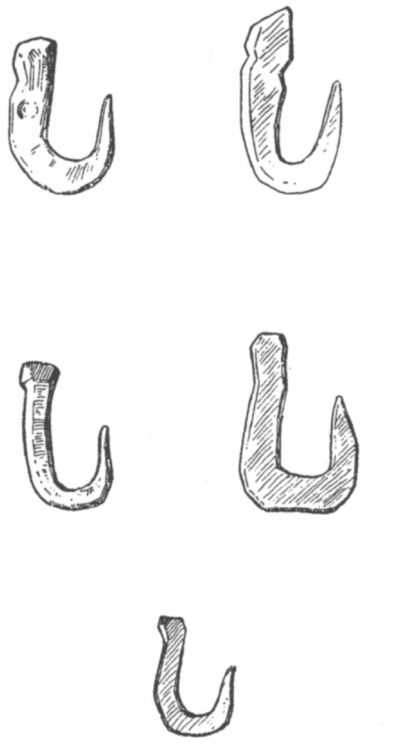


Fig. 31. Fish hooks made from turtle shell, Ĕlĕūā on Emĭr:
1. M 296I 4. M 395I
2. M 398I 5. M 399I
3. M 397I ½ actual size

Fish Hooks

Fish hooks are made of turtle shell on Emĭr, and are about 4 cm long. They are curved in shape, without barbs. They are somewhat grooved at the upper end for fastening to the line, usually on the side opposite the curve. The turtle shell hooks (*y͡aulū*) had been almost totally replaced by iron fish hooks in 1908. Even in 1900 Parkinson[66] could no longer obtain any fish hooks (*uos*), but learned that, 'some [90] were made from sea shell[67] and others from turtle shell. He offered iron fish hooks; these were disdained. Schoede obtained a 'fishing line (*bobo*)'.[68]

A fishing rod was obtained on Tench in 1908. It is 1.42 m long with a turtle shell hook of the kind just described, and an iron hook evidently fashioned out of a nail, on a thin fibre cord. The hooks were not barbed on Tench either.

[66] 1907, p.327

[67] A *Trochus* shell fish hook with cord and stick float, from the New Guinea Company Collection (No. 131) in the Berlin Museum, bearing the label 'St Matthias' definitely comes from Ninigo.

[68] Berlin Museum VI 31883

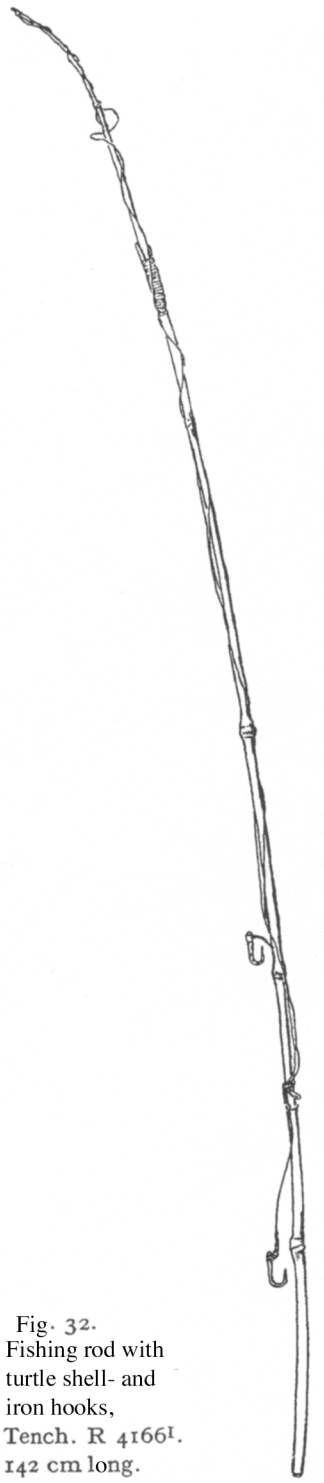


Fig. 32.
Fishing rod with turtle shell- and iron hooks, Tench. R 4166I. 142 cm long.

Parkinson,[69] who saw 'fishing rods about three metres long with a twisted line five to six metres long' on Tench, did not notice any hooks but instead two thin, tapered little wooden sticks tied into a cross at the end of the cord.

Fish Weirs

A fish weir (*kălăűk*) 5–6 metres long was seen on the beach at Ětăl̆ăt. It was flat, and assembled from smooth stones, running in a slight curve. A second weir of coral rocks marked the closure of the Wáre spring near the river mouth at Ěbőlĭu, which was a fishing spot. Fish were driven behind the weir and caught.

Fishing pots

Stübel[70] declared fish pot plaiting to be St Matthias natives' occupation. However on none of the earlier visits to the island were fishing pots were seen. An onion-shaped article plaited from tubular material, 20 cm wide, 15 cm high, closed in on top and running out into a 20 cm long bundle, collected on Tench as a 'fishing pot', could have served a different, unknown purpose.

Fishing Nets

Net fibres, (*běńŭbēně*, *běńŭbắně*, *ŏắsă běńŭbé́ně*, *běńŭbé́n*, *ő̆ĭắně*, *ŏắsă sŭsúkŭ*) are made from the bark of [91] *lắlă* wood, or from *kalamáke* fibre. Also, *bő̆bŏ*[u] or *sūsű́k* fibre may be used for nets. Both sink nets and hand nets are made from this raw material. The sink nets, (*ūbắnă*, *ubé́nă*, *ubắn*, *ubé́n*, *umbé́n*), are up to 40 m long, (according to Parkinson[71] even up to 100 m in length), and always about 1 m deep, (according to Parkinson 1.50–2.00 m deep). The lower edge is weighted with stones, lumps of coral limestone, or mollusc shells. These sinkers (*átuĭa͡u*) are tied inside rattan plaiting and fastened to the lower, more-markedly horizontal, net line, (*atúńŭbé́n*). The corresponding upper line (*itóńa*) carries the wooden floats (*itóńa*), usually trapezoid in shape with a triangular hole and tip pointing downward. Occasionally simple raised lines are chiselled into them. Also, the lower edge

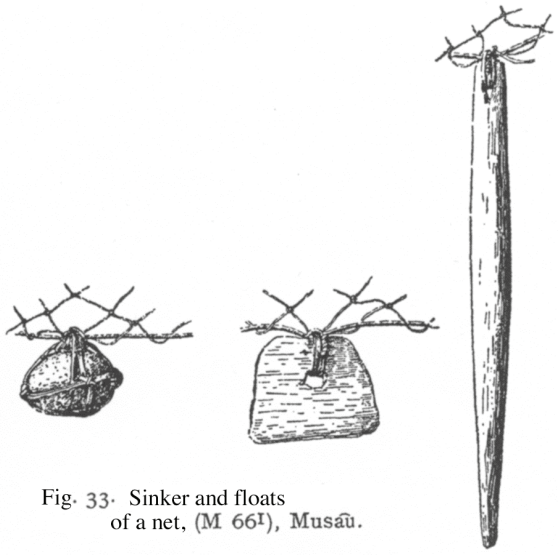


Fig. 33. Sinker and floats of a net, (M 66I), Musa͡u.

[69] 1907, p.344
[70] *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.152
[71] 1907, p.326

of the trapezoid may have a heart shape, like the upper part. Besides these, there are oblong floats with a similar, triangular hole, and combinations of both forms. Parkinson saw the cork-like fruit of the *Barringtonia* being used as a float as well.

The knots of the sink net resemble the seamen's common simple reef knot. The spot of a net where a new section is knotted on, is called *a͡inana͡ili*, and the mesh is *matăn̓a san̓a͡ulu*.

Sink nets are carried on curved boards in the canoes.

The same type of sink nets are very common on Tench. *A͡isá* or *a͡isó* (*a͡i* = 'this is'?) was heard there as the word for 'net'.

Hand nets, like the sink nets, are called *ūbăn̓ă*, but they also have special names according to their shape. If they are stretched over a knee-shaped wooden frame, giving them a triangular shape, they are called *kén̓ă*. If they are attached to a curved round frame so that they hang from it like a purse, then on Emĭr they are called *a͡isa͡uile*,[72] (*äsa͡uile*, *a͡isa͡uúlu*).

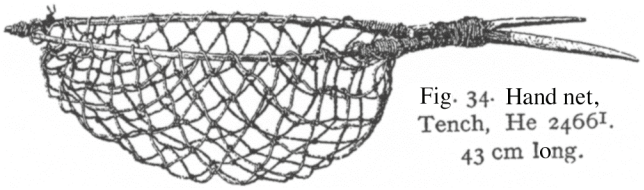


Fig. 34. Hand net, Tench, He 2466[1]. 43 cm long.

[92] Their frames are designated as *kăla͡u* or *kára*. *Kára* is the raw material, a flexible kind of wood or rattan. The end of the frame is bound with cords onto a short handgrip on Tench; elsewhere, to a longer handle. On St Matthias, Emĭr, and Tench they use big and smaller nets, with a circular rim of wood or rattan, and a cord loop fastened to it as a handgrip. Often the rim or frame is wound round with cord, and the net meshes run loosely over the frame, but the meshes may also be held in place by isolated fibres from the wrapping. Both of these types of net were called *kămătĕ* in Ĕlŏăŭa and on Emĭr, whereas elsewhere only pig-trapping nets were given this name, not fishing nets. The knots (*bătūnŏ*?) of the meshes resemble also the reef knot of the hand nets; however, less common is a type of net in which horizontal fibres, twisted together in pairs, run around vertical warp threads in such a way that the warp fibres are enclosed by the two paired fibres.

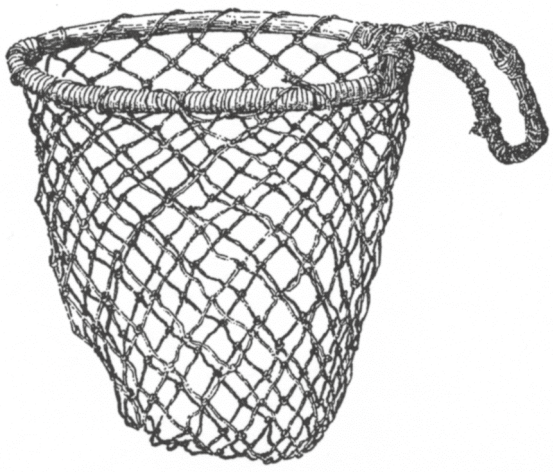


Fig. 35. Net with a circular rim, Ĕtălăt. M 165[1]. 32 cm high.

The people fish on the reef with hand nets. As when spear fishing, they fish with nets at night, by the light of fire brands.

Hand nets are stored in the houses and equipment sheds, sometimes on frames and sometimes on the wall. In Ĕlŏăŭa and Ĕna͡i, and on Emĭr, sink nets were hung on a type of pole fence, (*a͡ilăŭ*, *a͡ila͡uŋŭbăn̓ă*), of gable posts with a pole laid on top, or two parallel poles. These drying frames are about 1.5 m high.

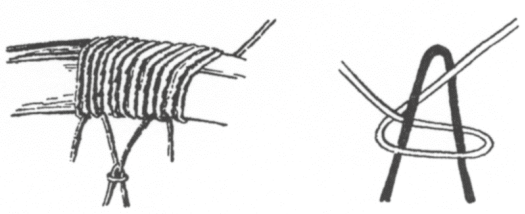


Fig. 36. Rim fastening and knots of a small net (M 33a [1]), Ĕlŏăŭa.

[72] Cf. *aisó* on Tench.

Fishing kites



Fig. 38. Bait for the fishing kite, Tench. M 440[1]. 12 cm long.

On Emŕr deep sea fish, allegedly only sharks, are caught using the fishing kite (*rấură*). Kite fishing is not common on St Matthias, although it probably is

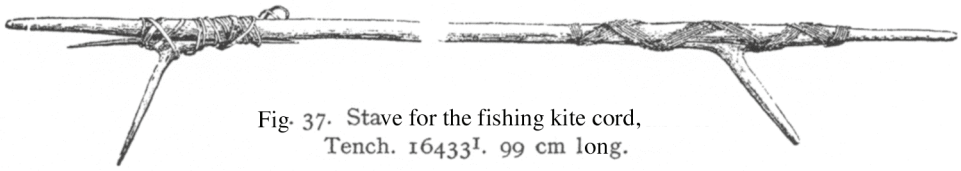


Fig. 37. Stave for the fishing kite cord, Tench. 16433[1]. 99 cm long.

common on Tench, where Parkinson[73] had seen fishing kites. The kites are made from broad, dried leaves fastened in several layers up to about seven deep, onto a frame made from a rod bent into an oval and its ends [93] tied together. One vertical rod and several cross-pieces stiffened the frame. On Emŕr and Tench the twisted kite cord is wrapped round a stave carrying two T-shaped pieces of wood secured by cord wrapping. The cord is wound onto the oblique free ends of this apparatus. The bait, a grey, sticky, matted spider's web, is attached to the kite by a thin twisted cord. On Tench it is simply tied to the kite in one piece, about 12 cm long. Parkinson did not see the gossamer-web bait, and so when he talks of two little tapering pieces of wood tied to the end of a cord in the form of a cross, it is doubtful whether that relates to kite fishing, or only to line fishing. On Emŕr, where the spider's web bait is called *vắtī-vắtī*, it is stuck onto the end of a wooden stick 15-17 cm long, and stored covered in a folded leaf wrapped with bast fibres.

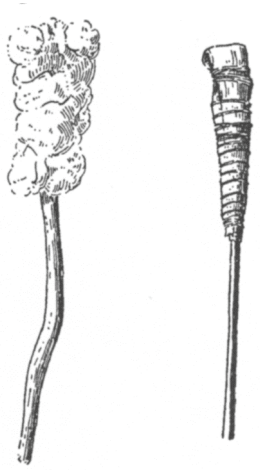


Fig. 39. Bait for the fishing kite, Emŕr. M 381[1] and 382[1]. 18 and 16 cm long.

Fish-enticing tree

On St Matthias erection of a little tree, (*sinấili*, *siṅá*, *siṅáděbe*), with several artificial leaves on the reef, is a magic aid for fishing. Fish are said to be attracted to it.

Agriculture

Growing Taro

Ball[74] reported 'a number of clear cultivated tracts of ground' on St Matthias with plants which looked to him like 'Indian corn or sugar-cane'. However, he can have seen none other than taro gardens.

To set up a taro plantation the men clear the bush. To kill the trees, they ring-bark the lower [94] part of the trunk. They kill big trees by setting fire round the trunk. Three to four days later the leaves fall. Then the undergrowth is cut and left to dry out. Regrowth is prevented by burning trees and scrub, and later by weeding. The ash residue is the sole fertiliser used when planting. Weeding

[73] 1907, p.344
[74] Hunter, 1793, p.421

during clearing is men's work, whereas removal of scrub is the task of women, who are responsible for gathering firewood. When setting up the Hamburg Expedition's camp in Ĕnấı̂, the women could not be persuaded to participate in clearing the land, because this was not their job. On the other hand, planting, weeding the taro plantation, and harvesting the crop *is* their job.

On the main island of St Matthias and on Emı́r the clearings are surrounded by wooden fences, which can be up to 2 m high on Emı́r. The fences are built from pairs of posts dug vertically into the ground at regular intervals with horizontal layers of posts between them; or the uprights are single, with the horizontal layers alternately in front and behind them. In successive layers of horizontal posts, where the lower layer passed in front of the upright, the next layer passes behind, and vice versa. At points where a path encounters the fence, the fence is lower, with a board in front and a board behind, to assist getting over.

On Musầu the gardens are occasionally separated by poles along their borders and at the edges of paths. At Ĕlĕmăkŭnấur too, the gardens are subdivided by poles (*ǵl̲ŏ*) into sections with different owners. Women too own individual garden plots.

In smaller gardens there are often no fences and no sections demarcated by poles.

After every harvest the field changes. The new site to be cleared is decided beforehand. In Ĕrŏ́ĭtăn, which was a relatively recent settlement in 1908, the gardens were near the houses, whereas in Ĕnấı̂ they were a long way away. Many of the taro fields of the Ĕtălắt people were even on a mountain slope half an hour's distance from the houses. For these large fields which extended several hundred metres in both directions, they chose stretches where numerous coral limestone blocks lay on the surface, although other stretches were loamy.

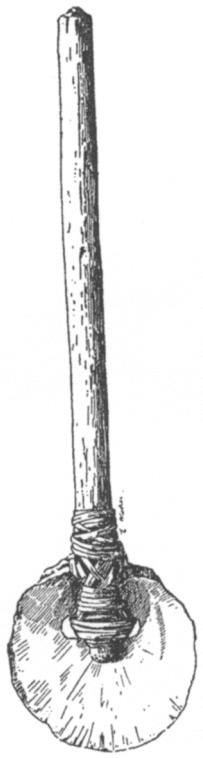


Fig. 40.
Weeding stick, Pălakầu.
M 199I. 149 cm long.

No gardens were seen on Tench. Since the island's interior contained big swampy areas overgrown with dense bush on a firm coral bottom and little mud, the presence of gardens is, accordingly, quite unlikely. On the other hand, taro plants grow singly or in small groups on the village fringe into the interior. When the [95] natives declared in 1913 that they were unaware of taro,[75] this comment carries little weight. Their taro tubers are only as big as a fist.

On St Matthias too taro tubers are usually only small, 'because the soil is not deep enough'.[76] In addition to the usual taro species, *ăjet*, (*ási* according to Parkinson,[77] *ass* according to Stübel[78]) which, thanks to foreign influence is also called *tắrō*, they also grow a large-leafed species, *ĭ́a*, which predominates on Musầu, but is less common in Ĕnấı̂. Both types are 'bush taro'. Swamp taro were not seen.

Sticks, (*âìpŏtắlō*, *âìpŏtắrō*), are used for taro weeding. They are 49 to 72 cm long with one or two mother-of-pearl shells (*gấulū*) with sharp edges. The shells have two holes bored near the hinge and are tied to the smooth stick by plant twine.

Superfluous sprouts of the taro tubers are removed in the field, using a piece of *nĭmărŏ́* shell.

Crop success depends on the performance of rain and sun magic spells.

Harvested and cleaned taro tubers are brought in from the fields in baskets made from plaited coconut palm leaves and stored. These baskets fully resemble food baskets.

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[75] *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.248
[76] *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.152
[77] 1907, p.327
[78] *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, *loc. cit.*

Tapioca cultivation

Tapioca, (*badūm*, *batum*, also *tapióka*) is cultivated in small quantities on St Matthias and Emi̍r, and would have been introduced from Herbertshöhe. Tapioca gardens, which were established in exactly the same manner as the taro gardens, and fenced like the latter, were seen only near Ĕna͡i̍ and on Emi̍r. Tapioca cultivation is women's work.

Naginăkĕ

In the taro and tapioca fields on Emi̍r they cultivated a plant, *naginăkĕ*, which looked like wild grapes and climbed up slender trees usually far apart and occasionally also up the plantation fences. It bears fruit about 1.5 cm long looking rather like gooseberries. It is not grown on St Matthias and Tench, and does not appear to exist in the wild there either.

Tubers

Potato-like tubers whose local name was not discovered, were grown as a food crop on Emi̍r, but not on St Matthias and Tench. [96] When these were shown to natives of New Britain, New Ireland and Buka, they were as unfamiliar as *naginăkĕ*.

Coconut Palms

The St Matthias people would have obtained the coconut from Lăbănn͡ai̍ (New Hanover).

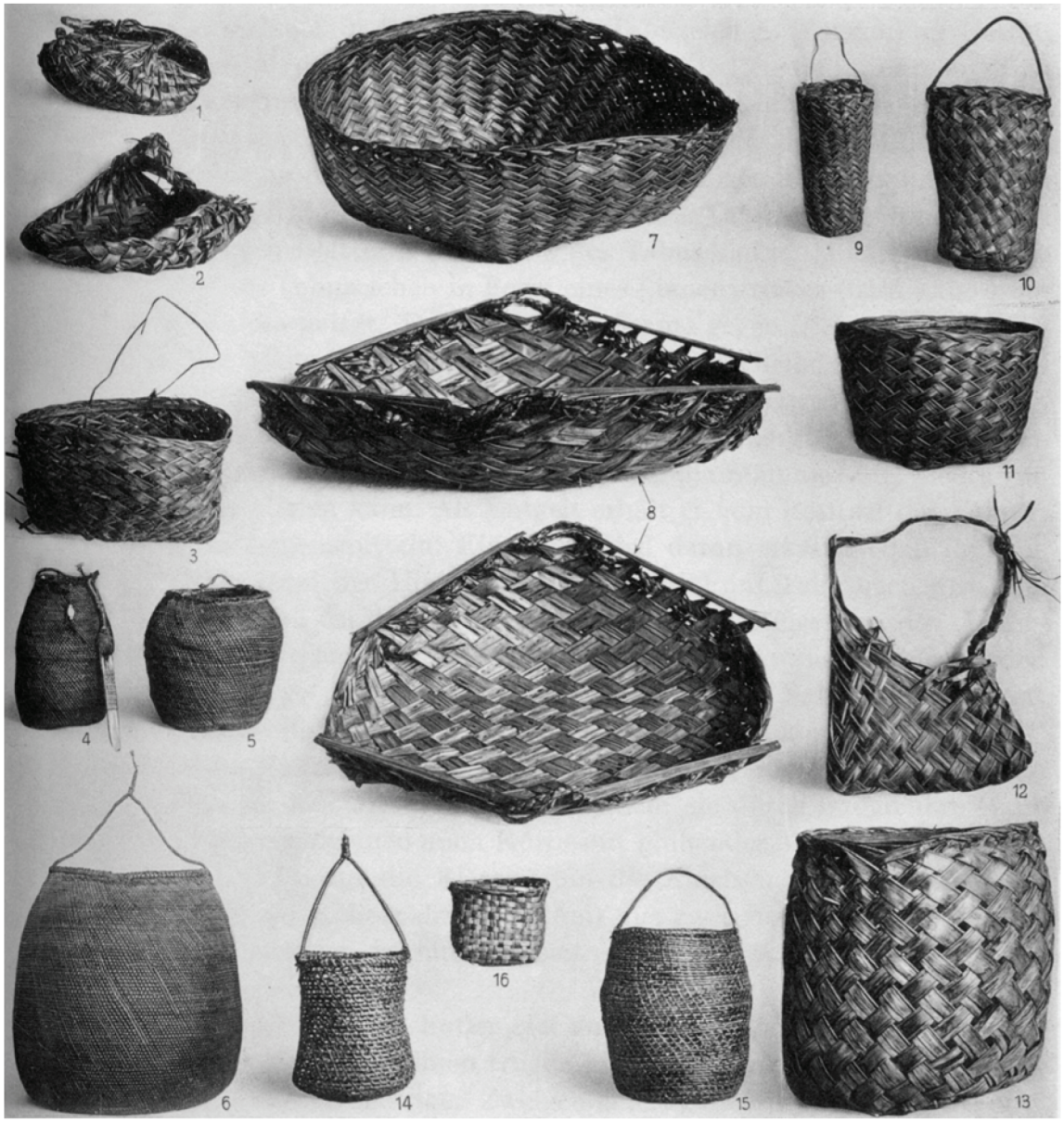
During his visit to St Matthias Danneil could not see any coconut palms from the ship, not even with a telescope,[79] and von Bennigsen's report[80] emphasizes that 'without copra' maintaining trading stations on St Matthias would not be possible in the long term. However, Parkinson[81] speaks of coconut palms which, characteristically, occur only sparsely, and are most abundant on the southern half of the north coast. In 1908 coconut palms were found in greater numbers in the vicinity of Ĕna͡i̍ and to the north, and in lesser numbers on the small southern islands. In Ĕlĭĕŭnĕ, the central village of Ĕlŏă̆ŭa, eight coconut palms belonged to a group of two huts and twenty-two palms belonged to a second, somewhat bigger group of houses. In Ĕna͡i, twenty coconut palms belonged to the two-house farm of Tebăkeníuníu, and twenty-four to the two-house farm of Etákuna͡u̍r. In the main village coconut palms and bananas made up the greatest number of fruit trees. In the interior of the main island coconut palms are naturally absent. On Emi̍r they exist only in limited numbers.

Ball[82] describes Tench as being totally covered in trees, 'many of which are the cocoa-nut'. However, Parkinson[83] says that coconut palms occur only sparsely on Tench, bearing exceptionally small nuts. Monrad[84] too saw only a few coconut palms there. Since Ball certainly saw the 'many' coconut palms from the landing place in front of the village, he may have drawn an over-hasty conclusion on the situation over the whole island, based on the palms which probably then grew about the extended village as they do to this day. The small size of the nuts was confirmed in 1908.

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[79] 1901, p.116
[80] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* XI, 1900, p.640
[81] 1907, p.327
[82] Hunter, 1793, p.421
[83] 1907, p.345
[84] Danneil, 1902, p.280

Nevermann, St. Matthias, Plate 7



1.	Taro-carrying- and eating basket Height 10 cm. 2274[1]	St. Matthias
2.	Taro basket Height 9 cm. 7029[1]	St. Matthias
3.	Basket Height 18 cm, diam. 27 to 30 cm. 348[1]	Emĭr
4.	Basket and spatula Height 20 cm. max. diameter 12 cm. 154[1]	St. Matthias
5.	Basket Height 17 cm, upper diam. 11 cm, max. diam. 16 ½ cm. 126[1]	St. Matthias
6.	Basket Height 30 cm, diam. 28 cm. 42[1]	St. Matthias
7.	Basket Height 21 ½ cm, diam. 38 to 57 cm. 2644[1]	Emĭr
8.	Basket Height 12 cm. max. diameter 55 cm. 45[1]	St. Matthias
9.	Basket Height 22 cm, diam. 10 cm. 2362[1]	Emĭr
10.	Basket Height 22 cm, upper diam. 15 cm. 46[1]	St. Matthias
11.	Basket Height 18 cm, diam. 24 cm. 2353[1]	St. Matthias
12.	Basket Height incl. handle 44 cm, width 28 cm. 2361[1]	Emĭr
13.	Basket Height 37 cm, upper diam. 31 cm. 2118[1]	St. Matthias
14.	Basket Height 19 cm, diam. 14 ½ cm. 2148[1]	St. Matthias
15.	Basket Height 23 cm, upper diam. 16 cm. 2153[1]	St. Matthias
16.	Basket Height 10 ½ cm, diam. 11 cm. 457[1]	St. Matthias

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Planted nuts with shoots were stored together with the harvested crops, in the house on Emŕr and in the tool sheds on Tench. In Pălakâu on St Matthias we saw recently planted coconuts, surrounded by a fence, (*kắ*), made from a few staves in crosswise layers.

On one occasion on Emŕr, we saw a support for a coconut palm that was leaning over too far. This support was about 3 m high and consisted of a [97] forked stick pushed into the ground. On St Matthias the ripe coconut is called *niu*,[85] and on Tench *näu*.

Several coconut palms in Ĕnâì bore a *tabu* sign (*âíšī nŕŭ*) in the form of a coconut leaf, which meant, 'Belong man, mary no drink him.' There, a *tabu* sign for drinking coconuts, (*băsbăs*), consisted of a forked stick planted at the edge of the bush. Several long narrow leaves, (*bŏ́ă*), were roughly fastened to this forked stick using a leaf of the same type, and hung right down to the ground. The name of this *tabu* sign is *bŏ́ă*, after the leaves used, and the name for the *tabu* is *âìgătâì* (*âìkătâì*). For old coconuts, a *tabu* sign in the form of a string of creeper (*oásă kăbŏ́*[86]) is laid around the trunk of the palm. However, since this *tabu* does not cover protection against theft, the trunks are rubbed with the hairlike spiny bristles of a parasitic plant, (*ŭ́si*), probably a species of orchid, after it has been burnt, (or roasted?) This is the task of a man who guards the secret of producing this device, and who can also release the trunks from this form of protection. For his services, he is paid in food by the owner of the palm trees. A thief is recognized by his legs becoming chafed and a swollen scrotum. Five days after lifting the *aigătâì* and *ŭ́si*, the trees can be climbed once more. This method is probably also used to protect the *băsbăs*. Furthermore, leaves and twigs of the *unŕĕ* plant are laid around the palm trunks as *âìgătâì*, a warning not to climb the tree. Where this has been done *ŭ́si* is not used.

The men who collect the coconuts from the palms, wet their skin by bathing, then rub ash into their skin as protection against the big brown ant *lóa*. They also take baskets of red-hot ash up the trees and throw the ash onto the leaves to exterminate the ants.

On Emŕr we saw a coconut palm *tabu*, *(āŭ́m*), consisting of two coconut palm leaves plaited together around the trunk, corresponding completely with the *âíšī nŕŭ* of St Matthias.

The protective medium of two plaited coconut palm leaves was noticed on Tench as well. There several palms wore at a certain height a barrier made from interlaced heavy dry branches in the shape of a big bird's nest. Whether this is a means of protection from rats, remains unknown.

All coconut palms have an owner, normally a chief. However, other men too own individual trees. Cultivation of coconut palms is men's work.

The coconut palms in the deserted Emagăn district were [98] exploited by Ĕtălăt and Ĕūtānālíū; those of depopulated Ĕtâílă on Emŕr were taken over by Ĕbūlīélĕ.

A climbing loop was used on the feet, for climbing the palms.

Bananas

Three species of banana were cultivated: *úri* on St Matthias and Emŕr; *kălăbúĕ* (fibre bananas), and *gīdi* (cooking bananas), solely on Emŕr. Only *úri* and *gīdi* have any nutritional value. Cultivation of *úri* is by far the most prevalent. Also, near Ĕtălăt grows an edible form of banana with big orange fruit and violet flesh. Banana cultivation is carried out both by men and by women. At Pălakâu bananas and pawpaws were grown together in fenced gardens. Around Eruterite on Emŕr, bananas were grown in fenced fields together with taro and tapioca. At Ĕtâílă on the other hand, the few banana stalks made a sad impression. In general, bananas are grown close to the houses or they are cultivated with fruit trees in the bush. For instance, about 24 stalks were

[85] Parkinson, 1907, p.325; *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.152

[86] *oásă* = cord, rope

growing near one house in Ěnấi, whereas other houses in the same village had their stalks some distance away in the bush.

Bananas do not appear to grow on Tench.

Fruit Trees

Fruit trees planted on St Matthias and Emǐr are *tấunŏ*, (*tâu*, *tâun*; on Emǐr *tấu*^{o}); breadfruit trees, (*ű́lō*, *ű́lŏ*, *ű́lű*); and papaya, (*pầia*). In Ělĭ^{u}ěně on Ělŏáŭa a group of two huts owned seven breadfruit trees in addition to eight coconut palms; while another, somewhat bigger group owned five breadfruit trees, several pawpaw, and other fruit trees that were probably growing wild, besides twenty-two coconut palms. The Tebăkeníuníu farm in Ěnấi did not own any breadfruit trees, but harvested ownerless breadfruit trees in the bush. On the other hand, the neighbouring farm of Etákunấur owned a number of breadfruit trees in the bush. Fruit trees existed in great numbers in Ělěmăkŭnấur, while there were fewer in Ěnấi, and in Pălakầu there were only pawpaw in addition to bananas. For that reason, the locals kept the banana and papaya plants weeded, and carefully fenced. On Emǐr fruit trees were present only in limited numbers.

Pawpaw trunks were decorated in places by Ěnấi's lower farms, with designs scratched on with the thumb, (*tărīt*^{i}, *tĭkămŭkătắtĕp*, *kă̋lăkă̋lă*, *pătŭkĭrŭkầubă̋bă̋*). Only women took part in the cultivation of papaya and breadfruit trees.



Fig. 41.
Climbing rope
Ěnấi.
He 2453^{I}.

Property rights appear also to exist over fruit trees growing wild. For example, the chief Lăbŏkŏrő̲rī laid claim to the fruit of a wild *ĭ́*-tree. [99]

The wild tree fruits that are exploited are: *ĭ́ ṣű́*, *âìtābă̋gĭ*, *nắtŭ*, *mălấì* (*mălấìĭ*), *tā*, *ūănăvắŭ*, *ălĭ̈năçă*, and '*aisacka*'.[87] Add to these wild lemons (*sấu sấu*), on Emǐr, and on St Matthias the fruit of the *Dracaena* (?) *ĭ́ĕrī*.

On Tench they gather the fruit of wild *arana*, *katai*, and *aisacka* trees, breadfruit trees (*nata*), *Inocarpus edulis*,[88] and pandanus, for food. They wrap the *aisacka* in leaves to protect them from birds.[89]

On St Matthias they use a small net with a long handle, *(âìṣắŏ ű́lű*, or *âìkấut*), to pluck breadfruit. On Emǐr they also use hooks (*âìkấut*) for this. On Tench there is also, 'a net on a longer handle, with barbs for ripping a fruit like a mango, called *aisacka* on St Matthias, off a tree'.[90] It consists of a purse net on a wooden rim, with a hook branching off the lower end, on a wooden pole 2½ metres long.

On St Matthias they climb trees either unaided, using their toes extensively, or by means of a plaited rope, (*oăsa kămắtĕ*), of bark fibre, (*ă̋ŭ*), stretching obliquely up from the ground onto the branches. The climbing loop is used solely for climbing up palms.

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[87] *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.248
[88] Parkinson, 1907, p.345
[89] *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, *loc. cit.*
[90] *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, *loc. cit.*; Dresden Museum 32984.

Lagenaria

Gourds are said to grow wild in the Mǎlakăt region. The inhabitants of Ěnâi gather them up and replant them in their village. On Ěnŏ^{a}nấu gourds were grown randomly among bananas and pawpaw in fenced fields.

Plants for Decoration

In Ěnâi they planted a fragrant species of grass and a herb (*râirâiěn*, *pírĭpírĭ*, or *púrpúr*).

Conservation of Drinking Water



Fig. 42. Water flask made from a coconut, with a hanging net and stopper, Ělŏáŭa. He 2016I.

They use rain water, or fresh water out of streams and water holes for drinking. They collect rain water on St Matthias as run-off, by taking a cord and binding a leaf, (*ŭrŭ bŏ́ă*), to a breadfruit tree where water runs down the smooth trunk. The water trickles from the leaf into a coconut flask attached beneath. [100]

Water holes are called *lĭ́ŭ*. The water in them is called *ătéo* or *ătéū*,[91] like the water in the coconut water flasks. Water holes on Ělŏáŭa were semi-fenced by several poles, (*bălăbăla*[92]), roughly interlaced. The springs near the mouth of the stream at Ěbŏ́lĭu is used as a source of water too. A path leads to them through the bush. The women collect the water in coconut flasks. The inhabitants of the high plateau behind Ělěmăkŭnâur have laid down quite a wide track right back to a distant spring.

A freshwater spring near Ěrŏ́ĭtăn was so enclosed that the water bubbled out of two coconut palm leaf ribs.

To quench their thirst when water is not immediately to hand, they chew the stem of a tall, big-leafed shrub. It contains a thirst-quenching sap which, although not very watery, does have a slight taste.

Drinking water is stored in coconut flasks, which they hang in nets inside their houses.

Cooking

Food Storage

Taro tubers are brought in from the garden in shallow baskets plaited from coconut fibre and stored in the houses either in the same or in bigger baskets of the same material, on frames or in hanging baskets. Over longer periods, taro roots are stored in the huts under small round mounds of earth. Before feasts the taro roots are set out on table-like platforms, (*aîçálŏ*). Then other foods are set out as well.

Tree fruits are kept up high in baskets in their dwellings or tool sheds, or simply laid on the ground in their tool sheds. *ṣū* fruit are stored in nets (*kămắtĕ*).

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[91] According to Hellwig, *áttéâu* was the name of the water hole.

[92] 'You fellow call him *pănĭ́çĭ*' (= fence); *bállebalátĭ*, according to Hellwig.

Coconuts are tied together in pairs, and layered around a pole in the house, up to a height of 1½ metres. Sprouting nuts, on the other hand, are laid in dark places on the ground.

On Tench, foodstuffs, with or without baskets, are stored in the lean-tos for equipment or in their houses, particularly up high. [101]

Fire Lighting

According to the St Matthias people, the first fire would have been on the sun. Once upon a time the birds said, 'We want to get the fire.' Then they flew, one after another, up to the sun, the big birds first. However, they all got burnt, and came back without having achieved their object. Finally, a very small bird, *rīūŕī*, succeeded in bringing it back.

According to another story, fire was collected from New Hanover at the same time as coconuts:

ăṅgĕlā́ bĕlūṣí lăgĕṣū́ lĕtaīlātū kā́rīkă kūrā́.
Long time bipo boy belong Etalat he no got pire.
A long time ago the people of Ĕtălăt did not have fire.

ĕṣuṅīlā́lū: ămălūṓṣĕ.
He speak him two fellow boy: 'you two fellow you pull!'
They said to two men: 'Paddle hard, both of you!'

ămălūămălū ṓṣĕ, ămălūṣíă kūrā́ ĕ lā́bă̆ṅa͡ī.
Two fellow he go he kitch him pire long Lăbăṅa͡ī
The pair went off and collected fire on New Hanover.

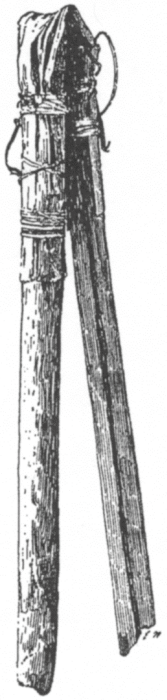


Fig. 43. Fire tongs, Ĕtălăt. He 2248[1]. 35 cm long.

ămălūma͡ī́, ămălūkūĕtā́tĕ.
Now he come, now he make him pire long a beach.
They came back and made a fire on the beach.

kūrā ăṅĕŏrṓī lā tăṅănū́ĭr, nī́ū ătŏkăyĭlĕ.
Now he got pire long place, all same coconut.
Fire now exists there, and coconuts too.

Müller is of the opinion that this is talking about the recreation of fire, which took place in Ĕtălăt. However, it is surprising that the fire was collected directly from New Hanover, (Lăbăṅa͡ī), and not from Ĕmī́r, or the other villages on St Matthias. Therefore the story is more likely to be an account of the first possession of fire and coconuts, as Hellwig thinks. However, whether Ĕtălăt was the first settlement of any significance on St Matthias, as he believes, and whether settlement progressed outwards from New Hanover, cannot be determined from the story.

Fire-making was still largely unknown in 1908, because people were usually very skilful at successfully maintaining a fire under the ash and, moreover, they possessed a big enough quantity of wooden matches, thanks to the workers returning



Fig. 44. Fire tongs, Tench. M 413[1]. 40 cm long.

home. Before this, fire was produced by ploughing, rather than by drilling. Matches were still totally unknown in 1900.[93] [102]

Hearths and firewood

In every hut is a hearth; alongside is a pile of fist-sized stones to be heated on the fire, and used for cooking the food.[94] A couple of coral limestone rocks are placed together to form the hearth. At the Etălŭararai͡ farm on Emi̍r, there was a fireplace in one house, with a second fireplace in front of the other two houses and two lean-tos, one of which contained firewood. In the combined chief's house and meeting house in Ĕlĕmăkŭna͡u̍r, the back room was the 'cook house'. From the front and middle ridge beams hung a bunch of dried leaves, (*tūbu̍ĭ*), for keeping the smoke out of the 'cook house'. In the house of the chief Sa̍gīlē in Pa̍laka͡u, a bunch of grass, (*rārŭ̍să*), had been hung on the roof ridge beam, in front of an opening in the narrow wall, to keep out the smoke. In Ĕpăka̍nă on Emi̍r, was a hanging a bunch of dried plant fibre, (*ăgi̍gĭt*) was hanging on a ridge beam, admittedly outside the house. Its purpose was announced as 'belong smoke'.

Wood (*unié*) for making a fire and for rekindling the embers is collected in the bush by women, and carried in bundles (*lănŭ̍tă*) to the huts. To keep the fire going, they use the outer shell of the coconut as well. In the mountainous region of the Mă̍lakăt people beyond Ĕtăsi̍tĕl, because of heavy rainfall and dampness of the ground, the firewood is layered on frames made of two forked poles rammed into the earth. On Emi̍r and St Matthias, (Pălaka͡u), there were isolated lean-tos for firewood.

Fire, (*kūrŭ̍*), was made earlier by ploughing.

Cooking utensils

Fire tongs on St Matthias and Tench consist of a bent piece of wood, 35-40 cm long. On St Matthias they take one half of a stick split in two lengthwise and semi-circular in cross-section, and bend it so that the flat sides can come into contact, and then wrap the bend in leaves bound firmly with bast. [103]

On Emi̍r a hardwood awl about 27 cm long, tapered on both sides and circular in cross-section, serves as a coconut opener. On St Matthias they bore out the sprout holes of the coconut using a sea shell (*a͡ĭĭelu̍g atéo*) with the tip removed. Pig bone spatulas are also used for this. On Tench a stick 110 cm long, roughly tapered at both ends and thicker in the middle, serves for opening coconut husks. For crushing fruit on St Matthias they use a piece of wood, (*a͡ītītŏ̍ṅ*), more than 40 cm long with a thick, club-shaped end.



Fig. 45. Coconut husk opener, Tench. He 2472[1].

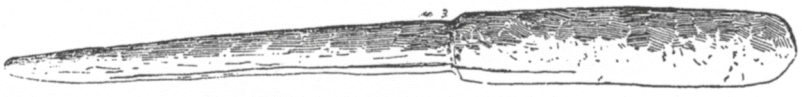


Fig. 46. Fruit opener, Pálakaû. M 171[1].

[93] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* XI, 1900, p.639; von Hesse-Wartegg, 1901, p.565
[94] Parkinson, 1907, p.325

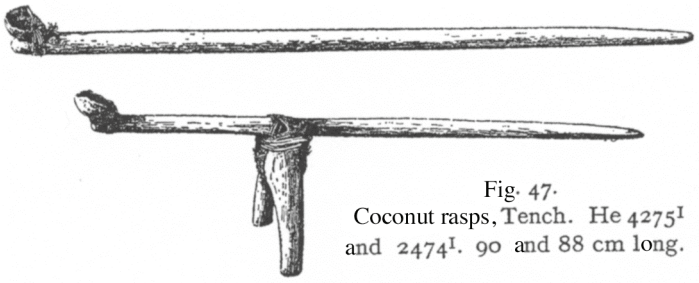


Fig. 47.
Coconut rasps, Tench. He 4275[I] and 2474[I]. 90 and 88 cm long.

For rasping coconuts they use a knife-edged shell. Either the shell is used on its own — on Tench a chalky white shell was also seen as a rasp — or on St Matthias, Emŕr, and Tench the shell is set up as a coconut rasp on a stand, which is called *a͡iš̆ăp*^{e}*ș̆ăp*, (*aisamsap* according to Parkinson,[95] *au schăp schăp* according to Schoede,[96] and *sápĕsápĕ* on Tench). The simplest form of rasp is found on Tench. These consist of a stave about 88 cm long, with a knife-edged shell, bored through near the hinge, bound firmly onto the end with the knife-edge upward. The other end of the stave is simply tapered. An angular fork of wood is bound underneath the stave, nearer to the shell end, in such a way that the ends of the branch form two feet, while the tapered end of the stave forms the third foot, with the shell end rising obliquely.

The coconut rasps of St Matthias and Emŕr rather resemble a four-footed [104] animal, its head formed by the rather jagged knife-edged shell, fastened on in the same manner.[97] However, instead of the simple stick, it requires a piece of trunk or branch with two forks.

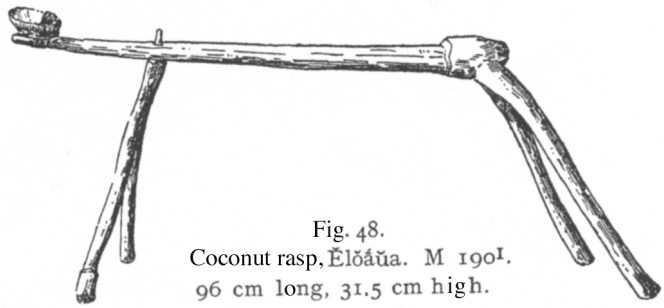


Fig. 48.
Coconut rasp, Ĕlŏáŭa. M 190[I]. 96 cm long, 31.5 cm high.

Both forked side branches, being similar in length, form the back legs; an extension of the trunk forms a tail sometimes; while the front legs consist of a special forked branch, firmly fastened by means of a peg pushed into a hole in the main section and tied on tightly. When Parkinson writes that 'four side branches form a pair of front legs and a pair of back legs', he may be meaning only one isolated case. The occurrence in a coconut rasp of only one smooth back leg and an inverted T-shaped front leg with horizontal incisions, also appears unique. The rasp's head piece is incised beneath with wavy, zigzag, and toothed lines, as are the sides and above the feet. This rasp was used in the house of the chief A͡ĭněmŏ rĭă in Ĕtălăt, only for feasts. Walden obtained a specimen with a similar front leg and two back legs in 1908.[98]

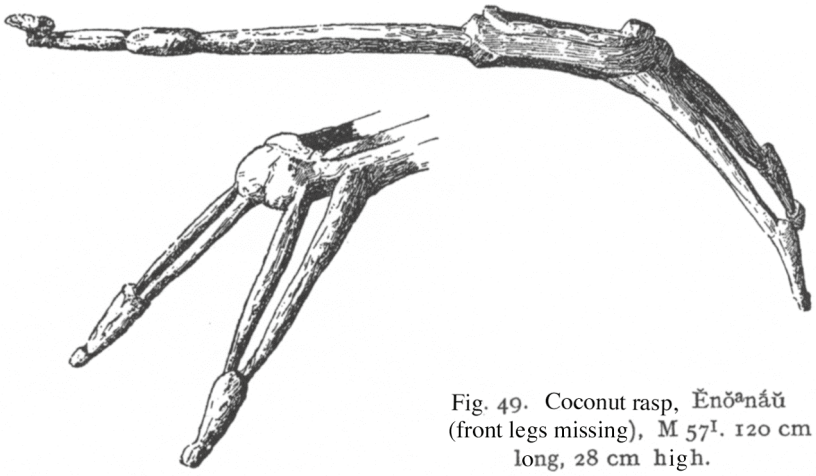


Fig. 49. Coconut rasp, Ĕnŏ^{a}náŭ (front legs missing), M 57[I]. 120 cm long, 28 cm high.

In another [105] rasp from St Matthias there are calf-like thickenings at the lower end of the back legs, which have splintered lengthwise, while the main section has a rectangular hole right near the back legs.

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[95] 1907, p.326
[96] Berlin Museum VI 31877
[97] Parkinson, 1907, p.326: 'Cardium?'; according to Schoede the local name is *piro*.
[98] Berlin Museum VI 30322.

Whole mother-of-pearl shell, (*gâu*, *gấulŭ*, *gólŭ*, *rấulŭ*), or pieces cut into ovals 7½ x 14 cm and polished, are used to scrape taro tubers; while to crush the tubers they use butts of coral limestone 10-14 cm high, round or oval in cross-section, gradually increasing downward in diameter to about 8 cm. The bottom and sides are polished.

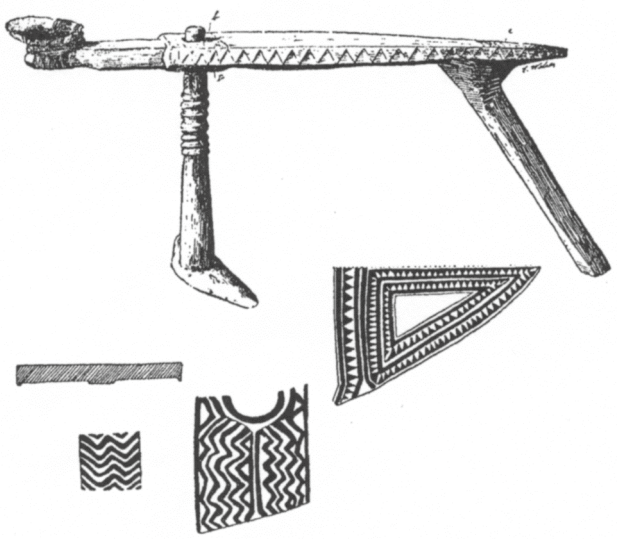


Fig. 50. Coconut rasp for feasts, Ĕtălăt. M 157[1]. 74 cm long, 30.5 cm high. 1. Cross-section of the seat; 2. Decoration of the trim on the underside of the seat; 3. Decoration on the front part of the seat; 4. Half of the decoration right on the tip of the seat

Nevermann, St. Matthias, Plate 8



Weaving, and women's kilts made from betel bast material, about 1/10 actual size

1-3 women's kilts of bast, Hamburg
4-11 women's woven kilts – 4-9 are painted; 4, 5, 7-11 Hamburg, 6 Stuttgart
12-17 woven belts, Hamburg

Parkinson[99] mentions similar 'pounders of *Tridacna* shell' from St Matthias, 12 cm in height, and 7 cm diameter at the circular bottom, reducing to 6 cm above. Still in use on Tench are coral limestone butts about 20 cm tall with a lower diameter of 10 cm reducing markedly towards the upper end.

Finally, also among the cooking utensils, are wooden bowls (*lắsă*), shallow board-like bowls (*ắbā*) which serve a dual purpose for cutting up pork, taro baskets and taro bowls made from plaited coconut leaves, and leaves for wrapping food.

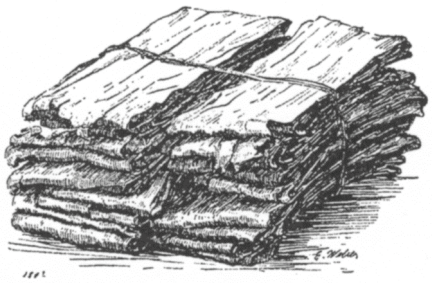


Fig. 51. Leaves for wrapping taro bread, Pălakāu. M 1881.

Food Preparation

Fish are killed by biting them behind the head. They are baked over an open fire, often wrapped in leaves. Fish meal scraps are not thrown out where an iguana (*kapa͡ú*) can find them, because then the thrower will become ill.

Grasshoppers are eaten roasted. The shellfish *ărī́rĭp* are wrapped in green leaves and baked on a fire. They are taken from the shell with little sticks, and eaten. Goose-necked mussels are cooked by placing a piece of tree bark, tightly packed with mussels, on a small wood fire. The bunches of mussels, being right over the fire, are cooked in a couple of minutes. Then they rip the adhering foot and shell off the heated bark, suck the juice out of the still-closed mussel through their teeth, before opening the fawn-coloured roasted shell with their fingers, removing the animal and eating it virtually without chewing. By shifting the piece of bark out of the way the rest of the clump of mussels are cooked. Snails are baked in leaves, like *ărī́rĭp*, and pulled out of the shells with little wooden sticks, or the shells are shattered with a stone and sucked out. [106]

On Emĭ́r pigs are killed by breaking their necks with a club, (*a͡ipparu mó̲ṣ̲ŭ*), of heavy black wood, and cut up on a carving board (*ắbā*). The pork seems to be cooked over an open fire, probably packed in leaves. The pig's lower jaw, (*pắṣu mó̲ṣ̲ŭ*, *pắṣĭn mó̲ṣ̲ŭ*), is kept and hung on a tree branch near their huts or in their houses. For example, in a house in the upper village of Ĕna͡í about 20 pigs' lower jaws of various sizes were hung side by side on a pole; in the house of a chief in Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl there were 47 of them. Even though the pig, like humans, is said to have a soul, (*rắrōa͡i*), preservation of the pig's lower jaw has nothing to do with magic, but serves only as a memorial to eating pork.

The fungus species *kărŏ́ĭrŏ́ĭ* is cut up and washed before cooking.

The almond-like fruit *ī* is baked on the fire and put into the mouth still hot. The fruits of the *Drazaene* (?) *ĭ́ĕrī* are cooked the same way. Originally yellow, they turn crab-red in the fire. On Tench they cook the *katai*-fruit.[100]

The fruits *ṣŭ́*, *măla͡í*, *ūănăvắŭ*, and *a͡itābắgĭ* are eaten raw, as is the ginger root on Emĭ́r. A short, club-shaped stick, (*a͡iītŏ́ṅ*), is used to break open the hard shell of the fruit.

Bananas are baked, and taste like bad potatoes without a trace of sweetness. Probably they are also eaten raw.

Taro leaves are likewise baked and eaten. When they are cooked they stick together, with the consistency of boiled cabbage leaves.

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[99] 1907, p.326

[100] *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.248

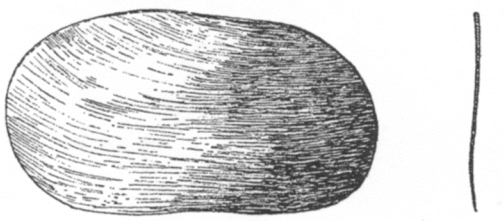


Fig. 52. Shell for scraping taro, Ĕnaĭ. He 2158I. 14 : 7.5 cm.

Taro tubers are scraped by women, using mother-of-pearl shells, then mashed by crushers in a trough-like vessel, (*lăsă*), and kneaded thoroughly by hand. The mash is formed into round loaves about 22 cm in diameter and 7 cm high, then wrapped in leaves and baked over hot stones. The taro bread is carried in the same baskets as the cleaned taro tubers, and stored. Tapioca is cooked in similar fashion.

Coconuts are first freed of adherent fibres. The sprout holes are bored and the milk drunk. Younger nuts are removed from the green hull by ripping the husk off with the teeth. The inner shell too is bitten through using their teeth. The pieces of ripped hull, green on the outside and white on the inside, are used for wiping their hands. After the [107] coconut milk has been drunk, the coconut flesh is scraped by the women. To do this, they sit astride the trunk part of the coconut rasper and twist the nut back and forth over the front of the knife-edged shell of the rasp. A wooden bowl (*lăsă*) collects the grated nut.

Eating Utensils

Women on St Matthias and Emĭr eat only the flesh scraped out of the coconuts and apparently do not use eating bowls. Men on the other hand eat grated coconut from wooden bowls, (*lăsă*), that are sometimes so small that Parkinson[101] incorrectly regards them as bowls used when rubbing on ochre. Bowls for two men are divided in half by a cross-wall. Taro is eaten out of similar bowls or from flat dishes, (*ăbā*), of greater dimensions with a low rim, although bowls plaited from coconut palm fronds are also used for eating taro.

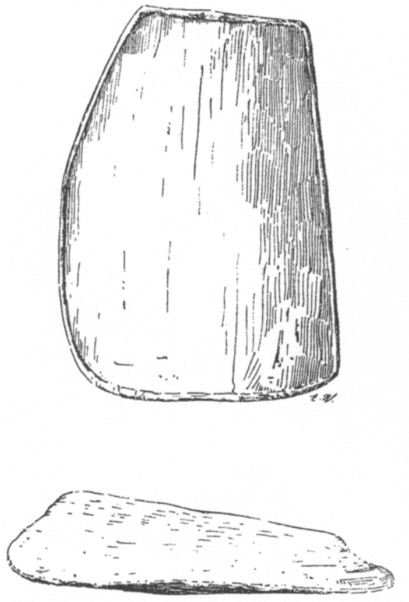


Fig. 53. Taro dish, Ĕlĕmăkŭnaŭr. M 491I. 108 : 78cm.

Spatulas made from pig bones, (*bălŏkŏ́*), and rounded at the lower end, are used for eating coconut. Odd spatulas are carved with various decorations and provided with net plaiting at the upper, thickened end, where a cord is attached. The bone spatula can be fastened to a betel lime calabash or a *kŏlŏmŏ́şŏ* basket with this cord. Furthermore, the spatulas were seen only among men.



Fig. 54. Eating spatula made from pig bone, Ĕnaŭ. He 2114I.

On Tench the boat-shaped wooden dishes seem to be used for carrying foodstuffs, although nothing has been discovered about other eating utensils and bowls being restricted to men.

Meal Times

On St Matthias they eat twice a day, in the morning and after sunset. Men, women, and children eat together. [108]

[101] 1907, p.325

V. Sources of Recreation

Betel

On St Matthias and Emǐr originally, only betel chewing[1] had been familiar as a means of enjoyment, with its three ingredients: the *Areca* nut (*bū́ĕ*, *bū́ē* and, according to Parkinson,[2] *búa*); burnt coral lime *(ṣ̌ăn̆ĭn*, *tšan̆ín*[a]; according to Parkinson *sangina*); and a leaf, (*ū́lŏ*), probably from the breadfruit tree, (*ū́lŭ*). We did not find out whether betel pepper grows on the island.

Areca nuts are carried in pouches with a twisted cord, (*téši*, *tšéši*; according to Parkinson,[3] *tess*), woven on Emǐr, or in net purses (*oā́çĕ*?)[4] which the men carried with them. In greeting, chiefs hand over a mouthful of betel.

The lime is carried in calabashes and scratched out with spatulas.

Betel is not used on Tench. At any rate, no betel instruments were seen, and the natives' teeth were completely white and devoid of any trace of betel.[5] *Areca* palms were not seen there.

Lime Calabashes

The burnt coral lime consumed at the same time as the *Areca* nuts is carried, ready-made, by the men, in containers (*nā́pă*),[6] made from gourds, (*a͡ú́to*, *ŏto*, *ŏt͡áu*).

These lime calabashes, like those of the Admiralty Islands, are oblong, constricted in the middle, and range from 10 cm to 36 cm in length, on average 20–30 cm. The round hole in the upper end is, not uncommonly, closed by a pithy, soft-wood stopper, (*úte*), in the shape of a T. The stopper is held in place by a twisted or plaited cord either fastened to the top of the stopper and then fed along a groove around the top, or passing lengthwise through the stopper and secured below it by a knot. This cord is knotted to the loop of a second cord which is laid in several coils around the thinnest part of the calabash, in such a way that the cord is knotted to the inner coil and continues as separating loops which end in a knot. Instead of the cord, called *b͡áub͡au* (*bŏ́bŏ*, or *bŏ́bŏ*^{u}) from its raw material, a simple [109] leaf strip can be knotted with a loop around the middle of the calabash, or the cord is laid only in a simple coil around the calabash.

Often pendants are fastened to the coil around the calabash: for example, an eating spatula made from pig-bone; a crab's pincer; boar tusks, and a turtle-shell knife; a leaf strip simply knotted together into a ring; a piece of fish skin, (*bĭlikiu kä*); and a cloth which is used for polishing shiny spears, calabashes and the like, and more of such trinkets. Since European contact, small iron nails, a brass ring, big blue and white beads with a softwood peg bored lengthwise strung on behind, and a red metal wheel, have served also as pendants.

Squashed or otherwise holed calabashes are repaired by putting a plate over the damaged area and holding it in place by a fibre net pulled through surrounding holes.

