

MATERIAL BIOGRAPHIES

Identity, Meaning and Agency in the
Cooke Daniels New Guinea Collections

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Abstract

Dispersed between museums in the UK and Australia, the Cooke Daniels collections comprise more than 2000 material objects, largely collected during the 1903-04 Daniels Ethnographical Expedition to British New Guinea. Led by William Cooke Daniels and Charles Seligman, the expedition continued the survey work begun by the 1898 Torres Strait Expedition, collating comparative material and visual data within the same evolutionary scientific framework. Often reducing people and things to abstractions in the interests of science (and colonialism), the expedition's Cartesian position stands in ontological distinction to the sensate and relational worldview shared by New Guineans. Seeking a nuanced approach to questions of difference, the thesis conceives a copresent approach to relational biography that recognises moments of ontological displacement, from expedition empathy to New Guinean intentionality.

Drawing on the work of Tim Ingold in particular, notions of ontological simultaneity and displacement (copresence) are the pivot around which stories from the collections emerge. Concentrating on expedition material from Central Province and colonial material, bequeathed to the expedition by Christopher Robinson, from Western and Gulf Provinces, PNG, stories explore how material things express identity, enact meaning-making and reveal agency. Patterned gourds, boards and modified skulls speak to the entanglement of scientific, colonial and Indigenous practices that make visible the formation of a complex and sometimes controversial collection. While stories can be projected onto things, copresent biographies materialise another view: the knowledge that arises through experiential engagement with people and things. In this way, collections remake themselves, revealing new stories – vital to our understanding of a shared past and shared futures. Relocating the Cooke Daniels collections at the centre of a shifting early twentieth century academic, political and cultural milieu, this first detailed study of the collections equally emerges as a pivot for new encounters and future stories.

In memory of Henry Berman (1935-2017),
who first introduced me to collecting and collections,
albeit of a different kind. Thank you.

And

Igua Audabi (1962-2018)
of Gorobe Kae Iduhu, Pari.

Taumaku Koitabu (d. 2019)
of Vahoi 4 Iduhu, Porebada.

Buruka Araidī (?1953-2020)
of Hanuabada.

Betty Morea MBE (1954-2021)
of Taurama Iduhu, Hohodae, Hanuabada.

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Maps



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Map 2. Papua New Guinea, present day. Created using google maps.



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Map 4.
Western and Gulf Provinces, Papua New Guinea. Created using google maps.

Definitions

ABBREVIATIONS

ALRC	Anthropology Library and Research Centre, British Museum
AM(A)	Australian Museum (Archive), Sydney
ANT	Actor Network Theory
BFI	British Film Institute, London
BL	British Library, London
BM(A)	British Museum (Archive), London
BNG	British New Guinea
HM	Horniman Museum, London
LMA	London Metropolitan Archive
LMS	London Missionary Society
LSE(A)	London School of Economics (Archive)
MAA(A)	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Archive), Cambridge
ME	SS Merrie England
MET	Material Engagement Theory
MSC	Missionnaires du Sacré-Coeur
NAPNG	National Archives of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby
NCD	National Capital District, Papua New Guinea
NMWC	National Museum of World Cultures, Stockholm
NRI	National Research Institute, Port Moresby
NSW	New South Wales
PNG	Papua New Guinea
PRM(A)	Pitt Rivers Museum (Archive), Oxford
RAI(A)	Royal Anthropological Institute (Archive), London
RCS	Royal College of Surgeons
RM	Resident Magistrate
TSE	Torres Strait Expedition
UPNG	The University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby
VC	Village Constable

IMAGES

All object photographs, unless otherwise indicated, were taken by the author as part of this research project and are used here by courtesy of each institution (as indicated by the museum reference prefix, see below). Some historic photographs and some taken by the author during fieldwork in 2015 include (from a Western perspective) nude or partially nude men and women. In New Guinean terms, people were understood to be fully and, often, beautifully dressed (see points made by Jacobs 2019: 11). This remains the case today and my photographs were taken and are used here with the full consent of participants. Contemporary restrictions on images of human skeletal remains have been respected and are not included in the thesis, to access these images please contact the appropriate museum.

ITALICS

In keeping with the ontological equivalence assumed throughout this thesis, I have elected not to italicise words given in other languages, including the language of science (although I have maintained the convention of capitalising the first letter of the genus name to avoid ambiguity). Italics are used for emphasis only.

MUSEUM REFERENCES

For clarity, each museum reference number has been prefixed with the acronym of the museum where the object is located (so Oc1906,1013.120 kept in the British Museum appears in the text as BM Oc1906,1013.120).

OBJECT NAMES

Some objects attract more than one descriptive name in the literature and in museum catalogues, for example shell armbands implicated in kula exchange are also known as kula shells and kula armshells. While I have tried to maintain consistency, some names and descriptions are used interchangeably.

PEOPLE NAMES

Unless otherwise stated, I have attempted to use the contemporary name people give themselves. For example, I have used Koita rather than Koitabu, which is the name the

Motu use to describe the Koita. Where relevant, alternative names, both contemporary and historical, are given in round brackets.

Where I use the terms ‘Indigenous’ or ‘Indigenous Peoples’, I do so in line with UN conventions not wishing to homogenise hugely diverse self-identifying peoples. Most Papua New Guinean people prefer ‘Papua New Guineans’ as a term of reference, and I use this when speaking more generally of people from contemporary PNG. In historic circumstances, I use ‘New Guineans’, although I sometimes use this to refer to people from PNG regardless of temporal or political circumstances. I generally avoid using the term ‘Papuan’, which denotes ethnic identity and only refers to the region’s non-Austronesian-speaking peoples. Like Alison Brown (2014), I use the term ‘communities’ in the absence of a more helpful way of conveying complex shifting relations that acknowledge the way people choose to define themselves at any given point in time.

Any misunderstandings, omissions or errors are my own.

PLACE NAMES

Modern place names are used throughout, although some references to historic BNG district names are also made. Where relevant, alternative place names, contemporary and historical, are given in round brackets.

Although Port Moresby officially forms the National Capital District (NCD), I use Central Province as a geographical term to refer to the political areas of NCD and Central Province collectively. This reflects the historical Central Division, mirrors the way objects are stored at the BM and MAA, and makes for smoother prose. I do not follow this convention in appendices E and F, however, instead listing Port Moresby under NCD to ensure politico-geographical accuracy in the catalogues.

TIMELINE AND CATALOGUE

An overview of the expedition is given in chapter 1 and a collections overview in chapter 5. A more detailed chronology of the expedition can be found at appendix B. The catalogue at appendix F only includes objects seen during this research with the exception of BM Oc1906,1013.755 – briefly discussed in chapter 3. Objects are organised by museum (according to collection size), geographically and alphabetically by reference number in numerical order.

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I treasure my time in Papua New Guinea, the kindness and generosity experienced there, and the wonderful people I met. Without Nicolas Garnier's support, knowledge and introductions, my fieldwork would not have been the success it was – thank you. Notable thanks to Dairi Arua Heri for his time and knowledge. I am sorry the thesis does not include as much about Randall Baibo John as he merits – I write about him in Donoghue (2017). Thank you Randall for taking care of me and to everyone who welcomed me and shared their knowledge and lives so graciously, in particular: Lekwa

Douveri and Rocky Ulatu Douveri in Barakau; the family of Rev. Ikaini and Oa Willie in Delena; Buruka Araid, Mala Ikau, Betty Morea, Hera Oa Ova, Linda Oa Ova and Abau Rohi Leke in Hanuabada; Rupa Kala, Varage Kala, Karo Kala and Gima Vui in Hula; Rose Aoka Keaike and David Aisa Ifagai in Inaoae; Orira Audabi in Kouderika; Hitolo Heri in Lea Lea; Igua Audabi in Pari; Allen Aoka, Kari Arua, Heau Doura, Dairi Gau Vagi and family, Kaia Igo, Morea Igo, Rev. Aisi Ikaini, Taumaku Koitabu, Hebou Morea, Iapaiwa Morea, Igo Morea, Kaia Morea, Tanito Morea, Kaia Tau, Riu Taumaku, Maba Vagi and Taumaku Vagi in Porebada; Agnes Aim, Claudia Ban, Zoe Ban, Timothy Gumari, James Macpherson, Augustine Mungkaje, Gordon Pambang, Anita Stephen, Zadokim Stephen and Moses Stephen in Port Moresby; Martin Arua, To'oro Arua, Rev. Rea Mabata, Avia Ovia, Aihi Poha and Uni in Waima. Also, participants in the Arts of PNG project at Hula, Porebada and Waima, and the women of the Porebada Aru-Utu Congregation Women's Fellowship. Gratitude to those Elders who are no longer here for your wisdom, this thesis is dedicated to your memory.

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Sir, this thesis is also dedicated to you.

Preface

It is 2011. Inspired by a chance encounter with several New Guinean adze heads in the store at the MAA, my intern supervisor, Lucie Carreau, asks whether I have heard of the Cooke Daniels Expedition? I have not. Curious, I search the internet. Few results show up. Not only has little been published, my search results are also partial; ‘Cooke Daniels Expedition’ turns out to be a later moniker given by museums to the 1903-04 ‘Daniels Ethnographical Expedition to British New Guinea’. When the more than two thousand material objects acquired by the expedition were donated to British and Australian museums in 1905, as is common practice, the collections were named for their donor. Major William Cooke Daniels – Daniels to his acquaintances – used Cooke to distinguish himself from his father, also William Daniels, the American retail magnate from whom he inherited a business and a vast fortune. Daniels’ generous donation came with one condition, however – that exhibited objects should be labelled ‘Daniels Ethnographical Expedition’ (Seligman 1905c). I suspect Daniels would not have been troubled by the moniker. More as a gesture to archival accuracy, I use the expedition’s original name and reserve ‘Cooke Daniels’ for the museum collections, uniting the two monikers in once place. A more crucial gesture is needed though. One that also names and gives voice to object histories, New Guinean makers, users and communities, and recognises inherent colonial relations.

It is 2022. This thesis is my attempt at that gesture. It is the result of a decade-long preoccupation with the expedition, resulting collections and questions concerning our relationship with material things. For the expedition team – Daniels, Arthur Dunning, George Pim, Charles Seligman and Walter Mersh Strong – objects were material ‘facts’, evidence of the ritual and everyday lives of non-Western *Others* (Herle and Rouse 1998b: 15). Regarded through spurious racial hierarchies, espoused by men like John Lubbock (1871) and Edward Burnett Tylor (1881), notions of non-Western biological and cultural inferiority fuelled Western extinction anxieties, driving a ‘salvage ethnography’ (Brantlinger 2003: 3, 5; Clifford 1989: 73). Galvanised by Seligman’s experience as a member of the 1898 Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait, the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition salvaged objects and surveyed people across areas

that today form part of Western, Central and Milne Bay Provinces and the National Capital District, Papua New Guinea. Rapport with colonial officials introduced further objects from Gulf and Oro Provinces, while Seligman supplemented the collection with material from the Torres Strait Expedition (to use its later moniker). Appointed with the latest innovations, the new eleven-month expedition would bring novel Edwardian capabilities to orthodox Victorian ‘problems’.

For museums today, colonial collections are troubling legacies, often understudied and sometimes overlooked. Joining the MAA as an outreach assistant on the back of the 2009-10 exhibition *Assembling Bodies: Art, Science and Imagination*, the display of Marguerite Milward’s Adivasi sculptures – once tidied away and forgotten – brought to my attention how museums can be spaces for both reckoning and reassessment. Exploring the busts’ polysemic biographies, co-curator Mark Elliott (2012) confronts the simultaneity of their role as (now obsolete) anthropometric racial representations and as complex, dignified, individual portraits. As I began to research the Cooke Daniels collections, first for a Masters degree and then for this thesis, objects revealed analogous nuances and multiplicities. Garments restitched as expressions of grief and collected as examples of mourning; containers decorated as embodiments of New Guinean identity refigured as conflicting examples of inferior and superior works of art. Hints in labels and diaries that expedition members experienced more than just racial stereotypes.

Reimagining objects as ‘person-like’ with ‘social lives’ and biographies, entangled in dynamic relations with others, human and non-human, continues to reveal and weave new stories (Gell 1998; Appadurai 1986b). Subtle, surprising and sometimes unsettling, they can dispel biased assumptions, give voice to the historically marginalised and lay the ground for renegotiation and dialogue (see Geismar 2021; Herle 2000). Dan Hicks’ (2020a) recent call to replace the analytics of life-history and entanglement with death-history or necrography recognises an explicit form of colonial violence, omission and erasure – in relation to Benin City in modern-day Nigeria – but understates the value of dialogue (essential to restitution) and counter-narrative. As Haidy Geismar (2021) remarks, this risks ‘yet another top-down perspective’. Necrographies find their place in biographies. Acts of violence and looting intersect the (by no means benign) colonial paternalism of early twentieth century British New Guinea. The expedition did not commit such acts, purchasing and trading objects on locally agreed terms, but were –

as museums have sometimes been – complicit in their forgetting, emphasising notably white colonial histories.

In Melanesia, where sensible human and object bodies ‘correspond’ and ‘objectify’ social relations, entangled biographies have particular salience (Ingold 2013b; Strathern 1988; Fortis and Küchler 2021). Here, life-cycle rituals are punctuated by death rituals that invite communities to reconsider, unravel and remake relations – forgetting as re-collection in the creation of ancestors and descendants (Foster 1995). While museums have not always addressed difficult histories, as Hicks (2020b) notes elsewhere, that is not because they have shied away from processes of re-evaluation and re-display. New works of art and performance help shape ongoing and polyvocal dialogues; new biographical research informs museums’ ongoing responsibility to safeguard objects’ care and, in some cases, their return. Clearly, there is more to do. Much of this project was undertaken in museum stores in the hope of improving and sharing collections knowledge. Community books, left in Papua New Guinea during fieldwork in 2015, enabled people to share their analyses and observations; many – notably Elders – are quoted in the thesis and resulting Cooke Daniels catalogue (appendix F) alongside scholars. This includes new material collected for the MAA (appendix E), understood by their maker to be expressions of renewal and future Papua New Guinean legacies.

‘[E]verything’ writes Bayo Akomolafe (2018 italics omitted) ‘dies and begins in the middle’. Exploring troubling and unequal entanglements, he narrates ‘a tale about the *brilliant betweenness*’ expressed by the Australian Yolngu aesthetic ‘*bir’yun* (meaning “brilliance” or “shimmer”)... effected in paintings by crosshatching patterns and lines, which leave an optical impression’ (Akomolafe 2018 original emphasis). This reminds us that nothing is static, that boundaries are blurred and can accommodate difference; *bir’yun* ‘speaks of ancestry cutting into the present... im/possibilities opening up’ that, for Akomolafe (2018), undermine notions of racial *Otherness*. Betweenness informs this thesis too, inspired by my reading of *brilliant* scholarship not limited to, but often part of, an ongoing remaking of approach to relational biography. Notable is Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari’s (2013) philosophical rhizome, transversing and subverting representational linearity and binary opposition, which – as Akomolafe’s (2018) work suggests – blurs like *bir’yun*. In kind, I set out to write this thesis rhizomatically, weaving stories from the Cooke Daniels collections together with theoretical insights conceived

largely through Tim Ingold's (2015) particular reading of Deleuze and Guattari's ontology. Readers will thus find narrative and theoretical threads entwined and cast off, picked up again and woven into later parts and stories (cf. Ingold 2015: 26).

Such threads are also deliberately Melanesian in context. Like the simultaneous and sometimes incompatible differences made visible through polysemic biography, anthropology from the region can present irreconcilable epistemological tensions as well as more sympathetic associations. Although not the first to do so, I have found aspects of Marilyn Strathern's (1988, 1992a, 1996) Melanesian and broader scholarship in accord with aspects of Deleuze and Guattari (see Lebner 2017b), which has encouraged me to subtly reread some more structuralist interpretations – I hope without diluting crucial insights. More broadly, a concern to allow for a kind of simultaneity that admits rather than discards previous epistemologies has encouraged me to subtly reread Ingold; suggesting a *copresent* approach to relational biography – that I hope will actuate the vital objects, stories and voices found within the Cooke Daniels collections.

Gathering these concerns, chapter 1 addresses the key research questions that have informed the investigation and writing of the thesis, while succeeding chapters raise a series of sub-questions set out in the overview for each chapter.



Figure 1.1

Earring of turtle shell strung with red shell beads. 2.3 cm diameter. Collected at Waima and recorded as made in Mailu, Central Province, PNG. Cooke Daniels collection. BM Oc1906,1013.826. Photo by author.



Figure 1.2

Earring of turtle shell strung with red and white shell beads. 1.8 cm diameter. Collected at Hula, beads apparently from Cloudy Bay, Central Province, PNG. Cooke Daniels collection. BM Oc1906,1013.827. Photo by author.

Introduction: stories, concepts

*‘... for we are storymakers, not just storytellers. All stories are
connected, new ones woven from the threads of the old.’*

- Robin Wall Kimmerer (2013: 341).

STOREROOM EXPEDITION

It is April 2014. Perched on a stool in the British Museum’s Ethnography Store, I lean in to observe a small earring (BM Oc1906,1013.826, figure 1.1). Carved from opaque turtle shell, it forms a loop with a narrow opening at one end, front and reverse faces polished flat; only the bevelled inner edges are uneven. Here, a coarse white patina has formed. I suspect the shell is fossilised. Six finely polished, pinky-red, discoidal beads, likely made from *Chama* sp. shell, are secured to the outer edge with delicately twisted plant fibre cord. Passing twice through the centre of each bead, the cord wraps either side of the turtle shell loop. A thin layer of dust has collected in the beads’ inner perforations. I find another – with finer turtle shell – the following day. This earring (BM Oc1906,1013.827, figure 1.2) has two small white beads in addition to ten red, and an improbable-looking split in place of the opening. Despite its translucence, as I turn the earring over in my hand, I find it hard to imagine that turtle shell can ever be flexible enough for insertion into an ear lobe. Perhaps it is unfinished? No, I find another earring of turtle shell similarly split.

It is June 1904. Heralded as one of the most advanced and well-equipped scientific expeditions of its day (Lancet 1903; Nature 1903; British Medical Journal 1903: 38), the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition is six months into an ambitious eleven-month ethnographic survey along the coast of British New Guinea in the South West Pacific (map 1). Expedition leader and primary funder Major William Cooke Daniels (1870-1918) has recently arrived onboard his private schooner, the *Kori*, along with its crew Captain George William Charles Pim (1866-1914) and carpenter K. Karlsson, having

been detained in Australia while the Kori underwent repairs.¹ Joining them onboard is expedition organiser, Dr. Charles Gabriel Seligman (1873-1940) and the expedition's official photographer Arthur Henry Dunning (1884-1959). With Daniels' consent, the fourth core member, Dr. Walter Meresh Strong (1873-1946) has just departed to take up the position of Assistant Resident Magistrate for Mekeo. Seligman, acting leader in Daniels' absence, has hired Motu man Charlie – referred to using the hegemonic term 'boy' irrespective of age – to assist him. Now visiting Waima in the Roro District, Pim hires Aihi Keta, and Daniels, assuming leadership, takes on Bardi – 'an excellent all round man' (Seligman 1904a: 102) – and begins collecting in earnest.

In the store, reading the label tied to the likely-fossilised earring (BM Oc1906,1013.826), I recognise Daniels' distinctive hand: neat capitals and sharp cursive written in red ink 'WAIMA EARRING made in MĀILU'. It is one of the official white parchment labels printed 'DANIELS ETHNOGRAPHICAL EXPEDITION' made by Dennison & Co., whose popular plain brown card labels also appear throughout the collections. Of the 118 objects collected from Waima, most are directly annotated in pencil making the author difficult to distinguish. However, 25 objects have labels written by Daniels and seven by Seligman. A fair reflection of the ratio across the 2333 objects dispersed between the British Museum and Horniman Museum in London, Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge, and Australian Museum in Sydney, that together form the official Cooke Daniels collections.²

Landing at Hula in Rigo District, a month later, Daniels is immediately fascinated by the colour and shape of red shell, and focuses his attention on jewellery (Seligman 1904a: 113). Noting the Hula provenance, I anticipate Daniels' hand on the label tied to the other red shell earring (BM Oc1906,1013.827). Instead, I find Seligman's. In his journal – the only chronological account of the expedition – Seligman (1904a) alludes to lengthy periods of collecting that he notes culminate in day-long label-writing and packing sessions. With formal responsibility for ethnology, Daniels relies on fieldnotes describing his acquisitions, sometimes annotating page numbers on associated labels. For objects collected at Wagawaga and Tubetube in the Massim, these fieldnotes form the basis of two catalogues mistakenly attributed to Seligman when, in the months

¹ During which time Daniels collected 275 lithics now in the PRM, see Hicks (2013: 543).

² This is based on the number of museum accessions, which are as follows: BM 1934; PRM 166; MAA 149; HM 57; AM 24. Lithics in n1 above excluded. See appendix A.

following the expedition, he organises and donates the official Cooke Daniels collections on Daniels' behalf.³

Seligman's label script reads 'Hulaa[,] beads said to be from Cloudy Bay'. I note the phrase 'said to be', used whenever some uncertainty does not quite warrant the use of a question mark. Perhaps he doubts his informant, or perhaps Seligman did not collect the earring himself. Few objects in the collections can be attributed to other expedition members, whose private collections were sold separately to museums,⁴ though notably objects gifted by colonial officials and missionaries were included in Seligman's official donations. That much of the collecting and label-writing fell to Daniels and Seligman likely reflects their experience of collecting and expeditioning. Daniels, a former U.S. Army Major, partner in the Daniels & Fisher department store and Daniels State Bank in Denver, Colorado, had already made zoological and ethnographic collections while prospecting for diamonds in British Guiana, South America, in 1902 (Barnhouse 2015: 47-48).⁵ A chance encounter with Seligman during a fishing holiday the following year set the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition in motion – appealing to Daniels' desire for further exploration, and Seligman's desire to continue research in British New Guinea (Haddon 1934: 2; Urry 1998: 207-10).

Trained in medicine and pathology at St Thomas' Hospital, London – where he would meet fellow physician Strong in 1903 – Seligman self-funded a last minute place on the 1898 'Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits', spending four months in BNG's Central Division (Rouse 1998: 57; Urry 1998: 207; Herle and Rouse 1998b). The expedition, led by 'natural scientist and ethnologist' Alfred Cort Haddon, proved to be a defining moment in the discipline of Anthropology, taking research beyond the confines of the 'armchair' directly out into the field (Herle and Rouse 1998b: 1; Barth 2005: 10-13). Following Haddon, Seligman planned a comprehensive regional survey with the aim of gathering equally broad comparative data. Despite a far smaller team, the multidisciplinary scope was no less ambitious. Leading on ethnology, Daniels was also to focus on experimental psychology – the latter apparently self-assigned. Strong on pathology and physical anthropology, geology and geography – equipment loaned by the Royal Geographical Society. Seligman on ethnology, linguistics and pathology

³ Likely the 'two-volume report' Denver press report Daniels preparing in Paris (Barnhouse 2015: 49).

⁴ Strong's collection was purchased by the BM Christy fund in 1906, Karlsson's by the NMWC.

⁵ Now in Cambridge University's Museum of Zoology and MAA.

focussing on tumours – with a grant from the cancer commission.⁶ Lastly, Dunning on making state of the art recordings on kinomatograph, still camera and phonograph, an approach also modelled on the Torres Strait Expedition. Substantial funding – the sum unrecorded – provided by Daniels through the Daniels State Bank, supplemented small grants from the Royal Society and Government Grant Committee.

Letters dated May 1903 from Fr. Alexandre-Marie Fillodeau (1903) of Missionnaires du Sacré-Coeur hint at geographical plans, promising the expedition a warm reception at the Roro and Mekeo district missions. Having achieved only brief visits to villages like Waima while based at Roro in 1898 (Seligman 1910: 240), Seligman probably hoped to fill the gaps, complementing comparative data through revisits, including to Hula.

Looking at the shell beads on the Waima and Hula earrings, I notice differences in size and form. Around 0.6 cm in diameter, those on the Waima earring (BM Oc1906, 1013.826) are thicker with a rectangular cross-section, and more finely polished with fewer traces of outer shell. The Hula earring beads (BM Oc1906, 1013.827), however, are thinner and smaller at around 0.4 cm diameter, with a rounded cross-section and more outer shell by the central perforation; some also have linear striations from grinding. Such variations may be suggestive of different bead manufacturing sites. Writing in his 1910 book *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* – culminating data from the 1898 and 1903-04 expeditions – Seligman (1910: 514, 529) describes valuable discoidal red shell beads called sapisapi in the Massim, used in earrings and necklaces such as bagi, manufactured from *Chama pacifica* on Vakuta in the Trobriands. Reaching the islands in 1915, Seligman's most prolific student, Bronislaw Malinowski, observed the same beads. Using the term soulava for bagi, he was also aware of manufacturing sites on Rossel and surrounding islands in the Louisiades as well as in the area around Port Moresby (Malinowski 1979: 164-65; 1922: 507).⁷

⁶ In a letter to friend Herbert Jonas, Seligman (1903a) bemoans the emphasis given to this work in the publications announcing the expedition.

⁷ Malinowski (1979: 166) believed the Port Moresby supply of *Spondylus* sp. was no longer connected to the production of bagi in the Massim (and thus the kula); during a visit to Tatana Is. Port Moresby in January 1904 Seligman could only collect *Spondylus* remnants from manufacturing (BM Oc1906, 1013.73-74); Swadling and Bence (2016: 54-55) discuss this noting the decline of the Moresby bead industry. While the extent to which heirloom *Spondylus* beads were still in circulation in 1903-04 is unclear, Liep (2009: 205) takes the view that all Trobriand and Rossel Is. shell string discs were made from *Chama* sp. pre WWII. Note, the expedition collected two *Spondylus* sp. shells at Tubetube (BM Oc1906, 1013.1253-54), where locals said they did not use them but thought some sapisapi were made from them at Muyua and the Trobriands.

An analysis by Pamela Swadling and Polly Bence (2016: 56, Table 1), estimates the diameter of *Chama* sp. beads in *bagi* from Rossel to be 0.5-0.7 cm, and general *soulava* 0.4-0.5 cm, ranges consistent with the bead diameters of both earrings. Using the term *sapisapi* to distinguish Massim beads from those manufactured around Port Moresby, Seligman (1910: 514) suspected the Hula beads' origins lay further east of Cloudy Bay, accounting for his hesitation on the label. A suspicion later confirmed by reports that Mailu canoes journeyed east to trade with islands in the Massim, trade that clearly also reached west to Cloudy Bay and as far as Waima near the Papuan Gulf, where Daniels collected the other shell earring (Seligman 1910: 540).

Whilst conducting fieldwork on Mailu Island in 1915, on Seligman's advice (Young 1988: 6), Malinowski observed smaller turtle shell earrings worn in clusters around the lobe, sometimes with *sapisapi* beads – one facing out from each turtle shell loop giving the impression of a flat row – that he believed to be of 'local manufacture' (Malinowski 1988: 155-56, Fig. 12-13). A possibility suggested by Daniels' label uninvestigated by the expedition. Despite the freedom the Kori offered, they did not survey the coastal area around Mailu, missing out a stretch of some 200 miles from Kalo, just east of Hula, to Rogeia Island in the Massim (map 3). The opposite of their time further west.

Departing England in August 1903, Seligman, Dunning and Strong had arrived in Port Moresby just six days before Christmas, basing themselves at Government House under the care of colonial host, then Resident Magistrate for Central Division, Captain Francis Rickman Barton (1865-1947) – later contributor to *Melanesians* – joining him on localised excursions. Returning there numerous times, Port Moresby became a base from which they conducted a more intensive style of fieldwork, Seligman developing a close relationship with Koita Chief, Ahuia Ova (c.1875-1951) – indirect contributor to *Melanesians*. Only during a ten-day stay at Wagawaga in October 1904, working with local man Ipunesa, would similar circumstances arise in terms of forming a close relationship with an informant. Moving from village to village between Waima in the west and Kalo in the east – Aihi sometimes arranging carriers, Charlie sometimes interpreting – the expedition maintained a brisk pace, particularly during their tour of the Massim, reaching as far northwest as Goodenough Bay.⁸

⁸ Seligman also briefly visited New Britain, receiving skulls later given to the RCS (see Seligman 1906a).



Figure 1.3

Two children extend their hands across the back of a white linen jacket. PNG, 1904 (BM Oc,B120.1, black and white digital copy; ALRC Cooke Daniels collection).



Figure 1.4

Young man seated in three-quarter profile. Expedition member holds sign '259'. PNG, 1904 (BM Oc,B118.115, black and white digital copy; ALRC Cooke Daniels collection).

There, as elsewhere, reliance on missionaries and colonial officials proved vital and while most, like Barton, were indispensable, others proved far more challenging. On 20 June 1904, Christopher Stansfield Robinson (1872-1904) – until recently BNG's Acting Administrator – committed suicide, news reaching the expedition at the Roro mission two days later. Overstated reports of a massacre during a failed attempt to recover the skull of murdered LMS missionary Rev. Oliver Tomkins from Goaribari Island, in the Papuan Gulf, placed Robinson at the centre of a Royal Commission (Langmore 1972), an inquiry of conceivable interest to the expedition. In Daniels' absence, the team had joined Robinson aboard the government steamer SS *Merrie England*, accompanying him from late January to late February 1904 on his official inspection tour of Western Division. Making brief visits along the Bensbach River and coastline from Jerai Bay to Kiwai Island (map 4), tensions between Seligman and Robinson ran high, as Robinson (1904) placed frustrating restrictions on their movements. Having first visited Kiwai in 1898, fever left Seligman too unwell to travel any further; preventing the expedition's permitted travel up the Fly River. This pre-empted any further debate with Robinson over permission to go to Goaribari, which was never granted (Robinson 1904). In 1914 Haddon and his daughter, Kathleen, would explore the Fly Delta (Bell 2009).

Robinson's (1904) diary serves as a reminder of the colonial milieu and the ongoing task of pacification. His sometimes questionable ethics, while abhorrent to Seligman,⁹ did not prevent Robinson objects from being quietly absorbed into the Cooke Daniels collections. Seligman's unease with aspects of colonisation and missionisation, rooted in a salvage paradigm that presumed the impending extinction of a culture or people (Clifford 1988; 1989; Brantlinger 2003), made him critical, snidely remarking on 'civis britannicus sum' (1904a: 81), notwithstanding the expedition's scientific agenda, itself inexorably interwoven with the ideology of progress. In figure 1.3, one photograph in a series of five taken at different exposures, two children spread their hands in front of a white linen jacket. Seligman and Strong's medical interests are probably the primary motivation for the image, one hand clearly showing signs of skin irritation. However, skin colour was also of concern, Seligman (1904a: 36) using the descriptive numbering from *Notes & Queries* (Garson and Read 1892), which offered guidance on anatomical

⁹ Linked to Seligman's (1903b) visceral dislike of Robinson's character. Robinson's collecting practices are discussed in chapter 4.

observations and anthropometrics – activities that would engage much of Strong and Seligman's time, informing Seligman's (1906c: 422; 1909a,b) later assessment of New Guinean 'physical and mental characteristics'.

Social evolutionism – then the cutting edge of race science, today inescapably racist – dominated anthropological and colonial discourse, ordering the world's societies 'in linear sequence ... from savage to barbarian to civilized' (Clifford 1989: 73). Perceived through this lens, the expedition's journey from Port Moresby to the Bensbach River was for Seligman (1904d) a distant 'promenade à travers les âges'. As Johannes Fabian (1983: 16 original emphasis) writes, 'anthropology's efforts to construct relations with its Other by means of temporal devices implied affirmation of difference as *distance*'. The further away, the further back in time. When considered alongside linguistics and cultural practices, Seligman believed physiology denoted not only race but population movement, with older races exhibiting more 'primitive' facial features and darker skin tones (for discussion see Urry 1998).

Of the expedition's photographic prints,¹⁰ most of Dunning's physiological images are taken in relatively informal settings, the person(s) in side profile or forward facing. Many look directly into the lens. A small number however, despite close proximity to the person, enhance 'cultural and temporal distance' through overt scientific framing (Edwards 2001: 162-65). In figure 1.4, a seated young man looks to one side, his face in three-quarter profile, objectified by the small rectangular plate marked '259' supported by the hand of an expedition member. I am drawn to his earrings, multiple turtle shell loops of similar size and shape to the Waima and Hula earrings discussed above. The expedition may have been drawn to his 'oblique eyes', Seligman (1909b: 332; 1910: 16) observing this feature amongst some Motu Koita and Vula'a (Hula), perhaps hinting at the man's identity beyond the word, or name, Iasisiai inscribed on the reverse of the print, and the allocated plate number. Here, the 'salvage of people and the salvage of objects' form a 'visual continuum' (Edwards 2001: 164).

Other prints directly indicate the names of those photographed, including one (BM Oc,B119.52) showing Motu man Igo – likely Dunning's 'boy' who features in two wax

¹⁰ 848 at ALRC, 220 at RAIA. BM curator's note states ALRC prints were found with papers connected to Seligman. The whereabouts of glass plate negatives is unknown, as is a catalogue of Cooke Daniels images sent by Seligman (1927) to Camilla Wedgwood (the letter confirms all images were taken under Seligman's direction and asks for the catalogue to be returned). c.20 prints in the Haddon collection at MAA (not seen) may also relate to the expedition.

cylinder sound recordings¹¹ – posing as Strong photographs him, Dunning apparently photographing them both. Images also cover a range of subjects including landscapes and manufacturing sequences, men and women occasionally displaying objects now in the Cooke Daniels collections. While Seligman often published images taken by others – notably Barton and LMS missionary Rev. Henry Dauncey – Dunning made good use of the expedition images, giving lantern slide lectures, while Daniels (n.d.) used them to illustrate a diary intended for publication, written following the expedition. Extracts are slightly sensationalised, drawn in part from Seligman's notes, making use of comic vignettes – of Seligman – and popular American stereotypes. Perhaps not the scientific output Seligman had in mind. In the preface to *Melanesians*, he laments the unrealised intention to publish a series of reports, like those produced following the Torres Strait Expedition, while stressing Daniels' complete lack of input (Seligman 1910: v).

Conclusions are tentative. Plausibly distracted by his society marriage, Daniels concentrated his efforts on the two object catalogues, before re-engaging with his business interests (Barnhouse 2015: 49-51). His diary was never published and no experimental psychology results emerged. Daniels moved on. Seligman and Dunning parted on less than amicable terms, however. Dunning apparently having 'behaved badly' (Seligman 1927). Only Seligman and Strong remained close, publishing a paper together in 1906 on anthropogeography and corresponding regularly. In the coming years, Seligman would become the first faculty appointed Professor of Ethnology at the London School of Economics, and Strong, briefly, the first government anthropologist for Papua (McGee and Warms 2013: 489; Papua Lieutenant Governor 1922).

Conclusions regarding the earrings are also tentative. Both may have been made at Mailu with beads either locally produced or imported. Archaeological evidence (Shaw and Langley 2017: 150) identifies Mailu as a significant intermediary between the two trading systems of east (kula) and west (hiri). As I observe the twisted plant fibre cord used on both, the same technique is apparent,¹² yet I am struck by differences in use-wear. The cord on the Waima earring is crisp and new. The cord on the Hula earring is matted, particularly on one face where there are traces of brown pigment with flecks of white, similar to that seen on personal objects associated with mourning. The cords

¹¹ BL C62/1418 and C62/1452. The BL holds a total of 40 wax cylinders from the expedition.

¹² Cord passing twice through each bead. Note, however, that the single-bead Mailu earrings illustrated by Malinowski (referenced above), appear to suggest the cord passed only once through each bead.

weave more than one story. Seligman (1910: 491) describes the significance of turtle shell earrings in life-affirming events at Tubetube, where babies receive multiple rings before weaning: the turtle shell ‘ring is cut through at one spot... the two limbs of the circle are slightly drawn apart and placed one on each side of the lobule, they are then released and grip the tissue between them so tightly that a hole is formed’. In practice, turtle shell loop earrings, whether plain or decorated with red shell beads, were worn throughout the Massim region and South East Coast, probably throughout life – Koita brides near Port Moresby were seen to wear ‘many earrings made of turtleshell [sic]’ (Seligman 1910: 78).¹³ The quantity of valuable beads on the Waima and Hula earrings suggests these were especially prized,¹⁴ in trade as well as in life.

MATERIAL BIOGRAPHIES

Stories of objects are stories of people, the paradoxical convergence of tangled actions and experiences, fluxing identities and shifting meanings embodied in ostensibly fixed material forms. This thesis comprises a gathering of such stories, drawn from present-day (re)encounters with material objects from the Cooke Daniels collections, as well as related photographic and documentary archives, largely acquired during the 1903-04 Daniels Ethnographical Expedition to what was then British New Guinea (map 1) and is today southern Papua New Guinea (map 2). Due in part to Haddon (1895: 42) and Seligman’s (1910: 37) allegations against Central Province art – as ‘fairly uniform and uninteresting’, executed ‘by the poorest artists in the Possession’ – and more sanguine assessment of art from the Massim and Gulf regions, later studies have often favoured these latter places (for example Newton 1963; 1975; Beran 1988; Weiner 1988; Beran and Craig 2005; Bell 2006; Welsch et al 2006; Hamson and Aldridge 2009; Craig 2010; Webb 2015). And while not neglected, material culture from elsewhere in former BNG has attracted fewer studies more contextual in approach (for example Landtman 1933; Choulai and Lewis-Harris 1999; O’Hanlon 1999; May and Tuckson 2000; Hitchcock 2004; Lewis-Harris 2010; Philp 2007; Bolton et al 2013; Hermkens 2013; Lilje 2013, 2018b; Torrence and Clarke 2013; McNiven 2016; Swadling and Bence 2016. A notable

¹³ Seligman does not specify design.

¹⁴ Note white or lighter coloured beads are used in other high value items, including samakupa (bagi) at Tubetube (see BM Oc1906,1013.341) and gabaiera lime spatulae (see BM Oc1906,1013.430). Whether fossilised turtle shell had any special significance is unknown.

exception is Brunt and Thomas 2018). Hoping to advance this attention, I concentrate on objects collected from Central Province (map 3), while also crossing into Western Province and the west of Gulf Province (map 4) in pursuit of Robinson objects, which together comprise nearly half of the Cooke Daniels collections.

Tracing the relationships that entangled these objects in the field before dispersing them amongst European and Australian museums, profoundly entwining their social lives (Appadurai 1986a) with the developing discipline of anthropology, this research reflects on the way people experience and comprehend objects through collecting and museum praxis in ethnographic contexts. As well as thinking biographically (Kopytoff 1986; Gosden and Marshall 1999) about scientific and colonial collecting and resulting collections (following Thomas 1991; Herle 1998; O'Hanlon and Welsch 2000; Gosden and Knowles 2001; Henare 2005; Cochrane and Quanchi 2007; Gosden and Larson 2007; Hill 2012; Jacobs 2011; Wintle 2013; Brown 2014; Thomas 2014), here stories of objects are approached phenomenologically with emphasis on emotional, sensory and lived experience (Howes 2003; Edwards et al 2006; Dudley 2012; Brown and Phu 2014; Veys 2017; Jacobs 2019). How people engage with and think through things (Henare et al 2007) are increasingly apposite questions in the study of sociality, which continue to provoke debates around object and human agency, and relations between materials, minds and bodies (Gell 1998; Byrne et al 2011; Harrison et al 2013; Henare et al 2007; Malafouris and Renfrew 2010; Malafouris 2013, 2018; Ingold 2000; 2007; 2011a; 2011b 2013b; 2015; Basu 2017b). Accordingly, research also follows object trajectories home to Central Province through digital repatriation to examine enduring ties between persons and things, and how these are materialised in contemporary PNG.

Mindful of the need for an approach capable of traversing this fluid multiplicity of objects, voices, times and places, I am interested to explore the way objects transform our sense of time and space, allowing us to coexist, however fleetingly, with narratives beyond our own. While anthropology, as already remarked upon, has been culpable in what Fabian (1983: 31 *italics omitted*) calls the 'denial of coevalness', the placement of contemporary Others in another time and space, my intention is not to create distance but to acknowledge measures of collapse – shifts in timespace that reveal agencies and stories from the past through shared engagement with material objects in the present. As a former museum collections assistant, the actions of turning an object over in my

hands, identifying materials, and relating what I have come to know, often echo those of past museum practitioners, researchers and collectors, who once encountered that same object. How we engage with the material past, and how our own past experiences shape contemporary understandings is at issue here. Notwithstanding our attempts to conserve materials in museums, sometimes chemically slowing their decay, objects are neither static nor resist reinterpretation. Certain earlier meanings are recoverable and despite separation of timespace and circumstance, shared sensate engagements can reveal glimpses of past praxis and decision making, while stimulating new approaches to thinking about and questioning historic museum collections (Hooper-Greenhill 2000: 50; Hooper 2012).

Motivated by the more sensory aspects of collections work, I previously considered how behind-the-scenes object-person relations in museums develop knowledge about collections through discursive and non-discursive practices (Donoghue 2013). In this study, I draw on these insights to develop a broader analysis that foregrounds objects' field lives, advancing the notion that my own experiences of encounter and praxis – in museum stores and archives, and in Central Province – can engender and make visible narratives – often obscure, forgotten or undervalued – fundamental to understanding the formation of the Cooke Daniels collections, and their later reception. As a result, I take a more heuristic approach, not only to the collections, but also to their attendant practices – making, performing, exchanging, collecting, classifying and researching – to ask how such practices enact knowledge production and meaning-making through material engagement. Understood in the context of Lambros Malafouris' (2013; 2019) Material Engagement Theory, persons and things are considered active and reciprocal agents in collecting and museum praxis: collaborators in the co-creation of the Cooke Daniels collections and collections knowledge (see discussion in chapter 2).

Given the autobiographical proclivities of this research and its inevitable attention on past colonial agencies, such ontological equivalence is a necessary guard against the privileging of Euro-American voices: verbal, sensory and material explications of how New Guineans experience their own lives (Hoskins 1998) and identities are equally central to the stories told here.¹⁵ As writer Barry Lopez (1998: 13) notes, stories offer

¹⁵ I refer to the Western categories of personal and collective identity, which I seek to problematise and discuss, see Linnekin and Poyer (1990b).

‘patterns of sound and association, of event and image’ through which memory might be embraced and life reimagined. What meanings and values material objects held for New Guineans in the past, and how they shaped identity, status and social relations, sit in tension with present-day collection encounters, emerging as experiential patterns of difference, absence, and spatiotemporal collapse that together weave new patterns of understanding and experience. However, ontological tensions are also at work, as any ‘coeval’ (Fabian 1983: 31)¹⁶ entwining of lives past and present, human and non-human, runs counter to the polarising Cartesianism inherent in the evolutionism that I seek to explore.

This ongoing ‘discourse of alterity’ (Thomas 1991: 3) is perhaps best reflected in the work of Tim Ingold, particularly his argument in *The Life of Lines* (2015), which draws on the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze (2001) and his collaboration with Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus* (2013). Whilst the scope of these works is too great to consider in depth, I use their main tenets to frame a particular ontological and temporal position that I call copresence. Distinct from the noun/adjective coeval in Fabian’s (1983) construction, copresent is a transitive verb, presenting two or more things simultaneously. It serves two purposes here. The first accommodates the notion that two ways of being arise together in the same moment. Deleuze and Guattari (2013) describe these as the root and the rhizome – the former referencing the dichotomous evolutionary tree, the latter its opposite, a multiplicity of potential new growth. Following this, Ingold (2015; 2013b) defines a position akin to a network, an assemblage of static parts *and* straight interconnected lines – of subjects *and* objects – versus a rhizomatic ‘meshwork’ of ontologically equivalent lines that grow and tangle *with* one another. While persuaded by Ingold’s conviction that we join *with* others in the meshwork, I also discuss a case for *and* that complicates relations between the two copresent models, such that positions *with/and either/or* depend on one’s mode of attention – or *ontological directionality* – (Ingold 2015; McGilchrist 2009; 2019b). Playing on such tensions is intended as a foil to overly simplistic assumptions concerning ‘the imposition of the West upon the rest’ (Thomas 1991: 83), framing more complex questions about the expedition’s collecting experiences and motivations.

¹⁶ Fabian defines coeval as simultaneity and contemporaneity with others in time and space capturing the German notion of *Gleichzeitigkeit* (see Bunzl 2014: xxvii n1).

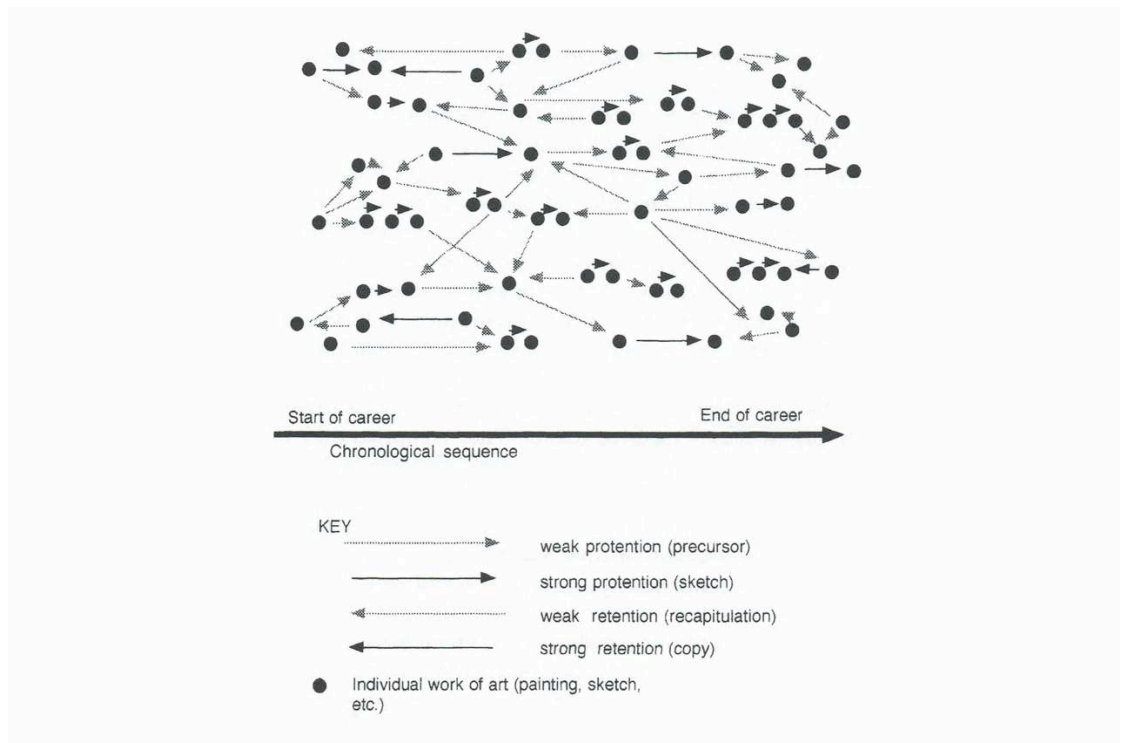


Figure 1.5

‘The artist’s *oeuvre* as a distributed object’, after Gell (1998: 235, Fig. 9.4/1).