Almost without exception, the calabashes are decorated by branding. Lines, upwardly-concave, whose ends intersect at an acute angle, cover the portion above the cordage. These lines

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[1] When von Hesse-Wartegg (1901, p.565) says that betel was unknown in 1900, it is refuted by von Bennigsen's report on the occurrence of 'lime boxes', (*Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, XI, 1900, p.639).

[2] 1907, p.328

[3] 1907, p.326

[4] Probably the name of the net fibre

[5] Parkinson, 1907, p.342

[6] *Nā́păn* and *nā́pā* were heard also. Parkinson heard *raba* or *gaba*.

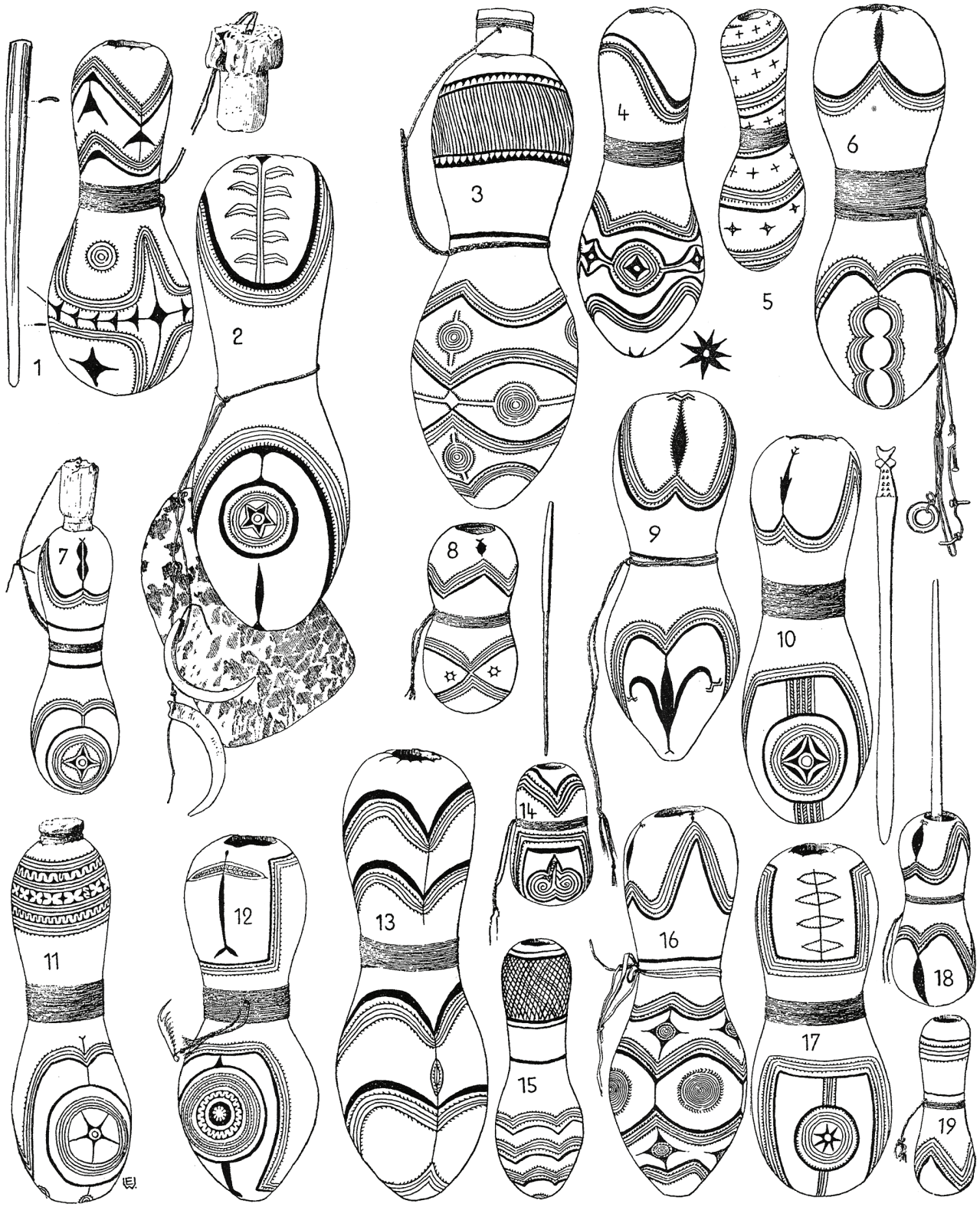


Fig. 55. No. 1, 3—11, 13—19 St. Matthias, No. 2 and 12 Emir, about $^1/_4$ actual size

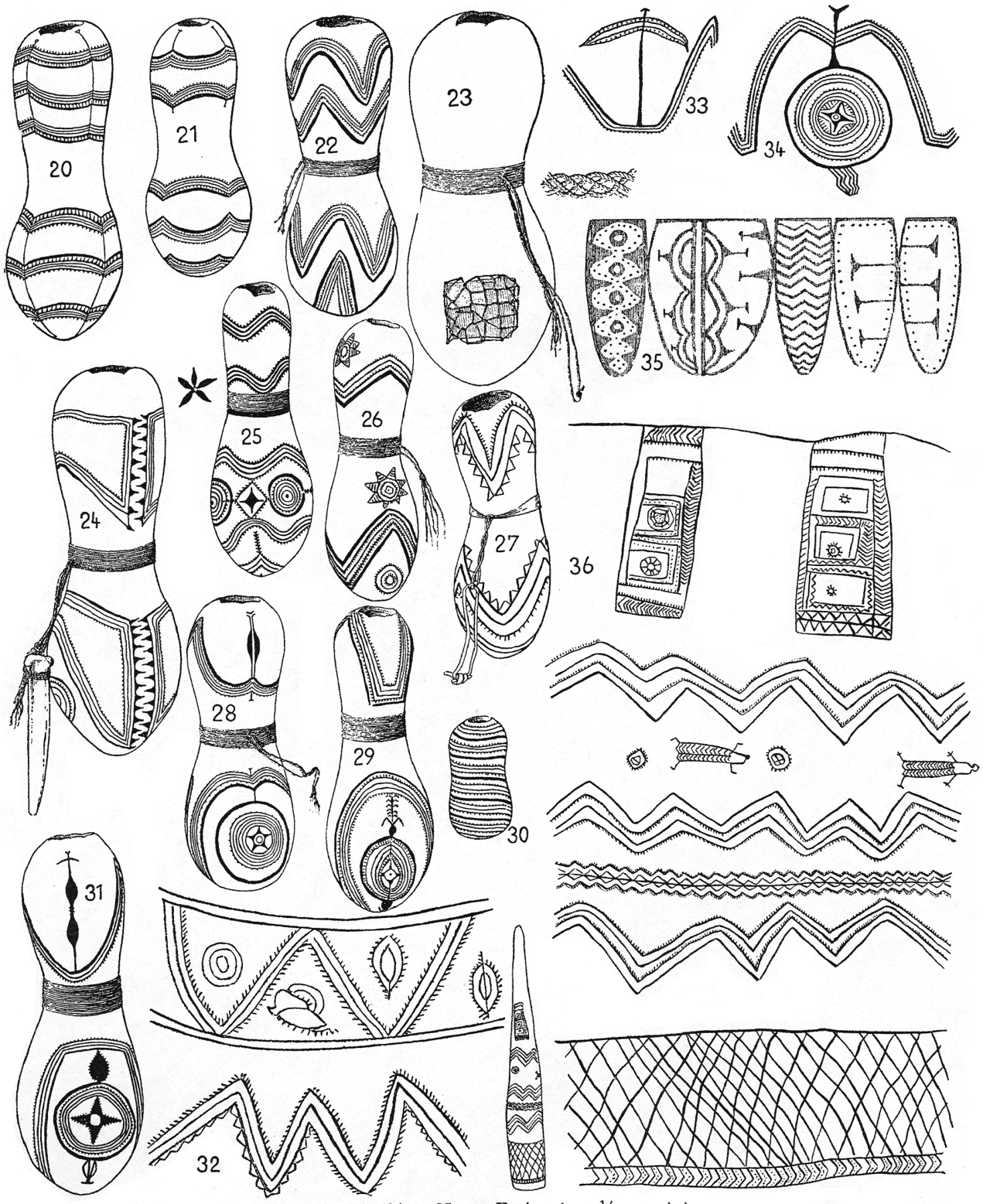


Fig. 55. No. 20—23, 25—36 St. Matthias, No. 24 Emir, about $^1/_4$ actual size

may also change into zigzags and vice versa, that is, with tips pointing downwards. Near the zigzag lines, a thicker line is called *namgatäĕ* or *tăritĭ*, (snake?), and a group of (usually) three zigzag lines bordered by two serrated lines is named *ĭoóăsa͡ĭnĕ* or *kera͡ŭ́ră*, (bird of prey). A more or less stylized fish figure, (*pĭ́pīdŭt* or *kŏkŏarĭ́ke*, *kŏkŏarĭ́ge*), with its tail fin pointing upward often stands on the tops of the arches. These designs continue below the cord wrapping, but for the fish figure they usually appear as images assembled from concentric circles (*kắlắká́lĕ* = curative scars), surrounded by a jagged line; a star-like figure (*úŭtúru*) developed from a circle surrounded by serrations; or combined figures assembled from fish fin drawings (*kalắulắu* or *pănepăne*), such as *siṅako͡ijŭ* (star fish) or *ka͡uwắwe* (butterfly). The curved or zigzag lines on the lower half of calabashes where they assume special shapes, are also called *kŏ́rū* ('stop belong bush'), or *ĭ́nes* (sand worm). Fish fin drawings called *putuṅĭ́ŭko*, are branded onto the upper half of Ĕbŏ́lĭu calabashes, when the fish species of the same name has been caught and eaten.

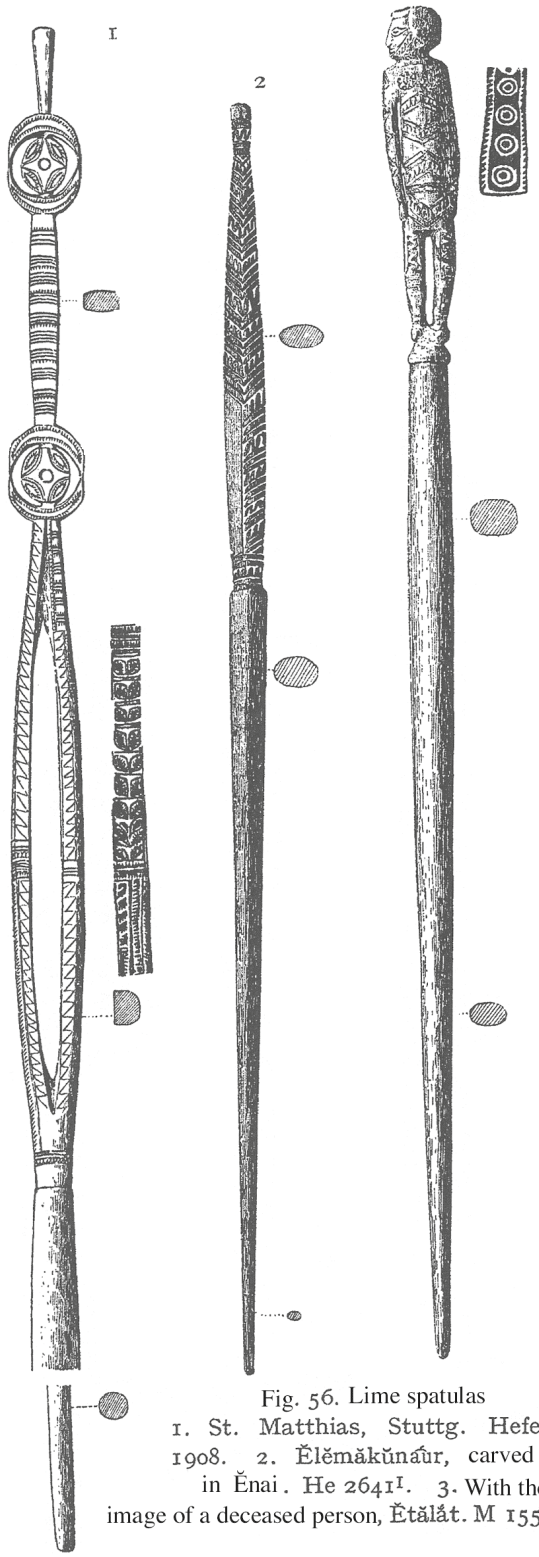


Fig. 56. Lime spatulas
1. St. Matthias, Stuttg. Hefele 1908. 2. Ĕlĕmăkŭnaûr, carved in Ĕnai. He 2641[1]. 3. With the image of a deceased person, Ĕtălăt. M 155[1].

Occasionally, groups of dashes bordered by jagged lines are drawn in spirals around the calabashes, with space for branding on crosses. Parallel or intersecting lines, and representations of people may fill bigger areas, but only on more tubular calabashes with no middle wrapping.

One calabash was decorated in a completely different style, painted reddish-yellow in contrast with the practice elsewhere of using *kārŏ́ū* colour, which dissolves with spittle, [112] This particular calabash was divided by vertical lines into several areas, containing dotted outlines, serrations, semicircles, zigzag lines and figures like fish tails.

Lime spatula

A spatula (*rắmā*, *rắmă*) belongs with the lime calabashes — used for loosening the coral lime and sometimes probably for extracting it as well. In its simplest form it is a flat piece of wood, 20-35 cm long, rounded underneath, with a somewhat thickened and widened handle, which can be somewhat incised at the upper end; it may also be a thin piece of wood rather like a needle, with a rather thicker handle.

Black wood, (*a͡ŭwirắma*?), lime spatulas 45-154 cm long are much more common. They have a smooth, tapering lower end usually circular in cross-section. The richly-carved upper end, occupying a quarter to half the length of the spatula, is shaped like a lancet or the body of a fish with a lancet-shaped or oval cross-section. More rarely, it

may be circular or even rectangular in cross-section, and in exceptional cases even semilunar. It often expands into a thickened or knob-shaped end that may even be pierced by a triangular hole, and strongly resembles a fish tail. It is decorated with deep incisions which are rubbed with lime. This resembles the decoration on spears but is even richer since, because of their width, spatulas offer greater scope for decoration.[7] [113]

The 80–140 cm long dance staves, also called *rə́mā* (*rə́mə̆*), look just like these betel spatulas, so that it is often difficult to distinguish which of the two is the staff. Odd ones are used as both a dance staff and a lime spatula. Others, on the other hand, have only one purpose.

As for the decoration, it is usually clear what the deep, lime-whitened ornamentation is intended to represent. The significance of the raised black areas of the decorated wood comes into question only in the second line. For example, the existence of a black wavy line called *tə́rītī* (= snake?) or *kərakə́ gó͡u* (*kərakə́ gá͡u*) depends on the arrangement of two opposing white jagged lines, (*īšĭṅārə́rə̆*, (*īšĭ-bá͡iō*[8]).

Straight lines are meant to be *ŏəsə́n* or *ōəsə́nə̆* (= bast cord?); angles above one another as *makə̆to ira͡urĕ* (flying fox? owl?) or *pətūkĕká͡upə̆*; rows of dots as *kətumətamaṅai*;[9] semicircles and circles as *kə́lĕkĕláte*.[10] A black oval is called *ăyĕtə́ṅ* (walls); a kidney-shaped figure assembled from two small ovals, *kətūkərə́p* (‘stop long bush’); an arrow-tip figure *pŭšĭnḯu*;[11] a black figure[12] bordered below by a semicircle and above by three white serrations, and likewise an I-shaped white figure with two serrations in the middle, *mənīgó* (‘stop long bush’); a strip of black rhomboids and white triangles, *ălĭnə́s*; a variation, in which the triangles are converted into shark-toothed figures, *kōsārṵ́*; and a band of small ovals and horseshoe-shaped figures, *wṵ́wurke mó̰ʂŭ* (traces of pig’s teeth). Parkinson’s interpretation of the designs as ‘leaf- and flower motifs’[13] therefore, at the most refer to isolated cases, (*pŭšĭnḯu*).

Odd staves have a three-dimensional edge fashioned into serrations, like the serrations on a spear. Fashioning the spatula into a filigree image with two fully-incised discs, is equally uncommon. Also, decorated and plain lime spatulas are found with the end of the uppermost part curving sideways with one edge straight and one convex.

Finally, even the upper part of the staff can undergo three-dimensional transformation, carrying a human figure as a memorial to a dead person. [114]

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[7] Parkinson, 1907, p.332

[8] *īšĭ* = tooth; *ṅa* = possessive suffix?; *rə́rə̆* = *rə́rə̆* = necklace?

[9] *mata* = eye, point

[10] *kə́lĕkə́lĕ* = healed scars

[11] *nḯū* = coconut, coconut palm

[12] Parkinson, 1907, p.328, Fig. 56, No. 10

[13] 1907, p.330

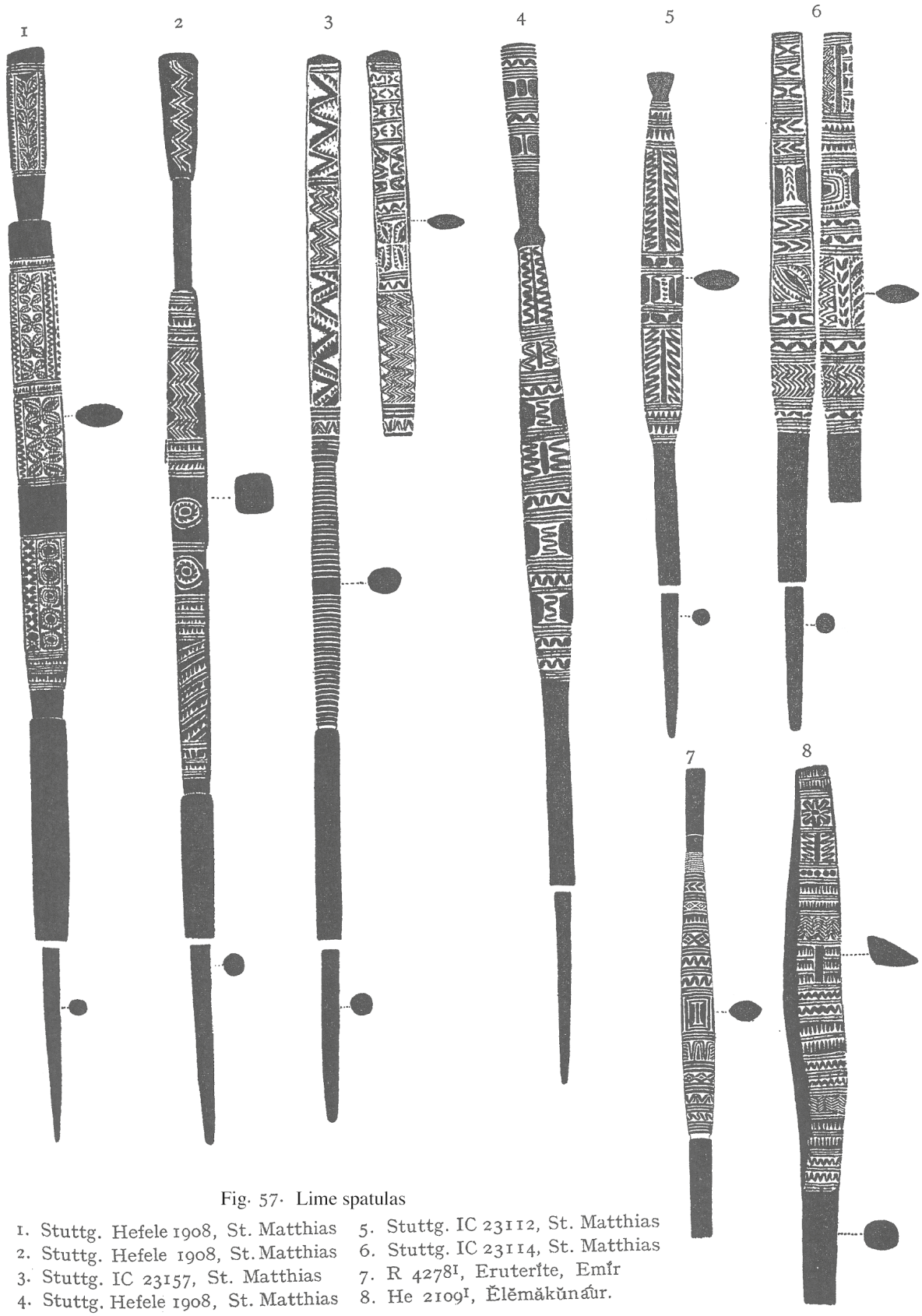


Fig. 57. Lime spatulas

1. Stuttg. Hefele 1908, St. Matthias
2. Stuttg. Hefele 1908, St. Matthias
3. Stuttg. IC 23157, St. Matthias
4. Stuttg. Hefele 1908, St. Matthias
5. Stuttg. IC 23112, St. Matthias
6. Stuttg. IC 23114, St. Matthias
7. R 4278[1], Eruterîte, Emîr
8. He 2109[1], Ĕlĕmăkŭnaûr.

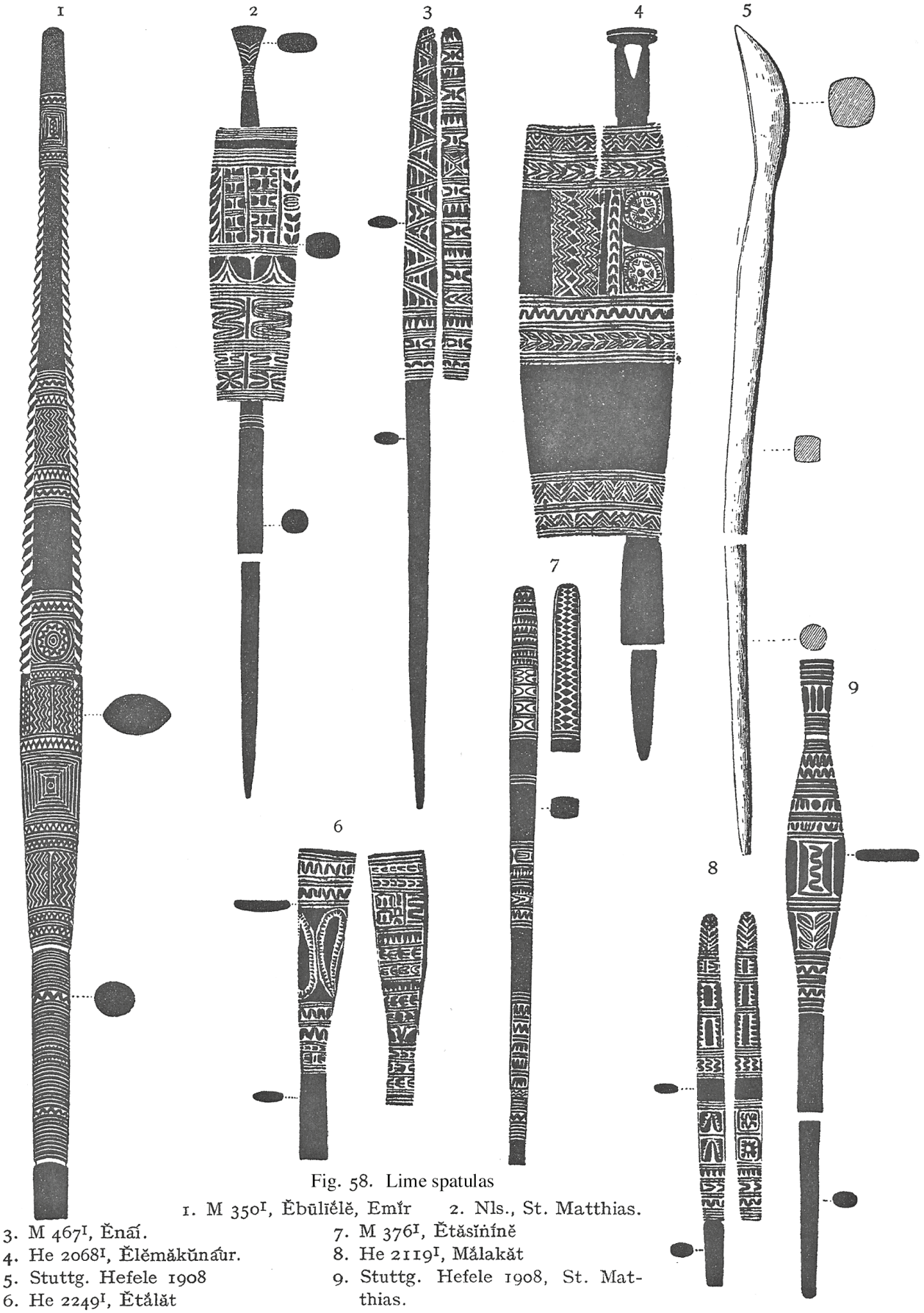


Fig. 58. Lime spatulas

1. M 350[I], Ĕbūlĭĕlĕ, Emĭr
2. Nls., St. Matthias.
3. M 467[I], Ĕnaĭ.
4. He 2068[I], Ĕlĕmăkŭnaûr.
5. Stuttg. Hefele 1908
6. He 2249[I], Ĕtălăt
7. M 376[I], Ĕtăsĭnĭnĕ
8. He 2119[I], Mălakăt
9. Stuttg. Hefele 1908, St. Matthias.

Tobacco

Before contact with white people, the enjoyment of tobacco (*tāpa̍kă*) was unknown. By 1900 tobacco had still not been adopted as an item of trade.[14] By indirect European influence through returning workers, and by direct contact, smoking had become familiar by 1908, although it was still not universally accepted. Its initial entry was through the villages on Emi̍r and the north-eastern part of St Matthias. It appears to have been completely unknown on Tench in 1908. Local smoking material was not found on any of the islands.

VI. Technology

Obsidian Knives

Small quantities of obsidian occur on St Matthias and Emi̍r. The existence of volcanic rocks on either island has remained undetected until now. The obsidian locations, however, disprove the assumption that pieces have washed ashore or been introduced. On St Matthias obsidian is found near Ĕnai̍, Ĕtăsi̍tĕl, and Ĕtălă̍t, primarily at the edge of the bush, while on Emi̍r it occurs at several locations on the beach and in the middle of the bush. Not everyone knows these sources. Their infrequency on Emi̍r is indicated by obsidian being traded from St Matthias to the Emi̍r people. When searching for widely-distributed pieces near Ĕnai̍ they call out constantly, '*Turui̍ păláṅĕ*, *turui̍ păláṅĕ*', which means, 'I am looking for obsidian' or, 'I cannot find obsidian'. They call out something similar on Emi̍r. The regular word for obsidian, *păláṅĕ* (*păláṅă*), on Emi̍r and in Ĕnai̍ is unknown in Ĕtălă̍t.

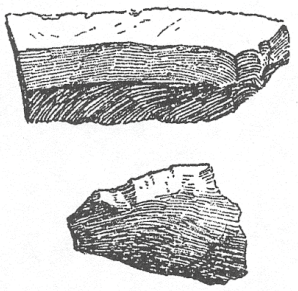


Fig. 59.
Obsidian knife, Ĕnai̍.
He 2261[I] and 2211[I].

The pieces of obsidian are used mainly for cutting scars in the skin and for shaving, but perhaps also for incising spear- and dance stave decorations. They normally use only fragments, 2–4 cm long with one or more sharp edges, but occasionally they use bigger pieces, about 6 cm long, quite solid and knife-like, with two blades. In manufacturing these pieces they obviously recognize and exploit the fracture plane of the obsidian.

Shell Processing

The *Trochus* snail (*mă̍rĕ*, *mă̍rĕ*) occurs quite frequently on all the reefs around St Matthias. Arm rings are made from it, with the same name [117] as the *Trochus* snail. They use rocks to chop off pieces at right angles to the main axis, and polish them with coral limestone.

The method used for making the white *Conus*(?) discs into necklaces could no longer be discovered by 1908. We assume that after knocking off the bottom of the mantle, they bored through using a drill whirled by hand, as in making turtle shell jewellery.

Cutting and polishing would be the only method for producing Tench *Tridacna* axe blades, and the *Tridacna* pounders from St Matthias.

Terebra blades for the axes on St Matthias and Emi̍r are made by cutting off and polishing the shell at its thicker end. A polishing stone (*mă̍nămă̍nă*) is used for polishing (*mă̍nămă̍nă*) the blades.

The *Cypraea* shells used in making penis shells, are provided with a bigger opening by cutting and polishing, enlarging the natural opening and cutting the winding out of the inside

[14] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, XI, 1900, p.639; von Hesse-Wartegg, 1901, p.565

Turtle-Shell Processing

Turtle shell rings are made with a drill, (*a͡ubīpŭ̊tĭl*). This is an instrument about 36 cm long, consisting of a smooth piece of wood split at the end, and a spindle-shaped shell. The shell is clamped into the split end of the wood and firmly secured by tightly-wrapped cord.



Fig. 60. Borer for turtle-shell ear-ring, Ĕnáĭ. M 459I. 36 cm long.

Turtle shell ear discs are cut out using a tool with sharp teeth, probably those of a small species of shark (*siṅará*).

Woodwork

The most important woodwork tool is the shell axe with a knee-shaped handle. On St Matthias and Emĭr the blade, (*ĭĕ́mă*, *ĭắmă*, *ī ắmă*[15]), is made from the shell of the borer (*Terebra* Lam.), with its thicker end cut off obliquely and polished. This produces a semicircular cutting edge. By 1908 the *Terebra* blades of some axes were already being replaced by flat iron blades, (*bắkắç*[a]). We were told in Ĕtălắt that the iron came from a half-burnt-out ship that had been washed up. On Musa͡u, on the other hand, the iron could have originated from earlier visits to the island. The handle (*bŭ́nŏ*) is made from a piece [118] of tree trunk with a branch at an acute angle, so that the branch portion forms the handle while the trunk part holds the blade. The end of the blade holder has a concave rounding for the thinner part of the *Terebra*. Wood and *Terebra* are bound together by a ring, (*úĕ́*), plaited from split rattan; or a simple wrapping (*kălá͡u*) of fibre cords (*ŏắsă*); or wrapping with split rattan. The rattan wrapping is at right angles to the long axis of the blade, and is itself held in place by four perpendicular rattan strips on the outside of the axe. Bigger axes have a conical wooden lining[16] between handle and blade, fastened to the blade by a plaiting of the latter-type, and secured to the handle by a plaited, rattan ring. In the concave part of the handle the lining is allowed to rotate with the blade, and correspondingly the cutting edge can be freely adjusted horizontally, perpendicularly, or obliquely to the handle, according to need. As the simpler attachment does not permit such rotation, special small axes with transverse flat iron blades are used on Musa͡u for making spears. Handle length varies between 25 and 70 cm according to axe type.

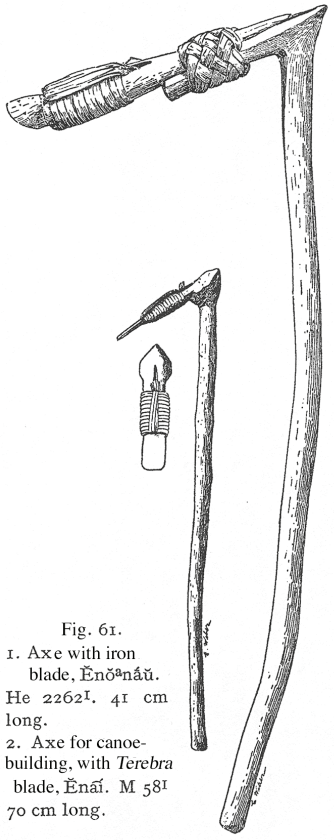


Fig. 61.
1. Axe with iron blade, Ĕnŏ[a]năŭ. He 2262I. 41 cm long.
2. Axe for canoe-building, with *Terebra* blade, Ĕnáĭ. M 58I 70 cm long.

On Tench the axe blade consists of a polished piece of *Tridacna* that broadens outwards towards the poorly-accentuated cutting edge. It is oval or almost semicircular in cross-section, diminishing towards the cutting edge near which it may even approach half-moon shape. A plaited ring connects the blade with the handle, which is knee-shaped as on St Matthias and Emĭr. When Parkinson visited Tench, he came across an iron nail that had been shaped into a narrow cutting edge, as an axe blade.[17] By 1913 only carpenter's plane iron appears to have been seen as blades.[18]

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[15] Parkinson, (1907, p.327) gives *iama* as the name of the axe.
[16] Parkinson, 1907, p.327
[17] 1907, p.344
[18] *Amtsblatt*, V, 1913, p.248

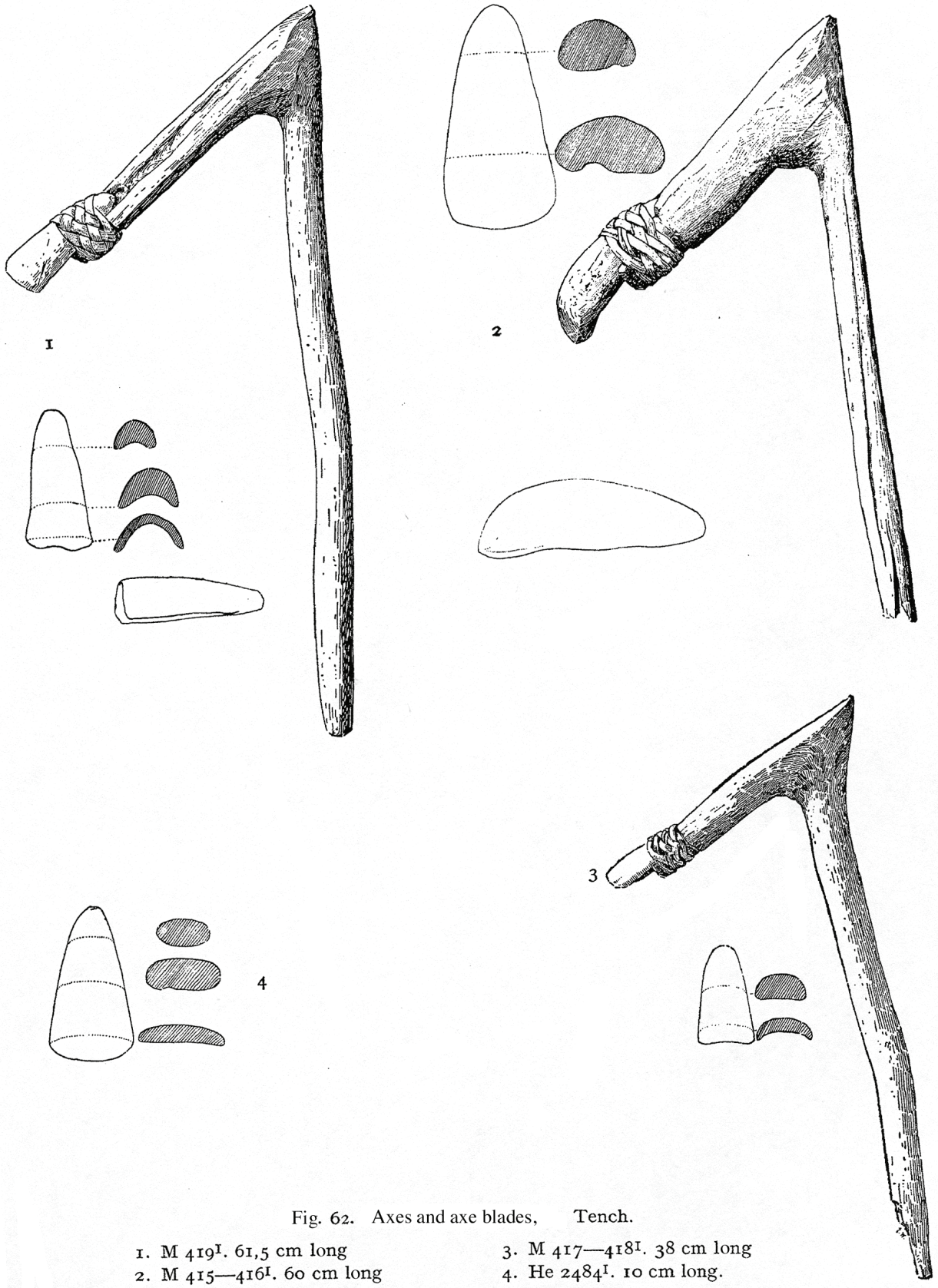


Fig. 62. Axes and axe blades, Tench.

1. M 419[1]. 61,5 cm long
2. M 415—416[1]. 60 cm long
3. M 417—418[1]. 38 cm long
4. He 2484[1]. 10 cm long.

[120] Big axes are used for roughly shaping and hollowing-out canoes, wooden bowls and the like. Finer work is probably carried out with smaller axes on St Matthias and Emi̇r. At any rate, spears are shaped and smoothed with smaller axes. For finer polishing of their spears they use boars' tusks (*īšĭ mŏ̱ṣŭ, ĭtṣmŏ̱ṣŭ*), using their concave surface to work on the undecorated middle section of the spear. In the end, prolonged contact between the wood and the hands from carrying the spear and handling other wooden implements contributes a lot to its polished surface. Pieces of wood are given a round cross-section by scraping and smoothing with a small shell.

Bigger pieces of wood, if not driftwood, are obtained by setting a fire around big trees. This happens when clearing the bush for gardens.

Wooden bowls, canoes, and drums are hewn from the trunks in such a way that the grain runs lengthwise. Correspondingly, the side walls are somewhat thicker than the long walls. In the sides of round wooden bowls the grain may run upwards from below, with the bottom rather thicker.

Decorations are chiselled into the wood using obsidian (?) or other sharp tools. To enable the decorations to stand out more clearly on canoes, spears, lime spatulas, and dance staves, they are rubbed over with coral lime colouring, (*mămămămă*), with a little water added. Wood branding is only a pastime. It is done in the same way as decorating calabashes. Rarely do they sketch the design beforehand.

For wood boring they probably use sea shells broken off or ground down at the wider end. These are used in making coconut flasks.

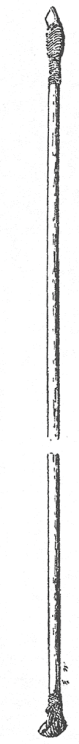


Fig.64. Borer for coconut flasks, Pålakaŭ M 174I. 55 cm long.

Manufacture of Coconut Flasks

Flasks, (*atḗo*, *ătḗū*[19]), made from coconut shells are used for storing drinking water, and hang in nets, (*kálai̯*, *kălai̯ṅătḗō*, *bá̯ubau̯*, *bá̯ubau̯ atéo*). The net is made from plaited coconut fibre cord, (*bŏ́bŏ*^{u}, *bŏ́bŏ*, *bá̯ubau̯*, *wá̯uwau̯*). Two of the cords pass upwards and join in a knot. Usually, two flasks and their nets are strung up together.

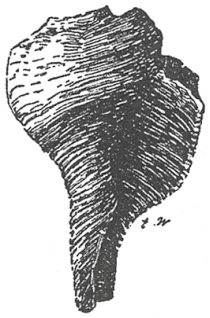


Fig. 63. Shell used for boring out coconuts Ĕnā́i̯. He 2112I

First of all, the outer husk and the fibres beneath are removed from the coconut. Then the nut itself is cleaned. One of the three sprout holes is bored out with a marine snail shell, (*a̯ijelíṅ atéo*), whose tip has been removed. The coconut milk is drunk. They take care when [121] boring that the edge and walls are kept nice and clean. Then they take a special tool, (*a̯ijĕlŏălŏ*[20]), consisting of a little stick, (*īta̯u*), of *īta̯u* wood, (*Cordia subcordata*?) or *kŭr* wood. One end carries a sharp, orange-coloured piece of the shell *mŭe äriríp* found in Ĕná̯i̯, fastened on with *bŏ́bŏ*^{u} fibres. A small, ribbed, white shell (*silíp*) is fastened to the other end of the little stick using the same binding material, just like a shell on the coconut scraper; it looks like a spoon.

[19] According to Parkinson, 1907, p.325: *teo*.

[20] Müller writes, *ai-yĕ-lŏ́ălŏ*; Hellwig, *ajéllo álŏ*.



Woman weaving, Emir phot. Vogel



Group of girls phot. Vogel



Woman weaving, Emir phot. Vogel



Coconut palms bearing *tabu* signs, Tench phot. Fülleborn

Firstly, as much flesh is possible is excavated from the coconut using the *silíp* end. Then the little stick is turned around, and the *mű̆e äriríp* end scrapes off the tougher flesh layer just inside the shell. Then both ends of the stick are used alternately. The shavings are often knocked off and discarded, since they are mixed with coconut shell and are unpalatable. Areas right beside the bored hole can be removed fairly cleanly only after much effort and patience. Bent sticks, which would be much more suitable for this than straight sticks, are not common.

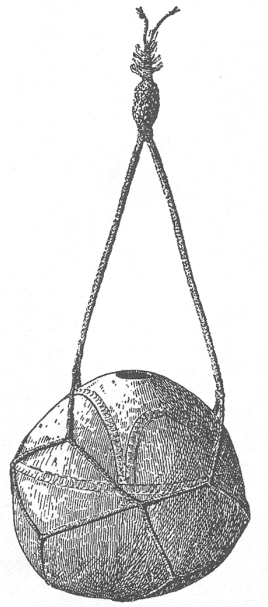


Fig. 65. Carved coconut water flask with hanging net. Emĭr. He 2440[1].

Completion of the scraping is signalled with an '*aṅ k͡au nă̆lă̆*'; then the finished flask is put into its net and closed by a stopper, (*rorŏ́ṅa*), consisting of a pouch-like twisted leaf, (likewise called *rorŏ́ṅa*).

An incised decoration is added to the upper half of the odd coconut flask on Emĭr. The decoration consists of a line with semicircles on it, running around the nut. These decorative lines in turn are composed of closely-packed curves or serrations.

A vessel in the Thurnwald[21] collection, allegedly from St Matthias, is totally different from all the other coconut vessels. It is hemispherical, with two opposing, crouching human figures with raised arms standing out from the surface of the shell. These figures are carved out of the shell in one piece [122]. The whole thing is decorated with rows of incised triangles. Most likely, this specimen was imported from New Britain.

Calabash Production

On St Matthias and Emĭr, betel lime containers, (*nắpă̆*), and penis covers are made from the fruit (*ŏt͡au*, *ŏto*, *a͡uto*) of *Lagenaria vulgaris*. The cucurbits are collected in the bush, where they are said to grow wild, at least in the Mắlakă̆t area. Foraged and cultivated cucurbits are collected in Ĕnă͡i, likewise from the Mắlakă̆t area. The outer shell is scraped off with a knife (*ra͡utū*), of a 'bamboo type of wood'. Then a favorite piece of wood of suitable roundness and thickness is used to bore a hole at the location of the handle, to approximately the middle of the cucurbit. The cucurbit contents are freed from the inside walls using the same piece of wood, and removed; boring deeper allows the rest of the flesh to be removed very carefully, working patiently. The calabash is then dried in the sun for two days, its light-green colour turning pale yellow.

Betel calabashes are always decorated by branding, penis covers only rarely. Only one lime calabash, from Ĕnă͡i, showed painting, using *kārŏ́ū* dye put on with spittle.

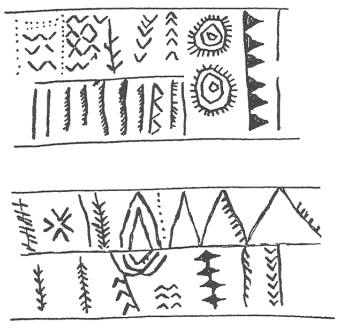


Fig. 66. Brand pattern on a pair of ear enlargers, Ĕnă͡i. He 2232[1], 2 and 1.

Branding

When putting patterns on calabashes, especially betel lime calabashes, they firstly sketch out the most important lines of the desired pattern with a suitable little piece of twig, whose tip has been allowed to turn to charcoal over a small fire. This can be done only with a very fresh piece of charcoal. Many branders bypass sketching completely, and work only in freehand. The actual branding is done with a little piece of wood, 10 cm long, that is carved from the bark of the *a͡iĭṅitáli* (*a͡iṅitáli*) tree with a piece of

[21] Berlin Museum VI 29422

shell, and sharpened at both ends. The points are made red hot, alternately, in the fire. They trace the sketch, burning the lines into the calabash, while the shorter, less important lines are filled-in freehand. The branding stick is kept glowing effectively by gentle blowing. After the initial branding [123] the pattern is still fairly pale, but already resistant to moisture. Repetition of the branding is necessary to darken the pattern.

Pandanus leaves and pieces of wood are decorated with branding in the same way as calabashes. The pandanus leaves are sometimes sewn together as rain mats, but sometimes made only into leaves for blowing on, or for amusement, or perhaps form part of a woman's skirt. Branded pieces of wood serve no practical purpose — the branding is done only as a pastime.

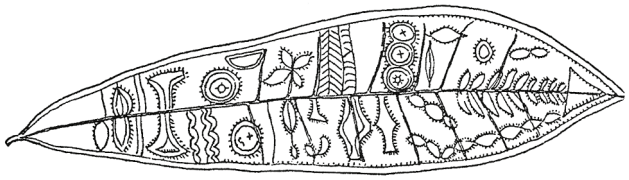


Fig. 67 A branded leaf, Emŕr. R 4276I.

Rope-making

The fibres of *ắŭ*, *sūsűk*, *kalamáke*, *lắlā*, *bőbŏ*^{u} (*bőbŏ*, *bâ͡ubâ͡u*, *wâ͡uwâ͡u*), and of creeper, are used as raw material for string, cord, and rope. The bark fibre, *ắŭ*, and creeper fibre are made into pig nets and climbing rope for big trees. *Lắlā* and *kalamáke*, and occasionally the banana fibre, *sūsűk*, and coconut fibre *bőbŏ*^{u}, are the raw material for fishing nets. In addition, *bőbŏ*^{u} is used for tying up canoes, wrapping round spears, and as nets for coconut flasks. *Sūsűk* string is used as sewing and weaving material.

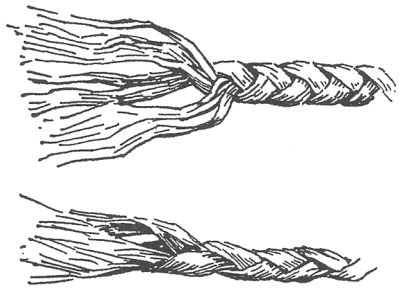


Fig. 68. Plaited rope, Tench. He 4273I and 2469I. ½ actual size

The fibres are rolled over the thigh with the palm of the hand, to make string. For stronger cord, two strings are twisted together. Greater strength is achieved by splicing the strings like plaits. This is done with coconut flask netting, pig nets, climbing ropes, and all the stronger rope.

String- and rope-making on Tench are the same as on St Matthias and Emŕr. There, thick ropes are plaited from bark fibre; on the other hand, hair bands, fishing line etc., are made by twisting two thin cords together.

Net-making

Nets are used in various forms for fishing, catching pigs, for suspending coconut flasks and the like, and for carrying loads. Only plant fibres are used as net material. Fibres of *kalamáke* and *lắlā*, the latter in three different [124] strengths, are processed particularly commonly into cordage (*běńūbéńě*, *běńūbéń*, *běńūbắně*, *ŏắsă běńūbéńě*, *ŏĭắně*) for fishing nets. *Sūsűk* and *bőbŏ*^{u} fibres are used for this purpose too. Pig nets consist of plaited ropes (*oăsa kămắtě*), of bark fibre (*ắŭ*), or a creeper. Plaited carrying bags (*kămắtě* ?[22]) are made probably from the same material as fishing nets. The raw material for coconut flask nets, (*kălâ͡iń̂ătē͡ō*), is *bőbŏ*^{u} (*bâ͡ubâ͡u*, *wâ͡uwâ͡u*). Cords of fibres used for net making are often also designated as *oasa*.

[22] According to Parkinson, 1907, p.326, *zeri*. Elsewhere, pig-catching nets and several fishing nets were designated by *kămắtě*.

Tools for net making are: the net needle (*a͡iʂīt̆ĕlĕ*[23]) and little mesh boards. The net needles are made of wood, on average 25–60 cm long. However, on Tench there are bigger needles as well, about 90 cm long. In cross-section the needles are usually circular at mid-shaft, but may also be rectangular, and even have a slightly-raised marginal ledge, giving an H-shaped cross section. Net needles of the latter type were seen only on Tench. Their middle sections were perforated at two points, into oblong rectangular holes. The smooth round midsection is the sole common form on St Matthias. The ends of the net needles are fashioned into tongue- or lyre-shapes, with a slit for winding or unwinding the [125] string. The protectors of the weaving instruments match the net needles completely, both in form and name.

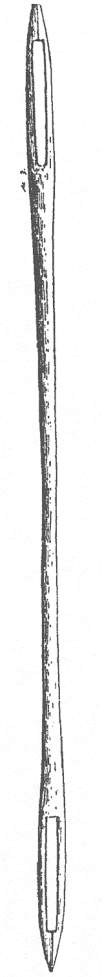


Fig. 69. Net needle, St. Matthias. 1032I.

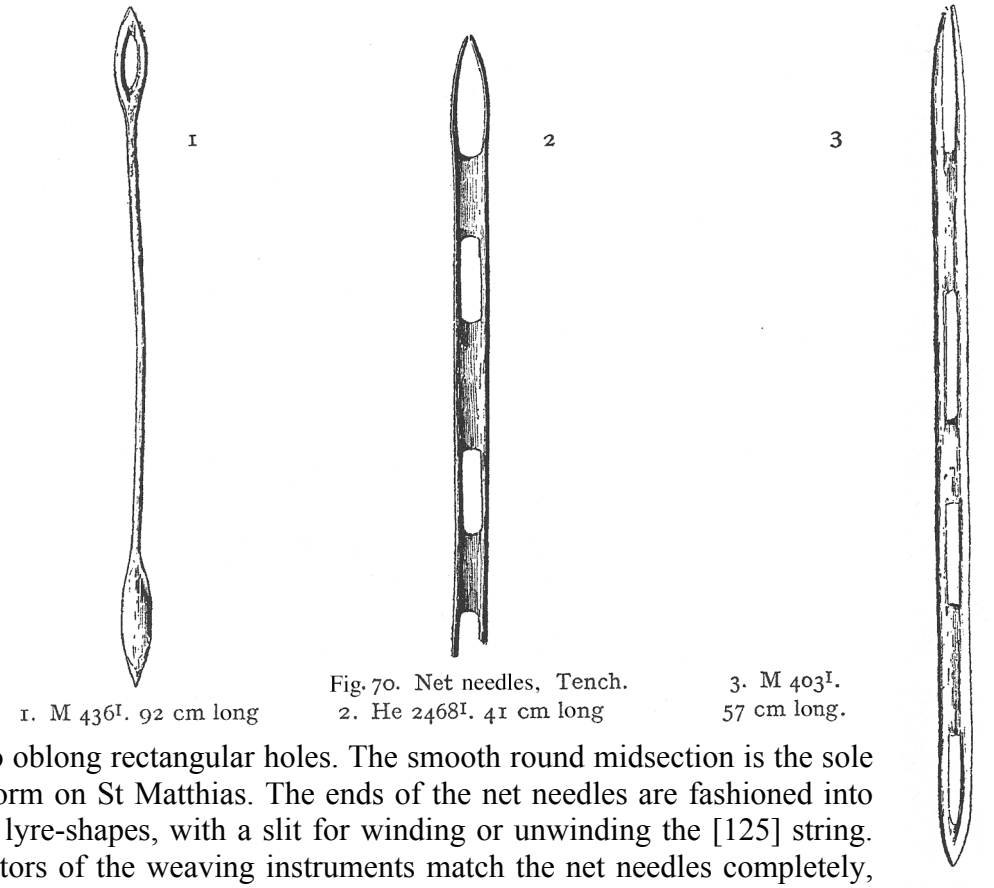


Fig. 70. Net needles, Tench.
1. M 436I. 92 cm long
2. He 2468I. 41 cm long
3. M 403I. 57 cm long.

The little mesh boards consist of a piece of turtle shell about 7 cm long and 2 – 2½ cm wide, with rounded ends and a small hole. Parkinson[24] writes also of smooth little wooden boards. They are used to achieve an even size of the individual meshes. The little boards are changed to suit the mesh size required. The meshes themselves are called *matắṅa saṅa͡ulu*.

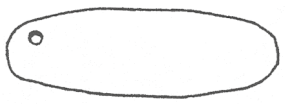


Fig. 71. Mesh board, Ĕnŏ[a]-nă̆ŭ. He 2011I. 7 cm long.

By far the most nets have rhomboid-shaped mesh, and knots (*bătu̇́nŏ* ?) of the kind known as a simple reef knot by seafarers. A single string is looped in such a way that the string crosses over itself. Then the second string is threaded through the loop, over the crossing point so that it lies in front of it, and is then taken round behind one free end of the first string and back through the loop. Then the four ends of the strings are pulled tight and the knot is complete.

[23] According to Parkinson, *aisiel*.
[24] 1907, p.326

When a new piece is knotted on to an old net, the location of the knot is called *a͡ĭnanaĭ͡li*.

The practice of threading pairs of intertwined horizontal strings around vertical twisted strings, thereby enclosing the chain strings, is not common.

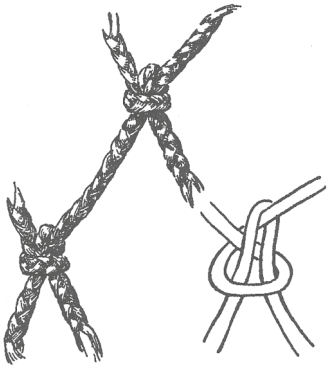


Fig. 72. Knots of a pig net, (He 2454I), Ĕnăĭ.

The hanging nets for coconut flasks are made from plaited cords. The knots are not tied off, but the individual strings of two cords are interwoven at their cross-over points.

Net making is men's work. Only coconut flask nets are made by both men and women.

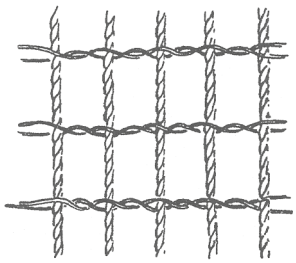


Fig. 73. Part of a fishing net, (M 49I), Pălakaû.

Sewing

Strings of the bast of banana fibre (*sūsŭ́k*) are used as sewing thread. Needles, (*rāŭ́m*), are made from a long thin bird bone which, when freed from the joint, is tapered on one side, with a hole at the other end, not far [126] from the cut surface. The string is pushed through the hole and pulled out of the needle through the end of the hollow bone. The string has to be bent over when sewing. They sew woven items, joining them together by a simple stitch (*a͡ĭs̆a͡ĭ́kī*), and strips of pandanus leaf, which are joined together to make rain mats (*ĭ́lă*). In making rain mats several strips of pandanus leaf (*ŭrŭ tĭ́va͡ĭ*; *ŭrŭkúlŭ*?) of the same width are sewn together by tacking stitches. Horizontal pandanus leaves are then firmly sewn over and under these, so that they are secured to its upper edge by tacking stitches while the lower edge of each leaf strip overlies the sewing position of the upper edge of the leaf below. A cord is firmly over-stitched to the surface and underside of both edges of the leaf layers, at right angles to the horizontal leaves. The upper and lower horizontal edges are secured with cross stitches or zigzag stitching. In this way a jagged leaf strip can be sewn so that its serrations appear on the far side of the sewing.

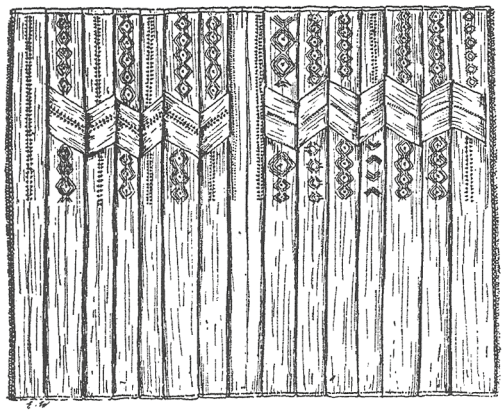


Fig. 74. Rain mat, Ĕlĕmăkŭnaûr. M 445I. 40 : 50—52 cm.

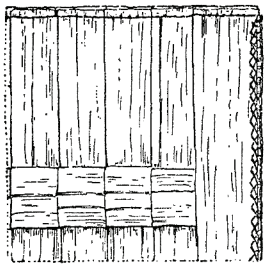


Fig. 75. Part of a rain mat, Ĕkăléŭ. He 2280I.



Fig. 76. Needle, Ĕlŏáŭa. M 483I. 9.5 cm long.

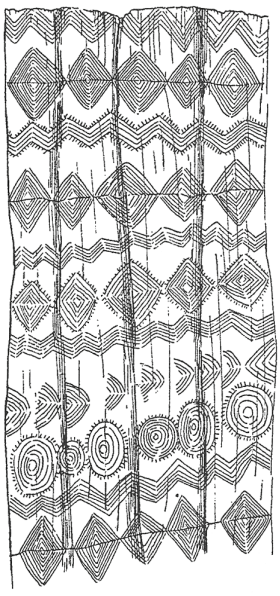


Fig. 77. Pandanus leaf with incised patterns, Ĕnăĭ. He 2078.

Sewing itself is called *mătāńĕ* or *mătaké*, which probably corresponds with our word 'stitch', since *mata* has the sense of 'point, stitch' and the like. For decorating rain [127] mats, further leaves can be sewn on perpendicularly to the horizontal leaf strips. As for sewing horizontal strips on the

perpendicular, it is done on the horizontal strips in such a way that their stitches are concealed by the latter, and the decorative strips arch behind the latter at each lower edge of a horizontal strip. These decorative strips can also be transformed into zigzag strips (*makŏti*, *ärấură*) by alternating bends to left and right. They always run over only one piece, never over the full length of the rain mat. Branding or a scratched pattern can form the rest of the rain mat's decoration. Finally, the mat is folded vertically in the middle, and now the two adjoining halves of the upper edge can be sewn together. However, in a lot of mats this is not done.

On Tench we found only pandanus leaves stuck together, in total 9-10 cm wide and 13½ cm high. They would probably be made into a bag.