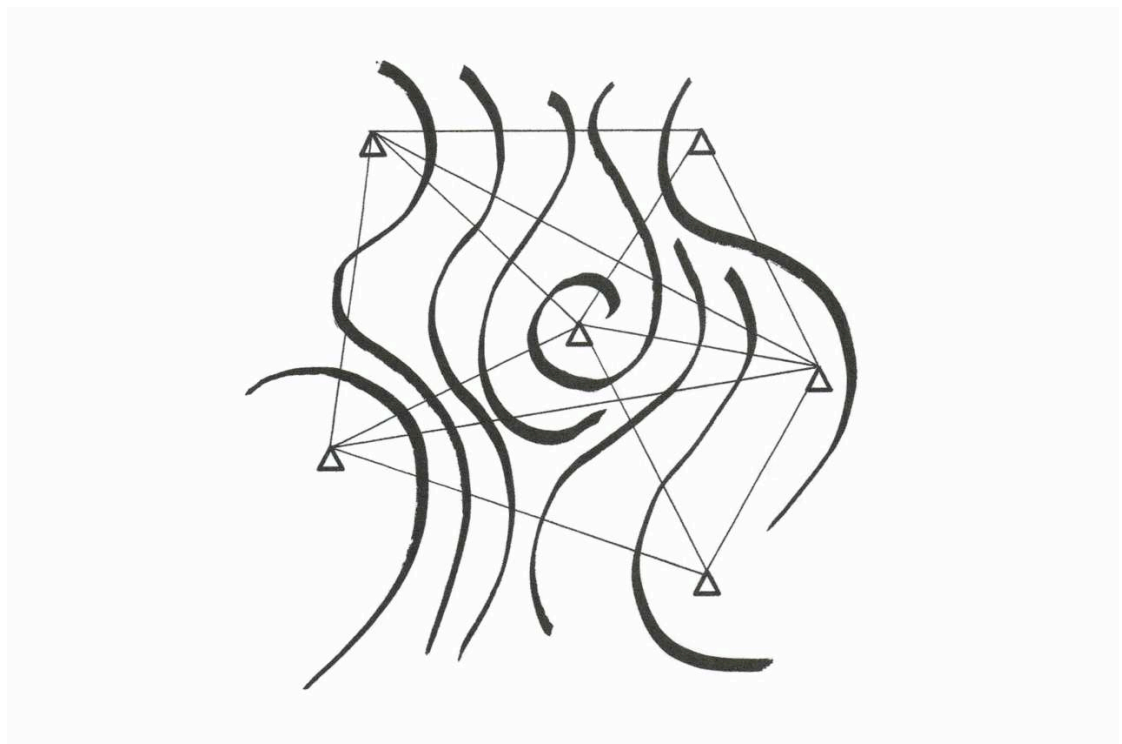


Figure 1.6

‘Articulate and personal knowledge. Personal knowledge swirls around and amidst the fixed points that articulate knowledge joins up’, after Ingold (2015: 149, Figure 29.2).

The second use of copresence accommodates biographical experiences; the more or less explicit tensions and collapses in timespace that occur through engagements with material objects, images of objects or surrogate objects (Macfarlane 2012: 362; Hoskins 1998).¹⁷ Biographies are typically understood as linear life histories, accumulations of identities and meanings – inherent in objects, their associated practices or those who engage with them – that reveal past agency (Gosden and Marshall 1999; Hoskins 2006; Joy 2009). However, as Jody Joy (2009: 544) suggests, we might also tap into particular biographical moments theorised as ‘connected jumps’ in timespace. Alfred Gell (1998: 234, 256) notably conceived of the artist’s oeuvre as a distributed object capable of engendering a ‘distinctive distribution of retentional and protentional relations’ – memories and imaginings – depending on one’s ‘temporal (and spatial) points of vantage’. In this way, a network of lines hold explicit biographical moments in tension as they crisscross chronological time (figure 1.5). Not denying such cognitive leaps, we might also experience collapses in timespace as we become absorbed in a particular task or sensorially engaged with a particular object. As Ingold (2007: 119 original emphasis) envisages, past and present intertwine such that ‘the past is *with* us as we press into the future’. From this forwards coign of vantage in the meshwork, ‘retracing the trails of predecessors’ is a means of coming to know for ourselves, imaginings roaming ahead into the unfamiliar, while memories in the form of preexisting knowledge and skill follow closely behind, implicit in action – ‘Thus’, Ingold writes, ‘all imagining is remembering’ (2015: 136, 140-41 italics omitted).

It is this kind of collapse that defines Ingold’s ontological position. Eduardo Kohn (2013: 15) observes how studies ‘concerned with nonhumans have often tried to overcome the familiar Cartesian divide’ by hybridising or reducing the poles of subject and object ‘to [one or] the other’. Ingold (2015: 124, 141) negates both positions, replacing subjects and objects with verbs, to argue for only one way of being; not as assemblages of retrospective parts (subjects and objects), but as proactive lines (verbs) that entangle and knot along pathways in the middle of things. Of course, as Ingold (2015: 144) also acknowledges, life is lived both ways. Of ultimate concern is directionality. Life from

¹⁷ Capturing this sentiment, Macfarlane describes a ‘feeling of co-presence’ as he walks alongside Mesolithic footprints at Formby, an uncanny experience wherein ‘it is unclear who walks in whose tracks’. In Hoskins’ account, objects act as surrogates for people, here they are surrogates for other objects.

the direction of the network – *retrospective copresence* – leads to a Cartesian *either/or*, a representation of life lived in the meshwork inducing abstraction and detachment. Life from the direction of the meshwork – *prospective copresence* – is lived *with* other beings as we dynamically shift toward and away from the network to define more explicit understandings about our experiences, a position of *with/and* that always returns us to the flow of life (analogous to figure 1.6).

My concern here is that Ingold pushes his model too far, conflating *either/or/and* to sustain his objections against agency, which he defines as an abstracted form of action (Ingold 2008; 2011a). Having no such axe to grind, and no desire to disregard feelings of agency and causality, I seek a broader perspective more akin with Kohn's (2013: 41) contention that overcoming Cartesianism need not 'do away with representation (and by extension telos, intentionality, "aboutness"...)'.

Objects engender a plethora of responses, from awe and wonder to disgust and indifference, depending on one's point of vantage, which may be culturally or physically close, or (literally oceans) distant (cf. Thomas 2016: 96), encouraging retrospective reflection and comparison, beside efforts to imagine who made or engaged with the objects, for what purpose, when and where. Although I advocate paying close attention to material things from the direction of the meshwork, Ingold's argument for existential collapse (a position of *with* only) also has important biographical consequences. Defining life in the meshwork according to the Deleuzian aspiration for 'a life' ('impersonal and anonymous' (de Beistegui 2010: 194)), Ingold denies any 'levels of transcendence' – displacement toward *and* – such that '*the* life' (packed with biographical moments) is 'dissolved or placed in abeyance' (Ingold 2015: 143-44, 152). As philosopher Miguel de Beistegui (2010: 194) writes, *the* life 'of those we refer to with proper names, are all instances of transcendence'; displacements I embrace as I seek out the 'biographical particularities' of both particular objects and particular persons (Ingold 2015: 143).

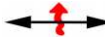
Prospective copresence is not the reduction of all things to subjects *and* objects, nor is copresence only a conceit for problematising the dualities of us and them, human and non-human, past and present. As a verb, it captures the directionality of the meshwork while its transitive nature can admit multiple objects, accommodating multiple biographies and the sense of being present with them, prompting occasional use of the present tense as 'grammatical temporality' (Bunzl 2014: xxiii), at once closing distance

and reinforcing its juxtaposition. A tension inherent in many object encounters – the apparently crisp and new fibre cord on an old earring, briefly adorning my hand, and not the ear it was made for. Like many words and terms, copresence also carries some academic baggage. Taken initially from the work of philosopher George Herbert Mead (2015) to capture co-operation between people, it is now used to frame ‘the physical conditions in which human individuals interact and the perceptions and feelings they have of one another’ exclusive of non-humans (Zhao 2003: 446). My use of the term came about independently of this work, and extends beyond it in the inclusion of non-humans, yet, it is helpful to retain the sense ‘of “being there”, remotely or virtually and with or without others’ this meaning expresses apropos copresent biographies (Zhao 2003: 453). In this case, copresence grew out of reading the work of neuropsychiatrist and literary theorist Iain McGilchrist (2009; 2019b), who presents an innovative take on simultaneity as it arises in our own bodies. ‘The brain’ McGilchrist (2009: 9) writes, is ‘a metaphor of the world’.

Premised on the lateralised brain of humans (and numerous other species, such as birds), McGilchrist (2019a: 404; 2009: 227; 2010) theorises that ‘below the threshold of consciousness’ the two different hemispheres underwrite an ontological or attentional asymmetry, in which the right hemisphere has priority over the left hemisphere. While ‘mutually incompatible’, both hemispheres are necessarily involved ‘simultaneously’ to permit a detailed understanding of the whole (gestalt) – the left hemisphere deriving a ‘piecemeal attention that helps us to make use of the world’ from the right, which ‘sub-serves a broad, open attention that enables us to see ourselves connected to... whatever is other than ourselves’ (McGilchrist 2019b: 14). In other words, the left hemisphere – analogous to the network in terms of its representational linearity, built up from static bits and pieces (McGilchrist 2009: 194-95) – arises out of and is dependent on the right hemisphere – analogous to the meshwork as it ‘presences’ embodied experience as an organic, flowing whole (McGilchrist 2019b: 17-18). *How* we pay attention – from which direction – defines our relationship with the world.¹⁸

Although Ingold (2015: 132-33) advances much the same contention, expressing the former as *intention* (reflection) and the latter as *attention* (presence), by dissolving the

¹⁸ Note McGilchrist (see 2019a) theorises *how* the hemispheres characterise experience, not *what* the hemispheres do and that distinctions are not absolute.

marks of *the* life in order to replace intentionality (agency), his position of existential collapse obfuscates the necessary work of the left hemisphere and its capacity to grasp and elucidate.¹⁹ Admitting (non-Cartesian) duality, McGilchrist (2018: xxiv; 2019b: 23; 2009: 177-78) permits a case for *both/and* in which ‘subject and object are held in a suspension that embraces each potential “pole” and their togetherness, together’. The left hemisphere alone reduces everything to a Cartesian *either/or* (McGilchrist 2018: xxiv), arguably the danger of pursuing life through the network. However, what McGilchrist grants as right hemisphere attention, is in fact the *and* of Ingold’s model; a take on betweenness that Ingold counters with in-betweenness (cf. Deleuze and Guattari 2013). A property of the network, *between* is a liminal ‘double-headed arrow’ that suspends ‘two terminals’  converting ‘lines and movements of growth [into] boundaries of containment’, an ‘inversion’ that separates mind from matter (Ingold 2015: 147, 74; 2011a: 70, 210). A property of the meshwork, *in-between* requires no such inversion. It is a ‘transversal movement’ (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 27) that intersects *between* at right angles , lines weaving in one direction ‘but with no final destination’, no terminals, and no separation – ‘Things *are* their relations’ (Ingold 2015: 147; 2011a: 70 original emphasis). Networks, stresses Ingold, are assemblages of ‘and... and... and’, meshworks ‘sympathies of’ ‘with... with... with’, a relation he terms ‘correspondence’ (2015: 23; 2013b: 103-08).

Figuratively drawn from the act of exchanging letters, correspondence *with* others in the meshwork is a sentient movement forwards in ‘real time’ entwining human and (non-)human ‘along concurrent paths’ in simultaneous ‘counterpoint’ ; like following the ‘lines of feeling’ and traces of gesture on the page as one reads *with* their respondent (as opposed to just ‘*about*’ them), each correspondent always awaiting the other’s reply (Ingold 2013b: 105; 2014: 389). ‘To correspond with the world’, contends Ingold (2013b: 108 italics omitted) is not to ‘represent it, but to answer to it’. Implicit in this relation is a particular ‘way of knowing from the inside’, which Ingold (2013b: 5 italics omitted, 109-11) weaves into an analogy with what philosopher Michael Polanyi (1962: 66-67) terms personal knowledge; something ‘discovered’ for ourselves through ‘skilful doing and skilful knowing’. However, as Polanyi observes (1962: 172), personal

¹⁹ I deliberately conflate McGilchrist and Ingold’s metaphors to emphasise that aspects of the network hold value. Mediated by the left hemisphere, grasp is compromised if that part of the brain is damaged (McGilchrist 2009: 55). Grasp requires focus, ‘precision and fixity’ (McGilchrist 2009: 115).

knowledge is often aided by the explicit rules and procedures of articulated knowledge *about* it, returning us to questions of transcendence and McGilchrist's simultaneous (but asymmetric) duality.

Figure 1.6 illustrates Ingold's (2015: 148-49) conception of Polanyi's forms of knowledge: 'articulate knowledge is *between*; personal knowledge *in-between*', such that the latter 'streams around and amidst the fixed points that the former joins up'. As I noted above, this might also illustrate a model of copresence, the network suspended within the meshwork, arising from it as per McGilchrist's (2009: 177) attentional asymmetry – 'beginning in the right hemisphere, passing through the realm of the left hemisphere somewhere in the middle, and returning to that of the right hemisphere'. Getting stuck in the middle seems to be the issue, however – and not just for McGilchrist. Paul Basu (2017a: 12 original emphasis), introducing an edited volume on 'inbetweenness', tries to accommodate both ways of being placing himself 'between *between* and *in-between*' only to describe, as does McGilchrist, a position of between. Markedly for McGilchrist (2009), much of what he attributes to the right hemisphere defines in-betweenness, the crux of his argument being that left hemisphere attention has now come to dominate Western ontology. Ingold is of course accurate in conflating *either/or/and* in the sense that betweenness can only ultimately lead to *either/or* if attention is not returned to the right hemisphere, displacing intention (McGilchrist 2009: 219; Ingold 2015: 133). This turns the model inside out, creating hylomorphism – the imposition of 'forms internal to the mind upon a material world "out there"' (Ingold 2013b: 21). Figure 1.6 might then be read vice versa: the meshwork a representation suspended in the network.

Following Ingold (2015: 132-33), this copresent suspension admits dynamic shifts in attention that displace as well as dissolve, though such movements are never absolute (McGilchrist 2009: 10). Collapse can only ever be fleeting, as we are always 'narrowing things down' to help us 'grasp' the point, transcending toward the *and* of *between*, even if this is as illusory as our sense of seamless experience (Rowson and McGilchrist 2013: 14). Directionality matters. Birri Gubba and Kungalu/Gangulu Murri artist Teila Watson (2017) observes the way Murri people face forwards 'looking to the future', whereas 'White Australia is often moving towards the future while facing backwards'. Expressing how the past collapses for Aboriginal Australians (who do not look back to speak the names of their dead, unlike the Maori who look back to recite their lineage),

white Australia looks back from the direction of the network, only to be caught in its own reflection. Inverted, the future is thus a ‘stochastic sequence of moves’ backwards ‘à travers les ages’: the ‘denial of coevalness’ (Ingold 2015: 131; Seligman 1904d; Fabian 1983: 31 italics omitted). Reorienting us *in-between*, Ingold importantly puts us in the middle of things to correspond prospectively with the world. Indeed, as McGilchrist (2018: xxvi) cautions, the ‘left hemisphere is a wonderful servant, but a very poor master’.

Colonialism and the evolutionary science that fostered the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition undeniably ‘faced’ backwards – a problem, as Watson (2017) highlights, still ongoing – the expedition’s attention caught in the reflection of what they thought they already knew. Evincing stereotypical scientific practices, they impulsively carried away material and verbal facts, often apathetic of their lived context (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1990; Gosden and Larson 2007), making short itinerant visits to villages; interviewing inhabitants; leaving swiftly with traded objects. However, life is lived both ways. Seeking copresent biographies, this thesis argues for a more nuanced reading that explores both attentional and intentional displacements engendered through Western and New Guinean encounter. From touching objects to watching dance performances, the expedition’s more participatory experiences reveal more situated collecting practices, while more abstracted practices reveal moments of reflection in New Guinean lives generally lived in correspondence.

THINGS IN CORRESPONDENCE

A number of studies (for example, Barth 1975; Munn 1986; Mackenzie 1991; Küchler 2002; Were 2010; Hermkens 2013) have drawn attention to the way Melanesian knowledge or emotional experience can be expressed materially or through acts of making. Fredrik Barth describes how during mourning, Baktaman women wear their deceased mothers’ taro scraper as a sensory mnemonic, recalling the sounds the scrapers once made to evoke feelings of sadness and loss (1975: 230; also see Boivin 2008: 120-21). Similarly, Maureen MacKenzie notes how neighbouring Telefol women ‘like to think of the recipient as they loop’ when bilum making, literally entwining expressions of love or sorrow into latticeworks of finely spun fibre threads (1991: 155 n8). Closed looping prevents unravelling, thus maker and recipient are caught in a web of material

relations that can extend even beyond the recipient's death when threads are reworked into mourning garments (MacKenzie 1991: 2, 154). In the Koita village of Kouderika, where I was privy to the weaving of a headdress from cotton fibre and seagull feather (MAA 2016.90) by Elder Orira Audabi, the use of specific designs – club suit insignia for Motu Koita 'front men' during dance performance²⁰ – and colours – black feathers for widows – make visible aspects of one's identity and status (cf. Lewis-Harris 2010). As I closely observe Orira's skilled and fluid movements, his hands only momentarily fumbling when under pressure to show me his technique (securing feathers by passing a weaving string, in various formations, over two tension strings tied between his waist and toe (figure 1.7)),²¹ I am struck by his capacity to convey meaning.

'[T]elling is a practice of correspondence' remarks Ingold (2013b: 111), challenging Polanyi's (1962: 90-91) implied notion that what is tacit remains unspoken. What Orira has to tell is conveyed through both the subtlety of verbal stories and the performative qualities of making as praxis – through weaving Orira's bodily movements become his 'way of "writing" information and knowledge' (Farnell and Wood 2011: 97). Although notions of embodiment (first proposed by Mauss 1973; later established by Merleau-Ponty 1962; Bourdieu 1977; Turner 2008) conceive a socio-cultural body, this physical and static body has fallen prey to Cartesian dualism, separating it from a mind equally at work in its environment (see discussion in Farnell 1994; Ingold 2015: 148, 152 n3). I am concerned here to explore a more situated body, intimately tied to mind and world (Clark 1998), where 'meanings are appreciated as a whole, at once' – through the right hemisphere – in more or less implicit terms (McGilchrist 2009: 116, 179). For Orira, to speak of headdresses is also to think and move *with* his environment: where and how to catch a seagull in the mangroves, how to prepare feathers and roll cotton fibres on the thigh; while to weave is also to speak in more than verbal terms: the action of the weaving string moving between two tension strings echoing the choreography of various Motu Koita dances (see figure 4.2); the resulting pattern of vertical and horizontal stitches, visible along the forehead band, echoing the practices Orira learned from his father together with his own idiosyncratic techniques (figure 1.8).

²⁰ The club suit is popular in Porebada and Kouderika on large-framed tubuka feather headdresses.

²¹ The full process of making sisidara headdress MAA 2010.90 is discussed in Donoghue (2017).



Figure 1.7

Orira Audabi weaving feather headdress MAA 2016.90 at his home, with Dairi Aura. 19 October 2015. Kouderika, Central Province. Black and white still from film footage shot by author.



Figure 1.8

Woven band on MAA 2016.90. Photo by author.

In this respect, what is explicitly available to consciousness is not the same as what is consciously explicit. As Maurice Bloch (2012: 125-40) explains, our more accessible narrative self, from where we speak *with* experience, forms a continuum with deeper levels of more implicit and increasingly less accessible knowledge; the more explicit we make things, the closer we come to speaking about them. However, this move toward explicitness is distinct from meta-representations – envisaged as a mirror image of the continuum – from where conscious, explicit articulations *about* things are constructed (Bloch 2012: 131).²² Galen Strawson (2004: 430-32) recognises these phenomenological distinctions in what he calls ‘Episodics’ and ‘Diachronics’, people whose temporal self-experience significantly differ such that for the former ‘the past can be present or alive in the present’ – resonating with Ingold’s sentiments discussed above – thus collapsing what is for the latter an evolving narrative made up of ‘parts of’ their lives. Of course, such distinctions are not ‘absolute’ and are ‘found across all cultures’, a person’s ‘exact position’ varying ‘over time’ (Strawson 2004: 431). Nonetheless, as Bloch (2012: 134), discussing Strawson, and Ingold (2013b: 111) agree, to articulate something is to lose something of the meaning of it. Discerning consciousness and meta-consciousness is more a matter of ‘knowing from the inside’ (Ingold 2013b: 5, 111).

As Orira has come to know headdresses for himself, through years of conscious and careful attention, entwining his ‘perception and action’ with the land and its materials, this project is my own attempt at ‘correspondence’ (Ingold 2014: 389 italics omitted); coming to know the object collections, their collectors, makers, users and descendants for myself, to bring new knowledge and stories to the fore. To correspond here is to do so copresently however, moving prospectively toward explicitness from the direction of the meshwork while simultaneously admitting agency and biographical detail – ‘A process that resists, but does not negate’, as one model informs the other to permit a ‘dialectical synthesis’ from which something new can arise (McGilchrist 2009: 91). To this effect, I also draw on studies similarly prone to such concessions and equally tangled with projects of anthropology, phenomenology, cognitive science, materiality and biography, as well as acknowledging the challenges posed by museum taxonomisation – the tendency to reduce things to categories, prompting meta-reflection (Bloch 2012:

²² My use of, and emphasis on, *with* and *about* following Ingold (2013b; 2014). Bloch (2012: 130) highlights debate over whether the narrative self also includes meta-cognition. See figure 2.6 and discussion in chapter 2.

178). To preclude turning the model inside out, I make a case for paying attention to persons and things in ethnographic and museum research that seeks to collapse time-space through sensate experience. This begins with participant observation, originally established by Malinowski's intensive fieldwork in the Trobriands more than a decade after the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition; discarding the survey approach favoured by Haddon and Seligman for a mode of analysis dependent on cultural immersion (see Kuper 1983).

While the majority of this research unfolded in storerooms, time spent with Orira epitomised my three-month visit to Central Province from August to November 2015, where I lived in the city of Port Moresby before moving to the Motu Koita village of Porebada (journeying to villages elsewhere, including neighbouring Kouderika, as the opportunity arose).²³ Though my stay was all too brief (an issue I return to presently), the days spent with Motu, Koita, Waima, Vula'a, and Sepik men and women, in village homes and city spaces, were immersive days spent attending to everyday life and practice. Usually carrying my digital recorder, camera or notebook, I watched, listened and learned, at times participating (with varying degrees of success), always with consent. Challenging common perceptions of ethnographic encounter, Ingold (2014) redefines participant observation as a practice of correspondence. To 'observe is not to objectify' he writes, but 'to be present', not in the sense of a reciprocal 'back-and-forth' *between* two parties,²⁴ but as reciprocity in common, a conversation of 'alternating tension and resolution'  with one another to coproduce knowledge (Ingold 2014: 387-89; 2018a: 26-27; 2015: 23). Though some encounters took the shape of formal interviews, there were no predetermined questions, discussions and experiences resolved around images of Cooke Daniels objects,²⁵ as well as copies of photographs and film taken by the expedition. Responses were informal, varied and often spontaneous: dances, songs, stories, feathers, lime gourds, palm leaves, rice and photographs are to name but a few.

Such moments of resolution or collapse with one another permitted the beginnings of shared understandings that I convey in later chapters. However, photographs have

²³ My fieldwork itinerary is given in appendix D.

²⁴ Ingold is critiquing intersubjectivity, suggesting it turns the model inside out so anthropologists are encouraged to write *about* others rather than work *with* them (also see Ingold 2015: 151).

²⁵ Colour photographs, some of which were displayed on posters made in collaboration with Nicolas Garnier at UPNG as part of the Arts of PNG project, which I discuss in chapter 5. See Figure 2.1.

‘an incompleteness and unknowability’ (Edwards 2001: 5) that can complicate already subjective responses to visual representations. In the absence of the collections themselves, select images on crisp coloured backgrounds without reference to size, texture or other more sensuous qualities sometimes resisted interpretation (cf. Gell 1998: 71), risking disjuncture between visual explanation and sensory experience, imagined or remembered. As a cognitive study into human memory has revealed, participants shown real-world three-dimensional objects perform tasks of recall and recognition far better than when shown colour photographs of the same things (Snow et al 2014). Tensions between three-dimensional things and two-dimensional representations can become a productive way of exploring what value Papua New Guineans place on material things and any associated knowledge (Brown 2014: 29), while also raising questions about the significance material engagement has for understanding past and present agencies.

That objects and museum collections contain Indigenous agency is well understood (see Gell 1998; O’Hanlon 1989; O’Hanlon and Welsch 2000; Byrne et al 2011; Harrison et al 2013), just as museum spaces are recognised as a ‘contact zone’ (Clifford 1997) or ‘field site’ (Herle 2000) where knowledge and identity can be actively negotiated (also see Macdonald 2002). Given the constraints posed by doctoral research, spaces where Papua New Guineans could engage with the Cooke Daniels collections have to date all been located outside museums or in the digital space of social media.²⁶ Although this has opened the collections to new contextualisations and interpretations less inhibited by curatorial narratives or Eurocentric classifications, physical distance has doubtless compromised understandings, even for those ‘already in the know’ (Thomas 2016: 97). Speaking at a seminar at MAA about her experiences of making a kuri dog skin cloak, Maori artist and museum practitioner Keren Ruki (2017) stressed how vital museum collections are as a source of ancestral knowledge (echoing Herle 1998: 101-02). Cloaks in museum collections were her teachers: close and careful observation culminated in the production of her own cloak, reawakening and revitalising knowledge and practice that might otherwise have been forgotten. For Ruki, connection to culture and family, her own whakapapa,²⁷ and that of other weavers and cloaks, charged encounters and experiences with profound emotion and personal meaning. I reflect on this further in

²⁶ Largely Facebook and Messenger. Museum online catalogues have played a lesser role, as these can be difficult for people to access on their mobile phones.

²⁷ Genealogy, lineage.

chapter 5, noting how Papua New Guineans often responded to images with surrogate objects – a means of making present absent relations.

As a researcher with less intimate ties to the collections studied here, being present with Papua New Guineans is one side of a balanced approach that necessarily includes the collections themselves. In storerooms, more than in any other museum space, our conversations with objects are more sensual and bodily: we can not only look, but also touch, smell and even listen to objects and the materials they comprise. Fibres rustle. Scents linger: musky and bitter tobacco on a New Guinean bamboo smoking pipe. In Western contexts, preoccupations with sight can often eclipse non-visual experiences (Howes 2003: XII) to the point where they go virtually unnoticed (Miller 1987; 2005). However, they too can affect our comprehension in direct and tangible ways. Whether an object is graspable and offers ‘monocular cues to 3D shape, such as surface texture’ has been shown to affect neural responses (Snow et al 2014). In this way, our ‘tactile capacities’ can prompt us to ask ‘what kind of thing is that?’ (Goodwin 2010: 103-04). The textured feel and weight of wood in the hand can be suggestive of use (is there any patina? How heavy is it?) or processes of manufacturing (has the grain been followed? Are there any tool marks?). Not only indicative of a dry and sometimes brittle texture, the rustle of palm leaves layered through a fibre skirt can also hint at other possibilities (the swish of movement during dance or everyday wear), prompting questions (what value might that sound give the skirt? What meaning might it have to the wearer?). As Steven Hooper (2012: 44) remarks, objects ‘can be the basis for plausible propositions about the intentions and contexts of the actors who made and used them’. If we are to correspond with New Guinean makers and users both past and present, we must also pay attention to our own ‘sensory awareness’ (Ingold 2013b: 111), and the information and knowledge this reveals.

In this way, my own multi-sensory encounters with the Cooke Daniels collections form the basis of the stories told here. Standard research visits of one or two days to the PRM, HM and AM allowed a brief study of at least half the (less than 200) objects held by each institution. At MAA, conversely, which holds a similar number of Cooke Daniels objects, and where I previously worked, the combination of a grant from the Crowther Beynon fund and supervised store access made it possible to study their collection in full. A comparable level of access was also possible at the BM where I was a

collections volunteer for the duration of the project, and where the majority of the Cooke Daniels collections are located. A full breakdown of the collections are given in appendix A and I discuss how they were dispersed and organised in chapter 5. Much of my research has focused on reconstructing and reuniting the exceptional standard of cataloguing and labelling achieved by Daniels and Seligman in the field. As is often the case, processes of time and museum practice have detached labels and reorganised objects, fieldnotes and photographs according to institutional categories. Whilst these new relations have elided some past connections and stories, the work of reactivating the collections has helped to illuminate some of the processes and people that formed and shaped them (Thomas 2011: 14).

Drawing on the work of Alfred Gell (1998), I have argued elsewhere that museum documents and objects might be considered distributed parts of collections, consisting of layers or events that record object-person interactions. Despite conceptual tensions with correspondence, each layer nonetheless indexes an object's cumulative agency as understood and expressed through the minds and actions of those who have formerly encountered it (Donoghue 2013: 13). We confront these layers in the fabric of objects, on labels and in museum database entries during the course of research, and our own experiences of encounter add new layers and new conclusions. Museums – 'mediated by the digital and historical infrastructures of ethnographic documentation' (Turner 2016: 174) – are constitutive of how and what we choose to document.

With this in mind, I created a relational database that not only captures the raw data museums require to successfully manage their collections – photographs, description, measurements, material identification, provenance – but also my research impressions and ideas – a sort of digital notebook. Each entry is dated, so I can look back through a specific record and see how my understanding of an object has changed over time, as I have encountered other layers and gained new understandings. Aside from informing this thesis, my approach also culminates in a more conventional-style report for each object,²⁸ with two object images, museum-critical data, and research observations that form the catalogue at appendix F. Included are the views of Papua New Guineans, who together considered some 260 Central Province objects. In the case of MAA and the

²⁸ Generated from my Filemaker Pro database as a PDF using a template created for this project.

BM, information in appendix F is being added directly to museum records,²⁹ many of which lacked photographs or data more recent than the digitisation of original 1905-06 accession entries. I explore the implications of taxonomisation further in the next chapter. Here, it is sufficient to note that while my descriptions and presentation necessarily reflect the requirements of each institution, as with other discursive accounts, they also express a patterning of layers: attempts at making sense of objects and other people's experiential object encounters.

Similarly inspired by Gell's (1998) *Art and Agency*, John Harries (2017) has astutely explored how touch can connect us to an absent other, challenging our perception of time as linear such that the past feels – physically and psychologically – immanent in the present. Gell's theory turns on Peircean semiotics and the 'avowedly phenomenological' (Knappett 2005: 126) notion of the index, a visible and, in Gell's formulation, physical thing, from which a 'causal inference... about the intentions or capabilities of another person' can be drawn through a 'cognitive operation' Gell calls 'the abduction of agency' (1998: 13 italics omitted). Critical to my conception of layers and Harries' notion of touching the past is the way the index operates, not as a representation, but, as a fundamental part of the thing itself (Chua and Elliott 2013: 8). Despite being paradoxically absent, agencies are indexical: they can inhere and accumulate within things (and their distributed parts). Pursuing an argument similar to my own, Harries views abduction as a process of tactile discovery,³⁰ rather than – as Gell typically argues – a visual inference of past intentionality (Donoghue 2013: 8, 16-17; Harries 2017: 124). It is through touch (and I would argue other senses too) that we share a uniquely human bodily experience, momentarily collapsing difference (Harries 2017: 125). Holding an object 'the agency of the thing no longer lies in the "abduction" of a ghostly hand that once sometime before made and used this artefact, but it lies in our hand, in our sensuous realization of the peculiar qualities of this material' (Harries 2017: 125). In this way, Harries overcomes Gell's unhelpful distinction between primary and secondary agents (see Gell 1998: 36-37): inferences about past agencies inherent in an object are abducted through our own experiences of an object's materiality in the present, not by looking through (secondary) objects in search of a primary agent. In the next chapter,

²⁹ MAA data is available online and the BM data will eventually become available as part of Collections Online. Photographs and data were shared with other museums during research visits.

³⁰ Gell (1998: 32, 66) does suggest agency might be abducted by touch but does not develop the idea.

I explore how Material Engagement Theory (Malafouris 2013) develops these ideas, as tension in-between materials and bodily experiences coproduce collections knowledge and stories.

Attempting to make sense of other people's experiences in this more reciprocal and bodily way has become, for me, conscious practice, a particular way of paying attention to objects that intertwines non-discursive and discursive practice – reflecting as well as contributing to museums' growing documentation and collections knowledge. Beyond the museum however, bodily praxis also has wider phenomenological implications for knowledge production. Writing of his experiences staying with the Kuranko in Sierra Leone, Michael Jackson (1983: 340) describes 'putting [him]self in the place of another person: inhabiting their world' as a deliberate means of making sense of alterity. Planning for fieldwork in PNG, it seemed obvious that I might gain a better understanding of the expedition's collecting practices if I made a collection myself.

In figure 1.9, expedition members examine objects for trade: Strong stands in the centre running his hands over a barkcloth beater while Daniels holds a hafted axe at its base, apparently considering its weight and feel. What kinds of judgements were they making? What made those objects significant to collect (or not)? The objects are too small to identify from the photograph. In the store, running my hand over beaters in the collection, I draw inferences about quality, use-wear, incised textures and patterns of potential interest. But what was happening in that moment of trade? Just how much agency did the expedition actually have when it came to accepting or rejecting objects? What kinds of relationships developed during usually brief encounters and what were the implications for collecting practices? What 'common ground' (Jackson 1983: 340) might I discover if I place myself in similar circumstances? I noted above the brevity of my stay in Central Province: this was my own attempt to correspond with expedition members through 'precept and practice' (Ingold 2014: 387) – following in the brevity of their footsteps. Fittingly, the Crowther Beynon grant I received also included funds to make a small contemporary collection of objects for MAA from Central Province (see appendix E), affording a wealth of experience on which to draw. This allows me to reflect, in chapter 3, on the relationships I formed in the field and the extent of my own agency as a collector, insights that help to illuminate the expedition's experiences and subsequent collecting practices.

THESIS OVERVIEW

Of course, it would be naïve and incongruous to suggest that simply using our bodies as others do (Jackson 1983: 340) – whether immersing ourselves through movement, touch, smell, sound, sight, or even taste – can make possible a direct recovery of Other personal or cultural experience. Jackson’s position has been critiqued for ‘reduc[ing] cultural body to biological organism’ (Farnell 1994: 937) – Cartesian reductionism – a conflation that risks Eurocentric understandings of meaning and misunderstandings across timespace.³¹ At issue is the ‘ontological nature of mnemonic experience’ and how ‘shared human understandings’ or recollections produce meaning-making in the context of material engagement (Harries 2017: 116; Bloch 2012: 196).

With this in mind, the thesis seeks to address the following key questions. How was knowledge produced in the past, in the context of the expedition’s collecting practices? How might my own research and practice reveal such knowledge in the present? How might a copresent approach help to reconcile ensuing differences and the ethical consequences this reveals? Accordingly, the ways in which knowledge and experience are constructed and negotiated are of central concern.

This takes us to the first of three tensions explored in **chapter 2** concerned with the themes of identity, meaning and agency – that of memory and imagination. Closely aligned with questions of personal and collective identity (Mack 2003: 12), of interest is how sensible, emotional and material memories contend with imaginative (re)constructions of past and present. A second tension, knowing and not knowing, emerges from these ideas to confront challenges posed by difference and uncertainty – during collecting encounters and in subsequent taxonomising – and the implications this has for knowledge production, meaning-making and biography. A third tension, intention and attention, frames the previous two to explore questions of agency, explicating the position of copresence just argued for. Setting the theoretical trajectory for later chapters, chapter 2 forms the primary literature review, clearing the way for new stories to emerge from the Cooke Daniels collections.

Reflecting these tensions, chapters 3 and 4 place alternating emphasis on modes of practice and moments of encounter. **Chapter 3** examines how evolutionary constructs

³¹ Ingold (2014) also takes Jackson to task for treating observation and participation as separate actions, and for intersubjectivity (see n24 this chapter).

informed the aims of the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition, shaping encounters with people and things. Pattern-making on gourds, boards, carvings and drawings highlight the entanglement of scientific, colonial and Indigenous practices in Central Province, revealing stories of agency, displacement and misdirection. While scholars like James Urry (1998) have examined the expedition's ethnological publications, this chapter explores how these relate to the expedition's material collections, uncovering some of the colonial and Indigenous relationships involved in their formation.

Chapter 4 considers how the performative qualities of material encounter shaped Indigenous, scientific and colonial practices, with emphasis on New Guinean expressions of identity and agency. Concentrating on Western and Gulf Province objects left to the expedition by Acting Administrator Christopher Robinson, unsettling as well as empowering encounters reveal how different understandings mediated local relations, influencing what could be exchanged. As the concealment of modified skulls and spirit boards materialised Kerewo agency, acts of concealment disassociated the expedition from the source of these objects and the circumstances of Robinson's suicide. Tracing patterns of repetition in life and death, the chapter also explores ties to Motu pottery making and conceptions of ancestral life and mortuary practice in Central Province, calling attention to the way material agency remakes social relations, as New Guineans adapted and responded to colonial encounter.

Chapter 5 recognises how material agency remakes story and creates collections, as materials and things act as surrogates or stand for other things. Objects' field lives are discovered through my encounters with objects and field labels, shedding light on how the official Cooke Daniels collections were constructed. Framed as a collections overview, the chapter offers a general picture of the objects catalogued in appendix F.

Chapter 6 concludes the thesis. Moving beyond the binary oppositions of past and present, them and us, meshwork and network I argue that a copresent approach to biography is a necessary foil to academic debate that collapses nature/culture dichotomies and practices that collapse difference (or seek universalism). New understandings this study has revealed are considered, placing the expedition and collections at the centre of a shifting early twentieth century academic, political and cultural milieu. Questions of care and ethics are also discussed together with what potential new knowledge from this study holds for the future.



Figure 1.9

Expedition members trading for objects with local men in Central Province, PNG, 1904. Mersh Strong (C), Cooke Daniels (R) and two other men in European dress (likely Seligman, Barton or English) (BM Oc,B118.173; ALRC Cooke Daniels collection).



Figure 2.1

Rupa Kala (L) and Gima Vui (R) discussing images of Cooke Daniels objects displayed on posters (made by or in collaboration with the Arts of PNG project, UPNG) outside Rupa's house. 9 October 2015. Hula, Central Province, PNG. Photo by author.

2.

Experiences: collecting, collections, tensions

“...they were eager to trade & we got a number of things including some particularly good baskets & a highly decorated new form of dancing stick... [the men] going into chuckles of delight when I rejected anything brought to trade, while the bringer looked vaguely surprised.”

- Charles Seligman (1904a: 36-37). 19 Jan 1904. Bugi, Western Prov.

“The olden time people, they [were] very clever. I always think of those things they have done. They are very important to us... our culture is fading because some of these things we don't remember now.”

- Rocky Ulatu Douveri. 27 Sept 2015. Barakau, Central Prov.

PATTERNS OF ASSOCIATION

Amongst Motu, Koita and Vula'a Elders in Central Province, Papua New Guinea, talk of the past, of ancestors 'olden time people' and their way of life, often prompts mixed and ambivalent feelings: joy, admiration, sadness, loss. Sitting with Motu Elder Rocky Ulatu Douveri outside his home in Barakau, conversation is also equivocal, permeated by a sense of continuity as well as absence. Behind us, strung across a metal pole, are several large nylon seine nets with plastic floaters – Rocky is a fisherman – called reke in Motu; next to us a rusting white Mazda, no longer road worthy, serves as a table on which rests a smaller net called dakwai. Composed of a smoothed and supple wooden pole, bent into a loop and firmly lashed with cord at the join, dakwai are one of two types of small hand held net with a gauge of around 2.5 cm. Traditionally, every Motu man owned a net made in this way: dakwai with long closed netting, ideal for catching

leaping mullet, or koe with short nets best for scooping. We are considering Rocky's net (figure 2.2) alongside two from the BM Cooke Daniels collection (dakwai Oc1906, 1013.922, figure 2.3 and koe Oc1906,1013.921), made using similar materials:¹ coarse, twisted, plant fibre cord, knotted into a diamond-shaped mesh, woven over the pole at intervals, before tapering to a closed end. Rocky has strengthened his with additional binding along the top and around the join, which also acts as a small handle. Today, as with larger reke, nets made from modern fibres, imported from Asia or Australia, are much preferred, being easier to obtain as well as maintain.

The Motu, an Austronesian-speaking people, who occupy the coastal areas around Port Moresby, divide southeast of the capital into Western and Eastern moieties. Prior to European contact,² both intermarried inland non-Austronesian-speaking peoples – the former with Koita and the latter with Koiari. Collectively, the Western moieties are known as Motu Koita, and while there are distinct Motu and Koita villages, Motu villages commonly include both groups (Goddard 2011). Similarly, intermarried Koiari can be found in Eastern Motu villages, including Barakau (Dutton 2016: 41). Different dialects are spoken between moieties, but across villages Motu is now the predominant language amongst intermarried Koita and Koiari (Dutton 2016: 41). Customary roles are also no longer observed – the Koita kept gardens, exchanging the produce for fish caught by the Motu, making for an effectual alliance – nevertheless, people typically identify as being one group or the other. Rocky is Motu,³ and to some extent his net remains an important aspect of his Motu identity. Yet, both dakwai and koe speak of a shared material and cultural heritage almost indistinguishable; the Cooke Daniels nets originate from the Motu Koita in Port Moresby. Rocky is anxious to show me another object of shared significance: shell armbands called toea. He and his wife, Lekwa, have several toea tied together with cotton ribbon; unexpectedly, Rocky unties one and gifts it to me (MAA 2016.103, figure 2.4).

Made from the ground and polished upper portion of a *Conus* sp. shell,⁴ only a few characteristic red-brown linear markings remain near the shell aperture, which forms

¹ Dakwai BM Oc1906,1013.922 has a rattan pole, koe BM Oc1906,1013.921 is also wood.

² LMS arrived in Central Province during the 1870s (Oram 1976).

³ Rocky calls himself Motu, although Oram (1981: 216) notes the Eastern Motu use(d) other names.

⁴ Typically *Conus leopardus* (Röding). Synonym: *Conus millepunctatus* (Lamarck), used by Seligman.

the distinctive one-sided whorl also found on other *Conus* sp. armbands, such as kula mwali. A shade of ivory white, with slightly textured striations from grinding; a small perforation in the outer whorl is threaded with green and clear nylon, attaching a large glossy white shell (*Ovula ovum*) and three strings of black banana seeds; two of which have rubber discs followed by white and black glass beads, and are tipped with cockle shells and lengths of blue plastic. These long streamers would, traditionally, have been made from pandanus; both materials add beauty – crucial for prestige – and a rustling or slapping sound when caught in the breeze. Today, toea are gifted along with plastic or metal kitchen utensils as part of brideprice (the central component now being cash) having operated as currency in both kin-oriented exchange and long-distance trading voyages called hiri. Best known for the exchange of Motu pottery for sago in the Gulf region,⁵ the hiri also incorporated trade to the east, including trade for toea – only a small number were produced locally, the majority obtained from the coastal Western Vula’a, an Austronesian-speaking people from Hood Bay (Oram 2011: 13).

Two weeks after meeting Rocky, onboard a small motorised dingi in Hood Bay, off the coast of Hula, a Vula’a village with historic hiri ties, I observe a freediver surfacing for air. Diving to depths of several metres wearing fins, a snorkel and mask, alongside fish, the diver collects conus with caution, as the living animal is poisonous. As for the Motu, historically, local production was supplemented by armshells acquired through exchange to the east, originating in Milne Bay Province (Seligman 1910: 93; Swadling 1977: 295) – similarities with mwali are not coincidental – and whilst toea no longer hold the same significance for brideprice in Hula, trade in conus shell continues. Notwithstanding this historical importance, there are no toea in the Cooke Daniels collections⁶ – large toea could achieve up to 350 lbs of sago in hiri trade (Barton 1910: 115) and may have been too valuable for any Motu, Koita or Vula’a man to part with. Discussing this with two Vula’a Elders, Rupa Kala – fisherman and dingi owner – and Gima Vui, both men reflect on the presence of absence in contemporary village life.

⁵ See chapter 4. Like the expedition, I focus on the (Western) Motu Koita. Note, the Eastern Motu only began participating in hiri after European contact (see Dutton 2011).

⁶ The expedition collected one unworked conus shell from Port Moresby (BM Oc1906,1013.71) and kula armshells (usually referred to as mwali, their name in the Trobriands and on Muyua) HM 6.147; BM Oc1906,1013.1309-10; Oc1906,1013.811-12, although these are of varying value and are referred to by localised names. See Leach and Leach (1983) regarding kula exchange.



Figure 2.2
Rocky with his
(Eastern Motu) dakwai.
27 September 2015.
Barakau, Central
Province. Photo by
author.



Figure 2.3
Motu Koita
dakwa fishing net.
Frame 50 cm long, net
further 73 cm long.
Port Moresby, PNG.
1904. Cooke Daniels
collection. BM
Oc1906,1013.922.
Photo by author.



Figure 2.4

Toea gifted to the author by Rocky Ulatu Douveri and his wife Lekwa, now in the collections at MAA (2016.103, 48.5 cm long, 6.5 cm diameter). Photo by author.



Figure 2.5

A distant freediver surfacing for air, Hood Peninsula in the background, 9 October 2015. Photo by author, onboard Rupa Kala's fishing dingi in Hood Bay, his granddaughter to left.

For Rupa, the image of a small linen bag, containing sea snail shells, intentionally broken to leave only the apex and spire, prompts childhood memories. The shells (BM Oc1978,Q.640.a-g), collected at Hula in July 1904, performed as spinning tops. While this game is no longer played, similar shells are found, and experiments with breaking and spinning them follow. The next day, Rupa takes pleasure in sharing his experience with Gima (figure 2.1). For Gima, however, not recognising all the objects I show him, and not knowing all their Vula'a names, prompts quiet consideration of what ancestral life might have been like. Rupa remarks upon his own sense of loss – diminishing use of Vula'a language, traditional pattern, song and dance, and sharing of food, especially the day's fishing catch. "Our tradition is our identity", he tells me, rather sadly.⁷

As certain practices have fallen out of use, so have the words and objects associated with them. Others have been subsumed or greatly influenced by Christianity (see Van Heekeren 2012: 110), and continue in new forms, or with different materials. As Erna Lilje (2018d) comments, through use 'people enact, embody, or re-present' things over time, and often, perceptions of 'degradation or loss of "authentic" forms' derive from perceptions of things as static and unchanging – though this in no way diminishes the way individual New Guineans construct and perceive changing practices; Rocky, and Elders in Motu Koita villages, reflect similar concerns. Such notions of lost authenticity find their origins in the salvage paradigm, and it is possible to imagine how, under its influence, members of the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition felt driven to document cultures fast disappearing 'from a calico-clothed hymn chanting generation' (Seligman 1904a: 29). Documentation took numerous forms: material objects – carefully selected to illustrate ritual and every-day life – photographs, film and sound recordings, as well as handwritten notes and labels. Examining the two nets in the BM store, I note how Charles Seligman's capitalised black-ink script records a phoneticised spelling 'KWOI [/kwɔi/]'. His later publication (Seligman 1910) records toea as 'toia [/tɔia/]'. Whether consciously intentional, spellings typically follow this pattern irrespective of published vocabularies (for example, Lawes (1896)). My impressions of the two nets are similarly experiential, and initially inaccurate – the smoothed poles of both feel like rattan, and I record this, until later realising the koe is made of wood, confirmed by Rocky's own dakwai net and its corresponding yet subtle irregularities of form and shape.

⁷ Personal communication 8 October 2015.

Chapter overview

This chapter has a dual purpose. Firstly, it provides a comprehensive literature review. Secondly, it gestures a pathway into and through the thesis; a line of theoretic enquiry along which prevailing themes – identity, meaning and agency – as well as questions – raised by the above narrative and fundamental to the thesis as a whole – can begin to unfold. How do objects materialise and mediate social relations? How do such sensate experiences shape knowledge practices? What does it mean to engage with the material past and how do contemporary experiences shape understandings? What tensions arise when we seek to collapse past and present or transcend time and space? Three tensions, each aligned with the above themes, are of central concern: memory and imagination (identity); knowing and not knowing (meaning); intention and attention (agency).

Having just argued in the introduction for things in correspondence, it might seem contradictory to now turn towards these apparent dichotomies. My interest, however, is in how they relate to one another in the literature and the extent to which they correspond copresently. To begin, I develop earlier questions of mnemonic experience to explore the implications for personal and collective identity. This leads me to ask how our experiences shape knowledge about material objects, and how multiple, copresent biographies arise as objects acquire new meanings through time, frequently in the face of uncertainty, cultural difference and the presence of absence. At issue is the extent to which tensions are sustained, made more or less explicit, or appear to collapse.

Initially concentrating on the work of Bloch (2012), subsequent discussions explore the work of Malafouris (2013; 2019) and Marilyn Strathern (1988) before turning back to Ingold (2015) and questions of agency, which are considered together with the new materialism of Karen Barad (2007). To elucidate underlying themes, later sections are framed around the phenomenology of Martin Heidegger and Maurice Merleau-Ponty, and the philosophy of Deleuze and his collaborations with Guattari. Here the material world is recognised as agential and coconstructive, meshwork and network arising copresently as different modes of attention. While Deleuze and Ingold foster knowing as an intransitive movement *in-between*, denying more explicit realisations, much of the work reviewed, despite its *betweenness* and propensity for abstraction, reveals an ontological directionality more often prospective, supporting my approach to collections research and practice.

Recognising the dangers of abstraction in both contemporary and colonial practice, discussions emphasise difference as oneness rather than otherness, framing the attentional and intentional displacements I explore in the chapters that follow.