Plaiting

Basket work, *kắkă* (*kắkă*) and *kắrŭ* (*gắrŭ*) — taro baskets, baskets for *t͡au* fruit, and *nắbīĕ* mats are plaited from coconut palm fronds. Plaiting of the basket begins at the upper edge, and correspondingly at the rim of mats and bowl-shaped baskets. The leaf stems form the firm edge of the plaiting, and below them their fronds are plaited diagonally, crossing one another at right angles. The rule is to plait in such a way that one strip of a group always jumps over just one strip of the other group, and then in turn is crossed by the following strip of that group. However, two strips may be jumped in the case of taro baskets. To construct the bottom of a cylindrical basket of the *kắrŭ* type, the ends of the leaf strips which meet there from all sides are threaded further through the plaited piece that they intercept. This can continue until the ends are led upwards again to just below the rim on the opposite side of the basket, where they are threaded through the plait mesh on [128] the outside of the basket then shredded, so that a fibrous rim runs round the basket in a decorative fringe. The pieces of leaf stem forming the upper rim are fastened together by knotted cords at various points or by a continuous cord of creeper running in a spiral around the stems. In basket bowls of the *kắkă* type, two at the most are joined into short pieces of stem by twisting around each other. Elsewhere there is a gap between the stems which, for the most part, are in fours. Once the shape of the basket has been plaited, the free ends of the plaited strips are split, and several of the finer strips thus formed are plaited either over the stems or all into a band, which is plaited over and under the fronds arising from the stems, below. These plaited bands may also be made into handles on opposite sides. Other handles are made from separate pieces, so that the plaited-over handle is attached to the stems of the rim only loosely by its two eyelet ends. The remaining ends of fronds and ribs may be united into tags rising symmetrically in pairs or fours around the rim of the taro basket simply by joining them together; or two such ends may be made into a plaited handle over the middle of the bowl.

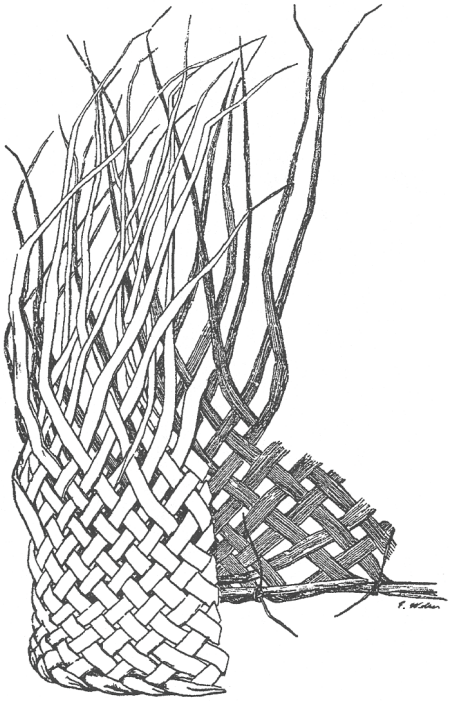


Fig. 78. Coconut palm frond basket in progress, Ĕnaĭ. He 2343[I], 2.

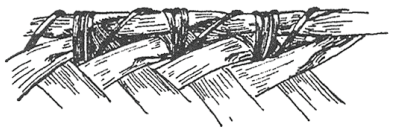


Fig. 79. Rim of a kắrŭ (M 34[I]), Ĕlŏắŭa.

The height and diameter of the *kắrŭ* are 18–37 cm and 10–35 cm respectively; for the *kắkă*, about 12 cm and 55 cm respectively; and for taro baskets, 9–10 cm and 20–40 cm respectively. Men plait only the *kắrŭ*, women plait only the *kắkă*, while both sexes plait the *nắbīĕ*.

Little round baskets, 10 cm high and 11 cm in diameter, made from finer leaf material, with a doubled upper rim where the plaited strips run both perpendicularly and parallel with the rim, crossing over one another individually, are fairly uncommon.

Baskets of the *kŏlŏmŏ́ṣŏ* (*kŏlumóṣ*) type are plaited from the *amắsa* creeper. The rim is reinforced and provided with a cord handle. The plaiting fibres form three groups: one horizontal; a second oblique, forming an angle of 65° with the first, and overlying it without being plaited into it; and a third running spirally around the horizontally-plaited fibres, each winding enclosing one plaited fibre each of the first and second groups. [129] These little baskets are very tightly woven. Parkinson[25] alludes to a similar technique in the Admiralty Islands and among the Baining. The height of the *kŏlŏmŏ́ṣŏ* is 17–30 cm, and its diameter 11–28 cm. Its manufacture is women's work.

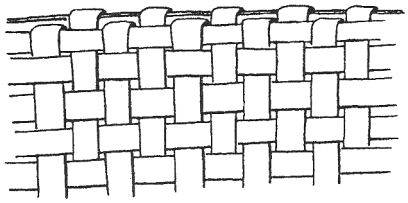


Fig. 80.
Plaiting style of a basket, Ĕnaĭ. M 457[1].

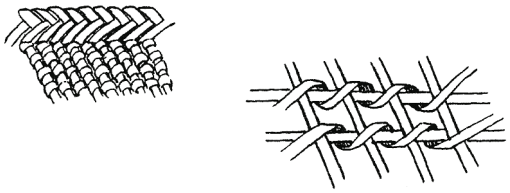


Fig. 81.
Plaiting style of a kŏlŏmŏṣŏ (M 42[1]), Pálakaŭ.

Plaiting of baskets of the *mâuliŏ́lĭ* type, consisting of tubes (rattan?) or creeper bark is widespread. This has one horizontal and one oblique group of plaited fibres, as with the *kŏlŏmŏ́ṣŏ*, but in addition it has a second oblique group, which runs diagonally to the other. The fibres of the three groups cross under and over one another alternately, giving rise to a 'cane chair weave'. These little baskets are 19–23 cm high with a diameter of 14–16 cm. They are made in Ĕlĕmăkŭnấur, Ĕnấĭ, Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl, and Ĕtălắt.

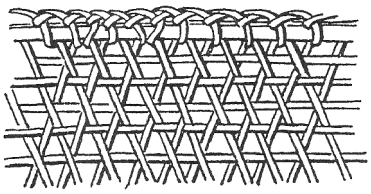


Fig. 82. Plaiting style of a maŭliŏ́lĭ (He 2148[1]), Ĕtăsítĕl.

Intruding among these local plaiting styles is the style of the pouch basket, (*lắka*), based on the New Britain model, made from a single coconut palm leaf stem with two rows of fronds, and fashioned into a pouch about 28 cm wide by the fronds simply crossing over and under. The long, surplus ends of the fronds, all on one side and not required in the actual pouch, are plaited into a tag and taken back, as a handle, to the upper end of the stem, which forms the other side of the pouch. In 1908 this type of basket was found only on Emĭ́r, where it was regarded as foreign and novel, an innovation from 'Kokopo' (Herbertshöhe).

Plaited belts (*ấirĭ*, *o̲lī*) and neck bands are made from black bast (*tābắlă*, *tāvắlă*). Each strip from one group crosses over two from the other group every time. Both groups run diagonally to the edge and cross each other at right angles. Patterns, consisting mainly of triangles and stripes, are put on (?) with yellow bast (*ŭ̲rŭn ấi*) in such a way that the yellow stripes completely cover the black in places. The yellow stripes do not appear on the reverse side.

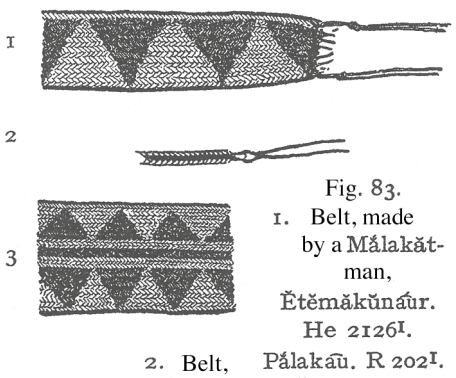


Fig. 83.
1. Belt, made by a Mălakăt-man, Ĕtĕmăkŭnaŭr. He 2126[1].
2. Belt, Pălakaŭ. R 202[1].
3. Armband, Ĕnaĭ. F. 1028[1].

Thicker cords or strings are plaited after the style of a tag.

On Tench round baskets about 35 cm high and 15–22 cm wide are made from coconut palm fronds after the style of the *kắrŭ̲*, and may have a double band passing through the plaiting below the rim of the basket, as a handle. [130] Also made on Tench are little baskets 10 cm high and 11 cm in diameter with horizontal and

[25] 1907, p.326

vertical plaited strips. However, these differ from the similar style of little basket on St Matthias due to their rectangular bottom.

Mats corresponding with the *nā́bī*, are made on Tench for wall cladding, as on St Matthias and Emı̄r, using the simple 'frond' technique.

A 'fish trap' (?) obtained on Tench in 1908 consists of tubular material, and is 15 cm high with a diameter of 20 cm. Vertical fibres cross under and over horizontal plaited strips in a regular fashion, and the upper ends of the vertical strips are fastened together into a 20 cm long tuft by two wrap-arounds.

Torches are plaited on Tench from a coconut palm leaf stem, feathered on both sides. The fronds of each side are plaited in simple cross-over style right to the top of the stem, then the ends of the right-side fronds are carried to the left and those on the left are carried to the right, and they are plaited diagonally with the same technique, bent round at the edge and the extremities are pushed under the ready-made crossovers.

Cord- and string plaiting appears as tags on Tench, just as on St Matthias and Emı̄r.

Comb-making

Decorative combs (*a͡ìsı́lĕ*) are made from little wooden sticks, (*lā́ŋga͡u*), and fine-plaited fibres. The wooden sticks are laid side by side and held in place by two little horizontal sticks, one bound firmly on top, and the other beneath. These little wooden sticks are movable, but are situated usually at the position which later forms the edge of the decorative plaiting opposite the teeth. The little sticks are tied together provisionally by fibres at roughly the middle of the stick on top, and twice at its upper end.

To make a comb with a curve over the decorative piece, (Type 8), they provisionally tie on three parallel little sticks, three times longer than the others. This must be done at several points, because the little sticks have to be bent later into the shape of a horseshoe. These long sticks are then laid alongside the shorter ones and tied together temporarily, by pushing the horizontal sticks over the three long sticks and placing a cord around all the long and short sticks, as though plaiting. At this location the plaiting of the decorative piece begins. The ends of the long straight sticks are then bent in such a way that the sticks are curved like a horseshoe, with the ends coming to lie near the short stick, so that it faces the beginning of the [131] long stick. The end bent around is plaited outwards from the middle section, and the plaiting is then continued over the beginning and end of the long stick and the middle section, until the decorative part of the comb is plaited from the tooth border to about halfway up. Then they plait over the middle and side sections, between the two upper temporary bindings of the middle stick. Next the side parts are plaited, omitting the middle piece between the already plaited positions; and then the portion of the long stick rising like a horse shoe over the section already plaited. The end of the plaiting thread can be left dangling, fringed out like a tassel, for decoration. Finally, the remaining middle of the short stick is given a special plaited decoration, filigreed in places.

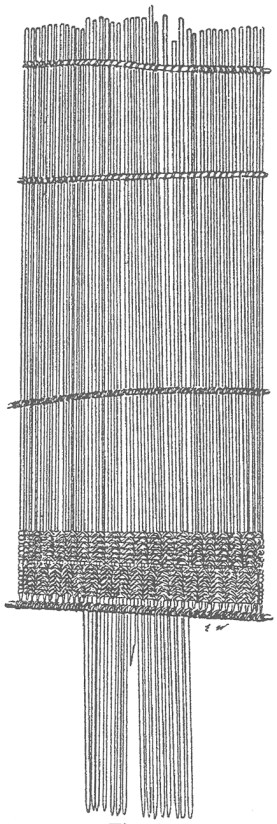


Fig. 84.
Decorative comb in progress, Stuttgart IC 60913. 43 cm long.

The plaited section is whitened with lime, and painted red or black at various points. They also paint the portions of the sticks appearing through the decorative plaiting, and their upper ends.

The stick ends poking out beneath the decorative piece are

cut to a suitable length and tapered. Occasionally the ends of sticks poking out of the frame are left sharp, with every second stick of the middle section shortened; or every second stick of the side- or middle section may be shortened. Occasionally they even cut off every second stick flush beneath the plaiting.

Weaving

Obtaining weaving material

The types of weaving called *kălĺīū* and *baì̯išī* are produced from a fibrous material called *sūsŭ́k* (*sŭsŭ́k*, *šušuk*, and, according to Schoede,[26] *zū-zŭk*). As Danneil[27] recognized, it comes from a species of banana, (*kălabŭ́ĕ*). The women pull the outermost, unusable layer off its shiny stem, followed by the bast beneath. They chew it to make it pliable, and then roll the separated fibres into threads between the palm of their hands and their thighs. Reports of the use of coconut fibres to make red thread, or [132] fibres from the outer layer of pandanus root, are based on error. In actual fact, they process exclusively banana fibres, for both types of weaving in warp and weft.

The material for the *ūrŭṅ ārắṅ* type of weaving is pandanus leaves, which are also called *ūrŭṅ ārắṅ* or *sūsŭ́k*. These are polished in sunlight by the women before being shredded into fibres with a piece of turtle shell. However, since the pandanus leaves come to the loom only partially stripped, 'stripping' probably means removal of the edges of the leaves. Stripping of the leaves stretched on the loom is done with a bamboo stick, (*aì̯rĺ́rĭ*), during the weaving process.

Dyeing the weaving material

White banana bast threads are called *mārā*, red banana bast fibres are *kārṓū*, and black banana bast fibres are *ṅắṅắšī*. For red, they use a dye called *tálo*, which consists of red earth, (*gṓša tálo*), found abundantly in the bush at Etawṓka, between Emagắn and Mắlakăt. Another red dye, (*kārṓū*, *kărà̯u*, *kăro*), comes from the chewed root of the *kărà̯u* (*kăro*) tree on St Matthias, and is traded from Ĕlĕmăkŭnà̯ur to Emĺ́r, where the tree does not occur in sufficient numbers. Finished cloth is also painted with this dye. Black dye is produced on St Matthias and Emĺ́r from the leaf sap of a species of creeper, (*naṅắsa*), the sap being obtained by chewing the leaves. Another black dye is obtained on Emĺ́r by chewing and spitting out charcoal, (*bărikắṅe*). The wood from which the charcoal is made is not burned over the usual coral lime, but over a type of limestone from a cave, (*liắṅe*), on Étapalíen or more likely on Ĕắnŭsà̯u. White dye, (*măma*), is obtained by rubbing a small, moss-like reef plant with round flat limed leaves between the palms of the hands, underwater.

Shearing

To put the warp threads on the weaving apparatus, they must firstly be laid around pegs planted upright in the ground, later replaced by parts of the weaving apparatus. A board was obtained on Ĕlŏắŭa in 1908, that was almost rectangular as far as an indentation on one of the long sides. Opposite the indentation the board has two holes through it, side by side, one round and one square, with a larger, round hole at each end. This 63 cm long board appears to be the foot board of a shearing apparatus — a board into which pegs are inserted for arranging the warp threads.

[26] Berlin Museum VI 31881–31882
[27] 1901, p.119

However, in one weaving apparatus from Pálakau the breast beam and warp beam are tapered at one end, leading to the conclusion that both pieces of wood are planted in the ground as shearing pegs and [133] a foot board for the shearing pegs is not required. However, this type of tapering was not seen in any other St Matthias or Emír weaving apparatus.

In shearing multicoloured *sūsúk* threads, the threads of the individual colours are arranged after counting them, as Danneil[28] reported, from having analyzed a woven article.

The Weaving Apparatus

The St Matthias, Emír and Tench 'loom' is a split–stave loom with a spiral warp. On Emír it is called *aiínáŭsi*. *Solo* or *solu* which Parkinson[29] heard on St Matthias, and *aisellu*, which is said to be the word for loom on Tench,[30] and also in "Auretterette" (Eruterite) on Emír, according to Stübel,[31] is none other than *aišólū*, the name for the weaving sword on Emír. *Kălítū*, which was similarly heard as the name for the loom, does not designate the loom itself, but the weaving item in progress on it. 'She is weaving' on Emír is: *lă păsīpăsīlĕ*; 'the woman is weaving *kălítū*' in Pálakau on St Matthias: *baúšĕ ī páśpáš kălítū*.

The individual components of the weaving apparatus are:

	Ĕbūlīĕlĕ (Emír)	Pálakau (St Matthias)
half belt	*aiyáimă*	*nāníkī*, *aikoíkoí*
breast beam	*aiyáū*, *aiyáu*	*bábālăt*
warp beam	*aiyéṣīyéṣī*, *aiyas*	*bólu*
separating stick	*bābălátă*	*bábālăt*
cross stick	*aikótī*	—
heddle stick	*gúlŭ*	*gūlū*
shuttles	*sīálă*	*aisīélĕ*
sword	*aišólū*	*aiṅíṅī*[32]
two lathes	*āyá*	—

In addition, on Emír the name for the 'middle stick', (cross stick?, separating stick?), is also given as *airoród* or *airorót*; and *pătúnă* as the name for the 'knot position of the warp', (the heddle stick cord?)

Variations in naming of the components on Emír and in Pálakau are based not only on dialectic differences, but also on the different types of weaving apparatus. The names introduced on Emír relate to a weaving apparatus for banana bast material, and those in Pálakau on a loom for pandanus leaf fibre material. The latter [134] lacks a cross stick and two lathes in front of the first weft, while the banana bast loom always has these. There is also a wider version for making women's kilts and a narrower one for belts. Nevertheless, both main types are absolutely identical, right down to their size.

To weave, which is always women's work, the weaver sits on the ground with her legs straight out in front of her. She places a cord, the half-belt, around her back. A leaf cushion is

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[28] 1901, p.120 *et seq*.
[29] 1907, p.335
[30] *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.248
[31] Dresden Museum, No.32925
[32] According to Schoede, *ainini* or *aischiel*. Cf. the names for the shuttle

positioned beneath it, directly against her back, to prevent constriction and rubbing. Its ends are looped round both ends of the breast beam, which is in front of the weaver. This consists of a thick bamboo stick, or a piece of wood circular in cross-section, with a groove round the outside about 6 cm from each end, for fastening the half-belt. The warp beam is the same, but without the grooves.

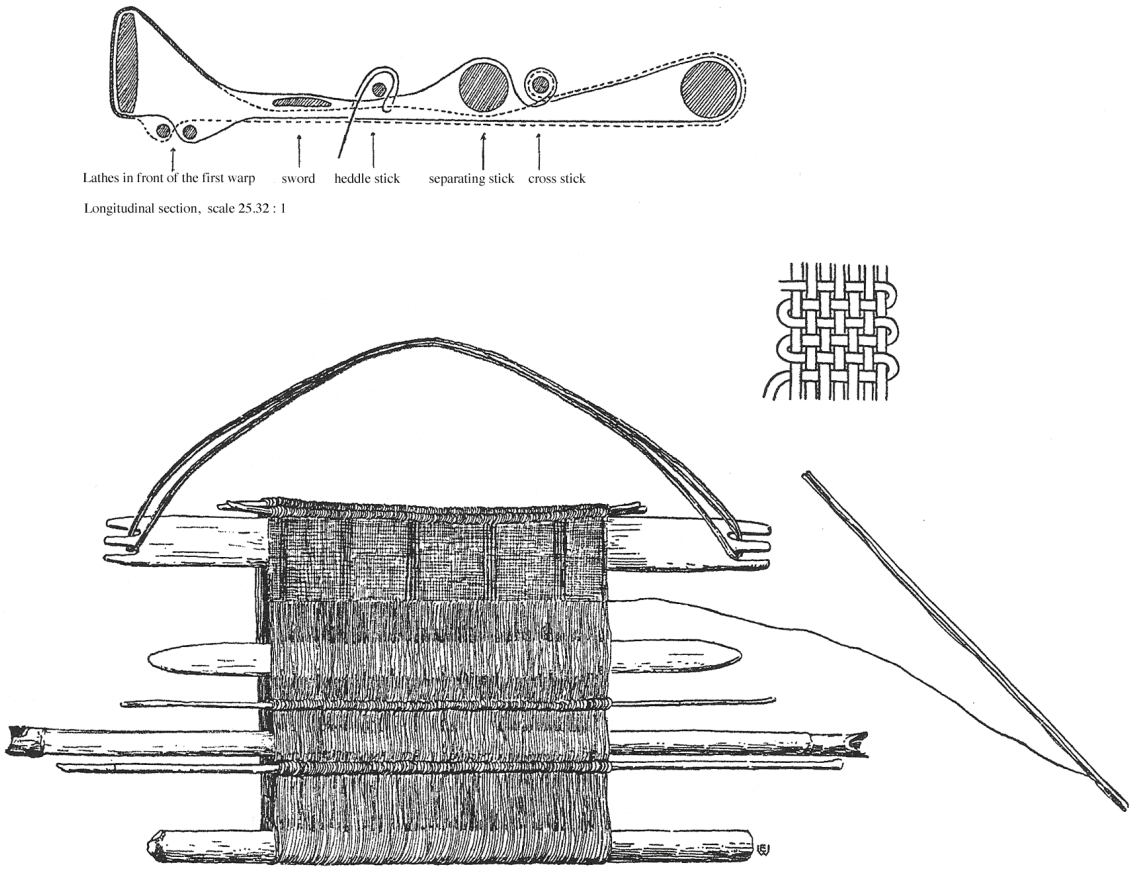


Fig. 85. Loom for women's kilts made from banana bast, Material 70 cm long, 65 cm wide St. Matthias. 25.32 : 1.

However on one occasion we came across a warp beam on Emĺr with peg-like ends. Furthermore, a breast beam is found on St Matthias that looks like a board with three peg-like projections on both sides, the middle ones for fastening the cord of the half-belt. [135] The warp threads run spirally round both beams, forming two layers of thread, one beneath and one above the beams. Only the upper level is worked on, directly behind the breast beam as viewed by the weaver. As the job progresses, the places where the weft is introduced gradually move away from the weaver; she then simply pulls the warp a bit around the chest beam and warp beam, bringing the weft insertion point closer to her. The warp beam is held in position by the soles of the weaver's feet, although it can also be fastened to the wall of the house by a cord. A bamboo tube is then attached to the warp beam of the banana bast loom as a cross stick so that all threads will pass once around the upper end. In front of this is a second bamboo tube, as a separating stick. Every second thread in the warp passes over it, the rest beneath it. The threads beneath it are secured by a cord fastened to the heddle stick. The cord forms a loop alternating in front and behind this thin round piece of wood. The free end of the cord occasionally hangs down from the heddle stick on one side of the warp, wound into an oblong ball. The weaving sword is made of wood, occasionally bamboo, and has two edges. In cross-section it is shaped like a lance, both ends with a slightly-rounded taper, or else slightly rounded. In front of the weft position, two lathes lie in the warp in such a way that the threads cross over between them. Thus every even thread runs over the first and under the second lathe, while every odd thread runs under the first and over the second lathe. Because of [136] these two lathes, the first weft thread is able to be evenly positioned when starting to weave. The shuttle

is shaped like the flat needle used for sewing nets. Also, a little stick split at both ends with the weft thread wrapped round it and running through the slits, can serve as a shuttle.

This is true of all banana bast weaving. In the pandanus leaf fibre loom there are a few variations. The cross stick and lathes are missing. The breast beam and warp beam are round pieces of wood, tapering somewhat at the ends. The separating stick is a piece of wood with smoothly cut-off ends. Shuttle, sword and heddle stick match the corresponding components of the banana bast loom. The warp consists of about thirteen strips of pandanus leaf, (*ūrŭṅ ārắṅ*, and also *pākắsī* or *sūrắkī*). In the lower level of the warp these are laid around two inserted bast strips, (*a͡iyūṣaúṣ*), and sewn together. From this point up to the dividing stick, the leaves are split by means of a little bamboo stick (*a͡irĭ́rĭ*) into finer fibres. In the remaining, as yet unused, part of the warp, the leaf strips retain their original width. As work proceeds they too are split.

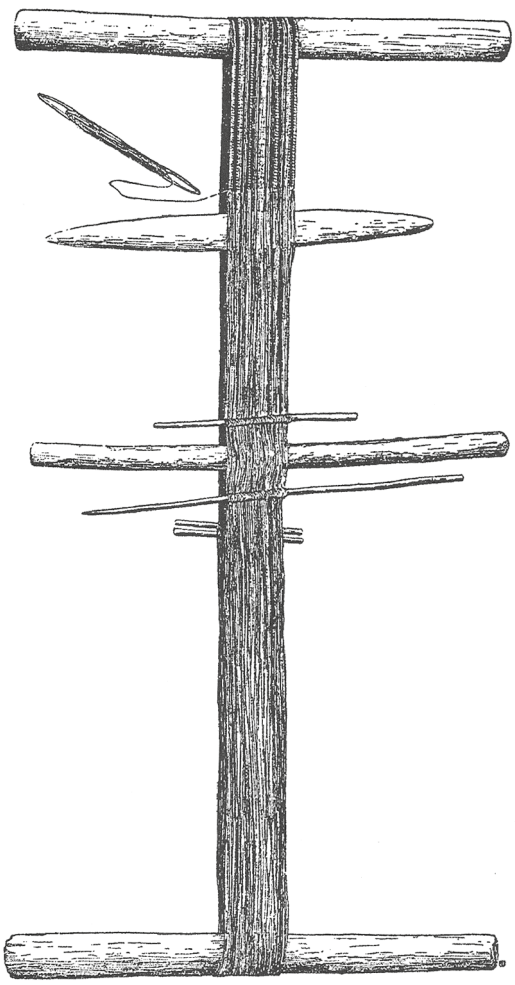


Fig. 86. Loom for banana bast belt, Ĕbūlĭĕlĕ. Emĭr. M 216[1]. 64 cm long.

[137] Otherwise the weaving process is the same for both forms. If the weft is introduced, the dividing stick is inserted right behind the heddle stick with the aid of the sword; the sword is inserted into the gap formed by the separation of odd and even threads, and stood on edge, so that the gap is enlarged. Then the weft is inserted from the left by the shuttle. The sword is then laid flat and the weft is basted against its edge. Next the sword is withdrawn completely, and the dividing stick is pushed further towards the cross stave or the warp beam. To make the second partition, the heddle stick is lifted. The sword is again pushed into the gap and stood on edge. Now the shuttle is introduced from the right. Again the sword is laid flat, used for basting and then withdrawn. Then the weaver lets the heddle stick sink, and the process is repeated. While weaving, when a small piece of the warp can no longer be penetrated near the finish, because the gap is no longer big enough for the shuttle, the weaving is cut off at this point and a fringe border put on both ends. To prevent the weaving unravelling, the ends of the fibres are knotted together in small groups. The knot points are called *lăsĭ́ṅī*.

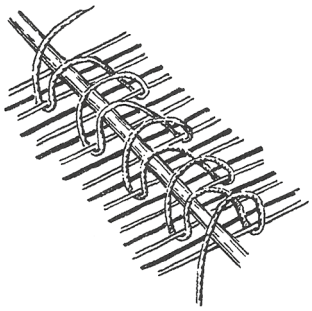


Fig. 88. Heddle stick, (25.32 : 1).

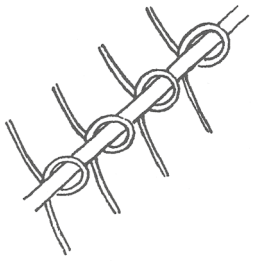


Fig. 87. Cross stick, (25.32 : 1).

Weavers' knots

Should a thread of the warp or the weft break, it is rejoined by a small bulky knot: the cross-over threads are laid side by side, held in place by thumb and forefinger of the left hand. The lower thread is then bent over the upper one, so that both ends run in the same direction. Then it is wound around itself, behind its upper end and in front of the upper end of the first fibre, in a loop. The free, short end of the first thread is bent forwards, around the loop formed by the other thread, and then poked through the loop. Then the first thread is held firmly at both ends, between the forefinger and thumb of the left hand while the other thread is pulled tight with the right hand. This closes the knot. The ends of both threads are nipped off with the thumb nail. *Ětĭ́tī tĭ́ă* means 'to make a knot'.

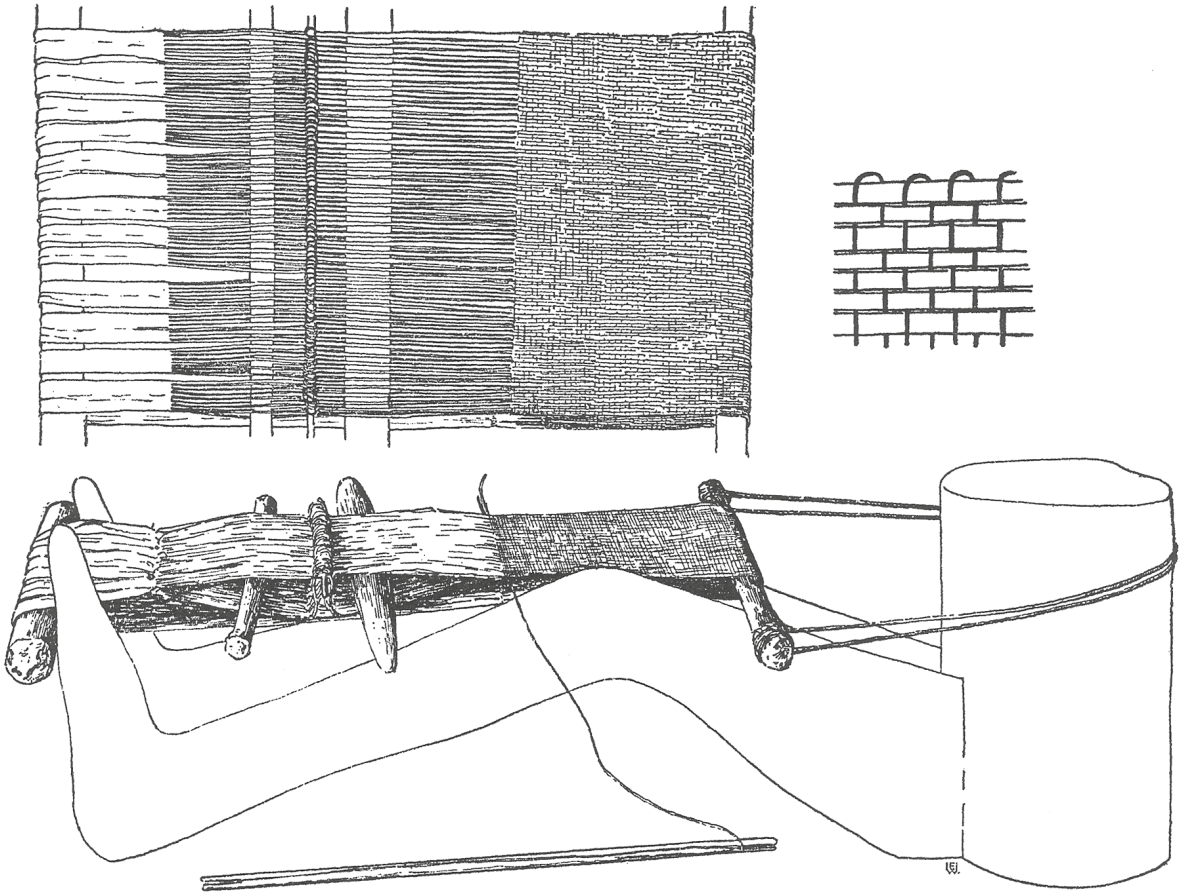


Fig. 89. Loom for pandanus leaves, Pålakāu. M. 184[1]. 53 cm long, 25 cm wide

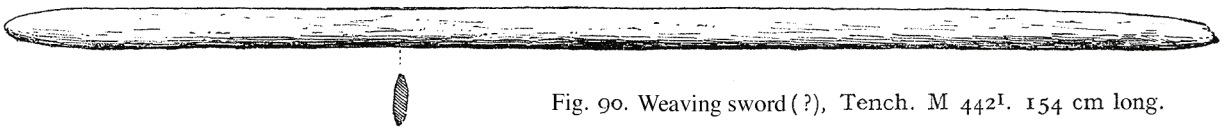


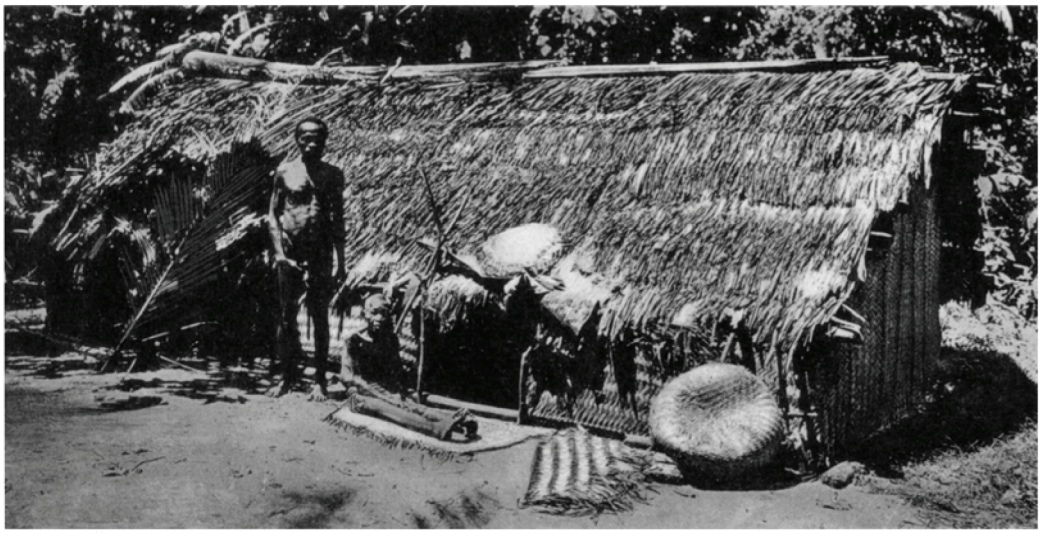
Fig. 90. Weaving sword (?), Tench. M 442[1]. 154 cm long.



Village site in Pălakau͡, St. Matthias phot. Vogel



House in Ĕnai͡, St. Matthais phot. Fülleborn



House in Ĕlĕ̄ūā, Emĭr phot. Fülleborn

Weaving patterns

The weft thread in all weaving is always monocolour and natural shade. A pattern is developed only in the warp of banana bast weaving, [138] through groups of warp threads of different colours. These colours are tawny to red tan, black, pale natural colour and yellowish grey.[33] The designs on the woven belt, (*bai̯šī*), are extraordinarily varied, encompassing roughly the following types:

1. One coloured strip in the middle with two coloured strips of roughly the same width at the sides. The middle strip is separated by simple, coloured lines.

2. The middle strip widens while the side strips narrow. The middle strip is divided by coloured double lines.

2a. The middle strip and the coloured lines break up into narrow strips.

2b. Two of the coloured strips, (or two pairs plus the dividers), are pale fibre-coloured, forming a pattern in three parts.

3. Two coloured strips in the middle. The central pale strip is wider than the two pale side strips.

3a. Like Type 3, except that the central pale strip is narrower than the two pale side strips.

3b. Like Type 3, except that the central pale strip is the same width, or roughly the same width, as the two pale side strips.

3c. Like Type 3, but the three pale strips narrow in sequence.

4. Three coloured strips in the middle, the two pale middle strips are wider than the pale side strips.

4a. Like Type 4, except that the two pale middle strips are narrower than the pale side strips.

4b. Like Type 4, but the two pale middle strips are the same width, or roughly the same width, as the pale side strips.

5. The pattern consists of alternating coloured and pale strips of the same width or of approximately the same width.

5a. Pattern of alternating wider, coloured strips and narrower, pale strips. The two pale side strips are wider. In contrast, of the three pale middle strips the two lateral strips are narrower, or else the three pale middle strips are of varying width, due to irregular, coloured strips.

This classification where, from Type 3 onwards, the simple and double lines separating the strips are no longer of consequence could, with some thought, be subdivided even further.

In woven pouches and women's skirts, (*kălĭ̄ū*), the groups of stripes are in multiples because of their greater width. They are always arranged symmetrically. A simpler pattern of regular narrow red stripes between somewhat wider pale stripes is also found in woven women's skirts. [139]

Another method of patterning *kălĭ̄ū*, consists of painting monocoloured pale weave red with *kārṓū* dye. Occasionally this painting serves to imitate the patterning of coloured warp threads. In addition, or even without this painting of stripes on the painted *kălĭ̄ū*, there are always those designs which would not be produced by weaving.

In pandanus leaf fibre weaving, a design is achieved by inserting alternating darker and paler pandanus leaf strips in the warp, side by side.

Parkinson[34] reports that on Tench natural-coloured weave, sewn together in pairs on women's skirts, are decorated after weaving, 'by the women using an awl to push thicker fibre cords through the lengthwise threads,[35] so that it looks as though the element consists of alternating thin twisted threads and thicker untwisted strands.'

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[33] Finsch, 1914, p.438

[34] 1907, p.343

[35] Warp thread

Tools for Various Tasks

Stones, used on St Matthias for sun magic and for polishing (*mắnămắnă*) shell axe blades occur also on Emĭr and Tench as tools for various tasks. On Emĭr they are called *mắnămắnă* too. These are oblong roundish stones that probably came ashore with driftwood and are about 4 x 6 cm in size.

A 23 cm long hardwood needle with one end well-tapered and the other roughly tapered was found being used as a tool for various jobs in Ĕlĕmăkŭnâ͡u̯r on St Matthias.



Fig. 91. Wooden needle, Ĕlĕmăkŭ nâ͡u̯r. 2152I.

Iron

Iron knives and axes and other iron implements were still refused as trade goods on St Matthias in 1900 because the natives were unfamiliar with the use of iron.[36] However, the advantages of using iron tools had been recognized by 1908, and flat iron blades, (*bắkắça*), for small axes were found in Ĕtălắt and on Musâ͡u̯. Sheet iron had certainly been introduced in some places from 1900 onwards, by visitors to the island; and workers returning home may have brought iron with them as well. A further source of iron was a half-burnt ship that had been wrecked off Emĭr not long before 1908. [140] The Emĭr people sold its iron fittings to the east coast villages of St Matthias, as long as they were not related to them. A knife is called *nâ͡i̯pĕ* on St Matthias.

On Tench, Parkinson[37] came across an iron ship's nail, which was fastened to an axe handle and shaped into a narrow cutting edge. Plane iron and knives, which he distributed, were familiar. In 1908 iron fish hooks were discovered on Tench, and smaller pieces of iron had been introduced, such as nails. In 1913 we came across axes with flat-iron blades and a big iron hoop, probably part of a ship's boiler that had washed ashore.[38]

VII. The House

Houses, (*ắlĕ*), on St Matthias are single-storey huts with a rectangular floor plan and a curved saddle roof. Generally, they are not very carefully constructed. Parkinson[39] describes them as 'primitive and, on the inside, at best, unclean', and says 'A pandanus roof rests on low poles, just high enough to be able to stand upright beneath.' It was surprising in 1913 too, that in every village the huts were poorly built.[40] The recognized reason was that the natives frequently move on, either as a result of war or because of exhaustion of their garden soil.

This unfavourable opinion falls upon the shelter huts and a portion of their dwellings. Meanwhile, chiefs' houses and meeting houses are built with greater care, and many dwellings as well, (for example those in Pắlakâ͡u̯).

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[36] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, XI, 1900, p.639; von Hesse-Wartegg, 1901, p.565
[37] 1907, p.344
[38] *Amtsblatt*, V, 1913, p.248
[39] 1907, p.325
[40] *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.152

Greater satisfaction in house-building is seen on Emi̍r, clearly expressed in the greater cleanliness, upkeep, and decoration of their huts.[41]

The houses on Tench show a construction similar to that on St Matthias, but they are built far more extraordinarily. No larger buildings were seen there. On the other hand, the village on Tench had a larger number of sheds on poles.

On St Matthias houses are built by the men, who help one another. Only the carving in big houses appears to be done by individual artisans. Mats, (*nā́bīĕ*), are plaited by men, women and children. These are used for interior dividing walls, doors, and also for outside walls in some places. [141]

Shelters and simple dwellings

Shelters on Ĕkălē̆ŭ and Ĕnŏ[a]nā́ŭ have a gable roof extending almost down to the ground, clad with flat pandanus leaves, (*ŭ̍rŭ măkē̍rĕ*), laid one over another like tiles, and resting on spars, (*ā́sŏn̓*, *ā́soṅa*), and cross staves (*aikabil*). The roof has a solid ridge beam, (*pŭ̍năn ā́tŏ*). A low pole, (*tŭkŭ̍ṣŭ̍ăn ā̍tŏ*), stands in the centre of the hut and bears a cross-beam, (*aĭkē̍ră̆n ĭn ā́sŏn̓*), which holds the two halves of the roof together. This pole does not support the ridge beam. One shelter in Ĕnŏ[a]nā́ŭ was clad at the sides with several boards, which had been fairly well processed but were possibly not local. Another shelter, in Ĕkălē̆ŭ, was barely 125 cm high.

Huts on Ĕlŏā́ŭa, used as permanent dwellings, did not reach even two metres up to the height of the beam. In such homes four rectangularly-arranged gable posts supported a cross beam, in pairs. The cross beam in turn supported the edges of the gable roof. In a house in Lŭŏn̓ŭ͡ā́ĭ on Ĕlŏā́ŭa, one of these poles was longer than the house itself, and penetrated the gable side of the neighbouring house, less than a metre away. One of the supports stood in the gap between the two houses, and served as a support post for both huts. The near narrow wall was fully open, while the one opposite was two thirds clad with coconut palm leaf mats, (*nā́bīĕ*), plaited in a simple frond technique. The names of the house beams matched those on Ĕnŏ[a]nā́ŭ. Huts on Ĕlŏā́ŭa have either only one single internal room, or are divided by a wall of *nā́bīĕ* mats into two areas, (*kŏtŏ̍yĕ*), the rear room being accessible only through the room in front, (*bă̍tŭbă̍tŭ*). Doors (*ătămă̍n*[a] ?) consist of beams laid transversely, filling an opening of 50–60 cm diameter in the gable wall. The door opening does not begin at ground level but over a sill of staves, about 25 cm high. The door is often not in the middle of the gable wall, but somewhat to the side. The houses are constructed exactly the same on Musa͡ŭ. One door had a frame on the inside, beyond the sill, consisting of four perpendicular branches and one horizontal beam. A simple shelter roof beside this hut served as housing for two orphan children whom the owner of the hut had to look after. In Pă̍laka͡ŭ the gable walls of smaller houses were clad with thin knotty wood below and *nā́bīĕ* mats above, or with mats below and nothing at all above.

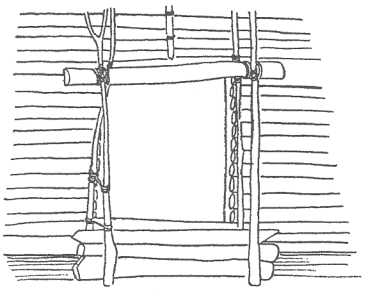


Fig. 92. Door of a dwelling on Musa͡ŭ, seen from inside. After a sketch by H. Vogel.

A storehouse, (*a͡ĭçā́lŏ*), for fruit in Ĕlŏā́ŭa was completely open on all four sides. [142]

[41] *Amtsblatt*, p.154

Dwellings on Tench

Parkinson[42] describes the houses on Tench as leaf-covered roofs resting on the ground. In actual fact, they are huts with a rectangular floor plan and four low corner posts bearing lengthwise beams and cross beams. A food platform is built on top of the beams, and a gable roof covered with leaves rises over it. Two longitudinal poles hold the roof spars together by cords on the inside. A forked post bears the roof beam. The doors are found alongside the ridge bearer on the gable sides, and are closed with mats. The gable walls, and probably the sides as well, consist of horizontal and vertical sticks tied together like a lattice. Plaited mats serve as external wall cladding. A form of verandah is added over the door, and consists of the same leaf material as the roof. All the houses are built on the ground and are so low that the ridge is less than a man's height, or just slightly greater. Often long poles are tied horizontally onto the roof, and occasionally onto the verandah as well. Whether this is a device for securing the roof covering or is simply a way of storing poles used for other purposes, we do not know. In the odd house we saw cladding of the ridge section of the roof with pandanus leaves, instead of the more common finer leaves.

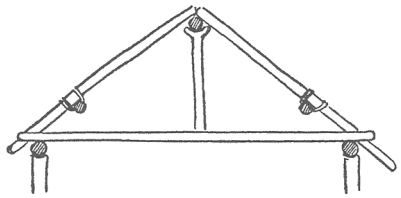


Fig. 93.
Framework of a dwelling on Tench.
After a sketch by H. Vogel.

Larger dwellings

On the main island of St Matthias, dwellings are generally much more carefully constructed than on the small islands to the south. In Ěnâi, in the upper part of the village, the average house size was 7 x 4½ m. One house that had clearly been built out of two houses was as much as 14 metres long. The dividing wall at the position of the join consisted of horizontal staves, with a hole in the middle. Houses enlarged by joining together were seen also in Ětăsítěl. It was said that when a man married a new wife, a new house was built onto the old. Construction of the houses is basically the same as the style of the simple dwellings and shelters in the south. However, inside the houses the support posts, (*tŭtŭ́lŭ*), stand together in pairs, with the ridge beam, (*bŭn̓ắnă*), resting on separate supports, (*tŭtŭ́lŭ bŭn̓ắnă*). The roof spars, (*ắsŏn̓*, *ắson̓a*), meeting above it, [143] are held together by a thinner beam above, parallel with the ridge beam. From the support posts, carrying horizontal beams parallel with the side walls and supporting the roof, other beams also run parallel with the gable beams. These beams are bound to the support posts of the ridge beam by fibre wrappings.

The roofs are covered with *ŭ́rŭ măkĕ́rĕ*, which is also the material for cladding the gable walls. The side walls are clad in *nắbīĕ* mats. Gable and side wall cladding is fastened onto horizontal staves, (*balắta*), which are connected by cords with the outer rows of internal poles.

The door opening is always very low, about a metre high, and on a gable side, never in the middle but always somewhat to one side. The aperture is closed by horizontal beams held in place by two vertical staves. In Ĕrŏ́ĭtăn the door beams were held by only one pole, rammed into the ground on the inside of the door, and positioned against the lengthwise beam of the gable wall. It could be pulled firmly into the wall by means of cord. One house in Ĕrŏ́ĭtăn had vertical door beams too. Another house had two doors, one in each gable wall.

Cladding of the gable wall above the door is frequently although not always, shaped into a small extended sloping roof which is either only above the door or, more commonly, stretches the entire width of the gable wall at the height of the top of the door. Instead of the usual *ŭ́rŭ măkĕ́rĕ*,

[42] 1907, p.340

one house in Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl with a door in the long side, contrary to all the rules, had a bowed board as a jutting shelter above the door.

The interior of bigger huts is often divided into two or more rooms, by cross walls parallel with the gable walls, which interconnect by man-sized openings in the *nā́bīĕ* mat internal walls.

Friederici[43] says that on Emĭ́r the essential feature of the houses is a simple barrel-vaulted roof. Although at first glance the Emĭ́r houses give the impression of being exactly like those of St Matthias, their construction is based on a number of forked posts arranged at right angles and connected by beams above, and a middle row of poles bearing the ridge beam of the curved saddle roof.

The door is more often in a long side than on St Matthias although, as a rule, the door is in the gable side. In Ĕtăsĭńĭ́nĕ big boards, (*ā́bā*), with two peg-like hand grips served as door closers. These were used also for cutting up pigs.

One house in Ĕlĕ́ūa reached 15 metres in length, and was therefore far too big for [144] a single family. It was not built out of two smaller houses, like the odd house on St Matthias. The door was in one of the long walls.

Houses are completely shut up with mats when the residents are away.

On Emĭ́r, besides simple posts, they use carved posts in the construction of superior dwellings, while on St Matthias these are reserved for only palatial houses. One house under construction in Ĕtā́ĭlă had a new central gable post while both the lateral gable posts were obviously from two different old houses. The carving on each decorated pole consisted mainly of bulges with two pegs pointing downward. The rear gable cross-beam was evidently still not ready. It seemed as though the gable cross-beams would have holes made in them for the posts to be pushed through.

Roof and corner posts are all fastened to the side gable posts by cords, made from material looking like rattan. About ten spars went into a bigger house.

Chiefs' Houses

A house in Ĕlĕmăkŭnā́ŭr that belonged to one of the three chiefs was four metres high, about seven metres wide, and twelve metres long. In principle the house resembled the bigger dwellings, but with a few peculiarities. The front gable wall, with the door on the left as seen from the outside, was divided into three externally, the upper part being clad with vertical *nā́bīĕ* mats, with *ŭ́rŭ măkĕ́rĕ* in the middle, and horizontal *nā́bīĕ* mats at the bottom. Beams, (*āĭpătŏ́lū*), were added, to separate the three types of cladding. Three thin staves separated the cladding on the inside as well. At the foot of the gable wall was a further beam, (*āĭkā́ĭrŭńă*), which served a dual purpose as a door sill. The long walls, (*kĕbắlăbắlă*), were clad in *nā́bīĕ* mats or *ŭ́rŭ măkĕ́rĕ*, which were tied onto the outside of a thin framework of lengthwise- and cross staves. On the outside, more lengthwise staves had been laid on top in places, but these had often fallen off and not been replaced. The framework consisted of the ridge beam, (*bŭńắnă*), which rested on three vertical poles, (*tŭ̲tŭ́lŭ̲*). The two outer poles were free-standing, with no connection to the gable walls. All three poles were somewhat concave upwards and, below, they had been pierced through in front and behind, to fasten the ties. Their height was about four metres. They were flanked on both sides by poles about two metres high, which were better carved; their decoration was called *mă̲rĕ* and *lā́ĭnĕ*, like the surviving poles of a chief's house that had burned down in Ĕrŏ́ĭtăn. Bulges that ran round the pole were designated as *mă̲rĕ*, (shell arm ring), while *lā́ĭnĕ* was a more or less stylised fish [145] shape, with its tail fin pointed upward, or a cone evidently derived from this figure. The

[43] 1912, p.77

forked part of the poles, which supported the horizontal beam, was called *ắŭrĕ*; scale-like decorations: *ătń̲nă l͡a͡ínĕ*; a decoration on the lower end of the pole which looked rather like cotyledons was called *ăṣăṅkń̲kŏ* or *ăṣăṅ'kń̲kŏ*; and the zigzag line above a rectangular hole at the upper end of one metre high poles on the long wall was *īšĭṅărár̆ă-ū*. A pole about 1.8 m high, on the back wall, had a peg-like outgrowth at a thickened point, probably the start of a natural branch, which was designated as *dū́-nă*, '*sein dū*'.[44] A cross-beam was laid over each side pole with no ties on its concave ends (*ắŭrĕ*), However, it was tied to the corresponding ridge bearers by cords wound round both and then laid between the two to make the binding tighter. Over these three

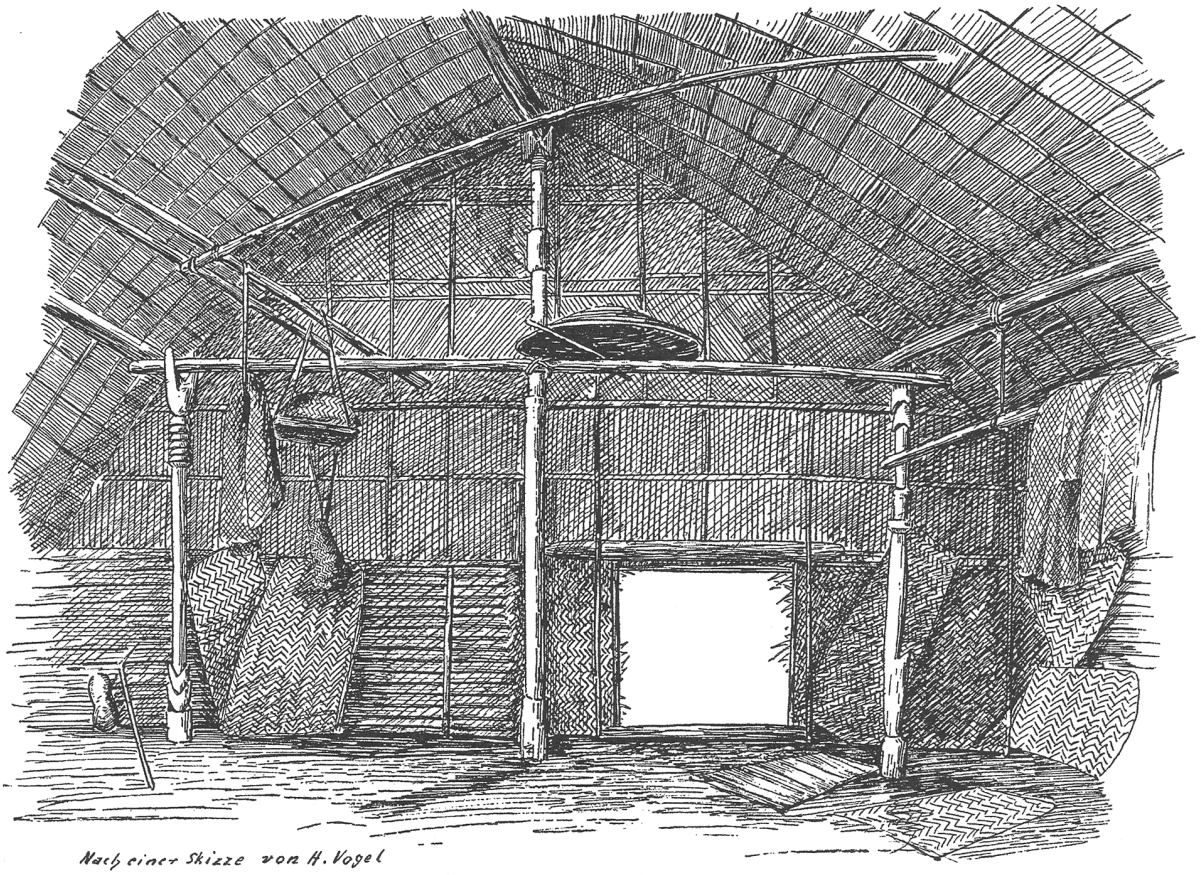


Fig. 94. Interior of a chief's house in Ĕlĕmăkŭnaûr.

cross-beams were laid the two lengthwise beams, (*ăĭṅắlē*), which were the actual bearers of the roof, with wrap-around ties at that point. Further outside again, right against the long [146] walls but again not tied to the walls, stood small carved poles, one as tall as 1.1 metres, on which rested thinner lengthwise beams, serving likewise as roof supports. However, their securing cords were not abundant and they were thin.

The central pole framework formed the base for the dividing wall between front and rear parts of the house. Thin staves were tied to both sides of the cross beam, and pushed into the ground. Beneath, boards were slotted between them, and *nắbīĕ* mats above, forming a partition up to two metres high, extending as far as the left side wall. A gap remained on the right, connecting the two rooms. The front room was the living room; the back room, which rose towards the rear, its floor totally irregular with several fireplaces and a large puddle, was the cooking area. The women stayed here, working, while the men were in the front. The dividing wall was a storage place for spears belonging to the householder and other men. A beam ran from the middle pole to the two metre high pole on the left, at a height of about 1.8 m. It was wrapped in banana leaves and the

[44] '*Dū* belong *divai*', that is, *dū* is part of a tree or similar, (branch?).

spears were bound onto it. In addition to several hanging frames and baskets, the house had a triangular bracket made from staves, between the left wall and the cross wall, with a further frame on the long wall of the right side.

The house was open at the back, on the right. The side walls did not continue right to the end, and the support beam was free-standing.

Ŭrŭ măkĕrĕ served as roof covering.

The *mă̱rĕ-* and *la͡ĭnĕ* motifs on the posts were noticed also in Ĕna͡ĭ and Ĕtălăt. In Ĕtălăt the house of the chief Ta͡ĭăbă was 22-23 m long, 11 m wide, and about 3.5 m high. The dividing wall was more solidly constructed, with a proper doorway.

In Pălaka͡u where even the plainer houses were more carefully built than in other villages, the projecting ridge beam of the house of the chief Să̆gīlē showed three birds, (*pătŭna͡ĭ*), carved out of wood and painted red. The door in the right side of the gable wall had an overhang, (*a͡uūkī*), of twisted fibres that were knotted onto a horizontal thread and covered the upper half of the doorway. The beam frame had been particularly carefully made, and differed from the frames of the other St Matthias houses in that the main long beams rested on pairs of poles.

The combined dwelling and meeting house belonging to the chief Ĕsīūlăkă in Ĕbūlĭĕlĕ on Emĭr exhibited especially ornate decoration — both gable walls were covered in carved, painted horizontal boards, with richly carved and painted posts inside. All the men would have taken part in making the decorated boards. The more skilled among them each produced one board that they had completely carved and painted. The less skilled [147] were content to prepare small boards covered with simple line patterns which were fastened crosswise and transversely on both gable walls. The boards do not have any constructive significance. They tapered at both ends, 'just like the bull-roarers of the New Guinea style'. For wrapping them, pegs on the back of the decorative boards were bound onto the vertical staves of the frame of the gable wall, and

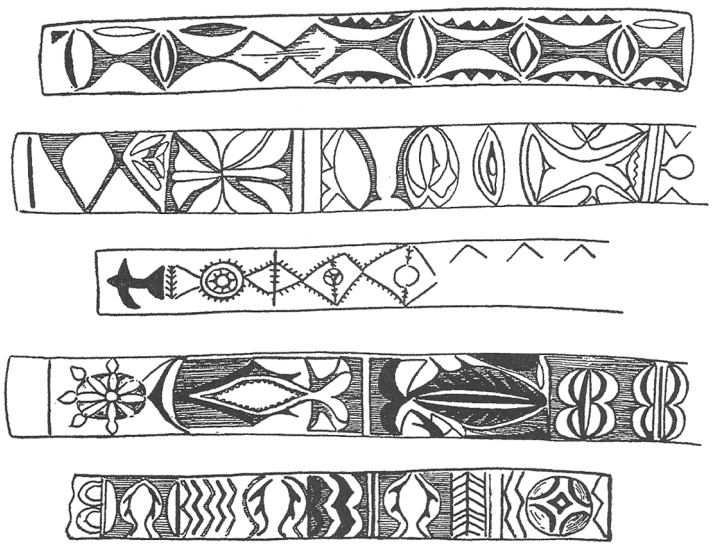


Fig. 95. Decorative boards for the gable walls of the chief's house in Ĕbūlĭĕlĕ. After a sketch by H. Vogel.

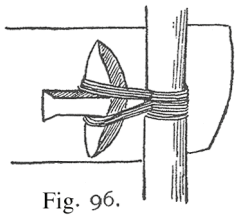


Fig. 96.
Fastening of the decorative boards onto the chief's house in Ĕbūlĭĕlĕ on Emĭr. After a sketch by H. Vogel.

the boards were secured in this manner. A vertical, decorative board was fastened over each horizontal board in the upper section of both gable walls. Besides wavy lines, triangles, rhomboids and the like, the boards also depicted figurative representations of animals, particularly fish, which bear no relation to totemism but were intended only as decoration. Of the decorated poles inside, the left hand pole between front and middle rooms carried a representation of a man carved by the chief, Pänaĭnŏse, reputedly that of the captain of a sailing ship which visited Emĭr around 1899 or 1903,[45] while the matching right pole bore the *la͡ĭnĕ* motif with many decorative additions. Besides a painted cylindrical figure with two spherical figures above it, the middle pole in the front room

[45] Stübel in the Dresden catalogue (32948)

depicted the *mă̲ră̆* motif [148] in various forms. Other poles showed coarse repetitions of the *l͡aĭnĕ* figure, and also bore several semilunar or angular figures, concave downward, in groups of four or five, one above the other. On one pole the semilunar figures were arranged around a central sphere with two half-moons above the sphere concave sides downward, while two half moons below it were concave upwards. The support beams were one metre high. One of them, which was particularly slender, carried a wheel-shaped filigree disc pushed onto the upper end. One pole was said to represent a flask which the captain mentioned above was alleged to have presented to the chief Pänaĭnŏse.[46]

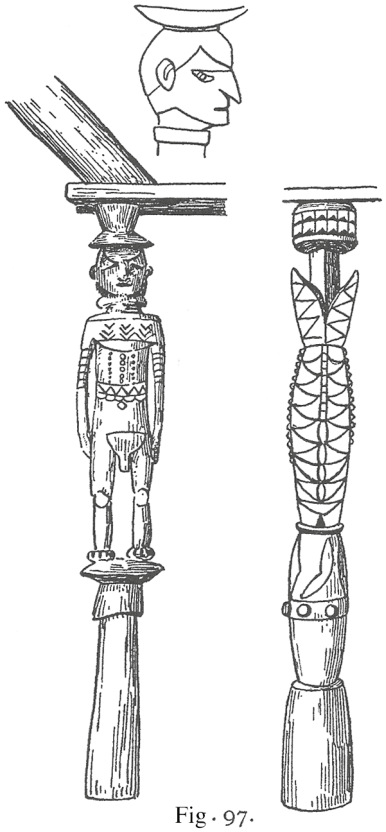


Fig. 97.
Left and right pillars between the front- and middle rooms of the chief's house in Ĕbūlĭĕlĕ on Emĭr.
After a sketch by H. Vogel.

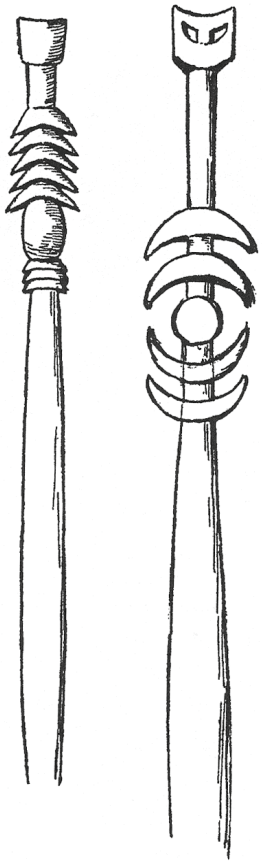


Fig. 98.
Support posts in the chief's house in Ĕbūlĭĕlĕ on Emĭr.
After a sketch by H. Vogel.

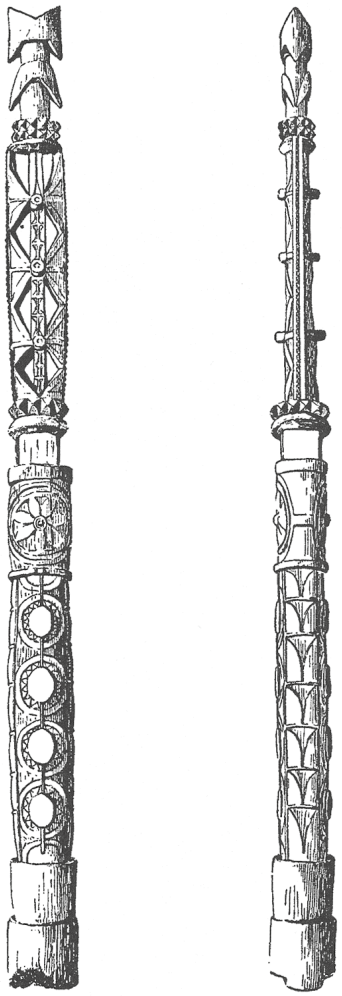


Fig. 99.
Support posts in the chief's house in Ĕbūlĭĕlĕ on Emĭr.
After a sketch by H. Vogel.

The house was divided in three by two internal walls. [149]

From the edge of the roof over the door-side, the green and red leathery shells of the *t͡aŭ*^{o}- (*t͡aŭnŏ*-) fruit hung in long chains. The trees nearby also carried this decoration.

Up against the door-side wall was a seat and food trestle, just as in simpler dwellings.

[46] Stübel in the Dresden catalogue (32949)

Storage sheds on Tench

A storehouse erected on four poles as tall as a man belongs with each dwelling on Tench. The poles are wrapped in smooth pandanus leaves with pointed-tooth edges, probably for protection against rats and, according to Parkinson,[47] they are pandanus wood. A platform of lengthwise and cross beams is erected on these poles. Rising above it is the markedly-curved gable roof, with horizontal staves bound over its spars, and wide pandanus leaves[48] fastened in turn on top, as a roof covering. The leaves lie over one another in two layers. They are arranged horizontally on the inside and vertically on the outside. The lower ends of the leaves of the outer layer are bound to the network of spars and to one another by cords. The roof somewhat overhangs the platform. The interior is divided in two by a partition, one section containing mostly sprouting coconuts and the other, implements. Often both halves are filled with implements. There is often a double door on the gable sides — an inner door of vertical boards tied together with cord and an outer door of mats. Frequently there is only the mat door.

A rare addition to the four poles of the shed is a thinner, fifth pole which serves as a bearer of the ridge beam.

Parkinson reports a length of 2–3 m and a width of 1–1.5 m as the dimensions of the storage sheds.

Semi-roofed sheds

Sheds with a curved half-roof are used in Pălakau͡ and on Emi̍r for storing firewood and other items. There were two such sheds at the Etălŭarara͡i farm on Emi̍r. Their roof resembles half a curved gable roof, and extends right down to the ground. It consists of a network of spars covered with leaves. The sides of the shed are planked with faggots of wood. The sheds are completely open on the long side opposite the roof. [150]

Open platforms

On St Matthias and Emi̍r, platforms are built on four gable posts both inside the huts and also in front of them, for piling up food for feasts and probably as seating during festive occasions. They consist of two long staves laid over two cross beams that rest on the gable posts, and bear the name *a͡içálŏ*, like the open storehouses and tool- and storage frames in the bigger houses. The frames for firewood in the Mălakăt region are even simpler, consisting only of two gable posts upon which the long sticks of firewood are laid, to protect them from the damp ground.

Cave dwellings

In 1908, on the Emi̍r coast, east of Eta͡ilă a campsite was discovered in a cavity in the coral limestone wall. It had been used not long before, as indicated by sleeping mats and a fireplace. A wooden scaffold had been erected against the wall of the cave for storing implements. This refutes the idea of sporadic use of the cave as a temporary shelter. Nevertheless, there had to be a particular reason for choosing this form of housing. Since the natives do not live in caves anywhere else, it appears that caves are creepy places to them. The rumour was that this cave too harboured spirits and living lumps of rock. For this reason the place was avoided.

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[47] 1907, p.340

[48] Not ‘mats’, as Parkinson reports.

A rocky promontory on the way to the Elíĕmalám cave in the southern part of St Matthias, and the cave itself, served as temporary shelter for the Musa͡u people, who fled their island after the cruiser *Cormoran*'s punitive expedition.

Use of the houses

Parkinson[49] considered the bigger houses that he saw in 1905 on St Matthias as, 'bachelor houses or men's houses, which are not entered by women, and are always regarded as containing a large quantity of weapons'. On the other hand, the Hamburg expedition found that inside these houses the back was almost invariably the cooking area and the domain of the women, while the weapons of the chief and often also those of several other men were stored in the front room. A chief was always nominated as the householder, while the house itself was designated as a 'sing-sing' house. Since the owner lives in the house himself, these houses are a combination of chief's dwelling and meeting house. The same situation existed on Emi̍r. [151] There, on the Etălŭarara͡i farm, was an actual bachelor house as well, in the form of a small house which took in the single men at night. On the other hand, youths did not sleep in the chief's houses. Chief's houses were not seen on Tench.

The simple houses on Tench, Emi̍r, and St Matthias were used by families or by several men as dwellings and sleeping houses. The same is true of the bigger houses on St Matthias and Emi̍r. In polygamous marriages, the lesser wives are housed in individual dwellings, which can be connected with the house of the husband and his first wife by an intermediate structure. The dwellings serve at the same time as storage space for food supplies and implements. On Tench they have a platform under the roof for this purpose, while on St Matthias and Emi̍r they use scaffolds against the walls, or hanging frames, and baskets.

In addition, suitable store houses and implement sheds are erected on poles alongside dwellings on Tench. On St Matthias and Emi̍r people put up sheds after the style of small dwellings, as store houses, field huts, shelters, bush huts and the like, with the pigs fed outside. Semi-roofed sheds also serve as storage for firewood and other material, or for tools.

On St Matthias the children build small huts in the vicinity of the dwellings, as play houses or as permanent housing.

Household furniture

Beds and head rests

Very many houses on St Matthias do not have sleeping places of any kind, so that Parkinson[50] assumed that the locals slept on the bare earth without any underlay. However, on his second visit to the island he noticed low, plank beds in the huts of the east coast villages.[51] Such beds, (*kŏmŏ̍ă*), exist in only some houses, and are customary also on Emi̍r. One form of bed on Emi̍r consists of staves laid side by side and resting on a frame consisting of two pairs of forked sticks pushed into the ground with a one-metre-wide wooden beam across each pair of forks. The bed is 1½ metres long and 50 cm off the ground. Another type of bed is

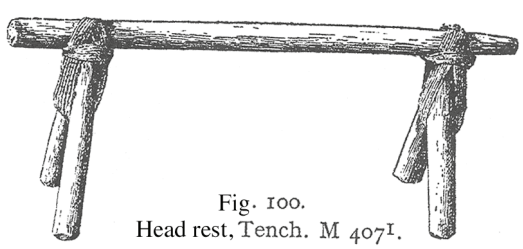


Fig. 100.
Head rest, Tench. M 4071.

[49] 1907, p.333
[50] 1907, p.325
[51] 1907, p.333

framed with three staves 2 m and 1½ m long, held in place [152] by stakes. The area between the staves is laid with mats. Where no beds are available, people may sleep on the *nā́bīĕ* mats used everywhere else for sitting on.

Head supports are common on Tench, and are about 14 cm high and 35 cm long. They consist of a wooden stick fastened to two forked branches by cords, so that the forked branches form the four feet of the head rest.

Hanging arrangements

Bigger houses on St Matthias have a basket, (*kā́lau͡*), plaited from creepers, used to store baskets of taro and other foodstuffs. The floor of the liana baskets consists of three staves, crossing over in the middle, with another spiralled creeper bound firmly to them. The sides of the basket are formed by further winding the creepers, now no longer lying side by side but over the top of one another. Two of the floor staves continue over the basket as arches, and a rough thick eyelet is attached at the point where they cross over. These baskets are over a metre in diameter with a height of 20 cm or about 55 cm including the handle.

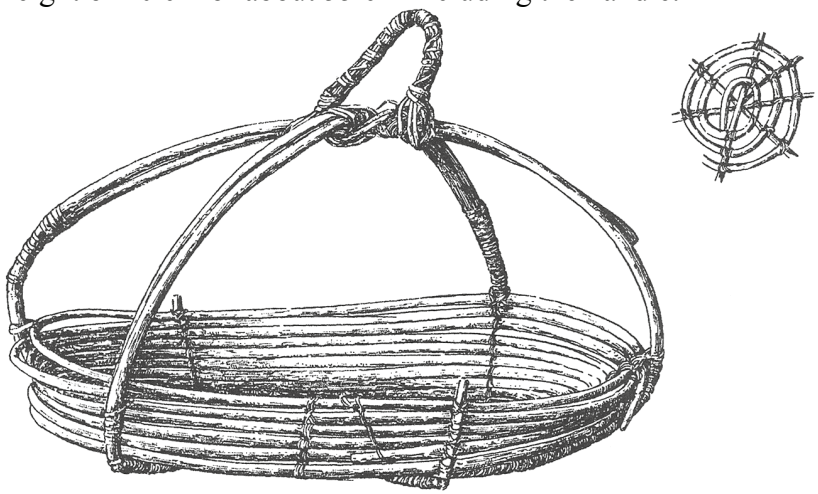


Fig. 101. Hanging basket, Ĕnā́ī. F 9430[I]. ⌀ 106 cm, Height 20 cm, Height including handle 54 cm. Right: Plaiting style of the basket's centre.

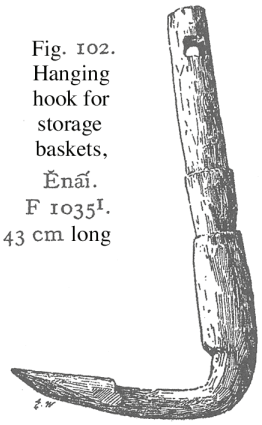


Fig. 102. Hanging hook for storage baskets, Ĕnā́ī. F 1035[I]. 43 cm long

They use a hook, (*kărā́k*), about 45 cm long, with a hole at the top for hanging these baskets. The hook hangs from the roof beam by a cord running through the hole. Or, two loops hang from the ridge beam, [153] supporting a horizontal beam which in turn carries the eyelet of the creeper basket. An oval rat protection board with two peg processes on the ends is strung over each loop and bears the name *ābā́tīpīlau͡*, 'snail'. On one occasion it was also given the name *o̲nū*, 'turtle'.

Coconut flasks for water are hung from the bottom staves of the creeper basket, or from favourite ends of the house beams, or on forked branches, (*pākā́lă*), pushed into the ground.

Scaffold frames, (*āi͡sā́ŏ*), fastened to house walls elsewhere, can also hang from a stave laid over the roof beams.

Baskets are hung from beam projections or from the *āi͡sā́ŏ*, although they are usually placed on the liana baskets or scaffolds.

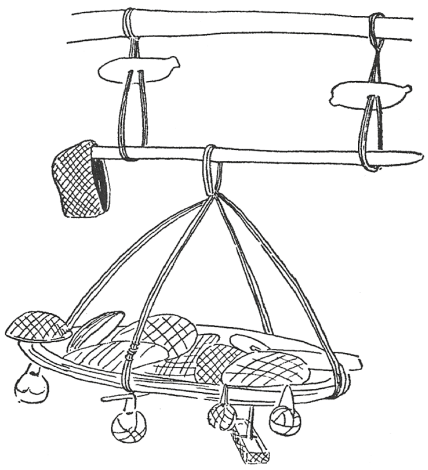


Fig. 103. Storage basket and anti-rat board in a house in Ĕlĕmăkŭnā́ur. After a sketch by H. Vogel.



Village on Tench. phot. Fülleborn



In the village on Tench. phot. Fülleborn

Wall shelves

On St Matthias and Emǐr two or more beams are laid on top of the beams resting on the house posts, to store provisions and items of use. Scaffolds made from beams or sticks tied together are found inside the houses on Emǐr, for storing spears, fruit baskets and the like. Some scaffolds are nothing but triangular brackets made from staves, while others on both islands are more carefully made. These wall shelves, (*a͡iš́ǎŏ*), consist of a layer of staves tied side by side and held in place by two cross staves. By tying alternating lengthwise and cross staves to the rim of the shelf, a rectangular box shape develops, and is made more stable by reinforcing cords in the middle of the lengthwise staves. Bigger shelves with a 75 x 80 cm surface and a height of 16 cm, are fastened to the wall and used for storing baskets, nets, coconut scrapers and the like; smaller shelves hang occasionally from the roof beams. [154]

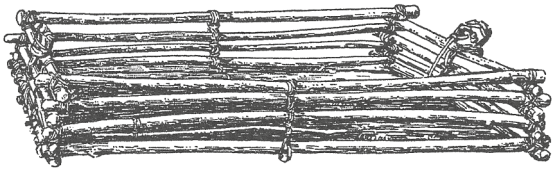


Fig. 104. Wall shelf for household items, Ĕlŏáŭa. F 1007[1]. 75 x 80 x 16 cm.

Benches

In front of many of the houses on Emǐr are bench-like platforms 50–70 cm high and with a board decking; these serve as seats.

Wooden dishes

The types of dish called *lǎ́să*, (*lá́să*), and *á́bā* are made of wood, on St Matthias and Emǐr. The *á́bā* serve as taro dishes or as boards for cutting up pigs. On Emǐr a dish of this sort was seen even used as the door of a house. They are flat dishes, rectangular in shape with long sides bowed and a low rim. They may have two peg-like extensions on the shorter sides as handles.

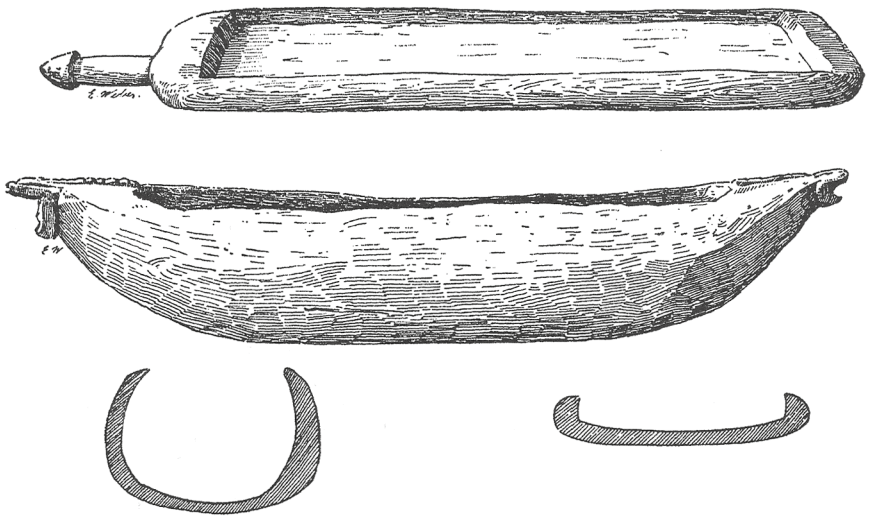


Fig. 105. Eating dishes, Ĕnáĭ. He 2157[1] and 2207[1], 2.

The dishes of the *lǎ́să* type, used for holding grated coconut and for taro, have many different forms. The wood they are made of comes from the *adiṅ́ásă* or *lŏ́tolŏ́to* trees, or from the coconut palm. Dishes of coconut palm wood are called *lǎ́să nǐ́ū*.

The oldest *lắsă* dishes, (*lắsă kaddai͡*), are canoe-shaped, and somewhat decorated at the ends with carving. With a length of about 66 cm and a width of 14 cm, they are 11½ cm high, and hollowed out like a drum but with a wider opening.

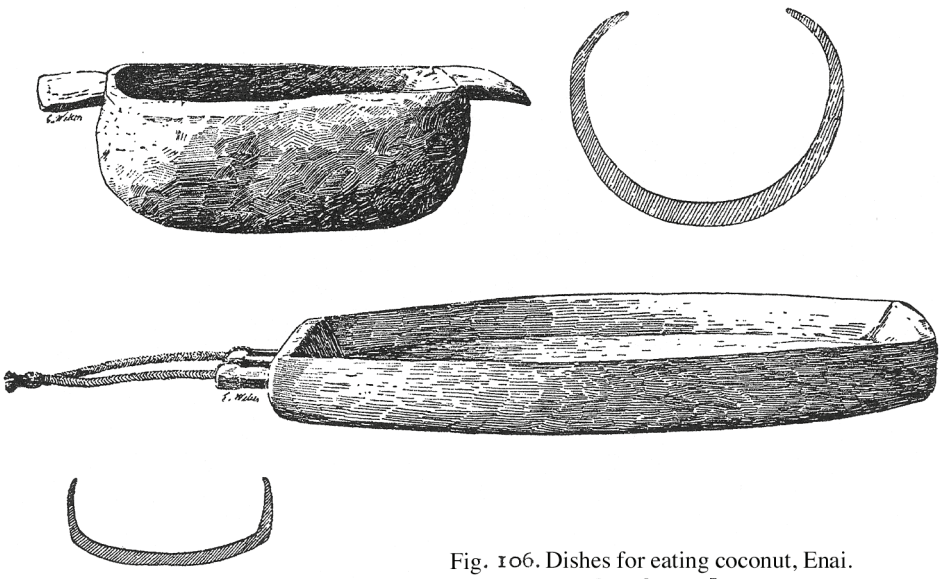


Fig. 106. Dishes for eating coconut, Enai.
He 2147[I] and 2203[I].

Most *lắsă* dishes do not taper at the ends, but have a rectangular base and a circular cross-section. The grain runs lengthwise. For this reason the transverse walls are somewhat thicker. Some dishes of this type have almost vertical long walls, instead of the rounded long walls hollowed out like a drum, whose [155] 24 cm height may be reduced to 5 cm, producing a flat dish instead of a deep bowl. Here the length of the *lắsă* is 25–60 cm, without the handle ends. Arising from the middle, or from the upper portion of the transverse sides of the *lắsă*, are peg-like handles (*ĕṣa͡úṣa͡ú*, *gilĕ*, *ŭsŭúṅa*). They often end in a carved knob or ball, to give a purchase for the hand or to a cord knotted around the handle. The knob may also be shaped into a bird's head, (*usúṅa bălúsu*), or an anchor-like structure, (*íĕ măsála͡u*), or the handle is given a flat, hour-glass decoration. More rarely a handle is added to only one short side. In some instances this grip stands vertically on the upper edge of the short side, or extends horizontally and widened, to allow fastening of a cord eyelet, and provided with two narrow openings. Finally, the end may even taper with a hole through it.[52]

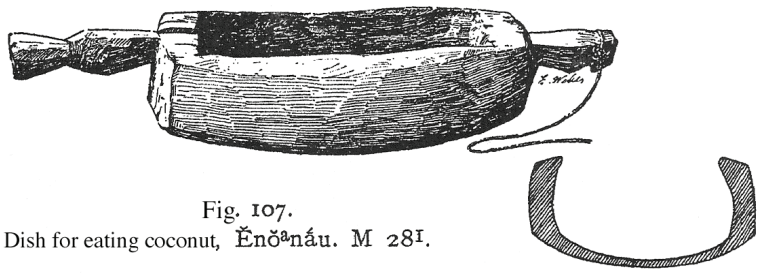


Fig. 107.
Dish for eating coconut, Ĕnŏ[a]nắu. M 28[I].

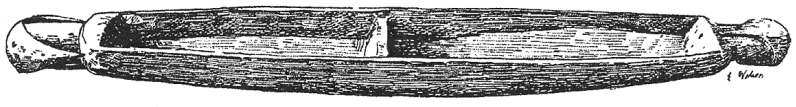


Fig. 108. Two-person dish for eating coconut, Ĕnaĭ. He 2131[I].

Lắsă for two people have a cross-wall, (*gutúṅa wắrig*?, *tukúṅa wắrig*?) in the middle, dividing the inside into two sections. [156]

[52] Berlin Museum VI 18482, Schack Collection 1899

A combination of the canoe form and the recent *lăsă* form on Emĭr has a canoe-shaped end, with carved decoration on the side walls, which continue across a bulky section on the far side of the actual dish, becoming three-dimensional and representing a human figure, until the side is completed by a short handle. The entire *lăsă* represents a little man, and is used to hold grated coconut.[53]



Fig. 109. Dish for eating coconut, Ĕtăsĭnĭnĕ, Emĭr. M 362I.

A dish from St Matthias in the Stuttgart Museum[54] has two canoe-shaped ends, one with a peg. One point on the long wall has a carved decoration of triangles and straight lines. This dish was said to have been used when rubbing on ochre, but it has probably been a dish for grated coconut. In any case, Parkinson's[55] opinion that wooden dishes of this size were too small for preparing or holding food and must therefore have probably been used for rubbing on ochre, has been refuted by observation by the Hamburg Expedition.

A dish in the Berlin Museum[56] is unique, with an oval cross-section of 29 x 24 cm and vertical walls 10–15 cm high, and made from a tree trunk in such a way that the grain in the side walls runs vertically, from the base.

On Tench the wooden dishes are all canoe-shaped, and are 62–94 cm long, 8–12 cm high, and 14–24 cm wide.

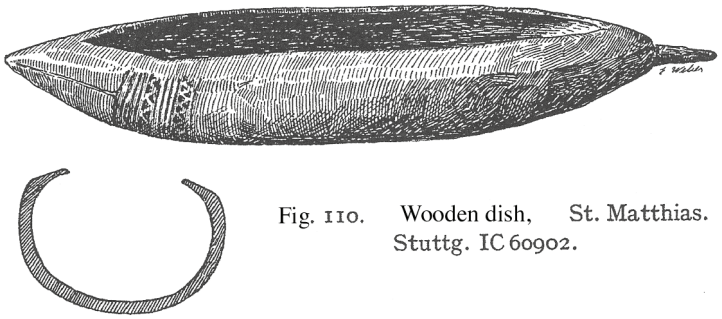


Fig. 110. Wooden dish, St. Matthias. Stuttg. IC 60902.



Fig. 111.
Wooden dish in progress, Tench. He 2476I. 74 cm long.

Most dishes have a peg extending beneath the tapered ends; on one side of the dish the peg may be transformed into an eyelet. Rows of raised points may be carved on the underside of the dish as decoration. The middle row, which may appear on its own, ends in a figure like a fish tail. Two of these figures, one above the other, may combine into a lancet shape. [157]

[53] Such a dish was obtained from the carver himself. The astonishing shape is therefore local.
[54] IC 60902
[55] 1907, p.325
[56] VI 30329, Walden Collection

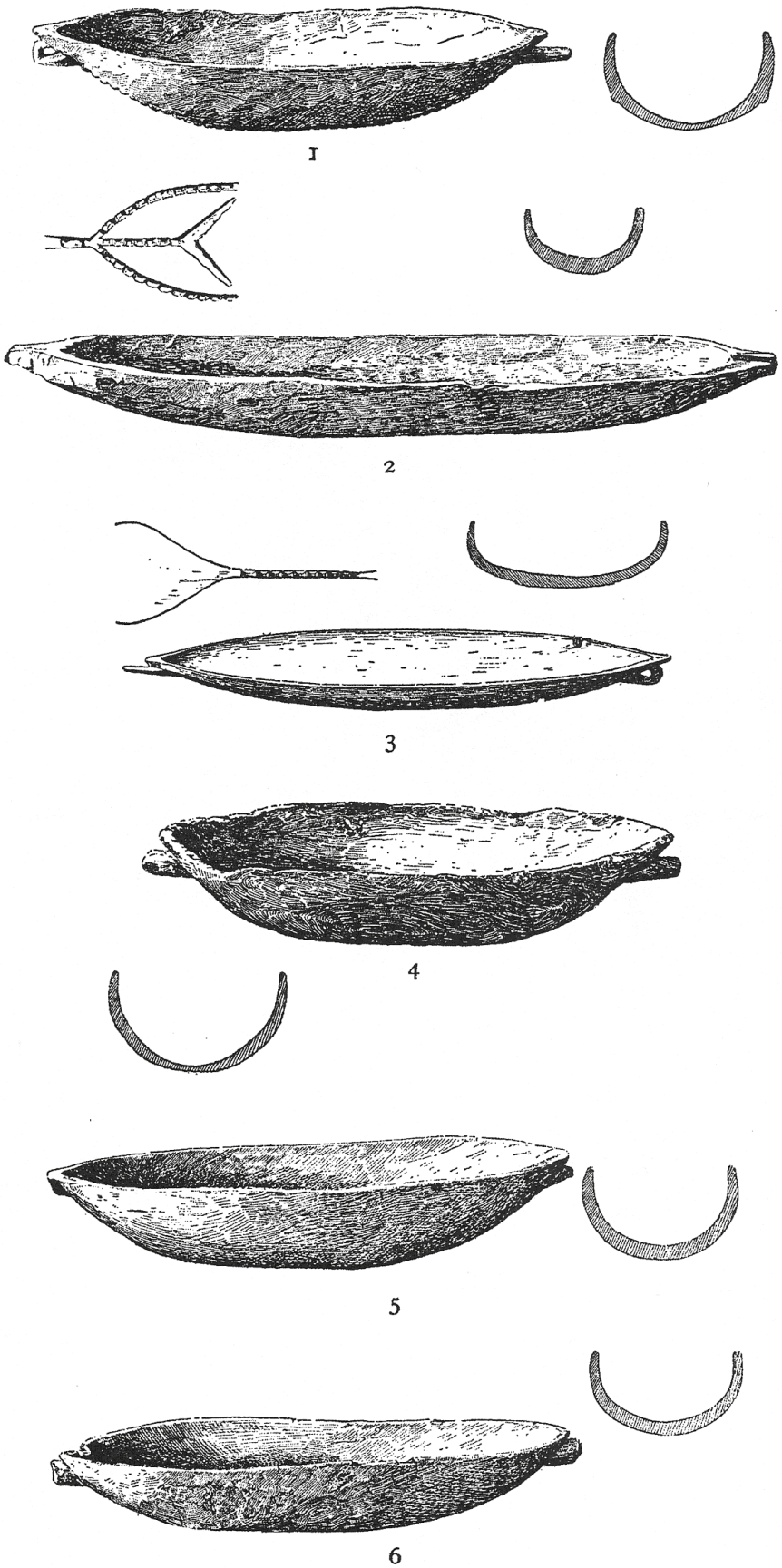


Fig. 112. Wooden dishes, Tench.

1. M 411[I], 73 cm long. — 2. He 2477[I], 94 cm long. — 3. He 2487[I] 64 cm long. — 4. He 2482[I], 63 cm long. — 5. He 2480[I], 64 cm long. — 6. He 2478[I], 62 cm long.

VIII. The Village

Village layout

St Matthias

Well-defined villages do not exist on St Matthias and Emi̇r. Rather, villages consist of individual houses or groups of houses lying fairly close together. Only in rare cases do several huts lie so closely together that you could speak of the nucleus of a village.

The biggest village on St Matthias is Ĕtălắt, which consists of two parts — the more northerly Kătu̇́lūsa͡ì under chief Ta͡ìá́bā, and the more southerly Ĕtălắtĕ[1] whose chief is A͡ìnĕmȯ́rīă. Individual houses or house-complexes of Kătu̇́lūsa͡ì are: Ma͡úla͡ì, Ĕlŏắgē, Ĕtăsi̇́rī, Ĕpălí̇s, Ĕlūăn̊u̇́rū, Ĕbăn̊óī, Ĕsa͡uán, Ĕlūăku̇́tŭ, Sămăsărĭkība͡úš, Liūtăha͡úlū, Tăpălí̇ĭn̊, Tălūa͡ìkĭşȯ́n̊, Tằlēka͡íka͡ì, Tārŏn̊ắnă, Tắlūăyĕ́ri, Tăn̊a͡ìkắkă, Tălūpắtū, Ĕŭn̊ătībīlu̇́ and Tănălūn̊ĕlȯ́mĕ. For Ĕtălắtĕ the list of village components is as follows: Tălu̇́ĕ mătă͡ùbắlă (the seat of the chief), Ĕlĕsa͡uló̲lŏ, Ĕmălí̇t, Tăkȯ́lŏmŏs, Kărа͡úō, Tătīnăbu̇́lĕ, Ĕsălămu̇́şū, Tăpălí̇ĭn̊, Ĕlí̇u̇̆, Ĕŭrí̇ĕb, Ĕŭtắnă, Tālībărú̇ă, Tāăn̊ūgīlắtŏ, Tălŭsu̇́īt, Tălŭn̊a͡ìbátă, Tăn̊ălé͡au, Ĕnu̇́mū, Ĕūtắpŏn, Tăbĕrí̇n̊ăn, Ĕlĭn̊í̇s, Ĕlŏkȯ́s, Tălŭn̊u̇́tū, Lamlắtī and Bŭšūlé͡i. The houses are separated from the beach by a narrow strip of bush, and stand alone or in groups of two or three. Since there is no steep coastline, most of the farms are closer to the sea than are those of other villages. Houses extend roughly three hours' walking distance beyond the strip of bush. However a proportion of farms lie in the bush, and include clusters of as many as ten houses. They stretch right up to the ridge line running roughly parallel with the shore, and forming apparently the western border of the Ĕtălắt district. The village taro fields climb 200 m up the mountainside and are known locally as Ĕ[u]ălắk.

The Ĕlĕsa͡uló̲lŏ (Ĕlŭsa͡ualál) farm, on the beach and forest of the same name, belonged to the chief Tamakujábo,[2] who also owned the Tăpălí̇ĭn̊, (Tapalie) farm, somewhat to the south and further into the bush. In front of Ta͡ìá́bā's house is an open space, like that at the Kărа͡úō, (Ĕkărа͡úa) farm which, together with the Tălu̇́ĕ mătă͡ùbắlă farm, belonged to the chief A͡ìnĕmȯ́rīă. At the latter farm bananas and croton shrubs were in among the scrub regrowing after the bush had been cleared. Kărа͡úō consists of two huts. Unmentioned in the list of village sections, but probably included under another name, the house Etătukun̊aó̲ú̲to of chief Sūku̇́lī stands in an open space near a point, with the bush opening onto it. Besides the men there, we encountered three women, two boys and a girl. [159]

Adjacent to Ĕtălắt is the bush village of Ĭūé.

The first part of the route from Ĕtălắt to Ĕtăsi̇́tĕl goes along the beach until, near Cape Holthusen, the steep coastline forces a climb up to the first terrace. It passes various houses and continues over a grassy plain until the path descends through bush and gardens back to the sea, near Ĕtăsi̇́tĕl.[3]

The village of Ĕtăsi̇́tĕl comprises one part on the shore — only a few houses in the bush near the beach — and a larger section 50 m up on the first terrace. The upper section of the village only consists of scattered isolated farms surrounded by bananas, betel palms and the like. In the lower section of the village is a site for feasts, in the form of a cleared space, irregularly marked-

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[1] Called Ĕtălắt by the southern villages.

[2] Identical with Taiắbā?

[3] *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.152

out and firmly-trodden, a little further from the beach. The settlement of Elemakari[4] forms the southern part of Ětăsĺtěl.

The village of Mắlakăt forms virtually a single village with Ětăsĺtěl. The huts of Mắlakăt, singly or in groups, are no further away from those of Ětăsĺtěl than they are from one another — probably the village of Mắlakăt is only a section of Ětăsĺtěl that was settled by Mắlakăt people. Fenced-in taro fields adjoin the Mắlakăt section.

The old, abandoned settlement of Mắlakăt lay right below the central upland and in nearby valley hollows. There, the taro fields are a kilometre wide along the mountain slopes. Around the tumble-down huts — three were found in the valleys — were bananas, betel palms and coconut palms. A third collapsed hut below the central plateau had a taro garden, fenced but uncultivated. The old settlements extend onto the central upland, even as far as the area above Ěnâì. However, these are only isolated farms collectively known as Mắlakăt, not a well-defined village.

In the old village of Ěrŏĭtăn there were said to have been four designated areas — Ětămōkūnầurŭ on the beach; Ěpălắně adjoining or just beyond; and Ělŏkŏ̋ş̆ă and Ěūmătű up above on the plateau. This village stood on a point. By 1908 huts were no longer found, although there were probably fruit trees and palms. The sparse presence of bigger trees at this spot, indicated that the land had been cleared. The walk to Ěnâì takes about fifteen minutes, leading along the beach, over the half-exposed reef in places, or else roughly fifty metres inland through the bush. The Ěnâì boundary lies somewhat to the north of the stream mouth between the two villages.

The new Ěrŏĭtăn village lies on the second terrace, about a kilometre south of old-Ěrŏĭtăn, and consists of five isolated houses. The enclosed taro fields nearby are opposite Ěnâì. Decorative plants, (*râìrâìĕn* and pĺrĭrĭpĺrĭ), had also been grown. [160]

Ěnâì consists of the Ětăkūnầurŭ site on the beach and the Ětălūĕrŏn̊ section of the village 120 m above, on the terrace. Ětăkūnầurŭ may be divided further into Ětăkūnầurŭ itself and the Tebăkuníuníu farm, each comprising a complete house and a semi-house. Tebăkuníuníu belonged to the chief Wűră who owned another temporary house where he stayed when working in the bush. The pigs were fed regularly near this house too. Breadfruit trees did not belong to Wűră, but grew freely in the bush. Taro plants, bananas, and twenty coconut palms did belong to the farm. The Ětăkūnầurŭ farm had 24 coconut palms. The semi-house stood on the beach, the open side facing the sea. A path led into the bush, passing the complete house which stood ten metres off to the side at the bush edge. In the bush there were even more coconut palms, betel palms, taro plantations, bananas, and breadfruit trees belonging to the farm. Because nets belonging to the man Kusâì, (whose house was in the bush), were found in Tebăkuníuníu, it can be concluded that the lower part of Ěnâì comprises at least five houses. The upper section of Ěnâì is considerably bigger than the beach settlement and also includes a couple of huts inhabited by Mắlakăt people. A 'sing-sing' house also stood there, but was discovered burnt down in 1908. The northern part of Ěnâì, bordering Ěrŏĭtăn, has the name Etanoikákala.[5]

Ělěmăkŭnầur is constructed in such a way that several houses and their fruit trees stand close together, with the taro plantations in the surrounding bush. Yet the scattered building pattern also occurs — a self-contained village does not exist. Fruit trees are more abundant than in Ěnâì. The names of housing groups in Ělěmăkŭnầur are: R̲ŏ̲ş̆ě, Tắlē r̲ŏ̲ş̆ě, Tălŭkăbĺŭ, and Ělūkăbĺŭ. R̲ŏ̲ş̆ě is on the hill, and is controlled by the chief Bầutĭűlū. The chief's house there serves doubly as a meeting house with the big area in front as the festive dance site. Tắlē r̲ŏ̲ş̆ě lies further back, and

[4] German Nautical Chart 393
[5] German Nautical Chart 393

does not have its own chief. Tălŭkăbi̋ŭ is under control of the chief Ăyĕrăşīlīt; and Ĕlūkăbi̋ŭ under Măkărı̊ṅĭtăn. All the huts are situated on an elevation between two bays, with no drinking water. This has to be carried in from a low-lying spring, in coconut flasks.

On the way to Ĕn͡áı̂ are several Ĕlĕmăkŭn͡áur taro plantations, subdivided among their various owners by staves, (g̊l̥ŏ), laid on the ground. The path from Ĕn͡áı̂ to Ĕlĕmăkŭn͡áur runs over high ground for 2½ to 3 hours, then drops down to a stream bed before slowly returning to high ground.

Pălak͡aû too is a scattered settlement. Five huts are together on the beach, while four huts are higher up and no more than five minutes away, with other groups in the bush. Among the latter, a group of four particularly well-constructed [161] huts surrounding a beautifully smooth, stone-free area about fifty metres in diameter with two banana and papaya gardens nearby, was particularly surprising. However, the houses were located 'irregularly and haphazardly'[6] around the area. The rest of the huts lie hidden in the bush and are very poorly constructed. The group of huts already mentioned near the beach settlement comprises four houses, one behind the other — the small in front and the two bigger ones behind being dwellings while the fourth, small, hut is a shed for firewood. The gable sides of the dwellings face one another. The entrances to the first and second dwellings are situated on the gable side facing the shed, so that the doors of the first and second dwellings open onto the closed gable side of the second and third dwellings. Bananas have been planted around the huts. The only fruit trees near the beach settlement are paw paws. Two coconut palms have also been planted there, and fenced in.

In 1913 the village of Taṅaitutu was discovered hidden in the mangroves on the south coast, and the village of Erriṅan with scattered huts on the grassy elevation. Ĕlŏlı̊ăṅ was accessible only via a washout of the steep coast where one had to climb thirty metres to the first terrace followed by a twenty-minute walk along a wide, gently-rising path through the bush and extensive taro patches. On the west coast, Lobaraṅ was located on higher ground about twenty minutes above the beach; Lumussus was hidden in the bush; and Ĕūtānālı̊u was in a forested valley basin with a spring beneath the overhang of the third terrace.[7]

On Ĕmănán̊us a few poor scattered huts lay roughly in the middle of the coast facing the atoll in 1908. By 1912 only the western third of the island was inhabited. Between the habitation site of Eraua on the north coast and the 'main village' of Tagolugolu on the north-west point were large taro plantations, and about two hectares near Eraua had been planted out with coconut palms[8] for trade with the factory on Ĕkălĕ̊ŭ.

Ĕlŏăŭa has the dwelling sites of Tăkŭn͡áuru with five houses; Ĕlĭ[u]ĕ́ně with two groups of houses, one of them consisting of two houses with seven breadfruit trees and eight coconut palms; Ĕlŭ̊ŭṅŭ͡aı̂ with a greater number of houses; and Tālēkălŭ̊ēte. The settlement is scattered there too, as it is on the main island. In 1913 five habitation sites were found, some of them with alternative names: Taliukalai, Eurungattu, Luungwä (= Ĕlŭ̊ŭṅŭ͡aı̂), Tamulieng (= Ĕlĭ[u]ĕ́ně?), and Saumäre (= Tăkŭn͡áuru, Tālēkălŭ̊ēte?).[9] Either new dwelling sites had arisen by that time, or else the old ones had been incorporated somewhere differently from the 1908 locations. By 1913 gardens of taro and sweet potatoes were established on the eastern highland. [162]

In 1908 Ĕnŏ[a]nắŭ had only one single farm, Evaṅ͡aı̂lu.[10]

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[6] Vogel, 1911, p.25

[7] *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.151

[8] *Amtsblatt*, p.149

[9] *Amtsblatt*, p.150

[10] The farm name and the name of the island have been interchanged by Hellwig (*Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition*, 1908–1910, I, 1927, p.48).

There were several individual farms on Musa͡u. One of them, belonging to the chief Pākĕlŭ, was called Ále. All the coconut palms on the island, about 13 or 14 of them, belonged to him and, in contrast with the others, his taro gardens were demarcated by staves, as were the adjoining paths.

Emı́r

The village of Ĕbūlīĕ́lĕ on Emı́r is situated on a terrace about 30–40 metres high, and consists of groups of three or four huts placed haphazardly, with bush or gardens between. The individual groups of Ĕbūlīĕ́lĕ huts are Ĕba͡irīrŏ́ṅ on the shore of Hamburg Bay; Ĕsīūlắkă with the chief's house; Ĕpălŏ́ílī[11] and Ĕpa̍̀bīlībı́lī with two and three houses respectively; Ĕpŏ́ănūămó̱šū[12] and Ĕtá͡ilă, (Eta̍́wilu), with two dwellings and an abandoned house nearby; Ewá͡u on the beach; and Etălŭarara͡i with one bigger house and two smaller dwellings on the beach. Like Ĕsīūlắkă, the second 'sing-sing' site, Tăpăkămălı́a͡i, possibly belongs to Ĕbūlīĕ́lĕ too. Between Ĕtá͡ilă and the Ĕlĕ́ūā district lies the Ĕlōūnŭ́să, (Emanaá͡unăne), group of huts which appears to be autonomous, and had recently been at war with Ĕtá͡ilă or Ĕbūlīĕ́lĕ, yet not much further away from Ĕtá͡ilă than the latter is from Ĕpŏ́ănūămó̱šū. The vegetation near Ĕtá͡ilă indicates that settlement of this region took place quite a long time ago. The forest has been greatly thinned in places. Traces of giant trees that had been cut down could be seen only here and there. Over the course of time many farms had existed there, in the bush and on the beach; now nothing remains of them.

The village of Ĕlĕ́ūā is situated in a bay with a smooth sandy beach and extends a great distance. There too, the houses and groups of houses are widely separated.

The neighbouring village of Ĕtăsĭṅĭ́ně has a big 'sing-sing' house, (the chief's house), and is similarly scattered over a great distance.

Ĕpăkắně is a settlement that has been split into two unequal sections by the Tăpắsōăn water course. Belonging to this settlement are the village section of Erŭterı́́te, (Éŭrătărá́ta), with seven houses including that of a chief, and extensive fenced plots of taro, tapioca, and bananas; Etabukäsi with two family houses; a group of two more houses five minutes away; and the abandoned farm, Kaba͡ile.

Tench

Terraced paths lead over the outer walls to the village on the western side of Tench. The village lies in the furrow between the outer and [163] inner wall and, from the sea, it is completely hidden from view, because the outer wall is overgrown by bush. The trench dictates the shape of the village. The huts stand one or two rows deep, one behind the other, with lean-tos alongside. Also, the paths leading over the inner wall into the bush are terraced. Short poles driven into the ground with tree trunks laid behind them form these terraces, and serve at the same time to reinforce the paths. At one point where the inner wall has collapsed, or is perhaps particularly low, there is a fence of sticks crossing at right angles.

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[11] Not Epololı́́li, (Hellwig, p.72).

[12] *mó̱šū* = pig

District boundaries

North of Ĕnâi's end houses, the boundary between the districts of Ĕnâi and Ĕrŏĭtăn passes between a southerly stream belonging to Ĕnâi, and a northerly tongue of land belonging to Ĕrŏĭtăn. At this point the Ĕnâi people squatted down, and continued on only after special entreaties, even though they were in good standing with the Ĕrŏĭtăn people.

IX. Trade and Communication

Canoes

St Matthias and Emĭr

Parkinson, who visited the offshore islands south of St Matthias in 1900, wrote about their canoes:[13] 'As a consequence of their very rough tools, canoe-building is not of a high standard. The canoes consist of hollowed-out tree trunks with outriggers and a float attached. No decoration either in the form of painting or carving was noticed on those canoes that we saw. The vessels were propelled by paddles with broad blades like lances.' On the other hand, in 1905 he saw better canoes on the eastern side of the main island, probably near Ĕtăsĭtĕl and Ĕtălăt.[14] 'These stately craft are up to 24 metres long, are carved and painted at both ends with great care, and not without skill. The vertical boards as well, to which the outrigger is fastened, are carved and daubed in bright colours. The filigree carving at both ends of the canoe is highly reminiscent of similar work in Kaniet.[15] These great vessels are capable of carrying 30–40 adults.' [164]

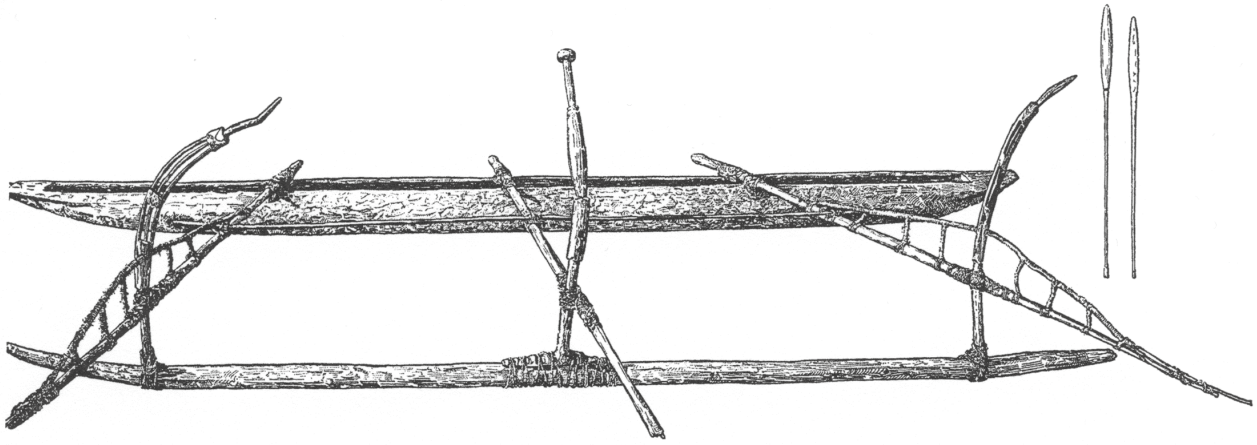


Fig. 113. Canoe, Ĕbūlīĕlĕ, Emĭr. M 507[I]. 723 cm long.

The outrigger canoes are called *ŏlĭmŭ*, *ŏlĭmŭ*, or *ŏlĭmo* on St Matthias, and *ō̲lĭmă* on Emĭr according to Friederici.[16] In 1913 the word *olimo* was heard for canoe on St Matthias, and *panake* for the (European?) rowing boat.[17] A model canoe that Schoede collected on St Matthias[18] bore the

[13] 1907, p.328
[14] 1907, p.334
[15] The carving of the oblong dishes, (Parkinson, 1905, p.72)
[16] 1912, p.273
[17] *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.152

name *kauta*. Big richly-ornamented canoes are called *măŭă* on Emĭr. This designation is said to be common on St Matthias, but was not heard.

Ŏlĭmŭ is also the name of the dugout made from the wood of the *gigíma* tree. Only smaller canoes were seen near Ĕnŏ[a]nā̆ŭ, whose dugouts were so confined inside, (*pā̆nă* on Emĭr, according to Friederici), that a man could stand with his feet on both gunwales at the same time. One of these dugouts was extensively cracked and had been stitched together again. At one point both edges of the slit had been bored through, and pulled together by strings through the holes. At another point, where the slit was too wide, a small flat board had been laid over it and firmly sewn on using the same string.

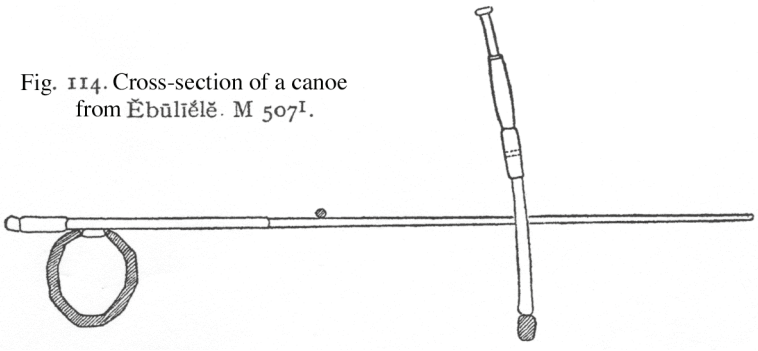


Fig. 114. Cross-section of a canoe from Ĕbūlīĕlĕ. M 507[I].

The outrigger beam, (*sāmā̆nă*; according to Friederici *sămā̆nă*, and on Emĭr *sā̆mănă*), is fastened onto small boats with a [165] binding called *tĭ́păyă*. On the outrigger beam two forked branch pieces are fastened on in such a way that the tip is firmly secured to the outrigger. Probably, it is also inserted into one of the holes bored in the outrigger beam, under the rope lashing. Both fork ends rise upwards, and the outrigger pole is fastened firmly onto them. Another cord over the outrigger pole may hold the upper part of the fork-ends together. There is no grating.

Much more commonly, and true of all the bigger boats, the connection between dugout and outrigger beam is by means of three outrigger poles, (*ĭĕ́rŏ*, *ĭā́rŏ*; according to Friederici, *yĕ́rŏ* or *ĭyĕ́rŏ*, and on Emĭr *yĕ́rọ* or *ĭyĕ́rọ*). The middle outrigger pole is united with the outrigger beam by a connecting stick called *păpā́s*[u] or *păpā́s*; or *pāpā́să* on Emĭr according to Friederici, in the form of an inverted 'T'. The *păpā́s*[u] is made from a section of tree with a branch running horizontally, or almost horizontally. The portion made from the trunk part rests horizontally on the middle of the outrigger beam and is fastened to it by wrappings of creeper bast, (*ọā́lă* on Emĭr, according to Friederici), at both ends. Thickenings near the ends and grooves on the underside of the connecting stick prevent the cord from slipping. The portion made from the branch now stands vertically on the outrigger beam, and is tied to the outrigger pole by a wrapping of coconut fibre cord, (*bŏ́bŏ*[u]; *bŏbā͡u* on Emĭr, according to Friederici). Added on top of this binding is a further 'auxiliary binding, like a handrail', also found in exactly the same way on the two outer outrigger poles and stick bindings. The end of the *păpā́s*[u] rises freely upward and is embellished by carving.

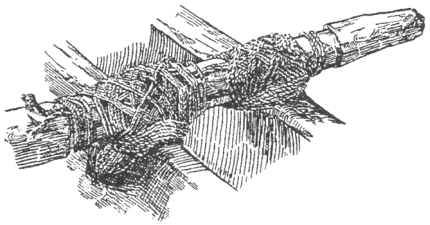


Fig. 116. Binding of gunwales and outrigger poles of a canoe from Ĕbūlīĕlĕ. M 507[I].

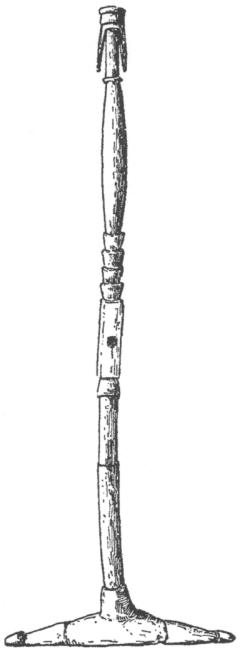


Fig. 115. Păpā́s[u] of a canoe from Ĕlĕmăkŭnā́ur. M 465[I].

The three outrigger poles are tied to the dugout by cords (*ta͡ìrĭ́rĭ*[19]), pulled through holes (*ta͡ìtắtŏ*[20]) in both gunwales. Fastened directly below them, on either inside wall of the dugout, is a piece of wood called *a͡i sọsọắta͡u* on Emĭr, according to Friederici. Parallel, and not far from the

[18] Berlin Museum VI 31879

[19] *Bŏbā͡u*, according to Friederici.

[20] Perhaps not the name of the holes themselves, but that of their packing with plant fibres

dugout, a cross stave, [166] (*a͡inĭç̀a͡uă*), binds the three outrigger poles. Often, a second cross stave is attached to the outrigger and ties onto the opposite side.

The front and rear outrigger poles connect two tie sticks with the outrigger beam. Like the middle connecting stick, these are called *pāpắsă* on Emĭr, according to Friederici, although as on St Matthias they probably have the name *kārŭ́ṅă*, *kărŏ́ṅă*, or *kărŭ̲́mă*,[21] relating particularly to the upper part. Their lower ends probably fit into holes in the outrigger beam, possibly secured only by creeper cord, so that they stand upright on the beam. They are bound to the outrigger poles with

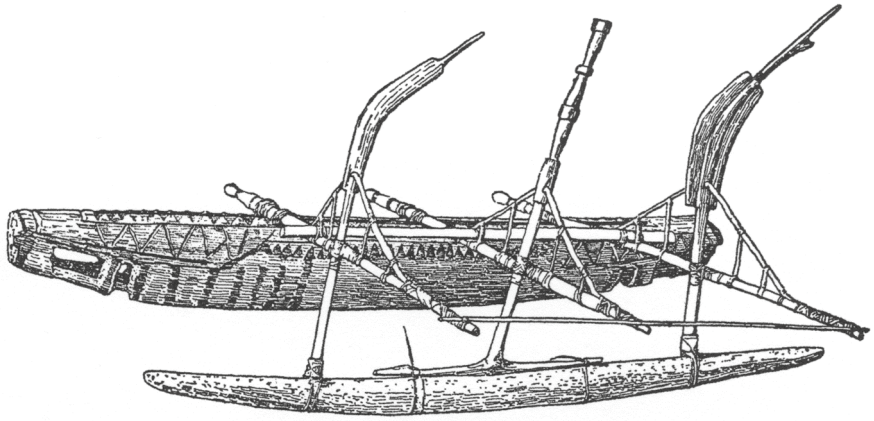


Fig. 117. Model canoe (child's toy), Ĕmānánus. M 193[I].

coconut fibre cord. On top of this binding is a supplementary binding like a handrail, (*tălĭṅă bắ la͡u*[22] or *vắla͡u*; *a͡i gărā́ŭm* on Emĭr according to Friederici). In *kārŭ́ṅă* and *păpắs*^{u} it consists of a curved stick passing through a hole in the connecting sticks, with both ends bound firmly to the outrigger poles by creeper bast. The end of the supplementary connecting stick facing the dugout is always bound firmly to the outrigger pole between dugout and cross stave, so that the cross stave is fixed in the angle between it and the outrigger pole. On both sides of the connecting stick every two or three cords join the outrigger stave to the accessory connecting curve. A canoe from Ĕkălĕŭ was decorated with the frayed ends of this cord and by fibrous fringes passing between, and knotted around the outrigger pole. According to Friederici's drawing[23] it may be that the curve does not pass through a hole in the connecting stick, but is bound firmly to it. If this is actually the case and is not an error in the drawing, it would apply only to the *păpắs*^{u}, but not to the *kārŭ́ṅă*. [167]

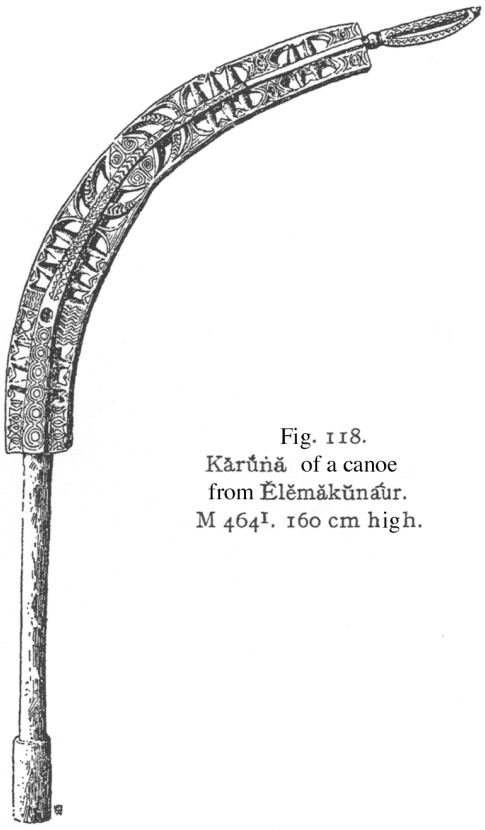


Fig. 118.
Kārŭ́ṅă of a canoe
from Ĕlĕmăkŭnaŭr.
M 464[I]. 160 cm high.

Friederici[24] has described the upper section of the *kārŭ́ṅă* as 'a figure like a boomerang pointing forwards'. This canoe ornament is formed from the upper end of the connecting staves, widened into a board, with a raised ridge on both sides of the mid-section, as a continuation

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[21] Cf. *kắrŭṅ*, 'carved braces between planks placed on top', on Pāk, and *kắtŭṅ*, 'reinforcing of planks set on top', on Móuk, Admiralty Islands, (Friederici, 1912, pp. 227–228).

[22] = 'spear cane'?