MEMORY AND IMAGINATION

In an effort to reconcile aspects of cognitive and social science, Bloch (2012: 125-40, 186) conceptualises memory and selfhood as fluid layers of implicit and explicit knowledge that shift within and between two continuums: our own and that of others. Revisiting Farnell's (1994: 937) concern that by placing ourselves in another's shoes we risk Cartesian reductionism – here, the assumption that physiological experience is the same across cultures – we might instead acknowledge how persons are both biological and cultural, as our action in the world is at any one moment caught within these 'two very different continuities' (Bloch 2012: 176). And while cultural meanings cannot be disentangled from phenomenological experience, our capacity for implicit emotional and physiological resonance with others – including empathy and unconscious mimicry, which neurobiology has shown to operate in response to touch as well as visual stimuli (Riess 2017) – contributes to the way we reconstruct others' implicit meanings (Bloch 2012: 179). Indeed, our own sense of continuity, sense of self 'with a history, and a personal and emotional memory', depends largely on our brain's right hemisphere, the same region responsible for this implicit engagement with body and world (McGilchrist 2009: 87, 199). In other words, the way we experience persons and things shapes us, just as we shape them (cf. Tilley 2004; Malafouris 2013).

For Harries' interlocutors – Newfoundlanders of European descent concerned with historic Beothuk material culture⁸ – the absence of persons when engaging with the material world may be as innately powerful as their presence, with some experiencing a sense of wonder in response to touching stone tools, and more visceral feelings of the uncanny and even fear when walking in places where they sensed the presence of past Beothuk peoples (2017: 112, 117). While this absence is 'excessive to or beyond [our] experiential knowing' (Harries 2017: 127), it is yet made present in action as we recall our own experiences and imagine those of others.

⁸ The last Indigenous Beothuk person is believed to have died in 1829 (Harries 2017: 116).

Engaging with just such possibilities within cultures, Carlo Severi (2015) draws on earlier ideas by Robert Vischer and Aby Warburg to propose a theory of memory and imagination, termed ‘the chimera principle’. Akin to a cognitive elaboration on Gell’s (1998: 216) ‘inter-artefactual domain’, Severi explores how we interpret the implicit in an image, projecting what is absent or invisible – often, in apparently oral societies ‘the heterogeneous features of a number of different beings’ (2015: 67), hence chimera – as a form of mnemonic salience that through ritual action and ordering transmits knowledge and permits cultural remembrance (2015: 332-33). Like Gell’s (1998) theory, the emphasis is on visual relations, although here bodily experience is neglected such that mnemonic acts are deemed ‘entirely mental’ (Severi 2015: 67).⁹ Examining the role of clasps and masks in ritual naming in the Bahinemo area of the Sepik, Severi posits that memory and imagination combine to enable a mnemonic act. Memorising the name of an ancestor happens when the name is ritually evoked in association with projecting (imagining) and giving salient order to the anthropomorphic mask or clasp’s invisible chimerical elements – a fish or bird – the mask or clasp simultaneously making visible the name and its associated relations (Severi 2015: 78, 81-84). Consequently, chimeric spaces hold infinite possibilities, as complex relations are established between different verbal and spatial memories (Severi 2018: 236; 2015: 86).

Despite his problematic Cartesian divide, and a lack of engagement with theories of materiality (discussed below) and the extended mind (Clark and Chalmers 1998, also see Graeber 2015: xxi) – in which the mask or clasp would be understood as part of the proposed cognitive operation and not as a separate materialisation (Severi 2015: 67) – Severi establishes that, on an implicit level, acts of memory require acts of imagination and vice versa. While conceptually *between*, this moves forward earlier social theories, such as the phenomenology of Jean-Paul Sartre (2004), who reasoned that only imagination was necessary to make absent objects present,¹⁰ as well as finding resonance with concepts like Scene Construction Theory: the idea that images are constructed in the same part of the brain whether one is recalling past experiences or imagining future ones (Mullally and Maguire 2014).

⁹ While Severi (2018: 253) later acknowledges tactile input, his theory is primarily representational, see my discussion below, this chapter.

¹⁰ See discussion in Levy (2012), who turns Sartre’s argument against him to demonstrate that memory and imagination are inseparable.

Ultimately, Severi (2015; 2018: 18-19) pursues a cognitive study of knowledge transmission focused on the ‘conditions’ that generate shared ‘forms of communicative interactions’. To borrow from Gell (1998) (and to an extent, Bloch (2012))¹¹ individuals subconsciously pick up, transform and pass on elements of what Severi (2015: 261, 329) calls ‘common’ cultural memory or ‘tradition’, making these ritually and materially explicit and so accessible to others. In Severi’s proposition, the dialectical relationship and collapses between memory and imagination occur hidden inside the mind, only mnemonic acts are brought to the fore and made explicit.

This emphasis on memory and the role its construction plays in the transmission of knowledge and culture has also been the subject of other studies (for example Sperber 1985; Küchler 1987; 2002; see review by Rowlands 1993; also Kwint et al 1999; Mack 2003; Were 2010) and, lately, an emerging discipline concerned with common cultural or social memory – often exploring themes like commemoration and loss (Connerton 2011; Macdonald 2013) – inspired in part by Maurice Halbwachs’ (1992) sociological treatise on ‘collective memory’ (discussed in Connerton 2006; Bloch 2012; Gensburger 2016). Bloch is especially critical of Halbwachs, remarking on his failure to distinguish the relationship between implicit memory and explicit recall: memory (subconscious and inaccessible) is only really shaped at the point it is stored and resists change; recall (accessible to consciousness) can be influenced by one’s immediate circumstances and social processes with relative ease; Halbwachs’ contends the ‘fluid social adaptation of recall’ effects memory, Bloch thinks this is unlikely (2012: 186, 205-12). Not only can memory ‘only exist in one individual nervous system’, collective memory is really ‘the synchronisation of recall within a group’ (Bloch 2012: 213). As noted above, this finds its corollary in Bloch’s treatment of selfhood (technically termed ‘the blob’): envisaged as a cone, inaccessible implicit layers form the base and accessible explicit layers form the apex, with a fluid continuum between (2012: 125-30). What is largely available to consciousness – our narrative selves and autobiographical memory – come from the top layers of the blob. However, as discussed in the introduction, for diachronics, who re-represent what is easily available to them ‘as a tale *about* themselves’, a further layer of articulate meta-representations (or meta-autobiographical memory) reflects above the cone (Bloch 2012: 135 original emphasis, 131, 203) (figure 2.6).

¹¹ Note Bloch sees biological and cultural spheres as fluid, Severi (2018: 16-17) stresses their separation.

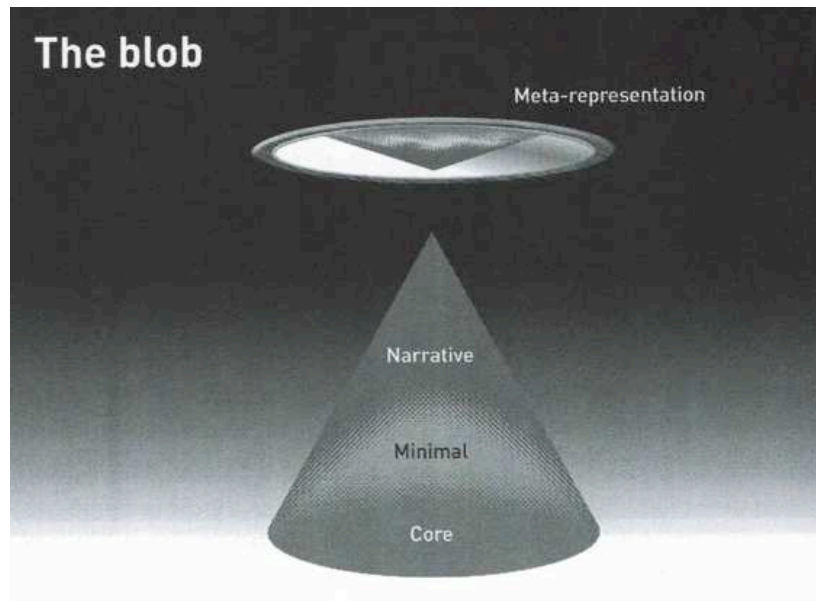


Figure 2.6

'The blob', after Bloch (2012: 132, Figure 5).

Paying attention to this latter level has, according to Bloch, led to some problematic misunderstandings: chiefly the 'divide between the individualist west and the social relational rest' (2012: 122). In respect of Melanesia, this dichotomy has been unpacked by Edward LiPuma (1998), who takes issue with the New Melanesian Ethnographers'¹² emphasis on what Marilyn Strathern defines as dividual personhood (1988; later also fractal personhood 2004) and its comparison (and thus incommensurability) with, not Western notions of personhood, but an unhelpful ideology of Western individualism (LiPuma 1998: 56-57). LiPuma offers a revised perspective, positing that dividual and individual aspects of personhood exist within every culture, and that persons emerge from tensions *between* the two, which are 'always variable and culturally/historically shaped' (1998: 75). Unlike LiPuma, Bloch is less concerned with the particularities of personhood, hence the generic blob – at once continuum and fluid mass – that merges with other blobs in social contexts, evading the rigidity of *between's* double headed arrow (cf. Ingold 2015: 7).¹³ Critiquing Strathern (1988), as well as others, Bloch's (2012:

¹² Robert Foster (1995) defines New Melanesian Ethnography, after Lisette Josephides (1991), as a self-conscious exploration of an us/them dichotomy and deliberately juxtaposes this approach with the New Melanesian Historians, such as Thomas (1991), who emphasise similarities and shared history.

¹³ Bloch (2012: 120) collapses distinctions between personhood and selfhood etc. on the grounds 'that much the same claims have been made, whichever word is used'. However, it is helpful to note that personhood, as Debora Battaglia (1983: 291) distinguishes, is more focused on behaviours relating to 'commonly held notions of individuality and corporeality', whereas selfhood, although interdependent, emphasises personal, phenomenological experience. I am concerned with both aspects.

121-22) scrutiny turns on his inference that meta-representation and memory, drawn from imagination and what is available to consciousness – in the form of story and ritual – are mistaken as evidence for a form of personhood unique to Melanesia. His reproach is somewhat undermined, however, as Strathern's exploration of the dividual is premised on an *imagined* 'prevalence of gift exchange', an analysis both deliberate and contrived (Strathern 1988: 19; also see Gell 2006).

I will return to Strathern's theory – and implications for exchange relations – in the next section. What is important here is Bloch's contention that imagination is critical to making explicit aspects of personal and collective identity through recollection and story, including ritual repetition and evocation (Bloch 2012: 115, 214). That identity in the Pacific is constructed and demonstrated through performance has been recognised by Marshall Sahlins (1985; discussed in Linnekin and Poyer 1990a: 8-9), amongst others (including with respect to New Guinea, Strathern (1988), Severi (2015) and Mel (2010; 2018)). In a colonial context, such as that encountered by the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition, Chris Gosden and Chantel Knowles (2001) propose that a new 'colonial' culture was created, with profound implications for identity. 'The lack of a means of imagining links between black and white' resulted in performative acts 'attempting to make real something no one was sure existed'; acts that extended from colonial patrols to cargo cult rituals (Gosden and Knowles 2001: 14-16). While these diverse identities were more explicitly performed, social relations between colonists and New Guineans remained determinedly implicit (Gosden and Knowles 2001: 15).

As Bloch (2012: 115, 111) points out, such 'norms, institutions, roles, death defying groups and legal systems' are 'usually explicit' shared imaginary systems that depend on our ability to simultaneously hold numerous roles without confusion. This is consistent with more generalised conceptions of personal and collective identity as fluid and multiple (Linnekin and Poyer 1990a: 9). Bloch's concern with meta-stories and the apparent ease with which they are performed, is not to suggest some kind of *falsehood* of fictional persons operating according to fictional protocols, however.¹⁴ Such 'constructions are not inventions or mystifications' (Thomas 1997: 6): although fluid and localised, performative engagements within shared systems are no less experiential or

¹⁴ Bloch (2012: 134-35) understands the difference between diachronics and episodics to be more 'one of rhetorical style', the issue being anthropologists mistaking meta-stories 'for the complex business of being oneself among others'.

real (cf. Ingold 2013a). Like Ingold (2014), Bloch (2012: 153) is concerned with ethnographic practice, and more specifically, 'Seligman-like interviews'.

As will become clear, interviews were a primary means of gaining information with sometimes misleading and troubling consequences. Asking for an explicit articulation of self and culture 'would, however sincere the informants, falsify the lived embodied reality of knowledge in practice' (Bloch 2012: 153). Short survey visits were high risk, potentially divesting encounters of more implicit understandings – of 'knowing from the inside' (Ingold 2013b: 5 italics omitted). In the expedition's defence, their longer stays in Port Moresby also built longer-term relationships, although encounters of all durations were certainly framed within existing colonial relations (Gosden and Larson 2007: 182). Bearing in mind 'that identities are contextual' and may be defined in ways not limited to processes of colonial encounter (Thomas 1997: 11), one concern here is the way the expedition's collecting and interview practices (re)produced relations and defined identities. By paying attention to objects' material qualities, I am interested in the more or less explicit ways objects expressed New Guinean identity and status, and how this influenced what was available for trade with colonial officials and expedition members. To what extent were objects imagined as 'potentialities' for future exchange (Strathern 1988: 173) and how did they visibly perform colonial (as well as more local) relations? Did everyone – including the group of New Guinean men trading with the expedition in figure 1.9 – share in BNG's colonial collective imagination?

Although questions of colonial consciousness also invite Indigenous constructions of culture and identity (see Thomas 1997), studies engaging the collective imagination are usually more concerned with the 'European imagination', or with general Western notions of creativity (for example Herbert 1991; Fulton and Hoffenberg 2016; Murphy 2012). That said, to what extent the expedition experienced and interpreted objects in accord with late nineteenth and early twentieth century scientific paradigms is equally at issue here. A veteran of the 1898 Torres Strait Expedition, Seligman was returning to BNG in 1903-04 with partial data, seeking validation as well as elucidation. If, as Severi (2015: 86 italics omitted) proposes, inferences about a material object, 'which establish a relation between different memories', can be projected and interpreted according to already implicit understandings within cultures, did the expedition – in the context of encounter – simply project Western (mis)understandings? How did this inform their

publications, catalogues, labels and notes? Did more implicit, embodied experiences of people and objects in BNG challenge or shape these more explicit understandings?

Forgetting

Another form of action typically associated with memory – previously noted as loss or absence – is that of forgetting. As John Mack (2003: 13) observes, forgetting can be a deliberate act, often critical to the process of shaping identity, that seeks to erase or censor particular people or events – sometimes involving the deliberate destruction of objects, such as the removal, using chainsaws, and disposal of a *haus lain* (lintel) and larger carved pole from PNG's national parliament building in 2013. Motivations for such forgetting can vary widely. In this case, difficulties reconciling non-Christian past with Christian present prompted an attempt by the then evangelical Christian speaker to 'cleanse' parliament of non-Christian spirits. Highlighting conflicting tensions, the devastating act has been 'remembered' by the inclusion of part of the *haus lain* in an exhibition at the national museum, as well as high profile legal action concerning the carvings' removal.¹⁵ Wider tensions between aspects of modernity and tradition were of equal concern in colonial BNG, and a number of objects associated with acts of destruction found their way into the Cooke Daniels collections, as colonial officials and expedition members sought to record a way of life that, to different degrees, they themselves were altering. This, too, had implications for what the expedition chose to document about the source of some objects, as less palatable recollections were quietly suppressed (see discussion of Robinson objects in chapter 4).

Destruction as forgetting can also be understood as a means of remembering absent others in the context of Melanesian mortuary rites. In general, such rites aim to finish and replace relations with the deceased now considered dangerous or obsolete, usually with the ultimate goal of renewing collective identities (see Munn 1986; Küchler 1988, 2002; Battaglia 1992; Foster 1995). Following the New Melanesian Ethnography, most studies stress the dividual nature of personhood, wherein persons are the sum of their relationships, viewing mortuary rites as a dissolution of 'androgynous substances' into

¹⁵ Part of the *haus lain* was exhibited from September 2015 during *Built on Culture: The Art of Papua New Guinea*, having been salvaged by the museum's director Dr Andrew Moutu, and now forms part of the national collection. Legal action was principally brought by Moutu and Sir Michael Somare against speaker Theo Zurenuoc, whose actions were ruled unconstitutional in 2017 (see Fox 2017).

momentary singularities capable of being exchanged or reproduced – material objects explicitly constituting as well as instantiating changing relations (cf. Henare 2005: 2) – (Küchler 2002: 81-82; also see Mosko 1985; Wagner 1986; Strathern 1988). A series of damaged and broken Koita mortuary objects in the Cooke Daniels collections uncover how rituals, intended to ensure safe passage into the afterlife, released singularities toward the realisation of an ancestral ‘a life’ (Ingold 2015: 143), while also protecting the living from the presence of wandering spirits (Seligman 1910: 190-92).

These absent others – recalled in sound by Baktaman taro scrapers (Barth 1975) – could also manifest in silence: areas visited by the expedition decimated by European disease (Seligman and Strong 1906b: 350; for wider discussion Bayliss-Smith 2006) as well as villages where mourning compelled the living to withdraw from everyday life and practice. Such encounters (discussed in chapter 4) brought objects associated with death and mourning into the collections and thus into present-day conversations with Papua New Guineans. Needless to say, death makes itself explicit in all our lives. Orira Audabi (the Koita headdress maker) has just informed me that his sister Igua, whom I met and interviewed in Pari village, has sadly died. Her funeral feast will take place in a few days time and my contribution will be received and redistributed in absentia.

KNOWING AND NOT KNOWING

The presence of absence is a strange paradox, intimating a form of knowledge drawn largely from experience and closeness of relationship. Even in the absence of the latter, our capacity to both recall and imagine – as with the Beothuk – inevitably ‘returns us to what we already know’ (McGilchrist 2009: 180), despite lying beyond our knowing: a paradox illuminated in the distinction Heidegger (1971; 2001; 2002) draws between objects and things. Objects are to their perceiving subjects named and known, explicit representations ‘of our knowledge’ (Schwenger 2006: 22). Things, however, exist ‘apart from our own minds’ (McGilchrist 2009: 150). While naming annihilates the thing as it appears to us, ‘there [remains] an ineluctable presence – the thingness of the thing – that we can never grasp’ (Schwenger 2006: 23). In other words, there can never be only one truth, nor can things as we apprehend them – through an objectifying museum or ‘ethnographic gaze’ (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1990: 415) – arbitrarily become ‘whatever we care to make them’ (McGilchrist 2009: 150).

As Carl Knappett (2010: 82) notes ‘objecthood and thingness are relational registers’, what is in one moment a thing to one person might be an object to another. Naming is one means of enacting this shift – the creation of a museum object through the process of taxonomising suggests an imposition of ideas and an assumption that to name is to know. Of course, the museum gaze can never annihilate thingness. Although I use the term object to reflect a collection of things already taxonomised, such materials often attract more than one typology, exceeding museum attempts to define them. Likewise, ‘erosions, surface patina, or evidence of damage’ can undermine ‘dominant meanings’ and stories advanced through the very same processes of collecting and ‘collectioning’ that make such traces visible (Hooper-Greenhill 2000: 50; Carreau 2009). While often masquerading as a process of unassailable objectification, fixing meanings ‘usually for ever [sic]... for scientific or educational purposes’ (Smeds 2016: 119), taxonomisation is also a practice in discovery and meaning-making (even if ‘misinformed, factually incorrect, historically ignorant’ (Hooper-Greenhill 2000: 50)) that is both fluid and experiential. An essential tenet of Heideggerian phenomenology.

Heidegger (2001: 95-107) considered the material world inherently unconscious or ‘ready-to-hand’, caught in the flow of lived experience, becoming ‘present-at-hand’ or explicit when brought into the focus of attention. Too familiar, a thing becomes a representation, something ‘conceptualised rather than experienced’ (McGilchrist 2009: 154), its readiness-to-hand ‘hidden’ (Heidegger 2001: 100). However, coming to know is more dynamic than the alternate registers of thing and object suggest. The very act of paying attention to what is present-at-hand can jolt us back into the ready-to-hand world, allowing for new possibilities as our sense of wonder at the thing before us is renewed (McGilchrist 2009: 154). Heidegger (1977: 3-35) came to critique what he saw as a Western tendency towards conceptualisation, or ‘en-framing’, reducing the world to passive resource, or ‘standing reserve’, envisaged for human ends. Such a Cartesian position refuses thingness, ‘stunn[ing] the earth out of wonder’ (MacFarlane 2015: 25) and museum objects into lifeless inertia.

One important materiality study addressing these concerns is Lambros Malafouris’ (2013) *Material Engagement Theory* (MET). Although written from the perspective of archaeology, I frame my discussion here around its consequences for taxonomisation – a practice enacted in the field as well as the museum, and therefore central to how a

collection is constructed – as MET offers a critical new perspective in which materials and bodily experience mutually constrain and afford meaning-making. How we know what something is and how we feel about it, is determined in part by the thing itself. Taking a diachronic view of human cognition as synergistic, distributed across mind, body and the material world, MET reconfigures ‘objects and things as reciprocally co-constructive agents’ (Blassnigg 2014: 299) collapsing ontological distinctions between mental and physical spheres. This collapse turns on questions of intentionality – vital to my discussion of agency in the next section – as Malafouris brings James Gibson’s (1979) notion of ‘affordance’ together with a reassessment of John Searle’s (1983) concepts of ‘background’ and ‘intention in action’.

For Searle however, intention is a mental operation, an internal state realised *upon* the external world, problematised by Ingold’s (2015: 132) piercing maxim ‘the mind intends and the body extends’. As distinct from a deliberate ‘prior intention’ formed in the mind before any action takes place, Searle defines an ‘intention in action’ as a non-deliberate bodily movement, shaped by both an ongoing mental representation of the intended goal, and a ‘pre-intentional’ background of non-representational ‘know-how’ (Wakefield and Dreyfus 1991: 261; Malafouris 2013: 137-42). The latter, Malafouris (2013: 141) notes, echoing aspects of Bourdieu’s (1977) habitus. It is this background that is key to MET. Whilst humans do conceptualise and form prior intentions about things, most interpretations and meanings arise in the moment as intention in action or nondeliberate skillful activity (Strauss and Quinn 1997: 59; Malafouris 2008: 28-33; 2013: 137-40). In any case, Malafouris contends (2013: 139, 143), until realised as intention in action, prior intentions do not have any ‘pragmatic effect in the world’.

To overcome Searle’s reliance on mental representations,¹⁶ Malafouris turns to the phenomenology of Jerome Wakefield and Hubert Dreyfus (1991),¹⁷ who argue sensory perception mediates nondeliberate action, as we seek ‘an optimal fit’ or gestalt position between body and world in any given moment. Preintentional background skill or ‘G-Intentionality’ (for gestalt), as Wakefield and Dreyfus (1991: 268) call it, need not be representationally mediated, indeed explicit ‘R-Intentionality’ can interrupt the flow of implicit skillful action – a position not dissimilar to the dynamics of ready-to- and

¹⁶ Which Searle assumes necessary for a person to experience an action as being of their own volition (Wakefield and Dreyfus 1991: 261-62).

¹⁷ Malafouris only references Dreyfus here presumably in error (see 2013: 142).

present-at-hand envisaged by Heidegger. However, it is in the work of Merleau-Ponty (1962) that G-Intentionality is ultimately grounded. Best explicated by Dreyfus (2002; 2014: 234-41), Merleau-Ponty expressed skill acquisition as a recursive feedback loop or ‘intentional arc’: as we seek an optimal gestalt or ‘maximum grip’, bodily responses are increasingly refined, ‘past experience is projected back into the perceptual world of the learner and shows up as affordances or solicitations to further action’. We literally find what we know in the way the world shows up and not as an image in our mind.

Importantly for MET, this notion of ‘tacit thinking’ is sustained by cognitive studies that posit ‘a system of brain-body-environment’, in which neural patterns ‘associated with prior experience’ are activated and de-activated ‘in an ongoing circular dynamic’ (Malafouris 2013; 2019: 6-7; Gallagher and Allen 2018: 2634-35). Plastic minds are thus ‘inextricably intertwined with the plasticity of culture’, as brain-body becomes attuned with its physical and social environment (Malafouris 2019: 5; Gallagher and Allen 2018: 2634, 2643). This not only suggests a neural basis for Merleau-Ponty’s intentional arc (explored by Dreyfus 2002; 2014). In what Clark and Chalmers (1998) term ‘active externalism’, cognition is also understood to be extended, as mental states and processes are no longer confined to ‘skin and skull’ (Malafouris 2013: 74).

For Malafouris (2013: 142-43 *italics omitted*), G-Intentionality dissolves boundaries between mind, body and world to create an ‘extended intentional state’ where ‘the line between human intention and material affordance becomes... difficult to draw’. Re-conceived, intention in action is not only non-representational, it is also a distributed and emergent phenomena. Consider making a hand axe, Malafouris (2010; 2013: 173-77) explains, ‘the stone, like the knapper’s body, is an integral and complementary part of the intention to knap’; the tool taking shape as the knapper discovers and replies to the tactile (and arguably percussive) qualities of the stone. Drawing on Gibson (1979), for whom things in their form and shape afford certain actions, values and meanings, ‘we observe how the affordances of stone make possible for human bodies to learn and to remember skills, to sense causality, or to enact intentions’ (Malafouris 2019: 3). That Gibson (1979: 139) understands affordances to be at once independent of and relative to their perceiver, is for MET an advantage,¹⁸ supporting the idea that material things

¹⁸ See Ingold (2018c) for a critique of this dualistic position. Affordance is integral to MET, Malafouris gives Gibson little attention in the main text, however.

actively participate in extended cognition (Malafouris 2013: 252 n3). In this way, as the hand axe emerges a 'dynamic tension' arises in the struggle towards 'maximum grip'; in no way 'a blank surface' awaiting 'the knapper's pre-existing mental plan', the stone sometimes becomes an extension of the knapper, the knapper sometimes an extension of the stone (Malafouris 2013: 175-76).

Clearly, MET has profound implications for our understanding of making (which I return to in chapter 4), but what of taxonomisation? In conventional representational accounts, identifying and classifying something is based on finding similarity between the perceived thing and a recalled mental image (Dreyfus 2002: 375), any sensory data represented and manipulated in the head (Gallagher and Allen 2018: 2629), much like Severi's (2015; 2018) abstracted chimeric spaces. On the contrary, in MET similarity, difference, 'salience, relevance or value' are discovered through intention in action, as material affordances and bodies 'already configured' by background know-how come together 'in real time and space' (Gallagher and Allen 2018: 2636-37; Malafouris 2019: 7). This is not to deny mental representations, only to shift their ontological position. In MET, sentience is not *a priori*. Thinking and feeling *about* things arises from thinking and feeling *with* and *through* things (Malafouris 2010: 19; 2013: 174-75; 2019: 7 original emphasis). As opposed to being recipients of our preconceived ideas, things are reciprocal and active participants in an embodied 'process of cognitive becoming' (Malafouris 2019: 8). That is, as we become attuned to the affordances of things, we also become sensorially familiar with their particular and individual qualities, generating and modifying the explicit rules and procedures that govern taxonomy, a process Bloch (2012: 178) and Malafouris (2010: 18-19; 2013: 175-76) refer to as conscious meta-reflection or thinking about thinking.

This returns us to McGilchrist (2009) and the ontological directionality inherent in the asymmetrical lateralisation of the brain into left and right hemispheres. Beyond its temporal and ontological precedence over the abstracted left, we can also note how the embodied right hemisphere presents individual and 'unique instances of things', while mediating implicit and personal knowledge – including capacity for care and concern (McGilchrist 2009: 51, 89, 153). Unfolding and making this knowledge explicit, the left hemisphere mediates public knowledge – including shared norms and systems – representing 'categories of things and generic, non-specific objects' (McGilchrist 2009:

216, 51). Like Heidegger, McGilchrist (2009: 232, 219, 216) believes Western ontology tends towards conceptualisation theorising that the abstracted left hemisphere, having mistaken its re-presentation for lived experience, interrupts the dominant circular dynamic (analogous to Merleau-Ponty's intentional arc) in which unfolded knowledge is reintegrated back into the embodied right hemisphere. Hence, to pay attention to the particular in ethnographic and museum practice is not only a means of care, it is also a corrective to the indifference of generalisation, as we come to know things before we come to name them.¹⁹ A notion underscored by MET, as our personal continuity with material things takes precedence in constituting categories and the meanings they imbue. But what of our continuity with others?

From the standpoint of neuroscience, our capacity for shared meanings and joint action – how we are able to taxonomise – depends on aspects of background known as schemas: culturally mediated assumptions and interpretations that allow one to make inferences 'beyond the information given' (Bloch 2012: 172-82; Strauss and Quinn 1997: 49). In the fluid continuums of the blob (discussed above), schemas are co-determined at more or less implicit levels by our social and personal relations with others and the world, meaning they are liable to 'block necessary reconsiderations of previous understandings' about the way the world shows up (Bloch 2012: 181, 174). When faced with cultural difference, experiential acts of attention and wonder – in coming to know for ourselves – may jolt us back into the ready-to-hand world, helping to resist the ease of projecting and interpreting Other's stories according to our own.

Ethnographic museum taxonomies are influenced by various schemas, privileging iconography, form and shape, as well as questions of use and value inexorably rooted in Western expectations about others – most expressly the racial stereotyping inherent in nineteenth century evolutionism, from which early classificatory schemes emerged (see Hicks 2010: 30-34). How such schemes – including the work of Seligman's mentor Alfred Cort Haddon – and schemas shaped the intellectual interests and personal ambitions of Daniels Ethnographical Expedition members, and their collecting practices, is a recurring theme throughout this thesis, often highlighting the dangers of 'attempting to derive equivalent meanings' (Silverman 2015: 4) in the absence of Papua New

¹⁹ Essayist Wendall Berry (2000: 41), in arguing against the dangers of scientific abstraction, notes 'we need a particularizing language, for we love what we particularly know', a point I am evoking here.

Guineans and their own schemas. Even in post-colonial museum practice – alert to the processes of decolonisation – the local name for an object, collected by the expedition or more recently, should not be taken to hold the same meaning as the name derived through Western epistemology. Equally, categories cannot be assumed. Collaborative research between Namgis chief, William Wasden Jr. and Aaron Glass, for example, has established ‘a taxonomic relation based on hereditary claim rather than iconography’ for some types of regalia in the Kwakwaka’wakw collections at Berlin’s Ethnologisches Museum (Glass 2015: 32). Databases and taxonomic practices need not be confined to Western schemas. Returning to the notion of correspondence, Ingold (2018a: 63, 27-28 original emphasis) entreats us ‘to study *with* people; not make studies *of* them’ – a case for reciprocity as relevant to non-human as human – both as a means and as a duty of care: what I consider (briefly in chapter 6) to be the basis for an ethics of decolonisation.

Difference

Reciprocity as commonality, in the sense inferred by Ingold, has, according to Annette Weiner (1992: 2), a very different Western economic tenet: assumed mutual exchange. This ‘norm of reciprocity’, likewise rooted in nineteenth century evolutionary schema (Weiner 1992: 2), not only informed how the expedition traded with New Guineans – for food and labour, as well as coveted objects – it also framed Seligman’s (1910) later commentary on inter-New Guinean exchange, in which he drew distinctions between systems of barter and ceremonial gift exchange, observing how valuables such as toea and mwali armshells could circulate in both (for example 1910: 94, 185-86, 529). While Seligman’s empiricism kept him from detailed analysis, his student Malinowski sought to clarify the distinction, instead speciously restricting Massim kula shell valuables like mwali to instances of kula gift exchange (Thomas 1991: 12). Together with reciprocity, this tension between gift and commodity has remained central to subsequent analyses in anthropological exchange (notably Mauss 2011; Sahlins 1972; Gregory 2015; Leach and Leach 1983; Appadurai 1986b; Munn 1986; Miller 1987; Strathern 1988; Thomas 1991; Humphrey and Hugh-Jones 1992a; Weiner 1992; Godelier 1999); some studies concerned to separate capitalist commodity exchange from barter on the basis of monetisation (and notions of ‘progress’); others positing similarity on grounds of separation

from 'social, political, or cultural norms'; all upholding some distinction between these forms and the gift as the focus of social relations (see Appadurai 1986a: 9-11).²⁰

Strathern (1988) takes the most radical of these positions, conceiving a Melanesian gift economy exclusive of and antithetical to a Western commodity economy, a fiction designed to accentuate difference – notably between respective conceptions of personhood and gender (Strathern 1988: 13, 30, 134). In a series of complex analytical moves, Strathern (1988: 158, 12-13) displaces 'one-to-one' relations *between* Western society and the individual to realise a Melanesian 'sociality' in which persons are 'constructed as the plural and composite site of the relationships that produced them' (discussed in Lebner 2017a: 5, 11). As Gell (2006) illustrates in *Strathernograms*, the singular person is thus fractal, composed of self-similar pairs of relations that, as already noted, can be dissolved or else deconstituted to reveal as well as renew relations (Strathern 1988: 288). Within and generative of this fractal framework are several modes of inalienable exchange: cross-sex, same-sex, unmediated and mediated, which together form the basis of Strathern's gendered gift economy (1988: 183, 178-79).

Whilst these exchanges can play out in six different combinations, two best explain how the economy works (Gell 2006: 45). In cross-sex unmediated exchanges, such as those between husband and wife, what is produced by these paired relations – a pig, to borrow Gell's (2006) example, or a child – becomes a 'substitution' for those relations, both replicating them and making them explicit (Strathern 1988: 181-82). In same-sex mediated exchanges, such as the Moka (wealth) ceremonial exchanges that Strathern (1988: 199-201, 161) notes Hagen big-men participate in, wealth – for example, pigs – stands in for and circulates as parts of persons in the Maussian sense. Notably, the pig, produced by cross-sex unmediated exchange between kin, is an 'objectification' of this previous relation, as well as being a 'personification' (appearing as a person) and a 'reification' (appearing as a thing) of the same-sex Moka exchange (Strathern 1988: 176-82). While gender is not a specific concern in this thesis, it is worth noting how these shifts and objectifications also allow Strathern to construct gender according to 'social circumstances' (Lebner 2017a: 11). The cross-sex unmediated pig is androgynous until it acquires a male gendered form through same-sex male relations in Moka exchange, allowing male participants to detach their name (reputation) and thus replicate 'a like

²⁰ Conceptions of the gift are premised on Marcel Mauss' (2011) theory of reciprocal gift exchange.

identity among themselves' (Strathern 1988: 184, 204-05). Here the Melanesian person is a 'composite microcosm' of 'collective' clan relations that compliment and replicate one another by eliminating difference (Strathern 1988: 275).

Simultaneity, in the form of androgyny and objectification, constructs both identity and knowledge. As fractal relations, the male form encompasses female parts from the cross-sex exchange, which are eclipsed by its all-male appearance, hence why in Moka exchange, male prestige (and identity as a clansman) eclipses domesticity (and identity as a husband) (Strathern 1988: 125, 204-05). Regarding kinship, Strathern (1988: 129) notes how Gimi male flutes are simultaneously female bamboo containers depending on 'how they are used, caused, or completed by the opposite sex'. Clearly, form as well as material contribute to this construction such that the flute/container is always both 'hollow and penetrant', ritual action making it appear as one form or the other in any given biographical moment (Strathern 1988: 128-29). Analogously, an eclipsed relation might also be evoked in other circumstances, reconfiguring appearances and identities (Gell 2006: 50). Just as all-male relations can only replicate the clan when female parts are hidden, the plural 'dividual' achieves singularity 'through eliminating one or other of the [gendered] forms' that make up 'particular' paired kin relations (Strathern 1988: 189, 275). Knowing or objectifying one form – collective or particular, male or female – at any given moment means not knowing, or hiding, the other.

Drawing on Wagner (1975), Strathern (1988: 189) likens this to a 'contrast between invention and convention'. In unmediated exchange, no object circulates, as it is 'work [that] produces relations', one partner directly influencing the inner mind of the other (Strathern 1988: 179). In mediated exchange 'transactions create objects', which in the Hagen example 'brings things visibly to one's outer "skin"', the husband bringing this relation, both created (by coercing the mind of his wife) and contained within him, to the outside, which reifies his capacity to elicit pigs (Strathern 1988: 178-80). The 'techniques of reification' (i.e. the convention that pigs stand for the work of husbands and wives) are hidden, as the transaction appears to invent the convention anew, revealing the relation (pig) as newly created by the Moka exchange (Strathern 1988: 176, 180-81). More generally, the successful separation of a relation from its producer or transactor is constrained by what Strathern (1988: 181) refers to as 'the appropriate aesthetic': the conventional form in which objects (personified relations) are made to appear and the

way in which these relations are performed. Objectification makes ‘internal capacities external’ by appearing as the form anticipated, which explicitly differentiates the mode of exchange or gender (Strathern 1992b: 188; 1988: 189-90). Implicit is the structure of this form – the nested fractal relations it contains (Strathern 1988: 190). Strikingly, this has temporal and biographical consequences, as ‘past and future become present: any one form anticipates its transformation, and is itself retrospectively the transformation of a prior form’ (Strathern 1992c: 249).

Whilst this collapse appears redolent of Ingold’s (2011a: 70; 2015: 141) singular line – wherein things are their relations and all imagining is remembering – Strathern does not quite escape the network model. Rather than arising *in-between* relations, meaning inheres within them, ‘one instant replacing another’ (Bergson, cited in Ingold 2007: 118). To create a new relation the term must be turned inside out (Ingold 2011a: 70), resulting in asymmetry, as one person elicits the capacities of another (Strathern 1988: 131) – the inspiration for Gell’s (1998: 140) distributed person, visible in his formulaic models of agency and patiency. Such asymmetries are momentary, however, creating enchainments of changing relations rather than static hierarchies, besides the creation of value. This also accommodates the idea that Melanesians ‘suppose a split between the cause of an action and the doer of it’, as people simultaneously perceive relations from their own point of view and that of others, ‘forever regard[ing] themselves as moving from one position to another’ (Strathern 1992b: 179; 1988: 271). Indeed, ‘temporal (and spatial) points of vantage’ (Gell 1998: 256) direct Melanesian sociality, as the agent (or doer) of an action is typically conceived as the ‘pivot’ in relations with two other persons (Strathern 1988: 270).²¹ What moves Strathern beyond the classic network model and its hybridising forms, however, is her notion of oneness.²² A pivot in relationships may have ‘multiple perspectives’ but must take a singular form – appearing as one person, a unity (collective or particular), who carries out one act (Strathern 1988: 276-77).

Oneness is predicated on difference – the suppression of one form to reveal another – returning us to Ingold’s (2015: 34 original emphasis) singular line which, following Deleuze (1994), is unilateral and interstitial rather than bilateral and discrete: ‘It is like

²¹ Although a wife producing pigs in relation to her husband is orientated towards him, her marriage has created future obligations between her husband and her brother (Lederman 1986: 118) through her existing kin relations, so she will act with both men in mind, even though her brother is not directly implicated in the production of her pigs (or her relationship with her husband) (Strathern 1988: 274).

²² Strathern (1996) does explore hybridity later, although oneness arguably takes priority.

lifting up a sheet to form a crease. We register the line of the crease, we see it as something that has an existence of its own, and yet the crease is still *in* the sheet', not separated from it. For Strathern (1988), every 'one' is divided 'and multiple relations are "fractions of one"' (Lebner 2017a: 11). Consequently, Melanesian sociality is implicit in every objectification (also see discussion of detotalisation in Gell 2006), generating an equivalence of scale, as 'each [person] contains the gendered relations/exchanges that made them' (Lebner 2017a: 11). The *betweenness* of the Western individual and society Strathern displaces is one of static hierarchy predicated on comparison, the individual joined externally to other individuals regarded as parts awaiting completion by society (Strathern 1992a: 82, 86). Moreover, the Western person can be conceived as a part of a kinship group, itself another part of society, neither part 'reducible to one another' (Strathern 1992a: 80). Whereas Western knowledge integrates parts to make a whole, Melanesian knowledge is revealed through a division of wholes, enabling a reciprocal exchange of perspectives impossible if 'each perspective encompass[s] the other perspective as "part" of itself' (Miyazaki 2004: 52; Strathern 1992a: 90).

It is on this basis of oneness that Strathern (1992b: 188) advances her gift economy into the arena of inter-New Guinean barter, arguing that barter 'exchange is always a totality: one perspective for another; your view of my assets for my view of yours'. The composition of 'one', for example '1 pig = 6 salt bars (=1)', being the outcome of the exchange or coercion, replete with asymmetries and power struggles, made ultimately in anticipation of 'One's own acts' being returned 'in another form' (Strathern 1992b: 176, 187-88 italics omitted). This model, together with Strathern's wider resolve against any form of Melanesian commodity exchange – on the grounds that Melanesians have no alienable property; either objects circulate as parts of persons or work 'governed by the mind precludes its appropriation' (Strathern 1988: 161-62) – has been critiqued, not least because commodity exchange is 'ethnographically demonstrable' (Gell 2006; also see Thomas 1991 and Görlich 1998 on the significance of quantitative ratios). For Gell (1992a: 146 italics omitted), discussing 'inter-tribal' commodity barter and intra-tribal' reproductive gift exchange in pre-colonial Melanesia, the distinction between gifts and commodities is founded on 'social context'. Notwithstanding similarities – both forms premised on coercion and both resulting in the creation of social relations – barter is 'orientated towards obtaining commodities' not reproducing persons, thus

‘transactors involved in [such a] swap are “quits” with respect to that transaction’ (Gell 1992a: 144). Since the desire to obtain a commodity has been satisfied, the action of barter itself ‘nullifies demand’ (Humphrey and Hugh-Jones 1992b: 18).

Similarly concerned with social processes, Arjun Appadurai (1986a: 13 *italics omitted*), establishes commodities not as things, but as a ‘commodity situation’ that ‘things can move in and out of’; what he terms, following Igor Kopytoff’s (1986) biographical approach, phases in an object’s trajectory or life history. While a name can attach to an object through gift exchange (Gell 1992a: 145), it might also be ‘bought, sold or stolen’ (Seligman 1910: 215). Equally, toea armbands gifted in brideprice might be bartered in hiri trade, their value ‘transformed through movement between contexts’ (Myers 2001: 17). As Weiner points out, the speed at which such objects circulate depends upon the density of their biography: while some ‘are easily reduced to commodities’, others are coveted because of their accrued cultural meanings, created through associations ‘with [an] owner’s fame, ancestral histories, secrecy, sacredness, and aesthetic and economic values’ (cited in Myers 2001: 9). In critiquing the norm of reciprocity – including Strathern’s assertion of oneness, whether achieved immediately or in later exchanges – Weiner (1992) instead recognises broader temporal and social processes intent on the return or retention of biographically dense ‘inalienable possessions’ (also see Godelier 1999 and discussion in Myers 2001).

Not surprisingly, the Cooke Daniels collections contain few such objects; however, some – modified skulls obtained as a consequence of government confiscation; a red-shell heirloom negotiated in exchange for cloth and iron (both discussed in chapter 4) – raise questions of inalienability and ambiguity. Kopytoff (1986: 83) suggests – like Strathern’s use of androgyny – that things are indeterminate in terms of alienability except at ‘the moment of actual exchange’, when a commodity situation becomes clear. Even then, Nicholas Thomas’ (1991; 1992: 38) analyses of colonial and Indigenous encounter expose conflicting assumptions and cultural values – what Appadurai (1986a: 15 *italics omitted*) terms ‘regimes of value’ – such that ‘what for one side is a gift relationship may be barter for the other’. Seligman’s relationship with his main Koita informant Ahuia Ova (discussed in chapter 3) reflects such issues, Ahuia negotiating his various chiefly roles with that of Village Constable. In other ‘commodity context[s]’ (Appadurai 1986a: 15), however, such as markets, barter was no doubt the mode of

exchange. In less explicit situations, such as village encounters, ambiguities may have been implicit in trade, collapsing into assumptions of mutual exchange. The specifics of many exchanges are not known or known only partially, however – a pencil note written on an object's surface, recording the number of tobacco sticks exchanged, or a brief mention noted in a diary.

Biography

Emerging from these theories of exchange are a series of tensions concerning the way objects acquire – or lose – their biographies that have implications for the relationship between persons and things. Superficially collapsing these distinctions to support the conceit that things have 'social lives', Appadurai (1986a; 2006) soon re-establishes them arguing, as does Kopytoff (1986), that objects only attain meaning when immersed in socioeconomic processes – making objects the passive recipients of human action and social life rather than active, or indeed reciprocal (cf. Malafouris above), participants (similar remarks have been made by others, such as Appelgren and Bohlin 2015: 149). Seeing commodification (alienability) and singularisation (inalienability) as poles in a continuum (of *betweenness*), Kopytoff (1986: 87) regrettably reinforces the distinction by associating the former with culture and the latter with nature. Kopytoff's (1986: 70, 90) point being that culture, as a cognitive process, defines or 'constrain[s]' persons and things within this continuum in a bid to avoid either extreme. The outcome is a reductionist parade of shifting economic values (see Dant 2001) or what Thomas (1991: 28) takes up as 'the mutability of things in re-contextualisation'.

Implicit is time as a linear continuation – each contextualisation replacing the next, sometimes eliding what came before, even to the extent that previous interests are 'categorically erased' (Thomas 1991: 24) – and space as an abstraction – the object itself, its materials and relationship with time and its environment both separated from and elided by the projection of human cognition. That this kind of re-contextualisation is a form of disjuncture or loss is not in question – as my earlier discussion of forgetting suggests. Noting how 'There is a distinction to be made between control and persisting rights [over an object] and memories and cultural associations', Thomas (1991: 24) indirectly recognises how space and time can be ruptured by the loss of material things, a point also made by Andrew Moutu (2007) discussing, among other issues, the loss of

museum objects through theft. What Moutu (2007: 103) locates, however, is a process of re-gathering (one's thoughts or things) and 'movement back and forth in time' that permits recovery. This may take the form of a newly made thing, like a dog skin cloak, that gathers in its materials and form knowledge of its making, use and ancestry, only revealed through the action of its creation. Recovery is often a reforming of timespace, a healing of rupture between persons and things through processes of renewal.

Time, of course, does not run backwards, and while making can be understood as a piecing together of parts – or temporal moments (Moutu 2007: 109) – or even a taking *a-part*, the materials have still aged and worn through a process of growth (Ingold and Hallam 2014: 7). As Staffan Appelgren and Anna Bohlin (2015: 158) observe, 'it is not possible to ungrow the qualities of [an] aging chair'. Similarly, the high status of mwali or kula armshells rests on the smoothness of their patina – age and value synonymous with the number of hands a shell has passed through (Weiner 1992: 135). Drawing on Nancy Munn's (1983; 1986) Gawan ethnography, David Howes (2003: 110, 112, italics omitted) suggests things can have not just a social life, but a sensory life, noting how, within a 'Massim hierarchy of sensing', kula shells are said to have the capacity to see, smell and hear. Although a similar construction of sensory ethnography is beyond the scope of this thesis, Howes' (2003) work usefully highlights intersensory experience as integral to localised forms of value and meaning-making. Less helpful is Howes' (2003: 110) assertion that shells have 'no existence as things in themselves'. As Munn (1986: 113-14) notes, the 'essential characteristics' of a kula shell – its 'beautifying properties of color [sic] and light' – 'are contained in the properties of the core shells' that, like persons, are decorated to extend the potentialities of (human and shell) bodies forward in 'spacetime'.

Questions of biography are deeply rooted in questions of time and space. Story and repetition form the basis of assumptions that time is circular for non-Western cultures (Leach 2000), as opposed to the 'modern' linear time of the West, which only furthers the 'denial of coevalness' (Fabian 1983: 31 italics omitted; Schulz 2012: 442-43). For Munn (1992: 94, 102, 105), lamenting 'space as time's antithetical "Other"', not only are these time concepts inextricable rather than oppositional (Schulz 2012: 443), they also situate persons in space, to the extent that persons are envisaged as 'constructing'

their own timespace.²³ Hence Gawan acts of ‘giving and travelling’ to create and maintain kula paths, which expand ‘a spacetime of self-other relationships formed in and through acts and practices’ (Munn 1986: 9). As in Moka exchange, human intentions draw potentialities ‘from implicit to explicit existence’ because moving bodies move minds, convincing partners to move kula shells (Abram 1997: 193; Munn 1986: 160). Such movements ‘displace the present, make it past, and establish the ground for the future’ (Kelleher 2003: 55).

By contrast, it is the present as presence rather than displacement and the presence of absence – how past and future make themselves known in the lived present – that define what Heidegger (2001; 1972) first termed ‘time-space’ (Abram 1997: 209). Like Merleau-Ponty’s (1968) ‘flesh’, at once body and world, the simultaneity of time-space takes on an asymmetry analogous to – as well as inspiring of – that of the left and right brain hemispheres identified by McGilchrist. David Abram (1997: 209–13), writing of the present as landscape, notes how past and future lie beyond Heidegger’s structural metaphor of the horizon and while one can ‘journey toward the future’, one cannot do so toward the past in the same way. Even journeying backwards, retracing one’s steps, things (as we have noted) are inevitably aged and changed. In Heideggerian terms, this asymmetry can be expressed as the yet to come future that ‘*withholds* its presence’ and the already past that ‘*refuses* its presence’ (Abram 1997: 211 original emphasis).

As Abram (1997: 213) explains, this is also analogous to Merleau-Ponty’s notion of the visible and invisible: ‘The other side of that rock, for instance, is withheld from my gaze, but it is not refused, for I can disclose it by walking over there’ – a propositional movement visible in the simultaneity of androgyny in Strathern’s Melanesian ontology. The inside of one’s body and the ground beneath one’s feet, on the other hand, are absences of a different kind that – like the past – refuse their disclosure. What is invisible supports our movements in the perceived world (Abram 1997: 214), as objectification changes its form (Strathern 1988: 156; McGilchrist 2009: 180).²⁴ The ‘world’s structure’ is thus a support for our background knowledge engendering the ontological ‘primacy of the bodily world’ from which thinking *about* things arises (Merleau-Ponty 1968: 13;

²³ Bloch (2012) critiques Munn on this latter point, despite himself universalising time in accordance with Western conceptions (also see Bloch 1977).

²⁴ Another way of expressing this analogy would be to note that unmediated exchange is withheld and mediated exchange is refused (hence substitution and objectification).

Abram 1997: 208). Dissolved into the present, the future can be understood as a series of possibilities still to be discovered that, according to Heidegger, draw us outside of ourselves in a centrifugal movement while the past residing inside our own bodies and in the ground form a support that ‘continually approaches us from beyond’ in a centripetal movement – a reciprocal but asymmetrical relation known only partially in any one moment (Abram 1997: 209, 211, 214-15).

Although Ingold (2007; 2013b; 2015) also draws on Bergson, as well as Deleuze and Guattari (2013), we can see how the phenomenology of Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty inform the collapse in timespace apparent in his meshwork and theory of lines as met in the introduction. Indeed for Ingold (2015: 71, 54-57), time is not progressive ‘in any consistent [or chronological] direction’; rather, centrifugal and centripetal movements take the form of growth and erosion driven by ‘forces of winding and unwinding’, patterned not in straight lines or circles, but in coils and spirals. Concerned with Merleau-Ponty’s (1968: 140) notion of flesh as a ‘coiling over’, Ingold (2015: 86-87) distinguishes how one can be with insentient beings such as a stone or a tree,²⁵ and how they can, in turn, be with us. The latter is ‘an inhalation of being, an invasion of consciousness’ into a body already familiar with the texture of stone or bark, a body that touches with them as they touch through the body (Ingold 2015: 86-87). The former is the exhalation that follows, at first caught ‘in tension like the pause of a held breath’ before being released ‘along a line of growth or becoming’ (Ingold 2015: 87). This captivating notion figures flesh as the atmosphere in which we are immersed alternately gathered, coiled and released as the meshwork, weaving ‘lines of speech, song, story... into the fabric of the world’ (Ingold 2015: 87).

Grounded in the ‘attunement of attention and response’, such alternations give rise to both dissolution and displacement (Ingold 2015: 71). Acknowledging an intentional ‘mind at work’ in setting out to go for a walk, Ingold (2015: 132-33) suggests a focus on the destination results in a mind absent ‘from the world itself’. Once walking however, the intentional mind dissolves to become ‘immanent in the movement itself’, thrusting the walker ‘into the presence of the real’ thus displacing the explicit intention to go for

²⁵ I take issue with the notion that trees, as living beings, are insentient. While the way they perceive us as we simultaneously perceive them may differ from our relation with other humans, plant cognition is accepted, see Anthony Trewavas (2016) for an overview of the current position. This raises issues about Melanesian views of sentience, which I comment on in chapter 3.

a walk with attention to the unfolding world before them (Ingold 2015: 133). Although one might be absent from oneself in the sense of Merleau-Ponty's coiling over – one's attentive vision ranging through the atmosphere and returning to reveal another view – to be absent from the world is, on the other hand, to move from point to point in the network (Ingold 2015: 95-96, 132-33). For Ingold (2015: 131), these distinctions can only be directionally oppositional: the meshwork revelative, the network designative.

Yet in accordance with our established order of ontological priority, the intentional network arises copresently from the attentional meshwork. Spirals and coils give rise to a sense of time and place already passed, of phases – the field life of a Cooke Daniels object (explored in chapter 5) – layers and moments congealed and displaced from the 'disorienting, even dizzying' tangle and flow of the meshwork; a discernable pattern of stoppages (Knappett 2011: 48). The meshwork is not devoid of outcomes of course, as knots form 'whenever the materials of growing life-forms wrap around each other so as to form a lump or nodule' (Ingold 2015: 19). Knots are strikingly detailed, revealing the ongoing 'performance of knotting' and even unknotting, as untied they still 'retain a memory of their former associations' (Ingold 2015: 19, 25). But the performance can be too chaotic and insistent, urging displacement or an 'interpretative pause' (Strathern 1996: 522); a means of marking a clarification rather than a goal before one's attention is caught over again. Ingold is right to acknowledge an existential danger here though, abstraction leads to representation and representations can be misleading.

'The screen of the cinema, for example, remains blankly impervious to the moving images that play on its surface', warns Ingold (2015: 102), 'These movements are projected onto the white screen, but are not woven into its fabric'. This is Heidegger's 'en-framing' or the opaque automatons revealed in Descartes' detached window view (see McGilchrist 2009: 154, 181). Likewise for McGilchrist (2009: 450), it is the isolated left hemisphere, what he refers to as 'the hall of mirrors', reflecting and sending 'the mind ever back into itself'. The Projection of this internalised mental state onto the world – reflecting what is already supposed – captures the directionality of colonialism and its network of imposition: 'straight and regular' lines that 'intersect only at nodal points of power' cutting and disrupting the existing meshwork (Ingold 2007: 81-84).

There is a dilemma here. Holding an object in my hand I become aware of multiple spiralling threads; previously elided stories collapse into my own 'sensuous realization'

(Harries 2017: 125) making me aware of explicit layers of time, biographical moments and revelations of intent. As I try to grasp – using my left hemisphere, where physical and conceptual grasp are located (McGilchrist 2009: 111) – these more explicit understandings, I respond and shift my intentions according to what my attention discloses. While my intentions may be refused in moments of collapse, can the fluid movement of displacement – if not absolute – lead to replacement? Am I imposing my will hylo-morphically on the world? What kinds of absences are at work here? Also drawing on Merleau-Ponty, archaeologist Christopher Tilley (2004: 18) suggests the ambiguity inherent in coiling over – in who sees who – gives us the sense that things have agency. But what, where, or as Malafouris (2013: 147) asks, when is an agent, and how might feelings of intentionality and causality be accounted for? It is to these questions that I now turn in the final section of this chapter.

INTENTION AND ATTENTION

According to physicist and feminist theorist Karen Barad (2007: 178-79, 234-35), agency, intentionality and causality are not attributes or properties of individuals, but dynamic enactments or ‘intra-actions’ in which ‘matter-in-the-process-of-becoming’ is endlessly reconfigured. These ‘nonarbitrary, nondeterministic causal enactments’ produce space-time and ‘enact specific boundaries’ such as cause and effect, human and non-human, subject and object through the momentary resolution of ‘ontological indeterminacy’ (Barad 2007: 179, 175). Barad (2007: 348) refers to this latter notion as an ‘agential cut’ – intended in the same way as Strathern’s (1996: 522) use of ‘cutting’ as an ‘interpretative pause’ – that, in scientific experiment for example, creates the ‘conditions for objective description’ without destroying the ongoing entanglement of matter. Thus ‘meaning is made possible through specific material practices’ (Barad 2007: 148).

These concepts have much in common with MET, indeed Malafouris’ (2013: 149) concern to demonstrate intention in action as distributed and emergent phenomena is primarily a means of establishing agency and intentionality as ‘emergent properties of material engagement’. The ‘dynamic tension’ Malafouris (2013: 147) recognises in the ongoing ‘struggle toward a “maximum grip”’ plays out in Barad’s (2007: 241) reading of Leela Fernandes’ study of power relations at a Calcutta jute mill, in which ‘identities

and power relations are mutually constituted and iteratively reworked'. Similarly, with reference to Gell's (1998) modelling of agency and patiency, Malafouris (2013: 145) insightfully highlights how, in the context of MET, these hierarchical positions are not a priori but 'states to be acquired in practice', emerging as 'ontological moments' – or in Barad's terms, agential cuts. Although, as Barad (2007: 183) is careful to point out, this does not mean that matter is merely passive 'awaiting the mark of culture'. Nothing is fixed, and for both, boundaries are never absolute (a point shared by McGilchrist),²⁶ as meaning-making is mutually constrained rather than determined (Barad 2007: 177-78, 152; Malafouris 2013: 147, 72).²⁷

There are some important distinctions in approach, however. Drawing extensively on the work of Bruno Latour (especially 1991; 1999; 2005) and Actor Network Theory (ANT), Malafouris (2013: 128-29) understands agency and intentionality as 'properties of a chain of associations' that form 'networks of material engagement'. These one-to-one links *between* terminals or 'nodes' form assemblages or 'traces' that, Latour (2005: 44, 128, 39) explains, 'can be re-traced' or 're-assembled' by following human or non-human 'mediators' who 'transform, translate, distort, and modify' meanings, while disregarding any 'intermediaries' who do not. Accordingly, 'There is nothing to be found outside the network' (Malafouris 2013: 128), which itself takes on a kind of symmetry Latour (2005: 16) describes as 'flat', wherein no one participant is assumed to be more important than any other. This 'two-dimensional' topography, intended to connect the 'poles of Nature and Society', stabilises the messy formation of objects and things into hybrid entities (Barad 2007: 41).

For Malafouris (2013: 130, 144, 149), hybridity gives non-absoluteness, blurring the boundaries between persons and things such that agency and intentionality cannot be reduced 'to any of the constituent elements' of the network. This assumes persons and things have 'inherent boundaries' a priori, a position Barad (2007: 172, 214) rejects; for her, boundaries are acquired through intra-activity such that agency and intentionality 'cannot be designated as an attribute of subjects or objects' since they 'do not preexist as such'. While both perceive agency as 'distributed over nonhuman as well as human

²⁶ See n18 chapter 1 and McGilchrist (2009: 10).

²⁷ Barad notes that in describing intra-actions as 'constraining' she does not mean that possibilities are limited, but that new ones open up as others are excluded. Malafouris makes a similar point in terms of 'hiding affordances' and both agree agency is an 'open concept' not aligned with human intentionality.

forms' (Barad 2007: 214), they differ in terms of directionality. Referring to her theory as Agential Realism (AR), Barad's (2007: 180-81, 184, 56) position is one of non-linear entanglement in which 'material-discursive practices' – making, measuring, collecting, cataloguing – intra-act 'from within, and as part of, the phenomena produced' (as opposed to inter-acting from without) to remake boundaries; a process that leaves marks or histories that enfold past and future in each new becoming. What is outside the network or beyond the cut cannot be excluded, as we are already entangled and mutually responsible (Barad 2007: 393). To know is thus to be accountable 'as part of a network of performances' that manifest as action forming 'a congealing of agency' (Barad 2007: 149, 183-84).

ANT creates unresolved tension in MET. 'There are no pre-formed ideas here, only potentialities' Malafouris (2013: 193) clarifies, advancing the idea that MET is an open and enactive 'process of cognitive becoming'. He even turns to Ingold (2008), likewise challenging the 'logic of inversion' that creates boundaries of containment (Malafouris 2013: 192). MET makes more sense in the context of AR than ANT, and AR brings us closer to Ingold's notion of the meshwork. It may even be a helpful bridge, the *and* in *with/and* as we dynamically shift toward and away from the network, grasping at more explicit understandings or congealings. Considering how both network and meshwork metaphors might have value, Knappett (2011: 46-47) suggests the entangled lines of the latter resonate 'at the micro-scale' of things in detail, whilst the former help us 'zoom out' to the scale of object knowledge and more abstracted comprehension. Noting how Ingold sets the two scales apart, Knappett (2011: 47) proposes the *chaîne opératoire* as a means of linking them together, although this may prove too limiting given its concern with technological comparison. In a familiar-sounding passage we find instead in AR a 'not necessarily diminishing' (Knappett 2011: 48) forward movement: as Barad (2007: 185, 334) writes, 'the possibilities for what the world may become call out in the pause that proceeds each breath before a moment comes into being and the world is re-made' and 'specific "concepts" and "things" are articulated'.

Remarking – in a footnote in *The Life of Lines* – on an earlier paper by Barad (2003), Ingold (2015: 153 n9 original emphasis) acknowledges the similarities, prompting him to ask why 'if agency is intra-activity' we need to conceptualise 'action' as agency at all. The distinction is more than tautological, however. The meshwork captures a specific

position, one we might reasonably term action given the invisibility of intentional and causal relationships, however, this position is neither absolute nor sustainable. Neither can agency be castoff as a ‘sprinkling’ of ‘magical dust’ from the outside needed to enliven inert objects (Ingold 2008: 213), as it is a movement from the inside. As Merleau-Ponty (1962: 499-500) observes, ‘the subject is inseparable from the world, but from a world which the subject itself projects’. This is not the hylomorphic projection of pre-formed ideas onto the world – the position Ingold is primarily taking issue with – it is instead the reciprocity of a world that projects ‘toward me as much as I project toward’ it (Malafouris 2013: 142). For Barad this projection is a causal movement, for Ingold it is not. And while we find the same ontological directionality in both, the patterns they map are quite distinct.

Indeed, Ingold (2015: 153 n9) notes that intra-action ‘reverses the between of “interaction”, turning it outside in’. Moving *in-between*, the meshwork takes ‘a 90° rotation’ best captured by the prefix mid- rather than inter- (or intra-); a position Ingold terms ‘midstreaming’ (2015: 151-52, 153 n9). Envisaging the lines of the meshwork as a ‘river current’, Ingold (2015: 143-45, 151) turns to the Deleuzian (2001) aspiration for ‘a life’ to note how this flow ‘is forever escaping from *the* life which leaves its appearances as benchmarks on the banks’. Such marks, however, have no origin as ‘Agency has yet to fall out from action, and intentionality from consciousness’ (Ingold 2015: 145, 124). In other words, there are no boundaries to be remade or cuts to reveal distinctions that in AR manifest in the marking of the effect by the cause (Barad 2007: 176). After Donna Haraway, Barad (2007: 71-94; 2014) perceives this as a pattern of ‘diffraction’ – waves that ‘propagate out and overlap with each other’ – instead of reflection, which assumes ‘mirroring, sameness’. While Ingold notes those ripples, he only accounts for the mark left by their movement and not their effect. If the meshwork is the anonymous flow of the river, AR makes its ‘wavelike behaviour explicit’ (Barad 2007: 81) whilst ANT glosses a homogeneous mirrored calm.

The unresolved nature of agency in the meshwork is intimately tied to the notion of *a* life, and its asymmetrical relationship with *the* life informs the overarching structure of *The Life of Lines*. For this reason, it is worth considering these Deleuzian concepts in more detail, particularly as I am critiquing Ingold’s argument for existential collapse

in the meshwork – itself predicated on *the life* perpetually dissolved into *a life* or what Deleuze calls *pure immanence*.

Writing toward the end of his life, Deleuze (2001) was concerned that the ‘plane of immanence’ could be attributed to consciousness contrary to his endeavor to define immanence as being ‘immanent’ (attributable) only to itself (Adkins 2018: 541). As Deleuze and Guattari (1994: 37) explain, ‘The plane of immanence is not a concept’ it is the plane or horizon from which concepts emerge (genesis) provoked by sensible experience without. Thought is immanent to the real (world) that provokes it, as ‘there is no origin of the world, and of thought, other than the world itself’ (de Beistegui 2010: 14). To suggest that the real is immanent to thought, as Kant’s transcendental idealism does – defining concepts as a priori internal representations, *possible* only if they comply with conditions of experience; made actual by an imposition from subject to object – is to transcend (or be outside of) the plane of immanence (see de Beistegui 2010: 13–14, original emphasis). Rather than abandon the transcendental field, however, Deleuze sought to make it a plane of immanence – to change its directionality – as he clarifies: ‘The transcendent is not the transcendental’ (2001: 26).

Drawing on Bergson, Deleuze (1991: 96–97) replaces Kant’s concept of possible with *virtual*; while possible can pre-exist its realisation (an image or representation that we project), virtual does not await realisation, *it is real* because it is the *process* of being actualised (also see Smith and Protevi 2015). What is actual is therefore ‘what is – which is not what it will be when it changes. The potential of a situation exceeds its actuality’ (Massumi 1998: 16–17) – hence, as Ingold (2015: 143–44) notes, the virtual moments of *a life* forever escape the actual moments of *the life*. Following Sartre’s definition of the transcendental field ‘without a subject’, Deleuze nonetheless remained aware this was not entirely free from consciousness and consequently implicit representation (Adkins 2018: 537).²⁸ Thus, Deleuze set out ‘to think the transcendental field as distinct from consciousness, or to think *pure immanence* as “a life”’ (Adkins 2018: 537 my emphasis).

As philosopher Brent Adkins (2018: 538) remarks, ‘it is not surprising that Deleuze’s first example of “a life” involves someone who has been beaten unconscious’. Deleuze

²⁸ As Kant argues ‘that the necessity of cause and effect only applies to appearances and not to things in themselves’ there is always an ‘another [implicit] subject’ governing any relationship between cause and effect (see discussion in Adkins 2018). Deleuze (2001: 26) expresses this as consciousness ‘reflected on a subject that refers to its objects’.

(2001: 28-29), recounting the care given to the reprehensible ‘rogue’ Mr Riderhood in Dickens’ *Our Mutual Friend* ‘as he lies dying’, discerns this ‘singular essence’ holds ‘no subject, or personality, or individual’ until, recovering consciousness, ‘the scoundrel’s old identity’ reemerges to the literal repulsion of his carers (Adkins 2018: 538). Picking up the tale, Ingold (2015: 143) notes how ‘the plane of immanence is suspended precariously between the biographical particularities of life and death, or of consciousness and coma: a suspension in which those particularities – decisions made, courses taken, goals achieved, crimes committed – are dissolved or placed in abeyance’. Suspended in the potentiality of *a* life, agency is never realised. An immanent life, Deleuze (2001: 29-31) explains, drawing on earlier work with Guattari (2013), is carried out in the space between moments ‘yet to come and already happened’ – what Ingold defines as the *in-between* – and while it coexists with *the* life, since ‘Transcendence is always a product of immanence’, *a* life is only ‘made up of virtualities, events, singularities’.

Sharing the notion of oneness with Strathern (1988), discussed previously, Deleuze (2004) uses this latter term to express the ‘tension and potentiality’ that ‘will generate qualities and shape when a thing enters into a particular field of forces’, as opposed to the qualities or things themselves (Bryant 2012). Ingold’s (2015: 23-25) use of knotting, an instance Deleuze (2004: 63-66) also exploits, follows the same premise: ‘in the knot, materials offer themselves to one another on the inside’, in ‘sympathy – through interstitial differentiation [*with*] rather than external accretion [*and*]’. In other words, there are no individuals with pre-formed identities, only multiple singularities ‘composed of differences’ that gain their identity ‘as an effect of diverse forces’ in ‘constant tension’ (Thornton 2018). As Ingold (2015: 24-25) clarifies, forms emerge from this ‘gathering of forces’ but may also be ‘pulled apart’, processes that Deleuze and Guattari (2013: 61) refer to as ‘movements of deterritorialization and reterritorialization’ – also analogous to centripetal and centrifugal forces (Müller 2015: 32) – that, as Konstantinos Retsikas (2014: 162) notes, resonate in ‘Strathern’s talk of elicitations undertaken in the course of social praxis’.

A life, then, has no forms *a priori* and is in constant process, unlike the fixed points that mark *the* life. Acknowledging these as two sides of the same coin (one the product of the other), Ingold (2015) frames a series of analogous metaphors not unlike Deleuze and Guattari’s (2013) rhizomatic plateaus. We have already met the intentional walker

that Ingold (2015: 130-33) places in 'the maze' contrary to the attentional walker who inhabits 'the labyrinth'. For this latter 'wayfarer' 'following the trail is a task which, like life itself, he is compelled to undergo; his doings – those moments of perception and action through which his movement is carried on – are thus framed within this undergoing' (Ingold 2015: 133). Drawing the verbs 'to do' and 'to undergo' from the work of theologian Henry Nelson Wieman, Ingold (2015: 125-28 italics omitted) expresses this as 'doing-in-undergoing',²⁹ itself a form of 'anthropogenic making-in-growing, wherein forms arise from the careful nurturing of materials within a field of correspondence'; a non-passive movement in which undergoing is the 'leading edge of action'. Likewise, 'in the labyrinth as in life, submission leads and mastery follows' since it is 'only in the follow-through that mastery, born of past practice, kicks in'; one's doings and makings are thus no longer 'construct[ed] according to a prefigured design but rather' carry on (Ingold 2015: 139-40, 128 italics omitted).

To capture the directionality of growing-in-making, Ingold (2015: 120-22) coins the aforementioned term 'anthropogenic' in opposition to anthropomorphic (growing-in-making or 'nurture as the projection of pre-existent cultural form'). Equally, borrowing the verb 'humanifying' from the medieval philosopher Ramon Llull to capture doing-in-undergoing, Ingold (2015: 128) sets this against humanising (undergoing-in-doing or the delusion of mastery). Thus 'humanifying is to humanising as anthropogenesis is to anthropomorphism' (Ingold 2015: 128) and labyrinth is to maze as meshwork is to network. With this array of directionally oppositional terms established, Ingold (2015: 152) makes one last move, clarifying: 'intention is replaced by attention, the subject by the verb, and human agency by the doing-in-undergoing of humanifying'. To turn the coin again, the other side of displacement is replacement such that 'The anthropogenic process of humanifying... recognises no levels of transcendence' allowing this triad to 'add up to' a more refined definition of 'correspondence' (Ingold 2015: 152 italics omitted).

For Deleuze and Guattari (1994; 2013), however, this oppositional distinction is not so clear cut. As they explain in *A Thousand Plateaus* (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 552), their own parallel paired terms 'exist only in mixture: smooth space is constantly being

²⁹ Philosopher John Dewey (1934) also discusses the relation between doing and undergoing, which he believed should be in balance 'to form a whole in perception'.

translated, transversed into a striated space; striated space is constantly being reversed, returned to a smooth space'. This latter pair – smooth and striated space – are another way of conveying the planes of immanence (*a* life) and transcendence (*the* life), or the meshwork and the network. Whilst they 'are always engaged in undoing one another', in displacement, 'one plane does not replace the other' (de Beistegui 2010: 67). The *in-between* carries on 'in the fold where the two [planes] meet' and any attempt to 'escape the ontological difference' thrusts us into either extreme: the chaos of smooth space or the inert organisation of striated space (de Beistegui 2010: 194). Indeed, such extremes appear to recreate an unhelpful binary opposition, and may even prove dangerous. To move into smooth space without some organisation, Deleuze and Guattari (2013: 187) caution, means 'you will be killed, plunged into a black hole'. Narrowly avoiding such a fate, Ingold (2015: 80-82) takes up the notion of smooth space, suggesting it has 'two sides': the atmosphere we gather and the meshwork we release. As with the flesh of the world, freed from *the* life and its striated space, we are, fortunately, only unconscious. Or 'sleepwalking', Ingold (2015: 132) suggests.

Absent from ourselves, it is not clear where one life ends and another begins; *a* life is nameless, freed from prior identity – a notion, remarked on earlier, that I explore in chapter 4 in the context of ancestral life. However, as Deleuze (2001: 29) and Ingold (2015: 144) both attest, 'A life is every-where', prompting Ingold (2018a: 27) to enquire whether, lost in the task at hand, one might 'wonder afterwards "did I do that?" or "was that me?" Their agency... always in question'. Of course, as Malafouris (2013: 215, 217) observes, one might respond more typically with "I did it" in what he terms the 'agency judgement': the explicit belief that 'one produced an action or caused an effect'. This is distinct from the 'sense' or 'feeling of agency' one experiences during an activity: an awareness of 'causing the movement' that may be 'disrupted', in the way Ingold infers, as one becomes immersed in action, giving rise to 'a sense of loss of agency or loss of self' (Malafouris 2013: 224); collapsing difference, at least momentarily. This distinction is also evocative of the split in agency common to Melanesian understanding; the pivot relations that displace the judgement of cause and effect from the agent or self carrying out the act (Malafouris 2013: 218), hence Strathern's (1988: 273) discrimination 'between "person" and "agent"'.

These more or less explicit manifestations of agency might, according to Malafouris (2013: 214-15), be unique to human consciousness and should therefore be understood apart from what he calls 'agency proper': the causal movements, we have noted, better captured by AR. Although all of these agentive congealings are emergent properties of action, the latter accounts for the enactment of matter's specific boundaries (becoming actual) regardless of human participation (Barad 2007: 149, 171; Malafouris 2013: 214). In the context of museum collecting and collections, where persons and things are co-constitutive, such 'material agency' cannot be extricated from human agency, however, and therefore from consciousness; in any one ontological moment, one might only ask with Malafouris 'when is an agent?' (2013: 119, 147).

Identifying an illusion that arises 'from the plane itself like vapors [sic] from a pond', Deleuze and Guattari (1994: 49) likewise recognise this 'natural inclination of thought towards transcendence' (de Beistegui 2010: 193). Yet, it is the source of transcendence that is of consequence. As de Beistegui (2010: 193) explains, because 'thought emerges from the real itself, it is the real as such that produces its own effects of transcendence, which are akin to surface or optical effects. The illusions of transcendence are physical, material illusions. Because they are real, and indeed actual, it is easy to understand why they can so easily be mistaken for the causes'. As with Kant, who believed the source to be thought itself (inter-subjective and distinct from reality), our agency judgement can lead us astray. Directionality matters. While paying attention may not 'eradicate transcendence once and for all' (de Beistegui 2010: 194), its patterns of displacement return us to the action of the real where intention is dissolved, or in Malafouris' (2013) terms, is intention in action. But what of Ingold's replacement?

Refiguring smooth space, Ingold (2015: 76-77) reimmerses us in atmosphere – not only 'meteorological', but also 'aesthetic' or experiential – at once reexposing us to the elements that mark time and growth. Here 'the black hole is a place not of nothingness but of infinite density' – blackness or silence – from which colours and sounds emerge as 'a continuum of intensity' (Ingold 2015: 103, 111). This last term another Deleuzian (1994: 293) means of expressing difference that, like virtuality and singularity, motion depth – unlike the flatness of ANT, the other target of Ingold's critique. Lines are thus gradients of intensity that never figure any subject, or individual as they correspond in 'alternating tension and resolution' with others, forming knots and leaving their traces

as meshwork (Ingold 2015: 23). Collapsing knowledge into movement – a thinking-in-moving (Ingold 2015: 49) – time, distance and cognition dissolve into ‘action without agency’ (Ingold 2015: 145 italics omitted). While Ingold’s theory is a remarkable and necessary take on *pure* immanence as sought by Deleuze in his attempt to dissolve ‘the illusion of transcendence’, as de Beistegui (2010: 194-95) remarks, not even Deleuze could dissolve his actual name and identity into the ‘impersonal and anonymous’.

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Replacement from the retrospective directionality of the network is, at its most horrifying, no less than genocide. To replace this with the directionality of the meshwork is, as Ingold advocates, more than essential. My argument here challenges whether one model superimposes the other absolutely from a phenomenological standpoint – whether we might lose more than humanity’s worst intentions. I ask if recognising ontological shifts in directionality that permit displacements might better acknowledge the simultaneity of partial ontologies. Consequently, this thesis primarily explores patterns of displacement – of intention from the meshwork, of attention from the network – the models arising copresently, always entwined and inclusive of agency.

Copresence

‘Depth, as opposed to distance’, argues McGilchrist (2009: 77, 183), whether temporal or spatial, ‘never implies detachment’. A phenomenon of the right hemisphere, depth ‘allows us to “feel across” the intervening space’, through the thing to its wider context (McGilchrist 2009: 182-83) collapsing difference. However, as Tim Thomas (2009: 114) surmises, the ‘directional movement from being to narrating [may be] encouraged by forms of detachment’. While the intransitive and storied movements of the meshwork capture emerging identities as verbs rather than subjects or objects, often more explicit biographical moments surface as agential congealings, expressing particular identities and meanings. Conscious that copresence is transitive, questions of directionality also invite us to consider, along with David Graeber and David Wengrow (2018), just ‘how did we get so stuck?’. A phenomenon of the left hemisphere, explicitness concentrates ‘on the surface’ encouraging reflection – a practice we all engage in, myself included –

that if not ‘resolved into the whole picture by right-hemisphere attention’ can deceive rather than define (McGilchrist 2009: 182).

For Rocky, Lekwa, Rupa and Gima, as for other Papua New Guineans encountering and negotiating a ‘diverse and shifting, as well as universalizing’ modernity, analogous concerns arise as displacements redefine tradition (Lipset 2017: 3). Indeed, as Thomas (2009: 114) analogously remarks, ‘History is made from such tensions’.



Figure 3.1

Dubu platform post, Pari, Central Province, 1904, with expedition ink framing (BM Oc,B119.69; ALRC Cooke Daniels collection).



Figure 3.2

Charles Seligman (R) with carriers or expedition 'boys', Central Province, 1904 (BM Oc,B119.99; ALRC Cooke Daniels collection).

3.

Practices: shaping encounters

“Pushed on to Kalo where [we] stayed at mission house – influence of teacher nil – sent for policeman to come to mission & explain through Charlie that I wanted to know all about dubus [sic] – started at once on them... men sat on dubu discussing my points, practically no asking for tobacco, & after information drifted quickly away.”

- Charles Seligman (1904a: 114). 16 June 1904. Kalo, Central Prov.

PATTERNS OF MEANING

It is the afternoon of 27 December 1903 in Port Moresby – the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition have been in British New Guinea for eight days – and Seligman is watching a dance performance beside RM and colonial host, Barton. Participants originate from the Mambare River area and are members of the Armed Native Constabulary (ANC), the Indigenous all-male police force established by William MacGregor in 1890 to aid pacification (see Jinks et al 1973: 61). The men are decorated with ‘feathers loaned by Barton, trade handkerchiefs & coconut leaves’ and have erected ‘a small roof shaped framework covered with gay blankets’ (Seligman 1904a: 17-18). Mesmerised, Seligman and Barton watch this ‘ark’, now occupied by two dancers, emerge from the south side of the government boathouse and gatecrash another performance by men from the Fly River area (Seligman 1904a: 18). Surrounding the ark ‘beating drums over their heads’, the ‘Fly men’ then hand over the drums (probably also borrowed) before retreating to allow the Mambare dance to gain momentum (Seligman 1904a: 18).¹

‘[S]ix men advanced in low position’, Seligman (1904a: 19) recalls in his journal, two facing toward the group ‘who on meeting them rose up & beat drums’, ‘Presently a low groan like sound proceeded from “ark”, drumming became more vigorous than

¹ The expedition filmed Mambare ANC men dancing at Barton’s durbar, Port Moresby, 1 July 1904. See 11953 1904 Gaumont Company, BFI. One of 12 35mm reels at the BFI filmed by the expedition.

ever dying down to a rapid low pattering of fingers on tympana'. Seligman (1904a: 19) notes the ease with which one can 'read an emotional meaning of pity or intreaty [sic]' and, as the atmosphere intensifies, he recalls Judaism's most sacred day, Yom Kippur. Perhaps unconsciously reflecting Seligman's heritage, or inspired by the 'arc', or both, Barton turns 'spontaneously' to him and asks whether he has 'ever been in a synagogue' (Seligman 1904a: 19). Although the two men met for the first time only a few days ago, their rapport is immediate. Writing to friend and physician Herbert Jonas, Seligman (1903b) declares Barton a 'good sort... thoroughly keen on natives', suggesting 'Probably he will join me in writing some of the report articles'. In the same letter, Seligman (1903b) struggles to follow Jonas' 'instructions to write [his personal] impressions' and finds relief in digression – discussing medical facts.

A small, ink graphic in Seligman's (1904a: 19) journal equally reduces the complex patterns of movement expressed in the Mambare dance to a series of lines and arrow-heads that extend from dancers depicted as empty, circular terminals. The convention is similar to that used by Haddon (1901: 215-16), although Haddon's static dancers are supplemented with detailed and life-like illustrations. As an alternative (drawing is not Seligman's strong suit), he attempts photography, described – rather pompously – by Daniels (n.d.: 183) as barely 'passable' on account of 'Sligs's weaker camera discipline and lesser experience'. In a similarly egregious description – albeit with comic intent – Daniels (n.d.: 3) portrays Seligman, 'arms waving like delerious [sic] windmills', as he seeks out ethnographic facts under building eaves during a visit to Waima. Seligman is in pursuit of designs, particularly those carved into the posts of men's houses and dubu platforms (figure 3.1) and his intention is to abstract their precise meanings.

In one particularly discomfiting encounter at Kalo on 16 June 1904, six years after he first visited the village with Haddon, Seligman (whose account opens this chapter) had few misgivings about his coercive acquisition of information on dubu. Aware that Kalo actively restricted relations with outsiders by limiting trade (Haddon 1901: 213), Seligman called upon the Village Constable – the other arm of MacGregor's pacifying force – to ensure cooperation; the Elders appear to have received nothing in return and no objects were collected. Colonial authority displaced material exchange. Examining the Kalo dubu posts, Seligman (1904a: 115) discerns patterns he believes signify toea armbands and crocodile skin, the latter – first observed by Seligman (1900: 591) on

dubu in 1898 – or at least similar forms, recurring on other Central Province carvings, including objects in the Cooke Daniels collections discussed in this chapter. Notably, the conspicuous framing around the crocodile-like image in figure 3.1 is Seligman's – he has inscribed his initials on the reverse of the print – one of his better photographs.

Seligman's pursuit of design-meanings was closely shared with Barton, whose own interest fixated on tattoo patterns. Some of Barton's photographs are far more discomfiting.² These concern young women from Central Province, some divested of their fibre skirts, their tattoos personally enhanced by Barton, who used 'his own mixture of soot and oil' to trace over their skin (Wright 2003: 149). Discussing one such 'overtly staged' and sexualised image of a Vula'a (Hula) woman named Luikama, Christopher Wright (2003: 145-49) remarks on Barton's attempt to hide his voyeurism by drawing a box around Luikama's underarm tattoo, 'to isolate the "scientific detail"'. Although Seligman appears to have limited his (literal) scientific framing to material objects, Barton's images, 'products of a colonial desire', circulated as postcards, others appearing in his protracted 1918 paper *Tattooing in South Eastern New Guinea* (Wright 2003: 147-49). Seligman lent his fieldnotes to Barton in preparation (see Barton 1918: 52 n1) and correspondence reveals the extent to which Barton and Seligman exchanged ideas and notes,³ influencing the content of each other's publications. Numerous objects in the Cooke Daniels collections also originate from Barton, some relating directly to his own collections now in the British Museum.⁴

Whilst Barton's gift of objects to the expedition reflected his amateur ambitions in anthropology and his camaraderie with Seligman, his loan of objects to the Mambare dancers reflected the wider colonial milieu and the salvage discourse of 'doomed race theory' (Edmundson 2019: 4). Barton (1904a: 20) believed 'that native institutions and customs should be allowed to decay by degrees... [as] forcing a change from age-long custom, upon natives such as these' would leave them 'unable to adapt'. A notion that vied simultaneously with 'stadial theory optimism' (Edmundson 2019: 6); either extinction was inevitable or progress was possible 'if change comes slowly and is carefully

² The main collection (on various topics) is held at the RAI, see Wright (2003). Several postcards of unclothed young women are held at the BM (Oc,B102.1-13), others are published in Barton (1918).

³ Such as letters dated 16 November 1905 and 6 September 1906 from Barton to Seligman in the LSEA (SELIGMAN 4/1/1).

⁴ A number of Barton pottery sherds in the BM Christy collection were matched to sherds in the BM Cooke Daniels collection in the 1970s, see BM Eth Doc 1032.

guided' (Barton 1904a: 20). The dubu in figure 3.1 was built at Pari village in 1904 and might have been directly encouraged by Barton. This was undoubtedly the case for the dubu built at Hohodae, Hanuabada a year later (see Seligman 1910: 63). As Ahuia Ova (in Williams 1939: 20) recounts in his memoirs,⁵ Barton specifically asked why dubu and associated ceremonies were no longer taking place, Ahuia replied "Because we are afraid of the missionaries". But Captain Barton said, "Oh no, you must not stop it; because they are the customs of your olden people". So from that time we started [again]'.

Standing to the left of a woman from Waima in one of Barton's tattoo photographs is a member of the ANC, his arm extended as if he is presenting her to Barton or to us, the viewer (figure 3.3 (*L*)). He is wearing a metal badge, suspended from a chain on his chest, to indicate his status as Village Constable (VC). Ahuia's appearance is otherwise ambiguous, the ANC uniform displacing his identity as Koita and Hohodae chief. His presence and gesture in the photograph similarly speaks more to colonial than chiefly authority – roles made especially distinct in cases of clan conflict; Barton (1904a: 16-17), recording incidences where neighbouring VCs reported crimes so as to absolve the local VC of responsibility as well as likely tensions. However, while Barton encouraged Indigenous practices, the ANC in turn encouraged local participation in colonial and scientific practices (Brown 2001: 23) – though not before they were pressed into taking part themselves. Many of Seligman and Strong's anatomical measurements were taken from ANC men (Seligman 1906c: 425), Seligman (1904a: 12) noting how the 'auricular radii instrument produced an absolute panic in a big Mambare man' named Evia.

Strikingly, Ahuia's colonial coercion contrasts with his apparent chiefly persuasion; acquiring objects from his Hohodae kin perhaps as gifts for the expedition; clan taking precedence over colony. As a key informant for Barton and Seligman, Ahuia also made objects, sought out knowledge from Elders, translated for and travelled with both men (Williams 1939: 27-28; Seligman 1904a: 141-42); one identity often bolstering another. And although VCs were necessary intermediaries between colonists and communities (Brown 2001: 23), here a depth of relationship developed that would further entangle scientific, colonial and Indigenous practices, shaping encounters.

⁵ As Goddard (2008: 40-41) points out, Williams significantly edited 'the manuscript dictated by Ahuia' rearranging the memoir 'to achieve the conventional autobiographical structure [he] desired'. Although reliable, it is at odds with the traditional lack of Motu Koita 'autobiographical consciousness' (Goddard 2008: 40). A point I return to at the end of the chapter.



Figure 3.3

(L) Ahuia Ova in ANC uniform with Waima woman, her tattoos overpainted. (RAI 20318; Barton collection, after Wright 2003: 152 image 3); (R) Ahuia Ova in ceremonial dress. (RAI; Barton collection, after Seligman 1910 Plate III).



Figure 3.4

Walter Mersh Strong taking anatomical measurements. Yule Is., Central Province, PNG, 16 May 1904 (BM Oc,B119.31, black and white digital copy, exposure enhanced; ALRC Cooke Daniels collection).

Chapter Overview

Having traced a theoretical pathway through the thesis in chapter 2, this chapter picks up threads concerned with aspects of sensorium and abstraction in scientific, colonial and Indigenous practice. Emphasis is given to the former (Indigenous practices taking precedence in chapter 4) and how these early twentieth-century constructs informed the aims and ambitions of the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition, shaping encounters with people and things. My aim is to weave a series of stories about intentions and circumstances of collection through a series of present-day encounters with objects from the Cooke Daniels collections. Some encounters are my own while others concern New Guineans (re)encountering their material culture, all explore constructions of identity and meaning. In this way, sensate experience brings past and present into relation not by tracing lines of past encounter, but by creating tracings anew (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 22); the stories arising from tensions concerning ‘conscious awareness and lively materials’ (Ingold 2021: 14). Supplementing these experiences are historic fieldnotes, journal entries, object labels and relevant literature that permit an assessment of how the expedition’s theory and publications relate to the material collections.

The stories typically begin in museum store and workrooms, where I encountered the Cooke Daniels collections arranged geographically, concentrated into object types; the result of museum practice and taxonomy. This shaping of encounter brought into focus patterns of repetition, similarity and difference, inviting questions of relations, both in the inter-artefactual sense inferred by Gell (1998: 219) and in the more haptic sense of reciprocal action – how these objects actively participated in their collection, as well as in people’s lives and practices. With this in mind, I initially consider groups of Waima, Lala (Nara) and Mekeo patterned objects, particularly gourds, as a means of exploring localised patterns of collecting and the way these emerged from entangled relations implicating Seligman and Barton. Doing so prompts reflection on the role of informants and collaborators, notably Ahuia and his pivotal role in Seligman’s understanding of dubu and apparent Motu Koita cultural decline. Central are Ahuia’s pencil drawings and their relationship to carved objects, which in turn shed light on some of the expedition’s collecting practices. Here, I also draw insight from the relationships I formed in the field in 2015 to reflect on collector agency, both past and present.

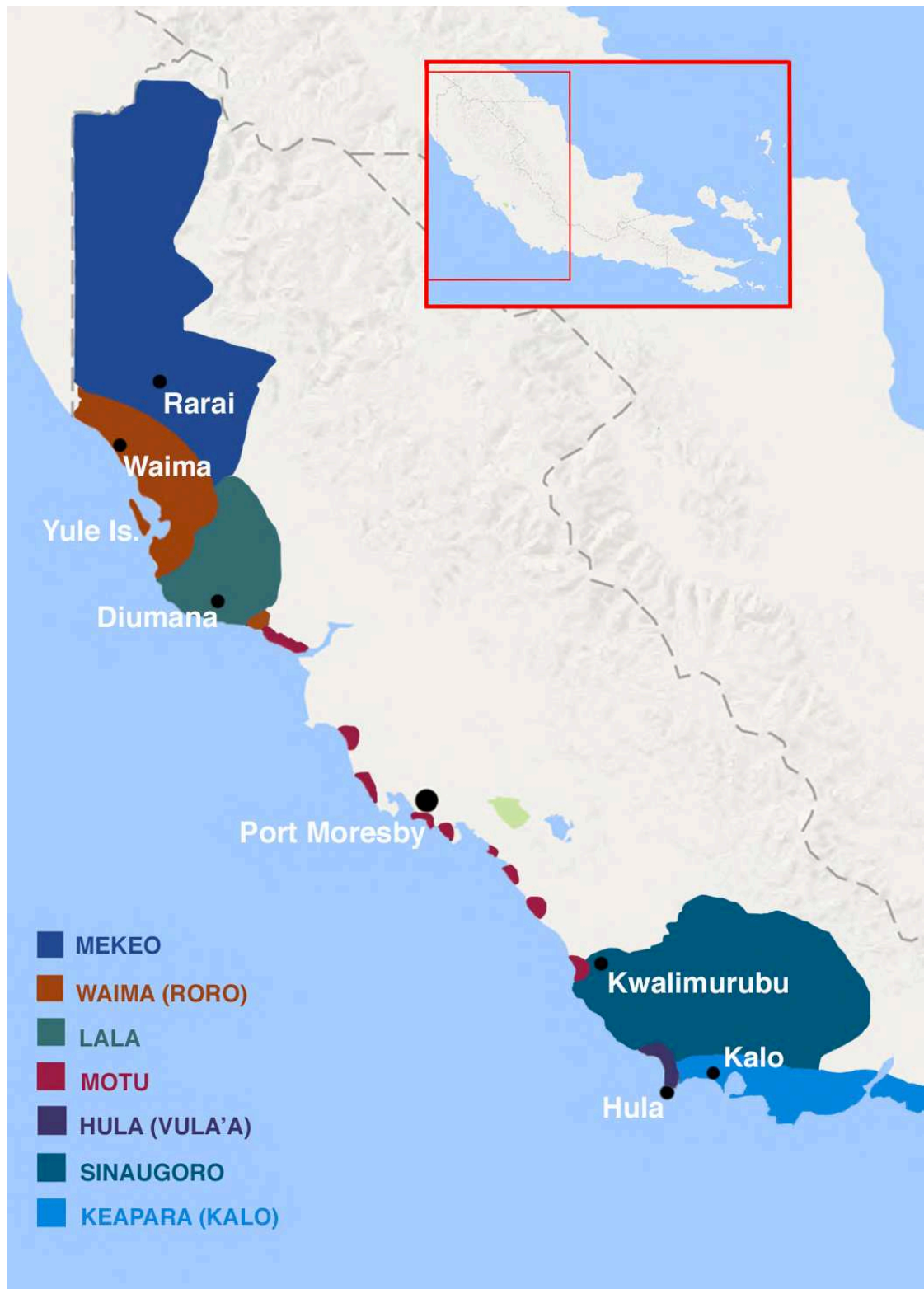


Figure 3.5

Relevant Austronesian language areas in Central Province, PNG. Created using google maps with data drawn from SIL-PNG (n.d.). Dialects are not shown, for example, Waima (Roro) dialects include Waima (spoken at Waima), Roro (spoken on and around Yule Island) and Paitana (spoken at Mou, south of Waima); see Monsell-Davis (1974). People also define themselves variously according to dialect, place or cultural group. Although the expedition also visited other inland groups, this area from Waima to Kalo covers the extent of their travels in Central Province (see chapter 1).

SCIENTISTS AND COLONISTS

I am holding one end of a large wooden box, the corners reinforced with black metal brackets; Jill Hasell, Assistant Collections Manager for the British Museum's Oceania Section, holds the other end. We are in the Oceania Store at Orsman Road – the BM's off-site Ethnography Store in Hackney – preparing objects for the day ahead. Together we place the box onto a trolley, which we load into a freight elevator, before wheeling it through the Americas Store one floor below and into the Student Room.

Lifting the box lid, I reveal the anticipated containers from Central Province, PNG, made from bottle gourd (*Lagenaria siceraria*), each nestled in white tissue paper. One has leaked white powder, which billows slightly when I lift the gourd from the box to examine it. The powder is slaked lime (calcium hydroxide), typically made from clam shells,⁶ which is chewed with areca nut (seed from the palm *Areca catechu*) – referred to as betel nut – and mustard (*Piper betel* inflorescence). The lime reacts chemically with the areca nut turning the saliva red (Kinaston et al 2016: 10) – a startling sight, as Seligman (1904a: 15) noted upon seeing a Motu lagatoi (double hulled canoe) 'flecked here & there a bright red as though with blood'. Even today betel spit remains a messy problem in PNG, though the Motu Koita now make a point of swallowing – not spitting – after chewing, the lime helping to alleviate the bitterness of the areca nut.

Orange in colour, the gourds range in shape from elongated to bulbous and length from 11.5 cm to 32.5 cm. All but two have a small circular opening in the top, and one, collected in the Mekeo village of Rarai (BM Oc1906,1013.515), has been plugged with a section of cut plant stem, perhaps to replace a spatula that might otherwise have acted as a stopper.⁷ The two gourds without top openings (BM Oc1906,1013.524 and BM Oc1906,1013.613) are unfinished containers, though an inscription (in square brackets to indicate supposition) on the museum label for BM Oc1906,1013.613 suggests this might be a rattle. An idea afforded by the percussive qualities – the swish and clatter – of the loose seeds inside each container, perhaps also encouraged by known examples

⁶ Possibly mud clams (*Geloina coaxans*) (see Pernetta and Hill 1981: 186). I witnessed Motu women at Lae Lae collecting clam shells for lime making in 2015, although coral is the preferred medium in other parts of PNG (see Beran 1988: 5). Seligman (1904a: 87) also notes the Mekeo burned shells for lime.