[23] 1912, p.273, Fig.78

[24] 1912, p.273

of the stave. The board is bent forwards, roughly in the middle. The rib continues a little beyond the border and is either tapered or decorated in some other way. The tip may either be wavy, or broadened and carved in filigree, or even shaped into a fish with its head turned towards the board.[25] Spotted in Ĕnŏ^{a}nā̆ŭ was a decoration of rattles, (*ū̆ĕ kărē͡roi*), tied onto the expanded filigree work at the tip of a *kārŭ̊ńă*. Occasionally the tip is missing. The curved board of the *kārŭ̊ńă* is often carved and perforated in places. In Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl white or brightly painted *kārŭ̊ńă* were also seen. A jagged line on them was called *pă̊năpă̊nă*; a wavy line was *tă̊rĭtĭ̆*; a straight line alongside a dotted line, *kă̊lītĕb* or *īṣīm*o͟*ṣŭ*;[26] a figure of two spear-shaped designs with their points joined by angular lines was *tŭkŭtŏ́lŏ*;[27] a circle transected by a horizontal line and containing four spirals, with two half-moons facing it: *īṣīm*o͟*ṣŭ*[6] and *ŭ́lăn*;[28] and another figure was called *kătŭn͡aìlŏ́bă*.[29] The *kārŭ̊ńă* of an Ĕbūlīĕ́lĕ canoe at Emĭ̊r carried the image of a European with a fish on his chest, as decoration. A decline in production of the *kārŭ̊ńă* is explained by the note accompanying two *kārŭ̊ ńă* in the Stübel collection from 'Buliäle, New Ireland'(!) gifted to the Dresden Museum in 1914. The note declares, 'as they are no longer made'. [168]

In the canoes provided with *păpă̊s*^{u} and two *kārŭ̊ńă*, a grating, (*a͡içắlo͟ ắtŏ*), is often fitted over the outrigger staves in the middle third.

In big canoes, which require a greater number of outrigger staves and connecting poles, the middle connecting pole is always a *păpă̊s*^{u}, while the rest are *kārŭ̊ńă*.

A child's canoe from Ĕmănā́nus had a different style of connecting the outrigger — two outrigger poles and two *păpă̊s*^{u}, which were designated as *babátš* (= *păpă̊s*?) and were made from the wood of the *ita͡ú* tree.

The outrigger floats are more usually on the starboard side, but often on the port side too.[30]

Dugouts have no added planking. Bow pieces, (*ka͡ikaí͡nă* on Emĭ̊r, according to Friederici), are also rare, and occur only as 'strong reinforcing gunwales in the bow (as in New Hanover)'.

The stem is called *ĕmŭ́ă* on Emĭ̊r, (*ĕmŏ́ă*, according to Friederici), and the stern *ēmŭ́lī*, (*ĕmụ́lị*, according to Friederici). Both are 'very similar to each other, although with a little care they can be distinguished', but only rarely are they shaped differently. On Emĭ̊r Friederici was given the names for different parts of the stem: *ŭrụ́nă* (head), *pĭsịnă* (hole in the bowsprit), and *mŭsụ́kẹ* (the upper flat section).[31] *Útŭń gĭ́lĕ* (?) was heard also, on Musa͡u, as the name for the hole in the stem.

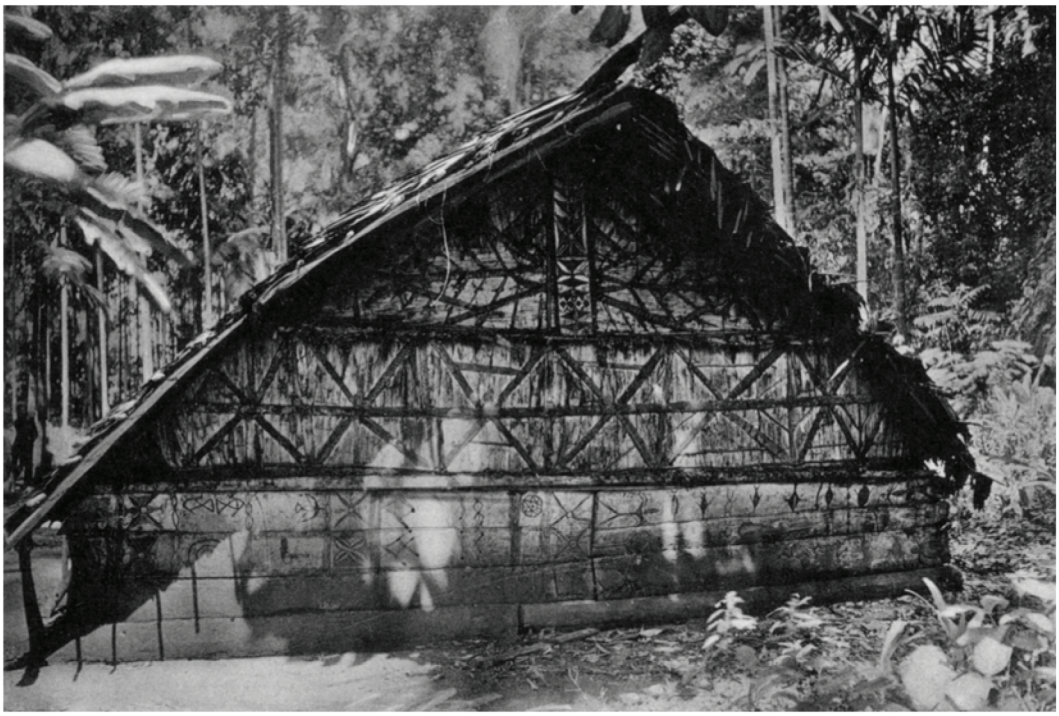
The simplest form of stem was seen in the stern of a canoe from the western village of Musa͡u, and consisted of a slightly-projecting area above the end of the dugout running sharply upward, with an oblong hole under the flat part. The stem of this canoe had a hole under the flat part too, but in front of it was a rather thick head-like portion, also under the flat part, and behind it eleven red stripes painted round the belly of the canoe, one behind the other, with four fibre-cord fringes hanging down between them. Fibres were knotted in a similar fashion in the part under the hole as well. In most canoes the head part of the stem resembles a bird's beak curving downwards and, behind the oblong hole, the circumference of the dugout has sharply-defined rings like a neck. Behind this constriction, the actual body of the dugout continues, again well-defined, or else a portion carved like a band is laid around the body. Seldom does the stem decoration deviate from

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[25] Friederici, 1912, p.273, Fig.80 from Emĭ̊r
[26] Boar's tusk
[27] 'Stop long sodawater'.
[28] Moon
[29] 'Stop long *rī̆uai*'.
[30] Friederici, *loc. cit.*
[31] 1912, p.273



Chief's house in Ĕbūlīĕ́lĕ, Emŕr phot. Fülleborn



Chief's house in Ĕbūlīĕ́lĕ. Rear view. Emŕr phot. Fülleborn

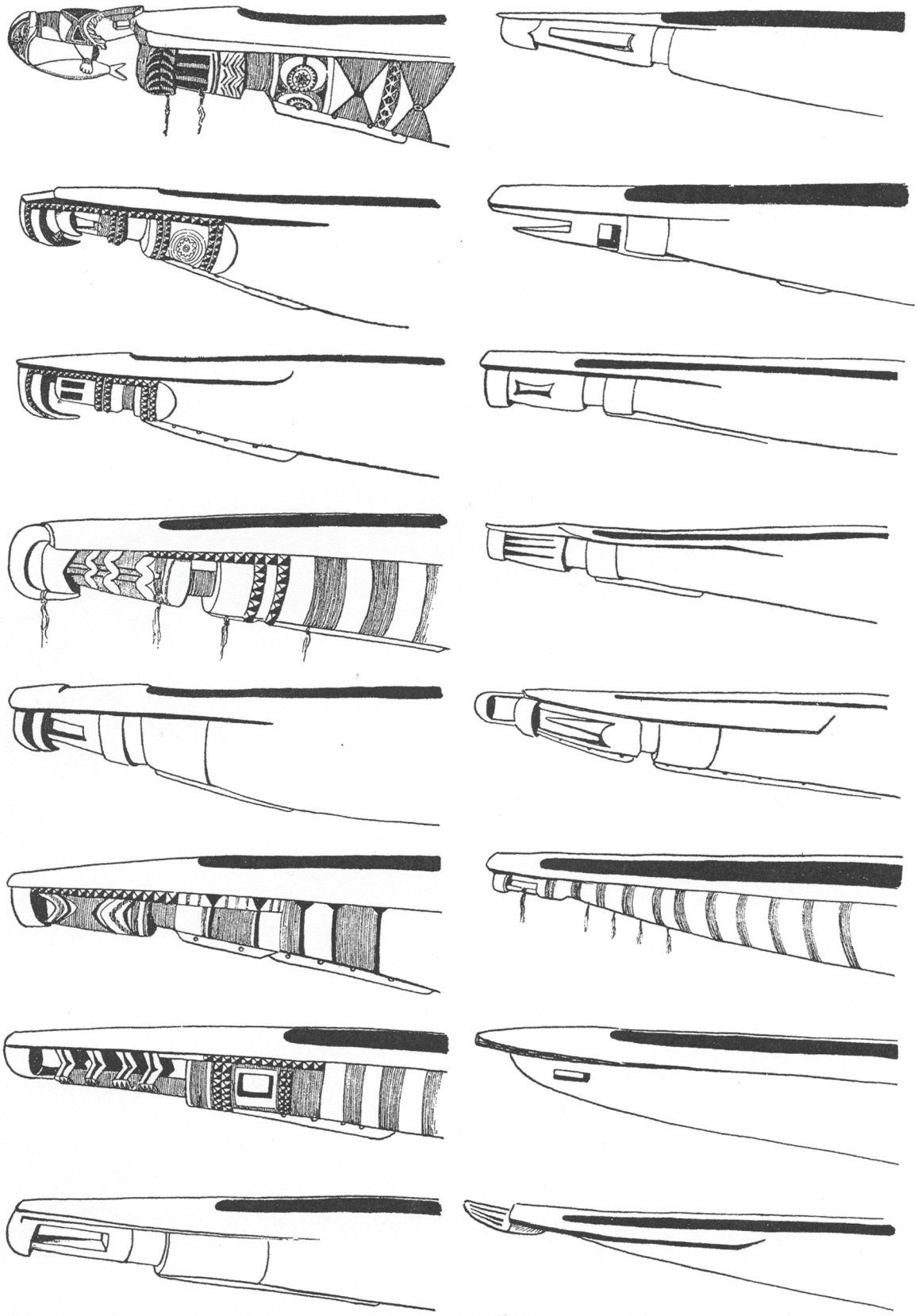


Fig. 119. Canoe prows from St Matthias, particularly Ĕnŏ^{a}náŭ und Ĕlŏáŭa. Top left, prow of a festival canoe from Ĕlŏáŭa. Left : 2. and 3. Figure from beneath the stern and prow of a canoe from Ĕtăsítĕl. After sketches by H. Vogel.

this format. For instance, a stem from the western village of Musa͡u, had a spur under the flat part instead of the head, while another had a couple of peaks behind the head, in place of the hole. However the other stem of both of these vessels did not deviate from the usual style. In some instances the flat part also sank towards the tip, [170] and slightly raised towards the inside of the vessel, forming an angle over the neck-like part of the canoe, between the gunwale and the upper part of the prow. The prow illustrated by Friederici[32] appears to be markedly distorted.

A totally different type of stem post is much more tapered so that the flat part juts quite a distance over the body of the boat. A decoration is chiseled under the tip of the flat part, taking the form of a little board with carving on both sides, curved beneath and almost straight on top, rather like the head and beak of a bird.

On the southern islands of St Matthias the name for both types of stem post — one with the head, hole and neck, and the other with the small decorative board — was *ăçắṅă kălĭắto* or (*ắtŏ-da*) *kălĭắ* and *ű̲ṣŭṅ bălű̲sŭ*.

The festive canoes belong among the first type, with head, hole, and so on, but are distinguishable by more painstaking, richer carving and painting. White colouring is obtained from *mắmămắmă* coral and put on the canoes with water. A festive canoe from Ĕlŏắŭa bore as its head the naturalistic figure of a red kite (*ta͡uta͡ukŏ*) with a fish (*mălătű*) held in its beak, pointing downward, and its talons. The whole canoe was named *ta͡uta͡ukŏ-mălătű-ŏlĭmŭ*, after this stem decoration. Black spar-shaped designs on the actual head of the stem behind the bird figure were called *măsắbŏ*, while red and black zigzag lines were *tắrĭtī*. Between these two, a corresponding black pattern was repeated, one above another, in place of the stem hole. Circular decorations behind the stem collar were called *tű́rū*, while triangular decorations between them were named *tắpărō*. Behind them were areas divided by diagonal lines in which the triangles were filled in, in red and white. The white triangles were called *uru gela*, and a line of rhomboids filled with pairs of vertical lines, between the two areas, was called *kătŭṅa͡iṅŭa͡i*. Under the stem post was a ledge with holes for knotting bunches of bast.

The circular decoration was also seen on another canoe from Ĕlŏắŭa, and on wrecked canoes on the Ĕrŏ́ĭtăn border, opposite Ena͡i.

Also, the head of a festive canoe from Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl, curving downward like a bird's beak, was described as the beak (*ű̲ṣŭṅ*) of the *ta͡uta͡ukŏ* or *măn̆ĭta͡u* — the red [171] kite. Behind, multiple legs (*ārắrā*) of the bird were added to the stem post, four on either side. A diamond-shaped decoration, (*īṣĭ́kŏ*), repeated in bands around the hole in the stem post, imitated the design on a woman's kilt, (*ba͡içĕ*). A triangle was indicated as *kălīŭlĭ́ŭ*,[33] a jagged band as *tĕra͡ura͡u*, (sea eagle), spar-shaped figures as *mù̲ṣĭ́kī*,[34] and a spar with dots over it was designated as (*pătŭkĭrăka͡ubābā*), flies.

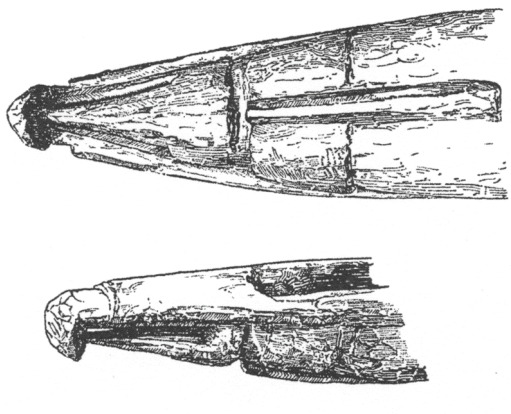


Fig. 120.
Prow of a canoe from Ĕbūlĭĕlĕ, Emĭr. M 507[1].

This boat, another from Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl, and one from Ĕnŏ[a]nắŭ were all decorated with broad red stripes at regular intervals round the body of the canoe.

The multiple representation of the legs of the red kite was repeated on a festive canoe from the southern islands off St Matthias.

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[32] 1912, p.273, Fig.79

[33] 'Stop long sodawater'.

[34] 'Stop long nothing'. The figure is an imitation of crab tracks.

From the names *t͡aut͡aúkŏ* and *u̲ṣŭn̓ bălu̲sŭ*, it follows that the point of the stem post in each case represents the head or beak of a bird — either the red kite or the wild pigeon, (*bălu̲sŭ*). On the other hand, no special significance is evident from the rest of the decoration, although ornamental names do exist. These, however, might be intuitive.

Decorated little sticks, (*pakanajilu*[35]), were collected on St Matthias by Schoede. These served as canoe ornaments, hung on strings; otherwise they were kept in a pouch, (*pakaneie*).

From a comparison of the St Matthias and Emŕr canoes with other Melanesian canoes, Friederici[36] came to the conclusion that they belonged to the same type as the canoes from New Hanover and northern New Ireland. According to his observations on New Hanover, hull and outrigger fastening are of similar pattern, down to the level of the auxiliary binding (missing there) over the outrigger poles; while the *kārŭn̓ă* is also found on New Hanover, though only rarely.

There is no structural difference between the canoes of St Matthias and Emŕr. The Emŕr canoes are distinguishable only by their better presentation and, above all, by a higher sheer.

On St Matthias the canoes of Ětălát and Ětăsítěl are the best presented, and are fairly large. These festive canoes are housed in proper boat sheds.[37] Smaller canoes without painting and the like are simply pulled up on the shore. In the Ěnáî district, canoes are exceptionally rare and rather small, while on the southern islands they are again very numerous, albeit normally very small, often for only one or two people, although there are also eight- to ten-person canoes.[38] The people of Ělŏlíăn̓, Lobaran̓, Lumussus, and Ěūtānālíū do not have any canoes at all.[39] [172]

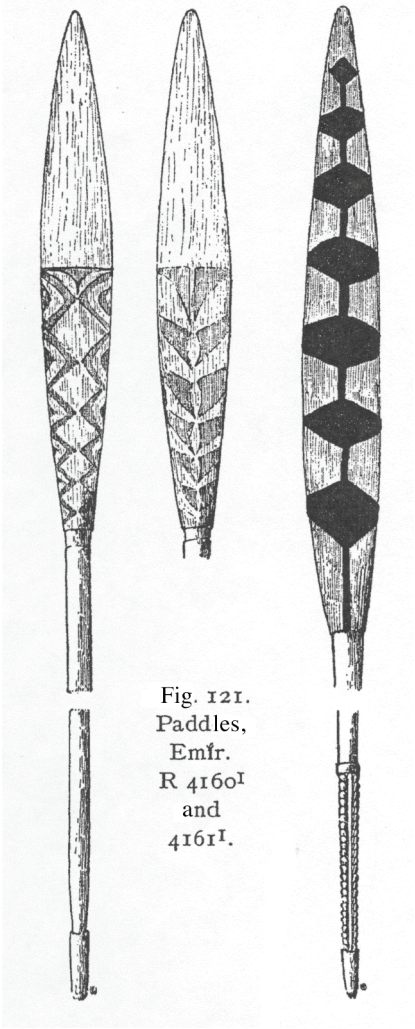


Fig. 121. Paddles, Emŕr. R 4160[1] and 4161[1].

In Ěnáî, two men, Kŏpă and Těkărābă, were dedicated canoe builders. They did not receive any payment for their labour, but were sustained by their 'employers' during the construction period. Canoe-building requires a number of people working together; these then jointly own the canoe.

Măsŭlaùbau and Tamătáĺla had built a canoe together in Pălakau, and jointly owned it.

Sails are not used. Propulsion is by paddles or thrusting poles. The latter, (*aikélĭ*; according to Friederici,[40] *ai‿kélĭ*) were seen only on the small islands off St Matthias. A simple smooth spear with a brightly-banded point was seen on one occasion being used as a thrusting pole. Oars are called *ŏçĕ* on St Matthias; *hose* according to Parkinson; *ōsé* according to Schoede; *o̲sẹ* according to Friederici; and, from the *Komet*, *osee*.[41] In Pălakau the name *lŏtolŏto* was heard for paddles made from *adiṅása* wood. Friederici reports the Emŕr name for paddles to be *o̲sẹ* as well. Their blade is spear-shaped, without a rib. It is about a quarter of the total length of the paddle. The handle is straight, with a thickened end in relief, tapering into a

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35 1912, p.273
36 Parkinson, 1905, p.72
37 Berlin Museum VI 31884
38 Parkinson, 1901, p.231
39 *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.152
40 1912, p.273
41 Cf. *hŏs* on Móuk, Admiralty Islands, (Friederici, 1912, p.228).

cone. The total length of the paddles is 2–2½ metres. On Emĭr also, their handles are carved and the blade too is carved and painted. Its upper end may also be shaped into a spear point, with ornamentation, incisions, and a smooth tip.

On Emĭr, according to Friederici, vessels made from coconut shell (*k͡oi̯k͡oi̯*), are used as bailers. In the Linden Museum in Stuttgart is a wooden bailer from St Matthias[42] in the form of a rectangular bowl with a 12½ cm long handle extending horizontally from one of the narrow ends. The bailer is 47 cm long, including the handle. Its width is 10 cm and its height 5½ cm. However, it is suspected that this bailer was actually an eating bowl. Two bailers in the New Hanover style were seen near Pălaka͡u, and had probably drifted ashore from New Hanover. [173]

Slightly concave boards (*ăbăn̆ ūbăn̆*) in the canoe are for transporting sink nets.

Finally, included in the Emĭr canoes' equipment are blowing instruments made from triton shells, (*kaue* according to Parkinson, *ka͡uvĕ* according to Friederici), for signalling.

Tench

King[43] describes the Tench canoes: 'These canoes appeared to be made out of a large tree, and were well shaped, with a hooke [*sic.*] made of wood at each end, the use of which we could not possibly guess; the largest of them appeared to be about 28 feet long. Each canoe had a long outrigger, to prevent them from oversetting.' The St Matthias canoes seemed to him 'apparently of the same construction'. Two of the Tench canoes that he saw were both occupied by seven men; two others were two-man canoes. Parkinson[44] observed that most canoes were for two or three crew, but he also saw one on the beach that could probably take ten people. Besides outrigger and floats he too noticed the stern decoration that King mentioned, which, in his description, 'formed a projecting knob which bore a remote resemblance to a fish head with a gaping mouth'. The Tench canoes seemed to Friederici[45] to be the same as those of St Matthias or at least similar. However, in actual fact they differ quite markedly from the latter, and are more seaworthy.

The hull is a hollowed-out tree trunk, with a greater vertical height than the dugouts of St Matthias and Emĭr. The slot is wider. Also the outrigger beam is not a favourite pole, but a hewn beam with straight ends and a bigger float area. The outrigger poles are tied to both gunwales, usually in pairs. The connecting sticks are bound firmly to them and are slotted into the outrigger beam, not merely tied to it. The *păpăs*^{u}-form, *kārŭn̆ă*-like additions, and accessory bindings were not seen on Tench. On the other hand, several connecting sticks were forked above and frequently decorated below with a chiseled ring. In several canoes a cross-stave runs over the outrigger beam, parallel with it and the dugout, from where one outrigger pole is tied to its connecting stick to where the other is tied. The stems of the smaller vessels are simply tapered — the same both fore and aft. The Hamburg Expedition saw the same decoration mentioned by King[46] and Parkinson,[47] in an eight-man boat. [174] It developed as a Z-shaped figure from the tip of both prows, and showed a certain similarity with the prow form *ù̱ṣŭn̆ bălù̱sŭ*. from St Matthias. It is probably also a

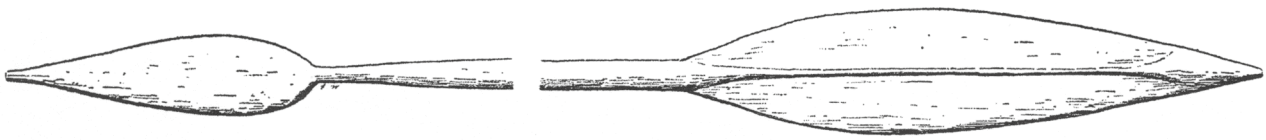


Fig. 122. Paddle, Tench. (not typical). He 24671. 164 cm long.

42 IC 20606
43 Hunter, 1793, p.419
44 1907, p.343 *et seq.*
45 1912, p.273
46 1793, p.420
47 Parkinson, 1905, p.72

rudimentary figure. This boat was also distinguished by its sheer from the smaller canoes, which could take only two to five men.

The outrigger beam was seen always on the port side.

The paddles, (*a͡ussagóră*), were wider than those of St Matthias and Emı̀r, with a raised tapering edge on both sides, as an extension of the handle. The handle is usually somewhat thickened and somewhat in relief. Also seen was a paddle with a small leaf-shaped end of the handle.

On Tench Hellwig heard *orímo* (*gáta*) = type of canoe? as the name for the canoe.

Communication

The canoes of St Matthias and Emı̀r are unsuitable for long ocean voyages. Hence there is no contact with New Hanover (Lăbă̓ṅe), which can be seen from Emı̀r in fine weather. But there is trading between Emı̀r and the villages of Ětălă̓t, Ětăsı́tĕl, Ělĕmăkŭna͡úr, and Ěna͡í on St Matthias during the periods between the south-east trade wind and the north-west monsoon, that is, November–December and April–May. At this time the Emı̀r people travel to the east coast of the main island of St Matthias, trade their products for St Matthias items, and return to Emı̀r.

Trade among individual villages of the main island is conducted usually on the beach or on the reef. However the scattered huts are connected also by narrow paths through the bush. In places these are indistinguishable from pig tracks. In 1908 the Mắlakăt highlands still revealed old paths through the bush, connecting the earlier settlements of the uplands. The offshore islands, which have canoe contact among themselves and with the south coast of the main island, are also traversed by bush paths, as on Emı̀r as well, where trade appears to happen mainly on the plateau. At one spot, where the path near Ěpŏ́ănūămo̲̓ṣū drops almost forty metres vertically down to the beach, it was upgraded in 1908 by parts of an old canoe stuffed into several holes in the rock. [175] At the foot of the path was a sloping beam with steps curving inward.

Paths are rendered impassable by branches laid across them, or despoiled by human excrement to deter unwanted visitors. On St Matthias more robust obstacles in the form of pits and booby traps are set up near the houses, with entanglements on the bush paths. Big heavy objects such as drums and bunches of bananas are secured to a long pole with creepers, for transport. Two men then shoulder the pole. The carriers trot occasionally, with a rhythmic ‘ha, ha’. Women carry smaller bundles of foodstuffs on their heads.

Tench has no contact of any kind with the outside world. Narrow winding bush paths crisscross the island, leading over the inner wall into the village, and paths lead over the outer wall from the village down to the beach. The paths over the walls are stepped. Short poles driven into the ground with pieces of tree trunk behind them form the step, and serve at the same time to reinforce the path. Booby traps, entanglements, and fences are installed on Tench as obstacles to communication. Although a relatively wide street runs through the extended village, the houses are fenced off, like farms, from other groups of houses.

Relations with Neighbouring Island Groups

A long time before 1905 the sailing canoe of the chief Pō Sĭṅ from Păpítăla͡i in the Admiralty group was wrecked near Musa͡u. The crew stayed for some time on Musa͡u, skirmishing, but then returned to their homeland via New Hanover. Parkinson[48] was told this in Păpítăla͡i, and Hellwig on St Matthias. On Musa͡u Parkinson was shown ‘a shattered Admiralty spear’ and told of

[48] 1907, p.334; Schnee, 1904, p.171

five visits by the Admiralty Islanders, which were not appreciated because of their warlike, quarrelsome ways.

According to the tale of the interpreter, Măkīrŏ̂ăr[i], around 1883 Ĕbŏ́lĭu people travelled to the big Admiralty Island to take part in a feast. After the dancing, a girl fell in love with an Ĕbŏ́lĭu man and got into his canoe shortly before their departure, where he covered her with leaves. The Admiralty Islanders had seen this, deliberated over it in their speeches, and then retrieved the girl from the canoe. It did not come to a fight. Măkīrŏ̂ăr[i] had heard this story only once, when he was still a child. He believed that 'Manus', (a name probably heard in Herbertshöhe), was only one day's journey from St Matthias, but when he saw the map he announced straight away that the journey would [176] have taken probably five days at least, and that the Ĕbŏ́lĭu had reached 'Manus' probably only by chance.

The occurrence of pieces of obsidian on St Matthias prompted Hellwig to assume that obsidian had been brought to St Matthias from elsewhere, since there is nothing in their traditions about a volcanic origin of the islands or of a volcanic eruption. However, it is likely that the core of the main island consists of recently-erupted rock.[49] It seems highly unlikely, even with flood tides, that the obsidian had drifted in the sea, over the wide reef, and across the beach right up to the edge of the bush — its most common location. Furthermore, the scattered distribution of the obsidian refutes its being brought in from outside — having to look for a valuable introduced item at the bush line does not support that argument.

A St Matthias tale which talks about obtaining fire from Lắbă̆n̂a̍ĭ demonstrates that there had been communication with New Hanover. The only uncertainty is whether this was the first time that fire had been obtained or whether it recounted the rekindling of a fire that had gone out. When members of the Hamburg South Seas Expedition on Emŕ saw New Hanover in all its clarity, on 30 September 1908, the Emŕ people greeted the sight with the cry, 'Lăbắn̆ē', (Lăbắn̆ĕ). In 1898 Danneil[50] learned from an old chief on Kung that many years ago canoes from the St Matthias Islands had been driven ashore on Kung during a storm. After a brief stop-over, they set out for the nearby coast of the main island of New Hanover. The New Hanover people killed one of the St Matthias islanders, upon which his countrymen returned home in their canoes. Any further contact between New Hanover and the St Matthias group was strenuously denied by Danneil's informant.

As Parkinson[51] recounts, 'They have traditions in Itasidl[52] of a migration from the north, however this immigration must have happened a long time before, because it was impossible to find out where the migrants came from, although north was indicated with great certainty.'

Trade

For trading, the person who wants to sell an item lays it down in front of him. Not a word is spoken. Thereupon, the purchaser lays his item likewise in front of himself. If the seller is agreeable with the item tendered in exchange, he [177] takes it with him and leaves his sale item with the purchaser, who takes it. This concludes the sale.

One of the most important trade items on St Matthias is dried seaweed, (*bă̱rū la̍ĭjĕ́ne*), which is edible. It is exported from Ĕna̍ĭ and Ĕlĕmăkŭna̍ur, (where it is gathered on the reef by women), in baskets to Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl where it is traded. The Mắlakăt people sell lime calabashes and strings of wooden beads to Ĕna̍ĭ.

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[49] *Deutsches Kolonial–Lexicon*, vol. 2, p.606
[50] 1901, p.124
[51] 1907, p.334
[52] Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl

Other trade items on St Matthias are pigs, necklaces of pig tusks and *Dasyurus* teeth, red dye from the *kārṓū* roots, taro tubers, bananas, fish, and trade goods obtained from Emĭ́r. Fish are strung on cords, or sold individually. Fish strings are evaluated by arm span, (about 1.50 m). Trading of taro and bananas are by fixed quantities, (bundle or multiples?).

St Matthias trades *Dasyurus* teeth from Ĕlĕmăkŭnấur, *kārṓū* dye from Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl, together with obsidian, fruit and the like from Ĕtălăt, Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl, Ĕlĕmăkŭnấur, and Ĕnấi, to Emĭ́r. In exchange, Emĭ́r hands over mainly banana-fibre material (*kălĭ́ŭ* and *bấi̯ŭ*), spears,[53] and also iron which had come to hand from a ship that had been wrecked there in 1908, to the four villages on St Matthias; while Ĕlĕmăkŭnấur receives dolphin teeth in exchange for the *Dasyurus* teeth.

It appears as though each of the four villages, Ĕtălăt, Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl, Ĕlĕmăkŭnấur, and Ĕnấi, had a commercial arrangement with a particular village on Emĭ́r. In any event, the inhabitants of other villages on St Matthias maintained that they did not know the Emĭ́r language, even though it was almost exactly the same as their own, and that only a fraction of the population of the four villages had learned the Emĭ́r language. Furthermore, on Emĭ́r, the names of only those four villages on the east coast of St Matthias are familiar. On the other hand, people recognize the name of Musấu for the whole of St Matthias, but have no connection with the island of Musấu. They know its name, to all intent, only from the period when Musấu played a major role politically on St Matthias and its offshore islands. Ĕlĕmăkŭnấur was middle-man in the trade of Emĭ́r products to Ĕbŏ́lĭu — paying in Ĕbŏ́lĭu spears. Similarly, Pắlakấu and Musấu appeared to pay for Emĭ́r goods via Ĕlĕmăkŭnấur.

Currency

The black fruits, (berries, seeds?), of a plant said to grow in the water of the Tăn̆ătŏ́nīlōĭ stream on the Mắlakăt highlands are strung on cords on the east coast of the main island of St Matthias. The ‘strings of wooden beads’, (*ūấugŭ́l*, *úŏgúlu*, *ŭ́ŭgúlŭ*, *wóăgúlĕ ma mắlakăt*) are measured by arms’ [178] span. The bush dwellers receive ten fish from the shore dwellers for one string, (5½ - 6 feet). According to other accounts people would receive ten taro roots for a single string, and a pig for two strings. These reports are certainly incorrect, because no one can get a pig for twenty taro roots. Differing lengths were reported as the price for a taro root, and the number of beads was never the same. Accordingly, the strings of wooden beads can be regarded only as a commonly traded article but not as currency, because there is no fixed price.

X. Sociology

Birth

Birth takes place in front of the house, on St Matthias. The mother in labour crouches on mats between other women who are assisting her. Men are not present. Her husband stays in the house during the birth.

When the child has been delivered, it is rubbed down with *lavalava ’long place* by one of the women assisting, not by the mother, and the baby is displayed to the father, for him to pronounce it ‘good’. Should the father withhold this declaration, the baby is killed.

In the event of twins, one of them is killed by strangulation.

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[53] Parkinson, 1907, p.336

Naming

Children are named in their first year of life, probably soon after birth.

The following men's names were ascertained on St Matthias: Abĭ́sa, A͡ikámkam, A͡imā́lī, A͡inĕmŏ́rīă (Ei͡nomerā́ă), A͡irērē, A͡iṣắnó, A͡itakóa, Alé̋ole, Alikiba͡u, Aṅuinikam, Ănĭ́cĭ, Ănĭ́nīkā́mā̆, Ăpé̋ăpé̋, Ăróṅétakŭ́ru, Ăyĕrăṣĭ́līt, Baganunúa, Bắtiu, Ba͡utĭ́ŭlú,[54] Bīlīna͡i, Bitókur, Bŭlutáne, Că̲lănă, Çŭrŏ́pĭ, Damuam, Dīlă̆, Dora͡i, Dua͡il, Gākā́līsŏ̲sŏ̲, Gă̆kŭlŭ́ī, Gălĭpĭ́ō, Gānăgūĭ́lă, Gé̋ă, Gēsăpé̋lă, Gile, Gomosiṅa͡i, Gona͡uge, Gorĭ́li, Ka͡ikowáně, Kapugui, Ka͡ŭă, Ka͡upă (Kŏ́pă), Ka͡uelat, Ké̋a, Kĕälo, Kĭ́kĭ, Kina, Kīnălŭ́ (Kīnālŭ́), Kinăka͡upáne, Kīnăkŏ́rē, Kīnăṅōšŏ́n[a], Kinašulit, Kinepan, Kiríě, Kŏ̲kŏ̲cŏkŏ́lu, Kŏlŏ́a͡ugi, Kòlŏmŏ̲́, Korkoroi, Kusa͡i, Kŭsólob, Kuwắla͡u (Kúwo̲lŏ̲́u, Kubŏlo, Kŭ́bălō), Lăbŏkŏrŏ̲́ri (Lavakŏróri), Lā[i]bĕ́lū (La͡iwĕ́lo), La͡iṅăn, Latujile, Laŭ́[u]a, La͡uba͡uš, Līmotắŭ, Mắgăn, Maidji, Măkărĭ́ṅĭtăn, Măkĭrŏ́ă[r][i], Makorā́etŭ́lu, Măkŭrĭpa͡ú, Malewába͡u, Manamanátă, Măsālĭ́kĭ, Mắsibáṅe, Măsŭ́la͡uba͡u, Matába, Mătaṅa͡íbă, Matapắs, Mátej, Mătĭ́ṅĭtăn, Mé̋ĭ́ (Ma͡ii), Meṅána (?), Nămărā́ṅ, Nắmŭnŭt (Namanŭ́tŭ), Natumarieba, Náus, [179] Oásu, Ŏlŏ̲bé̋lū (Ólowĕl), Pa͡ilăk, Pakana, Pākĕlŭ́ (Pakā́lu), Pakuláva, Pala͡ua, Pắmŭṣ (Pamŭ́su), Panamaṅamaṅa, Pănŏsŭ, Păṅūnā́, Pā́ṣĭă, Patĭa͡u, Pellat,[55] Pokapa͡išia, Pŏ́ūmă, Pŭ́rī, Rarei (Rara͡i?), Rŏ̲́d, Róro, Sā́gīlĕ, Sā́ŭṅ, Sa͡uṅălŏ́mĭ, Sawa͡uwa͡uwā́n (Sawa͡uwowā́n), Sēsānnĕ́īnĕ, Sīnăpắlĭ Sūkŭ́lī, Ṣā̆ăpŏ́lī, Ṣa͡iṣăbă, Ṣīolŏ́kŏ (Síolok), Ṣiupalepale, Tābēlēbŏ́, Ta͡iā́bā, Tăkĕ́ŏma͡i, Tălŏṅŏ́t (Tălŏṅŏ́tŏ), Tamabura, Tamakeala, Tămăkĭ́, Tamakujábo, Tamānaríe, Tamaṅā́s, Tamáṅuaka͡uka͡u, Tămăsā́gŭ, Tāmā́sīă, Tămăsŏ́kĕ[u]ă, Tamătắĭla, Tāmŏsīyắŭ, Tamótĭti, Ta͡ugā́găn, Ta͡únia, Tarĕ́ĭ, Tĕkărā̆bă̆, Tilikóăn, Tīlŏ́ănă, Tĭṅĭ́nă, Tiūpŭ́tĕpŭ́t, Tŏ́gŏ, Tŏ̲́ra͡i, Tsémắtăna, Tū́en, Tŭkŭmắrĭ, Tŭkŭrú͡ĭ, Tūŭṅápă, Ubắli, Ūĕlé̋ĭ, Ūĭmắtĕ, Urunamú, Ūtēbŭ́ă̆, Waṅu, Wuămắte, Wŭ́ră.

St Matthias women's names are: A͡iyắlăt, A͡ijắna, A͡ijiba͡u (A͡ijipa͡u), A͡imak, A͡inămĕnŭ́tă, A͡irăníĕ, A͡isúi, Ājĕlä, Alién, Alikiba͡u, Ălīkĭpa͡í, Amắtĕ, Ganagalím, Ga͡ui, Gĕmătĕ́lĕ, Kăçūĕla͡ú, Káṅa, Kănắpĕ, Kapugui, Kătukŭtu, Kătuna͡iṅŭ́a͡i, Kinako͡iko͡i, Kinakŏ́sa, Kīnăṅōšŏ́n[a], Kinăpalĕ, Kūnăyĕrắṣ, Kuru, La͡ikam, La͡iljúlíú, La͡ilíolío (La͡ilíulíu), Lăkŏtắ, Laukuṅagol, Lībūkắbīū, Livita͡uung(?), Lo͡iĕwĕ́l, Măçĭpá́, Mătắbă, Mătắbū, Mătēătŏ́k, Mŏ́rĕmŏ́rĕ, Namú, Niṅáne, Ṅălĭ́ĕ, Ṅā́ū, Ŏăṅŭ́tĕ, Păkēā́, Pana͡italúăroṅ (Banatalúaroṅ), Pŏlĭkắm, Ra͡ita, Ṣăněṣŏlăk (Ṣăněṣŏ́lăkă), Suŏga͡u, Šŭ́pīă, Ta͡ităpắlĭ, Tama͡i, Tamlŭka(?), Tĭŏṅkátă, Ů́lū.

Emĭ́r men's names: Ba͡ulĭ́ū, Bĭ́sokā́ŏa͡i, Bĭ́sokomŏ́to, Bobošа͡i, Bui Suĭbĕ́n, Kūĭăbŭ́ĕ ūlīpā, Kokoba͡i, Kokonắlŏ́pa͡i, Pănа͡inŏ́se,[56] Pārăṅĕ, Pŏliṅía, Šа͡iămắlū, Šŏ́lū, Tūpắnă, Wuala͡oilŏ.

Women's names on Emĭ́r: Inakŏwála͡u and Inakŏwa͡ú.

On Tench, Eja͡uri and Kie were heard as men's names.

What is surprising is the relatively great lengths of the names beginning with Kina- and Tama- or Tamo-.

The two names Inakŏwa͡ú and Inakŏwála͡u mean: 'Rain is coming down', (*bắu* = gentle rain), and 'Spears are raining down', (*bắla͡u* = spear). Those names were bestowed because the children were born while it was raining, and during a feud with spears.

Most men and women have only one name. Yet some men have two names; for example, Makorā̆etŭ́lu has Ka͡ikowáně as a second name; Ba͡utĭ́ŭlú has Măkŭrĭpa͡ú; and Măkărĭ́ṅĭtăn has Sā́gīlĕ. Three names occur too — Lăbŏkŏrŏ̲́ri had the names Ūĕlé̋ĭ and Kīnăṅōšŏ́n[a], and Ba͡ulĭ́ū had

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[54] Possibly = *ba͡u* (= chief) Tĭ́ŭlū

[55] *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.247

[56] According to the Dresden Catalogue, (32948/49)

the names Šṓlū and Tūpắnă. The names Ūĕlḗĭ and Sắgīlĕ were reverted by their bearers into Lăbŏkŏr̲ṓri and Măkărḯn̓ĭtăn respectively, when their fathers died and they became chiefs in their stead, although matrilinearity predominated elsewhere. The second name, Kīnăn̓ōšṓn[a], was originally a female name, carried by [180] Lăbŏkŏr̲ṓri's sister-in-law. B͡aùlḯū, who already had the second name Šṓlū, took the name Tūpắnă on his return from Herbertshöhe.

Individual names were altered in songs, or were totally replaced by others. For example, the 'sing sing' name of the man Tilikóăn was Tamótĭti, that of the woman A͡isúi was A͡iisúĭli and that of the woman Ājĕlä was Lắiläi or Läläi.

Inheritance of names appears to be rare. The son of Ṣ̄īolṓkŏ in Ena͡ḯ was named Síolok on Emḯr. Two people who were scarcely related had the name Pākĕlṹ — a chief from Musa͡u and another from Mắlakăt.

Similar-sounding names for close relatives rarely occur; for example, the names Inakŏwa͡ú and Inakŏwálau for mother and daughter, or the names La͡ìljúlĭú and La͡ìlíolío for two sisters.

Măkĭrṓăr[i]'s mother was heard using the diminutive Mắkĭ, as a pet name.

Circumcision

Circumcision is performed on St Matthias with the newborn in his mother's arms. The operation is carried out by other women, using a bamboo knife (*ra͡útū*, *ra͡útŭ*). The circumcision is not carried out if the mother is unwilling to cause her child pain.

Parkinson[57] had occasion to be present on the eve of a circumcision feast at the western end of Emḯr. It took place on a rectangular site enclosed with sticks and underbrush, in front of a big new hut. Apparently, women were not admitted, but gathered outside the feast site, where they prepared the food. About twelve boys, aged between six and ten years, sat inside the house. They were adorned with belts and necklaces, and were not yet circumcised. Roughly thirty men and youths were seated in the middle of the site; from time to time they intoned a loud song, which rang out solemnly and fervently and always ended in a sustained, fading tone. All kinds of activity were going on outside the enclosure.

On Tench, circumcision is performed on all boys at a very early age.

Child-raising

Younger children are carried around on the hip, by their mothers.

Regular upbringing or instruction in the local life and customs does not happen. The boys and girls appear [181] to gain their knowledge by play-imitation of the grownups' activities, and by frequent mixing with them. It is not customary for adults to hold back during conversation in the presence of children. Sexual matters too are discussed in front of children. When, with adult encouragement, children come out with obscene songs taught by grownups, this evokes only laughter. Other sexual jokes by children, for example boys' imitation of female sexual parts also cause laughter.

Insofar as adults do bother themselves with bringing up children, the latter obey them. When boys were intrusively examining clothed Europeans, they stopped immediately when an adult sitting nearby gave them a look of rebuke.

It is rare for adults to punish children. Only once in 1908, an older man was seen booting a boy who seemed to have deserved it.

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[57] 1907, p.336

The children make their toys themselves, in part, or they receive them from their parents. Small boys carry their father's spears. Bigger boys carve simple spears for themselves; youths add their own decoration to spears they have made themselves; while older men hand over the decoration to professional carvers.

Orphaned children, great numbers of whom lived on St Matthias in 1908, and particularly in 1913, as a result of an ongoing feud, were handed over by the chief in authority to a man who then had to take care of them.

Totemism

Parkinson[58] discovered that on St Matthias and Emĭr 'different classes exist, with dedicated totem signs, and marriage within the class is not permitted.' He was unable to find out the details of totemism. In 1908 on Emĭr prevalence of totemism was denied.

On the other hand, Müller heard in Ĕtălăt that men could marry women also from Ĕtălăt, but they had to belong to a different totem. The term for belonging to a different totem is *bau̯gū*. Children belong to their mother's totem. Thus, for example, Lau̯inăn, the son of Kau̯uă of the *drū* totem and of Ūlū of the *ĕtĕlĕ* totem, belonged to the *ĕtĕlĕ* totem. He married Aiyălăt of the *ălĭŭkau̯ŭ* totem, the daughter of the chief Ainĕmŏrīă of the *kŭtŭmănămănă* totem and of his wife, who belonged to the *ălĭŭkau̯ŭ* totem. Mătăbū, a second daughter of Ainĕmŏrīă, was married to Păinūnă, who shared the *mălĭlū* totem in common with his mother, Păkĕă. On the other hand, he could not remember his father's totem. [182]

The same situation predominates in Ĕtăsĭtĕl, and is probably even more widespread.

The totem animals of Ĕtălăt and Ĕtăsĭtĕl are: *ĕtĕlĕ*, (big); *tau̯tau̯ukŏ*, (sparrow hawk); *mălĭlū*, (big); *ălĭŭkau̯ŭ*, (big); *çăbălăt*, (big); *pălā*, (big); *kīnăpūrĭĕ*, (little); *drū*, (little); *kŭtŭmănămănă*, (little); *līnĭç*, (little), *măsū*, (big); *rīrĭbūī*, (little); and *rīkăsă*, (little). In Ĕtăsĭtĕl there is the heron, *kū*, as well, but not in Ĕtălăt. It is said that other animals are not totems.

The totem sign *rŏrŏ-nă* is said to be seen on the head of the *ĕtĕlĕ*, and Lau̯inăn recognized it on a spear from Ĕtălăt.

The totem animal is not eaten. However, its killing by members of another totem goes unpunished.

Men's Organizations

In the bigger villages on St Matthias and Emĭr, the adult men gather in the houses of chiefs, even though these are also the chiefs' dwellings. The men's spears are stored there, along with the chief's reserve spears. It is unlikely that the men, or at least those older among them, had the right to discuss political or other public matters with the chiefs. In general, the men's organization would be restricted to feasts and participation in war parties; everything else would be left to the chiefs.

On Emĭr the feast of circumcision is considered the exclusive domain of the men, at least the preliminary celebration witnessed by Parkinson.[59]

No men's organization was noted on Tench. From the absence of a men's house in the village it could probably be assumed that anything like it had no great relevance.

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[58] 1907, p.337
[59] 1907, p.336

Marriage

Even though the children listen in to the adults' talk of sexual matters, and make fun of it with songs and actions, it is noticeable that they do not engage in sexual activities too early. Admittedly this is more so in the case of boys than of girls. For example, it was pointed out to Măkĭrŏ̂ăr[i] who, although not yet fifteen, wanted to have sex with girls, that he should wait until he was adult. On the other hand, girls married early. For example, Tălŏn̊ŏtŏ on Musa͡u had a wife, Măçĭpắ, who was only ten years old. [183]

Marriage is concluded by robbery or purchase — robbery is rare; purchase is common. A wife of the chief Pākĕlŭ from Musa͡u; a chief's daughter from Ĕlĕmăkŭná͡ur; and Ŏăn̊ŭlĕ from Ĕlĕmăkŭná͡ur, the wife of Kĭ́ki from Musa͡u, had been stolen. Admittedly Kĭ́ki did concede that he had made an enemy of his father-in-law through the robbery. This robbery took place with the girl's complicity — she had gone into the bush. There she was attacked and held prisoner by her future husband and other men. The relations of the girl fought their way to her and tried to get her back. She was tugged to and fro until the stronger took her into his house. The fight stopped immediately. Spears were never used in such battles, only stones. Nevertheless, fatal wounds could occur. The marriage is celebrated by a festive meal, with a lot of pork.

Stealing of married women does happen too. A woman from Ĕbŏ́lĭu married to an Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl man, was captured by two Ĕbŏ́lĭu people in Eassi when she wanted to cross to Éŭmana͡ulu, and taken into their houses. The married woman's relatives from Ĕbŏ́lĭu arrived to get her back, and to punish her captors. They began throwing rocks at the robbers and their followers. During the fight, the woman fled back to her relatives. That ended the battle. The robbers gave the woman a kilt and her husband a spear by way of atonement. In addition, the participants of both parties had to give a spear, a calabash, a belt, a comb or such like to each of their supporters in the fight, as payment.

During hostilities, women surprised in the bush or on the reef are not captured, but killed. In contrast to this custom it did happen that during an attack by the Ĕlĕmăkŭná͡ur people on Ĕbŏ́lĭu, the women were taken away.

Where the woman is not stolen, then in every case a purchase price has to be paid for her. Pākĕlŭ on Musa͡u declared the price to be four pigs, three taro, and ten bananas; that is, not single taro and bananas but multiples — bundles or groups of ten. However, he did admit that he had paid only one pig for his wife. This was the same price that Kĭ́ki from Musa͡u paid for his wife, Kănắpē from Ĕtălắnĭĕ́să. The chief Nắmăn̆ŭt (Namanŭ́tŭ) from Ĕnŏ[a]nắŭ wanted to trade a young girl for a sucking pig from the Hamburg Expedition. The husband Tălŏn̊ŏtŏ from Tăkŭná͡urŭ had given only a few taro for the ten-year-old Măçĭpắ from Ĕbŏ́lĭu, who was blind in one eye, although later he had to pay more taro and bananas. Thus, the low price was governed probably more by the youthful purchase than by the lost eye. Kéa from Ĕná͡ĭ gave a string of fish about 1.5 metres long, (an arm span), and ten taro (that is, multiples) as the purchase price of his wife Mătēătŏ́k from Ĕlĕmăkŭná͡ur. In addition, he had to spend some time fishing, for his wife's brother [184] in Ĕná͡ĭ, not around Ĕlĕmăkŭná͡ur. In this instance the wife's brother was acting in place of her deceased parents. The purchase price had to be paid to him too. Pắnŭš from Ĕlŏ́ăŭa paid only several taro for his wife, Lībūkắbīū, without having spoken to her previously. He proposed the courtship to her father living on Ĕmănắnus, and to her mother. Accordingly, the mother had to have her say.

If a wife does not wish to remain with her husband any longer, or he wants to be free of her, the marriage can be dissolved by repayment of the bride-price. The wife's running away can lead to hostilities between the two parties involved, if the purchase price is not repaid willingly. Any occurrence of adultery is impugned (?) Indeed, men do not show any jealousy when their wives adopt coquettish behaviour, while young women constantly displayed their readiness to enter into intimate relations with the white men, by the expression, *'a͡i tuwuwu͡a͡i*' and their desire for glass

beads and belts. Admittedly it is uncertain whether these were girls at maturity or married women. The latter is more likely, because one woman with an infant engaged in coquetry, but in a less personal manner. Nevertheless, the conduct of the women towards white men cannot be taken as a gauge of their normal behaviour.

Both married and unmarried women have few constraints on their freedom, taking part in every event. They eat with the men, sit with them, and even participated in the dealings with the Hamburg Expedition. Among the foods, only grated coconut is forbidden to women. They may eat only coconut scraped out with a spoon — grated coconut is reserved to men.

Polygamy does occur, but not as a general rule. In 1913, of the 355 marriages on St Matthias, 36 were polygamous, as were 18 of the 72 marriages on Emŕr.[60] Since the number of men on St Matthias exceeds the number of women, there are quite a lot of youths about, their numbers swelled further by the polygamy of some men. For instance, at the Ále farm on Musa͡u in 1908, of the six men, two had two wives each, one had three wives, and three were single. The chief Lăbŏkŏrŕ̲ri in Ěna͡í even had six wives, although not all of them were present. Two of them lived in Lăbŏkŏrŕ̲ri's house in Ěrŏ́ĭtăn. Otherwise, the men in polygamous relationships appear to have only two to three wives. It had been reported in Ětăsĭ́tĕl that one man who had taken a second wife had built a new house for her alongside his old house.

Membership of the same totem is considered an impediment to marriage. Only *ba͡ú́gū*, that is, members of different totems, may marry. There is no obstacle to marriage between inhabitants of the same village.

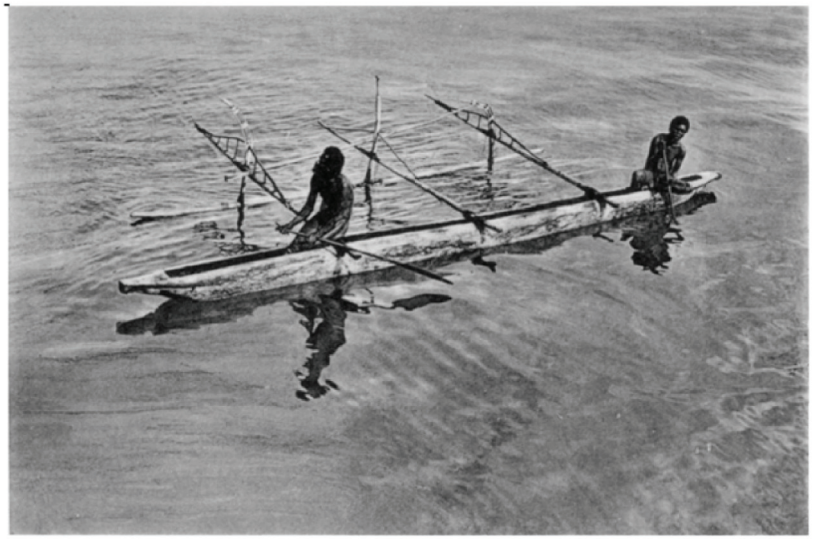
[185] The chief Lăbŏkŏrŕ̲ri from Ěna͡í bore the added name, Kīnăn̈ōšŏ́n[a], originally the name of his sister-in-law, who lived in Ělĕmăkŭna͡ú́r as the wife of Sa͡ùn̈ălŏ́mĭ whose sister, Pŏlĭkắm, he had married. He was designated as *ĭ́ĕ́gĭ* of Sa͡ùn̈ălŏ́mĭ — an expression translated into Pidjin as *tambu*. Kéa in Ěna͡í too was designated as *ĭ́ĕ́gĭ* of Ŏlo̲bĕ́lū in Ělĕmăkŭna͡ú́r, having married Ŏlo̲bĕ́lū's sister Mătēătŏ́k.

The mother-in-law's name was designated *tambu* also in Ětălắt, where it was pronounced *a͡iyĕ́gī*, not to be uttered by the son-in-law. For example, the two men La͡í́n̈ăn and Păn̈ūná́ who had married daughters of the chief A͡ĭnĕmŏ́rīă, refused to utter the name of A͡ĭnĕmŏ́rīă's wife.

Parkinson[1] says that on Tench he had seen 'young women who had barely outgrown their childhood yet were already mothers'. That leads to the conclusion of early marriage; possibly a lack of women as well. The existence of individual family groups is supported by the assembling of villages from a number of absolutely identical huts, each with its own fireplace, and the presence of barriers at fairly regular intervals within the settlements that the Hamburg Expedition entered. The weapons too could probably be explained in the same way, since more frequent contacts with the outside world do not happen.

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[60] *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, pp. 154 and 247



Boat from Emír phot. Fülleborn



Tench people in canoes phot. Vogel



Boat from Tench phot. Fülleborn



Tench people in canoe phot. Vogel

Maternal Succession

Children, irrespective of sex, belong to their mother's totem. At the same time membership of the mother's village- or district community is conferred on them:

Name of the father	Home of the father	Name of the mother	Home of the mother	Name of the child	Home of the child
Kŏlŏaûgĭ	Ĕlĭŭĕnĕ	Kăçūĕlaû	Musaû[2]	♂ Pākĕlŭ ♀ Gĕmătĕlĕ	Musaû
Pākĕlŭ	Musaû	Mătăbă	Tăkŭnaûrŭ	♂ Tălŏn̓ŏtŏ	Tăkŭnaûrŭ
Tămăkĭ[2]	Ĕlĭŭĕnĕ	Gĕmătĕlĕ[2]	Musaû	♂ Tarĕ́ĭ	Musaû
Tūŭn̓ápa	Ĕlĭŭĕnĕ	Aìnămĕ-nŭtă	Ĕbŏlíu	♀ Măçĭpắ	Ĕbŏlíu
Tŭkŭmărĭ	Ĕŭrŭn̓ătŭ	Tĭŏn̓kătă	Musaû	♂ Kíki	Musaû
Kŏlŏmo̱	Ĕlĕmăkŭ-naûr	Taĭtapalĭ	Ĕbĕlĕ	♂ Ṣáĭṣăbă	Ĕbĕlĕ
Ṣáĭṣăbă[3]	Ĕbĕlĕ	Năĺíĕ	Ĕlĕmăkŭ-naûr	♂ Măkĭrŏ́ăr[1]	Ĕlĕmăkŭ-naûr
Ṣĭolŏ́kŏ	Ĕnáĭ	Šŭ́pĭă	Ĕtăsítĕl	♂ Ūĕlĕ́ĭ	Ĕtăsítĕl
Pá́ṣĭă	Ĕlĕmăkŭ-naûr	Ṣăněṣŏlăk[4]	Ĕnáĭ	♂ Măkărĭn̓ĭ-tăn	Ĕnáĭ

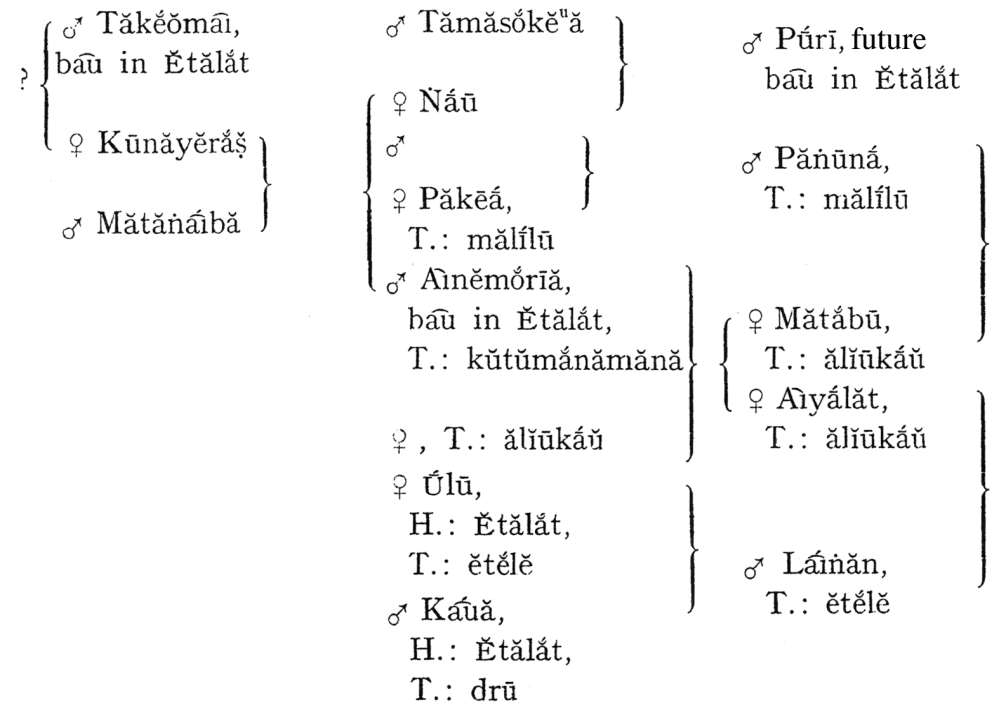
[1] 1907, p.342. [2] Lived on Ĕlŏáŭa. [3] Stepfather [4] Or Ṣăněṣŏlăkă.