⁷ Plant material may have been used to stopper lime more generally or added to BM Oc1906,1013.515 (see figure 3.14) when the gourd was traded. Some eastern Central Province gourds in the collections at MAA (Z 32620; 1925.232) have wooden spatulae with bulbous centres, which may have acted as stoppers. I have located one Central Province gourd with a (broken) bone spatula (BM Oc1906,1013.511) in the Cooke Daniels collections, otherwise gourds and spatulae appear to have been collected separately.

from the Americas; deceptive, as gourd rattles are not typical of PNG. Considering BM Oc1906,1013.613 with Gima Vui in Hula, where the gourd was collected, I learn that mature gourds are dried out in the sun before the top opening is made, allowing the seeds to be shaken out and discarded (personal communication 9 October 2015). Similar observations are made in Waima where BM Oc1906,1013.524 was likely collected. While gourd rattles are not known here, lime gourds are known to double as drums in dance performance (Avia Ovia and To'oro Arua, personal communication 27 October 2015).

I remove the gourds one by one from the storage box, processing each one in turn – measuring, describing, photographing. The gourds are cool to the touch, reflecting the temperature of the store, the skin smooth and firm. Hairline fractures have developed on several examples, some are especially brittle. Others have developed a shiny patina, presumably from past hands and handling – my own hands, sheathed in purple nitrile, contribute little. However, the gourds warm in response to my body temperature; skin answering skin despite the gloves and the desiccating effects of time and decay.

A degree of decay is both inexorable and vital to the creation of lime gourds. When first harvested from gardens, where they remain an important crop (Allen et al 2002: 8), their skin is comparatively soft and thus amenable to being cut and decorated, even after drying (Avia Ovia and To'oro Arua, personal communication 27 October 2015). Toughening takes place over time preserving the exquisite pyroincised designs – black-brown in orange skin – that decorate all but one gourd (BM Oc1906,1013.94).

Designs typically wrap the gourds from opening to base, just as tattoos traditionally wrapped the bodies of Central Province women from head to foot. For Waima women like Avia Ovia, whom I met in 2015, this includes the scalp, although for other groups, such as the Motu, head tattoos marked only the face. Avia, from Ere Ere in the Waima village settlement – occupied by Austronesian-speaking Waima people (see figure 3.5) – is now in her nineties and, like other older women, has the typical V-shaped motifs and geometric body patterns also visible on the Waima woman Barton photographed more than a century before (figure 3.3 (L)).⁸

⁸ Note the large chest V-shape motif, loosely termed the '*mairi-mairi* angle' by Barton (1918: 27), who thought it derived from mother-of-pearl shell breast ornaments of the same name (such as BM Oc1906, 1013.106), are not unique to Waima and appeared across Central Province groups as a sign of betrothal or readiness for marriage.



Figure 3.6

Side faces of lime gourd BM Oc1906,1013.518 (viewed side on, top to right of image. Catalogue record in appendix F shows front and reverse). Arrows indicate expedition blue pencil cross marks. 29 cm long. Collected at Waima, Central Province, PNG. Cooke Daniels collection. Photo by author.



Figure 3.7

Blossom end of lime gourd BM Oc1906,1013.518. Photo by author.



Figure 3.8

Elder Avia Ovia at her home in Ere Ere, Waima, 27 October 2015. Like many older women, Avia ‘wears’ her tattoos and was photographed with her consent as she usually dresses. Photo by author.



Figure 3.9

Mangeau pattern with central pi’iu. 26 cm long. Collected at Eboa, Mekeo, Central Province, PNG. Cooke Daniels collection. BM Oc1906,1013.513 (lime gourd viewed side on, top to left of image). Photo by author.

Of the 31 Cooke Daniels lime gourds (28 of which are in the BM), the ten collected at Waima share a distinctive decorative style that comprises motifs used in tattooing.⁹ The most common motifs, often arranged concentrically or as chevrons, consist of V-shapes, giving rise to a kaleidoscope of diamonds and triangles that border on optical illusion. BM Oc1906,1013.518 (figure 3.6) is an elongated bottle gourd containing lime powder, 6.5 cm in diameter and 29 cm in length, with a circular top opening. The blossom end of the fruit is visible as a small circular node at the base, which forms the apex of three sets of concentric triangles or nested V-shapes, each line pyroincised; an additional line drawn to the right of one triangle to balance the design where the apex has not fully aligned with the blossom end. Enclosed within the smallest triangle of each nest is a single vertical line (figure 3.7). Three undecorated bands run horizontally around the gourd near the base and top, and at the centre, distinguishing larger lower and upper panels decorated with variations on the base pattern.

A thin band of vertical chevrons and two single vertical lines divide the lower panel into three, each consisting of four concentric triangle motifs, apex pointing toward the centre, diverging from the upper panel, which alternates opposing concentric triangles to form a continuous zigzag pattern. A single vertical line marks the smallest triangle of each nest on one side of the gourd. The same pattern is repeated in a band above, which sits below a further band of horizontal chevrons. Care has been taken in several places to match lines from one panel or band to another, adding to the optical effect. Elsewhere, the horizontal line separating the upper panel from its corresponding band veers off course hindering a neat join. Here, the band design runs into the panel below without encroaching on its design, suggesting the horizontal dividing lines were pyroincised before the pattern. Viewed from one side, the neck appears undecorated. From other angles, a diagonal line traces into a large V or chevron (apex pointing upwards), which kicks out at the base on one side, suggesting the beginning of a zigzag. This line fades away, the pressure in its application visibly and, seemingly deliberately, lessened.

Haddon (1895: 42), quoting Lindt, describes the artist blowing on a slice of coconut leaf sheath to keep the end white hot, as ‘the glowing ember forms a fine point, which on being slowly moved along the desired lines leaves indelible tracks’. Irregularities in the width and pressure of some lines on BM Oc1906,1013.518, which indicate where

⁹ Nine (seen) are at the BM with one further (unseen) Waima example at the PRM (1905.63.37).

the incising tool was lifted – perhaps blown on – and reapplied, appear consistent with this technique. Quite the opposite of Avia Ovia's tattoo lines (figure 3.8), which appear fluid and continuous, belying their method of application by plant thorn, the pigment 'driven into the skin by a quick tapping movement' (Barton 1918: 26). Burning was not limited to gourd skin though, as Barton (1918: 44) records women burning 'indelible spots upon their skins by the application of a glowing ember'. Conceivably this created texture, just as deeper incisions in gourd skin creates small and coarse depressions.

The spots incorporated in Avia's designs are tattooed, however, and arranged down the centre of two vertical, parallel bands on her back, enclosed either side by the same zigzag pattern described for BM Oc1906,1013.518, consisting of alternating opposing concentric triangles; the smallest triangle either in-filled or decorated with a single line. The pattern, with some variation, also appears on the front of her legs, below the knee. Much to his frustration, writing in his paper on tattooing, Barton (1918: 29-30) reveals the name of this design is 'missing in [his] notes', however, 'It appears to be the same pattern as the Mekeo *mangeau* design'. This consists of two parallel lines with designs either side, which, according to Barton (1918: 32-33), also form designs called malegau used by the neighbouring Lala (Nara), where 'the pattern-name denotes a lime-gourd design as well as a tattoo pattern'. Observing differences in the pattern's execution by a Lala artist, Barton (1918: 33) defaults to a common colonial stereotype: the inept artist – a trope apparent even in literature from the 1970s (such as Ison 1974) – that assumes variation is merely error rather than innovation. Elsewhere, variations are reduced to classificatory instances within a type, suppressing differences between patterns across groups, which often share similar names (see Barton 1918).

Not all of Barton's comments projected and reflected colonial tropes, however. His careful observation of the way *mangeau* and malegau pattern operate as a 'bisection of the figure by a space enclosed within two parallel straight lines' precisely explicates the way lines match each other between bands and panels as if to form one pattern, both on gourd BM Oc1906,1013.518 and Avia's back. Another gourd, BM Oc1906,1013.513 (figure 3.9), collected in the Mekeo village of Eboa, appears to show a *mangeau* pattern arranged either side of a plain vertical band or two parallel lines. The V-shape typical of Waima design is expressed here as concentric rhomboids, each mirrored near the gourd's top and off-set in a zigzagging formation further down, the smallest rhomboid

of each nest in-filled. Reconsidering the plain, horizontal band around the base of BM Oc1906,1013.518 as a bisection of concentric figures, the same combination of mirroring and zigzagging becomes apparent. Strikingly, the space in between the outer bands of rhomboids on BM Oc1906,1013.513 accommodates concentric diamonds, known in Mekeo tattooing as pi'iu (Barton 1918: 31), echoing the diamond motif that occurs between sections on the lower panel of BM Oc1906,1013.518 where the vertical dividing line – though single – is a ninety degree rotation of the bisected figures just discussed. This rotation also generates the four concentric triangles, apex to centre, noted earlier; the central negative space of which takes the form of a 'Maltese cross' or 'combination of light St. George's and St. Andrew's crosses' frequently observed as isolated motifs by Haddon (1895: 43-44) and Barton (1918: 49) in Motu, Vula'a and Sinaugoro design.

Decayed Naturalism

For the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition, such observations lay at the root of their interest in surveying and collecting pattern, in particular, Haddon's perceptive remark, as paraphrased by Seligman (1910: 37) in *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, 'that the art of each ethnic group is characterized by a special style'. Not only could design be used to classify ethnic or cultural groups, it could also help establish 'the distinguishing characteristics' of the 'tribes' they comprised (Seligman 1910: 34). Whilst this notion is never fully articulated in *Melanesians*, which concentrates instead on other social and anatomical evidence, the text is nevertheless woven with examples of objects where the design, or name for the design, is taken to be indicative of the work's origin or relation to neighbouring peoples (for example Seligman 1910: 210-12, 246, 347-48). Consistent with this are the references to designs or patterns in Seligman's fieldnotes and journal, which suggest he was paying close attention to similarities and differences within and across groups, both visual and linguistic.

James Urry (1998: 217) argues 'The ordering of [Seligman's] data into culture areas and groups was more a consequence of the need to order facts than to select them for analysis or interpretation'. Seligman was, however, as Urry (1998: 216) also recognises, evolving Haddon's use of the term 'ethnic group' into a formal mode of classification denoting 'similar tribes who varied only "in particular cultural characteristics"'; these 'groups could contain a number of tribes, the group... identified by the name of the

dominant tribe in the area'. A practice recalled in group names like Mekeo. Moreover, 'ethnic groups could be considered together as a "stock" or "congeries" if they occupied a common geographical area and showed cultural or physical similarities' (Urry 1998: 216). Likewise following Haddon's use of similar divisions,¹⁰ Seligman (1910: 1-2, 33) applied the term 'Papuan' to 'all the inhabitants of New Guinea', 'Papuan' to western Papuans and 'Papuo-Melanesians' to eastern Papuans; further dividing this latter race into 'two great stocks': 'Western Papuo-Melanesians' and 'Eastern Papuo-Melanesians' or the 'Massim'.¹¹ The former occupying what is now Central Province and the latter, Milne Bay Province. With plans to collate and evaluate art and craft abandoned with Seligman's (1910: v, 34) hoped for TSE-style reports, *Melanesians* acknowledged Haddon's intellectual legacy tacitly corroborating his study of art in a volume that, as Urry (1998: 220) remarks, was never intended to offer detailed analysis.

Indeed, while the lines that decorate gourd and human bodies might be understood today as traces of gesture or movement (Ingold 2015: 61), their organisation into self-scalable fractals, which extend in multiple directions from a 'middle' space, rhizomatic (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 566, 26-27), Seligman, after Haddon, saw decorative lines through the unilineal organising principles of evolutionism. As Anita Herle (1998: 84-85) explains, Haddon's biological approach regarded 'art as a growing and changing life form' that either developed or decayed, 'degeneration being associated with the loss of clarity and meaning associated with particular forms or designs'. Accordingly, designs were assumed to have 'developed from a naturalistic beginning' but to have decayed to such a degree that meanings were often unknown – facts Barton continued to verify in the field following the expedition (Seligman 1910: 38, 34, ix, 38 n1). This, of course, did not prevent Seligman or Barton from seeking out design meanings and, in Seligman's case, speculating on whether designs were really naturalistic or "autotelic," existing only for the purpose of embellishment' (Seligman 1910: 35; Barton 1918: 22-23). An idea drawn from Haddon (1895: 4) who viewed 'Æsthetics [as] the study or practice of art for art's sake, for the sensuous pleasure of form, line, and colour' – an idea Seligman believed had significant psychological implications.

¹⁰ Predicated on physical, linguistic and cultural evidence, see Haddon (1894; 1895; 1900); also discussion in Firth (1975: 277).

¹¹ As Urry (1998: 214) notes, Seligman's division into Papuans and Papuo-Melanesians rejected his and Haddon's earlier classification, which divided Papuans into east and west.

Art, Seligman (1910: 36-37) argued, can result in a 'heightened appreciation of self, brought about as the result of skilled co-ordinate movements, or other actions which allow a man to feel that he is impressing himself strongly on his environment'. Equally, 'vague moods of wonder and perhaps uneasiness or perplexity may be translated into artistic production' (Seligman 1910: 37). No doubt rooted in the derogatory belief that, for the 'savage' mind, 'Perception is unconscious induction' (Powell 1885: 183; also see Lubbock 1871), the idea that aesthetics, implicit emotion and bodily engagement were vital to the development of self and the artistic process reified supposed mental limitations. The retrospective directionality of evolutionism rendering embodiment inferior to abstraction, directing Seligman's (1910: 35-38) copresent search for 'the portrayal of natural objects' through embodied practice – here imposed upon the material world – and geometric representation. However, it was Barton (1918: 22-23) who thought that failure to give the correct name or meaning to a – possibly decayed – design was due 'to an imaginary likeness between the pattern and some commonplace object... [given that] natives seldom, if ever, associate mentally the name of a conventionalised design with its corresponding natural object'. Evolutionary schemas leading Barton to believe his own judgment of pattern meaning, largely based on etymological similarity, more valid than that of New Guineans thought incapable of such analysis.¹² Displacing such views would require a different kind of imaginative engagement and attention: bodily empathy. For the expedition however, analytical thinking frequently prevailed.

Decayed Totemism

Upon one side of gourd BM Oc1906,1013.518 are two blue pencil cross marks (figure 3.6), one in the middle of four concentric triangles, or Maltese etc. cross, the other in the corresponding panel above. Either Seligman or Daniels made the marks sometime during the expedition's unaccompanied visit to Waima village – between 4 and 9 June 1904 – or during subsequent sorting and analysis. Had circumstances been different, they might have travelled with Barton, working on ethnography together – as at Motu villages (discussed below) – however, a serious bout of malaria and dysentery left him

¹² Rejecting Haddon's (1894) suggestion that meanings should be sought on the ground on account of unreliable answers, and likely encouraged by Seligman's etymological observations, Barton (1918) suspected meaning lay in the pattern name, which could then be compared with wider Oceanic languages. However, struggling to amass enough vocabulary the result was, by Barton's (1918: 23) own admission, insufficient 'to carry conviction'.

convalescing in a more ‘temperate climate’ (Barton 1904b; BNG Administrator 1905a: 21). Fortunately, writes Seligman (1904a: 89), Daniels ‘has been marvellously quick in grasping Papuan ideas & capacities & will probably in a week beat us all to pieces in yarning & trading with natives’. Having previously catalogued the close to 85 objects he acquired during his 1902 trip to British Guiana,¹³ Daniels was, if not scientifically trained, at least a practiced and confident collector. But, while Barton had four-years experience on the ground in BNG – an asset Seligman greatly valued – to compensate for his lack of training, Daniels had no experience at all. Academic direction thus came from Seligman and accordingly influenced Daniels’ eye for pattern. Notably, the pencil marks on the gourd – notwithstanding who made them – are each precisely placed at the base of three successive V-shapes.

The significance of this placement lies in its visual relationship to V-shape motifs on several other objects also collected at Waima. Written in graphite pencil on the reverse of carved and painted marea board BM Oc1906,1013.548 (figure 3.10), collected from a men’s house (marea), is the text ‘WAIMA HORN BILL PATTERN?’. The capitalised handwriting is difficult to discern, but the same query appears in Daniels’ hand on the labels for two further marea boards, BM Oc1906,1013.231 and BM Oc1906,1013.269. Triangular in form, BM Oc1906,1013.548 is decorated with three concentric V-shapes; the smallest in red pigment, the outer two in white; the board edged in small repeated triangles. To enhance the contrast, the outer surface – into which the motifs are carved in low relief – has been burned to a dark sienna. BM Oc1906,1013.231 is decorated in the same way, with the exception of a single white line at the centre of the smallest red V. BM Oc1906,1013.269, however, is crescent-shaped and thought by Seligman (1910: 246) to be ‘derived from the waxing or waning moon’ – a determination made by the object’s name, *papares*; ‘the word for moon in the Elema languages of the Papuan Gulf is *papare*’ thus suggesting ‘Gulf influence’. And not a hornbill pattern, as discerned by Daniels’ apparently less experienced eye.

The marea – comparable to a dubu platform (discussed below) – seems to have been the focus of Seligman and Daniels’ attention in Waima, Seligman (1904a: 92-95) noting ‘D & I still at Mareas [sic]’ on their final day. Several of Dunning’s photographs show marea posts carved with three nested V-shapes (BM Oc,B118.233; Oc,B119.116, figure

¹³ See Daniels (1903).

3.13) and one captures a post with six (BM Oc,B119.113). ‘These ▲-shaped marks’,¹⁴ hazards Seligman (1910: 211), ‘were said to be derived from the marks on the beak of the hornbill’. Indeed, New Guinea’s only hornbill species, Blyth’s Hornbill (*Rhyticeros plicatus*), is known for its large pale bill adorned with casque that upon adulthood can reach six wrinkles, older wrinkles then breaking off with each annual growth (Pratt and Beehler 2015: 394). Seligman’s phrase ‘said to be’ conveys the implicit assumption that persons interviewed may have made the wrong ‘mental association’ or were less likely to know the meanings of their designs. A pervasive stereotype not limited to Barton’s observations. However, accustomed to the presence of colonists and missionaries, one wonders how equivocal villagers felt about this unannounced group of scientists; Pim drawing village settlements, Dunning photographing, Daniels and Seligman collecting, questioning and notetaking. Surviving diary entries offer few insights beyond villagers’ evident hospitality, in keeping with obligations to welcome strangers and visitors at the marea (Daniels n.d.: 121; Monsell-Davis 1981: 208). At a marea in Abotaiara, however, evidence in *Melanesians* suggests discussions focused on the three-V motif and its role as an öaöa, a word Seligman (1910: 207) translates as ‘clan badge’.

This term has its origins in the work of Lorimer Fison and Alfred William Howitt (1880), who, critiquing John Lubbock’s (1871) position on totemism, conceived totem plants or animals as the ‘collective symbol or “badge”’ of a ‘totemic group’ (Jones 2005: 128). James Frazer (1887) – an authority on evolutionary totemism – was greatly influenced by Fison (Jones 2005: 123), and Haddon (1895: 250, 263-64) in turn by Frazer; encouraging his notion that ‘the decorative and glyptic art of many primitive peoples has been inspired by totemism’ such that ‘artistic representation becomes modified as totemism itself becomes modified’ in ‘a sort of life-history of totems’. While totemism was not universal, indications for totemism included the presence of exogamy and the prohibited consumption of one’s totem (Haddon 1895: 264; Frazer 1887: 57, 7). In the absence of the expedition’s questionnaires, one can imagine the questions asked of informants – do you eat your öaöa sir? The answer at Waima was a resounding yes, ‘the men of the Abotaiara settlement at Waima eat their öaöa, the hornbill’ (Seligman 1910: 208).

¹⁴ Barton (1918) uses V and photos of marea posts support this orientation. However, Seligman (1910: 235, Fig. 20) records an example of ▲ orientation, suggesting the motif was used both ways.



Figure 3.10

?Ōaōa, Wooden Marea Board. 39 cm long, 10.5 cm wide, Waima, Central Province, PNG. Cooke Daniels collection. BM Oc1906,1013.548 (viewed side on). Photo by author.



Figure 3.11

Hauani bone coconut scraper. 13.5 cm long, 2.3 cm wide, Waima, Central Province, PNG. Cooke Daniels collection. BM Oc1906,1013.654 (viewed side on). Photo by author.



Figure 3.12

George Pim (*R*) in front of a men's house (mareia) at Bereina en route from Waima; boxes possibly contain Waima objects; 10 June 1904 (BM Oc,B119.27; ALRC Cooke Daniels collection).



Figure 3.13

Interior of the Airava mareia with hornbill motif on rear side post. Abotaiara, Waima, Central Province, PNG, June 1904 (BM Oc,B119.116; ALRC Cooke Daniels collection).

‘There’s no doubt in my mind’, asserts Barton (1906b) to Seligman, ‘that the social system of all these Melanesian Central Divⁿ tribes is a decayed totemism’. Rather more tentatively, Seligman (1910: 16) reports ‘signs of a former totemic condition, or at least a stage in which animals were of importance in the beliefs of the people’. Observing an exact resemblance between the three-V hornbill motifs on the side posts of the Airava marea at Abotaiara (figure 3.13), and those ‘upon the bone implement called *hau ani*’, used throughout Waima settlements ‘for removing the interior of a coconut’, Seligman (1910: 211) concludes ‘that there is now no effective copyright in this pattern’ for hauani nor for ‘lime spatulae’ – the latter also typically bone and used to spoon lime from gourds. True öäöa, writes Seligman (1910: 211), were restricted in ownership and use, and while they could be ‘bought and sold’, that was ‘very different from the condition of decay which allows conventional representations or derivatives’ of öäöa on objects, ‘regardless of the stock or settlement of the folk making or using them’.

In danger of undermining his own logic, Seligman (1910: 208) recognises how ‘the öäöa may be some perfectly simple, common and widely distributed object worn in a particular manner’, confirming presentation and context, and not only design, defined öäöa status. Hence, a hornbill jaw would only become the Abotaiara öäöa when worn ‘just above the forehead... pointing vertically upwards’, being otherwise ‘devoid of any special significance’ (Seligman 1910: 208-09). Evident as three oblique incisions carved in the finial of hauani BM Oc1906,1013.654 (figure 3.11), the three-V motif, however, was ‘truly the property of Abotaiara’, igniting debate amongst Abotaiara men over the pattern’s use, which Seligman (1910: 211) construed as evidence of copying. Complex histories of exchange and compensation may have been difficult to obtain during brief ‘yarns’ or chats, Seligman (1910: 211-13) conceding that several Waima settlements ‘of certain *itsubu*’ (clan),¹⁵ have ‘a number of patterns admittedly derived from the hornbill’ and ‘where partial and often temporary fusions of groups’ occur ‘there seems to be a bewildering multiplicity of öäöa, the relationship of which it is not always possible to disentangle’. Debate and payment likely a sign of usual practice rather than decay.¹⁶

As they moved between settlements, the expedition encountered patterns on objects and persons both similar and complicatedly different. The marea boards and hauani,

¹⁵ Clan is a loose term: itsubu are residential groups ‘with a patrilineal idiom’ (cf. Goddard 2011: 285).

¹⁶ Actual or perceived use of designs, objects, dances or other öäöa without compensation would have been (and remains) cause for serious offence and could lead to conflict, which did sometimes occur.

of which three examples with V-shaped finials were collected,¹⁷ suggest they gravitated toward similarity largely exercising a kind of ‘thinking that joins things *up*’ rather than ‘a thinking that joins *with* things’ (Ingold 2021: 13). For two of the marea boards (BM Oc1906,1013.548 and BM Oc1906,1013.231), no record exists of which settlement they were collected from, nor any indication of whether the designs were considered *öäöä*. Viewed through the lens of decayed totemism and naturalistic design, three-V motifs were thought largely to derive from the hornbill – itself a modified representation, or perhaps an evolutionary modification of a former totem – which, in certain instances had degenerated into mere ‘late stage’ copying (Haddon 1895: 202).

The label for hauani BM Oc1906,1013.654, written in Daniels’ hand, reads ‘Ray fish pattern copied by man who had seen it in near by village where it was used by horn-bill people’. Seemingly asked for the pattern’s ‘meaning’, the man’s response was not horn-bill but rayfish. That designs might be open to interpretation or could derive localised expressions of difference, place or environment – in the observed patterns of hornbill casques, the gill slits of manta rays – was largely suppressed by the reductive scientific narrative driving the expedition’s collecting interests. Similarity offered a visual thread through the tangle of social relations and inherent contradictions – doubting informants while fixing definitions – that could frustrate attempts to neatly classify stock and itsubu or define their apparent evolutionary status. And while difference was carefully observed – Seligman (1904a: 93) noticing how ‘Waima women have closed concentric squares’ on their calves while Mou women have ‘a square spiral tilted diamond wise in the long axis of the leg’ – these subtle variations were often collapsed into categories of least difference, or assumed to be of little significance in the overall scheme of cognate Western Papuo-Melanesian cultures (such as Seligman 1910: 25, 199).

On the contrary, finding totemism in Eastern Papuo-Melanesian (Massim) groups, stress was placed on wider stock distinctions, despite comparable use of ‘conventional representation’ that can ‘degenerate into the spiral patterns so common throughout the district’ (Seligman 1910: 14). Wider visual similarities, such as wavy patterns denoting hermit crab tracks on tobacco pipes from the Lala area (BM Oc1906,1013.699 and BM Oc1906,1013.1167) similarly incised into a staff from Wagawaga in the Massim (BM Oc1906,1013.389), also went unremarked – whatever the origin of their resemblance.

¹⁷ BM Oc1906,1013.1525; Oc1906,1013.653-54.

Drawing parallels might have undermined another of Seligman's key distinctions: his assertion vis-à-vis poor art in Central Province; their totemic Gulf and Massim neighbours apparently preserving 'the two richest and most distinctive styles of decorative art in British New Guinea' (1910: 37-38). An exception was made for Central Province tattoos however, Seligman (1910: 37-38) noting they 'are certainly more complex, and to European eyes more beautiful than the tattooing of the Massim'.

Eliminating Difference (*Between*)

As I examine gourds in the Student Room, I find evidence of the expedition's desire to trace a pattern-likeness across differing Central Province peoples. Where the large V or chevron kicks out on the neck of Waima gourd BM Oc1906,1013.518, a small letter O is marked in blue pencil; one letter in a partial sequence: A labelled on Lala gourd BM Oc1906,1013.523; B on Mekeo gourd BM Oc1906,1013.514; L and M pencilled on two other Mekeo gourds; N on Mekeo gourd BM Oc1906,1013.515; finally, the letter P on another Waima gourd, BM Oc1906,1013.519 (figure 3.14). In the absence of a written explanation for the lettering, I am left to follow the graphic clues.

White stickers in red ink read A and B respectively, and each are placed in or near a pyroincised spiral motif formed from a single line. According to Barton (1918: 32), in the Lala (Nara or Pokao) area 'An intricate spiral design is burnt upon the surface of lime-gourds' called *laudioi*, which also appears as a 'rectangular spiral' on the calves of Lala and Waima women – perhaps the 'closed concentric squares' Seligman (1904a: 93) observed. Notably, on the face opposing sticker B on Mekeo gourd BM Oc1906,1013.514 (figure 3.14), the spirals are a mix of circular, rectangular and rhomboid, the latter evocative of BM Oc1906,1013.513 (figure 3.9) considered earlier.

Turning to those marked with blue pencil letters, I notice further blue cross marks; two placed over the circular and more rectangular spirals on one side of Mekeo gourd BM Oc1906,1013.515, and two in the horizontal bisecting bands of Waima gourd BM Oc1906,1013.519. While this latter placement is less obvious, there is no mistaking the intention to highlight the central spiral motifs on the former. Sat either side of largely plain bisected bands, each spiral is enclosed above and below by two- or three-V motifs also visible on the Waima gourd. The bisected circular motif containing the spirals on the Mekeo gourd is also echoed on the neck of the other Mekeo gourd marked B, and

finds its corollary in the Maltese etc. cross motifs – the semi-circular halves inverted or everted depending on perspective – adorning the neck and base of the Waima gourd, itself another expression of the apex to centre triangles on BM Oc1906,1013.518.

Such ‘inter-artefactual’ relations (Gell 1998: 219) are not unexpected among objects from Austronesian-speaking peoples deeply entwined by both geography and cultural exchange; Waima and Lala coastal produce traded through Mekeo into the mountains; each group implicated in mutual feasting, sorcery and occasionally violent conflict (see Hau’ofa 1981). Waima, called Maiva by the Motu, was also a significant stopping point on the annual hiri trade route, further implicating Motu and Vula’a material culture in these and wider exchanges with the Papuan Gulf (Monsell-Davis 1974: 3; Oram 2011: 8, 11; see chapter 2). Aware of this and evidence of Gulf influence, such as the papares board discussed earlier, Seligman (1910: 204-05, 26 n1) determined Waima and Mekeo were areas of ‘contact metamorphosis’; another idea informed by evolutionary biology – metamorphosis denoting gradual change (Haddon 1895: 7) – developed by Seligman to describe ethnic and cultural intermixing. Operating on a sliding scale *between* more or less – Melanesian or Papuan, for example – for Waima and Mekeo metamorphosis was unidirectional, moving from intact totemic stock to decayed totemic stock. While incomplete, the gourd sequence and related blue crosses seem concerned with similar ideas, tracing within localised ethnic groups what Gell (1998: 218 italics omitted) terms ‘the principle of least difference’.

From the fractalisation of V-shapes to the ‘least modification’ or rotation of bisected figures, similarity becomes apparent through differentiation (Gell 1998: 218). Notably, each gourd collected by the expedition is unique in its combination of design elements with the exception of two other Lala laudioi-motif gourds, which Seligman donated to the MAA and AM,¹⁸ keeping the other gourds in sequence at the BM. With Seligman, rather than Daniels, looking increasingly like the probable author, the least differences in question do not seem to be perceived as arbitrary (cf. Gell 1998: 219). Following an evolutionary and linear rational, the crosses on BM Oc1906,1013.515 (when placed in alphabetical sequence) trace both the degeneration of the naturalistic arithmetic spiral and the movement of the spiral form from the Lala area, where Seligman (1905e: 2) believed it was ‘indigenous’.

¹⁸ MAA E 1905.277; AM E.15692. Although the number and rotation of spirals vary.



Figure 3.14

(Top L) 'A' BM Oc1906,1013.523, 20 cm long, Lala; (Top R) 'B' BM Oc1906,1013.514, 29 cm long, Mekeo; (Bottom L) 'N' BM Oc1906,1013.515, 31.5 cm long, Mekeo; (Bottom R) 'P' BM Oc1906,1013.519, 32.5 cm long, Waima. | Central Province, PNG. | Cooke Daniels collection. | Photo by author.

Despite describing merging clan or tribal groups as fusions, for Seligman (1910: 45, 212) all movements were composed of persisting parts – even in mixture. And as with any mixture, understanding composition meant understanding origin. ‘[I]t is not until an attempt is made to obtain the history of the events leading to the present’, remarks Seligman (1910: 315), ‘that it becomes obvious how complicated were the movements which preceded the present geographical distribution’. Documenting current groupings was not enough. Tracing the origins of patterns and other cultural evidence was also a means of tracing the origins of peoples and the settlement patterns of BNG. The fusion of integral motifs, innovating and generating new designs – albeit within strict conventions (cf. Strathern 1988) – made little conceptual sense within an evolutionary framework that saw the transmission of similar forms as a means of classifying certain ethnic groups together as local stock. Localised difference, on the other hand, helping to define distinct ethnic groups – an ‘often impossible’ task without cultural evidence (Seligman 1909a: 246, 248). How far Seligman might have developed ideas concerning pattern and migration, had he focused on art and craft, remains unclear.¹⁹

Eliminating Difference (*In-between*)

For New Guineans, origin and pattern were deeply entwined with notions of identity and embodiment. As contemporary Mekeo skin marker Julia Mage’au Gray (2019: 00:05:04; 00:01:44-00:03:05) explains, tattoos marked transitions, defined where a woman came from, her status and to whom she belonged, not as a ‘stamp’ but as a movement intimately tied to dance performance, marks moving along with bodies. Carried out by women on women’s bodies, designs were often hereditary and for the Western Motu, passed ‘from mother to daughter’, moving with bodies through marriage as markers of relation as well as obligation (Ison 1974: 41). Barton (1918: 24), failing to find evidence of this in the Eastern Motu, was baffled by the notion that, in some cases, designs were selected to suit the body to which they were applied; unbecoming designs, painted on before pricking, could be wiped away, allowing for experimentation – negating crude assumptions around copying. The outcome was, like the designs themselves, fractal in nature, the oneness of wider group and clan maintained through a visual likeness that

¹⁹ See Urry (1998) for further discussion of how physical and linguistic evidence played into Seligman’s ideas about migration.

could be emphasised during performance or exchange or otherwise suppressed to reveal marks and identities particular to family and person (cf. Strathern 1988).

Indeed, as Gell (1993: 36) remarks, 'the peculiarity of tattooing is that it is inside the skin rather than on its surface'. Consistent with Melanesian, particularly North (Bush) Mekeo, conceptions of skin 'as inner space turned outward', adult women – now fully marked – were conceived of as clan 'skin' (Mosko 2007: 70 italics omitted, 58). Their bodies simultaneously containing and extending clan identity and procreative efficacy, further replicated in their status as 'inside-everted' sisters and 'outside-inverted' wives (cf. Strathern 1998: 136; Mosko 2007: 58).²⁰ This 'quadripartite structure', recognised by Mark Mosko (1985: 2-3, 25), in which 'outside and inside domains are bisected by a reversal or inversion of each', finds visual salience in some fractalised designs, many of which take on an asymmetrical simultaneity revealed by perspective (see discussion in chapter 2). The objectification of conventionalised motifs, such as spirals or V-shapes, made anew on each body – human and gourd – elicit self-similar forms in movement, by swinging one's hips or turning one's gourd to reveal another view.

The correspondence of human skin with gourd skin, as a container for persons and as a container for lime – to be consumed by persons – which simultaneously protects (bodies) and projects (identities), similarly patterns 'four-fold' movements (Gell 1993: 32, 38; Mosko 2007: 47). And while emphasis is placed upon the inside turned outside, tattoo marks or pyroincised gourd marks – burned into the exocarp in the absence of an equivalent dermis – are applied from the outside inside, creating 'an extra layer by folding the skin over upon itself' (Gell 1993: 39). This fold or crease 'in the sheet' finds its expression in the bisecting pairs of parallel lines that crosscut the continuity of one pattern (Ingold 2015: 34 italics omitted). What is invisible, the often undecorated band inbetween, structuring an alternating folding and unfolding of the exterior whole (cf. Deleuze 1993: 8-9; Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 57). To turn Gell's (1993: 39) phrasing around, skin marks are 'thus definable as the' 'interiorization of the exterior' 'which is simultaneously the' 'exteriorization of the interior'.²¹

²⁰ With this in mind, the marking of women's bodies to elicit new life has its converse in the marking of men's bodies following homicide, documented for Waima Roro, Motu Koita and Aroma (Barton 1918: 27; Seligman 1910: 130; Haddon 1894: 176).

²¹ This shift in directionality is in line with chapter 2, patterning embodied world to mind, rather than representational mind to world; similarly the Deleuzian (1993: 6) notion that the inside is a fold of the outside; also see Mosko's (2006: 284) observation that the 'womb is outside space folded inside'.

Carried out by men, the pyroincising of gourd skin, alongside the carving of boards and posts on men's houses and platforms, express asymmetrical simultaneity through emphasis upon beauty and visibility over concealment (cf. Stephen 1995: 50). Waima Roro marea, and equivalent Mekeo ufu, while historically closed structures open to the front (as in figure 3.12), were (and still are) located in 'central, prominent positions in the village', serving as 'centres of social and ceremonial life' (Monsell-Davis 1981: 209; Stephen 1995: 8; Hau'ofa 1981: 11). Notably, men openly gathered there to chew areca nut and 'discuss village affairs', likely also occupying 'idle' time by making things such as lime gourds and spatulae (Seligman 1910: 227; Monsell-Davis 1981: 15). Visible on the surrounding posts, clan members maintained and responded to clan öäöa,²² not by reproducing naturalistic forms, as Seligman and his evolutionary contemporaries supposed, but by exploring natural 'processes' (Ingold 2015: 123). As Ingold (2015: 123) reasons, 'if there was a likeness between artefacts and organisms, it was not because the former had been modelled in the image of the latter but because similar processes would generate similar results'.

To produce öäöa was also to visibly maintain and renew relations with an animate environment suffused with often dangerous spirit beings and shape-shifting ancestors, such as the mythic paipai, who was 'carved at his command' as an öäöa on the Kevori marea at Pinupaka (Seligman 1910: 233, 304-05): mythic consciousness, experienced as a continuous 'being-in-place', made present through pattern (Van Heekeren 2012: 70). Having much in common with Ingold's (2000: 112) 'totemic ontology', framed around Aboriginal Australian conceptions of Country harbouring 'vital forces which animate the plants, animals and people it engenders', lively designs are evidently not, as Ingold (2000: 116, 118, 73) contends, expressions of 'static', 'inanimate and insentient' beings or landscape.²³ As with the sensible kula shells noted in chapter 2, 'the consequences of social relations in Melanesia are thought always to bear an outward shape, a manifest body of some kind which is both sensible and visible' (Kwanglee Soh 2018: 70). Marea,

²² Equivalent term is kangakanga (Mekeo). Alt. given in Monsell-Davis (1981) itsubu hoahoa (Roro).

²³ Ingold's (2000: 111-31) distinction between totemic and animic (circumpolar North) ontologies is predicated on the former as inanimate and static and the latter as animate and reciprocal, and ties into his views on object agency. Arguably both ontologies are predicated on reciprocity, though enacted very differently. Ingold is reworking older ideas on totemism, which as noted, Seligman applied cautiously. I am not suggesting Central Province peoples are or were categorically totemic. Also note many scholars accept Aboriginal Country as sentient, see Merlan (2020).

board, gourd, person are corresponding bodies, their decorated skins not only ‘a locus of remembered events’, but also “the environment” in a different form, the environment folded back on itself’ (Gell 1993: 36; Kwanglee Soh 2018: 70 italics omitted).

Curiosity Shop

The gender divisions that allowed the use of more or less restricted designs within this Melanesian sensibility did not, however, delimit the visible act of chewing, enjoyed by both men and women.²⁴ Despite its mess and effects as a mild stimulant, colonists and missionaries largely thought areca chewing ‘harmless’ (see Prendergast 1968: 134); the more tolerant MSC – active throughout Mekeo, Lala and Waima – overlooking, if not encouraging, chewing alongside favoured social practices intended to boost conversion and church attendance (Langmore 1989: 131, 123, 151).

In a similar vein, staying at the Waima MSC mission, Daniels and Seligman awoke on Sunday 5 June to a ‘Big specimen market’ on the verandah (Seligman 1904a: 93); an innovative way of gathering villagers for Sunday mass. Frustratingly, Seligman’s diary neglects the details. However, emulating existing food markets as well as the ornament trade that took place before major feasts, the market offered a legitimate place to trade and exchange objects, including öaöa, and may have been the source of some Waima objects now in the collections (see Seligman 1910: 314; Williamson 1912: 232-33).

For Daniels, easily infatuated by certain object types or designs – red shell in Rigo, hornbill motifs at Waima, lime spatulae in the Trobriands²⁵ – time at the market and in marea might have fostered a more selective, yet, fervent style of collecting. Despite the concentration of patterned objects, the collections made at Waima do not include bamboo tobacco pipes – widely available and collected from Mekeo and Lala villages – as well as other common patterns documented by Haddon (1895) and Barton (1918), such as those associated with centipedes, widely tattooed on the lower torso of Waima women. While availability and the desire to trade no doubt influenced the collections’ composition – issues I return to – it seems Daniels’ enthusiasm could get the better of him. A tendency that did not go unnoticed.

²⁴ Women did not have their own lime gourds (Daniels n.d.: 138). Considered the ‘mark *par excellence* of hospitality’, areca nut was exchanged as part of courting, betrothal and brideprice; in the 1970s, N. Mekeo men and women chewed publicly ‘for the first time... as newlyweds’ (Stephen 1995: 33; Seligman 1910: 76-77, 268; Mosko 1985: 90-91). Today, many Papua New Guineans chew routinely.

²⁵ Spatulae account for half of the objects Daniels collected there.



Figure 3.15

Possible missionary market. ANC crowd rear table, locals wait in foreground. Missionaries (LMS?) and colonial official to centre (R) and right (rear). Central Province, PNG, 1904 (BM Oc,B121.207; ALRC Cooke Daniels collection).



Figure 3.16

William Cooke Daniels (L) and Francis Rickman Barton (R) with expedition (possibly government tents) camp to rear. Central Province, PNG, 1904 (BM Oc,B119.127; ALRC Cooke Daniels collection).

Writing to his sister-in-law on 24 October 1904, the newly appointed Chief Judicial Officer, John Hubert Plunkett Murray, remarks uneasily on the ‘expedition here under Major Daniells [sic], an American’ (West 1970: 33). Noting how the ‘two doctors with it’ have ‘collected a vast variety of information’, he continues, ‘I have a fear that Major Daniells [sic] was what his countrymen call a “hustler”, and wanted to do too much in too short a time’ (West 1970: 33). If Murray found Daniels’ collecting zeal and notable patriotism disagreeable, the expedition’s association with Barton probably quelled any remaining sympathy. As Murray later put his concerns to Australian Prime Minister, Alfred Deakin, Barton and his allies suppose ‘the destiny of B.N.G. would be fulfilled if it never became anything more than a sort of glorified curiosity-shop and an extensive and very expensive ethnological museum’ (West 1970: 37).

As with many colonists, deeply concerned by population decline and perceived lack of ‘progress towards practical civilization’, Barton’s ethnographic interests found their corollary in experience, notably as Resident Magistrate for Central Division from 1902 and as BNG’s Administrator from June 1904 (Barton 1904a: 16). ‘The more I see of the tribes in this Division’, he wrote in an extended government report – later expanded to form his chapter in *Melanesians* – ‘the stronger becomes my conviction that they will, within measureable time, die out’ (Barton 1904a: 16). Actively promoting the furtherance and restoration of practices considered essential for New Guineans psychological wellbeing was, for Barton, an ethical as well as political prerequisite.

On 1 July 1904, he marked his inauguration with an unparalleled gathering of New Guineans from across Central Division at the ANC parade ground. This feast or durbar was, like Haddon’s evocative experiences of ceremony in Torres Strait, more than just a salvage exercise: it was an exhilarating and perceptual validation of approach – however patriarchal – to a people still ‘roaring’ with life, and thus worth saving (Herle 1998: 92-93; Daniels n.d.: 191). Although coloured by his penchant for sensationalism, Daniels’ (n.d.: 180-91) diary captures something of the durbar’s emotive impact; the ‘seething shouting whirl-pool’ of dancers, a ‘massed bewilderment of light and colour’ overwhelming ‘eyes and ears... driving over our choked brains’. The Kinematograph footage shot by the expedition is possibly some of the earliest known film from BNG, several reels shot from Barton’s feet ‘where he sat holding a sort of levee for chiefs and “V.C.’s”, befitting the feast’s imperial moniker: durbar (court) (Daniels n.d.: 190-91).

Barton's 'sympathy with the natives', which so impressed Seligman, would coalesce into a 'policy of "passive resistance" to white settlement' and extractive industrial development, especially mining, prompting Murray's censure of his administration (West 1970: 39). Accused of subservience to Treasurer David Ballantine – a notable collector, donating objects to both the Torres Strait and Daniels expeditions, whom Murray denounced for lying 'drunk in his cottage' (West 1970: 40-41) – Barton was superseded in 1907 by none other than Murray (see appendix C). As the first Lieutenant Governor of the newly formed Australian Territory of Papua, Murray was considered a safe pair of hands capable of balancing 'the "emerging science of anthropology" as a tool for native administration' with the economic needs of the colony (Edmundson 2019: 1). Something Barton had apparently failed to accomplish.²⁶

INFORMANTS AND COLLABORATORS

Although I first saw the objects months ago, cataloguing them separately as I worked systematically through Orsman's Central Province boxes, getting them out for further photography is no less thrilling. My hope is to evoke an illustration from *Melanesians* by similarly arranging the featured iduhu dagi – Koita for öaöa (clan badge) – side by side. Made from the same medium weight, pale wood, unevenly carved in distinctive designs and decorated with red and black pigment, it quickly becomes clear their illustrative counterparts are not quite to scale. However, the result is no less striking (figure 3.17; objects are discussed in the order they appear, from left to right).

At 57.2 cm in length and 3.2 cm in diameter, BM Oc1906,1013.749, has three distinct sections; the top comprising two opposing prongs stained red with black vertical stripes either side. The red central section is flanked top and bottom by two trapezoids stained red and black respectively; two sides then consist of a vertical band with rows of small rectangles carved in raised relief, stained horizontally in sections of alternate red and black, with two vertical lines left unstained dividing each section into three. Finally, two almond shapes intersect these bands on either side, each one stained black with an unstained outer border and almond-shaped centre. The base of the unstained lower section is saw-cut, intersecting a blue pencil inscription, the remains of which read 'H...' [Hohodae]; 'DUBARA' is inscribed just below.

²⁶ See Lewis (1996) for an account of this period and the planter colonialism that dominated.



Figure 3.17

(L) '*Iduhu dagina* of (a) Dubara; (b) Taurama; (c) Keakone clans', after Seligman (1910: 52 Fig. 5) | (R) objects (from left to right) BM Oc1906,1013.749, 57.2 cm long, 3.2 cm diameter; BM Oc1906,1013.762, 40.8 cm long, 3.9 cm diameter; BM Oc1906,1013.750, 40 cm long, 4.3 cm diameter; Hohodae, Central Province, PNG. Cooke Daniels collection. | Photo by author.



Figure 3.18

Dubu at Hohodae, Hanuabada, associated with Ahuia Ova, photographed by Frank Hurley c.1921-23. V.4431, after Specht and Fields (1984: 26-27). Consists of four main posts and an open platform.

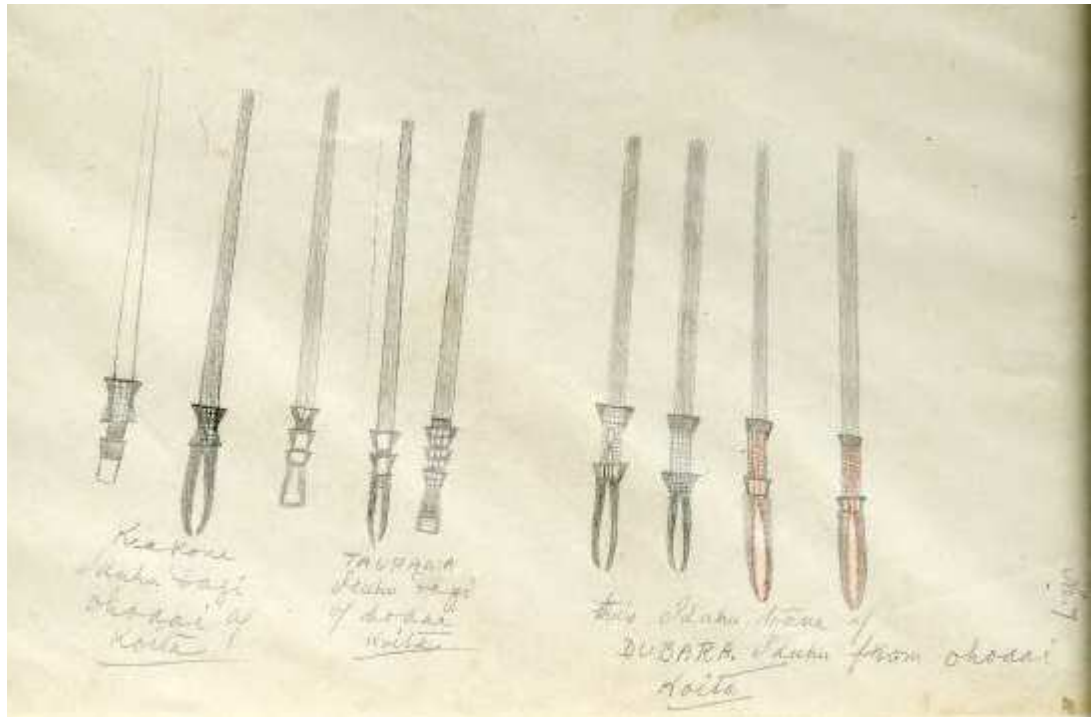


Figure 3.19

Lower half of drawing by Ahuia Ova showing iduhu dagi of Keakone (Geakone), Taurama and Dubara iduhu, 'No. 7' (BM Oc2006,Drg.703; ALRC).