[186] The chief's title passes from him to his sister's son. For example, chief Aìnĕmŏ́rĭă from Ĕtălắt's predecessor was Tăkĕ́ŏmaì, the brother of his mother Kūnăyĕrá̱ṣ. Aìnĕmŏ́rĭă's successor was destined to be Pŭ́rī, the son of his sister Ṅáū. Likewise, the successor of the chief Pākĕlŭ from Musaû was to be Tarĕ́ĭ, the son of his sister Gĕmătĕlĕ. This means that there is always a male in place as the successor of a chief, one from the same homeland. Tălŏn̓ŏtŏ, the son of Pākĕlŭ, belonged to Tăkŭnaûrŭ, like his mother, and probably for this reason he was not considered as successor to his father. Pākĕlŭ himself had not succeeded his father either.

However, in other instances maternal lineage was disregarded in the regulation of chiefly succession. For example, the successor of the chief Ṣĭolŏ́kŏ from Ĕnáì was his son Ūĕlĕ́ĭ, (Lăbŏkŏró̱ri), who. like his mother, actually belonged to Ĕtăsítĕl. However, Lăbŏkŏró̱ri's uncle, Taûnia, had been chief too, so it is possible that the chiefly rank had been transferred to Lăbŏkŏró̱ri from him, and not from Ṣĭolŏ́kŏ. Măkărĭn̓ĭtăn, (Sá̱gīlĕ), followed his father, Pá̱ṣĭă, as chief of Ĕlĕmăkŭnaûr, even though, through his mother, he belonged to Ĕnáì. The fathers were designated as 'big fellow (*bīpălă*) *luluai*', and therefore probably would have carried great personal influence — power they could exert in proclaiming their sons as their successors, in contravention of maternal succession. Furthermore, Sūkŭ́lĭ the son would later succeed Taĭă̆ba of Kătŭ́lūsaĭ as chief.

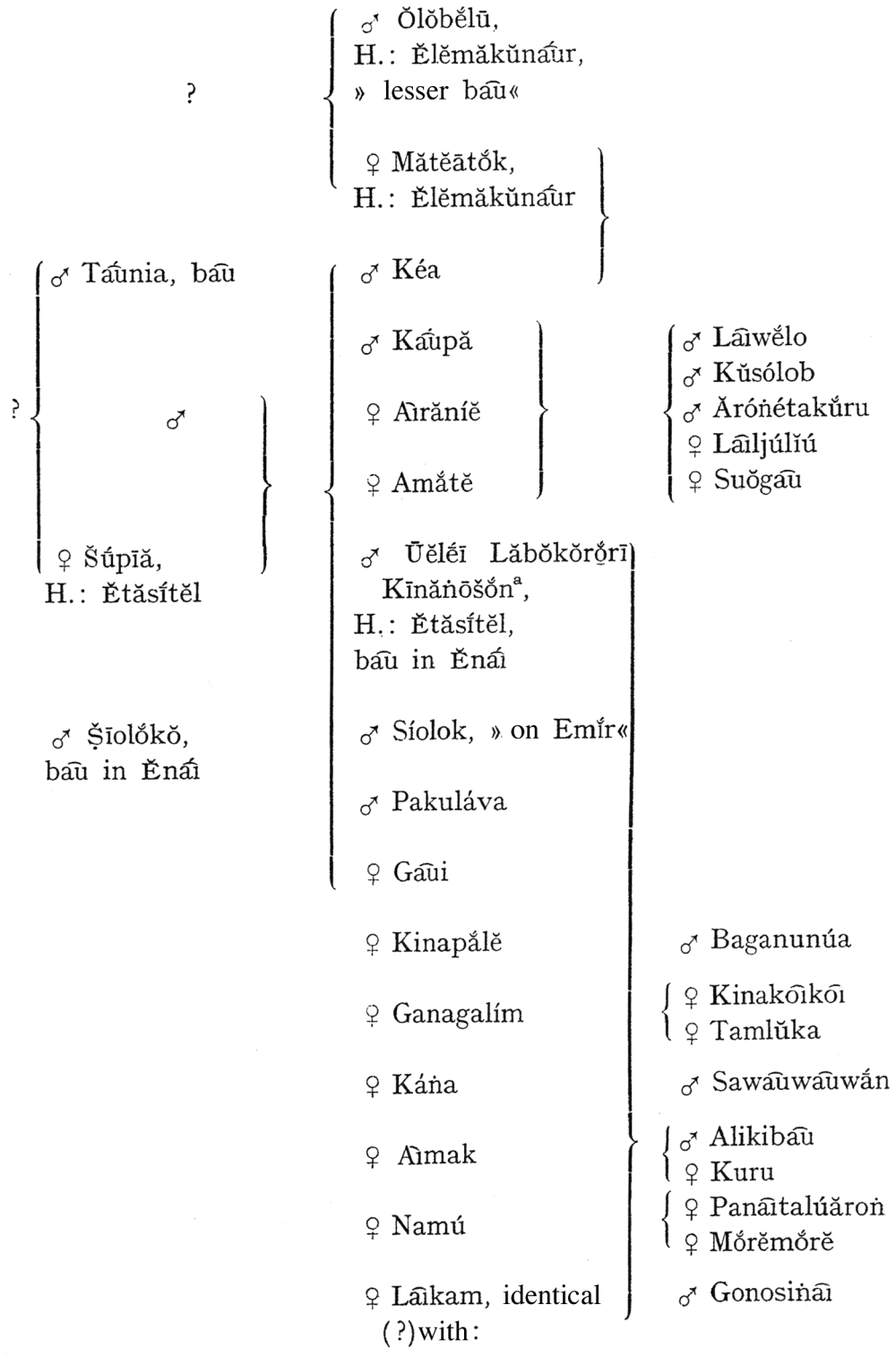
Tables of Relationships

I.



♂ = husband, ♀ = wife, H. = home, T. = totem, bâû = chief

II.


? ♂ Ŏlŏbĕlū, H.: Ĕlĕmăkŭnaûr, » lesser baû«
♀ Mătĕātŏk, H.: Ĕlĕmăkŭnaûr
♂ Taûnia, baû
? ♂
♀ Šŭpīă, H.: Ĕtăsítĕl
♂ Kéa
♂ Kaûpă
♀ Aìrăníĕ
♀ Amătĕ
♂ Lâìwĕlo
♂ Kŭsólob
♂ Ăróṅétakŭru
♀ Lâìljúlĭú
♀ Suŏgaû
♂ Ṣīolŏkŏ, baû in Ĕnaî
♂ Ūĕlēī Lăbŏkŏr̥ō̥rī Kīnăṅōšŏn[a], H.: Ĕtăsítĕl, baû in Ĕnaî
♂ Síolok, » on Emĭr«
♂ Pakuláva
♀ Gaûi
♀ Kinapălĕ
♂ Baganunúa
♀ Ganagalím
♀ Kinakôìkôı
♀ Tamlŭka
♀ Káṅa
♂ Sawaûwaûwăn
♀ Aìmak
♂ Alikibaû
♀ Kuru
♀ Namú
♀ Panaìtalúăroṅ
♀ Mŏrĕmŏrĕ
♀ Lâìkam, identical (?)with:
♂ Gonosiṅâì

?

♀ Pŏlĭkăm

♂ Saûṅălŏmĭ,
H.: Ĕlĕmăkŭnaûr

♀ Kīnăṅōšŏn[a]

III.

♂ Tămăkí,
H.: Ĕlĭŭĕnĕ

♂ Tarêĭ, H.: Musaû, future baû in Musaû

♀ Kăçūĕlaû,
H.: Musaû

♀ Gĕmătĕlĕ,
H.: Musaû

♂ Kŏlŏaûgi,
H.: Ĕlĭŭĕnĕ

♂ Pākĕlŭ,
H.: Musaû,
baû von Musaû

♂ Tălăṅŏtŏ,
H.: Tăkŭnaûrŭ

♀ Mătăbă,
H.: Tăkŭnaûrŭ

♀ Lăkŏtă̆,
H.: Ĕlĭŭĕnĕ

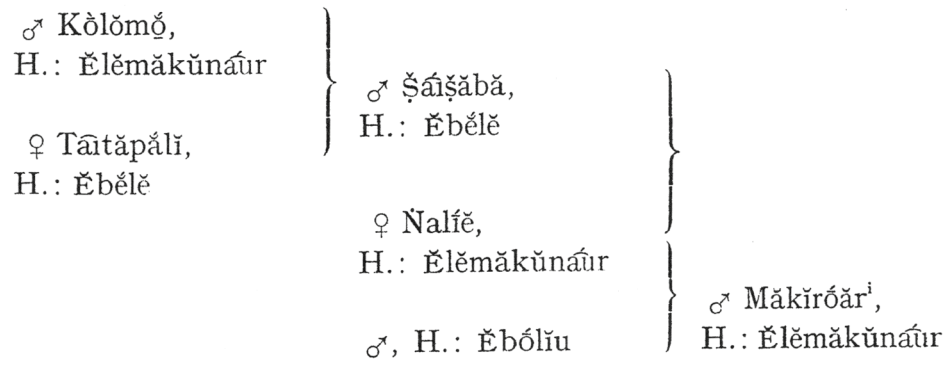
♀ Ălĭkĭpaî,
H.: Ĕlĭŭĕnĕ

♀ Aînămĕnŭtă,
H.: Ĕbŏlíu

♀ Măçĭpắ,
H.: Ĕbŏlíŭ

♂ Tūŭṅăpă,
H.: Ĕlĭŭĕnĕ

IV.



Burial and Mourning

On St Matthias and Emĭ́r the dead are buried inside the house. In the Etắwilu farm so many people had been buried in dwellings found abandoned in 1908 that there was no space available for new graves.

During the visit of the Hamburg Expedition, Mătắbă, a wife of chief Pākĕ́lŭ of Mus͡au, died. The house where she died, a shabby little hut, was not designed for a burial. On the contrary the grave was dug in a bigger dwelling of the chief. Viewed from the door in the right side of one of the narrow walls, it lay on the left, parallel with a long wall. In the morning, when Müller saw the grave of the woman, who had died at sunrise, it was already half filled-in. The chief crouched nearest the door, the other men and women beside him burst out in the mourning wail — short ringing sounds in quick succession, interspersed with a repeated long-sustained dull *hŭ́–ĭ́*. Müller thought that he heard distant flutes joining in the mourning, but this was denied by the native interpreter, Kĭ́kĭ.

A couple of hours later the chief sat, still lamenting, outside the house where the woman had died, hugging her child. The rest of the people carried on wailing in the house of burial. Two men who had come over from Ĕlŏ́ăŭa to offer condolences, sat down in front of the chief, without any greeting, and began to howl loudly with him. The three voices in confusion cried, '*ha*, *hu*', and '*hä*'.

By the second day the men had stopped their mourning lamentation, and the chief again came down to the beach, although still with a grief-laden expression. The women wailed for three days in all. At the death of a child his mother alone mourns. [190]

Around the house where the death occurred and the house of burial, all the papaya and *ĭ́* are cut down. The deceased's possessions are destroyed, and placed in the grave with them, (*ăkăkắyă*[61]). In the case of a woman these are woven fabric and a flute; for a man: a spear, gourd flask, flute, and circumcision knife, (*râ͡útŭ̆*). On the death of a chief, his canoe is burned as well. All the coconut palms are felled, with the exception of a few recently planted.

On the day of the death a big feast takes place. Dried carved nut-like fruits, (*osâ͡usă*), rubbed with lime, are hung on bushes along the path to the house where the person died.

Men's corpses are buried by men, and women's by women. The dead, (*ēmắtĕ*), lie on their back in the grave. Their arms are freely extended. The legs, on the other hand, are bound from upper thigh to calf.

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[61] *akâ͡íkâ͡i* = to dig a hole

An Ělěmăkŭnầur and Ěnầi men's lamentation for the dead, (*kīnárī*), goes as follows:

Tābēlēbó, găkŭlúī,
sēsānnéīnĕ, gēsăpélă,
tầugágăn, méí, o͡o͡oí,
tāmŏsīyáŭ, găkŭlúī,
gālĭpíō, līmotáŭ,
póŭnă, gíă, tĭn̓ínă,
bīlīnầi, sīnăpálĭ,
to͡ogŏ, gākālīsǫ́sŏ, sáŭn̓,
ětīlŏ́ánă, gānăgūílă,
măsālĭ́kĭ́, tămăságŭ,
ālénă ělŏlíŭ tǫ́nē tűgū, tŏtémŏ.

Up to the word *tămăságŭ*, this is simply a recounting of the names of fallen warriors from Ěutănălíū, Ělěmăkŭnầur, Ěnầi, Ěbólĭu, Ělŏlĭ́ăn̓, Ěrórĭtăn, and Málakăt. *Ālénă* means 'his house'; *ělŏlĭ́ŭ* a certain place; *tǫ́nē* a bird, and *tűgū* and *tŏtémŏ* shells, (*ārírīp*).

Hellwig was informed that among the inhabitants of Ěbólĭu it was customary for them, and for their neighbours, to bury those of their own side who had fallen in battle, but to leave their fallen adversaries lying, until these were reclaimed by their companions for burial. It was strenuously denied that fallen enemies were eaten. Admittedly such voluntary assertions are of quite dubious value.

In 1901 three Buka youths from the trading station on Ěkălélŭ who had been attacked and speared while fishing, were buried, not eaten, according to the interpreter, Măkĭrórăr[i]. He asserted that this had also been the case with Dr Caro, who was killed during the attack on Mencke's expedition on 31 March, 1901. Contradicting this statement of course, [191] in 1903 Mencke's grave had been opened and the bones plundered, right down to part of the upper jaw.

Following a death, the mourners, (*málū*), are not allowed to eat taro for three months, but they can have *mălầi* fruit as food. Mourning is said to last for two months. The chief Kinălű from Musầu, hearing of the death of a relative, (sister?) four weeks earlier, refused to have his face painted. On the other hand, Ětăsĭn̓ínĕ (Emír) women had their faces painted with various black designs as a sign of mourning for their husband.

After the death of his father, Ūělélĭ from Ěnầi changed his name to Lăbŏkŏrǫ́ri, since he was succeeding his father as chief of Ěnầi. Ságīlĕ too, changed his name to Măkărín̓ītăn, when he followed his father, on the latter's death, as chief of Ělěmăkŭnầur. This name–changing seems to be regarded as a sign of deep piety. It could not be ascertained whether this is restricted to chiefs alone. The old names were still used occasionally, alongside the new names.

On Tench, in contrast to St Matthias, the dead are not buried in a hut but in burial sites within the village. These places are fenced and planted out in decorative shrubs.[62]

Chiefs

Every small village on St Matthias and Emír had its own chief, (*bầu*), whose orders are carried out, generally without question.[63] The least significant of these chiefs, furthermore, are

[62] *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.248
[63] Parkinson, 1907, p.336

nothing more than a form of ‘oldest person’ on a farm, and there are even individual houses with their own *b͡au*. Admittedly, a few of the men who announced themselves to the white men as ‘minor chiefs’ were, in actual fact, without any authority, and the title was perhaps assumed only in order to receive the usual gifts for the *b͡au*.

Bigger villages often have two chiefs side by side. This was the case in 1908 in Ĕlūkăbı́ŭ, part of the village of Ĕlĕmăkŭna͡ur, where Măkărı́ńītăn, (Sa̋gīlĕ), and T'ŭpŭ́tĕpŭ́t were both chiefs. Măkărı́ńītăn appeared to have the seniority. Any visits were made to him first.

The functions of these greater chiefs consist of dealing with other villages through their chiefs, leading the men in warfare, adjudicating between quarrelling subjects, receiving visitors to the village (to whom the *b͡au* first offers a chew of betel in the chief’s house), and arranging feasts. The chief’s home, in the bigger villages, is at the same time the men’s meeting place, and is decorated accordingly.

[192] The position of chief is inherited. It is transferred from the chief to his sister’s eldest son. Since membership of the clan is also inherited through the maternal line, the successor of the *b͡au* always belongs to the same tribe as his mother’s brother. However, chiefs with a forceful personality may also attempt to promote themselves above the maternal succession, and install their own sons as successors. The new *b͡au* then often has no tribal affiliation with the area under his dominion, and it is through his personal influence that he gains acceptance as *b͡au*.

Wars or personal disputes between the chiefs and their subjects can also lead to changes in the occupier of the chief’s position and in the line of succession.

On Tench in 1908 one older man spoke in the name of all the inhabitants of the island. This, connected with the fact that his pursuit as chastiser was effectively demonstrated, led to the conclusion that he represented the chief. He was always accompanied by the same man, indicating that the latter may have had a special function. The fact that there are boundaries between individual groups of houses suggests also that there are economic, political, and social subdivisions within the village. How far these subgroups have chiefs, evaded our knowledge.

Judicial Procedure

Disobedience towards the chief is punished by burning down the house.

If anybody steals a pig, and is seen doing so by somebody else, the latter reports it to the chief. The chief summons them both before him and retains the pig for himself with *tabu* if the accused denies his guilt. In this event the chief invites plaintiff and defendant to duel. Whoever’s blood flows, is defeated in the process.

If somebody reports to the chief that his fishing net has been stolen, that plaintiff is ordered to wait, because possibly the accused only wants to fish the once, and will return the net. Likewise, anyone who has stolen fruit is excused by the chief, because he was probably hungry.

If anyone is slain, his brother is authorized by the chief to start a blood feud, which develops into a series of murders until finally reconciliation takes place. For this, the guilty party is said to be required to pay only a woven belt to the injured party.

Organized training in legal matters does not happen.

With taro theft and women-stealing, strife often breaks out instantly between the parties, fought by throwing rocks and then spears. [193]

Division of Labour

Jobs that are done by men and women are: the manufacture of coconut flasks and their hanging nets; weaving of *nắbīĕ* mats, in which children participate as well; and cultivation of bananas.

Weaving; harvesting from the reef; packing edible seaweed for trade; collecting firewood; cooking; growing taro, tapioca, breadfruit trees, and papaya; and making rain mats, *kákă-* and *kŏlŏmą́šo*-baskets are exclusively women's work.

Men's work, performed by all of them, is ground-clearing; cultivation of coconut trees; making *kárŭ*-baskets, nets (*ūbénă*), net needles (*a͡ìšĭélĕ*), *ūĕătĕ́ba*, fruit pluckers (*a͡ìšáŏ*), and taro bowls (*á̆bă*); and building houses, in which they help one another reciprocally. Warfare and voyaging are also the work of men. Commerce lies in their hands as well, or at least trade with the outside world.

Fishing is done by all men, with the exception of the west coast of St Matthias. However, only in Ĕnái were the men Lāˈbĕ́lū and Mắgăn distinguished from the other men as professional fishermen.

In Ĕnái furthermore, those named as artisans were: spear carver, Ṣāăpŏ́lī; dance- and betel stave carvers, Kătĕpăká́š and Tŏ́ra͡ì; canoe builders, Kŏ́pă and Tĕkărā̆bă̆; penis shell maker, Kŭ́bălō; and manufacturer of *kămá́tĕ*-nets, Kŏ́pă again. However it must also be taken into account that men who are not carvers make spears for themselves, then hand them over to the professional carvers for incising and decorating. Chiefs often order reserve spears for the meeting house. Young men carve their first spears for themselves, but give the later ones to professional carvers as a commission. The same goes for dance batons and lime spoons. Only the smooth *măn̆ŭ́no*-spears are not made by professional carvers.

The artisans do not receive special payment. During their commission they are fed by the giver of the commission. For canoe building, several men usually give a joint commission to a canoe builder, and subsequently have joint ownership of the canoe. On the other hand, professional fishermen work for themselves, and trade their catch to the people of the uplands for taro. It seems to be the same for women's weaving, and for locating edible seaweed. The occasional man voluntarily brands calabashes for less-skilled friends, who give him taro roots or betel nuts as a mark of gratitude. Branding is not practised at a professional level.

Rain- and sun magic, and other kinds of sorcery are known to only a few men. [194]

Local History

Earlier, Musa͡u was very strong, and often attacked Ĕlĕmăkŭna͡ú̆r and Ĕna͡í. When the Musa͡u people were decimated in 1901 by the punitive expedition following the murders of Mencke and Caro, they felt that the shooting might be repeated, lost their courage and fled headlong, swimming over to their friends in Pắlaka͡u. However, the Pắlaka͡u people had also fled, and their houses stood empty. Then several Ĕlĕmăkŭna͡ú̆r people swam from island to island via Pigeon Island, (Ĕtăpătŭ́răn), to the fugitives from Musa͡u who numbered about forty people. The Ĕlĕmăkŭna͡ú̆r people invited them to swim across to the mainland and settle in Ĕvĕra͡í, whose population had been wiped out earlier by Ĕlĕmăkŭna͡ú̆r. The Musa͡u people trusted their former enemies, and swam over. Under the rocky outcrop on the way to the Elíĕmalám cave, in the cave itself, and in several hastily-erected huts, the Musa͡u people lived in peace for four days. On the fifth day, a crowd of Ĕlĕmăkŭna͡ú̆r people turned up and attacked the Musa͡u people gathered at the rocky outcrop, spearing a few who fled in the direction of Ĕlĕmăkŭna͡ú̆r. The remainder fled towards the sea, but only about ten made it back to Musa͡u. They were so shocked that they made no attempt to follow the usual custom and collect the bones of their fallen comrades. Other Musa͡u people had fled to Ĕtăsítĕl and Ĕtălắt during the shooting, and later joined the ten survivors. The old enmity between Musa͡u and the Ĕna͡í- and Ĕlĕmăkŭna͡ú̆r people boiled over again in 1908, when

canoes from Musa͡u landed on the mainland opposite. The Ěna͡i- and Ělěmăkŭna͡ur people lying in ambush were spotted in time by the Musa͡u people, who were gathering betel nuts in the bush; the canoes from Musa͡u got away in time.

Hostility with the dominant Ělěmăkŭna͡ur people, who killed twenty people from Ěbŏ́lĭu during an attack sometime after 1901, caused the Ěbŏ́lĭu people to abandon their home and settle in still-empty Pắlaka͡u.

Shortly before the punitive expedition, Ěkălĕ́ŭ was still relatively strong, with twenty to thirty warriors. Then it was attacked by Ěbŏ́lĭu, and suffered heavy losses. Shortly before 1908 Ěbŏ́lĭu, Musa͡u, and Pắlaka͡u persuaded the people of Ětălắt to attack Ěkălĕ́ŭ. About five men, five women, and five children were laid low in Ěkălĕ́ŭ. Ten pigs had to be handed over by Ěbŏ́lĭu as remuneration for protecting its interests in Ětălắt.

Earlier, the people of Mắlakăt were said to have attacked Ěbŏ́lĭu from time to time. Shortly before 1908, the Ěbŏ́lĭu people advanced to the stream between the main mountain and Mắlakăt, [195] opposite the village of Ětālūĕrŏ̋n in Ěna͡i, where Mắlakăt people lived also. The Ěbŏ́lĭu people thereby avoided an advance along the bank, and they attacked and destroyed the site. The ‘sing-sing’ house was burnt down.

Around 1901 or 1902, Ěmagắn, north of Ětălắt on Cape Siemers, was attacked by Ětăsĭ́tĕl and Ětălắt. All the Ěmagắn men were said to have been killed and buried, and all the women taken away. In 1913 Ěmagắn remained uninhabited.

In 1908 a tenuous alliance existed between Ětăsĭ́tĕl and Ěrŏ́ĭtăn, because a long time earlier the people of Ětăsĭ́tĕl had attacked a village of the Ěrŏ́ĭtăn people, and killed many of its inhabitants. Fugitives from Ěrŏ́ĭtăn, (Ěróĭtáno), had settled in various parts of the Ěna͡i region.

On Emĭ́r, Ělōūnŭ́să, (Emana͡ắunăne), attacked Ěta͡ílă, (Etắwilu), who turned to the larger Ěbūlīĕ́lĕ for help. The chief of Ěbūlīĕ́lĕ arranged for the Ěta͡ílă people to withdraw into his village. Around 1905 he attacked Ělōūnŭ́să and killed all the inhabitants, (three men, five women and four children), with the exception of the man Kūĭăbŭ́ĕ ūlĭpā, who was in Herbertshöhe in 1908, but would be killed on his return. The reason for the attack was that an Ělōūnŭ́să man had killed a man from Ěbūlīĕ́lĕ.

The Emĭ́r people have a trading relationship with Ělěmăkŭna͡ur, Ěna͡i, Ětăsĭ́tĕl, and Ětălắt, but not with the other villages on St Matthias.

Before 1908 a burnt-out ship is said to have gone ashore on Emĭ́r, and quite a lot of its iron was saved by the Emĭ́r people.

Nothing is known of the local history of Tench. Hardly anything of importance may have happened there. At any rate, from King’s report, in 1790 probably the same situation predominated on Tench as at the beginning of the twentieth century. The account that Tench people gave in 1913 through an Ětăsĭ́tĕl interpreter, ‘they had been shipwrecked here earlier, from Emirau, but had no contact either with Emirau or with anywhere else in the outside world’,[64] begs the question as to whether these are stories from the interpreter himself, to whom the Tench people appeared more closely related to the Emĭ́r people, rather than to the interpreter’s own people from St Matthias. This report does not provide convincing evidence that any tradition about immigration exists on Tench. The only thing that is certain, is that no contact exists with the outside world.

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64 *Amtsblatt für der Schutzgebiet Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.248

XI. Weapons and Warfare

Spears

Two types of spear are used on St Matthias and Emĭr — differentiated as *măn̆ŭ́no* (*man̆ŭ́nu*, *man̆óno*), and *bắl͡au*, (on Emĭr also *wắl͡au*). *Măn̆ŭ́no* are the smooth undecorated spears of *Areca* palm wood (*bŭ́ĕ*, *búka*, *bŭ́l͡aì*), or more rarely, *ŕa͡ú͡aì*(?)-wood, the first to be thrown in battle, before the carved spears. They are also used occasionally as fishing spears. Danneil[1] describes them as 'hard, round poles, often not totally straight, and tapered at one end.' Better *măn̆ŭ́no* are straight and clean, with a plain shaft below a thickened upper section, occasionally with a double bevel, which ends in a smooth tip, often painted red. The *a͡iṣ̆ŏă ta͡ità* of the Ĕrŏ́ĭtăn people settled in Ĕna͡í is a variation of the *măn̆ŭ́no*. It is made from less-polished wood with a hairy binding spiralling round the plain tip. We saw also a black, red, and white binding round the tip. These spears are used as weapons and as fishing spears under the name *a͡iṣ̆ŭ́ătai͡ta͡i ma kóko*. The *măn̆ŭ́no* is 2–2.65 metres long. Single-pronged *Areca*-wood fishing spears, regardless of their form, appear to be called *matăbŭ́ĕ*, that is, 'tip' (*mátă*), of *Areca* palm wood (*bŭ́ĕ*).

All decorated spears are encompassed by the general name *bắl͡au*, while retaining special titles according to their use, their raw material, and their manufacture. According to use, people distinguish the true *bắl͡au* as a battle weapon; the *a͡išŭ́ă mǫ́ṣ̆ŭ*,[2] (*a͡išŏắ mǫ́ṣ̆ŭ*, *a͡išŭ́ta mǫ́ṣ̆ŭ*, *a͡išamoṣ̆ bắl͡au mǫ́ṣ̆ŭ*), as a pig-hunting spear; and the *a͡išŭ́ă kóko* as a fishing spear.[3] By the raw material, people differentiate the *tắlan̆a͡i,* made from the wood of the same name, the *óărăne*, a fishing spear made from mangrove wood, (*raráne*), and *matăbŭ́ĕ*, made from *Areca* palm wood, (*bŭ́ĕ*), from the other *bắl͡au*, whose usual raw material is also *Areca* palm wood or coconut palm wood (*nĭ́u*[4]). The wood types *ŕa͡ú͡aì*, *ắsă*, *alálă* (? identical with *tắlan̆a͡i* ?), and *kắră* are identified as raw material also, (*ắsă* more rarely as the raw material for *tắlan̆a͡i*). In *bắl͡au* manufacture, the *bắl͡au kărákă* or *bắl͡au karakĕ́*, and *un̆́su͡n̆́su͡ăki*, are distinguished from the usual type of spear. Possibly *bắl͡au la͡iñ́â͡mo* and *duba͡iu* could be considered here too. [197]

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[1] 1901, p.117

[2] *Aissoa* = battle, according to Stübel, (*Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Deutsch-Neuguinea* V, 1913, p.152) might be based on an error, since *a͡iṣ̆ŭ́ă* might mean rather 'spear', or 'to stab'(?).

[3] In addition, multi-pronged fishing spears (*lĭ́măl͡ĭ́mă*) are also used.

[4] Friederici, (1912, p.106), heard only *níu* as the designation for spears on Emĭr, that is, for their raw material.

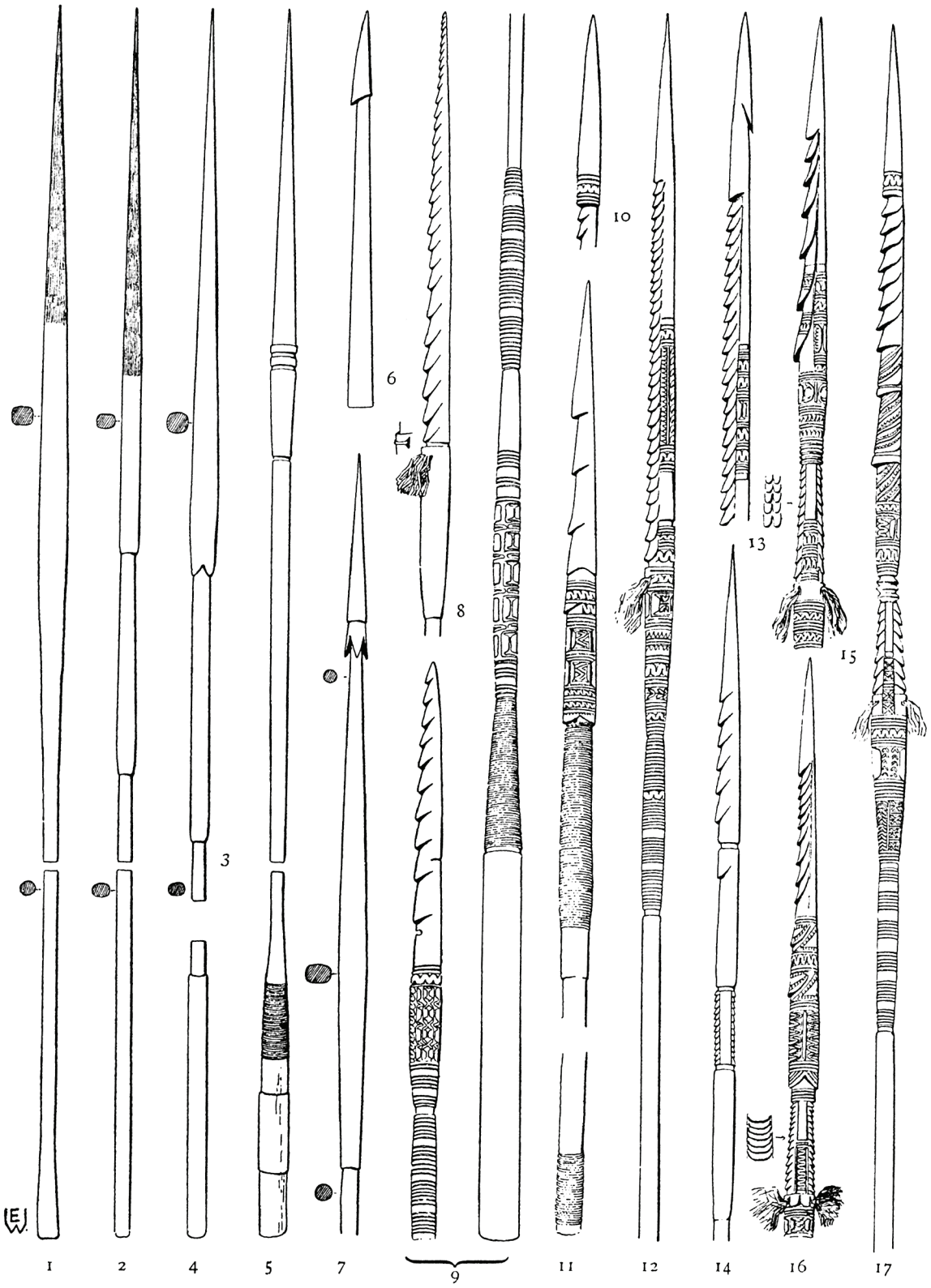


Fig. 123.

1. M 262[1], Ětăsĭńíně, Emĭr
2. He 2319[1], Ěnáĭ
3. M 103[1], Ětăsítěl
4. M 245[1], Ětăsĭńíně, Emĭr
5. M 261[1], Ětăsĭńíně., Emĭr
6. M 259[1], Ětăsĭńíně, Emĭr
7. R 4154[1], Emĭr
8. He 2175[1], Ěnáĭ
9. F 1020[1], Ěnáĭ
10. He 2308[1], Ěnáĭ
11. He 2188[1], Ěnáĭ (pig-hunting spear)
12. He 2186[1], Ěnáĭ-Ělěmăkŭnáŭr.
13. M 250[1], Ětăsĭńíně
14. He 2189[1], Ěnáĭ
15. He 2321[1], Ěnáĭ
16. He 2122[1], Ěnáĭ
17. M 233[1], 2, Ělěūā, Emĭr.

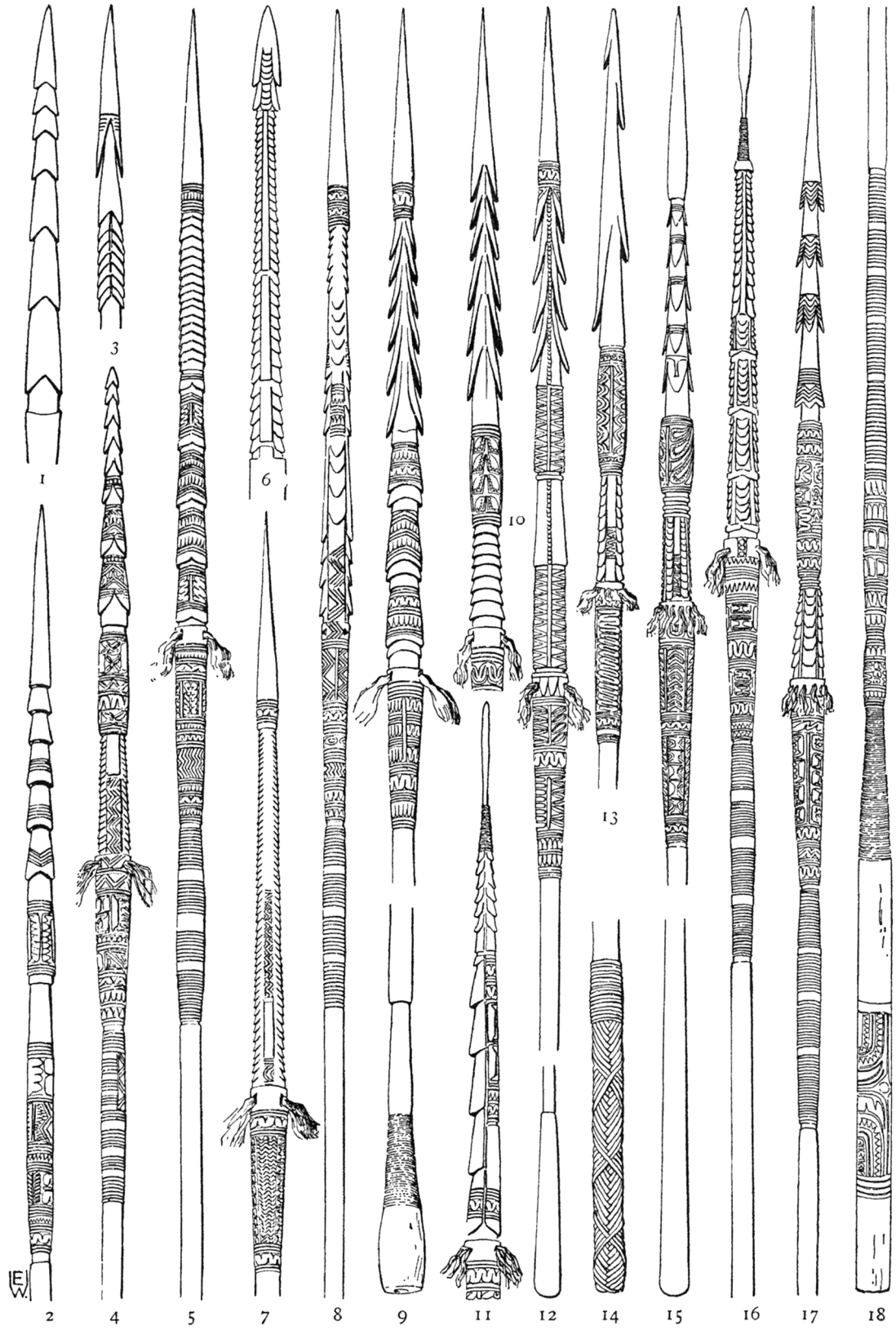


Fig. 124.

1. He 2328I, Ěnaĭ (pig-hunting spear)
2. M 243I, Ětăsĭńíně, Emĭr
3. M 263I, Ětăsĭńíně, Emĭr
4. He 2296I, Ělĕmăkŭnaûr
5. He 2297I, Ěnaĭ
6. M 252I, Ětăsĭńíně, Emĭr
7. He 2302I, Ětălåt
8. He 2080I, Ěnaĭ
9. M 122I, Ělĕmăkŭnaûr
10. He 2299I, Ělĕmăkŭnaûr
11. M 253I, Ětăsĭńíně, Emĭr
12. R 4158I, Emĭr
13. He 2099I, Ělĕmăkŭnaûr
14. He 2289I, Ělĕmăkŭnaûr (pig-hunting spear)
15. M 242I, Ětăsĭńíně, Emĭr
16. M 237I, Ělĕūā, Emĭr
17. M 239I, Ělĕūā, Emĭr
18. He 2320I, Ěnaĭ.

[199] The *bǎ́la͡u*, with an average length of 2.50 m, have aroused wonder[5] in the eyes of every visitor to the islands, thanks to their decoration and careful workmanship. Large numbers of them turn up in museums.

The lower end of the *bǎ́la͡u* shaft is undecorated in a few spears called *duba͡iu* (?), and a short length may be wrapped in *bǒ́bŏ*^{u} cord or, more rarely, the end may be completely plaited over with bast or, again, the butt (*rǒ́ňănă*) may be made from a piece of bamboo cane. The bamboo, found only as pieces that have drifted ashore, is cut off straight at the bottom, and shaved very thinly at the top and often also split down about 10 cm. The spear shaft is pushed into the thin end of the bamboo and both parts are firmly secured by a *bǒ́bŏ*^{u} cord wrapping, (*gĭgīč*, *gĭgītš*). The bamboo with the wrapping is invariably rubbed white with lime and may, in addition, be decorated by red or black lines running round the outside. Incised decoration of the bamboo tube is very uncommon. A double-separated tube was seen only once on St Matthias. Due to its shortness, (about 50 cm), the purpose of the bamboo end cannot be to make the *bǎ́la͡u* lighter or more flexible, as is the case in northern New Ireland and New Hanover. It may serve only to extend the shaft.[6]

Any parallel with the supplementary bamboo tube is rare — in the form of a short, thickened shaft end with its wrapping further up, on St Matthias; and in the form of an offset end of the shaft on Emĭ́r.

The *bǎ́la͡u* is richly decorated above the bamboo tube; this decoration is missing in *bǎ́la͡u* without a bamboo butt. It consists of indented designs rubbed with lime, like the kind commonly found on betel lime spatulas and dance staves. Parallel rings predominate around the shaft. In addition, there are motifs that Parkinson[7] took to be 'leaf- and flower designs', which are, however, based to a great extent on the tooth motif, or the *kera͡ŭ́ră* motif and the like. A short smooth area painted red may be left blank between them. Usually the decoration covers 50 cm of shaft length.

A length of 50–70 cm in the middle of the shaft is not decorated, as it is gripped in the hand when the spear is in use; it is well-polished. This area takes on a kind of sheen just through the constant carrying of the spear.[8]

Decoration resumes above this smooth area. Following a short interval dominated by parallel circles, the [200] diameter of the shaft increases, and more complex decoration starts to predominate. At the broadest point, the cross-section gradually becomes oval. Small bunches of bast, (*ăyĕrǎ́i*), are knotted through one or more holes, usually two, marking the start of the actual spear tip. Above them, (not below, as Parkinson[9] would have it), there are quite often several incisions, (*kóšărú*), one above the other, which appear to be 'a stunted form of the barb'. They are either in two opposing rows or joined into one unit, giving the impression of cones piled on top of one another. After a further brief section of rich decoration, the actual barbs, (*la͡ibǎ́la͡u*), appear. They are cut out of one side, one above the other when the spear is a simple *bǎ́la͡u*, but are in two opposing rows when the spear is a *bǎ́la͡u kărákă*. Transformation of these barbs into cones is not very common. More often the opposing barbs of both rows come so close together that they intercept at an angle. Instead of the usual arrangement of barbs, many spears have groups of four cross-barbs one above the other. And finally, the alternating arrangement of less-enlarged barbs is quite rare. The barbs are very often painted black against a red background or painted only one colour.

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[5] Parkinson, 1901, pp.231 *et seq.*, and 1907, pp.328 *et seq.*; Danneil, 1901, pp.117 *et seq.*; von Hesse-Wartegg, 1901, p.567; Graebner, 1905, pp.333 *et seq.*; Meyer, 1900, p.178 *et seq.*; Finsch, 1914, p.503

[6] Danneil, 1901, p.117

[7] 1907, pp.329–331. Similar to Danneil, p.117.

[8] Parkinson, 1907, p.330

[9] 1907, p.332

Nevermann, St. Matthias, Plate 14



Spears from St. Matthias and Emïr, about 1/6 actual size

1 Fishing spear
2-9 Fishing spear } Hamburg
10 Spear *uńsuńsŭăki*

The actual smooth tip of the spear soars above the barbs. It is usually painted black or, less commonly, red, or left in its natural colour. Tips that have broken off are given a shorter taper or, if this is no longer possible, armed with a new lance point secured by wrapping. One *bă͡lau kărăkă*-type spear was custom made — its owner had armed it with a stingray barb tip. That barb too was fastened by wrapping.

The odd spear has no decoration, only barbs and interruptions in the shaft. A groove below the barbs or just above the lowest barb, called *(w)ŏăšai͡ninе*, probably enabled the barbed tip to break off and remain in a wound. The groove still appears, although in a rudimentary fashion, in richly decorated spears, where breaking-off is less desirable.

In addition to the barbs, the simple undecorated spears may also carry a bunch of bast or rows of incisions opposite each other. In undecorated spears the barbs are always only on one side.



Fig. 125. Double-spear St. Matthias. Hamburg 24.17 : 2.

Spears with a single barb shaped into a widened tip, or with a smooth point decorated only with two chiselled rings above a groove are unique. Distinguishable from all other spears [201] is a spear of the *bă͡lau kărăkă* type in the Hamburg Museum, which, instead of the lower part of the shaft, has a second section identical to the tip.

The *uṅsuṅsŭăkĭ́* spear, a richly-decorated type, takes its name from the *suăki* bush bird. Between grooves and the double-sided barbs, it bears the 'bird's beak' — a double-pronged carving like a fork, with the barb section rising from it. The tip within the beak is intended to break off when the spear strikes a person. On Emĭ́r there are also spears with smooth points, grooves beneath and decorations below this in turn. The butt of the spear is expanded into a paddle blade.

Spears with points easily broken off appear to be used solely in warfare. The other spears are, for the most part, used for pig-hunting, in the same manner as in battle, and occasionally for fishing as well, when there is a shortage of fishing spears and a multi-pronged fishing spear, (*lĭ́măllĭ́mă*), is not required.

In Eruterite, on Emĭ́r, spear tips are coated with a mixture, (*tálŏ*), of wood ash, saliva, and creeper sap, to inflict fatal wounds. Whether this is poison or magic remains uncertain.

Adolescent youngsters carve their first spear for themselves. Later on, they rough out their spear, and hand over the fashioning of the point and the decoration to professional carvers, who use obsidian. The bamboo piece appears to be added to the shaft by the individual. Undecorated spears are also made by individuals. The appearance of totem signs (*rŏrŏ́-nă*) on the spears indicates that personal ownership is vested in them. Besides those for his personal use, a chief will order a large number of extras from the spear carver, to be held in the chief's house as reserve spears for his warriors.

On Tench, simply-tapered coconut palm wood spears, only 5–6 metres long and void of decoration, are used as stabbing weapons. They are far too heavy for throwing. A piece of bamboo cane serves as the butt of some spears.[10] [202]

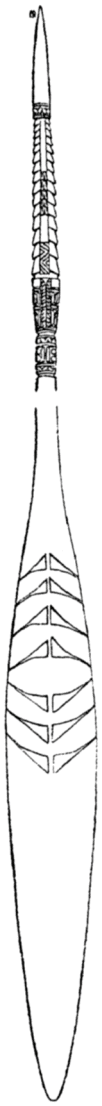


Fig. 126. Spear-paddle Ĕtăsĭ́nĭ́nĕ, Emĭ́r. M 264I. 256 cm long.

[10] 1907, p.343

Stone missiles

Before launching their spears at the start of a battle on St Matthias, warriors throw whatever limestone rocks are at hand, ranging in size from half- to a full fist.[11] By 1908, slingshots were no longer seen on St Matthias. Yet in 1901 Parkinson had obtained a catapult made from a pale, thick, plaited cord, with a 'seat' of thinner, more-finely-woven, twisted cord, and a little basket, 23 cm high, for catapult stones.[12] He does not mention anything about either of these acquisitions. In 1907 Thurnwald obtained a coconut bast catapult with one loosely-twisted cord and one tightly-plaited cord, ending in a knot decorated with bast and *Nassa*.[13] The whole gamut of slingshots points to New Britain. In any event, doubts exist about the origin of both specimens. On Emĭr coral lime stones are used as non-catapult missiles, in the same manner we saw on St Matthias in 1908.



Fig. 127. Club for pigs, Eruterĭte, Emĭr. R 4276ı. 88 cm long.

On Tench, much greater emphasis is laid on stones as weapons, because spears are used only for stabbing, and not for throwing as on St Matthias and Emĭr. Parkinson[14] names the coral rock of the Tench people as their most effective means of defence, and records that both men and women were well versed in hurling rocks as big as a fist, with great precision. In another place[15] he even speaks of children arming themselves with 'pebbles'. Admittedly, the Hamburg Expedition did not observe any injuries among the natives caused by rock missiles. Since there seems to be only one village on Tench, with houses close together, internal pitched battles fought out with rocks could be quite rare — stones are probably a means of defence only against the few visitors to the island.

Clubs and Truncheons

Clubs have not been observed as weapons of war on St Matthias and Emĭr. On Emĭr a short, decorated club, (*a͡ĭparu mo̲ṣŭ*), is used for killing pigs, but not in battle.

Real clubs are also missing on Tench, yet in [203] battle 'everyone took advantage of truncheons on offer'.[16] *A͡ĭsarĭke* (?) was heard as the name of such a weapon. A one-metre-long 'skewer–and–club combination', seen on Tench in 1908, was probably a dance staff.

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[11] An oval stone of dimensions 6.8 x 4.5 cm, which Grapow obtained as a 'slingshot stone' on St Matthias, (Stuttgart Museum, IC 53618), is wrapped in rattan, and might be a weight stone for a net, but not a catapult stone.

[12] Berlin Museum, VI 20266 a b

[13] Berlin Museum, VI 29423

[14] 1907, p.343

[15] 1907, p.338

[16] Parkinson, 1907, p.343

Booby Traps and Pitfalls

In 1908, half a dozen tapered staves about 50–60 cm long, sloping to one side at an angle of 45° degrees, were placed as booby traps (*mătăn͡ai*) before an Ĕrŏ́ĭtăn farm on St Matthias. Between them was a pit for attackers from Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl, (*a͡ipăsắn ĕtăsĭ́tĭl*^{e} = trap? for Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl), 40–50 cm wide and about 150 cm deep, with further booby traps at the bottom almost reaching the surface. The pit was open. Only a bare branch had been laid over it, evidently just to ensure that people did not fall in accidentally.

On Tench in 1908 was an area, right behind a simple entanglement intended to obstruct entry to the village, that had been staked out in booby traps, (*matắbĕre*?). About thirty sharpened little pieces of wood about 10 cm long had been placed randomly in the ground with their points upwards, and loosely covered over with sand; a bare foot stepping on them would be injured.



Fig. 128. Foot spike, Tench. M 402[1]. 14 cm long.

Entanglements

When members of the Hamburg Expedition, having announced to the Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl people their unwelcome intention of entering the Mắlakăt region, were about to do so, they found the path beyond Ĕtăsĭ́tĕl obstructed by newly-made entanglements of branches. At one place the path was blocked with interwoven branches to such an extent that the obstruction had to be skirted round. In another instance, the path was indicated as impassable simply by the laying down of branches.

The entrance to the village on Tench was closed by an entanglement consisting of interlacing of creepers and plaited coconut fibre cords with a couple of boards and freshly-cut branches and twigs, forming an obstacle that was not at all difficult to climb over, but was intended probably to point out that strangers were not wanted. A booby trap plot beyond the entanglement was much more dangerous to bare feet. Most houses were similarly surrounded by entanglements, grouping the houses together as though hamlets. Only at one spot was there a lower entanglement of twigs across [204] the path. This was probably the square in front of the chief's farmstead. On the other hand, from the natural wall at the edge of the village one could move virtually unhindered among the houses. Only at one point, where the inner wall was broken away or was simply very low, was there a fence of sticks intersecting at right angles.

War Decoration

On Tench decoration was worn just as little for battle as in everyday life.

Conversely, on St Matthias and Emĭ́r the men put on decoration for battle: dance decorations of every kind, in addition to rattles. However, for fighting in the bush they did not put combs in their hair — only for attacks out on the reef. The penis shell seems to have special significance as a battle ornament, because laying it aside appears to be a sign of friendship. Instead of the usual nose decoration, some men push grass or leaves through the hole in their nasal septum for battle, or for dancing. Grass and leafy wreaths are worn on the head and forehead during spear dances, and probably for battle as well. Head hair and beard are carefully groomed before war expeditions, even by those who normally pay little attention to grooming. Hair is cut short and sometimes shaven on either side; many shave their full beards right off, leaving only a small goatee. Chest and face are striped with lime.

Signals

King[17] writes (of Bell's visit to Tench) "On the south point of the island, a man stood alone, with a long pole in his hand, which had something large at the end of it, and which he seemed to use as a signal to those in the canoes."

In the evening, on the approach of the *Seeadler* in 1900, a fire was lit on one of St Matthias's offshore islands.[18]

Conduct of Battle

Skirmishes of a more serious nature between friendly villages are not fought with spears straight away, but start with coral limestone rocks being hurled. Occasionally the fight develops into a spear duel. Rock missiles often cause serious bone fractures, even death. [205]

The cause of such conflicts in most cases originates with the stealing of women or the theft of taro. With aid freely given by friends and relatives of a few original protagonists, a major fight can develop from a minor infringement.

Set battles are based usually on old hostilities between villages. In such cases a plan of action is formulated by the attacker and the chief takes over the leadership. The men of his village arm themselves with their own spears or with those stored in the meeting house under the chief's jurisdiction. On Em̍r whole bundles of spears are occasionally hidden in the bush, so as to be readily to hand when under attack.

A declaration of war does not appear to be the usual custom. On the contrary, the dominant theme is a predilection for surprise attack. A particular favourite is an attack on an enemy fishing on the reef. An Ĕtăsĭn̍ĭ́nĕ paddle with a spear point may indicate that they also fight from canoes, at least on Em̍r. However attacks are also carried out on those collecting betel nuts in the bush, or on the enemy villages themselves. Nevertheless booby-trapped pitfalls in front of the villages for protection are not common. To avoid an open approach along the riverbank, shortly before 1908, Ĕbŏ́lĭu warriors advanced at the stream between Mắlakăt and the main peak opposite the village section of Ĕtālūĕrŏ́n̍ in Ĕnâ̍ı̂.

Often two or three friendly villages unite in an attack. If part of a village is attacked, the chief of the entire village is responsible for care of the injured, that is, he arranges new housing for them and organizes an avenging expedition.

The men, women, and children under attack are speared indiscriminately, and their houses burned down.

During open warfare, which usually takes place only when the enemy has been alerted in time to the planned attack, the undecorated spears, (*măn̍ŭ́no*), are thrown first, followed by the better spears, (*bắl͡au*). Where necessary, single-pronged fishing spears and pig-hunting spears are used as javelins too. Decorated spears are launched at the outset only where there is an open field of fire, for example wide stretches of beach or on the reef. This is not only because of their greater accuracy, but because with a direct hit the spear tip can be relied on to break off in the wound. Every spear that misses or can be pulled out of a wound, means an increase in the opposition's armoury; this always has to be taken into account, because each warrior carries only a few spears. He has to replace the spears he throws, by skilfully dodging those thrown by the enemy, and gathering up the enemy's spears that missed their target. Often,[19] [206] two opposing lines launch

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[17] 1793, p.420

[18] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, XI, 1900, p.639; von Hesse-Wartegg, 1901, p.563

[19] During the attack on Mencke's expedition, each warrior carried about five spears (*Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, XII, 1901, p.450).

their spears from only a few metres apart. Generally, spears are very rarely thrown from more than 30 metres away.

After the fight, broken-off spears are resharpened, or new tips are tied on. The importance of a captured spear was demonstrated when an Ĕlĕmăkŭnaa̍ur man when selling a spear in 1908, remarked expressly that he had obtained it from an Ĕtălă̍t man who had, in turn, taken it from a slain Musa͡u man. However, there were still great numbers of spears on the field of slaughter in Evera͡i̍.

They bury the dead of their own party, and leave the enemy to bury theirs. They say that the eating of fallen enemies does not happen. The names of the fallen, presumably of both sides, are recounted in songs, (*kīnắrī*).

Attacks are also carried out by bigger villages at the behest of smaller villages, for payment. Thus, for example, Ĕtălă̍t received ten pigs, including one European animal, for the 1908 massacre of Ĕkălĕ̍ŭ people, under the auspices of Ĕbŏ́lĭu. Payment is by instalment. The deliverer of the pigs went to Ĕtălă̍t attired for war; a feast was put on there in honour of the payment.

War conduct on Tench differs from that on St Matthias and Emi̍r in that throwing spears are not customary — stabbing spears are.[20] They use coral limestone rocks and cudgels as well.

The predominance of spears on Tench can be explained only by the island's village banding together under some kind of social, political, or economic subgrouping. This might also explain the simple barricades in the village, to some extent at least.

The behaviour of the Tench people during our landing on their island demonstrated that a unified defence organization scarcely existed, and that most of the men, in spite of arming themselves with spears, showed no tendency toward serious resistance. This dilemma explains why the Hamburg Expedition was permitted, with almost no hesitation, to cross the entanglements outside and inside the village, the odd man even drawing our attention to the booby traps, while a few hotheads also ventured to attack with spears. Parkinson even noticed women and children armed with rocks behind the row of spear-carriers on the reef,[21] but the later behaviour of the Tench people was much less warlike. In 1908 and 1913[22] too they sought, only in a friendly fashion, to persuade the foreigners to leave their island. This behaviour leaves no conclusions to be drawn about the conduct of internal struggles. [207]

XII. Intellectual Culture

Religion

The *rắrō͡a̍i*

The St Matthias people talked about souls and spirit in the following manner. 'Men have a soul, *rắrō͡a̍i*, which leaves the body, (*ēmắtĕ*), after death. The souls of the men remain in the house, while those of women and children go into the bush, (*tăpātŭ́pĭ*). People can see the *rắrō͡a̍i*.[23] Whoever encounters a *rắrō͡a̍i* must whistle a long drawn-out tone, and can then reach his house unimpeded.

Like man, the pig has a *rắrō͡a̍i*. They denied that papaya and coconut palms had a *rắrō͡a̍i*.

Other *rắrō͡a̍i*, apparently known by the collective name, *rắrō͡a̍i măŭrŏ́ĭ*, or *rắrō͡a̍i ŏrŏ́ĭ*, are distinguished from the *rắrō͡a̍i* of the dead. They are quite colourless forms, who inflict evil on men.

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[20] When Parkinson talks of spears ready for throwing, this is only a stylistic usage.

[21] 1907, p.338

[22] *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Deutsch-Neuguinea*, 1913, p.247 *et seq.*

[23] *ătắtără rắrōa͡i̍* = 'I have seen the *rắroa͡i̍*'.

Ancestor worship

Some mourning customs indicate that people appear to regard the dead with a certain veneration. This is shown even more clearly by wooden figures being made as a memorial to the dead, or by the adorning of dance staves or betel lime sticks with ancestral figures.

On Tench, human figures are carved out of wood as single or double figures, although we did not find out whether these were ancestral figures, as on St Matthias and Emŕr, or whether they served some other purpose.

When the Hamburg Expedition entered the village on Tench they found big, roughly-spherical bundles hidden in the scrub. These had an inner wrapping of material, and leaves as an outer cover. The natives absolutely refused to sell these bundles. From their shape, the bundles could have contained skulls.

Ăbătű̆ă

A further category of evil spirits is the *kắtū* in the bush. As *kắtū ăbătű̆ă* they attack humans. An Ěnầi boy with infantile paralysis, who lived alone with his little sister in a hut on the beach was said to have been 'bitten' by the *kắtū ăbătű̆ă*.

On Emŕr, a stone called *kĭ́ūkĭ́ū* below the high plateau of Kălĭ́ăbă in the Ěbūlĭ́ělĕ region was very much feared and avoided, because many *ăbătű̆ă* [208] were said to live there. According to somewhat nebulous accounts, the stone was alleged to be able to wander about, with the neighbouring stones. Once it went deep into the water and back again, in one night. It could not be discovered whether the name *kĭ́ūkĭ́ū* is identical with *kĭ́ūkĭ́ū*, the name of the creator spirit on Emŕr.

Rắrôa̍i nă̆mănă̆mă

According to accounts by St Matthias people, the *rắrôa̍i nă̆mănă̆mă* is contrasted with the *rắrôa̍i* of the dead and the *rắrôa̍i măŭrŏ̆ĭ*, by being creator of the living: 'Make him man, make him pig, make him taro'. He is therefore designated as good, and he is not a spirit of the dead, like the *rắrôa̍i măŭrŏ̆ĭ*. He does not like fire, (*kūrắ*), and occasionally comes into the huts to receive cold food put out for him.

Ĕsa̍ilĭ́ŭ

Ranked above the *rắrôa̍i nă̆mănă̆mă* is the *Ĕsa̍ilĭ́ŭ*, emphasized as being bigger, who is similarly benevolent. The only thing known about him is that he created the *rắrôa̍i nă̆mănă̆mă*. *Ĕsa̍ilĭ́ŭ*, the sun (*sĭ́năk*), and the moon (*ű́lăn*) were not created — they have always been there.

Kĭu-kĭu

On Emŕr, there are differing stories about the creator of the living. According to Eruteríte accounts, first of all the spirit Kĭu-kĭu lived with his wife, Karrekarresa̍ine,[24] his son, Atutúătúă̲, and daughter, Ualällä or Welläläi. Kĭu-kĭu cut off one of his son's hands and one of his daughter's hands, and used them to form, in sequence, the head, with the eyes, the ears (*talĭ́na*), the nose

[24] *Kărăkărăsă̆n*, or, according to Hellwig's spelling, *karrekarresa̍ine*, means 'male' on St Matthias.

(*nusiṅa*), the mouth (*pa̍ră*), the teeth (*insíṅa*), and the chin (*a͡ută̍ra*); the arms (*numára*); the legs (*kéke*, *kekĕ́ră*); the feet (*lapa̍́lapa kekĕ́ră*); the hands (*lúma*) and their palms (*lúma lumára*).[25] Once this had been done, humanity could carry on.

This story is said to exist on St Matthias as well. The interpreter, Măkĭrŏ́ăr[i] thought that he remembered that Kĭukĭu had initially planted the humans he had formed, into the earth, but they had got away, ('first time he plant him along ground, he come up big fellow, now he run away'). However, since Kărăkărăsa̍́n occurs elsewhere on St Matthias in another form than that of a male cultural hero, there are probably major differences between the legends on St Matthias and Emĭ́r.

Kărăkărăsa̍́n

Pa̍́laka͡u people recounted that the first canoe had been built by a stone-person named Kărăkărăsa̍́n. While Kărăkărăsa̍́n was looking at his canoe [209] the sun said to him, 'Watch out! Or it will crack apart.' He replied, 'Go on then!' So the sun shone, and the canoe broke in half.

Kărăkărăsa̍́n landed in the water. Apparently he got out of the water.

The interpreter Măkĭrŏ́ăr[i] reported that Kărăkărăsa̍́n[26] was a male spirit, a '*man-tabaran*' on St Matthias, and had ten brothers. They fed on earth and fish[27] that came out of it. However, when they found a small taro they planted it and they no longer needed to eat dirt. Kărăkărăsa̍́n and his brothers made pigs as well, ('he make him pig'),[28] and invented axes, houses made of sago palm material, and canoes.

Hellwig heard the following story about Kărăkărăsa̍́n[29] in Pidgin from Măkĭrŏ́ăr[i]:

All he make him canoe.
They made themselves a canoe. (They put to sea in it and saw that)

Sun he come up. He got find him sun. Sun he speak,
The sun rose. They travelled towards it. They were approaching. He warned,

'Look out, me come.' All he come close to. One brother he got sore
'Watch out, I am coming.' They drew nearer. One brother had an abscess

along arse. He fall down along canoe, belong one big fellow sea.
on his bottom. He fell down in the canoe because of a big wave.

Karrekarre he speak, 'Maskee, you come.' Now he come,
Kărăkărăsa̍́n said, 'That doesn't matter, just come.' He just wanted to come,

canoe he broke. Karrekarre lie, 'He no broke.' He sing
but the canoe broke up. Kărăkărăsa̍́n lied, 'It is not broken.' He called

out along small picaninny <u>Tingekánga̍́ta</u>, 'You hold him fast along b͡aiss he stop
out to the little boy Tiṅekaṅa̍́ta,[30] 'Hang on tight to the belt on

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[25] The possessive suffix appears to be used with the forementioned words.
[26] Hellwig heard 'Karrekarres͡aine'.
[27] 'Fish' in Pidgin can also include salamanders and the like.
[28] Probably this is intended to mean that they introduced the raising of pigs, or discovered pigs as a food resource.
[29] Hellwig's writing of indigenous names is retained, even though Müller's spelling is preferable.
[30] Or Tiṅakaṅa̍́ta

leg belong me! Me two fellow go on top liklik tree.' Small fellow hold him
my leg. We will both get up the small tree.' The young boy held on

fast. Baiss he broke. Karrekarresaine he go on top tree, picaninny along
tightly. Then the belt broke. Kărăkărăsăn climbed up the tree; the boy fell [210]

saltwater, other nine fellow too. Karrekarresaine he got on top
into the sea (and drowned), along with the other nine. Kărăkărăsăn got up

belong one fellow koko. He find plenty boy belong koko. He no got mari
onto a star. He met many star men. They did not have wives

belong puspus. He no save. Along dark
whom they could (correctly) copulate with. They lacked the skill. In the dark

he puspus belong mătăna, along dark all he puspus belong mătăna. Karrekarre-
they copulated in their eyes, in the dark they all copulated in their eyes. Kărăkără-

saine he look him all. He speak, 'What name you make him all belong matana?'
săn witnessed this. He said, 'Why did you do that with the eye?'

All he speak, 'Me no savvy.' Karrekarresaine ask him belong luluai.
They replied, 'We don't know.' Kărăkărăsăn asked the chief.

He speak, he no savvy. Karrekarresaine he speak, 'You catch him one
He replied that he too did not know. Kărăkărăsăn said, 'Fetch one of

fellow mari belong you. Me show you.' Luluai he catch him mari.
your wives. I shall show you how.' The chief brought a wife.

Karrekarresaine he puspus first time. Karrekarresaine he speak,
Kărăkărăsăn copulated with her the first time (correctly). Kărăkărăsăn said,

'He good all the same.' He puspus too.
'It is good this way.' He (the chief) had coitus the same way. (He said:)

'Belong mătăna he no good.' Two fellow he puspus finish, he go belong
'In the eye isn't right.' When both had finished coitus, they went into the

house belong luluai. He talk belong all boy belong him, he no
chief's house. He (the chief) told his people that they should no

more puspus belong head belong him. Luluai give one fellow mari belong
longer copulate with the head. The chief gave Kărăkărăsăn a

Karrekarresaine. Karrekarresaine he puspus mari. Mari he got picaninny. One
wife. Kărăkărăsăn had sex with her. The wife had a child. One

day picaninny he play along airóschi. He like shoot him. He run away
day the child was playing with a lizard. He wanted to shoot it. It ran away

belong one leaf. *He lift him up leaf. He look*
onto a leaf of a bush. (The child looked for it and) lifted the leaves. He saw [211]

down below. He look him mama belong Karrekarresa͡ine. He make
down below (onto Earth) and saw Kărăkărăsăn's mother. She was working on

him kálliu. Spear belong shoot him a͡iróschi he broke belong one
a skirt. The spear for shooting the lizard shattered against a

stone. *He like make him new fellow point belong one shell.*
rock. He tried to carve a new spear tip with a shell.

Now Karrekarresa͡ine he cross belong break him spear along stone. Tinge-
Kărăkărăsăn was angry about the spear shattering on a rock. Tiṅe-

kángăta he speak, 'Supposing you me make him good fellow spear belong me,
kaṅăta said, 'If you are willing to repair my spear for me,

me show you mama belong you. You no make him, you no savvy look him.'
I will show you your mother. If you don't, you won't be able to see her.'

Karrekarresa͡ine he make him. Picaninny he take him belong tree belong a͡iróschi.
Kărăkărăsăn put it right again. The boy took him to the lizard's tree.

He lift him up leaf. Karrekarresa͡ine he look down, look him mama
He pushed the leaf aside. Kărăkărăsăn looked down and saw his

belong him. Karrekarresa͡ine he make him one big fellow rope too much.
mother. Kărăkărăsăn made a very long (strong?) rope.

He make him finish, he look him mari, he go work belong taro. He talk
When it was ready, he saw the women (below) going to work in the taro patch. He said

him picaninny, 'You look me go down belong place belong me,
to the boy, 'When you see that I have arrived down at my place,

you throw away rope, me go down finish.' He go, go, go, go down. End belong
you throw the rope away, up above.' He lowered himself a long way. The end

rope he stop along ta͡un close to belong house belong him. *He mallol.*
of the rope hung down onto a *ta͡un*[31] tree right beside his house. He was hungry.

He kaikai. *Ta͡un he fall down.* *Mama he speak,*
He ate (the *ta͡un* fruit). *Ta͡un* fruit fell to the ground. His mother said,

'What name, balŭssu he kaikai.' He look him tooth belong Karre-
'What's up? Pigeons are feeding (up there).' She saw Kărăkărăsăn's tooth mark[32]

[31] According to Hellwig, *ta͡un* is identical with *galip* of the Gazelle Peninsula; that is, therefore, the *Canari* nut.

karresa͡ine along one ta͡un. He speak, 'Him here Karrekarresa͡ine. He come
in one of the fruit. She said, 'Kărăkărăsắn is here. He has [212]

back. Where other fellow boy?' 'He die
come back. Where are the other boys?' (He replied), 'They died

along canoe along sun.' He cry.
in the canoe, near the sun.' She burst into tears.

In Eruteríte (Emr̓) they say that 'Karrekarresa͡ine' is a woman, and had been the wife of the spirit Kĭu-kĭu who had created humankind. Their children were Atutúătúă (male) and Ualällä or Welläläi (female). It appears that she and Kĭu-Kĭu were the first living beings.

Eắše

One fellow mari he stop Etasitel, Eắše.[33] *One fellow pigeon, balűsŭ, he come.*
A woman, Eắje, lived in Ětăsr̓tĕl. A bird, a pigeon, flew over her.

Grass belong him he fall down. He make puspus belong cunt belong him.
One of his feathers dropped off. The woman copulated with it.

Two fellow picaninny — one mari, one man — come belly belong him,
She gave birth to two children, a boy and a girl.

making plenty picaninny.
who in turn produced many children.

In this way the population of Ětăsr̓tĕl came about.

Sorcery

Rain magic

Hellwig learned through Măkĭrő̆ăr[i] of a spell for rain (*tr̓tĭk*) in Ĕmănắnus, which had been carried out by the rain maker, Makorắetűlu or Ka͡ikowáně, helped by the youths Măkĭrő̆ăr[i] and Tamānaríe. The rain-maker went into the bush with the two boys and made them wait while he collected a bundle of leaves of the *tutűlă* plant. The three of them carried the bundle to the beach, laid it in the sea and covered it with stones. Then the boys collected dry wood from the *a͡ika͡umáne* bush(?) and burned it to ash. The ash (*a͡uŭ*) was wrapped in big leaves of the *úrgăta͡i* plant and carried to the beach by a different route. It was buried near the bundle of *tutűlă* leaves. Night fell. Very early the next morning the ash was dug up and poured over the leaves of the *tutűlă* plant poking out of the water. The rain-maker and the boys wandered slowly home, but did not go near the houses. [213] Summoning a boy as messenger, they got the women to collect firewood and light it near the place of magic. This was done, and the three then made their way back there.

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[32] Bitemark
[33] Or Eā̃je, (Hellwig's spelling)

When the fire had burnt out, it began to rain. The rain reached the very spot where they had turned back. The houses stayed dry because the rain-maker had not entered them.

According to Müller, in Ĕtălăt they use three stones for rain magic, placing them together in a triangle in fresh water. *Ălŭm* leaves are placed in the middle of the triangle. In Ĕlĕmăkŭn͡aur three men were regarded as makers of rain and sun magic.

On Emŕ several women presented a dance for the Hamburg Expedition, which was a 'plea for rain'. They wore rain mats and held green branches in their hands.[34]

Sun magic

Magic with sun stones (*ătū sīnāk*)[35] is practised to induce the sun to cause the taro to thrive in their own gardens, or to make them shrivel in the heat in their enemies' fields. The people prefer to use heavy unstratified stones, which have always clearly been transported, for sun magic, and, on Ĕlŏăŭa atoll, are said to be found in the taro fields. According to Fülleborn, they probably floated ashore on trees. Herzenberg[36] established that they consist of epidotised porphyry.

In Ĕtălăt and Ĕn͡ai, and probably in Ĕlĕmăkŭn͡aur too, the stones are used in pairs, whereas in Ĕkălĕŭ they are used singly. In Ĕkălĕŭ the stone is taken in both hands, thumb and little finger opposed. Then it is lifted up to the roof beam with the person gazing in the direction he wants sun damage to occur. The taro dies off due to the sunlight (*tărō īsīnăkīĕmătĕ*).



Fig. 129. Sun-magic stone, Ĕnăĭ. M 476I. 14 cm high.

Normally in each district there is only one sun sorcerer, (*a͡ităkŏ* or *a͡ităkō*[a]), who is at the same time the 'preparer' of the stone. The effectiveness of the stone ceases on his death. In Ĕtălăt the chief A͡ineměrĭă is regarded as the sun sorcerer, while in Ĕn͡ai it is Kiríĕ, and in Ĕlĕmăkŭn͡aur Kĕălo. From other reports, three men, Rŏ̲d, Tŭkŭrŭĭ, and Nămărăn̆, were skilled in sun- and rain magic in Ĕlĕmăkŭn͡aur. Wúra kept one of the Ĕn͡ai stones, the chief Lăbŏkŏrŏ̲rī the other. Wura's house [214] was on the beach facing the sunrise; when rain persisted for too long, Kiríĕ buried Wúra's stone on the beach at sunrise, causing the sun to rise. Kiríĕ carried Lăbŏkŏrŏ̲rī's stone to the spot where the sun was needed, for example in the taro fields, and buried it. The stone remained there until people no longer wanted the sun but needed rain instead. A rain charm often had to made, for this to happen. Normally the sun was supposed to shine over the stone.

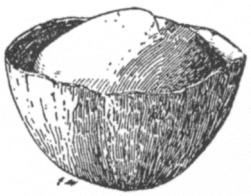


Fig. 130. Sun-magic stone in a coconut shell, Ĕlŏăŭa. M 192I.

Individual *ătū sīnāk* were kept in coconut bowls.

If the Ĕn͡ai people wanted to cause harm to their enemies, Kiríĕ took Lăbŏkŏrŏ̲rī's stone into their territory secretly at night, and buried it on the path from Ĕn͡ai. This was done particularly often in the Ĕbŏlĭu region. Thus the sun is made aware of rising on the path to Ĕbŏlĭu, and where to burn. Three months magic sufficed for the fields to shrivel up. Then Kiríĕ retrieved the stone. He constantly ran the risk of being killed by the Ĕbŏlĭu people while burying and digging up the stone. It is astonishing that, with the onset of a taro famine, the punishers would give taro to those being punished.

In Ĕtălăt, during punitive sun sorcery one stone remains in the sun sorcerer's house. The other stone is placed on a big stone in the direction the sun must take. Beneath these two magic

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[34] Vogel, 1911, p.64

[35] Also *ătu sinakayă*, according to Hellwig.

[36] *Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition*, 1908–1910, vol. I, 1927, p.440.

stones is laid a large leaf. The word *bīlīkīlắs* was mentioned to Müller in relation to sun sorcery; its meaning is unclear.

The wrapping around the magic stones for storage in the huts is called *gīnṓnă*[37] or *gīnṓnă ně mắmī*, and consists of heavily-smoked leaves.

Sun sorcery stones (*ắtū sḯnāk*) are also familiar on Emḯr. However, a similar type of stone, (*mắnamắna*), was encountered on the Etabukäsī farm on Emḯr as a profanatory work tool. This kind of stone is used as a tool on Tench too.

Love Charm

If a young man has his eye on a girl, he practises a love charm by spitting on a betel nut.

Spear Potion

In Éurätärắtä (Eruteríte) on Emḯr a bundle of six spears was obtained with four bundles of the *tálŏ* charm, intended to render wounds by those spears fatal. *Tálŏ* is the ash of a certain [215] type of wood used to make the spears. The ash is moistened with spit, mixed with the chewed sap of a creeper leaf, and put on the tip of the spear. The wood is charred, not on coral rock but on stone from a certain cave. This is likely to be the cave on Ĕănŭsa͡ú where a particular stone is found — probably a special kind of limestone used for burning-on black colour, rather than the usual coral lime.

Synonymous with *tálŏ* the potion was also called *bóssi*, which might be the Pidgin word *poisen*, ('poison'). However, it is doubtful whether it is an actual poison or a magic charm, or both together, since *poisen* in Pidgin can mean either kind of potion.

Fish-catching Magic

A tree lure, (*sina͡ili*, *siṅá*, *siṅádĕbe*, *siṅádĕwe*), festooned with individual leaves, is set up on the beach to attract fish. A little tree of this type stood near Ĕna͡í in 1908.

Dolphin-catching Magic

The chief of Ĕsīūlăka on Emḯr possessed a stone, (*ắtū mắnămắnă ībīlắkă*), that guaranteed success in catching dolphins. How the stone was used, could not be discovered.

XIII. Music and Dancing

Feasts

Occasions for feasts are: conclusion of an alliance between two villages, visits from neighbours, settlement of major debts, preparations for war, and similar events. Not uncommonly,

[37] Pockets in European clothes were also called this, on Emḯr.

feasts also seem to be improvised, with greater emphasis on dancing than on the festive meal. That religious moments also play a major role in feasts is demonstrated by dance sticks with images of the dead, and probably also by the bird-shaped dance accessories, (*sĭ̆ňăkū́*). What role is played by the festive canoes with representations of the fork-tailed kite, could unfortunately not be determined. A boat like that was the common property of the chiefs Pākĕlū́ from Mus͡aù and Kīnălū́ from Ĕlĭŭ́ĕnĕ.

Feasts are celebrated either inside, or in front of, chiefs' houses and meeting houses of the larger villages. Feasting sites where dancing can take place are located in front of the chief's house in several villages. Dried nut-like fruits (*os͡aú̇să*) form a festive ornament of the place. These are carved and rubbed [216] with lime. Bunches of them with a few bright leaves are hung around the village. Only Parkinson[38] mentions a feast site being enclosed — he saw it during a circumcision celebration on Emı̆́r.

Taro roots, coconuts, fruit and other food for the feast are piled up on table-like scaffolding, (*a͡ìçā́lŏ*), outside the chiefs' houses. A decorated coconut rasp was stored in the house of chief A͡ĭnĕmŏ́rīă in Ĕtălắt, for food preparation for a feast.

In the opinion of the St Matthias and Emı̆́r people, drums, dance staves, and pork are the essential ingredients of a proper feast. A feast is thus split into two components: dance and the meal. Pork is not always the main item of the feast, since feasts '*belong kaikai taro*' are held as well. Usually however, pigs are slaughtered in such numbers for the feast and, in some places where they are wild, hunted down to the point that no more pork is available after the feast. Then the people have to wait until the piglets have grown sufficiently big. It is thus understandable when 'pig feasts' are often referred to directly. The club, (*a͡ìparu mā́s̱ŭ*), for killing pigs appears to be closely connected with such feasts on Emı̆́r.

Musical Instruments

Flutes

On St Matthias and Emı̆́r long flutes are made from thin pieces of bamboo that have washed ashore. A 1½ – 2 cm thick tube is cut to a length of 50–60 cm, or 75 cm at the most, with one end closed off at a node point. At the other (open) end, a groove is cut into the rim at the blowing position. The lower end is perforated, with the hole is in the centre of the node. Then another hole is made in the side, 10–13 cm from the lower end; this can be opened or closed by the fingers to produce various high notes. Probably the same thing happens also at the lower hole. Rarely, there is a second hole in the side, a short distance from the first. Near the mouthpiece end the flutes may have a parallel wrapping of bast fibre cord over a 14–19 cm length.



Fig. 131. Flute, Emı̆́r. He 274[1]. 55 cm long.

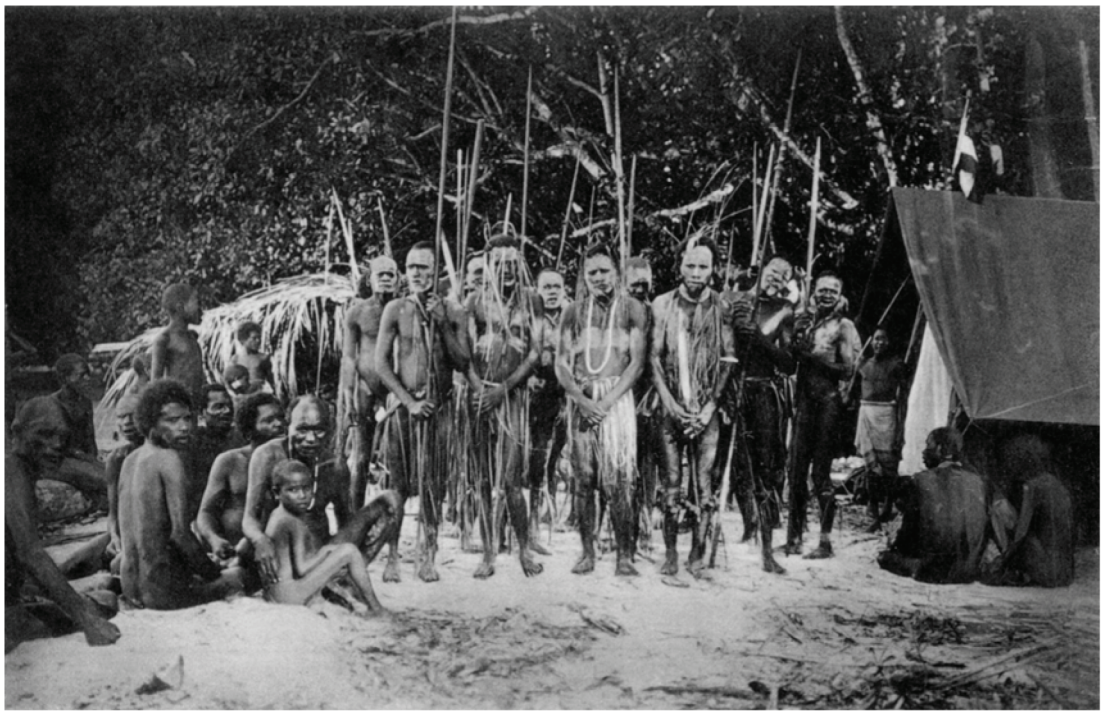
The local name for the long flute is *tŭkŭtā́ᵘĕ* or *tā́ŭĕ* on St Matthias, and *wur͡aú̇tŭ* on Emı̆́r.

Only rarely are flutes undecorated. Most have branded patterns, the simplest form being a star-shaped figure on the side hole. [217] The ornamentation is always grouped around the side hole. Favourites are jagged lines winding round the tube, or groups of various decorations at the lower end. Less commonly, the upper end is covered with branding as well. Lines with triangles rising from them are called *pắnăpắnă* or *īšĭ̆năráră*, (*īšĭ* = tooth); zigzag lines accompanied by dotted lines are *pātūkĕk͡aup*, (*pātū* = fly?); a wheel-shaped figure is *ūĕtŭ́rū*, (*pikkanini 'long divai*,

[38] 1907, p.336



Women's dance, Emi̓r phot. Vogel



Dance in the Ĕnai̓ camp, St. Matthias phot. Fülleborn

fruit?); two concentric circles bisected by a cross with forked ends, *kălăkălă*, (= curative scars?);

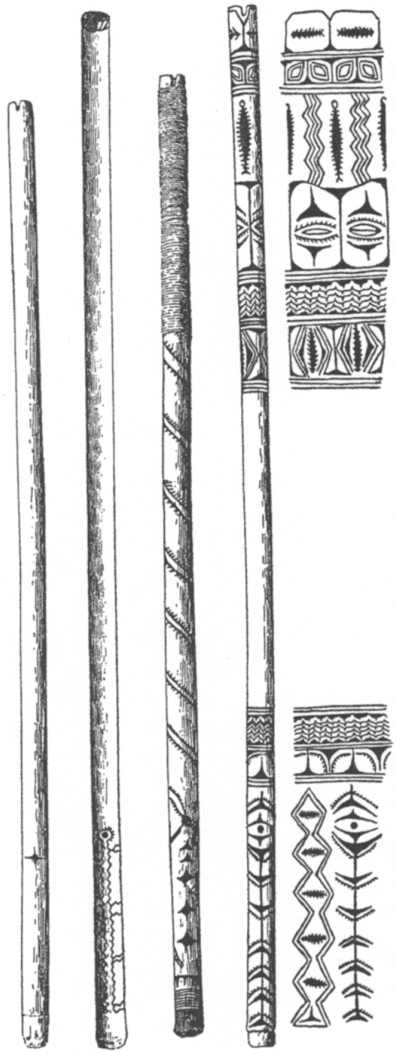
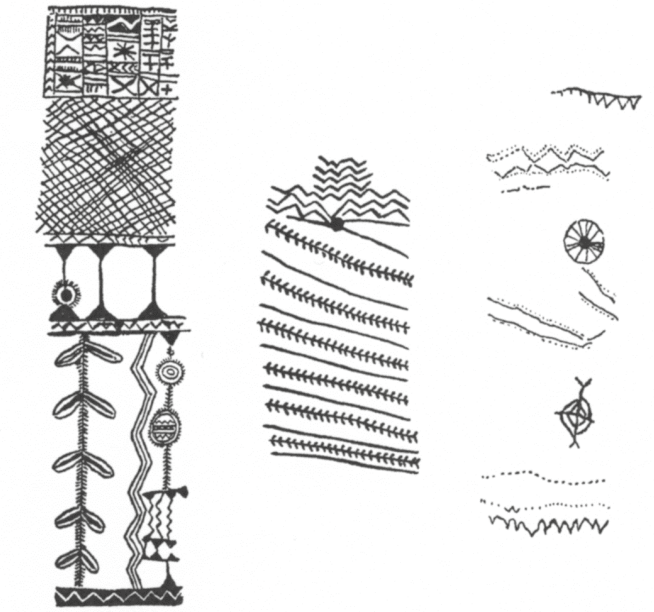


Fig. 132. Flutes :
1. Pålakâû. He 2049[I]
2. St. Matthias, Stuttg. IC 60904
3. St. Matthias, Stuttg. IC 53632
4. Ĕmănánus. M 195[I].



1. Musâû. M 615[I] 2. Pålakâû. F 1011 3. Ĕlĕmăkŭnâûr. M 135.

Fig. 133. Flute decoration

zigzag lines with straight lines running off the peaks of one side, *tărītī*; and simple angles *kĕrấură* or *rấură* (= marine bird of prey).

The flutes are always blown with the mouth, never the nose. Transverse flutes are not found.[39]

Flutes were not seen on Tench. [218]

Conch trumpets

The empty shells of the sea snail *Tritonium*, (*kấuĕ*), are bored through the side and provided with a round mouthpiece which needs to be at the thickest winding of the spiral. Wind instruments like this are blown when pig-hunting, on St Matthias. They also occur on Emĭr and Tench. They were heard on Tench at the arrival of the Hamburg Expedition. On Emĭr they belong among the boating equipment.[40]

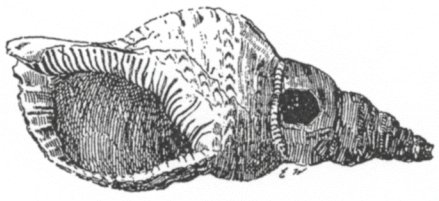


Fig. 134.
Shell trumpet, Ĕtăsĭtĕl. M 88[I].

[39] Two flutes in Stuttgart are designated as transverse flutes, although they look exactly like others that are designated as 'nose flutes'. However, these are certainly long flutes.
[40] Friederici, 1912, p.2730

Slit Drums

Slit drums (*gălămŭ̄tū*) are only small on St Matthias and Tench — only 1–1.30 m long. The slit drums of St Matthias have an almost circular cross-section and are hollowed out to just a thin wall.

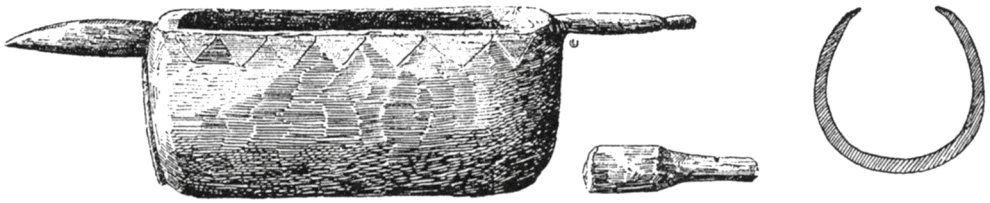


Fig. 135. Slit drum, St. Matthias. Stuttg. IC 2403. 108 cm long.

The slit is relatively wide. On both sides below the slit are incised decorations (triangles side by side with their apices downwards). The slit drum has long peg-like handles at either end, a little below the height of the slit. Two beaters belong with the drum; they consist of a round piece of wood which is roughly rounded on top and narrows into a handle below. The drums are stored at the feasting sites and are tipped on their side to prevent rainwater getting in.

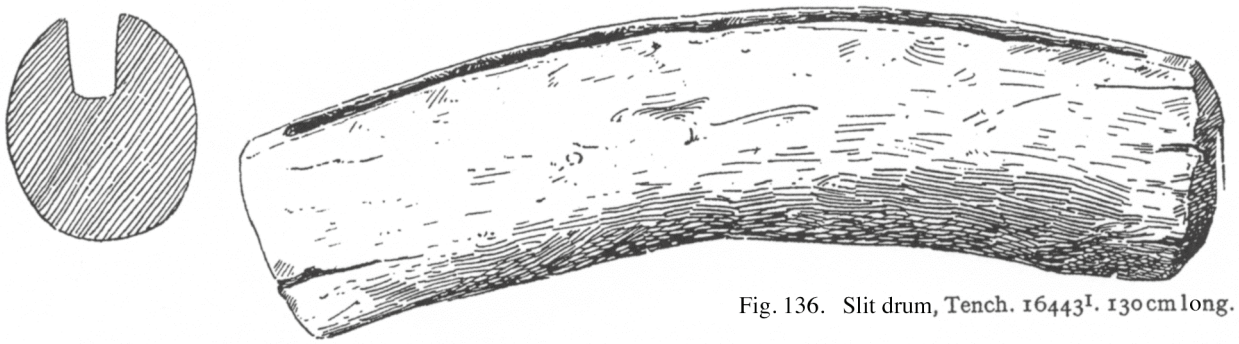


Fig. 136. Slit drum, Tench. 16443[I]. 130 cm long.

The drums on Tench lack the decorative ornamentation and the handles. They are hollowed out far less, so that the slit barely reaches the middle of the trunk. Drums are made even out of curved trunks. They are stored under the lean-tos for equipment.

In addition, small hand drums about 55 cm long are made from a piece of bamboo driftwood with a node at each end and provided with a slit.

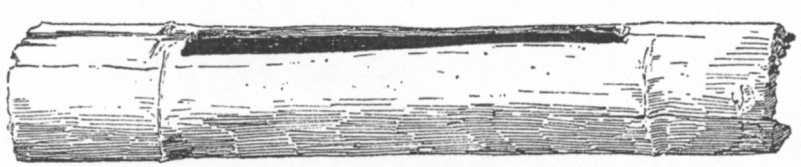


Fig. 137. Hand drum, Tench. M.439[I]. 55.5 cm long.

During a dance on Enâi in 1908 a jam tin fitted with a little stick was used as a musical accompaniment.

Rattles

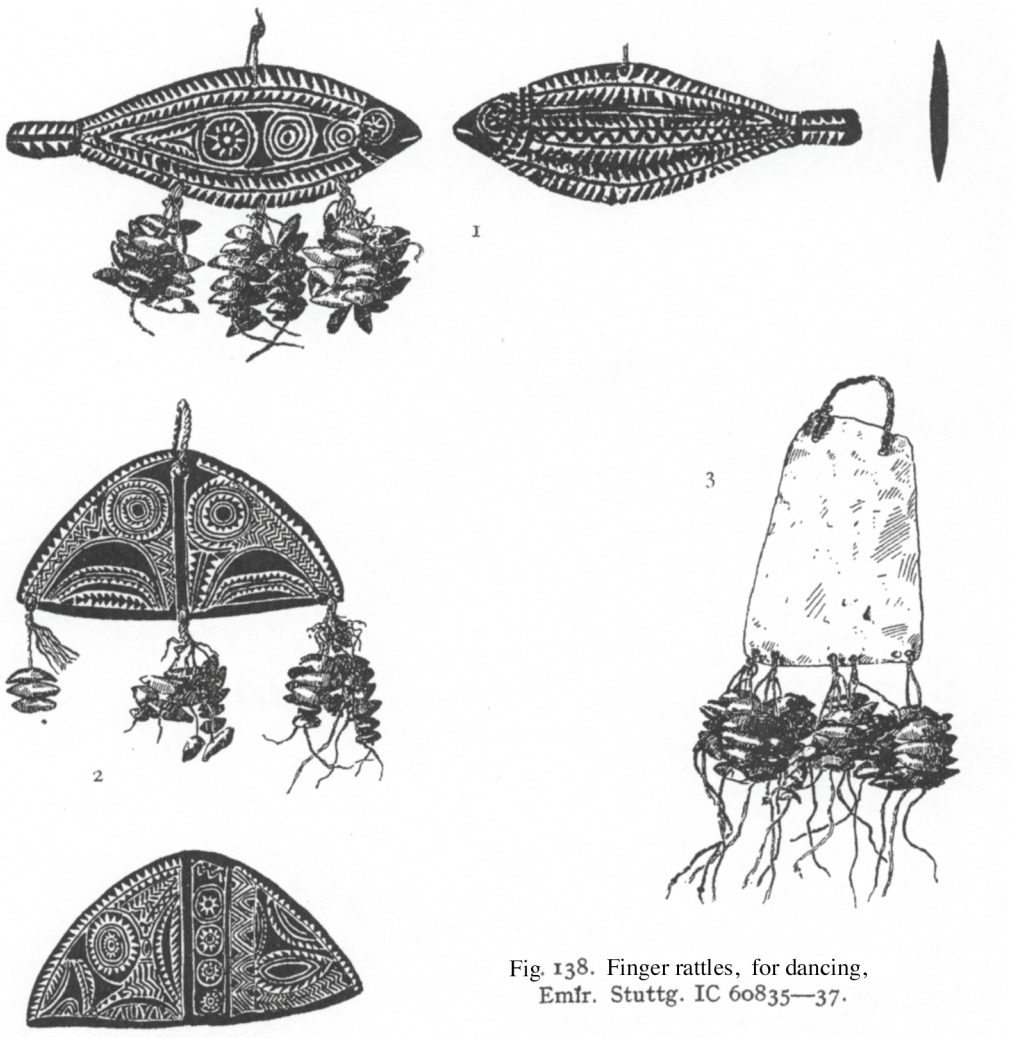


Fig. 138. Finger rattles, for dancing, Emir. Stuttg. IC 60835—37.

[220] On St Matthias rattles are made from two kinds of nut, and are used during dancing and, in some places, are worn bodily as leg rattles in battle. Without consideration as to whether the rattles are worn on the legs below the knees, the ankles, the torso or the fingers, they are designated by the word *tắbo͡ai* when they consist of small pointed *Palaquium* nuts cut in half, or *kărŏĭrŏĭ* when they are made from the bigger round nut shells of *Pangium edule*, with a rough surface.[41] The nuts are always bored through at the upper end and attached by a cord passed through an internal knot. In *tắbo͡ai* rattles, several nuts are always strung on a cord, with other cords as well. In *kărŏĭrŏĭ* rattles on the other hand, only a single nut is threaded onto a string. These strings hang in groups of up to four from a plaited cord which is tied around the ankles or the torso. Likewise, *tắbo͡ai* rattles hang in groups from coconut fibre cords which are stacked on the fingers or, more often, an occasionally richly-decorated turtle shell disc forms the connection between finger hole and nut cords. Rattles like this are also fastened onto woven belts.

[41] *Ṣū*-fruit (?) according to Schoede.

Mouth Drums

Mouth drums are used by children on Emi̇r. They consist of a piece of bamboo with a mouthpiece cut out of it. It is possible that this instrument is not local but has been introduced by workers returning home from New Britain.

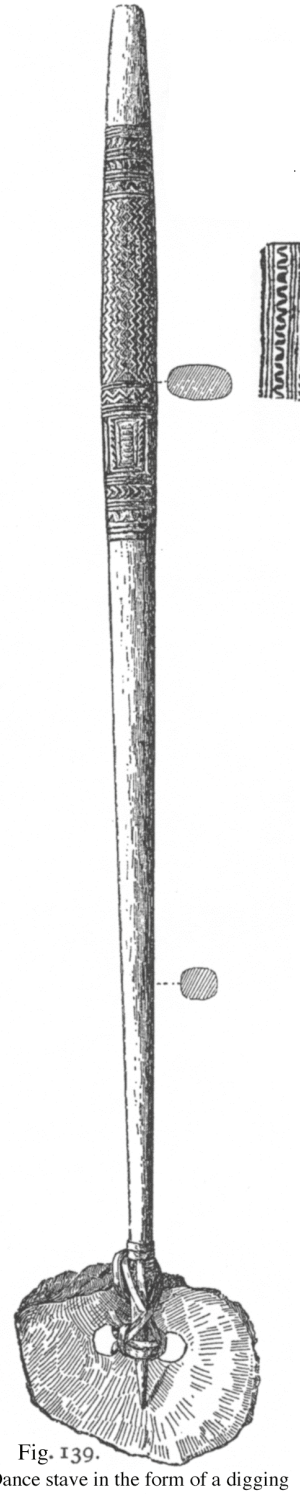


Fig. 139.
Dance stave in the form of a digging stick, Ĕtăsĭtĕl. M 98ı.

Dance staves

During dances on St Matthias and Emi̇r the women keep the beat with two dance staves,[42] (*rā́mā, rā́mā*), ranging from 80 to 140 cm long (average 105–110 cm), rarely shorter (30 cm). They resemble the 45–154 cm long betel lime staves, (also called *rā́mā*). Occasionally sticks are used both as dance staves and as lime spatulas.

The lower part of the dance stave is smooth and tapers at the end. It is usually smooth in cross-section; only in rare cases oval (or even approximating a rectangle). The cross-section of the upper portion on the other hand is usually lance-shaped or oval; less-commonly circular or approximately rectangular. Very rarely it may even be trapezoid. The upper part comprises a quarter to half the total length of the stave, and is lance-shaped or fashioned into a shape resembling the slender body of a fish.[43] Not uncommonly this continues into [221] a thickened, inversely cone-shaped or knob-like end, resembling a fish's tail fin. The comparison with a fish is reinforced by the similarity of form with that of the house post called *la̍ĭnĕ* after the fish. Only in the smallest dance staves is the whole upper end simply thickened.

The upper section is completely covered with engraved decorations rubbed with lime and effectively raised above the dark wood, (*a͡uwirā́mā*?[44]) of the dance staff. Parkinson's[45] assumption that the decorations are 'plant motifs derived in particular from the coconut palm leaf' is contradicted by the natives' names for the individual motifs.[46]

A dance stave from St Matthias is unique in having been made from a taro digging stick, (*a͡ipŏtā́lō*), adorned with a pearl shell, (*ga͡ū́lū*), by decorating the upper end of the stick.

Whether the dance staves obtained on Tench are likewise used for keeping the beat or for some other purpose, is not known. Keeping up a beat with the staves from Tench, carved in filigree, is not very likely.

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[42] Parkinson, 1907, p.332 *et seq*., Figs 56–57 and Plate 20; Finsch, 1914, p.526
[43] Finsch, *loc. cit*.
[44] Finsch (loc. cit.) talks of ebony (??)
[45] 1907, Fig.57 on p.332.
[46] Cf. the sections on decorations and betel lime spatulas.

Dance equipment

Besides the dance- and betel lime sticks, (*rắmā*), serving a dual purpose in beating out a rhythm, another dance implement is used on St Matthias and Emĭr. It bears the name *sĭňăkū́*, after the black and white heron, (*kū*); in certain dances it is held in the mouth, and less frequently in the hand, allegedly by both men and women. The heron, *kăribó*, too was mentioned on St Matthias as the model for the mouth dance ornament.



1. M 133I, Ĕlĕmăkŭnaûr
2. Stuttg. IC 60834, St. Matthias
3. Stuttg. IC 33609, St. Matthias

Fig. 140. Dance staves:
4. M 96I, Ĕtăsĭtĕl
5. F 9388I, Ĕnāĭ.
6. F 9389I, Ĕlĕmăkŭnaûr
7. F 9391I, Ĕnāĭ.

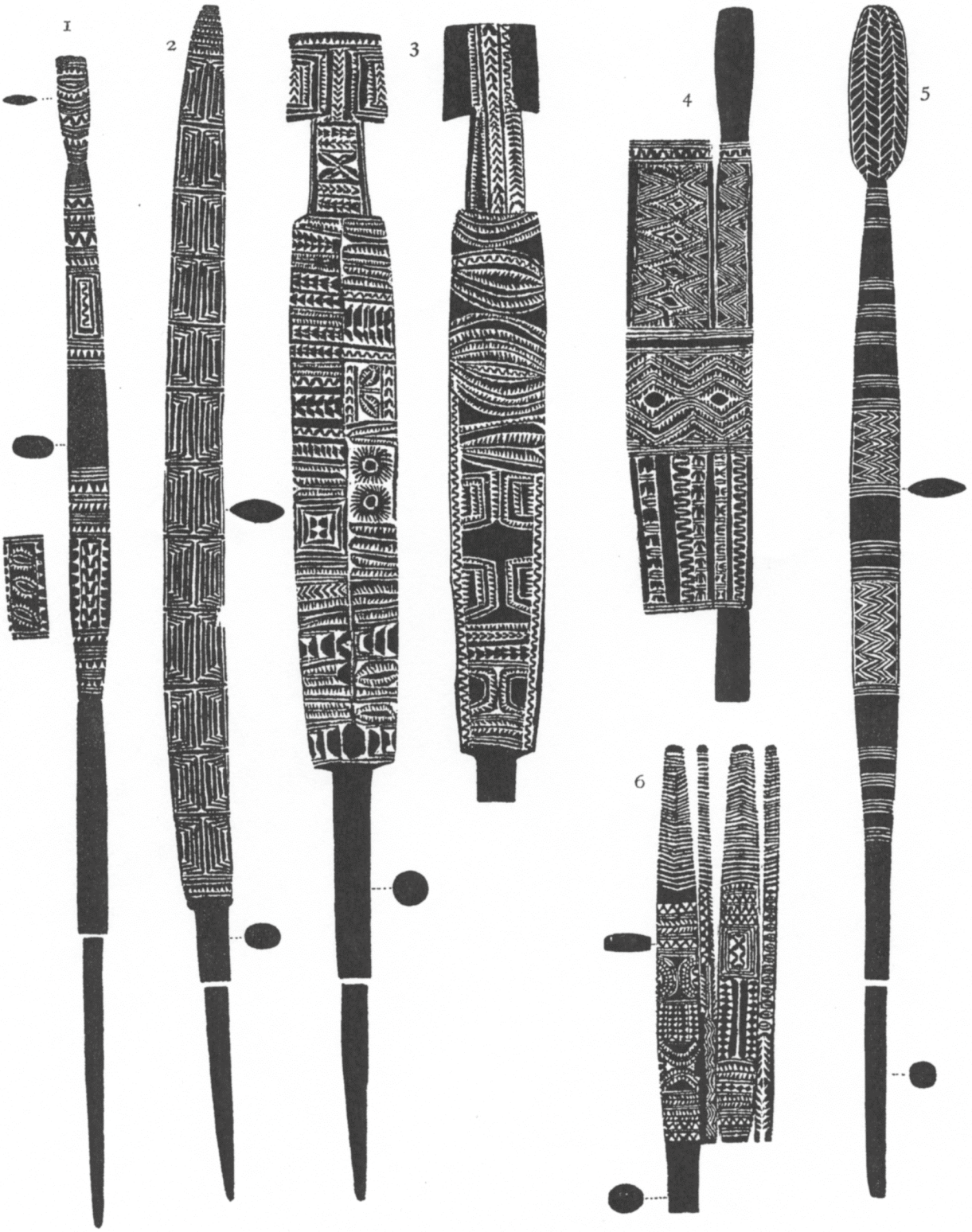


Fig. 141. Dance staves:

1. Stuttg. IC 13375, St. Matthias
2. Stuttg. IC 53607, St. Matthias
3. Stuttg. IC 53613, St. Matthias
4. F 9393[1], St. Matthias
5. Stuttg. IC 53606, St. Matthias
6. M 52[1], Pålakâu.

The *sĭn̆ăkŭ́* consist of a z-shaped piece of wood and represents bill, head, neck and body of the heron. The upper horizontal end is the bill, the [224] thickened part at the adjacent angle, the head;

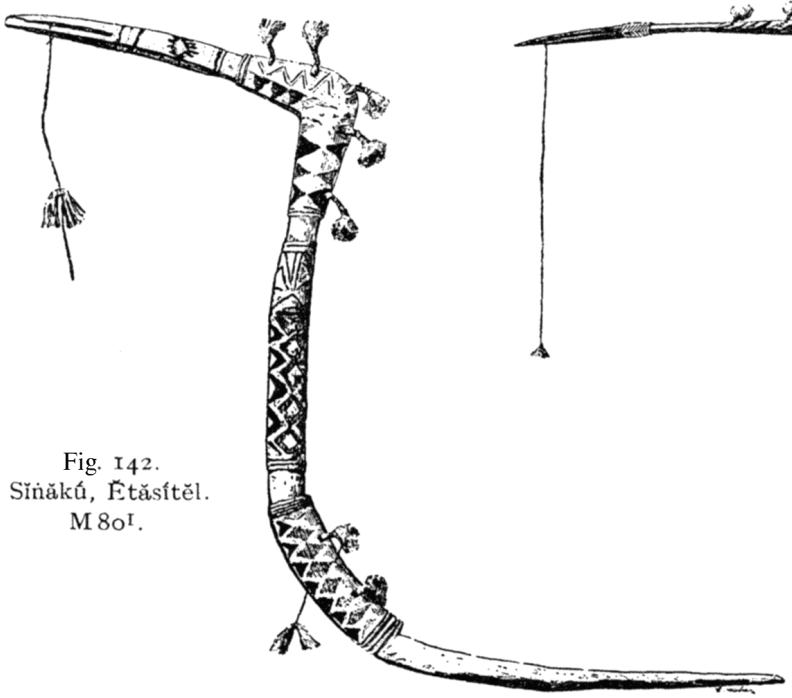


Fig. 142.
Sĭn̆ăkú, Ĕtăsítĕl.
M 80[1].

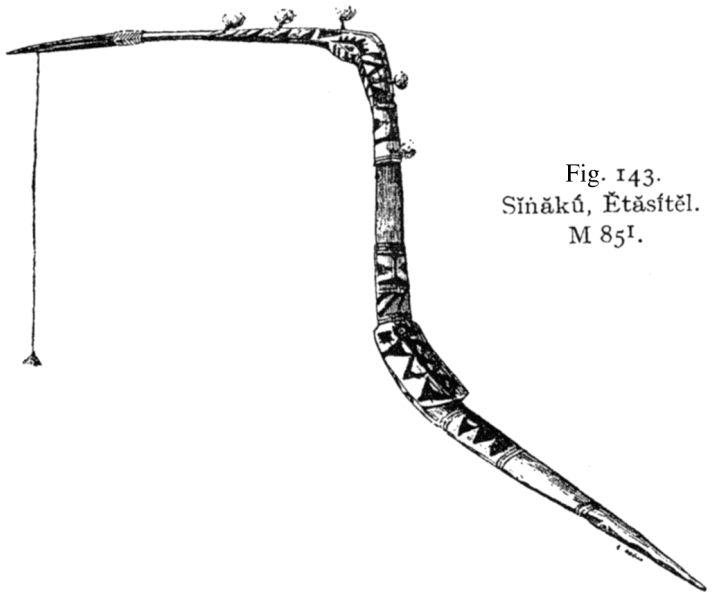


Fig. 143.
Sĭn̆ăkú, Ĕtăsítĕl.
M 85[1].

the vertical piece, the neck; a thickened section below, the body; and the lower, horizontal end, the piece held in the mouth. On St Matthias a twisted bast fibre frayed out at the lower end hangs down from the tip of the beak. On Emi̇́r, on the other hand, a lot of *sĭn̆ăkŭ́* carry a fish (*t͡ʃa͡ubă*) at the end of the bill in such a way that the tail is to the front while the head is held in the bill. On both islands small bunches of bast are pulled through holes in the bill, head, and neck.

Some pieces are carved and painted, others only painted. Red and white colours are used. The mouth piece and often also a part of the bird neck, (or two places on the neck), are not decorated. Occasionally the figure includes other short branch pieces.

The question about the introduction of the *sĭn̆ăkŭ́* by workers returning home, was answered by natives saying that the custom of the dance bird was old and had been familiar to their fathers.

A ‘dance axe (*jam*)’[47] was obtained by H. Schoede on St Matthias. Including the flat blade painted black, it has been carved from a single piece of wood the size and shape of a flat iron axe, with an abundance of incised decoration, traces of red and black paint, and above the blade two short bunches of bast knotted into holes. The decoration features characteristics of the spear- and dance staff- or lime spatula pattern. Quite apart from the imitation of an iron blade, the piece gives [225] the impression that it was carved with a knife, under foreign influence, without severing the connection with the old decorative style.

[47] Berlin Museum VI 31872. *Jam* is probably = *ĭắmă*.

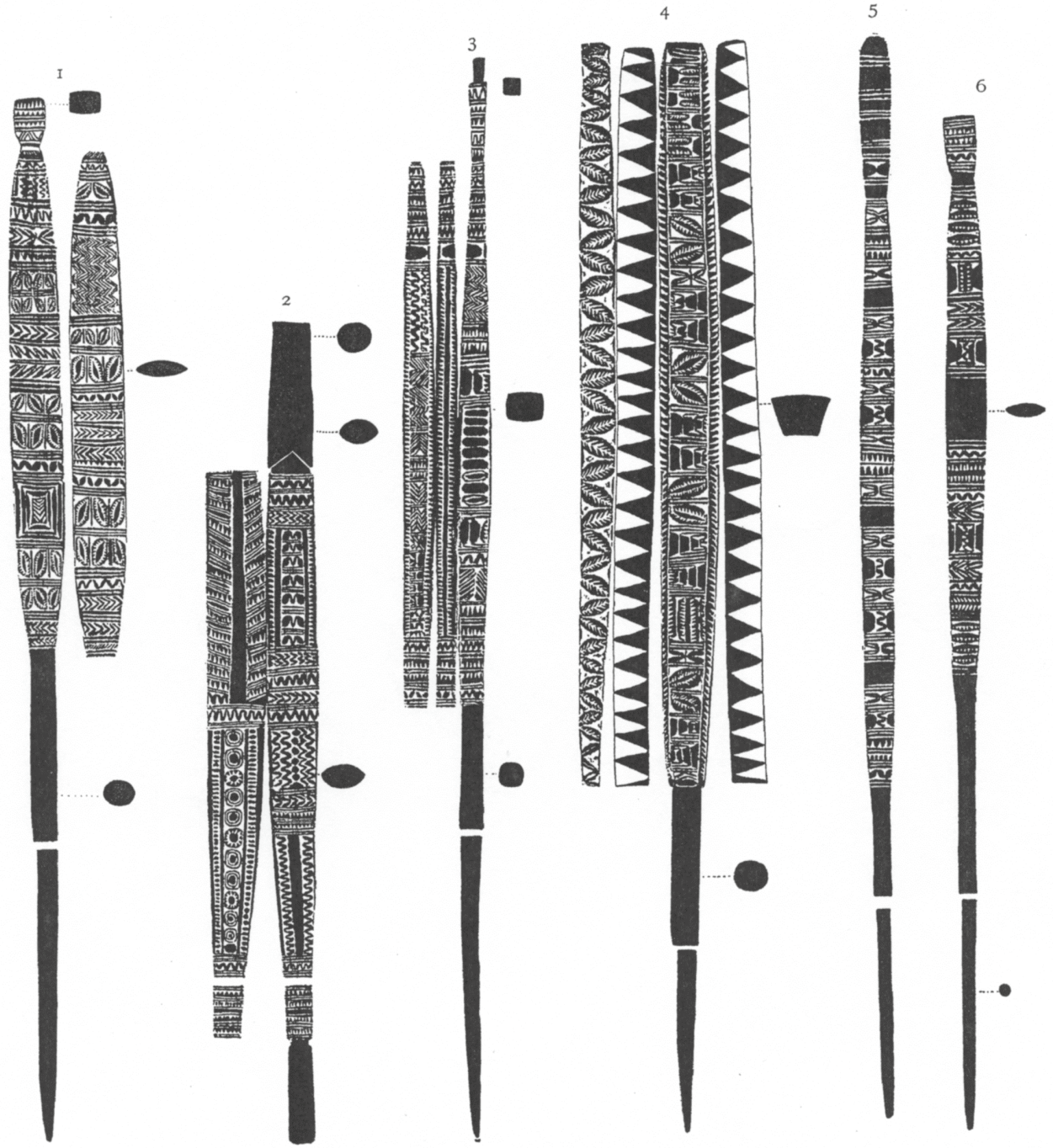


Fig. 144. Dance staves:
1. Stuttg. IC 53608, St. Matthias.
2. M 93871, Énāī.
3. Stuttg. IC 53610, St. Matthias.
4. Stuttg. IC 53614, St. Matthias.
5. Stuttg. IC 53611, St. Matthias.
6. Stuttg. IC 20608, St. Matthias.

On Tench the Hamburg Expedition obtained several items that could hardly be anything other than dance staves. The simplest of them, (*natówir͡au* ??), is a stick 47 cm long which gradually thickens with a circular cross-section, beyond a knob-like projection and then reduces more rapidly until a forked tip rises beyond a solid carved ring that projects round the outside.

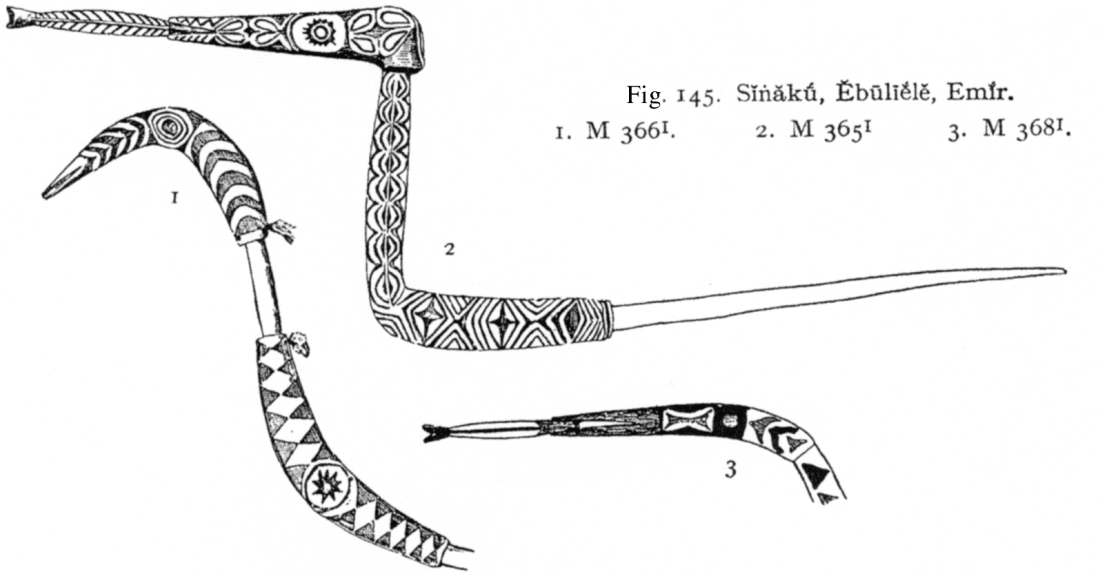


Fig. 145. Sĭṅăkŭ, Ĕbūlĭĕlĕ, Emĭr.
1. M 366I. 2. M 365I 3. M 368I.



Fig. 146. Dance staff Tench. He 2471I.

Like the dance staves of St Matthias and Emĭr, this dance staff also resembles a fish figure. On another 81 cm long stave there is likewise a forked, almost forceps-shaped, end. Apart from this section, and the smooth end below it, which terminates in an isolated thickening, the entire stick is completely chiselled in projecting triangles in rows one above the other. A third dance stave, 167 cm in length, has a handle end consisting of three cones, one above the other, their bases facing the stave itself. The pattern on each cone consists of deeply-incised curved lines, triangles close together, and a triangle whose base consists of a zigzag line. On the actual stave there are only deep triangles, so haphazardly arranged in places that a zigzag line remains between them. This motif is found again on a 145 cm dance stave whose handle end consists of three parts: a cone at the end, a cylindrical section narrowing towards both ends, [228] and a thicker cylindrical section. Here there is a deeply-incised decoration of angles one above the other, consisting of pairs of curved lines coming together in a lance shape, and of triangles employed solely to fill the gaps. The handle end of two other dance staves shows a similar pattern, one with skilfully-carved outlines of fish between the triangles, and the other with two deeply-etched lizard figures. These dance staves are 143 and 152 cm long. A lizard decoration (?) appears in filigree carving on two dance staves that are board-shaped in the upper section. These staves are 10 cm wide and 112 and 128 cm long, of which 33 and 40 cm respectively are allotted to the smooth round hand grip that ends in a knob. The design on both staves is surprisingly similar. The lizard figure occupies the middle section of the board. Attached to the hind (?) legs are two Y-shaped images in filigree carving. Above the middle of the body and throughout the board runs a strip carved with a raised serpent line which forks near the handle end; a zigzag line turns the fork into a triangle. It continues upward over the board into a free forked end.