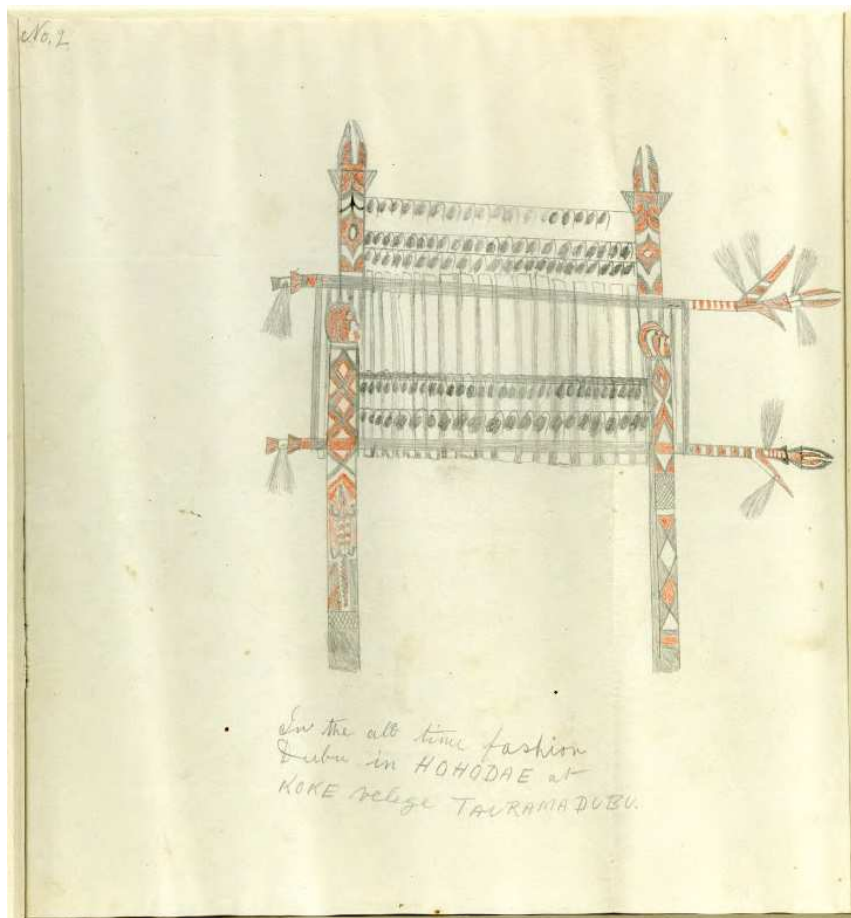


Figure 3.20

Drawing of the Koke dubu by Ahuia Ova, 'No. 2' (BM Oc2006,Drg.688; ALRC).

Some 20 cm shorter, BM Oc1906,1013.762 is also formed of three sections, the top section carved into three prongs. The first of these is decorated with alternate red and black horizontal stripes, the second with alternate red and black circles and the final side with a combination of the two. The red central section is hourglass in shape with opposing trapezoids above and below, the broadest edge of each stained with a black horizontal line. This same pattern is repeated above and below giving the overall appearance of red and black stripes. Again, the unstained base is saw-cut, this time transecting the blue pencil annotation ‘...AMA (ID)’; ‘TAURAMA’ repeated above. Lastly, BM Oc1906,1013.750 consists of four sections, the top forming a three-sided teardrop, each side stained red with a black centre. Below this, three trapezoid shapes are stained red with black stripes at the top and bottom. The lower section is carved with narrow stripes stained in red leaving the areas either side in raised relief, which are alternately unstained and stained black; a rounded trapezoid shape below repeats a similar pattern. The unstained saw-cut base is annotated in blue pencil, reading ‘KEAKONE’ on one side and ‘(ID)’ on the other. The latter being short for iduhu or clan.²⁷

The illustration, titled ‘*Iduhu dagina* of (a) Dubara; (b) Taurama; (c) Keakone clans’, like my photograph, offers a partial view, the remaining surfaces refused, except to the imagination. Giving no indication of size or scale, Seligman (1910: 51) explains ‘a, b, c are *dagina* on the ends of the rafters supporting the roofs of the verandahs of houses in Hohoda[e]’, the Koita section of Hanuabada, Port Moresby. Drawing attention to the restricted designs – iduhu dagina – as opposed to the objects – iduhu dagi – Seligman (1910: 51) also emphasises a further absence: *other* iduhu dagi.²⁸ Only able to collect Motu examples (iduhu toana) called pepe, associated with hiri voyaging (BM Oc1906, 1013.45 and MAA E 1911.58),²⁹ iduhu dagi were assumed ‘to be far advanced in decay among the eastern Koita’; carved verandah roof terminals the only survivals.

Visiting the Motu Koita village of Pari with Barton on 30 December 1903, Seligman (1904a: 21) ‘examined about 20 houses of known iduhus [sic]’ noting ‘about ⅓ of these had no ornamentation [whereas] the rest had varied forms of ornament not consistent

²⁷ As n15 this chapter, clan is a loose term, for further discussion see Goddard (2001).

²⁸ Whether this distinction was recognised as such in Koita is not clear. At other points in *Melanesians*, Seligman appears to use the two words interchangeably.

²⁹ MAA E 1911.58 was a later donation and may have been collected in 1898. Ahuia illustrates two pepe in a drawing made for the TSE (Fig. 1, Haddon 1904a), raising the possibility that BM Oc1906,1013.45 may also have been collected earlier – I discuss the inclusion of 1898 material in chapter 5.

for any iduhu'. Surmising only two possible reasons for this: the sharing of designs by 'the folk who help' build the houses or the forgetting of designs, Seligman (1904a: 21; 1910: 51) naturally erred on the side of the latter. Seemingly insensible to the restricted patterns of Motu Koita tattoo and other designs, including large-framed feather head-dresses (tubuka), two more issues may also have been at play: Seligman's vain attempt to distinguish between Motu and Koita practices – subject to generations of 'extensive cultural sharing' (Goddard 2014: 5) – and the influence of his main Koita informant, Ahuia Ova, with whom he spent considerable time.³⁰

Verandah designs loomed large in Seligman and Ahuia's relationship, the two men regularly sitting beneath them 'on the verandah of the house where [Ahuia] lived with his uncle Taubada, the old chief of Hohoda[e]', to discuss Koita culture; Taubada and other Elders 'constantly in attendance... anxious to explain any difficulties' (Seligman 1910: ix). Unlike the mixed ornamentation at Pari and elsewhere in Hohodae, Ahuia's verandah was decorated exclusively with Dubara dagina – a unique example reflecting Taubada's status as Dubara hereditary chief (iduhu rohi), a role now largely occupied by Ahuia – which may have distorted Seligman's expectations concerning the use and correlation of iduhu and design (Seligman 1910: 51). Possibly encouraging a belief that all verandah iduhu dagi had been displayed in this way at one time.

Confident of extensive decay, iduhu dagi only warranted a brief section in his Koita chapter in *Melanesians*, whereas öaöa and Mekeo equivalent – thought comparatively intact – necessitated for the most part a chapter each. Arriving in BNG with notions of finding a functioning totemic or even pre-totemic system, Seligman (1903b; 1910: 51) felt iduhu dagi lacked any 'real significance', despite holding meaning for Ahuia and village Elders both as expressions of Motu Koita identity and Hohodae Koita relations. Expressions missed in translation as Seligman focused on how Koita practices differed and not on how Koita people defined themselves.

Looking again at BM Oc1906,1013.749 I notice a further inscription. Apparent on one prong in blue pencil, 'DUBARA (ID)' is largely obscured by red stain, its thicker application rosier and chalkier in appearance. As with the similarly styled inscriptions

³⁰ Tabuka are often described as Motu (for example, Oram 1981: 235) but were also worn by Koita men (see introduction regarding more recent use). Seligman's (1904a) diary suggests he and Ahuia met most days from late December 1903 to mid January 1904, and again in May, June and October 1904.

on the other iduhu dagi, it is not clear whether the iduhu name repeated on the base is written in the same hand. Nonetheless, considered together with a series of annotated drawings, the inscriptions and corrective pigment hint at a likely author – Ahuia. On a portion of graphite drawing No. 7 (BM Oc2006,Drg.703, figure 3.19), Ahuia illustrates nine iduhu dagi, five to the left with those of Keakone (Geakone) and Taurama iduhu and four to the right with those of Dubara. Facing down the paper (or toward the roof edge), the Dubara iduhu dagi are pencilled black and red, possibly denoting multiple iduhu dagi or the multiple surfaces of one; the left Dubara dagi reflecting the almond-shapes of BM Oc1906,1013.749. Inconsistencies and quirks in Ahuia's handwriting – the extended horizontal head and foot of some capital letters for example – are evident on the drawings and mirrored on the objects.

The text below each drawing supports their propositional nature, a clear attempt to convey to Seligman knowledge about iduhu dagi and their relation to clan; an about-ness also made explicit through the inscriptions on the collected iduhu dagi. Educated by the LMS, Ahuia had clearly acquired some grasp of written English and, according to Seligman (1910: ix), had also 'learnt to speak English and to write Motu extremely well'.³¹ He might also have been taught Western drawing techniques, such as the use of perspective evident on the dubu posts in drawing No. 2 (BM Oc2006,Drg.688, figure 3.20) and in several drawings made for the Torres Strait Expedition that Haddon (1904a) – assessing them against Western aesthetics – thought fairly accomplished (Donoghue 2018a: 290; also see Mack 2012). Faint lines – traces of rubbing out and repositioning – in drawing No. 7 speak to a more gestural approach, however. Perhaps a combination of 'attuned observation' and recollection, as Ahuia's hand felt out familiar shapes and patterns on paper (Ingold 2013b: 126). An action not too dissimilar to marking lines on other surfaces, such as gourd or bamboo, themselves – as discussed earlier – narrative expressions of relation to place and person.

As Mack (2012: 84) remarks of such encounters, colonists and missionaries 'did not [always] initiate practices of representational drawing', as more abstracted forms often 'already existed'. Not amounting to a shift in directionality admitting hylomorphism, the drawings are nonetheless both Westernised graphic illustrations of objects bearing

³¹ Goddard (2014: 7) suspects Ahuia 'spoke broken' English and suggests Seligman's interpretations of 'indigenous concepts... need to be treated with caution'.

designs and novel forms of iduhu dagi exploring existing modes of geometric pattern-making. Here propositional and biographical arise copresently with non-propositional and sensorial, not only because of Western and New Guinean entanglements but also because the latter already allowed for such expressions.³² Like paipai at Pinupaka, the two (often) crab claw prongs forming the finials of many iduhu dagi, including some relating to Dubara (meaning crab), hold mythic importance for the Motu Koita, crabs assuming the form of tabu, malevolent supernatural or mythic beings (Seligman 1910: 183).³³ Collapsing timespace, the exploration of natural forms through pattern-making brings the efficacy of the 'spirit world' into the 'everyday world' while resulting forms simultaneously hold such effects in tension; particular forms making explicit particular identities (Van Heekeren 2012: 93).

Often illustrating mythical incidents and stories, Ahuia's drawings also narrate his encounters with Seligman. Numbered from 1 to 21,³⁴ they trace subjects of discussion and shared experiences in seemingly chronological order; mnemonic traces consistent with aspects of oral storytelling and written notetaking on numbered pages (cf. Severi 2015). Practices equally shaped by dynamic shifts in attention, from tangible and tactile roof terminals – seen on rafters and held in hands – to marks on paper that make explicit moments of encounter. Indeed, while Seligman handwrote notes, Ahuia made drawings – Seligman recording their visit to a hill, occupied by a powerful tabu, in his journal entry dated 25 October 1904; Ahuia illustrating the hill in drawing No. 18 (BM Oc2006,Drg.694; Donoghue 2018a: 290). Seligman's enquires in late December 1903 likely encouraging drawing No. 7, together with another drawing of the same number illustrating iduhu dagi elsewhere (BM Oc2006,Drg.702).

Whether the three collected iduhu dagi were cut from Hohodae verandahs or made expressly for the expedition is not recorded. Light scratching, chips and faded pigment in some places support the former, while bright and fresh pigment elsewhere support the latter. Plausibly, Ahuia touched up existing carvings, concealing the inscription on

³² cf. Ingold (2013b: 127) on propositional/non-propositional distinctions.

³³ The finial on BM Oc1906,1013.749 appears to feature a crocodile or lizard jaw, discussed later in the chapter. Other Dubara iduhu dagi, drawn by Ahuia's half-brother Rabura and annotated by Ahuia (BM Oc2006,Drg.700), appear to feature crab claw finials, which may also appear on the front left post of the dubu associated with Ahuia in figure 3.18. Lagatoi are famous for their crab claw sails.

³⁴ There are 11 works attributable to Ahuia at the ALRC, some have multiple numbered drawings: BM Oc2006,Drg.688-92; 694-95; 699, 701-03.

BM Oc1906,1013.749; regretting its placement. The clean saw-cuts, likely made with a metal saw, slicing through annotations, indicate they were reduced in length following collection, to aid transport back to England or more likely during their museum lives, as each iduhu dagi fits neatly into a standard-size museum box. Two other carved ‘clan badges’ support this – one certainly Koita (BM Oc1906,1013.46), the other possibly Roro (BM Oc1906,1013.44)³⁵ – each more than 70 cm long. Signs of weathering and chopped rather than sawn bases, imply removal from buildings; their diameter, 3.8 cm and 3.5 cm respectively, consistent with the Hohodae examples – which if made new, would most likely have been made to scale.

Mnemonic Imaginings

If Seligman’s concern with tracing abstracted designs at times displaced the physicality of iduhu dagi, such superficial distinctions dissolved in moments of tactile encounter. Days before his visit to Pari, he travelled with Barton and Ahuia to a former village site at Koke, which had once been occupied by the Hohodae Koita. Together, they walked the ‘stinking’ landscape, kicking ‘fragments of weathered pottery’, before coming upon the now rotting remains of an open dubu platform, abandoned some three generations earlier (Seligman 1903b; 1910: 44, 47). Investigating the posts, a ‘picture of desolation’ emerged ‘constituting a sombre & vanishing living memoire of former tribal greatness’, the past viscerally abducted through collective material encounter, momentarily collapsing difference (Seligman 1903b; Harries 2017: 125).

Ahuia was overwhelmed. ‘[E]ven tobacco... failed to rouse him’, his distress in part a reaction to Seligman and Barton’s alarm, as much as the decrepit scene before them (Seligman 1903b). Unlike neighbouring Kila Kila weeks later, where Seligman (1904a: 28) observed ‘Not a sign of anything approaching reverence or regret... on the faces of even the oldest natives’, despite ‘half burnt & rotted’ timbers. As Seligman (1904a: 28) ‘cleaned the surrounding scrub – which itself seemed a profane & almost sacreligious thing to do’ – he sensed the dubu posts ‘stood grandly upright as though still possessed by & keeping within themselves, sleeping, the essence of former social life’. An emotive and powerful experience, especially given that dubu post finials were iduhu dagi. And

³⁵ Seligman (1910: 210) records that similarly carved Roro öäöa (such as BM Oc1906,1013.1881) could also be mounted on large-framed headdresses. Motu Koita examples are not documented.

unlike house verandah finials, dubu – including those in Hohodae (Williams 1939: 20) – were in *literal* decay.

As surrogates for these larger structures, verandah iduhu dagi afforded mnemonic-imaginings, materialising for Seligman a lost vitality that may have encouraged him to overestimate the extent to which iduhu dagi – as restricted things more generally – had fallen into decline. A portent for the future of öäöa and marea. For Barton and Ahuia, however, decaying structures and living counterparts offered the vibrant possibility of dubu restoration. In drawing No. 2, Ahuia reimagines the Koke dubu ‘in the old time fashion’, the right front post owned and maintained by the chief or iduhu rohi, the left post by his second in command, the rear posts by two other men of renown (see figure 3.20; Seligman 1910: 62).³⁶ Belonging to Taurama iduhu, the neatly illustrated designs embrace the recollections of village Elders familiar with the ceremonial tabu feasts for which dubu platforms were traditionally erected.

‘[P]robably the most important feast of the Koita, Motu, and the neighbouring folk’ further east, preparations for tabu (largely unconnected with spirit beings)³⁷ mobilised kin and gardens to realise immense quantities of food for distribution, which would be piled over and around the dubu, itself repaired or rebuilt by the organising iduhu rohi or rohi ketaike (division chief) as required (Seligman 1910: 146-48, 63). In drawing No. 3 (BM Oc2006, Drg.689), Ahuia narrates a previous Hohodae tabu feast illustrating the Dubara dubu piled with yams and strung with bananas, the latter also visible as rows of repeated ovals in drawing No. 2 (Seligman 1910: 148; Donoghue 2018a: 290). Their vast scale and significance meant tabu were ‘long recollected’ and for the Dubara ‘even used in argument, to fix the order of [clan] migrations’ (Seligman 1910: 142). Perhaps held as infrequently as once or twice in a generation, the dubu encountered by Barton and the expedition would have been in varying states of disrepair, depending on how much time had elapsed since the last tabu. Ten miles away at the Motu village of Gaile the dubu was still in good order, men gathering there for ceremony or to discuss matters of importance (Seligman 1910: 61-62).

³⁶ Iduhu leaders, termed chiefs or headmen by Seligman, are glossed here as chiefs, the term used by the Motu Koita today, see Goddard (2001). Seligman (1910: 60, 65) refers to Koke as Koge in error.

³⁷ Specht and Fields (1984: 26) suggest the feast may have been ‘designed to placate’ tabu spirit beings, however, this is not documented. Williams (1939: 41 n71) remarks the name’s ‘application to the feast is due probably to the legend that certain songs and dances employed in connection with it were taught by the *tabu* to human beings’.

Elsewhere, Seligman (1910: 17-18) suspected that not all Motu had embraced dubu structures, or that 'the custom was apparently obsolescent in many villages before the advent of European influence', accounting for some absences. However, possibly more than western groups, the Motu Koita were experiencing accelerated and marked social change brought about by their proximity to LMS missionaries and the colonial administration at Port Moresby. Barton no less complicit in the implementation of policies – notably legislation issued under the Native Regulation Board – targeting practices and behaviours thought maladaptive or detrimental. Villages were forcibly relocated from 'unhealthy sites' and, in line with existing missionary stances, certain ceremonies were prohibited, especially if associated with sorcery (BNG Administrator 1903; Langmore 1989: 126). While an epidemic and warfare led to the voluntary abandonment of Koke, unsuccessful hiri voyages, severe drought, famine and disease – willingly perceived as biologically inevitable by colonisers – no doubt contributed to tabu and dubu decline (Seligman 1910: 44; Oram 1981: 225; BNG Administrator 1890: 102; 1904: 16). And as tabu comprised dances not compatible with LMS sensibilities, missionary pressure like that described by Ahuia discouraged future planning for tabu gardens and dubu maintenance (including further east, see Daniels n.d.: 20; Williams 1939: 20).

In this respect, Barton's attitude must have appeared relatively refreshing; endorsed by interest from Seligman and the expedition. By October 1904, several Gorobe iduhu at Pari had joined forces to hold a tabu 'distinctly in the nature of a revival' (Seligman 1910: 142). Missing the feast whilst in the Massim, Seligman (1904a: 143) hurried to Pari to see the dubu before departing BNG, his 'boy', Edigabi, running ahead with the camera. The resulting photographs (BM Oc,B119.69-71, figure 3.1) focus on the carved and painted posts, one finial apparently taking the form of a crocodile mouth; squared notches cut along the inside edge reminiscent of teeth (BM Oc,B119.71). It was during a visit to the Sinaugoro village of Kwalimurubu in 1898 that Seligman (1900: 591) first observed a pattern 'made up of a number of four-sided pyramids carved on the wood' beneath a similar crocodile mouth finial, 'the pyramids being conventionalised scales'. Much like the pattern of raised rectangles stained red and black on Dubara iduhu dagi BM Oc1906,1013.749, the two almond shapes either side evocative of eyes and the two extended prongs a probable jaw (figure 3.21 (R)).



Figure 3.21

(L) Pyramidal ‘crocodile’ scales on a dubu or men’s house post. Central Province, PNG, 1904 (from BM Oc,B119.121; ALRC Cooke Daniels collection) | (R) Scale pattern on side of Dubara iduhu dagi BM Oc1906,1013.749. | Photo by author.



Figure 3.22

Men’s House Post BM Oc1906,1013.1 in situ at Diumana. Central Province, PNG, 12 May 1904 (BM Eth Doc 1010 C; ALRC Cooke Daniels collection). Approximately 2m long; associated with Poha Oa.

The observation inspired Seligman's (1910: 38 n1) theory that geometric abstraction was 'naturalistic [in] origin', encouraging him to survey dubu for evidence of crocodile motifs and scale patterns. Including at Kalo, 30 miles east of Kwalimurubu, where the house dubu (koge) comprised a larger platform with a steeple roof, distinct from open dubu, which likely originated with the Sinaugoro (Seligman 1910: 20, 18).³⁸ And while tabu feasts were 'conducted on an even ampler scale' in this area, Seligman (1910: 142, 21) soon realised that 'whichever form the *dubu* assumes, the decoration on its corner posts consists of the same type of design worked out in small four-sided pyramids'.

At Kalo, the practice of convening men on dubu elicited confirmation of Seligman's ideas. Further west, where platforms morphed into men's houses, his persistence would secure one of the Cooke Daniels collections' largest objects. At approximately 200 cm long and 23 cm wide, wooden post BM Oc1906,1013.1 is carved from the whole, the top terminating in a curved anthropomorphic head, the front carved in raised relief in the form of what appears to be a crocodile. Distinctly, scales are incised in a crisscross pattern of diamonds, the elongated mouth notched along the outer edge with squared teeth suggesting the lower jaw. 'Bought the original post... for 1lb of tobacco' exclaims Seligman (1904a: 75), '[a]fter a hard mornings interrogation on old dubu' (referring to a lōe or men's house) at the Lala (Nara) village of Diumana. Here, enclosed structures had been replaced 'by lightly built open platforms',³⁹ however, his informant Keripu, a chief and VC with 'license to trade', took the expedition to the remains of a lōe built 'on the Waima model'; the posts, including BM Oc1906,1013.1 (figure 3.22), carved by (or under direction of) Poha Oa of Waima (Seligman 1904a: 75; 1910: 374, 205).

'You attribute the thing carved on Nara lōe posts to a crocodile derivative' Barton (1906c) writes to Seligman, 'Nara natives have always led me to understand that the reptile was a lolio; a large tree-climbing lizard'. Whether references to crocodile motifs in Seligman's (1904b) Diumana fieldnotes record Keripu's explanation or Seligman's assumption is uncertain. However, as with the three-V hornbill motif, his pursuit of a

³⁸ Kalo notably resisted LMS attempts to introduce Christianity until after WWII, perhaps contributing to the upkeep of the structure, photographed by Haddon in 1898 (Oram 1975 cited in Trompf 2006: 389; Seligman 1910 Plate IV). Kalo is known for the murder of several Rarotongan teachers and their families in 1881 after relations with the LMS broke down (Garrett 1982: 213).

³⁹ Lōe, marea and ufu are chiefly meeting houses not associated with tabu where men also sleep, which is not generally the case for dubu. One Diumana lōe photographed by the expedition (BM Oc,B119.13) shows a roofed platform with open sides.

quantifiable naturalistic form – in this case the crocodile – made Diumana knowledge a scientifically universal phenomenon, which confirmed the ‘meaning of practically *all* dubu designs – painted & carved’ (Liboiron 2021: 50-52; Seligman 1904a: 75 my emphasis). On other occasions, Seligman (1910: 208) recognised how related forms, such as the two-pronged finials on some Roro öäöa, replete with toothed incisions, could be ‘the head and jaws of a kind of garfish called *akumu*’; his attention to things admitting space for localised and particular forms of knowledge. Nonetheless, it was likely a relief when Barton’s subsequent dubu investigations verified his hypothesis: ‘the geometrical carving of the posts of the *dubu* of the Central District is derived from the scales of the crocodile’ (Seligman 1910: 38 n1 my emphasis).⁴⁰

Although Barton also missed the Pari tabu, attended instead by his private secretary Guy Owen Manning, photographs in the RAI collection record his attendance at other Motu Koita tabu feasts (see Seligman 1910 Plate XIX; BM Oc,A1.13; for example RAI 20637 featured in Wright 2003: 157 image 5). The pattern of reciprocal tabu gathering momentum under nascent colonial patronage, extended as Barton toured the province frequently accompanied by Ahuia. At Keapara-speaking Aroma, east of Kalo, research generated a further drawing, this time by Barton; a mnemonic-imagining co-produced with village Elders ‘who approved this restoration’ of their dubu, illustrating posts patterned with crisscross diamond scales and now prohibited suspended skulls (Seligman 1910: 22-23, Fig. 2). In Sinaugoro villages, recalls Ahuia, Barton ‘saw the *dubu*’ and ‘said “Why don’t you make one like these?”; something Ahuia kept ‘in mind’, subsequently commissioning the right front post of a new open dubu in Hohodae; Barton personally gifting him a pig for the accompanying tabu feast (Williams 1939: 28).⁴¹

Legacies (Ahuia 1904)

Ahuia (in Williams 1939: 28) describes this gift as one of friendship, a reflection of his relationship with the colonial administration, established through earlier employment with white traders and officials. A capable interpreter, he gained prominence as a man of renown (*lohia*) by asserting himself as acting Dubara iduhu rohi and Hohodae rohi

⁴⁰ Barton (1918: 43) noted the pyramidal pattern was called *kalakala* in Motu and was associated with a zigzag tattoo pattern called *neneva* ‘derived from the jaws and teeth of a crocodile’, a variant of which ‘is burnt upon the surface of lime-gourds by the Kerepunu tribe’; Barton illustrates the possible crocodile origin in Plate VI. Fig. 4. Also see Barton (1906a); Wright (1997: 45-46).

⁴¹ Seligman (1910: 61) notes the dubu was built in 1905 or 1906.

ketaike and through his appointment as VC for Hanuabada. Part of a colonial strategy aimed at either generating or appropriating localised power relations, VCs reproduced coloniser relations on often inequitable scales (see Jinks et al 1973: 127; Nelson 1976: 106-08; Brown 2001: 22-23; Gosden and Knowles 2001). ‘An active village constable obviously becomes a “government chief,” and usually uses the prestige attaching to his position... to increase his influence’, writes Seligman (1910: 59). Other New Guinean men of renown resisted appointment, however, ‘aware of the limitations that acting as “middle management” [had] on their influence and actions’ (Nash 2001: 112). If Ahuia experienced dissonance, he managed it to good effect, capitalising on his proximity to central government; his Barton- (later Murray-) endorsed dubu standing when photographer Frank Hurley visited Hanuabada almost twenty years later (figure 3.18).⁴²

Walking through Hanuabada toward Hohodae in early September 2015, I note the contemporary dubu posts standing between house fronts and the adjacent road. They are painted white, the intricate carved geometric designs in-filled with red, yellow and green. The Motu intermediary I have been working with can no longer assist and I am seeking an appropriate introduction. Briefly explaining my research and its connection to Ahuia, my aim is to invite those interested to participate. I am advised to speak with Elder Abau Rohi Leke and led along a dilapidated walkway extending over the ocean, tightly packed stilt houses on either side, to the home Abau shares with her daughter Betty Morea. Descendant cousins of Ahuia, they would like to contribute. Betty asks to meet me away from the village, however. Being seen with a white woman might cause tensions for Betty and Abau, eliciting expectations from others – a reminder that even good intentions can reproduce colonial relations (see Liboiron 2021: 26, 68-69).⁴³

For Ahuia, being seen on the verandah with Seligman might have elicited more than renown, ‘discontent’ over his relationship with whites and aspects of decision-making reaching its climax in the 1930s when Murray intervened to keep Ahuia in Hanuabada

⁴² Yielding to LMS pressure, in 1923 Ahuia briefly ceased holding feasts and dances, burning his head-dresses. He ultimately held three tabu feasts during his lifetime (Williams 1939: 35, 38 n37).

⁴³ I am grateful to Prof. Nicolas Garnier, then Dean of Research at UPNG, for bringing these issues to my attention, accompanying my visit and involving me in the Arts of PNG project (see chapters 5 and 6), enabling a more community led approach. Betty might also have suggested this for safety reasons, as gun violence is an issue in Hanuabada, making it unsafe to hold a poster exhibition there. Written consent was gained from participants who were compensated for their time. I’m highlighting the challenges of building relations on the ground and the colonial relations reproduced in setting the research agenda, as well as my own ‘assumed access’ to knowledge, consent notwithstanding (Liboiron 2021: 68).

(Belshaw 1951: 132; Windou 2012: 5). Such power also brought accusations of sorcery, Ahuia later describing himself as ‘the best hated man in the village’ (Shelley 1978: 203; West 1970: 135). Here relations were public and performative, villagers viewing Ahuia and Seligman’s association as an extension of Ahuia’s alliance with the administration; the expedition largely indistinguishable from the government (cf. Gosden and Larson 2007: 181). That the expedition also expected to trade for objects – and that Ahuia also had influence over this – may have been similarly assumed; collecting as a mode of colonial expansion and ongoing settler relations familiar practice (see Quinnell 2000).

In May 1904, Ahuia led the men of Hanuabada mullet fishing, expedition members and colonial officials observing from nearby boats. ‘The ten canoes formed themselves in a deep crescent Ahuiya [sic] in the centre to direct the attack’ writes Daniels (n.d.: 77-78) describing how each man, ‘reke on his left arm’, encircled the shoal to catch fish with hand nets. The event likely provided the expedition opportunity to collect the koe and dakwai nets (BM Oc1906,1013.921-92) discussed in chapter 2, as well as model reke (seine net) BM Oc1906,1013.130, made ‘Life size except as to length’.⁴⁴ Hand nets were broken during funerary rites, having acquired personhood through use, and might not have been traded lightly; heritable reke, however, appear not to have been traded at all (Seligman 1910: 160-61) – circumstances I assess in chapter 4. This raises questions concerning how compelled Hanuabada villagers felt to part with valuable or personal objects and how Ahuia might have shaped the dynamics of incommensurate collecting encounters, predicated on ‘assumed access’ (Liboiron 2021: 68).⁴⁵

Apparent in Barton’s photographs of female tattooed bodies, such assumptions are equally implicit in the expedition’s research into melanoma marked bodies; Seligman, Strong and Chief Medical Officer Allan James Craigen, calling from house to house to examine Hohodae occupants on 6 January 1904. At house ‘No. 7’, Seligman (1904c: 5) examines Vani Goro. A name I recognise, incised into sede PRM 1905.63.5 (figure 3. 23), a bamboo percussion instrument associated with hiri trading voyages. Betty and Abau recognise the name too: Vani Goro was Ahuia’s cousin.⁴⁶ His name appears again on bamboo dancing staff ageru PRM 1905.63.3, written in Ahuia’s idiosyncratic hand;

⁴⁴ Cited from the expedition label.

⁴⁵ Liboiron (2021: 33) recognises incommensurability as a way of honouring difference, a point I return to in chapter 6. Here, I’m using the word to problematise inequalities.

⁴⁶ Personal communication 7 September 2015.

one of several annotated by Ahuia and obtained from kin seemingly as a ‘prestation’, a performative and ‘upward social gesture’ to the expedition and by extension the colonial administration (Mauss 2011; Wingfield 2012: 48-49; Guyer 2016: 13).

Like hand nets, *sede* and *ageru* were personal objects that villagers ‘would not have exchanged among themselves’ (Thomas 1991: 91). As Thomas (1991: 91) conceives for Niue, Vani Goro may have disposed of his otherwise non-exchangeable *sede* to acquire European objects without incurring ‘debt or burden of friendship’ with the expedition; notwithstanding kin obligations to Ahuia, which may have compelled trade. Similarly, walking through Hanuabada with Ahuia on 24 May 1904, Seligman purchased model house AM E.12931 and *lagatoi* AM E.12932 for ten shillings each; remarks on villagers apparent inability to comprehend monetary value reflecting misconceptions over local terms of barter and deep-seated stereotyping (Seligman 1904a: 89; 1903b). While such exchange was an important means of agency for villagers – a counteraction to colonial assumed access – for Ahuia, the prestations this made possible engendered an innovative kind of pivot relation (see Strathern 1988: 270). Earlier, typically distinct, kin obligations were revealed in newly formed relations with whites; chiefly relations the cause of colonial relations, which in turn enhanced renown. Such effects – essential to Melanesian sociality – did not occur in isolation, however.

As Fredrick Barth (1975: 225) acknowledges of his fieldwork among the Baktaman, relationships ‘based on reciprocity and compatible learning’ can produce an ‘observer effect’, launching “informants” in intellectual careers as analysts of their own society’. An effect later confirmed by Malinowski who, writing to Seligman in 1914, noted how Ahuia ‘being started by you and tapped by Barton... has become a passionate Anthropologist’ (cited in Young 1988: 7). Whether Seligman fully appreciated this at the time is not really clear, the extent to which Ahuia was recompensed for his time, interpreter assistance and gifts unrecorded. Emulating white collectors like Barton and Ballantine, whose object gifts to the expedition were motivated by friendship, desire for scientific recognition and personal esteem, Ahuia was comparably systematically gathering and preserving his own culture and his role within it (cf. Torrence et al 2020: 125; Harrison 2011: 61). The consequences of his more nuanced motivations, expectations of friendship and future exchange, however, at times displaced by notions of naïve intellectual curiosity and blunt ambition (Strathern 1988: 173; Seligman 1903b; 1910: 59).



Figure 3.23

Sede bamboo percussion instrument. 86.8 cm long, 11.6 cm diameter. Hohodae, Hanuabada, Central Province, PNG. Cooke Daniels collection. PRM 1905.63.5. Photo by author.



Figure 3.24

Dairi Arua Heri (L) with author (R) discussing the Cooke Daniels collections together with objects later collected for MAA at the home of Igo Morea, Porebada, PNG. 4 October 2015. Dairi's sede (MAA 2016.89.1) and uro (MAA 2016.104) in foreground. Photo by Randall Baibo John.

Legacies (Dairi 2015)

Preparing images for this chapter, I find myself drawn to a photograph of Ahuia (figure 3.3 (R)). Taken by Barton, probably sometime between 1900 and 1907, Ahuia is posed formally in ceremonial dress and holds an elongated – and notably undecorated – lime gourd. Investigating European museum collections, Haddon (1895: 46; 1946: 163) suspected few decorated lime gourds and tobacco pipes ‘obtained at Port Moresby’ were ‘of local manufacture’; his reasoning premised on perceived similarities between Koita and inland Koiari designs. Examining the Cooke Daniels collections, I am struck by the absence of Motu Koita lime gourds and tobacco pipes.⁴⁷ Similarly, Haddon’s collection of approximately 70 Central Province gourds at MAA, largely acquired during the TSE, comprises only one gourd (MAA Z 8643) provenanced, with some uncertainty, to Port Moresby. Perhaps Motu Koita gourds and pipes were generally undecorated? Perhaps this made them less desirable to collectors, or even less perceptible (cf. Torrence and Clarke 2013: 185-86)? A gift from Barton to the expedition lends weight to this idea: mourning neckband BM Oc1906,1013.755, woven with the possessions of a deceased Koita man, includes a small and undecorated lime gourd.

Chatting with Dairi over Messenger – our regular mode of conversing about life in the village, his sons (his youngest is my husband’s namesake) and material culture – I ask about old time lime gourds. A few days later, Dairi sends two photographs. In the first, he is holding an undecorated globular gourd, the top stoppered with a plastic flip cap, probably taken from a salt dispenser. In the second, the gourd has been decorated in black marker pen with his grandmother’s tattoo designs, also used on the uro cooking pot (MAA 2016.104, figure 3.24) I collected for MAA in 2015. Dairi made the uro in 1996, only decorating it in 2014 for the annual Hiri Moale festival in Port Moresby – an innovation on a commonly undecorated and utilitarian object.⁴⁸ Barth’s (1975: 225) ‘observer effect’ comes to mind and I wonder if my curiosity has prompted further innovation, an addition to Dairi’s ‘traditional’ repertoire? Everyone in the past decorated

⁴⁷ A gap partly filled by decorated pipes gifted from Barton and Ballantine: BM Oc1906,1013.704, however, attributed to the Eastern Motu and BM Oc1906,1013.674 only recorded as possibly Motu.

⁴⁸ Historical examples, including those in the Cooke Daniels collection are undecorated (see chapter 4), although some bowls included rim and shoulder decoration (see May and Tuckson 2000: 55). May and Tuckson (2000: 56-61) observed Porebada potters adding geometric incising to uro and flower pots (made from modified uro) sold locally in the 1970s, around the time Dairi’s grandmother was potting, likely inspiring Dairi’s unique interpretation.

lime gourds with tattoo designs, Dairi tells me through chat (personal communication 5 October 2020). Perhaps Motu Koita decorative practices altered before or as a result of European arrival? Another of Ahuia's drawings (No. 10, BM Oc2006,Drg.690) lends weight to this idea: annotated 'old time fashion pipe', he illustrates three bamboo pipes decorated with Motu Koita tattoo designs.⁴⁹

Dairi Arua Heri, a Motu Koita dance choreographer and material culture specialist registered with PNG's National Cultural Commission, practices what he defines traditional handcrafts, making and selling fibre clothing, shell and featherwork, musical instruments and pottery (Lilje 2013; 2018c; Donoghue 2017). Latterly, he tattoos women with customary Motu Koita designs; a practice now gaining popularity after a lengthy hiatus. Dairi otherwise teaches, choreographs dance performance and coaches a female Hiri Hane Namo (Hiri Queen) contestant as part of Hiri Moale. Resonant of the early twentieth century revival in tabu and dubu, the Motu Koita developed Hiri Moale – a festival themed around hiri voyaging, which largely ceased in the 1950s – in response to feelings of social marginalisation and loss of cultural identity in the 1970s (Goddard 2011: 280, 282). Learning headdress and drum making from Orira Audabi (see introduction), skirt and pottery making from his grandmother and sede making from his grandfather,⁵⁰ Dairi is an exceptional cultural revivalist. One of only a few artists in the village of Porebada, his work uniquely crosscuts conventionally gender-restricted roles – such as female tattooing – to assert traditional forms of knowledge and practice.⁵¹

When I met Dairi in mid September 2015, through my informally adopted brother Randall Baibo John, his expertise had already garnered the attention of other museum researchers, prompting his decision to sell and donate work to the AM.⁵² Motivated by a desire to conserve ancestral design and material, Dairi was as happy to sell his work to MAA as I was to purchase it with Crowther Beynon funds. Describing the objects as

⁴⁹ Tobacco was introduced by colonists and decorated pipes were likely produced for trade with whites from the 1880s (see Torrence and Clarke 2013: 184-88). European interest may have also promoted the decoration of gourds, men asserting their identity to elicit relations, however, this does not preclude my observations on their relationship with dubu and other structures (see below).

⁵⁰ There is no equivalent kinship term for great aunt/uncle, grandparent is used instead. Here, Dairi is referring to his grandmother's brother, Taumaku Koitabu.

⁵¹ Dairi considers the work of other village artists to be contemporary rather than traditional (personal communication 23 October 2015).

⁵² See Lilje's (2013) doctoral research and Lilje (2018c). Dairi also consulted on the Australian Research Council funded project *Producers and Collectors: Uncovering the Role of Indigenous Agency in the Formation of Museum Collections*.

his 'legacy', this was an opportunity to develop his reputation in the UK – in any case, he explained, it is the *knowledge* rather than the things themselves which hold value; a more salient legacy to pass on to his descendants (Dairi Arua, personal communication 6 October 2015). In this vein, I was to spend just over a month living in Porebada at the home of Dairi's cousin, Gunina No. 1 iduhu chief, Igo Morea, learning about Motu Koita culture, sharing knowledge about the Cooke Daniels collections, and purchasing objects for the museum.

As I note in the Crowther Beynon report (Donoghue 2017), initially, my agency as a collector felt limited to the power of rejection, as Dairi set the terms of our exchange – what he wished to sell and for what price. Time to reflect has been quite informative. As we sat in Igo's home talking through the community book – a folder I had prepared containing images and object descriptions from the Cooke Daniels collections – Dairi began reaching for his own objects, producing them in response to my interest and the collection images, as well as what mattered most to him (figure 3.24). Pottery paddles (BM Oc1906,1013.57-58) and cockle shells (BM Oc1906,1013.77-79) used to incise certain pot rims,⁵³ led to our discussion of Dairi's uro (and my eventual purchase), while Vani Goro's sede prompted me to ask about Dairi's sede, hanging on the verandah outside. As Lissant Bolton (2001) came to realise of her fieldwork in Vanuatu, things often operate beyond the margins of Western category. More than objects, sede are inseparable from the sound they produce and the songs and dances they attend – things I collected in the form of sound and film recordings together with Dairi's sede (MAA 2016.89.1-2). Collecting, it seems, was more mutual than I expected and in more ways than one.

Diffractions

'There is no absolute boundary between here-now and there-then' writes Barad (2014: 168) on the notion of 're-turning' to make 'new diffraction patterns'. Concluding this chapter, my reflections on time spent with Dairi extend the possibility of new insights into Seligman and Ahuia's relationship, and in turn some of the expedition's collecting practices. Dairi and Ahuia are very different men of course and I am not a white male

⁵³ See n48 this chapter. The shells being discussed were collected in the context of drill making, however, as tools they likely had wider applicability.

scientist. Reiterating Haraway's (2018: 16) concern that reflection only displaces sameness, Barad (2014: 169) 're-turns' to the work of post-colonial theorist and filmmaker Trinh Minh-ha to acknowledge how similarities (reflections) occur within differences (diffractions), disrupting binary separation. Like the nested fractals patterned throughout this chapter, these narratives might be read prospectively 'through one another... [to] help illuminate differences as they emerge' (Barad 2007: 30). A copresent reading diffracted through timespace, made visible through my own experiences.

In this sense, re-turning to Papua New Guinea in 2015, I sometimes observed what felt like moments of 'diachronicity' in conversation with Dairi, as he narrated his path to becoming a registered specialist, or explained how particular objects were used and understood, now and in *his* past (Strawson 2004). That my presence (and that of other researchers) may have shaped Dairi's mode of response and expectations would not be surprising.⁵⁴ Arranging for me to speak with village Elders before acting as translator (a role at other times performed by Randall) shifted emphasis from Dairi's own story and expressions of knowledge to that of others, encouraging exegesis. Brief displacements in an otherwise embodied 'episodicity' often communicated through material practice and mythopoeic story (Strawson 2004).

When Seligman started working with Ahuia in late 1903, Ahuia's expectations had already been shaped by his encounter with the TSE, particularly their 'considerable interest' in drawing (Haddon 1904a: 33). While the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition commissioned drawings (largely in the Massim)⁵⁵ under the same psychological rubric, Ahuia plausibly produced drawings for Seligman of his own volition assuming this to be a conventional and desired means of communication (Mack 2012: 84-87; Donoghue 2018a: 290). He also collected several drawings from his half-brother Rabura Geita,⁵⁶ the VC at Kila Kila, having conducted his own fieldwork in the village to correspond with Seligman's research on tabu, dubu and iduhu dagi. Sending one drawing (BM Oc 2006,Drg.697) to Seligman via Barton in January 1904 illustrating the Kila Kila dubu, noting that Rabura 'got his information from the old men', he seems to have recruited Rabura in the same task (Barton 1904b).

⁵⁴ Education and involvement in other Westernised practices have likely played a role too.

⁵⁵ Originally registered as BM Oc1906,1013.1088-137, now in Eth Doc 1010 E (ALRC).

⁵⁶ There are six unnumbered works attributable to Rabura at the ALRC: BM Oc2006,Drg.693; 696-98; 700; 704.

Thematically similar – although stylistically distinct – Rabura’s drawings are held at the ALRC together with Ahuia’s in a box embossed ‘Torres Strait Expedition’. Like the Daniels catalogues – bound and embossed in similar lettering – later misattributed by the BM to Seligman, the drawings have been dislocated from their origins by processes of time and conjecture. Processes that also deceived Seligman. Preparing the drawings for publication in *Melanesians*, he may have muddled the drawing Ahuia made of the Hohodae dubu in No. 3 with that of the Kila Kila dubu sent by Rabura; both drawings showing a platform with food and dancing girls as described in Barton’s letter (1904b). The result is a series of misattributions in *Melanesians*, Seligman struggling to tell the two artists apart; drawing No. 3, featured in Plate XVIII, labelled as a ‘native drawing’ to avoid speculation on authorship.⁵⁷ Assessing these drawings alongside those made by Ahuia in 1898 reveals consistency in the handling of human figures, buildings and use of perspective not seen in Rabura’s work.⁵⁸ Rabura has also annotated his unnumbered drawings in Motu – his hand notably absent from Ahuia’s numbered works – while Ahuia has added clarifications to Rabura’s work in English, presumably intended for Seligman’s benefit.

Discussing Motu Koita mythopoeic consciousness, Michael Goddard (2008: 40-41) stresses the lack of a self ‘imbued with temporal continuity’ – a lack of diachronicity – in Ahuia’s later autobiography, overseen and significantly rearranged by government anthropologist F.E. Williams (1939). Consistent with the prospective directionality of Ahuia’s drawings, his more abstracted practices and insights – on social structures and power relations, as well as population data (Seligman 1910: 66-67) – seem not to have significantly altered his sense of dividuality and the separation of ‘story and its subject’ inherent in Motu Koita consciousness (Strathern 1988; Goddard 2008: 41-42). As with Dairi’s use of his grandmother’s tattoo patterns, much of what Ahuia conveyed to the expedition was expressed materially in the context of relations with others. Expressions Seligman found unexpected empathy with. While appreciating Ahuia’s capacity to obtain material ‘facts’, he also experienced material agency (Herle and Rouse 1998b: 15). Joining *with* Ahuia at Koke, attuned to his environment, Seligman momentarily shared

⁵⁷ Seligman (1910: 17 n2) generally attributes authorship to Ahuia but suggests some drawings are by Rabura; Plate VII (No. 2 BM Oc2006,Drg.688) and Plate XXVIII (from No. 17 BM Oc2006,Drg.694) are misattributed to Rabura. No drawings actually attributable to Rabura are published in *Melanesians*.

⁵⁸ Ahuia’s 1898 drawings are reproduced in Haddon (1904a); the drawing in Plate C, Fig. 4 is conserved at MAA (2010.630).

in a sentient and mythopoeic world – ‘the essence of... social life’ paradoxically ‘sleeping’, suspended in ‘the black hole’ of decay and absence that would soon rematerialise in revival (Ingold 2021: 13; 2015: 103; Seligman 1904a: 28).

The expedition were arguably at the eye of the storm, witnesses alongside Barton to a variable world they expected to find immutable, profoundly moved by a sense of loss seemingly apparent in all that surrounded them. Passing through the ‘black hole of the eye’s pupil’, however, this was an image frequently turned inside out (Ingold 2015: 74). Seligman’s muteness in *Melanesians* on the continuity of some Motu Koita iduhu dagi and practices reflected his own lived experience to the point of confirmation bias, possibly blinding him to other associations – even those of loss. For men no longer able to gather on central dubu platforms, intimate relations with supernatural or mythic tabu beings, expressed through pattern-making on structures and attendant containers used for public chewing and smoking, were becoming less visible. Haddon’s research might suggest little altered with the revival of tabu feasts and dubu, despite Barton’s support. And although Barton engendered spontaneous renewal on one hand, on the other, his imperial bread and circuses style durbar – of which he held ‘several’ (Wright 1997: 55) – channelled cultural expression into government sanctioned performance.

Further experiential acts of attention jolted the expedition from their retrospective directionality, however, as they traced the ‘more complex, and... beautiful’ patterns of Central Province art and regularly encountered ‘intelligent’ men like Ahuia, displacing notions of New Guineans as simpleminded and poorly skilled (Seligman 1903b; 1910: 53, 38). While Seligman perceived the Motu Koita as somewhat less primitive – Keripu at Diumana had ‘a hohoda[e] mother’ and was likewise ‘one of the brightest Papuans’ he had met, even ‘untrained’ with ‘little English’ – the expedition’s experiences belied their expectations (Seligman 1904d; 1904a: 75). Just as I could not have conducted my fieldwork without Randall and Dairi, the expedition came to rely heavily on local men and women, the latter employed as carriers (see BM Oc,B119.50). From the ‘boys’ who made introductions and interpreted, to informants such as Ipunesa at Wagawaga and Keripu – without whom the Diumana lōe post could not have been collected – the expedition attracted and quickly engaged enterprising men who could help them gather people for interviews and make object purchases. That these encounters of humanity

and agency could not dissolve the implicit spectre of scientific racism and evolutionary linearity troubles the expedition's publications and material collections.

Throughout *Melanesians*, written in the years after the expedition, Seligman (1910) intentionally filters his knowledge and experience through an evolutionary lens. Here, Ahuia's intelligence – as well as others like Toakina of Panatinani Island – is recast as 'unusual' while others are merely 'averagely intelligent lay natives' (Seligman 1910: 59, 736, 279). Paradoxically, the need to emphasise New Guinean intelligence undermines the stereotypes it promotes. The need to insist upon this as exceptional is, however, an especially pernicious colonial conceit. Such misdirection, aided by time, also permitted acts of forgetting. While Ahuia's drawings are sometimes presented as expressions of a Motu Koita worldview, at other points in *Melanesians*, they become largely illustrative, further reduced by Seligman's (1910: 17 n1, 60, 183) misattribution of 'the most elaborate of these' to Rabura (see Donoghue 2018a: 290). Colonial misdirections and forgettings will re-emerge in the next chapter. As for the iduhu dagi – scarcely discussed, patterns unexamined, similarly reduced to illustrations – in *Melanesians*, their image can only be seen as a reflection.

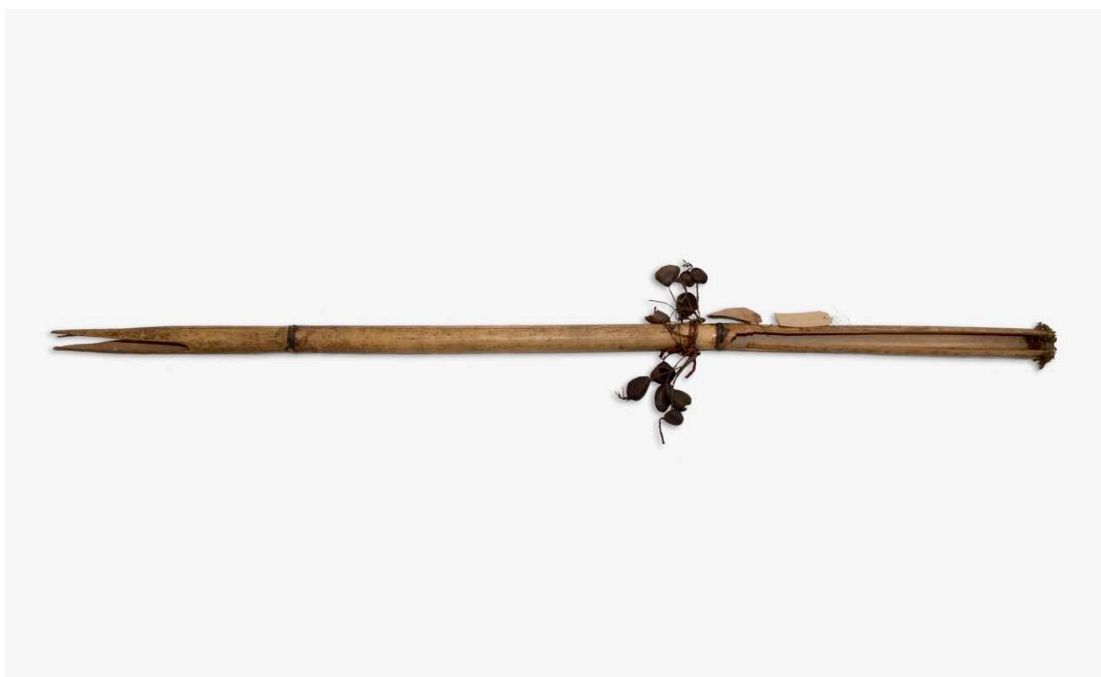


Figure 4.1

Ageru. Dancing staff belonging to Arua Ganiga. 177 cm long. Hohodae, Central Province, PNG. Cooke Daniels collection. MAA E 1905.238. Photo by author.



Figure 4.2

Ageru dancing staffs in action at Barton's durbar, Port Moresby, 1 July 1904 (BM Oc,B120.114; ALRC Cooke Daniels collection).

Encounters: shaping practices

“To truly know is to feel and perceive through all the senses.”

- Tilley (2004: 15) on synesthesia.

“Several Motu dances seen & one Koita... each individual having a piece of bamboo some four feet long often with Pangium rattles on it. These are thumped on the ground to the rhythm of the dance – there are no drums – & produce a very fine effect. At a short distance this is like the thud of a mighty threshing machine, louder indeed than any combination of flails I have heard.”

- Seligman (1904a: 27) on ageru dancing staffs.

PATTERNS OF REPETITION

The repetitive action of lifting a bamboo staff and bringing it back into contact with the ground evokes the sound of Koita dances now rarely performed. In the story told to Seligman in January 1904 by Ahuia Ova, the bamboo staff and accompanying dance came into being through a song called Maginogo. Years earlier, the Gorobe Koita created Maginogo within a sacred erima tree, before exchanging it years later with their neighbours the Yarogaha Koita. However, sung elsewhere, away from the percussive qualities of the erima tree, ‘it was felt some accompaniment was required’ (Seligman 1910: 155). Thus began the practice of dancing with bamboo staffs called ageru. The right to perform Maginogo was later acquired from the Yarogaha in exchange for axes and shell valuables by Ahuia’s great grandfather, Abau Rohi. Performed in Hohodae almost daily, Seligman watched the ageru in action – writing about his experiences in the above account – as Dunning stood beside him filming and photographing: ‘In evening Dunning developed a foot or so film of this dance, it proved a brilliant success’ (Seligman 1904a: 27).

The action of gently lifting an ageru down from the racks at MAA and carrying it through to the Andrews Gallery for photography creates an occasional rattling sound, as numerous hollow *Pangium edule* seedpods click against one another or against the hollow bamboo. Carefully turning the ageru over creates more sound, a clattering that reverberates around the gallery. In 2014 and 2015, I examined four ageru, each unique; their acquisition apparently arranged by Ahuia. The ageru now at MAA (E 1905.238, figure 4.1) belonged to Arua Ganiga, another of Ahuia's cousins. As with Vani Goro's ageru, Ahuia has written Arua's name on one side in blue pencil – possibly the same pencil he used to annotate the iduhu dagi. The bamboo is light-weight and cool to the touch. The section above the pangium rattles and below the V-shaped top is smoother in texture, reflecting more light, perhaps due to the repetitive action of lifting the bamboo, it sliding through the hand as it is brought into contact with the ground. A lateral section is cut away at the bottom third and rectangular perforations are cut either side of the central node, creating a sound unique to this ageru, the others having differently shaped and sized cut-outs. On Ahuia's ageru (BM Oc1906,1013.299, 174 cm long) red-brown finger prints and streaks are visible below the V-shaped top where he gripped the bamboo, perhaps with pigment for decorating skin on his hands, or maybe messy hands stained from chewing betel nut. He has also signed his ageru in blue pencil.

The repetitive action of the dancers in Dunning's film footage, now conserved at the British Film Institute,¹ stepping and then thumping their ageru on the ground in unison, appears rapid at first, the tape passing too quickly through the Steenbeck table viewer during my 2015 visit. Slowed down to their proper speed, movements are considered, performers pay attention, following the man or woman in front, occasionally looking around to assess the movement of the group. There is no sound beyond the background clicking of the Steenbeck, out of time with the movement of the dancers. The inseparability of body, dance and ageru at odds with the separate categorisation of the film. Watching this footage a few months later in Papua New Guinea, Dairi Arua acknowledges the bamboo staffs. We are at Igo's home in Porebada; images of the four Cooke Daniels' ageru are on the floor beside an image of Ahuia (figure 3.3 (R)). Dairi can tell me little about ageru or the Hohodae Maginogo dance, only that he recognises

¹ *Koita Bamboo Dance Maginogo* (21490) 1904 Gaumont Company. 35mm film. Filmed by Dunning at Hohodae, Hanuabada, 9 January 1904 (from 2 mins 10 secs). The remaining footage from this reel was shot at Barton's durbar on 1 July 1904 (see Daniels n.d.).

them. He can, however, tell me about rattles or shakers called tareko in Motu, showing me the *Pangium edule* seedpods on the gaba drum he made in 2000 (MAA 2016.88).

The action of Dairi shaking the gaba up and down during a later impromptu performance, cause the tareko to clatter audibly over the drum's hollow booming. Dairi's cousin, Kaia, wearing her niece's too small fibre skirt, quickly joins him swinging her hips, the swishing of nipa fibres contributing to the overall performance, a gentle echo of Seligman's mighty threshing machine. Dairi's aunt, Maba Vagi, explains the importance of keeping time with the rhythm of the dance; it shows how well a woman has listened to her elders, expressed in her bodily movement and the resulting swish of her skirt. On another day, I walk along the beach with Iapaiwa Morea, the wife of Dairi's cousin Igo, helping her to collect *Pangium edule* seedpods that wash up on the beach so that Dairi can make tareko. In this context, Dairi explains how people roll fibres on their thighs (joking that this keeps his legs smooth), twisting them into cord, which is passed through perforations made in seedpods and knotted. Tareko can be used alone or tied to gaba, or to ageru dancing staffs. Various shells also litter the beach, visible as tareko tied to ageru in several expedition photographs (figure 4.2)² that I had shown to a group of Hohodae Koita a few weeks previously. Related to Dairi through marriage, Betty and Abau are now joined by Linda Oa Ova, Ahuia's granddaughter.³ The women view the film footage but are not familiar with the name ageru. "Maginogo" spoken by me is repeated and discussed in Motu before Betty and Linda tell me that dances with bamboo staffs are "Kuikui". In Motu this refers to the action of kneading or pounding (dough, for example) or to getting your body in the mood for dancing.⁴

The repetitive action of pounding generates visible performative traces on the four ageru acquired through Ahuia Ova. Conspicuous on Arua Ganiga's ageru are the ends, pounded until individual fibres reach out, root-like, forming entangled fibrous tufts, a 'meshwork' emerging from the knotting of minds, bodies and materials (Ingold 2008, 2013b, 2015). These are ontologically equivalent domains; 'the flows and growth patterns of materials... bodily movement and gesture... sensory perception... and human

² Also BM Oc,B119.24; Oc,B120.113.

³ Dairi's great uncle was married to Betty's first cousin once removed. In Western kinship terms Linda is both Ahuia's great niece by adoption and his cousin once removed by birth.

⁴ Personal communication, Betty Morea, Abau Rohi Leke, Linda Oa Ova 21 September 2015; Kaia Morea 25 February 2016.

relationships' becoming and 'remaining entangled' across time and space (Ingold 2015: 18 italics omitted; Barad 2007: 197).

Chapter Overview

Following on from chapter 3 and remaining concerned with aspects of sensorium and abstraction, this chapter concentrates on how the performative qualities of material encounter shaped Indigenous, scientific and colonial practices. Emphasis is given to New Guinean expressions of identity and agency both in everyday life and during collecting encounters. Here, pattern emerges in repetition, in acts of making and transformation that sought to engage an animate environment or maintain and solicit colonial or other human relations; the latter also encompassing the finishing and replacing of the dead in mortuary rites (Foster 1995). How were such relational desires negotiated and how did this shape localised practices and trade? What did encounters with this Melanesian worldview mean in turn for expedition and colonial collecting?

Returning to the BM Oceania Store, the stories in this chapter begin with a series of objects associated with Acting Administrator Christopher Robinson; modified skulls and spirit boards often secreted away in men's houses and later left unlabelled, secreted away within the Cooke Daniels collections as a means of finishing and replacing a troubling collecting history. Exploring how concealment materialised as empowerment for Kerewo men – fertile ground for colonial confirmation bias – and as disavowment for the expedition following Robinson's actions at Goaribari, I also consider objects' capacity to perform and displace copresent relations. Made visible are events that carry forward to Betty and Abau through family story and a headhunting complex that ties back to the Motu Koita through hiri trade.

This thread leads me to a series of Motu pots collected in association with Dunning, who sought to record their manufacture through photographic sequencing; capturing in the process something of the dynamism of women's pottery making – a 'making-in-growing' analogous to and supportive of some western men's cults (Ingold 2015: 122; Barker et al 2012: 162). Intimately entwined are objects encountered by the expedition associated with death and mourning, which invite me to explore local understandings of ancestral life and mortuary practice. This not only illuminates how New Guineans responded and adapted to colonial encounter, it also reveals how identity, like agency,

emerges as a shared attribute capable of transversing cultural norms and boundaries, as social relations are remade (cf. Akomolafe 2018).

PERFORMING

The small, square paper label is not typical of the expedition, nor is the spidery cursive advising me that this bamboo container (BM Oc1906,1013.300, figure 4.3), now in the Cooke Daniels collection, is a ‘Human grease pot’. A large, lateral opening on one side reveals a hollow interior containing a dark, red-brown and sticky substance, which has oozed out to cover much of the container’s 70.3 cm long exterior. An 11.7 cm long rattan toggle, lashed to the bamboo with cane strips one third from the top, secures a loop of twisted cane – a clue to the object’s other use as a carrier for human heads. ‘When the head was cut off the victim’s shoulders’ wrote F.E. Williams (2015: 269) of Trans-Fly peoples he named the ‘Keraki’, occupying the Morehead River area in what is now Western Province (see map 4, figure 4.9), a similar ‘looped end was passed through the mouth and out of the wind-pipe’ permitting the victor to tote his newly captured ‘trophy’; the loop worn over the shoulder, the victim’s head hanging below. The label notes the ‘grease pot’ was acquired from the Umaidai on the Turama River,⁵ several hundred miles north east in what is now Gulf Province. Provinces within a localised region of divergent ‘language-culture areas’ that nevertheless ‘share much in common’, notably – and now historically – ‘the taking and incorporation of life-force, especially through headhunting’ (Knauff 1993: 172-73).⁶

It would be several months before I uncovered the unknown label-writer’s identity. Robinson’s (1904) diary, held at the NAPNG, offered a likely match to the cursive and confirmation of Umaidai villages where ‘skulls were found in the outages as also cane beheading knives and bamboo head carriers in the form of a tube in [which] they keep a store of fat & marrow from their victims’. He has struck out the apparently superfluous detail ‘from human bones’, leaving aside any question of how the tube was sealed or for what purpose bone marrow grease might have been extracted (Robinson 1904). As Andrew Strathern (1996: 107-08) observes, Melanesian conceptions of bodily fluids, always considered to be ‘in a variable state of plenitude or shortage’, typically equated

⁵ The name Umaidai might be anachronistic.

⁶ Groups in this region speak non-Austronesian/Papuan languages, some illustrated in figure 4.9.

bone marrow with semen as well as ‘growth and fertility... linked to the spirit world’. The tube’s content may have been consumed or applied to the body in preparation for a raid to strengthen the headhunter,⁷ a performative act akin to the ritualised sexuality many regional groups enacted to strengthen the community (cf. Knauff 1993: 173).

As with the discrete looped carriers of the ‘Keraki’, head carriers belonging to the Kiwai of the Fly River Delta (see map 4, figure 4.9) comprise a length of looped rattan, here secured to a wooden toggle or harpoon dart (Landtman 1927: 32). At 42 cm long, AM E.15697 (figure 4.5) is covered with resin, its 17 cm long toggle held by triangular supports wrapped in cotton fibre and cane strips. The compact design, worn hanging down the back during a raid (Landtman 1927: 32), makes the ‘grease pot’ appear less practicable – more container than carrier. Touring the Fly Delta in mid February 1904, Robinson (1904) may have obtained AM E.15697 together with decapitating knife AM E.15696 (figure 4.5).⁸ Worn alongside the head toggle and formed from a split section of bamboo 49.5 cm long, one edge forms a blade, while the other reveals four sets of either two or three decorative notches. According to Gunnar Landtman (1927: 32), the notch visible above the blade indicates how many times it has been sharpened, and by extension, the number of heads it has taken.

The handle, which largely retains the outer bamboo is packed with wood, and like Kiwai blades ‘tightly bound with a plaiting of string in various patterns’, is wrapped in a zigzag woven fibre stained red and white (Landtman 1927: 32).⁹ A pattern also pyro-incised along the notched back edge of the bamboo, roughly echoed by a scattering of dotwork. The incisions are imprecise, perhaps alluding to inexperience and a desire to attract trade with whites or to assert local identity, as Robin Torrence and Anne Clarke (2013) advance for bamboo tobacco pipes from Central Province.¹⁰ Notably, variations on zigzags, chevrons and V-shapes are often incised into the frontal bones of modified craniums from the region, as well as the male and female paired agibe skull racks more typical of Gulf Province (figure 4.4) (Kjellgren 2007: 123). Similarly, chevron rows of coix seeds, pressed into the resin-filled handle terminal of knife AM E.15696 find resonance in the overmodelled parts of skulls from the Bamu River.

⁷ Landtman (1916: 323) notes the Kiwai smeared arrows ‘with “grease” from a decaying human body’.

⁸ Also used for cutting meat and fish (see Bonshek 2013: 66).

⁹ The motif appears to have been widely traded, see chapter 3 regarding its significance at Waima.

¹⁰ See n49 chapter 3; n35 this chapter.



Figure 4.3

'Human Grease Pot', Head Carrier. 70.3 cm long, 6.9 cm diameter. Turama River, Gulf Province, PNG. (Acquired by C.S. Robinson) Cooke Daniels collection. BM Oc1906,1013.300. Photo by author.



Figure 4.4

Agibe, Skull Rack. 107.5 cm long, 38.5 cm wide. Goaribari Island/immediate area, Gulf Province, PNG. (Acquired by or in association with C.S. Robinson) Cooke Daniels collection. PRM 1905.63.7. Photo courtesy of the PRM (edited).



Figure 4.5

(*Top*) Head Carrier. 42 cm long, 17 cm wide. AM E.15697; (*Bottom*) Decapitating Knife. 49.5 cm long, 7 cm wide. AM E.15696; Kiwai people, Fly River Delta, Western Province, PNG. (Objects acquired by or in association with C.S. Robinson) Cooke Daniels collection. Photo by author.

On 23 February 1904, at the Bamu village of Bimirami, Robinson (1904) encountered ‘A considerable number of human skulls all largely decorated with red and white seeds and having grotesque artificial noses and handles inserted into the eye sockets’. While some modified skulls, particularly those made by the Kerewo on and around the island of Goaribari (such as BM Oc1906,1013.955.b), have lengths of spiral bound cane or rattan passed through the nasal cavity for attachment to the agibe, Bamu nasal projections suggest more esoteric intentions (cf. Le Fur 1999: 136).¹¹

Lifting skull BM Oc1906,1013.578 from its box, I take care, conscious of the visibly loose left eye projection, which reveals a dowel-shaped insert at its base. A similar insert, situated inside the nasal cavity, supports the wooden nasal board, which is further

¹¹ Here, Le Fur casts doubt on Rev. Chalmers’ suggestion that nasal boards, ‘called kanega at the mouth of the fly’ (Haddon 1918: 180), were used to hang the skull on a house post. A long plaited fibre cord on BM Oc1906,1013.578 may have been a means of attaching it to a post, platform or board.

secured with twisted fibre cord through a small perforation. A resin, possibly also containing wax, coats the binocular eye stalks, a circular area on the right temple, either side of the jaw and the skull base; repeated indentations revealing now missing coix seeds in and around the remaining chevron-patterned seeds. The right side of the oval nasal board, its centre cut away, is carved with zigzag bands; small perforations at the top supporting four white feathers, paired carefully to form chevrons or nested V-shapes. At 28 cm in length, measured on the diagonal, the board exaggerates the nose just as the 14 cm cylindrical stalks exaggerate the eyes. Perhaps an attempt to draw out the skull's sensory modalities, just as corresponding yet divergent regional patterns can make visible the inner capacities of corresponding skins, containers and bodies.¹²

In Melanesian constructions, sight and smell both attract and transform. Kula shells are 'attracted by each other's redness' and can 'sniff each other out', while on Tabar in New Ireland, the odours of decomposition – in cooking and in death – experientially bridge the corporeal and metaphysical worlds (Howes 2003: 112-13; Fergie 1985: 271). Part of the atmosphere in which we are immersed, when inhaled, odours are at once inside us and beyond us, a measure of "here and now" experience and the evanescent, transcendent world of spirits' (Ingold 2015: 87; Gell 1977: 31; Fergie 1985: 270-71). To 'objectify' such faculties in the form of a nasal board might also be a means of making present the metaphysical properties of the skull, simultaneously modifying it into an object of influence or rejuvenation while materialising a headhunter's relationship to the source of this power in the spirit world (Strathern 1988: 181). As Joshua Bell (2013: 133) remarks more generally, skulls 'were tokens by which men transformed others in the constitution of themselves'.

Often absent, the inclusion of the jawbone – notable on skulls from the Bamu,¹³ and some from the Goaribari area – on skull BM Oc1906,1013.578 might have elicited similar sensory relations, or otherwise completed 'the appropriate aesthetic' to achieve communication or participation in certain rites (Strathern 1988: 181). Secured with wooden toggles positioned inside each mandibular notch and wrapped in twisted fibre cord, the jawbone is probably from the same individual as the skull, having been removed and cleaned before reattachment (Austen 1936: 343). Praxis varied, however,

¹² Compare my comments in chapter 3, also Strathern (1988: 121-22) on the decoration of outer skin to produce singular effects and identity, a point I will return to.

¹³ See Haddon (1916), Le Fur (1999), Hallam (2016), also Jones (2018).

and while some skulls – with or without jawbones – ‘became inalienable parts of men’s cults’, jawbones also circulated as valuables ‘in bridewealth and peace payments’ (Bell 2013: 133). Human bodies circulating as shell bodies circulate further east.¹⁴

Puzzled by the presence of jawbones and nasal boards, colonists and later scholars have conjectured that such skulls belong not to adversaries, but to ancestors (Haddon 1918; Jones 2018). Haddon (1918: 178-79) was notably sceptical, emphasising Kerewo examples where ancestral skulls were kept in dwellings, rather than men’s longhouses (where he found skulls in association with *agibe*) before being (re-)interred at the conclusion of mourning rituals.¹⁵ Landtman (1927: 259) made similar observations among the Kiwai, noting kin skulls were ‘provided with lips, ears and a nose made of beeswax’ and reattached to their de-fleshed, decorated body ready for immediate burial. Elders did not contribute skulls here but sexual rites to community ‘fertility and food production’ (Knauft 1993: 195-96). In contrast, Kiwai enemy skulls acquired by Haddon at Mawatta in 1888 (MAA LS.116601.TC1; LS.116602.TC1), were found hanging beneath a men’s longhouse devoid of jawbones and decoration to serve as ‘trophies and fertility relics’ (Knauft 1993: 196). Although identity in life could inform identity in death, the matter of ancestor or ‘trophy’ might be informed as much by context.¹⁶ At Bimirami, Robinson’s diary offers tantalising clues. Recording the presence of ‘one large dubu’, he notes the skulls were found ‘in the ~~large~~ at this village’ (Robinson 1904). Perhaps he intended to write large dubu (longhouse)? Possibly this is where BM Oc1906,1013.578 was acquired. Probably, we’ll never know.

The Creature and the Grotesque

For Robinson, repeated encounters with the paraphernalia and consequences of head-hunting did not materialise the capacities of relational bodies, but the exoticism of the imperial imagination. ‘There can be no doubt but that these natives are cannibals’, he wrote of the ‘grease pot’ and further finds made on the Turama (Robinson 1904).¹⁷ A preoccupation that would later emerge in the questioning of his own captives taken in

¹⁴ There is no formalised exchange system like *kula*; I return to circulating bodies later in the chapter.

¹⁵ Welsch (2006a: 43) asserts that both ancestor and enemy skulls were hung from ‘large *agiba*’.

¹⁶ I use trophy cautiously; skulls did not only objectify a successful raid (cf. Coiffier and Guerreiro 1999).

¹⁷ This was ‘augmentative behaviour rather than key ritual’ (Goldman 1999: 4). Regional practices varied from ‘Whole-body cannibalism of [few] headhunt victims’ among the Purari to the ‘ritual eating of small body fragments’ among the Kiwai ‘for ritual strengthening purposes’ (Knauft 1993: 107, 197).

the waters off Goaribari Island (Robinson 1904). His first official tour of the Western Division and the Gulf of Papua,¹⁸ Robinson (1904) anticipated hostility from ‘unsettled’ ‘natives’ ‘apt to take advantage of any helpless & marooned party’. With little compassion, he gave orders for any ‘armed and apparently hostile’ New Guinean scouts to be shot (cited in Langmore 1972: 71). As Seligman (1903b) crudely remarks, ‘the blithering idiot thinks every bush has a Papuan with a 10 foot spear behind it’.

Robinson was indeed intensely anxious. An impressionable Brisbane solicitor with only brief experience practising in the New South Wales goldfields (see appendix C), his appointment as BNG’s Chief Judicial Officer in May 1903 and promotion to Acting Administrator just one month later brought immense pressure and responsibility.¹⁹ In his memoir, North-Eastern Division RM Charles Monckton (1927: 253, 261) portrays Robinson as ‘man all through’ despite inexperience and a reluctance to fight or harm New Guineans; a notion Monckton would remedy with his ‘shoot and loot’ policy, as he accompanied Robinson on the first leg of his tour of inspection (Lutton 2006). Plotting a new route to the Yodda goldfields, their carriers sick with measles, encounters with often startled scouts and villagers – few of whom spoke known dialects – rapidly escalated into violence, causing Robinson considerable unease, as Monckton (1927: 264) dramatises:

“‘What would they do to us, if they caught us?’ asked [Robinson], who was looking very haggard from want of sleep, and from worrying over the ultimate fate of the expedition. “At best, kill and eat us,” I answered, “perhaps torture us first. They are a bad lot in this part. A short time ago some similar natives caught two miners, Campion and King, on the Upper Kumusi, the part we are making for, and stuck stakes through their stomachs and roasted the pair alive.”²⁰

A tale that especially shocked Robinson, who had met Campion in the NSW goldfields, inducing his certainty that ‘The natives in this vicinity have not yet been brought into subjection, and require, in my opinion, a severe lesson’ (Robinson’s despatch cited in

¹⁸ The Gulf Division officially came into being in 1906 (BNG Administrator 1907: 14).

¹⁹ Chief Judicial Officer Francis Winter became Acting Administrator under dormant commission and Robinson inherited this role when he took over from Winter (see BNG Administrator 1903, 1904).

²⁰ Campion and King were attacked and killed while prospecting in January 1901; tensions caused by earlier government aggressions may have contributed; ‘Later, miners and government officers believed that Campion and King were captured alive, tortured and eaten’ (Nelson 1976: 122-23).

Monckton 1927: 274). One month later, deeply affected, he tried and hung two New Guinean men for (unrelated) murders – one, named Miraweno, had shot his grossly abusive white employer; Sir Francis P. ‘Winter [the previous Chief Judicial Officer] might have commuted both sentences’ (Nelson 1978: 134).

Filtered through Monckton’s apparently unchecked ‘readiness with a gun... callous punishments and... sexual exploitation of local women’, Robinson’s early impressions of BNG took on a kind of ‘Conradian Horror’, his traumatic experiences magnifying the writings of previous Governors, whom he quoted in his diary and sought to emulate (Lutton 2006; Davies 2021).²¹ As Monckton (1927: 262) learned when Robinson refused his – rather uncharacteristic – advice to retreat, demanding ‘Did Sir William MacGregor ever do such a thing?’ Most captivating, however, was Sir George Ruthven Le Hunte’s (1904) despatch of 29 March 1902, describing his return visit to Goaribari Island and attempt to recover the skulls of LMS missionaries Rev. Oliver Tomkins and Rev. James Chalmers, killed at Dopima village on 8 April 1901 together with the Kiwai Chief Navagi and ten mission students. While successful in obtaining Chalmers’ skull, Le Hunte (1904) was, at least ostensibly, denied Tomkins’ skull on several occasions. Frustrations that would afford Robinson an opportunity to prove himself and to execute further outstanding ‘lessons’.

When Robinson returned to Port Moresby on 1 January 1904 with a directive from the Australian Acting Governor-General, Lord Hallam Tennyson, to take the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition on the tour west, news of his intended punitive expedition to recover Tomkins’ skull preceded him, as did his reputation for white sympathy and New Guinean antipathy. Seligman (1903b) could barely contain his loathing. Exposing his own racial antipathy to friend Herbert Jonas, he refers to Robinson as ‘the creature’, slighting his ‘unpleasant Australoid characteristics’ – Robinson was certainly white – exclaiming ‘worse... [he] wants every policeman he can get to come West with him – he is going to take 39 about 20 more than MacGregor took when he went 500 miles up the Fly’ (Seligman 1903b). Reading this, I am struck by Seligman’s unguarded remarks, the air of professionalism found in his journal stripped away. In the same letter, he calls Dunning a ‘bore’ full of ‘pointless stories’ that he fears ‘may be trying in the bush when we’ve got fever and are short of carriers’ – an all too accurate premonition, as Seligman

²¹ Also see Langmore (1972: 70-71) on Monckton’s ‘unfortunate’ influence during their northern tour.

succumbs soon after Dunning, who, collapsing en route to Tivi on the Bensbach River, is prevented from falling by Seligman and Robinson (Seligman 1903b; 1904a: 40). Constraining the content of their respective journal and diary, both Seligman (1904a: 30) and Robinson (1904) record – without comment – that they share Robinson’s cabin onboard the SS *Merrie England*. The atmosphere imaginably strained.

It seems Lord Tennyson’s despatch, advising that particular care should be taken of the expedition, increased Robinson’s anxieties (Seligman 1903b). Ignoring Seligman’s ‘injured tone’ he placed the expedition – minus Daniels, still in Australia awaiting the Kori – ‘entirely under my command [with no] attempt to do anything or to seek to go to any place except under my sanction’ (Robinson 1904). They were to join Robinson in travelling ‘along the coast & up the Bensbach’ before going ‘a certain distance up the Fly’, terminating at Iasa on Kiwai Island; on no account could they accompany him to ‘Goaribari & other unsettled places’ (Robinson 1904).²² Given the ‘scientific party’s absence of anything like organization’ – they had assumed food would be supplied and brought nets instead of cheesecloth to protect from mosquitoes – Robinson (1904) felt his decision justified, after all ‘they could prosecute their researches within a radius defined by me’ while based on Kiwai Island. Generously, he allowed the expedition to select Iasa ‘as their head quarters’ (Robinson 1904).

Despite differences, and Seligman’s evident vexation, the two men also found some common ground, Robinson (1904) taking interest in Seligman’s medical observations (‘awful case of lupus...!’) and both taking interest in Strong. He ‘is splendid, does his work & anyone else’s that he can help in quickly & [does so] well’ remarks Seligman (1903b). Robinson is less verbose, but equally impressed, permitting Strong to sit in on his meetings with New Guineans (figure 4.7) in Western Province and later in Mekeo (see appendix B), where he offers Strong the position of Acting RM, inducing Strong’s decision to resign from the expedition. The landscape captivates them too. Seligman’s (1904a: 32, 98) attention caught by cloud formations and later, lines and diamonds in pigeon flocks, implicitly corresponding with his observation of women’s tattoo marks in Central Province. Robinson (1904) is stunned by ‘beautiful’ fireflies, a scene, however, that he contrasts with the ‘grotesque’ objects he finds in men’s longhouses.

²² Seligman (1903a) had hoped to join the ‘punitive expedition’, noting ‘we had a practically formal invitation [while in Melbourne] for D & myself to go to the West... in January with the acting governor’. Robinson only agreed to take the expedition as long as Seligman (1903b) ‘promise[d] to be good’.



Figure 4.6

Kiwai longhouse. Iasa, Kiwai Island, Western Province, PNG, February 1904 (BM Oc,B120.87; ALRC Cooke Daniels collection).



Figure 4.7

Walter Mersh Strong (*L*) and Christopher Stansfield Robinson (*R*) with local men on the Bensbach River. Western Province, PNG, January 1904 (BM Oc,B118.155; ALRC Cooke Daniels collection).



Figure 4.8

(*Top*) Gope Board. Front and reverse, 79 cm long, 35 cm wide. MAA E 1905.254; (*Bottom L*) Gope Board. 83 cm long, 36 cm wide. BM Oc1906,1013.6; Bamu River, Western Province, PNG; (objects acquired by or in association with C.S. Robinson) Cooke Daniels collection. | (*Bottom R*) Gope Board. 97.5 cm long, 27.5 cm wide. Made Bamu River, Western Province, PNG, ?possibly acquired Maipua, Gulf Province, PNG. BM Oc1906,1013.8. (Acquired by A.C. English) Cooke Daniels collection. | Photo by author.



Figure 4.9

Relevant non-Austronesian language areas in Western and Gulf Provinces, PNG. Created using google maps with data drawn from SIL-PNG (n.d.) and Lawrence (2010: 3, Map 2).

The Settled and the Unsettled

If the landscape functioned as a metaphor for ‘the personal and collective unconscious’ in Joseph Conrad’s (2002) fiction *Heart of Darkness* (Davies 2021: 134), for Robinson, narrating his literal experiences, it was overwhelmingly objects. Mentioned infrequently in his diary, he first notes seeing carved ‘figures and emblems’ on 11 February 1904 at Tirio (Tiria) on the Fly River, one of ‘the “settled” villages’ he has given the expedition ‘permission to visit’ (Robinson 1904). Just upstream from Kiwai Island, here the Koabu people are ‘kindly’, ‘quiet & amenable’; their buildings ‘well constructed’; their canoes and longhouses ‘embellished with cleverly carved’ boards (Robinson 1904).²³ At neighbouring villages, however, Robinson is apprehensive. Children wear ‘heavy wooden ear ornaments’ such as BM Oc1906,1013.1687 – 6 cm long bulbous n-shapes, erroneously registered as charms – and men wear calico to disguise ‘their appearance’ as would-be assailants (Robinson 1904). As he moves east into further unsettled territory, low entryways (despite similarity with those in settled villages like Iasa (figure 4.6)) weaponise

²³ See Lawrence (2010) for an overview of Koabu and Kiwai peoples.

longhouses, forcing one to crawl – the ideal position for decapitation (Robinson 1904). There are no clever carvings here, only ‘grotesque figures’ such that the grotesque – Robinson’s most used adjective – is effectually the unsettled (Robinson 1904).

Two such figures, MAA E 1905.254 and BM Oc1906,1013.6 (figure 4.8), were likely collected by Robinson at Bamu Kiwai villages along the Bamu River between 22 and 27 February 1904, while the expedition was safely installed at Iasa. Measuring 79 cm and 83 cm long respectively, the wooden boards were ‘rigged up in the bow of river canoes, supported by stays and decorated with leaves’ to bring luck, or secured to the entrance of longhouses to prevent illness (Landtman 1933: 77). Woven rattan stays are visible on the reverse and sides, although the medicinally prepared leaves – capable of swaying in the breeze to express a man in dance – are now absent (see Landtman 1933: 77). The open-work basket suspended at the top contains a small piece of wood that may have been used, as with the prepared leaves, to enact intentions through sorcery. Known as *gope*, Robinson certainly encountered related boards at Tirio – though particular to the Koabu – yet chose to acquire MAA E 1905.254 and BM Oc1906,1013.6 from unsettled Bamu villages, which his diary records as largely deserted, the inhabitants having fled; though some were ‘seen watching’ from a safe distance (Robinson 1904).

This darker facet of performative colonialism differed from that exhibited at Tirio, where Robinson (1904) checked on villagers’ welfare and ‘told them of three medicine men’ – the expedition – ‘whom the King had sent out to see them’. Although the King’s representatives may not have appeared,²⁴ the selected mamoose or leader was given ‘the usual present’ (Robinson 1904), the colonial and missionary means of establishing and maintaining relations with a view to pacification or conversion – the so-called ‘civilizing mission’ (see Stocking 1991; Brantlinger 2003).²⁵ For the Koabu, such gifts were perhaps more empowering than colonists supposed, materialising the group’s capacity to elicit wealth and relations (Strathern 1992c: 246; Bell 2013: 133). Early encounters, on the other hand, could be fraught with confusion and ethical failings. Gifts – Robinson (1904) records presenting tobacco, calico, shirts, beads, knives and tomahawks – were typically left in plain view and if contact could not be enticed, food and material objects

²⁴ Seligman was too unwell to complete his journal between 9 and 23 February 1904; I have not located any objects attributable to Tirio in the Cooke Daniels collections.

²⁵ Mamoose is a Torres Strait Islander term meaning “Chief of the tribe”, apparently used in Western Province (Schafer 2021). Gifts were employed in ‘generalized reciprocity’ (Sahlins 1972; see discussion in Torrence and Clarke 2013: 175).

could be taken without consent, the gifts presumed to be adequate payment (Robinson 1904; Thomas 1991: 90, 178-79; Stanley 2016: 21). A practice that would persist despite MacGregor's earlier attempt to criminalise it (see BNG Administrator 1890: 45-46).

The circumstances surrounding the acquisition of gope MAA E 1905.254 and BM Oc1906,1013.6 are ambiguous. We might – charitably – assume they were consensually exchanged, imitating MacGregor's purchase of Kiwai gope, which he notably described as 'represent[ing] a grotesque human face' (BNG Administrator 1890: 44). Previously thought of as ancestors, the boards were more likely intended as containers for animate and efficacious spirit beings, known in form and name to particular owners (Schultze-Westrum 2015: 40-41). Thomas Schultze-Westrum (2015: 40) hypothesises Kiwai gope possibly even contain two faces, 'one above the other'. Carved in raised relief, the upper face consists of two circular eyes bisected by a potential linear nose and small mouth – downturned on MAA E 1905.254 and upturned on BM Oc1906,1013.6 – although this could also be interpreted as the ala or tip of the nose. The two smaller circles below this and above the large and upturned toothed mouth then form the lower face (Schultze-Westrum 2015: 40). A stylistic convention uniquely expressed on each Kiwai gope.²⁶

Such distortions and repetitions undoubtedly contributed to their grotesque western reading; seeing faces, doubled and asymmetrical, enhanced by radiating red and white lines; hearing swishing palm leaves. Active participants in Robinson's imaginative and sensuous experiences, whatever 'intentional arc' the boards engendered was disrupted, generalising the particular; reflecting his worst fears and expectations (see chapter 2; Malafouris 2019: 3; Merleau-Ponty 1962: 157; McGilchrist 2009: 219). For the Kiwai, however, such capacities, expressed through particular form and decoration, arguably engendered gope agency and efficacy, not only in attracting the desired spirit or spirits but also enabling their magical powers of protection (from illness) and provocation (in raids) – what Gell (1992b; 1998: 71-72) would term their 'virtuosity'. Sustaining such powers might also involve the remaking of gope, which decay over time, eroding their capacity to encompass spirit beings. Two such Bamu gope, BM Oc1906,1013.7 and BM Oc1906,1013.8 (figure 4.8),²⁷ are particularly aged and worn; rattan stays missing; little pigment remaining; sections broken away. As Bell (2013: 129) notes, opportunities to

²⁶ And largely unique to Kiwai gope (see Schultze-Westrum 2015: 40).

²⁷ Both acquired by Assistant RM for Rigo, Albert Charles English, possibly while visiting Maipua with Robinson in March 1904, see appendix F.

elicit relations with whites also ‘created spaces for more productive ways for communities to rid themselves of spent objects’. Exchanging something finished for something desirable, New Guineans could empower themselves by retaining ‘intellectual property’ in the form of knowledge and designs while still effecting relations (Küchler 1997: 41). For Robinson, however, any removal of boards without consent was likely a deliberate performance intended to disempower; even if gope owners could remake what was taken. The kind of performance he would repeatedly enact with skulls.

At Bimirami and villages along the Bamu and Turama Rivers (and later at Goaribari) Robinson (1904) removed several skulls for collecting purposes – very likely including BM Oc1906,1013.578 discussed above – while visibly destroying the rest. Gifts were left ‘to help them in the making of their canoes’, the message clear: headhunting will not be tolerated (Robinson 1904). Whether villagers interpreted the message in this way is less clear, despite some success at communication (Robinson 1904). Skulls – ancestor and trophy – were so valuable, their capacities so desirable, that they could be stolen during raids along with the taking of new heads (Coiffier and Guerreiro 1999: 38-39). Notably, the ANC force accompanying Robinson included several Island Kiwai, known locally for ‘large-scale death contracting and treachery’ (Langmore 1972: 65; Knauff 1993: 196). Unpredictably, the plundered skulls manifested ‘tomahawks & knives’, which might account for Robinson’s (1904) observation that villagers were, on one occasion, ‘delighted to find what had been left’. The unmitigated destruction of skulls, however, might have been more perplexing than instructive.

Robinson was not alone in ethicising certain kinds of acquisition. Acts of vandalism and looting were frequently displaced by narratives of scholarship and confiscation, an ongoing ‘moral hypocrisy’ the expedition were no less complicit in upholding (Thomas 1991: 180-81; Di Rosa 2017). ‘If [Robinson] works the trip right we ought to get lots of new stuff ethnographically – skulls of new tribes’ wrote Seligman (1903a), explaining his palpable disappointment when prohibited from unsettled places where such skulls might be found. There is no evidence to suggest the expedition directly acquired objects or human remains without consent. Nonetheless – acting in the interests of science (cf. Thomas 1991) – they had no qualms when it came to indirectly accepting government confiscations. These included two sorcerer’s charms, one (BM Oc1906,1013.790) made from crocodile teeth, the other (BM Oc1906,1013.263) a female skull suspended within

a cane frame, seized in Central Province as part of a colonial effort to eradicate sorcery (see Goddard 2014). Indeed, the Bamu River skull (BM Oc1906,1013.578) and three Goaribari area skulls (BM Oc1906,1013.93; Oc1906,1013.1607 and Oc1906,1013.955.b) associated with Robinson were given to the expedition by Chief Medical Officer Allen Craigen in June 1904 (see Seligman 1904a: 103). Trained at Aberdeen Medical School, where Seligman (1907a) would later lecture on the anthropometrics of western BNG, Craigen had already donated his almer mater a skull from Le Hunte's 1901 punitive expedition and would go on to donate skulls acquired by Robinson.²⁸ Whether these were obtained for Craigen – with his craniological interests in mind – or as confiscations for Robinson's own collection is not clear.

For the expedition – as indistinguishable from Robinson's armed government party as from the administration in Central Province (see chapter 3) – collecting largely took the form of commodity exchange, although framed within pre-existing social relations with colonial whites. In so-called settled areas from the Bensbach river, near the border with then Dutch New Guinea, east along the coast as far as Mawatta (figure 4.9), such relations arose from mutual concern over ongoing cross-border Marind-anim (Tugeri) headhunting raids (see BNG Administrator 1902). Camped near Tivi, encounters with groups seeking government protection proved occasion for barter, contributing some of the 41 objects the expedition collected from the Bensbach area (see Robinson 1904; Seligman 1904a: 40-43). The groups' willingness to trade and co-operate less an act of subjection and more one of resistance – both to the existential threat posed by Marind-anim and to encroaching colonial rule – leveraging advantage from otherwise inequitable circumstances. Surrounded by ANC – now protectors rather than potential antagonists – visiting groups relaxed, permitting Dunning to photograph the process of firemaking (figure 4.10) while Seligman (1904a: 43) took notes and bartered for the used fire sticks (likely BM Oc1906,1013.139.a-b) as well as a Wartha firemaking kit (BM Oc1906,1013.80.a-b) (figure 4.11). Images and objects obtained through brief but collaborative local engagement (cf. Bell 2009: 147).

²⁸ The Anatomy Museum, Aberdeen, holds sixteen skulls donated by Craigen. At least one (ABDUA: 58683) was donated in 1902 with reference to the 1901 punitive expedition (see Hallam 2016: 224). A further fourteen were donated in June 1905 and are recorded as originating from Robinson (see Spittal 1905). Fifteen of the sixteen skulls are attributed to Robinson in Aberdeen's catalogue, however. Hallam (2016) suggests the fourteen were donated c.1902; this is before Robinson arrived in BNG and probably relates to the earlier donation.



Figure 4.10

Man displaying firesticks. Bensbach River, Western Province, PNG, January 1904 (BM Oc,B119.125; ALRC Cooke Daniels collection).



Figure 4.11

(*Top*) Wartha (Toro) Fire Making Kit. 39 cm long. BM Oc1906,1013.80.a-b; (*Bottom*) Fire Sticks. 30.5 cm long. BM Oc1906,1013.139.a-b; Bensbach River, Western Province, PNG. Cooke Daniels collection. Photo by author.



Figure 4.12

(*Top*) Dancing staff. 98.3 cm long; 4.7 cm diameter. MAA E 1905.239; (*Second from top*) Dancing staff. 67.8 cm long; 4.1 cm diameter. MAA E 1905.240; Bugi, Western Province, PNG. | (*Third from top*) Dancing staff. 102 cm long; 5.4 cm diameter. ?Bugi or ?Dembibi, Western Province, PNG. BM Oc1906,1013.546 | (*Bottom*) Dancing staff. 102 cm long; 5.2 cm diameter. ?Bugi, Western Province, PNG. BM Oc1906,1013.378. | Cooke Daniels collection | Photo by author.

This was perhaps no more so the case than at Bugi, a government station founded as a village in 1898 to shelter disparate groups; survivors and refugees from Marind-anim raids (BNG Administrator 1898: 39).²⁹ Walking to Bugi with Robinson on 19 January 1904, Seligman (1904a: 37) is struck by the scarcity of women, most murdered, noting the ‘tone & gestures [of the men] when telling me this seem to convey – “a most natural thing[”]’. An empathetic response to suffering not so discernible in Robinson’s journal. Describing Bugi as a ‘Goal Station’ – perhaps due to the presence of defensive palisade and barracks (BNG Administrator 1898: 39) – he discounts ‘BUGI natives assert[ions]’ that Marind-anim still stalk the vicinity and trivialises their feelings of ‘constant dread’ (Robinson 1904). While authorities hoped the raids had ‘now ceased’, refugees initially refused to occupy Bugi, negotiating an ANC presence only gradually withdrawn; Dutch and British officials later agreeing compensation for victims’ families (Robinson 1904; BNG Administrator 1898: 39, 1902: XXI). A degree of local agency Robinson appeared reluctant to acknowledge. Rather than a goal – a place of dominance and control – Bugi was a place where New Guineans could forge new lives and identities, often performed through gardening, dancing and the making and trading of objects.³⁰

Men ‘break into chuckles of delight’ as Seligman (1904a: 36-37) barter for ‘a highly decorated new form of dancing stick’ – a stark contrast to his later encounter at Kalo where objects are conspicuously absent (see chapter 3). Carved from a red-brown hardwood, six of the seven staffs collected retain a dark brown outer bark, bands of incised patternwork revealing an inner bark of gradually lighter tones. Ranging from 67.8 cm to 102 cm in length, the shafts are undecorated and often polished to a sheen while the top decorative sections are bulbous with zoomorphic or hourglass finials (figure 4.12). Evocative of Central Province gourds, alternating plain and patterned bands fold and unfold to reveal repeating motifs featuring zigzags, chevrons and spirals;³¹ BM Oc1906, 1013.378 further bisected by a carved raised ridge running from finial to top of shaft,

²⁹ Government knowledge of the Marind-anim came in part from George Pim (1900 cited in Hitchcock 2004b; 2009), then a *bêche-de-mer* trader in the Torres Strait, who travelled to the area in 1900 (appendix C; BNG Administrator 1902: XXII). Experience that likely contributed to his appointment as Master of the Kori. Seligman (1906b) later made use of Pim’s photographs in his discussion of the ‘Tugere’.

³⁰ Gardens were established in advance of occupation and Bugi residents apparently showed ‘a marked improvement’ in wellbeing, likely encouraging dance and ceremony, particularly given the near absence of visiting missionaries (BNG Administrator 1898: 39).

³¹ For the Kiwai, Landtman (1927: 240, 39, 45) notes tattooing and scarification were practiced on both sexes and that tattoo patterns were used on lime gourds and tobacco pipes, especially by the Gogodala. Plausibly, the staff designs could also relate to those used in tattooing.

the designs imperfectly mirrored on either side (figure 4.12). These encompass crescent and circular shapes, which compliment the star motifs also featured on four other staffs (MAA E 1905.239; PRM 1905.63.17.1; PRM 1905.63.17.2 and BM Oc1906,1013.546), in-filled with red, blue or white pigment – used widely on all seven. Only MAA E 1905.240 engages the use of black, highlighting four-pointed stars and crescents, here more directly evocative of the night sky (figure 4.12).