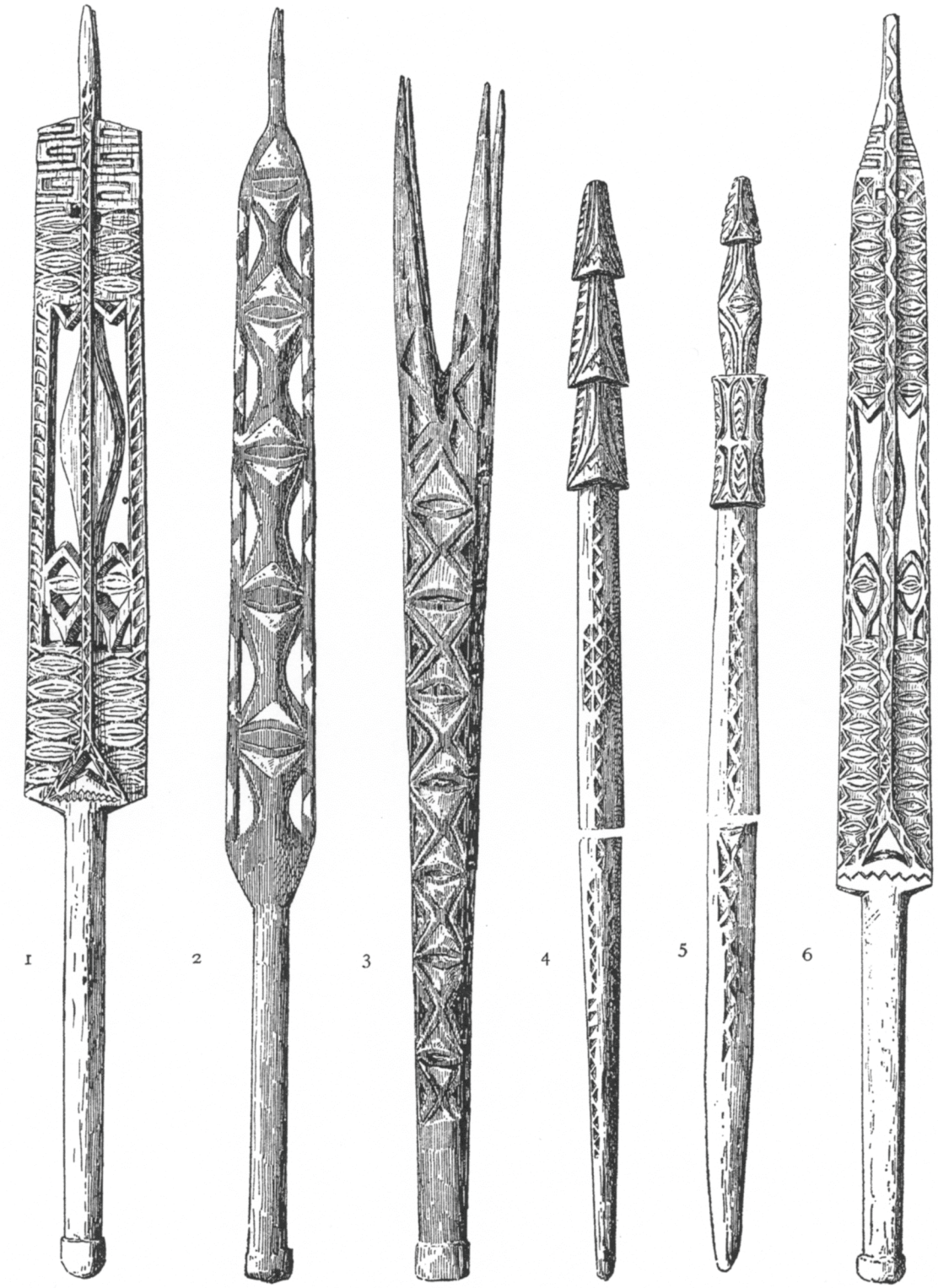


Fig. 147. Dance staves, Tench.

1. He 2459[I]. 2. He 2489[I]. 3. M 437[I]. 4. He 4165[I] 5. He 4164[I] 6. He 2455[I].

Lance-shaped figures have been carved out to right and left; these are flanked by two curved lines and have angular connections between them. They arouse the impression of repetitions of the lizard (?) motif in a horizontal arrangement. The upper end of the board takes on another pattern, across two holes to right and left of the central strip. The pattern consists of angular S-shaped figures one above the other and separated by lines. Such a design, flanked by zigzag lines and with a 'lizard' figure below, also forms the ornamentation of a flat, rather curved and almost sabre-shaped dance

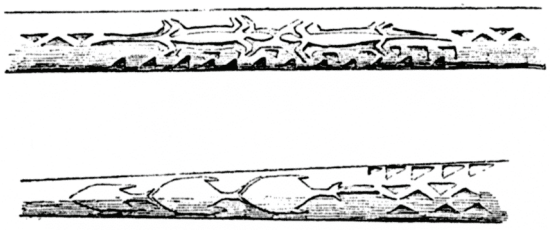


Fig. 148.
Decoration of dance staves, Tench.
He 4163I and 4162I. 1/6 actual size

staff 109 cm long and 7 cm wide with a smooth round handle end 37 cm long. Another dance stave, board-shaped in its upper section, presents x-shaped figures one above the other, formed from juxtaposed semicircles, and bordered by filigree; with lime-whitened triangles projecting inwards from above and below. Horizontal 'lizard bodies' are carved out between these figures. The edge is embellished with white triangles. The board-shaped part runs out into an acute curve with a long pointed projection that is somewhat forked at the end.

Three wooden instruments may belong also among the Tench dance staves. They had been [229] labelled as 'outrigger connection ?', 'carving' and 'weapon'. The first, 98 cm long, has a

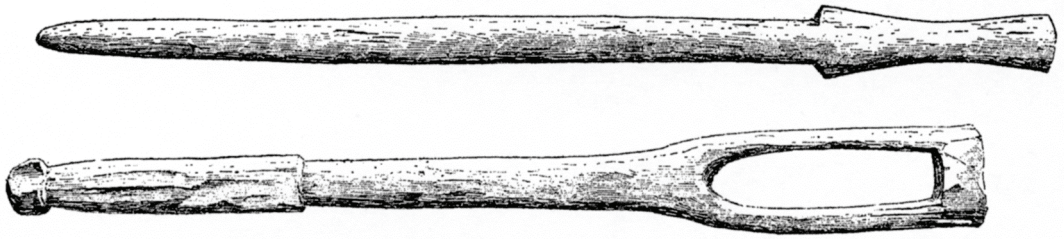


Fig. 149. Dance staves(?), Tench. M 441I and 438I.

square cross-section and widens from the smooth knob handle right to the other four-pronged end. It presents lance-shaped figures in raised carving with angles between them which meet in pairs in an X. The 'carving' is 65 cm long with a roughly-fashioned handle ending in a knob. The piece extends into a U-shaped fork closed by a crossbar. The 66 cm long 'weapon' is a gently-rounded tapering piece of wood, oval in cross-section with a widened handle whose concave lines cause it to narrow in the middle. Neither of these pieces show decoration of any kind — they are probably unfinished dance staves awaiting decoration.

Masks are unknown on all three islands.

Dance

A spear dance was performed for the Hamburg Expedition by 15–20 men from Ĕnâ͡i and Ĕlĕmăkŭnâ͡ur. The chief Ŏlo̲bĕ́lū from Ĕlĕmăkŭnâ͡ur was lead dancer, while chief Lăbŏkŏró̲rī from Ĕnâ͡i participated in a subordinate role. A tin can, beaten with a small stick by one of the spectators seated off to the side, served as accompaniment. The dancers arranged themselves in several rows and moved forward in a stooping, almost crawling posture — a good imitation of the cautious small creeper. They carried their spears in their right hand, the points downward and forward. The lines joined into several rotating circles, then split into two rings, and then reformed into a chain or serpent, before splitting in such a way that each dancer ended up roughly in his original place. Occasionally movements were called out. At the completion of individual figures the leader alone called a loud '*kăkĕrĕkắ*'. [230]

A second spear dance, (*īnâ͡ubī*), began very similarly. The dancers advanced, stooping, in rows of four with their spears in the right hand, uttering a cut-off cry of *hă hă hă hă*! They came to a halt with a loud *hắ-u*! They leapt up into the air on one feathered leg and came down on the same leg. They repeated the spring with the other leg. Then they all turned round on the spot. There followed cries of *hâ͡u hâ͡u hâ͡u hâ͡u*! interrupted by the *kăkĕrĕkắ* of the leader, whereupon the

dancers suddenly formed a circle, facing inwards. Then the dance began from the front, with the dancers vanishing in the opposite direction.

In this *īn͡aubī* the dancers had their forehead, cheeks, and chest painted white with vertical, horizontal, and V-shaped lines of coral lime, (*tšaṅína*, *šaṅ̌ňĭn*). In their hair and around the forehead they wore hanging bunches of grass and leaves torn into strips, fashioned into crowns. Several also had grass pulled through the nasal septum. They had wound similar bunches of grass around their leg below the knee. Only a few had dance rattles. In a later *īn͡aubī* they wore a coconut palm frond split along the rib as a kilt.

When a solitary man from Ělěmăkŭna͡ur performed a dance out on the reef, describing a circle, spear in hand, with lively arm and leg movements, it was probably less of a dance and more of a demonstration of the use of the rattles he was wearing round his legs. The rattles were for sale.

Eight boys and girls performed a dance together on the beach near Ěna͡i,[48] carrying a basket, a fishing net which they later put aside, and two cans in their hands. They stood in a row singing a long-drawn-out song and stepping very slowly forwards in time with the rhythm. Raising one leg they bent their upper body to the side, stretching their arms upward, not without grace. Changing legs they bent their upper body forwards or to the opposite side. At the same time they mimed the text of the song through gestures that appeared to represent working in the fields, or fishing.

A women's dance is performed on Emr̆ as a plea for rain.[49] Some of the women wear rain capes, others carry green leaves or branches in their hands, initially holding them in front, and raising them over their heads during the course of the dance. They bob up and down from their knees, with tiny dance steps. One phase of the dance consists of two women pacing side by side, somewhat stooped, one of them holding a rain mat over their heads. [231]

The *lŭk*^{e}*lŭk* dance, where dancers wore a rattle kilt, was introduced to St Matthias by workers returning home from Herbertshöhe.

Songs

1. Five men from Pălaka͡u went to Ěbŏ́lĭu to steal taro. After they had pulled up a lot of taro roots and hidden them at the edge of the bush, they were discovered by five Ěbŏ́lĭu men who yelled at them. The opposing parties armed themselves with stones and Tilikóăn, (who was also known as Tāmŏ́tĭttĭ), from Pălaka͡u was slightly wounded as they were deciding to break off combat. In a rage he threw his spear at Matapass from Ěbŏ́lĭu, who called out, 'What, you want to throw spears?' He threw his spear, hitting Tilikóăn in the left hip. A second Ěbŏ́lĭu man struck him simultaneously in the right hip. Tilikóăn had limped ever since, and the children danced around him and sang:

Tāmŏ́tĭttĭ šŏgắ [50] *šŏgắ*, *Tāmŏ́tĭttĭ šŏgắ*.
Tamotitti is limping, limping, Tamotitti limps.

2. Ěbŏ́lĭu, Musa͡u, and Pălaka͡u were at war with Ewul in the bush. During an attack Tamáṅuaka͡uka͡u was mortally wounded in the lower body and fell forwards over the stump of a tree. He evacuated his bowels. When his companions came to recover their dead after the fight they found him in this state. His wife, A͡isúi, and his sister(?) Ājĕlä, who are called A͡iisuĭli and Lăilăi or Lalăi in the song, were not saddened at his death, and did not wail as was the custom. The children's song (*kĭ́nări*) about Tamáṅuaka͡uka͡u goes as follows:

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[48] Vogel, 1911, p.49
[49] Vogel, 1911, p.65
[50] *ea͡iĭa šogäni* = to limp ('he limps'?)

Ärú wa parrika wa manin͡aì [51]
She does not weep over her husbands

Tamáṅua-k͡aùkä
Tamáṅuak͡aùk͡aù

Käu tátama rusu [52] *suli b͡aù* [53]
When she sees him with diarrhoea over the *b͡aù*.

Mä A͡iísuǔli wálo[54] *lōa Lǻilǻi walo a Lalǻi*.
Neither A͡isúi cries over the spear nor does Ājělä cry over the spear.

3. A man had a tryst with the woman Kinakóssa in the bush. Another man crept after them and saw them having sex. Both engaged in further fondling after coitus. The watcher went to the children and presented his story and its content, (*kǵnări*). Then old and young took great delight in [232] the 'children's song' which was presented in dance steps with explanatory gestures:

O-jă waliwaliá-de(*bbě*) *tătăwa*[55] *sälúsälu wǻ tě*(*bbe*)[56]
Tätäwa[5] *tukuṅa*[57] *pỉmärokăsákasáṅa*[58] *lóǐ gikósǻ igíloló igirilolo igirigettei*.

Măkĭrő̆ăr[i] translated it into Pidgin: 'What name, what for you work him cunt belong him belong finger belong you, what for you work him (pull him) cock belong him belong hand belong you. Him here big fellow cunt he stink'.

4. Müller heard the following song from children:

Tōkŭṅāpī [59] *mārő-*
Kăcǻ [60] *kŏšǻ* [61]
Ānǻ [62] *īgǵrĭ*[62]
Kŏšā̄[62] *īgǵrĭ*
Lŏlŏ[62] *īgǵrĭ*
Kā̄tǻ.[62]

5. Song of mourning: cf. p.190.

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[51] *manína ta͡iita* = husband; *manina ba͡udje* (*ba͡udše*) = wife.
[52] *rusu* = diarrhoea
[53] *bŏ* or *ba͡u* = type of tree
[54] *wálo* = *bǻla͡u* = spear
[55] or *dädäwa*.
[56] or *dě*(*bbe*).
[57] Cf. the name for wooden bowls with long wide openings
[58] = *pima rŏkáss*. The subsequent words do not have any meaning, only phonetic value.
[59] = 'Kant belong mary'. [60] = 'Boy belong Musau'. [61] = 'ground'
[62] No words of translation; used only in the song.

XIV. Games

String games

These are familiar on Emi̍r, where children play them. In one game both free ends of the cord are tied to the two little fingers. The cord is laid outwards from the little fingers, across the palms of the hands, and out around both thumbs. Then the right index finger raises the part of the cord lying across the left palm. Then the left thumb raises the part of the cord immediately to the right of the right little finger and brings this upper loop under the original lower loop, letting this lower one go. The right thumb likewise allows one of its loops to go, and removes its loop from the right index finger. Often the loop is left to the index finger. The figure then becomes the same, only somewhat less symmetrical. Finally the strings are pulled together so that a knot is formed in the middle. Both hands are brought together with a loud clap. [233] During this, both thumbs let the loops go free, if possible unnoticed. The hands are moved apart with a jerk and the knot is undone. Usually it depended on the children always clapping hands and the sudden undoing of the knot.

Toy canoes

In 1908 boys on Ĕmănánus and Ĕlŏăŭa had built model canoes that they used for play. Whereas ordinary canoes are called *ŏli̍mŭ* or *ŏli̍mo*, the models were called *kauta*. They resembled ordinary canoes. However, the Ĕlŏăŭa model had a different outrigger connection, with two outrigger poles and two *păpă̍s*^{u} (‘*babátš*’ = *păpă̍s*?) made from *ita͡ú* wood.

Children’s huts

In 1908 a protective roof had been erected alongside a hut on Musa͡u, with a fireplace in front. This served as housing for two orphan children whom the owner of the bigger hut had under his care. The shelter roof had evidently been built by the children themselves. Whether they stayed there permanently or used it only for playing, could not be ascertained.

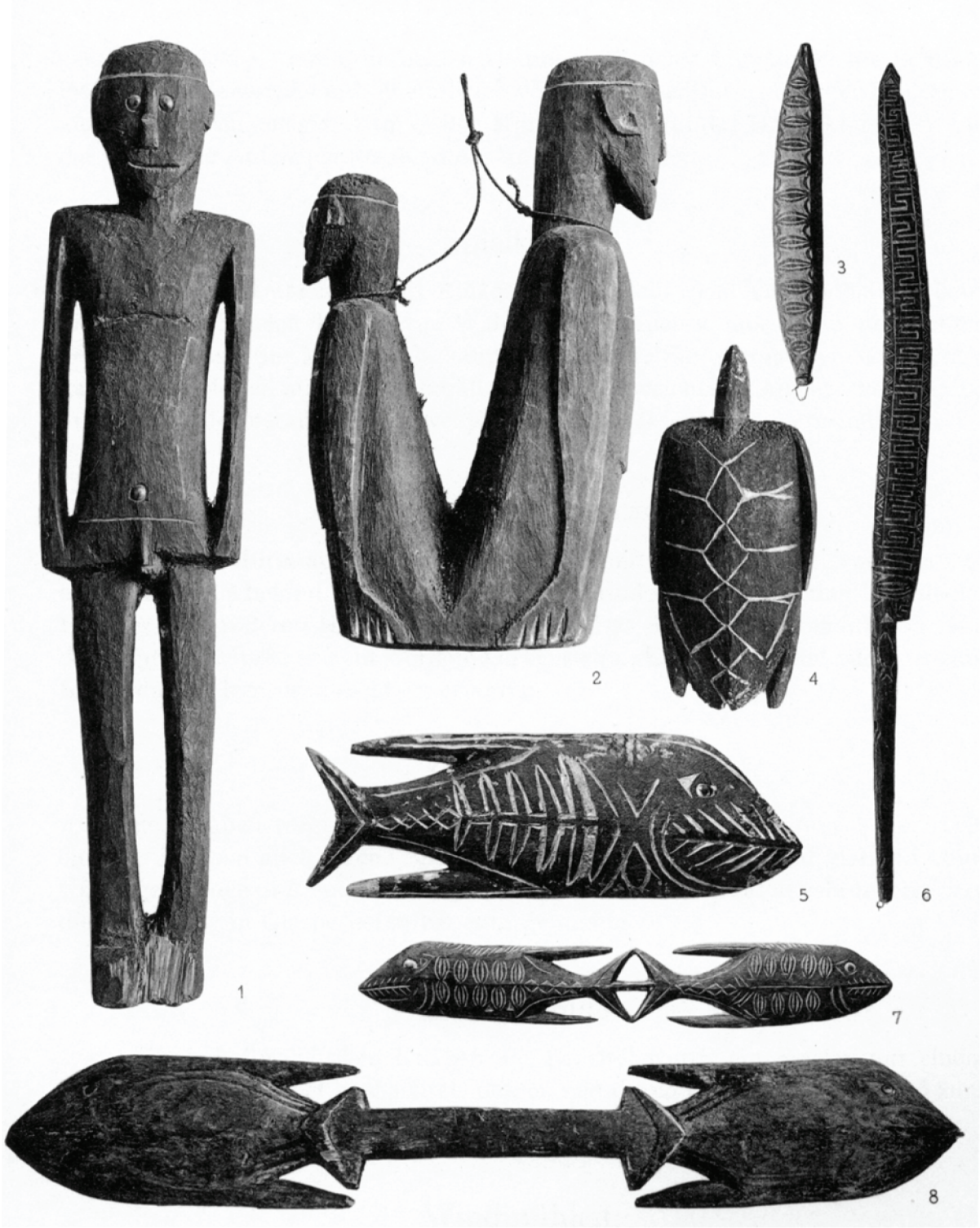
Children’s spears

Small boys on St Matthias often carry their father’s spears. The odd boy also has his own spear, as demonstrated by an adolescent boy in Ĕlĕmăkŭna͡úr laying claim to payment in beads for a spear that he had offered for sale.

Pretend jewellery

An adolescent boy from Ĕtăsi̍tĕl was observed playing with a long plant stalk which he pushed through his nose and fashioned into a ring. He let this ring fall on his forehead in play.

Nevermann, St. Matthias, Plate 16



Wood carvings from Tench:

1. Figure. Height 1.10 m. Shoulder breadth 25 cm. 505[1]
2. Double figure. Height 57 cm. 6426[1]
3. Dance staff. Length 44 cm. 2461[1]
4. Turtle shell. Length 47 cm. 432[1]
5. Fish. Length 64 cm. 431[1]
6. Dance staff. Length 1.09 m. 2456[1]
7. Double fish. Length 69 cm. 429[1]
8. Double fish. Length 1.20 m. 2458[1]

Windmills

Plantation workers returning home from Herbertshöhe introduced a toy like a windmill made of plaited blades of grass on a long swaying stem. This twirled in a lively manner in the wind. [234]

Bird figures

A bird, 9 cm long, carved from soft wood and painted red on its head, neck, and under its wings, was a child's toy. It was found in the middle village on Ělŏă̆ŭa.



Fig. 150.
Bird figure, softwood,
Ělŏă̆ŭa. F 1009[1].

Crabs

On Ělŏă̆ŭa boys played with live crabs, (*bo̲ă̆sīk*[i]), which they had tied onto long strings. A man nearby had tied a crab by a leg to his ear.

XV. Artistry

Decoration

The decoration on spears, dance staves, lime spatulas, lime calabashes, pandanus leaves, woven material, penis shells, flutes and the like, and the freehand drawing, where St Matthias people became quite skilful using unfamiliar pencils and paper, have often been explained by the natives as showing different details. It is obvious that in many cases they have carefully looked into the explanation. Nevertheless, a certain number of decorations were explained in the same manner, repeatedly, by different natives in different villages. These designs are the same ones which can be regarded as representative of the decorative art of St Matthias and Emi̊r.

Concentric circles, the outside one with short radiating lines, were almost always called *kă̆lĕkă̆lĕ* (*kă̆lăkă̆lă*), 'skin scars'. The term *kală̆ ulă̆u*, which indicates a small fish also called *pă̆nĕpă̆nĕ*, was heard for this as well. On one occasion in Ěnâ͡i this design was called *tekamakátă*.

Two lines forming an angle represent the bird of prey *kĕrâ͡ŭră*. On one occasion we heard it called *makă̆to irâ͡ŭrĕ*, (flying fox? owl?), and another time *u̯óă̆sâ͡inĕ*. *Kĕrâ͡ŭră* figures placed side by side form a zigzag line also called *kĕrâ͡ŭră*. Other zigzag lines which, up until now, have

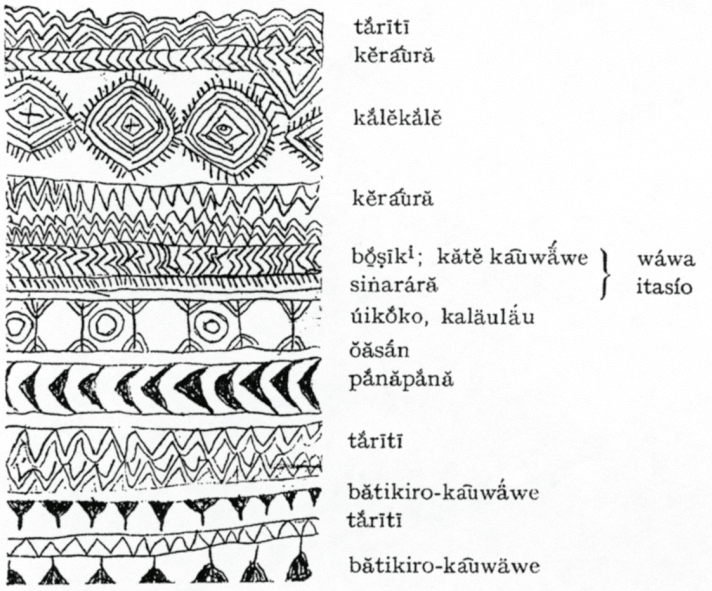


Fig. 151.
Freehand drawing by the native Kuwă̆lâ͡ŭ from Ěnâ͡i. He 2194[1].

been regarded as zigzag lines, bear the names *tắrītī*, (*tắrĭtĭ*, *tắrĭtī*, *tărī́tĕ*), or *mălī́ĕ*, (*wúmălī́ĕ*), after two types of snake. Very often these zigzag lines are not the major decoration in the first place, but are traced back to two opposing rows of teeth, between which the line forms when a tooth from one row regularly intersects between two teeth of the other row. Only once was [235] *namgatäe* heard instead of *tắrītī*. Angles imitate crab (*bă̱ṣīk*^{j}) tracks in the sand and, when united one above the other or into a zigzag line, they are called *mă̱ṣī́ki*. Isolated angles were called *nŭnŭ́* on one occasion; a series of interlocking angles was called *ṣălăkītó́*, *măsắbŏ*, or *tắpărō*; and a zigzag line was called *măkŏtḗr͡aur*, (= *kĕr͡aŭ́ră*?), or *mắnīgó́*, ('stop long bush'). However, *mắnīgó́* is also the name of a more complex figure.

The horizontal line with teeth standing on it side by side, *īšĭṅārā́ră*[63] (*siṅaráră*, *siṅarár͡au*) or *pắnăpắnă*, forms the basis of many designs. *Pắnăpắnă* (*pắnĕpắnĕ*) is synonymous with *kalắulắu*, and designates a species of small fish or its tail fin as a design, which is also called *īšī* = tooth. Should the teeth stand obliquely, they can also be called *īšī bắi͡ō* = shark's teeth. If two rows of teeth are opposed in such a way that each tooth of one row passes over into one from the other row, this gives rise to the *onĭón* (*onĭónĭ*) design. A line of teeth forming a circle with the teeth to the outside, makes up the pattern *tŭ́rū*, (*úŭtúru*, *ūĕtŭ́rū*) = "*picaninny 'long divai*" , that is, fruit or blossom of a tree or the pattern *siṅakó́i͡jŭ* (*siṅakó́i͡ŭ*) = star fish. In odd cases the teeth may project into the circle, giving rise to a wheel-shaped figure. Circles with short, radiating lines were called *bĭrikáŏ* in an Ĕnắi͡ design. They are strongly reminiscent of the *kắlăkắlă* pattern.

Parallel horizontal lines are called *ŏăsắn* (*ōăsắnă*, *wóăsán*) = his cord, or *a͡irína* = his belt.

The figure *pūēnĭ́ū* (*bŭ́ē nĭ́ū*, *ponĭu*, *pŭšĭnĭ́ū*) = a part of the coconut, ('*stop long kulau*') arises from one or more teeth projecting into a semicircle from the straight side. A figure strongly resembling a palm frond has the same name, but more likely arises from several *pūēnĭ́ū* placed one on top of the other. Both figures also bear the name *kărắkăt͡aŭ́ĕ* [236] (*kărăkăt͡aŭ́*) when the rest of the semicircle disappears into spear-shaped figures. *Kărắkăt͡aŭ́ĕ* is an animal or something else in the bush, (not a snake). The simplest form of the *pūēnĭ́ū* figure, (with one tooth), and likewise in the bush, was called on one occasion *kătūkărắp*. A complete break-down of the *pūēnĭ́ū* motif is called *wŭ́wurke mắ̱ṣŭ* = marks of pig's tusks. *Kătūkărắp* is reminiscent of *kătumătamaṅ͡ai*, a row of simple circles, (*máta* = eye, point, hole).

[63] *ārárā* = leg, (of the *tautaukŏ* bird)!?



Fig. 152. Decoration of spears, dance staves, and lime spatulas

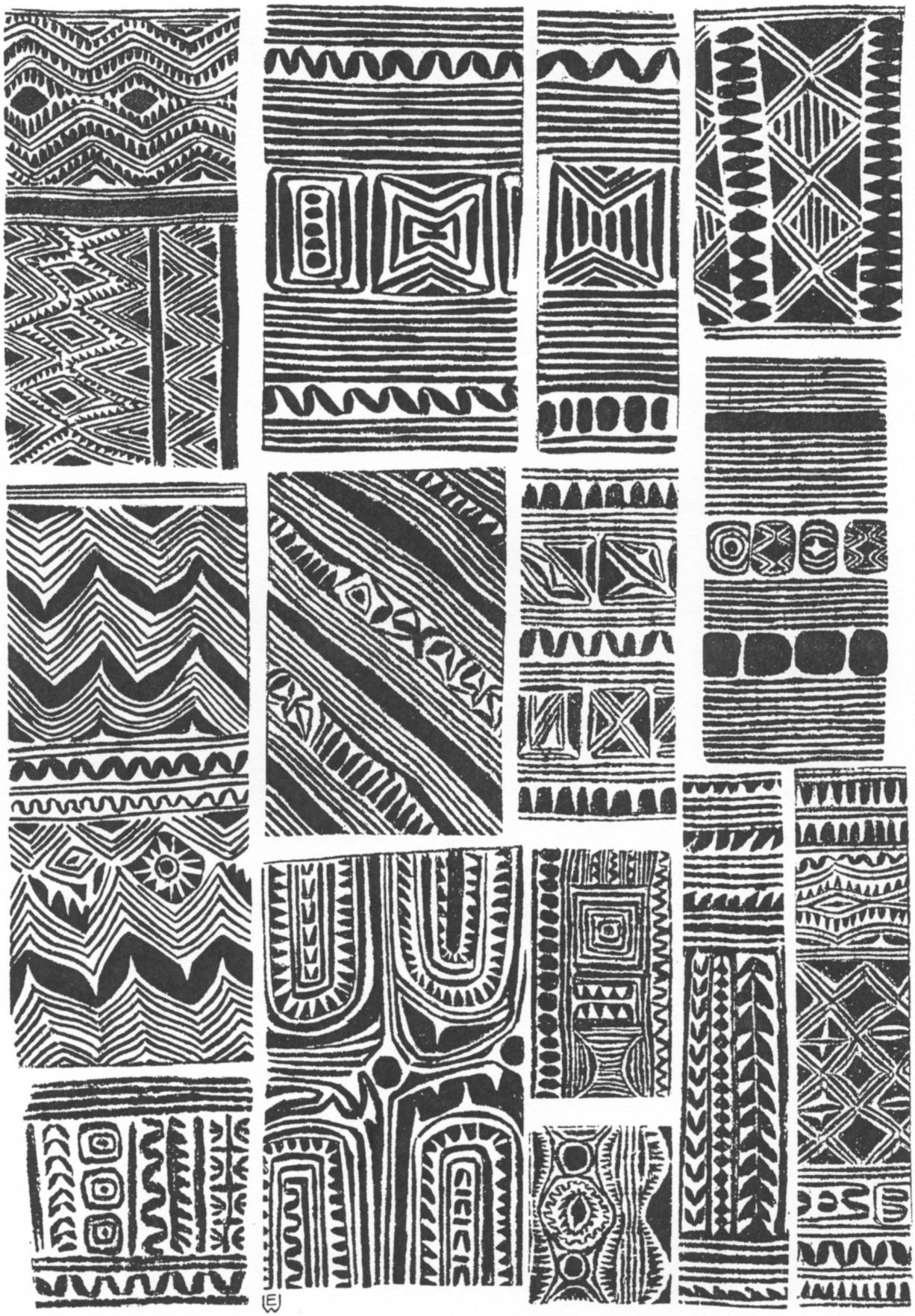


Fig. 153. Decoration of spears, dance staves, lime spatulas

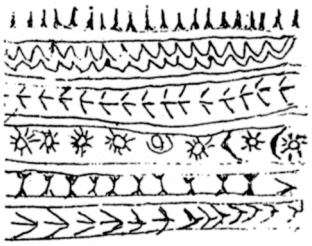


Fig. 154. Freehand drawing by a young man from Ĕnaĭ. He 2195[1].

A series of triangles with the base of each one standing on the apex of the other is called *āsăṅăkālī́* or *kalắulắu*. *Kalắulắu* is synonymous with *pắnĕpắnĕ*, a small fish in the sea off the reef, whose tail fin is represented. A single triangle on lime calabashes designates the tail fin of the *putuṅíŭko* fish, and in Ĕbŏ́lĭu it is used as a decoration only when this fish has been caught and eaten. Fin-like, less-stylized figures are regarded as *pắnĕpắnĕ* tail fins. Angles lying inside one another, or two tail fins extending from a thin middle section are called *ŭ̱rŭ̱gēlắ*, (*ūrūgḗlā*). Life-like fish figures on calabashes are called *kokoarĭ́ke*, (*kŏ́kŏ* = fish). The name *āsăṅăkālī́* is also given to a row of joined diamonds; called *kătŭṅa͡ĭṅŭa͡ĭ* or *ălinắs* elsewhere.

An intermediate form between a tooth and a triangle was designated once in Ĕna͡ĭ as *bătikiro-ka͡uwắwe*. This might be synonymous with *pătŭkĭrăka͡ubắbā* (= fly), *patukiríka͡uwāwĕ*, *pātūkĕka͡ú̇p*, *pătūkĕka͡ú̇pă*,[64] *kătĕ ka͡uwāwe*, *ka͡uwắwe* (= butterfly), and *wáwa itasío* — patterns consisting of angles, often with rows of dots above them.

Also included is a series of designs mentioned once only.

Borrowings from the animal kingdom are the patterns *kĕra͡ú̇ră*, *tắrĭtī*, *mălĭ́ĕ*, *bŏ̱ṣīk*[j], *ĭ́nes* (= sand worm), *siṅako͡ijŭ* (starfish), *pắnĕpắnĕ* (or *kalắulắu*), *putuṅíŭko*, *īšĭṅārā́ră*, *īšī ba͡ú̇ō*, *pătŭkĭrăka͡ubắbā*, *ka͡uwắwe* and the like, *īṣī mă̱ṣŭ* (boar's tusks), *wŭ́wurke mă̱ṣŭ*, *makắto*, *ira͡ú̇rĕ*, and several others. From the plant kingdom come *pūēnĭ́ū* and *tŭ́rū*. Parkinson's opinion that the designs are based on plants[65] therefore finds little support among the names of designs. Of the animal motifs, *kĕra͡ú̇ră*, fish tail fins, snakes, and teeth play [239] a major role. The snake figures can be traced back probably to the use of the tooth motif, which also plays a significant role in the design of other patterns, (*pūēnĭ́ū*, *onĭón*, *tŭ́rū*). While the *kĕra͡ú̇ră* and fish tail motifs play a role in three-dimensional work (house posts, canoe prows) as well, the tooth motif is restricted to small-scale decoration. Since it frequently approximates the fish tail motif, and the boundaries are not sharply defined, and since it is often designated also as *pắnăpắnă*, it is quite likely that the tooth motif has evolved from the fish-tail motif. The stylized fish therefore forms the foundation of the greater part of the ornamentation.

Tench ornamentation shows a certain similarity with that of St Matthias and Emĭ́r through abundant use of triangles. These correspond with the tooth- or fish tail motif, and are often arranged in such a way that a zigzag line is formed between them. Angles piled on top of one another, and the fish motif in its entirety, recur also on Tench. A spear-shaped decoration, possibly derived from the likewise-recurring lizard figure, and accompanied by angles and angular S-shaped figures, seems to be characteristic of the island. The forked end of the dance staves, and a Y-shaped figure on them are reminiscent of the fish tail ornamentation.

Three-dimensional Work

The three-dimensional work of St Matthias, Emĭ́r, and Tench is in wood. Stone figures have not been found. Human figures, birds, and fish have been represented on St Matthias and Emĭ́r.

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64 *patuki* (?) = wing?

65 1907, pp.329–331

There are also house posts with three-dimensional designs, and representations of *Trochus* arm rings and the like. In addition to the human form on Tench, fish and birds are represented, and dance staves are carved three-dimensionally.

We do not know the purpose of three-dimensional work on Tench. However, on St Matthias and Emĭr it serves religious purposes at least in part, insofar as it extends to dance staves with bird- or ancestral figures, and pure ancestral images. It is decorative and often a memorial at the same time, on the posts of the chiefs' houses. The odd bird figure is intended as nothing but a toy, while others appear to be of deeper significance.

In all cases, the three-dimensional figures are carved out of a single piece of wood. Only on Tench were conch shell eyes inlaid in the figures. On all the islands carving in relief, or painting, serves as decoration of the figures. [240]

Human Figures

On St Matthias and Emĭr, male representations are fashioned as part of a chief's house posts, the upper part of dance staves or betel lime spatulas, and as free-standing wooden figures.

The free-standing figures are about 60–70 cm tall with a maximum diameter of 12–15 cm. They often stand on a small cone-shaped pedestal 4–9 cm high, which may be decorated with relief carving, (such as angled lines). These figures represent men or women with their arms hanging down at the sides, or with their hands close together over the stomach. Sex is shown in the men by the penis and the testicles, and often a hint of black genital hair; and in the women by corresponding painting, but without any indication of breasts. The legs take up about a third of the total length, with the head about 12-15 cm long. The legs are straight when viewed from in front but thigh and calf muscles are sculpted on the back; whereas muscles are barely visible on the slightly bent arms. The legs are always on the front half of the body, and as far to the outside as possible, so that a fairly wide gap exists between them. The feet are coarsely represented as block-like ends of the legs, usually with four grooves indicating toes. The hands are represented as widening ends of the arms, with better presentation of the fingers, which are usually all the same length. The trunk is usually cylindrical without any indication of subdivision. In many cases, only in the sacral region is the body shaped less cylindrically — using narrowing incisions. The buttocks are always characterized by either a stylized representation or a lifelike presentation of the gluteal crease.

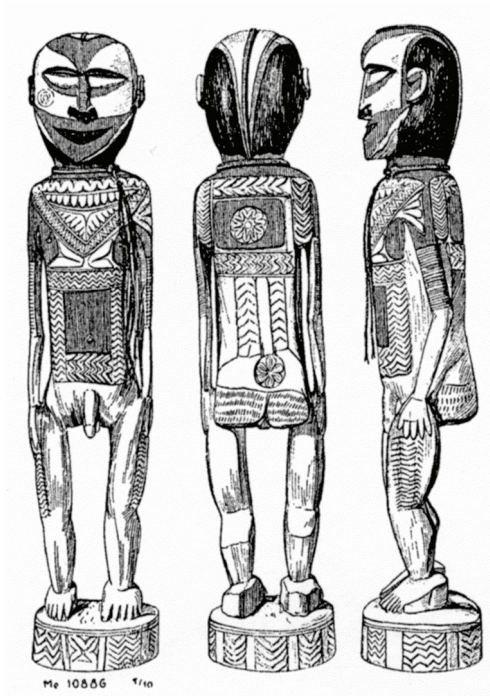


Fig. 156. Ancestral figure, St Matthias, Leipzig Me 10886.


Fig. 155. Ancestral figure on a dance staff, Ĕlĕūā, Emĭr. M 351[1].

The neck is sharply offset from the shoulders as a short cylindrical section. [241] The head, more or less sharply delineated from the neck, is rounded, right down to the sharply-curved, prominent chin, and the C-shaped ears. The nose is straight, with two clearly-defined sides. At the level of the root of the nose the rounded forehead is isolated, to indicate eyebrow ridges. Below are the eyes — horizontal lance-shaped structures. The mouth is represented by a lance-shaped figure,

through a horizontal line and perpendicular lines; alternatively it consists of three lines curving upward and joined at their ends. Both in carving and painting, the hair style of the male figures is represented occasionally by a comb-like strip, and always by an indication of the double parting. Decorative combs are carved in one piece in such a way that they do not stand out from the head but blend in with its curvature.

The figures are painted red and black, or the relief carving is filled in with lime. Painting on the face consists of lines around the mouth, around the eyes, on the nose and forehead, merging with the painting of the hair parting. The ears may be painted too. The hair is made recognizable either by painting at the edges only, or by covering an entire area black. Often the genital hair is painted in. Big painted triangles cover the chest and often the back as well. In male figures the nipples are always carved. Carving and painting are done mainly on the chest, the upper back, the area between navel and genitalia, the buttocks, and the outside of the thigh; it may also be replaced by several zig-zag lines painted on the buttocks, and a vertical line the full length of the torso. On the other hand, in several figures ornamentation extends over the entire torso and the upper arm. These are the usual motifs, such as angular lines, dentate lines, accompanying circles, snake lines, parallel lines, and so on. As a peculiarity a band, resembling a decorative belt, may be painted around an undecorated body.



Fig. 157.
Ancestral figure
St. Matthias.
Leipzig
Me 10887.



Fig. 159.
Ancestral figure,
St. Matthias.
Leipzig
Me 10889.

Foreign additions to the figures come mainly in the form of a thin plaited cord around the neck.

Figures on dance staves, which serve as memorials to the dead [242] exhibit the same style. Instead of being painted however, they are only carved.

A post between the front and middle rooms of the chief's house in Ĕbūlīĕlĕ on Emŕr also carried a representation of a figure. The chief Pänai͡nŏse had carved it around 1899–1903, to represent the captain of a sailing ship.[66] The captain is presented unclothed, assuming that vertical rows of dots on his chest, and carving around his body like a belt are not intended to represent clothing. An addition to his head could be a cap, but might possibly be simply the transition from the figure to the upper part of the pole. Otherwise the style of presentation is just like that of the other wooden figures, apart from the size of the figure, which is a metre high.

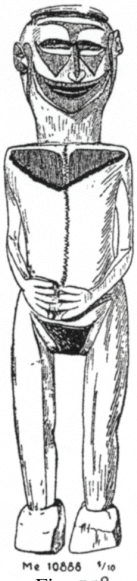


Fig. 158.
Ancestral figure,
St. Matthias.
Leipzig
Me 10888.

Only two specimens of human figures were obtained from Tench, probably both by the same carver. One, a single male form, is 110 cm tall and 25 cm wide at the shoulders. The second is a double figure, the larger being 46 cm high and 13 cm across the shoulders, with a smaller figure behind. In the double figure both forms come from a single piece of wood, and are back to back. Whereas the solitary figure presents a complete man, ending below in a pedestal which simultaneously forms the feet, the double figure lacks lower legs and feet. The individual figure has legs slightly bent without defined muscles. The trunk is above, with an attempt at rounding in the front and regularly offset at the back. The arms, fashioned in the simplest three-dimensional St Matthias style, reach down to this level; whereas, in the double figure, the arms extend right to the lower margin, the knees. The arms hang by the sides in both figures, separated in the single figure by an opening. This is only hinted at, by means of deep incisions, in both the arms and legs of the double figure. The head again shows the rounded form with the prominent pointed chin, although the head is smaller than in the

[66] Stübel, to the Dresden Museum, 32948

St Matthias figures. By this and the other dimensions, the three-dimensional figures from Tench give the impression of much better proportions than do figures from neighbouring islands. A straight nose without sides but with the hint of bowing of the underside, is common to the Tench figures. The mouth is a horizontal incision with short vertical incisions on both sides as teeth, in both partners of the double figure. Almost-rectangular pieces with a depression in the lower part have continued as ears. A circular incision rubbed with lime runs round the head like a headband. A similar line runs horizontally across the chest below the undisplayed nipples. In the double figure a triangle sits on this line. In the single figure a further line traverses [243] the body between navel and penis. The penis is indicated only roughly. Eyes and navel are round depressions filled with the green mantle of a sea snail which is used also on New Ireland to represent eyes.

Bird Figures

No representations of birds were seen on Tench. On St Matthias and Emŕ they appear as ridge beam decorations, toys, dance equipment, and canoe prows. The dance accessories represent herons; the other carvings are of birds of prey or pigeons. The birds (*pătŭn͡ai*) hanging from the ridge beam have an almost egg-shaped body with the legs carved in relief, meeting below the breast. Wings and tails are carved above the body with no real connection to it. Head and neck are only coarsely presented. Painting can, however, enhance the effect. The bird figures used as toys are made from wood pith with even further simplification. For example, the wings are indicated only by notching and the tail by a short extension. The feet are not carved but are replaced by plant material. Here, too, simple painting in red may serve as beautification. The bird figures on the prow of the festive canoes are better produced. They represent the fork-tailed kite, often holding a fish in its talons. The head and upper surface of wings and tail are carved and painted; this ornamentation may extend also to other parts of the bird. In this case, the decoration often extends into the canoe itself, obscuring the lifelike bird representation. In less ornate canoes, the representation of a pigeon is completely stylized with only the curved beak, (*ŭ̱ṣŭn bălŭ̱sŭ*), and the pigeon head still recognizable. The rudimentary Z-shaped figure on the prow of the Tench canoes shows a certain similarity.

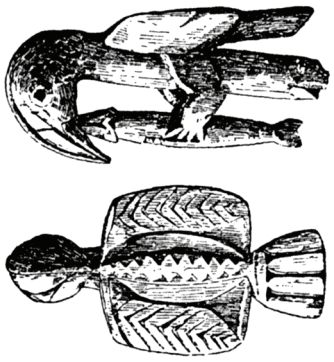


Fig. 160. Canoe figurehead, Ětăsftěl. M 84[1] 22 cm long.

The Z-shaped heron dance equipment (*sĭňăkŭ́*) is of a completely different nature — painted and in some places also carved. The body, neck, head, and the sharp bill of the heron are displayed — on Emŕ gripping a fish. Attached to the body is an undecorated horizontal section, which is held in the mouth while dancing. As far as three-dimensional shaping goes, only the head and bill can be considered. In these figures rich embellishment begins to obscure lifelike presentation. [244]

Turtle Figures

On Tench, the Hamburg Expedition obtained a 47 cm long, 18 cm wide wooden figure of a turtle. The limbs are laid on the shell, the head outstretched and brought to life by several limed grooves. Chiselled lines rubbed with lime also outline the plates of the carapace. Even with all the simplicity of presentation, it is quite obvious that *Chelonia mydas* is being represented.

Fish Figures

Fish representations occur on St Matthias and Emĭr only in relation to birds of prey or herons on the point of the *kārŭ̊nă* on several boats, or in stylized form on house beams. In the fish held by birds and those on the *kārŭ̊nă*, the lifelike presentation predominates, and occasionally a lateral line or the backbone and spines are represented on the body. Special emphasis is given to the presentation of the tail fin. The *l͡a̍ĭnĕ* fish is very common on house posts, very often in conjunction with *Trochu*s arm rings. Occasionally the scales (*ătŏ̲nă l͡a̍ĭnĕ*) are still recognizable, and usually the tail fin which even seems to play a special role in ornamentation. Often only the trunk of the *l͡a̍ĭnĕ* is spared heavy stylization, while the tail fin disappears or turns into a triangle or a fork. When it is present, it points upwards on house posts.

Stylized fish figures seem to occur on dance staves on Tench. However, lifelike three-dimensional fish are also found, although nothing more is known of their purpose. They represent either a flat fish of stocky shape with a blunt mouth, or a thinner species with a more pointed jaw. The stocky figures show tapering ventral and dorsal fins with an angular tail fin between. Around the big mouth, formed by deep incisions, oblique lime-whitened lines run up and down, and below the mouth the gills are represented by two parallel curved lines, which are also limed. The sides of the body are covered by deep, limed lines which enclose a horizontal line with pairs of frond-like structures running vertically from it. Still more lines may appear, or the drawing may be replaced by groups of lance-shaped decorations. In both fish types the eye is formed by an inlaid green snail shell. The more slender fish species, deeply chiselled, has a long mouth with gills behind it, a long line [245] on the middle of the body and a succession of angular figures on the tail section. The tail is similar to that of the first fish species, although smaller. In place of the dorsal and ventral fins, the fish has a carved row of scale-like indentations, one behind the other, on its back. Its length ranges between 33 and 72 cm, and it is 10 to 28 cm high. Two smaller fish can be carved from one piece in such a way that their tail fins meet and they require only a narrow, rather-vestigial joint, provided by the rounding of both fins, to hold them together.



Fig. 161.
Fish figure in progress, Tench. He 24651.
65 cm long.

Three-dimensional ornamentation

The dance staves from Tench, the canoe *kārŭ̊nă*, house posts, dance staves and betel lime spatulas from St Matthias and Emĭr sometimes exhibit filigree work as well as shallow carving, appearing as a lizard-like figure on Tench, and triangles and other figures elsewhere.

Often raised rings run around the house posts of St Matthias and Emĭr in conjunction with the *l͡a̍ĭnĕ*. These are indicated as *Trochu*s arm rings, (*mă̲rĕ*). An anchor-like figure may occur on house posts and bowl handles, equally resembling both a fish tail or a bird's bill, and also called 'pigeon's beak' (*usúṅa bălúsu*). Arranged in groups one above the other it is called *ătŏ̲nă l͡a̍ĭnĕ*. Below these upwardly-convex curves or angles there may be a group of curves that are concave upward — the interval between these rows of curves being shaped into a ball.

A characteristic meaning was given to a house post in the chief's house in Ĕbūlīĕ̆lĕ in 1913 which, in spite of all the stylization still looks something like the *l͡a̍ĭnĕ* figure. This post is intended to represent a flask which the chief Pänl͡a̍ĭnŏ̊se received ten or fourteen years earlier from the captain of a sailing ship, who is depicted on the adjacent post.[67]

[67] Stübel, to the Dresden Museum, 32949

C. Comparative Section

The Cultural Position of St Matthias and Emi̓r

During a visit to St Matthias, von Bennigsen[68] felt that the St Matthias people were very close to the Manus of the Admiralty Islands. In addition to linguistic similarities, lime calabashes, lime spatulas, and penis shells played an astonishingly common role in both island groups. [246]

Actually, the language of St Matthias reveals connections with Admiralty Island languages, especially the Mătăṅkŏl language on Pāk. In addition, from a linguistic point of view, there are also connections with New Britain-New Ireland, the western islands, and with Polynesia. Penis shells occur, although decorated differently, only in the St Matthias group and in the Admiralty Islands, and nowhere else in Oceania. Only in both of those groups, parts of New Guinea, and those western islands under the influence of the Admiralty Islands do lime calabashes have a constricted form. Their usual decoration by branding on St Matthias and Emi̓r is also hinted at on Wuvulu, Aua and, even though Finsch[69] disagrees and sees connections with Motu, also on the Admiralty Islands. The lime spatulas correspond with those of the Admiralty Islands only insofar as occasionally they are crowned with a human figure. Further common possessions of the cultures of the Admiralty Islands and of St Matthias are: plaited yellow-black bands with the same production style; rain caps; *Terebra* blades; houses on level ground with a curved, saddle roof; forked posts; food scaffolds; carved posts in the meeting houses; slit drums; *Triton* horns; kite fishing; turtle shell rings and leaf spirals in their ear lobes; perforation of the nasal septum; necklaces of teeth; body painting; coconut rasps and, in spite of differing shape, combs made from little rods held together by plaited cord. Nevertheless, all of these items are quite widespread.

Points of contact of St Matthias culture with that of northern New Ireland, and between other parts of New Ireland and New Hanover are much stronger. Common cultural goods are: spears with bamboo butts; rows of barbs on the spear; the New Hanover axes with an intermediate casing; coconut rasps; fishing spears; turtle shell fish hooks; fish baskets; taro- or sun magic stones; food scaffolds, (a͡içắlŏ); strings of pig jaws; use of forked posts in house- and platform construction; canoe and house construction styles; plaiting of fronds; slit drums; dance accessories in the form of a bird and carried in the mouth; decorative scars; absence of clothing by men; the rarity of feather decoration; piercing of the nasal septum and ear lobes; ear spirals; body painting for feasts; *Trochus* arm rings with a kink in them; leaf festive decoration; chains of cuscus teeth; pandanus-leaf rain caps; women's clothing made from two bunches of bast or leaves; lack of clothing for young girls; wooden bead money; string games; bearing two names, and so on. In St Matthias sculpture we recall the three-dimensional 'Prussian helmet' hairstyle of New Ireland. The New Ireland representation of eyes using conch shells occurs again in the St Matthias group — as a peculiarity of Tench. [247]

Likewise, there are connections, predominantly linguistic but also of a cultural nature, (flute, slit drum, *Trochus* arm ring with a kink, leaf decoration, body painting, fishing spear, brother- and sister-in-law *tabu*, and so on), with the culture of the shoreline-dwellers on the Gazelle Peninsula.

In spite of several linguistic similarities, connections with the western islands are minor — turtle shell rings and leaf spirals in the ear. However, turtle shell rings occur also in New Guinea, (Finschhafen and its surroundings, and Humboldt Bay), and in Micronesia, where leaf spirals are

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[68] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* XI, 1900, p.640

[69] 1914, p.323

also familiar. The penis calabashes of St Matthias find a counterpart in those from the Empress Augusta River.

On the other hand, Micronesian cultural items reappear, corresponding with those of St Matthias: the ear spirals already mentioned; *Triton* horns; string games; *Terebra* blades and coconut rasps; also fishing kites, dance batons which, on Truk, show a certain similarity with those from St Matthias, and weaving. Weaving in particular has, since 1899, repeatedly given cause to seek links between St Matthias and Micronesia. Danneil[70] has already established that St Matthias weaving bears no relation with that from Kapingamarangi, the nearest Micronesian island. The same is also true of the weaving apparatus. Added to this, weaving is men's work on Kapingamarangi, but on St Matthias and in the rest of Micronesia it is women's work. Based solely on the banana fibre belt, (not on the weaving apparatus of that island nor that of the St Matthias group), it had been assumed that weaving originated on Kusaie. Yet shipwrecked sailors, men, would hardly have introduced a women's task from Kusaie[71] to St Matthias. Technical findings favour the notion that the weaving apparatus of St Matthias, Emi̓r, and Tench originated in the Caroline Islands, west of Kusaie, and in no way came via Kapingamarangi. Besides, there are also certain similarities with the weaving of Sobé in northern Dutch New Guinea.

Anthropologically, a Micronesian or Polynesian element stands out from the Melanesian element on St Matthias, and linguistically a certain Polynesian influence is detectable. What St Matthias has in common with Polynesia in terms of cultural items, is nothing that it does not share also with other, closer areas of Oceania, for example *Triton* horns, outrigger canoes, knee-shaped axes, coconut rasps and the like.

Even though communication with the outside world did not exist in 1908, and was limited to voyages between the east coast of St Matthias and Emi̓r, there had, nevertheless, been earlier, possibly quite intensive, contact with nearby New Hanover and probably with northern New Ireland as well. That there had been contact with the Admiralty Islands, albeit very haphazardly, [248] until quite recently, is shown by the accounts of visits to St Matthias by Admiralty Islanders, and a St Matthias man's opinion that 'Manus' was only a day's voyage away. Anything found on St Matthias in the sense of a connection with the western islands, would probably have made its way via the Admiralty Islands. Also, the Micronesian influence on the St Matthias group is demonstrated at least in the weaving, which is familiar even on long-isolated Tench. A Polynesian influence is similarly conceivable, especially through Polynesian former slaves.

Tapa, pottery, the sail, the bow, war clubs, masks, and other items present among neighbouring cultures, are absent from St Matthias, Emi̓r, and Tench. It has to be realized that there is no raw material available for pottery, that the southern region is not familiar with the sail or the bow, and that tapa production may have given way to weaving. However, cultural impoverishment has undoubtedly taken place. For example, by 1908 the use of fish hooks had been virtually abandoned and as for clubs, only one solitary pig club was found.

Thus, the cultural picture of St Matthias and Emir reveals a Melanesian foundation, which points to New Hanover and northern New Ireland. Added to this are influences from the west, from the Carolines to the west of Kusaie and Ponape, and probably also from Polynesia. Right up to the present day, there were only sporadic contacts with the immediate neighbourhood, which however could no longer prevent a slow decline of their culture.

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[70] 1901, p.123

[71] *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* XI, 1900, p.640

The Cultural Position of Tench

Through an Ětăsĭtěl interpreter in 1913, Tench people offered the explanation that they had been shipwrecked on their island, from Emŕr, but had had no subsequent contact with the outside world.[72] This information is of rather dubious value, since it is quite likely that the interpreter had reported his own views on the Tench people, blended with their story. From King's report[73] it transpires that in 1790 the same population were living on Tench as at the present time, and it is questionable whether a migration even further in the past, that could quite well have come from Emŕr, would live on in tradition until 1913. What is certain, is that Tench had no contact of any kind with the outside world, in as much as European ships did not go there. Whether back in 1790 there had been communication with the outside world, Emŕr in particular, and when this ceased, is unlikely to be established, although it is highly probable that even by King's time Tench was totally isolated. [249]

The uniqueness of Tench consists, for a large part, in its negatives. There is little to see apart from the detail of decoration and the negative aspects. To some extent this absence of cultural items that are present on St Matthias and Emŕr can be traced back to the peculiarities of the environment. Obsidian does not occur on Tench; its coconuts are too small for making water flasks; pigs may have died out; fishing spears are absent because the reef is unsuitable for spear fishing; wooden beads hardly grow on Tench; and bamboo appears probably only due to those few pieces washed ashore — suitable for making spear butts but hardly flutes. The absence of recreational betel on Tench can also be explained by the environment. Similarly, calabashes do not grow on Tench.

In addition to the worsening environmental effects, there is an impoverishment of culture, which can probably be attributed to the island's isolation. Those cultural items that are present on St Matthias and Emŕr but absent from Tench are: ornaments of any kind; body painting; perforation of the nasal septum; decorative and curative scarification; penis shells; axes with *Terebra* blades; rain caps made from pandanus leaves; *kŏlŏmą̊s̱ŏ* and *m͡auliŏlĭ* forms of basket; carved posts; meeting houses; beds; wooden bowls of other than the canoe shape; and bird representations.

Like neighbouring islands, Tench has fishing kites; fish hooks; hand nets and set nets; fruit pluckers; fire tongs; coconut rasps; net needles; weaving apparatus; baskets plaited from fronds, or made in vertical and horizontal plaited strips; wooden, canoe-shaped bowls; slit drums; snail shell trumpets; rope-making by plaiting and twisting; booby traps; pierced ear lobes; and nasal septal incision. In addition, the simplified house construction; seaworthy outrigger canoes; the plain, very long spears occasionally with a bamboo butt; and also the dance batons of varying shapes and decoration, and human- and fish figures from Tench, are all indicative of St Matthias and Emŕr. As for ornamentation, the fish tail motif appears to play a role on Tench too, although other motifs like the lizard intervene, and ornamentation on Tench has probably gone its own way.

As for originality on Tench, apart from sculpting in particular and all the negative aspects, there is little to consider. The sole preserve of Tench among the St Matthias group are: the pole shed; the head rest; the aligned village; rat protection on trees; wooden figures with inlaid eyes of snail shell; the lizard decoration mentioned above; frond torches; the *Tridacna* axe; and beard styling. It must be borne in mind that frond torches may very probably exist also on St Matthias and Emŕr, and may simply not have been seen; that the village layout may be dictated by the geography of Tench; and that the pole sheds find their counterpart in the storage [250] scaffolds, (*a͡içą́lŏ*), of the neighbouring islands, differing only by their roofing and the rat protection, which is attached also to fruit trees, and unique to Tench. The inlaid conch shell eyes of the wooden figures are reminiscent of New Ireland. Village layout and beard styling have existed in the present form since 1790.

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[72] *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Deutsch-Neuguinea*, V, 1913, p.248

[73] Hunter, 1793, p.419 *et seq.*

Anthropologically, as well as a Melanesian element, a Micronesian or Polynesian element is seen on Tench. It was there in 1790 and remained relatively pure until 1908. On the whole, torches, *Tridacna* blades, rat protection, possibly also the pole sheds and the head rest could quite easily be derived from this element.

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