For the ‘Keraki’ of the Trans-Fly – including some disparate groups at Bugi, whom Seligman (1904a: 35) records as Bugi, Boiboi, Wasi, Tolidu, Mat, Dabu, Tomke, Sanana and Babiri – such designs may have expressed relations with sky-beings, mythologised as the ascended sun and moon, capable of bestowing both benevolence and destruction (Williams 2015: 297-98).³² Concerned with seasonal shifts, emphasis was given to lunar cycles, also significant to the Marind-anim who explored such relations through carved spatulae with ‘a regularly undulating out-line, the prominences indicating the moons’ (Kooijman 1960: 165).³³ Acting as a kind of seasonal calendar, spatulae might also have performed as mnemonics, like Severi’s (2015, 2018) notion of chimeric space – though extending rather than limiting the mental; mind and material arising together through tactile experience and variations in the cyclic monsoons (see chapter 2; Kooijman 1960: 168). With the Cooke Daniels staffs, however, such entanglements most likely emerged through dance performance.

Like the attentive, individual dancers that coalesce and perform as one in Dunning’s film footage – encountered in the chapter opening – we might speculate on how, when brought together in dance, individually patterned staffs combine to perform one story; a oneness found in the shared mythology of sky-beings. Writing of musical polyphony biologist Merlin Sheldrake (2020: 61) notes how a song made up of differing melodies cannot be found ‘by unravelling the music into its separate strands’.³⁴ In objectifying the collective, the identity of performer and staff is withheld or ‘eclipsed’; an asymmetry

³² Williams (2015: 38) takes the name Keraki from the Nambo speaking Keraakie people and applies it more generally to what he terms language area II east of the Morehead River. He may have assumed a greater degree of cultural similarity within and between Trans-Fly language areas than is justified (see discussion in Hitchcock 2004b: 66).

³³ Mary Ayres (1983 cited in Knauff 1993: 185) posits ‘a strong positive cultural valuing of fixedness as a central notion in beliefs about the meaning of land, place and locality’ for Trans-Fly peoples. As with my comments on Ingold’s (2000: 112) ‘totemic ontology’ in chapter 3, some caution may be warranted. Kooijman’s (1960) observations on the variation of lunar names and expressions in spatulae appear to undermine notions of fixity.

³⁴ For Sheldrake, this is analogous to mycelium, returning us to Deleuze and Guattari’s (2013) rhizome.

enabling an emergent performance and group identity that cannot be found in any one individual – displacements that might also bring together remnant or disparate groups expressing newly emerging identities (Strathern 1988: 166; Sheldrake 2020: 61). As in knotting, where singularities find identity in the play of forces expressed here through bodies of wood and flesh, each performance is thus a repetition, not a replication, even as explicit moments emerge and congeal into marks (Ingold 2015: 23-25; Bryant 2012; Barad 2007: 176).

Loss of pigment (on most) and hints of wear around the shaft at the lower third (on some) suggest the staffs were held upright, as with corresponding Kiwai staffs, perhaps traded from Bugi where at least one Kiwai dance originated – perhaps traded on terms commensurate with Maginogo (see chapter opening; Landtman 1927: 48-49, 420; 1933: 109, 117). In the two years, from 1910, that Landtman (1927: v; 1933: 41, 87, 64, 113) resided with the Kiwai, Bugi (Budji) emerged as the source of wallaby and dog's tooth necklaces (such as BM Oc1906,1013.114; BM Oc1906,1013.1548 and MAA E 1905.231), as well as woven bags, some (like PRM 1905.63.11) made at Bugi, others (such as BM Oc1906,1013.310; MAA E 1905.282 and HM 6.154, nn14064) probably acquired from the Suki to the north. Objects the expedition also collected at Bugi in 1904 (a number labelled by Strong, helping Seligman (1903b) with what work 'he can'). Fifteen painted Gogodala arrows with bone or cassowary claw points (BM Oc1906,1013.1071-82; MAA E 1905.250 A-C) probably traded at Bugi from the inland village of Dembibibi – a name associated with staff BM Oc1906,1013.546 (figure 4.12) – further reveals a complex of tangled trade routes and relations, with Bugi a vital participant.

Plausibly, the opportunity to trade with whites for desirable western objects brought material to Bugi, possibly inspiring innovative forms and designs (Torrence and Clarke 2013). Seligman's (1904a: 36) confidence in finding a 'new form of dancing' staff suggests as much, designs drawn from familiar repertoires,³⁵ reimagined within a new and emergent cultural milieu. As raids and colonist interventions shifted local and regional group dynamics – bringing practices associated with headhunting into decline – people may well have found alternative ways of expressing themselves and their relations with each other, place and spirit world. Although we cannot be sure which group made the

³⁵ Zigzag and V-shape designs circulated at a time when contact with whites was minimal; for example HMS Fly collection bamboo knife BM Oc1846,0731.15 acquired in 1845 (Bonshek 2013; see Ballard 2016 on early exploration).

dancing staffs, their potential to ‘iteratively rework’ and transverse copresent identities – as reductionist form and evolving performance – continues to displace asymmetries and facilitate new cuts (Barad 2007: 242, 384). Display is not limited to any one kind of skin (human or non-human) yet can manifest specific meanings (sky-beings, perhaps); hierarchy is not limited in any one moment of trade (displaced through laughter); and projections of settled and unsettled are not limited, as we have seen, to any one thing.

The horror and its hiding

I am sitting poolside with Betty and Abau at Ela Beach Hotel, Port Moresby. We are admiring Abau’s tattoos, applied gradually – painfully – to her hands, arms, legs and back between the ages of fifteen and eighteen. They show me a sepia stained photograph of Abau (figure 4.13 (R)) taken before this, when she was twelve, sitting next to her father, Rohi Leke. Employed as a ‘house boy’ at Government House, Rohi attended to Acting Administrator Robinson. One morning, says Betty, Rohi heard a bang – “My goodness, that must be a shot” – and ran to the door, but a small dog told him to go to the flagpole. This is where Rohi saw him. This was on 20 June 1904. Robinson had shot himself in the head with a pistol. Rohi put the flag at half-mast and went into Robinson’s office where he saw piles of written stories. Robinson had taken an army to Goaribari Island – where they killed Tamate (Rev. James Chalmers) – and he had shot people there.³⁶

Rohi is absent from the official account of Robinson’s suicide. Led by the Australian Government, the Royal Commission report into the ‘Affray at Goaribari’ describes how Administrator Barton and Secretary Manning, awoken by ‘the continued barking of a dog’, find Robinson lying under the flagpole ‘still breathing, but mortally wounded by a shot in the forehead... a revolver in his hand’; Dr. Craigen is sent for but Robinson dies before he arrives (Royal Commission 1904: 16). (Betty adds that Rohi brings a blanket to cover Robinson’s body.) Notified of the forthcoming Royal Commission by Barton on 16 June 1904,³⁷ Robinson supplements his official despatch of 23 March 1904 with two letters – his final words refuting allegations by LMS missionary Charles Abel that Robinson’s party had killed 50 Goaribari Islanders (Langmore 1972: 57).

³⁶ While I have not deviated from Betty and Abau’s description of events, this conveys my experience of their stories told to me on 7 September 2015 in English, Betty translating for Abau who spoke Motu.

³⁷ As Diane Langmore (1972: 74 n17) clarifies, Robinson was not removed as Acting Administrator due to the events at Goaribari; his term concluded and Barton had already been selected for appointment.



Figure 4.13

(L) Abau Rohi Leke showing the author her arm and hand tattoos. 7 September 2015; (R) Abau as a girl with her father Rohi Leke c.1948. Reproduced with permission. Photo by author.



Figure 4.14

Approximate historic Kerewo village sites c.1904. Created using google maps with data drawn from Barker et al (2012, figure 1) and Di Rosa (2018, figure 1).

Accompanied by a detachment of ANC, their commandant William Bruce and RM Army Jear, Robinson (1904) had 'steered a course for Goaribari' Island on 5 March 1904, anchoring SS *Merrie England* between Dopima and Otoia (Turotere) (figure 4.14) – villages Le Hunte (1904: 101) still held accountable for the 'unpurged offence' of harbouring Tomkins' skull and those implicated in the murders. According to Kemeru – a Kerewo man arrested during the 1901 punitive expedition (returned to Goaribari in 1902) – Dopima village organised the assault; Iake and Arau-u of Otoia carried it out, striking Chalmers and Tomkins, before Mururoa and Ema decapitated them, allowing others to overcome Kiwai Chief Navagi and the students (Royal Commission 1904: 10-11). Vitalised by Le Hunte's (1904) sentiment, Robinson (1904) planned 'to capture as many of these natives as possible', luring them toward ME sat 'quietly at anchor'. 'This inaction had the desired effect', Robinson (1904) wrote in his diary, 'and during the pm a number of canoes approached & one or two were induced to come aboard'. Speaking 'quietly to one native', Robinson (1904) 'told him to go and get the skull in question', however, promises to bring this 'were not kept'.

The next morning, some 600 Kerewo canoes approach ME to trade; Iake of Otoia is 'induced to come on board' and 'seized' along with several others; an act that provokes arrow fire from the canoes and return gunfire from Robinson, Bruce and the 32 ANC – around half are new recruits (Royal Commission 1904: 15, 18). Inexperience that limits the death toll to approximately eight Kerewo men; no one aboard ME is injured (Royal Commission 1904: 18-19). Following in Le Hunte's footsteps, Robinson proceeds to Dopima and Otoia, then Ai'id'io, Pai'a and Ubua on the mainland, calling on Aimaha, and Dubumuba and Gebabari on Babaibari Island the next day (figure 4.14) (Robinson 1904). The visits are uneventful, men flee and pigs are 'obtained for the police... a large knife fixed to the tail as a token of payment' (Robinson 1904). Turning attention to the prisoners, Robinson (1904) questions an elderly man on Kerewo headhunting practices before using him as an interpreter at Otoia: 'They said that Ema had the skull I wanted & had hidden it away'. What follows is a repetition of earlier events.

7 March 1904: Robinson (1904) promises 'he will not fight them today' but warns he will do so 'next time' if they return without Tomkins' skull. Later, a canoe arrives and men offer two 'bushmen' skulls; the prisoners interpret and confirm Otoia village will not give up Tomkins' 'head'; the 'bushmen' skulls are refused (Robinson 1904).

3 March 1902: Le Hunte (1904: 100) promises he will ‘not do anything to them now’ but will ‘take’ those responsible in future; ‘delivery’ of Chalmers’ and Tomkins’ skulls is required. The next day, men from Dopima offer a ‘comparatively new skull... evidently that of [an older] white man’; the ANC sergeant confirms it is ‘certainly Mr Chalmers’ head’ (Royal Commission 1904: 13). On 5 March 1902, a canoe arrives and men offer ‘some heads’ in exchange for tomahawks; the ANC sergeant confirms one ‘to be that of a woman’; Tomkins’ skull is still missing (Le Hunte 1904: 100). Angry, Le Hunte (1904: 100) refuses the skulls and warns he will return and burn the longhouses and canoes, as he did in May 1901. A further skull is offered but is not recent enough to be Navagi or a student and is ‘evidently not’ Tomkins; it too is refused (Le Hunte 1904: 101).

That the identity of those killed may have been transformed beyond any assertion of personhood, with distinct implications for Kerewo circulation and exchange, was not a possibility considered by colonists. Writing of the Umaidai and immediate groups on the Turama River, Leo Austen (1936) describes how, during the liminal and dangerous period following death (Hertz 1960: 33), the newly taken head was given to the victor’s classificatory elder brother, temporarily displacing ownership ‘to confuse the spirits’ – an act that possibly led colonists to misidentify Iake, Ema and others named in place of the ‘real’ murderers (Langmore 1972: 73 n9). Paralleling the ‘double burial’ recognised by Robert Hertz (1960: 28), the stand-in brother would remove the flesh (and features) before the initial ceremonial dance; feeding and caring for the skull, he would later decorate it (remaking the features) in preparation for the final ceremonial dance (Austen 1936: 347).³⁸ Thus protecting headhunters from the malicious ‘ghosts of their victims’ until the ‘dangerous character’ of skull and spirit diminished and dissolved (Williams 2015: 281; Hertz 1960: 40).³⁹ The purpose, advances Robert McKinley (2015: 470 *italics omitted*), being ‘to convert an external social person into an internal social person’.

‘Headhunters take a head for the sake of its face’ McKinley (2015: 470) continues, as ‘the face allows them to deal with their enemy as a generalized social person’. It is why the Marind-anim name their children after their victims – ‘any last utterance... can be taken as [a] “name”’ – since names and faces ‘express the uniqueness of the individual

³⁸ cf. Battaglia (1992: 6) on notions of support: men who substitute (stand-in) or work for another.

³⁹ Whether the skull continued to host the victim’s ghost – possibly conceived as distinct from the ‘soul’, which departs to the land of dead (see Williams 2015: 361-63; Landtman 1927: 290) – is unclear.

in a form that can be presented to society' (McKinley 2015: 468). To name (somebody) is to know (somebody). Arguably then, to dissolve facial features – Austen (1936: 343) states flesh was removed through cooking – is also to dissolve 'biographical particularities': *the* life or '...name-face' of a particular person (Ingold 2015: 143, McKinley 2015: 472). Just as decomposition bridges the corporeal and metaphysical (Fergie 1985: 271), dissolution permits absorption: elderly Turama warriors consuming the cooked flesh; Asmat and Marind-anim headhunters becoming *the* life of their victim and living on as their name-face replacement (Austen 1936: 343; Zegwaard 1959: 1027; Strathern 1997: 93-94; Boelaars 2013: 149; van der Kroef 1952).

However, through these different, localised practices, in which emphasis on warfare and the remaking of persons and communities discernably varied,⁴⁰ *a* life still endured. For some, this took the form of a nameless 'bushman' (or whiteman) skull to whom a substitute face might be given;⁴¹ one that, following McKinley's (2015: 473) structuralist reading, balances the loss of an internal member (who became an 'external social person' upon death) by internalising an external enemy. Less rigidly, *a* face constructs *a* substitute ancestor through whom social relations might unfold (cf. Panagiotopoulos 2019: 77). More generally, *a* skull – even undecorated – (re-)creates *a* headhunter while simultaneously materialising his capacity as *the* headhunter who took *the* life of his victim (cf. Strathern 1997: 93).⁴²

Thus, in the context of renewal – in which *a* life manifests as oneness predicated on difference (see chapter 2) – a Kerewo headhunter brings 'one way of life and growth... to a close', as his stand-in brother brings into being a new body, its features uniquely moulded from resin (Ingold 2015: 121-22). At 14 cm long, Kerewo skull BM Oc1906,

⁴⁰ While names for the Asmat were 'required for the bodily development of young men and for their sexual maturation', for the Marind-anim the focus was on community renewal with 'an element of immortality', as names lived on through captured heads (Zegwaard 1959: 1039; van der Kroef 1952: 234). As noted earlier for the Kiwai, sexual rites brought community renewal, not skulls; although all groups shared in an element of warfare and male prestige, taking heads from other groups – notably the Kiwai (Knauff 1993: 196). Further east, the Purari took heads from other Purari villages as life-force to renew the community, while the Elma did not engage in headhunting or sexual rites (see Knauff 1993). The Kerewo appear to have emphasised community or longhouse renewal (see Welsch 2006a: 43); Haddon (1918: 180) asserts flesh was consumed, possibly also for strengthening.

⁴¹ Practices and forms of skull modification also varied widely (for example see Williams 2015).

⁴² Hence, Kiwai men could assert influence over other Kiwai men by presenting them with an undecorated skull, an exclusory anonymity perhaps consistent with their value as 'trophies' materialising male power – although, enemy skulls were also exploited in ritually revitalising the longhouse and were given identities atop posts decorated as human effigies (Landtman 1927: 356; Knauff 1993: 196).

1013.93 comprises only the frontal cranial bone, maxilla and zygomatic bones, serrated edges indicating where the rear portion of the skull was cut away. Incongruous with the act of violence that took the head – intensified by its small size, possibly that of a child – socially inclusive chevron marks are incised into the frontal bone and enhanced with red-orange ochre. Above this, four circular perforations also afford the addition of hair or feathers. These are absent, however. A darker patina has also formed over the ochre – suggesting time spent in a smoky longhouse – and much of the once sensorily amplified resin face, concentrated around the eye sockets and nose, has broken away, leaving traces on the bone surface. Marks of decoration and deterioration that disclose the skull's biography or, rather, its 'necrography': entangled with the biographies of the living, *the* dead live on anew (Panagiotopoulos and Espírito Santo 2019: 2).

Asymmetrically copresent, the anonymity of ancestral life takes precedence over the necrographic marks revealed by the skull's participation in social life.⁴³ As with living 'namesakes' – those who share the same name – generalised ancestors might also share 'in each other's social identities... on the understanding that as social persons they are inter-changeable or *somehow* the same' (McKinley 2015: 469 my emphasis). While to be anonymous is not to *be* the same – there are no preformed identities in these 'de-territorialized' bodies (Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 60-63) – skulls (ancestors) can stand for other skulls (ancestors) in death, just as headhunters can stand for other headhunters in life. Likewise, as transformed objects, skulls also stand for male work and the relationship between headhunter and classificatory elder brother – whom, Austen (1936: 349) reports, was compensated for his labour – fundamental to the cult activity that 'reterritorializes' outside enemies by folding them inside as substitute ancestors (cf. Damon 1980: 283; Strathern 1988: 180; Deleuze and Guattari 2013: 62-63).

Ritual work that also creates inalienable cult skulls, vital to the construction of male identity, while simultaneously making up part of the substance of *a* life. In other words, skulls implicated in cult activity objectify male headhunting, limiting their circulation, while simultaneously being the means by which headhunting can continue (see chapter

⁴³ A life and *the* life are also copresent in the living; in death, however, *the* life only dissolves when one's name is truly forgotten (or, it seems, stolen). de Beistegui (2010), referenced in chapters 1 and 2, makes this point in recalling Deleuze's name and identity, such that his biographical moments persist 'long after biographical death' (Gell 1998: 222). Necrography can be indifferent to biography, though this does not preclude its recovery. Here, the intention was erasure and replacement; Marind-anim headhunting being exceptional to the point of genocide (see Hitchcock 2004b: 88 n32).

2; Weiner cited in Myers 2001: 9; Bell 2013: 133). Cult skulls are, following Gell (1992a: 146), implicated in a form of social reproduction that defines their exchange context. As with Motu toea in bridewealth or Reite yams, ‘grown for other people [to] make up a part of wider ceremonial exchanges’ that replace ‘the substance of the body’ for another body, skulls and jawbones also reify relations with others that ‘can be substituted, made into objects of exchange value’ (Leach 2015: 625, 627, 631; also Strathern 1988: 180-81). Indeed, the conceit that the skull is a body and not a person – *the* life now dissolved – sustains the skull’s capacity to renew relations (cf. Leach 2015).⁴⁴

However, as Strathern (1988: 196) notes of kitoum shells – ‘products of male work’ that can be entered into circulation as kula shells in the Massim – because they embody activity, they can also ‘substitute for the activities of others. As a consequence, *kitoum* valuables circulate outside the *kula* and may be used by men to obtain other products, such as canoes’ without creating debt.⁴⁵ Or, as Le Hunte and Robinson observed, skulls could also be alienated and used to purchase tomahawks. In this context, Kerewo men sought to elicit social relations through singular transactions – ‘potentialities’ for future exchange (Strathern 1988: 173) – possibly in direct response to a perceived demand for skulls driven by Le Hunte and Robinson’s requests. While colonists sought the skulls of named persons, Kerewo offered unnamed substitutes: *a* skull that, paradoxically, could circulate for the same reason that *a* cult skull could not.

More simply, the skull accepted as that of Chalmers was likely offered because it was alienable while the skulls of Tomkins and others were likely withheld because they were not; emboldening men to barter further skulls not implicated in cult rites.⁴⁶ Such skulls were not intended as literal substitutes for the persons sought, though Le Hunte (1904: 101) and Robinson (1904) clearly suspected this, stereotyping Kerewo men as deceitful and greedy. Beyond ‘old’ and ‘native’, they give no description of the skulls offered, no indication of whether jawbones were present or absent (whether this changed how they were understood or valued by their owners), only confirmation that they were refused (Le Hunte 1904: 100; Robinson 1904). Robinson (1904) evidently extending Le Hunte’s

⁴⁴ In a local context, see n40 this chapter. This is what Gell (1992a: 144-46) terms a gift situation rather than a commodity situation like the colonial exchange discussed below (see chapter 2).

⁴⁵ Appearing to acknowledge the alienable nature of kitoum, Strathern (1988) follows Damon (1980) in stressing the ultimate return of inalienable work. See Weiner (1992: 134) on the alienability of kitoum.

⁴⁶ Men may or may not have wished to part with a skull for any number of reasons, I speculate on their use in cult rites as one possibility.

(1904: 100) previous ‘instructions that the “Merrie England” was not to trade with the people from’ Dopima and Otoia, lest this imply forgiveness. As the necrographic marks on BM Oc1906,1013.93 suggest, the upshot was a double impasse in which contextually alienable (and thus available) skulls were refused and inalienable (and thus unavailable) skulls were stolen. Not because the intention was deception but because Kerewo understandings mediated notions of exchange.

In addition to skulls BM Oc1906,1013.1607 and BM Oc1906,1013.955b, Robinson very likely removed BM Oc1906,1013.93 from a longhouse together with two agibe skull racks (BM Oc1906,1013.5 and PRM 1905.63.7, figure 4.4), though it is not known from which village(s). Twelve carved boards (see appendix F, figure 4.15) and a roughly cut, flat section of palm spathe, decorated with astonishing red dancing figures, (BM Oc1906,1013.42, figure 4.16) were also taken, left behind as men fled inland.⁴⁷ Another repetition of earlier events. During his 1901 punitive expedition, Le Hunte (1902: 29) documents ‘permitt[ing] two or three specimens of hand fishing-nets to be taken as articles of interest, as being of a new pattern’, having otherwise forbidden the ‘looting’ of domestic items, notably by the ANC (see Di Rosa 2017). Thickly woven fibre tubes, used stretched on a cane loop in muddy creeks, the nets in question (BM Oc1906,1013.925-26) were taken by Ballantine, a key member of Le Hunte’s punitive force, and later given to Seligman for the Cooke Daniels collections (see BNG Administrator 1902: XV; appendix F). Joining the 1902 expedition, Barton likewise removed carved figures and boards (see appendix F, figure 4.15),⁴⁸ offering a number to Seligman (1904a: 104) on 6 July 1904. Having seen their ‘stuff from defunct Robinson’ the previous day, it seems the expedition were now the recipients of objects from all three Goaribari expeditions (Seligman 1904a: 104).⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Welsch (2006b: 83) states ‘most’ of the Robinson Cooke Daniels objects are in the PRM; PRM holds two boards (PRM 1905.63.13-14, not seen) and agibe PRM 1905.63.7; two further boards are at MAA, the majority of objects are, however, at the BM (see appendix F).

⁴⁸ In addition to the Barton material at the BM (see appendix F), Seligman sent three boards (E015703; E015704; E015705) and an agibe (E015706) to the AM, likely intended as part of the Cooke Daniels collections, however, they were accessioned separately under Barton and are not included in appendices A and F (see S44/1905 AMA).

⁴⁹ Barton made a fourth conciliatory expedition in 1906 and on 18 March obtained what he believed to be Tomkins’ skull, offered as a gift during a meeting in the longhouse (presumably at Dopima, although this is not clarified) (BNG Administrator 1905b: 8; Di Rosa 2018: 106).



Figure 4.15

(*Top L*) Painted Board. 160 cm long, 28.5 cm wide. BM Oc1906,1013.3; (*Bottom L*) Titi Ebiha, Carved Board. 263.5 cm long, 36 cm wide. BM Oc1906,1013.51.a-b; Goaribari Island/immediate area, Gulf Province, PNG; (Objects acquired by F.R. Barton) Cooke Daniels collection. | (*Top R*) Painted Board. 189 cm long, 32 cm wide. BM Oc1906,1013.275; (*Bottom R*) Titi Ebiha, Carved Board. 149 cm long, 28 cm wide. BM Oc1906,1013.278 (the 'necktie' element may indicate the area outside Goaribari (Welsch 2015: 52); Goaribari Island/immediate area, Gulf Province, PNG; (Objects acquired by or in association with C.S. Robinson) Cooke Daniels collection. | Photo by author.



Figure 4.16

Painted Sago Palm Spathe. 43.5 cm long, 82 cm wide. Goaribari Island/immediate area, Gulf Province, PNG. (Acquired by C.S. Robinson) Cooke Daniels collection. BM Oc1906,1013.42. Photo by author.



Figure 4.17

Kwoi, Carved Board. 166 cm long, 39 cm wide. Iari, Purari Delta, Gulf Province PNG. (Acquired by A.C. English) Cooke Daniels collection. BM Oc1906,1013.4. Photo by author.

Concavo-convex and painted, large wooden boards BM Oc1906,1013.3 (acquired by Barton) and BM Oc1906,1013.275 (likely acquired by Robinson) (figure 4.15) – 160 cm and 189 cm long respectively – were thought by Seligman (1905f: 179) to have ‘stood at one side of the entrance to the man’s portion of the long house’. BM Oc1906,1013.51.a-b (acquired by Barton) and BM Oc1906,1013.278 (likely acquired by Robinson) (figure 4.15) – 263.5 cm and 149 cm long respectively – are, by contrast, flat, ovoid, carved and painted. Known as *titi ebiha*, such boards may have been wrapped and concealed in the longhouse rafters (Welsch 2006a: 39-40). While the Mekeo, met in chapter 3, emphasised visibility – displaying boards on the front of *ufu*⁵⁰ – the Kerewo emphasised concealment, rarely displaying boards except in ‘certain ceremonies’ when they were ‘held over the head when dancing’ (Welsch 2015: 47). Moreover, ‘the single most significant feature of these spirit boards’ observes Robert Welsch (2015: 52) ‘is that [they all] look essentially the same, even though they represent a spirit associated with different clans’ within a longhouse. Here, *a* board is unique in *the* spirit it attracts but specific in form and design: ‘long droopy eyes, a torso with navel, raised hands and bow-legged feet’ or ‘a necktie sort of element’ as in BM Oc1906,1013.278 (figure 4.15) (Welsch 2015: 52).

This singular form relies on concealment, the elimination of difference (to promote group identity) and the hiding of manifold spirits (*imunu*), analogous to the expression of oneness in dance performance noted earlier and found in palm spathe BM Oc1906.1013.42 (figure 4.16) (cf. Strathern 1988: 275). Dressed in feather headdresses and waist plumes, the dancers that follow one another along the top edge are paralleled below by an inverse line of bow-legged spirit figures; one larger; all positioned along a single line or fold. Like the spathe itself, this is one surface, revealing a hidden and invisible spirit world continuous with the visible human world of the dancers – a topographical surface that blurs the distinction between inside and outside (visible and invisible), a Möbius strip (cf. Kwanglee Soh 2018: 70; also Harrison 2013: 25). Decorated, ‘persons are transformed’, remarks Strathern (2013: 64, 48; 1997: 96-97) of Hagen dancers, their oneness determining how effectively they have concealed their domestic relations to reveal male clan relations: ‘It is as though people had turned their skins inside out’, revealing their capacities. Recalling the dances necessary to transform a skull and how decorations recreate an ancestor, here, performance makes invisible relations visible.

⁵⁰ See Welsch (2006a: 44, 2015: 51) on boards with human faces seen by A.B. Lewis at Aipeana in 1912.

Appearing beside the dancers, present beyond the fold, are several spirit figures; one anthropomorphic, like the bow-legged board figures revealed in dance, the others zoomorphic. Writing of the Purari, Bell (cited in Schultze-Westrum 2015: 42) highlights a 'similar nexus' of understanding among the Purari and neighbouring groups, including the Kerewo, for whom *imunu* took 'the form of birds, plants, fish, reptiles' – inhabitants of an animate environment. Decorated Purari *kwoi* (koi) boards, such as BM Oc1906,1013.4 (figure 4.17), were made from canoes, themselves made from trees now 'turned inside out', their 'inner capacities revealed' (Bell, cited in Schultze-Westrum 2015: 42). The concavo-convex profile of BM Oc1906,1013.3 and BM Oc1906,1013.275 suggest they too were previously canoes, transformed from the same kind of wood comprising BM Oc1906,1013.51.a-b and BM Oc1906,1013.278. Like the corresponding bodies met in chapter 3, boards are 'containers or skins' 'into which unseen *imunu* could flow and dwell', conceivably using the navel as a 'gateway' (Bell, cited in Schultze-Westrum 2015: 42; Welsch 2015: 49). A movement resonant of Purari, as well as Mekeo, land practices and relations: 'bringing things from the forests into the village, and in the process transforming them and being transformed' (Bell, cited in Schultze-Westrum 2015: 42; Mosko 1985).

'While... this may be too structural an interpretation' worries Bell (cited in Schultze-Westrum 2015: 42), understanding skins – boards, spathes – as 'relational surfaces' or folds *in-between*, as opposed to boundaries *between*, village and environment privileges a Melanesian ontology concerned to differentiate flows of people and things (Kwanglee Soh 2018: 70). Lightweight, *titi ebiha* have perforations either side that enable dancers to hold them – perform them – at key moments, their smooth surfaces accommodating pigments that make raised-relief spirit figures visible. An act enhanced by the larger top perforation, used to hold a lit torch (Schultze-Westrum 2015: 42-43). While, as Ingold, citing Deleuze (2015: 144), reminds us, "A life is everywhere", there are times when *the* life is made present and differentiated to reveal specific biographical moments – spirits and their associated clan stories for which the boards are simultaneously 'a mnemonic' (Welsch 2015: 53). Here, performers act in relation to both the spirits and the audience (a pivot relation): 'as "one man"... they declare themselves agents' capable of revealing and appealing to particular spirits, the audience determining their success (Strathern 1988: 277; Austen 1934: 7-8).

Once occupied, like agibe, named male and female boards were ‘both powerful’ and ‘dangerous’; titi ebiha exceptionally so, necessitating their concealment even within the longhouse (dubu daimo) (Welsch 2015: 50; Schultze-Westrum 2015: 44).⁵¹ Itself a container or skin at the centre of the village, likewise central to male activity and initiation, the dubu daimo enfolded a corresponding ‘forest of relationships... made present on a smaller scale’ in spirit boards and agibe, skulls suspended from the latter materialising ‘the efficacy of these relationships’ (Di Rosa 2018: 90; Bell, cited in Schultze-Westrum 2015: 42). The capacity of the dubu daimo to conceal and partially reveal relations with a sentient environment could, however, be turned inside out – the forest becoming the central place for human activity and agency in times of danger. Skulls could be taken to ‘a secret shelter in the forest’, a corresponding shrine visible only to those present, just as people and things could be transported and hidden at the first sign of attack (Austen 1936: 348). A tactic used at Dopima in 1901, leaving Le Hunte (1902: 30) disappointed that ‘the natives had had the opportunity of removing their idols, &c’. At Pai’a (Bai-ia), Kerewo men, resigned to abandon all but the most valuable objects, seemingly escaped with agibe, leaving skulls ‘in heaps on the floor’ (Le Hunte 1902: 30).⁵²

Paradoxically, Kerewo agency was made visible in concealment: in the literal hiding of bodies, or in the displacement of a brother, or *the* life of another. Acts that fuelled a colonial delusion following the LMS murders, what Hicks (2020a: 50), reflecting on the word ‘punitive’, describes as ‘the imposition of a state of emergency’: a justification for violence as a means of justice. As Dario Di Rosa (2017) remarks, however, violence also posed ‘a threat to the moral basis of colonialism’, risking the very ‘savagery’ colonists sought to eradicate. Rationalising his 1901 decision to ‘burn down the dubus, but not... the ordinary dwelling-houses’, Le Hunte (1902: 29) stressed his moral conduct: sparing ‘the innocent’ by limiting ‘punishment’ to male warriors, thus exploiting ‘the advantage of delivering a civilizing lesson’ (Di Rosa 2017). Sentiments welcomed by the Australian press, the Register (1904) supporting Le Hunte’s decision ‘to strike hard blows in the

⁵¹ The significance of male and female pairs does not seem to be documented. Austen (1934) discusses the use of titi ebiha in the gibumamu dance for male and female initiates – a dance that includes the use of a lit torch referenced above. Names were also ‘given to more than one individual’ board (placing emphasis on *a* life, see discussion above) (Schultze-Westrum 2015: 41).

⁵² Possible attack from victims’ vengeful kin, enemy headhunters or hostile colonists warranted practices that ensured the wellbeing of powerful boards (as well as valuable skulls) and by extension the wellbeing of the community.

interest of civilization and justice'. Published on 17 September 1904, in the wake of the Royal Commission's report, the same article, however, condemns Robinson's decision to arrest Iake (overlooking Kemer's 1901 arrest), commenting more generally on how 'A hasty or an injudicious act [can] retard the progress of civilization for generations' (Register 1904; also cited in Di Rosa 2017).⁵³ Neatly capturing the paradox Di Rosa (2017) highlights of colonial violence, Le Hunte's "moderation" and "humanity" vindicated punitive actions at Goaribari in 1901 while Robinson's "over zeal and want of judgement" scandalised similar actions in 1904 (Langmore 2006; Register 1904).

Not deceived by sensational reporting – some newspapers claiming as many as 200 deaths (Langmore 1972: 57) – the Royal Commission (1904: 27) exonerated Jear and others, accepting Robinson's claim of absolute responsibility, itself a repetition of the statement made by Le Hunte (1902: 29) in 1901. Failing to take the advice of more experienced men, the report concluded, Robinson had miscalculated 'the moral aspect' of the arrests, made 'under the guise of friendship'; the needless bloodshed exasperated by Kiwai ANC intending 'to avenge the deaths of their kinsfolk' (Royal Commission 1904: 24; Langmore 1972: 62; Di Rosa 2017). Robinson was a cautionary tale. Conducted at a moment of national reflexivity, as Australia prepared to acquire BNG as a colony,⁵⁴ the Royal Commission exemplified wider public discourse keen to differentiate the 'earlier colonialism' of British rule from Australia's future responsibilities towards 'its colonial subjects' (Black 2020; Di Rosa 2017; Langmore 1972: 73). Shaping colonial practice, the events at Goaribari prompted the collective recall of a time in 'Northern Queensland... when native blacks were treated almost as noxious game', a tragedy that, the report asserts, 'will never be revived in New Guinea' (Bloch 2012: 213; Royal Commission 1904: 27-28).

Robinson, his supporters and detractors, came to epitomise such tensions over New Guinean welfare and BNG's ensuing policies. The former, notably miners who admired Robinson's "aim... to make New Guinea a country for white men", often hostile to the latter: Robinson's LMS accuser, Abel, and members of the Barton administration, complicit in facilitating the 'curiosity-shop' that would later prove a step too far (Langmore

⁵³ Di Rosa (2017) highlights the article's bias towards Le Hunte, then State Governor; however, it also captures conflicting and shifting sentiments at the time: reference to 'injudicious' acts was also 'implicit criticism of German colonial actions in New Guinea and South West Africa.

⁵⁴ What became the Territory of Papua in 1906.

1972: 59, 1989: 222; Lewis 1996: 64; West 1970: 37; see chapter 3). Despite differences, distress over the nature of Robinson's death – the 'mental and moral strait' that drove 'him to suicide' (Royal Commission 1904: 22) – was widely shared, Monckton (1927: 253) and the Royal Commission (1904: 22) both at pains to stress his 'manly' nature, a counter to the cultural notion of suicide as cowardice.

Robinson's collections, too, were now a source of discomfort, inextricably associated with the Goaribari affray and its prominent public inquiry. In a brief article describing palm spathe BM Oc1906.1013.42, Seligman (1905a: 161) makes the only known public reference to receiving 'a number of specimens bequeathed to the Daniels Expedition by the late Mr. C. Robinson'.⁵⁵ Disassociating the expedition from potentially questionable ethics, Seligman (1905a: 161) maintains the spathe 'was collected in its present torn condition', neglecting to mention the more precise edges on its right side – traces that hint at possible removal with a blade. His museum donations are similarly evasive. Barton's objects, in common with gifts from others, are unambiguously labelled, Robinson's are unidentified (see appendix F). Not because the intention was deception but because a collective desire to forget and move on from deeply troubling events, also unacceptable to the expedition, emerged soon after the affray. A sentiment articulated in BNGs annual report that year, which glosses over those 'circumstances' at Goaribari that 'need not be referred to here' (BNG Administrator 1905a: 8).

Conscious of such forgetting, I find myself reminded of the events as I examine the spathe in the BM store. The central spirit figures, notably faded, catch my attention and I reconsider the copresent nature of the pigment – simultaneously visible and invisible. Visible to an attentional Kerewo performer, invisible to an intentional British scientist: 'I can offer no suggestion as to the nature of the two lower and more faintly shown figures' Seligman (1905a: 161) remarks. Things work both ways, of course. Invisible to an intentional Kerewo headhunter, *the* life of a particular missionary (from whom they are detached) is the attentional focus of whites who find in *the* skull *the* life they wish to

⁵⁵ The Royal Commission (1904: 103-04) records Robinson's father as the sole beneficiary of his estate; Robinson also left two letters, one to his father and that of 19 June 1904 addressed to Barton. The latter is published in the report and does not reference his collection (Royal Commission 1904: 43-44). While instructions may have been given elsewhere, it seems plausible that Robinson, in his 'agitated' state, did not specify who should receive his collection (Royal Commission 1904: 103). I have speculated elsewhere (Donoghue 2017: 7) and in appendix F that Barton might have played a role in dispersing objects (with the consent of Robinson's estate – hence their bequeathment). Whether the whole collection (except the skulls given to Craigen) was given to the expedition, or dispersed more widely is unknown.

memorialise. Copresent relations shift and change, however. For Kerewo today, it is *the* life of Chalmers (particularly the story of his death) that is central to ‘contemporary... historical consciousness’ (Di Rosa 2018: 110). In the struggle to reconcile past events, some imbue Chalmers with ‘the characteristics of a “culture hero” – as the bringer of Christianity – while others view him as the cause of his own demise (Di Rosa 2018: 94, 114). In one of several stories told to Di Rosa (2018: 114) during his doctoral fieldwork, ‘a leader... was smoking while Chalmers was preaching, and the missionary, annoyed by the spirals of smoke, hit the smoker with [his] Bible’, thus provoking his own death’. Knowledge is story and stories grow. Intended to convey a story through its attentional dancers, each following the man in front, palm spathe BM Oc1906,1013.42 now hides another: the horror of a man following another man and the unethical consequences.

MAKING

Placing BM Oc1906,1013.1753 (figure 4.18) on the worktable, I am relieved to find the composite pottery bowl still intact. Much of the Cooke Daniels pottery was conserved in the 1970s and the adhesive has now failed, the carefully reconstructed pots resuming their former life as sherds. Not so for this 24 cm diameter bowl from Tubetube Island in Milne Bay Province.⁵⁶ As the BM label describes, the ‘Fragments [have been] pieced together & the cracks filled with polyfilla & coloured to match’. Indeed, the orange fired clay, likely imported from Wari (see May and Tuckson 2000: 82, 87), has since absorbed the applied medium, the resulting darker patches delineating what was previously four separate sherds. While the expedition collected numerous sherds – some in an archaeological context (such as BM Oc1906,1013.1716), some deliberately sliced into sections for transport (such as BM Oc1906,1013.1778), others forming partial composites (such as BM Oc1906,1013.1756) – it seems some complete vessels may have broken en route to the museum, including this one.

Made using a technique called coiling – women roll 1 or 2 cm diameter clay lengths, which are ‘coiled spirally’ into vessels – BM Oc1906,1013.1753 is possibly a kepekepe or support bowl, used to hold vessels as coils are added to the sides during manufacture (May and Tuckson 2000: 82-83). It is one of three possible kepekepe collected (also see BM Oc1906,1013.1747 and BM Oc1906,1013.1751), perhaps with input from Dunning,

⁵⁶ Provenance based on style (see appendix F). See Map 3.

whose personal interest culminated in a series of photographs exploring pottery making at Tubetube in August 1904. The first (BM Oc,B121.151) shows an older woman preparing clay, while a further 18 prints (BM Oc,B121.152-68 and RAI 364/4/3/16) follow a younger woman making coils and building the side of a pot inside a *kepekepe*. As Jan Hasselberg (2020) observes, the scene is staged yet ‘descriptive’ on account of ‘a narrow depth of field’ and Dunning’s decision to place the camera ‘at a low angle bringing the viewer close to the potter’. Seemingly not ‘conscious of the camera’ in some images, in others (such as figure 4.19) the unidentified woman peers at Dunning as intensely as he frames her through the camera’s lens, partially subverting the ‘demonstrational quality’ of the intended image (Hasselberg 2020; Edwards 2001: 170).

In this momentary collapse in distance and coevalness, details of the woman’s finger marks also become present, pressed along the pot rim as she coils, pressed into its belly and into the two *kepekepe* (cf. Fabian 1983: 121; figure 4.19). Finger marks I can trace with my own fingers on BM Oc1906,1013.1753, though I suspect not made by the same woman. Smoothing the inside of a pot with their fingers, women ‘swell’ the bottom and belly until it ‘eventually takes the form of the inside of the *kepekepe*’, the shape perhaps varying depending on the vessel and the potter (May and Tuckson 2000: 83). While BM Oc1906,1013.1753 is more conical at the base, the *kepekepe* in figure 4.19 appear wider and flatter. Possibly, the woman photographed did not wish to part with her particular support bowl; possibly, she did not need to.

Remarking on the use of photography to replicate ‘laboratory research in the anthropological field’ during the TSE, Elizabeth Edwards (2001: 162) suggests ‘the relationship between the photograph and its referent’ was a means ‘to verify the results of scientific observation’. Replication – bowls collected, bowls photographed – was ‘integral to the presentation, proof and transmission of evidence in the validation of the Expedition’s findings’ (Edwards 2001: 163). Here, similarity is used to taxonomise (and generalise) a type of bowl, discrete difference within similarity verifying its accurate categorisation. Perhaps the reason why the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition collected three possible *kepekepe* – and perhaps another reason why Daniels fervently collected multiple object and design variants (see chapter 3). Reinstating the distance, the bowls collected served ‘to verify’ Dunning’s photographic ‘observation’ of an unnamed woman demonstrating how this type of bowl was used and by extension, how it was made (Edwards 2001: 162).



Figure 4.18

Composite Pottery Bowl (possible kepekepe). 7.5 cm high, 24 cm diameter, ?Tubetube Island, Milne Bay Province, PNG. Cooke Daniels collection. BM Oc1906,1013.1753. Photo by author.



Figure 4.19

Woman making pottery bowl on Tubetube Island, Milne Bay Province, PNG, August 1904 (BM Oc,B121.165; ALRC Cooke Daniels collection).

This ‘tension’ between a more ‘naturalistic’ and ‘performative’ mode of photography, in which the ‘observer is almost embodied’, and ‘a more controlled, interventionist scientific photography designed to “show” facts’ was also central to the 1898 photographs taken in BNG by Haddon and Anthony Wilkin (Edwards 2000: 105-06, 109). Gathering a group of Motu potters at Ballantine’s compound, the TSE photographed women re-enacting the stages of pottery making with a view to ‘authenticity’, producing a timeless series exhibiting tool use and practice on one hand, and a ‘filmic’ narrative suggestive of ‘real-time’ ‘temporal flow’ and personal observation on the other (Edwards 2000: 110-12; also Herle and Philp 2020: 33). Effects apparent in Dunning’s photographs of fire-making in Western Province (see figure 4.10) given their most innovative expression in the Tubetube pottery series. However, it was while at Hanuabada, photographing short sequences with different potters, that Dunning began storying pottery making situated in its everyday, domestic context – something the TSE had been unable to achieve, as a ‘crowd of spectators made precise observation impossible’ (Edwards 2000: 110).

Grouped in three series (BM Oc,B118.99-105; BM Oc,B121.186-97; BM Oc,121.198-204), together with a single image of unfired pots taken at Boera on 31 May 1904 (BM Oc,121.185),⁵⁷ the first series documents ‘types’ of Motu pottery, while the second and third concentrate on women demonstrating the processes of making and firing. Distinguished by its nonconsecutive order, the second series strives for documentary realism, presenting vignettes of village life: women smoking around a domestic platform shot as if Dunning had just stumbled across them, fortuitously capturing the moment; only the woman looking in his direction gives away his presence (BM Oc,B121.186). Exploring Hanuabada, he photographs women at work sitting on wooden planks made from dis-used canoes: a young girl prepares clay pieces, as a woman dressed in a missionary-style gown strolls nearby (BM Oc,B121.188); a youthful woman works the crumbled clay into a preformed vessel ready for shaping, as women gather on house verandahs behind her (figure 4.21; see May and Tuckson 2000: 61, 56). The sense of primitivism found in the TSE pottery series, its constructed ‘authenticity’ – free of ‘European clothing’ – overtly

⁵⁷ The Daniels number for the Boera image is 1547, this is the only recorded date the expedition visited the village. The numbers appear to be chronological and could possibly be used to date images. The first series are numbered 362-72 (?December 1903-January 1904), the second 1737-49 (?June-July 1904), the third 1772-78 (?July 1904). The August 1904 Tubetube series is 2313-31. However, there are exceptions (or possibly concurrent numbering systems) so this should be approached with caution.

concerned with the expedition's salvage agenda, is less explicit here, Dunning's observational style seemingly rooted in his observational present (Edwards 2000: 114).

Featured in five images, Dunning concentrates on the youthful woman, the camera's direct gaze and the eye contact this engenders redolent of conversation, or interview – as if asking: How do you make a pot? How do you know what consistency to work the clay? What tools do you use? As Malafouris (2008: 19) notes of such explicit questions, 'potters would prefer to "show you" rather than simply "tell you" their answer'. Placed to the woman's right in figure 4.21 is a basket of local clay – collected when required – and a broken pot base filled with salt water for softening the dry clay pieces (May and Tuckson 2000: 61). In front of her is the preform, placed inside the rim and shoulder of a broken pot – its narrow neck and opening typical of a hodu or water pot – used as a 'turntable', as a simple cylindrical profile and rim are formed by hand, further examples stacked to the woman's left (May and Tuckson 2000: 61). Hands resting on the preform, her finger marks visibly dragged in upward strokes, the image gives a sense of the clay's plasticity and the 'dynamic tension' present as the woman senses the precise thickness necessary to prevent the sides from collapsing (Malafouris 2013: 176; 2008: 20).

Observing potters in Boera and Porebada in 1977 – the only Motu villages actively potting at that time – Patricia May and Margaret Tuckson (2000: 57, 61) came to understand the centrality of such embodied praxis: how a skilful woman works clay 'until she feels it is right' rather than relying on any preconceived plan (cf. Malafouris 2013: 174). Removing 'Shells and other large impurities' she must achieve the correct consistency, attending to the clay's affordances, to grow an initial shape ready for beating (May and Tuckson 2000: 61; Malafouris 2019: 3; Ingold 2015: 122). Firmed in the sun, the briefly beaten preform is placed in the potters lap, its belly swollen outwards using a 'smooth, round stone' held on the interior and a wooden paddle situated on the exterior, the two implements struck together until 'a perfect sphere is formed' (May and Tuckson 2000: 61). 'A second paddle with a ridged surface is used for further beating and a third without ridges is used for a final wet smoothing... the inside of the neck' then levelled with a shell (May and Tuckson 2000: 61). At Hanuabada in 1904, pots were also smoothed by hand, captured in Dunning's striking long-exposure image of a widow, an uro cooking pot resting on her legs, her body balanced to accommodate both the weight of the vessel and the resistance of the clay (BM Oc,B121.192, figure 4.23).



Figure 4.20

Pottery Rim (used inverted as a support vessel). 10.8 cm high, 25.5 cm diameter, ?Hanuabada, Port Moresby, Central Province, PNG. Cooke Daniels collection. BM Oc1906,1013.1720. Photo by author.



Figure 4.21

Woman building clay pot at Hanuabada, Port Moresby, Central Province, PNG, ?June or July 1904 (BM Oc,B121.187; ALRC Cooke Daniels collection).



Figure 4.22

Uro, Cooking Pot. 15.8 cm high, 21 cm diameter, ?Hanuabada, Port Moresby, Central Province, PNG. Cooke Daniels collection. BM Oc1906,1013.303. Photo by author.



Figure 4.23

Woman smoothing a pot by hand at Hanuabada, Port Moresby, Central Province, PNG, ?June or July 1904 (BM Oc,B121.192; ALRC Cooke Daniels collection).

Known as the paddle-and-anvil method,⁵⁸ the resulting Motu forms (several – *hodu*, *uro*, *tohe* sago containers and two forms of bowl⁵⁹ – documented in Dunning's first series) are replicated with each making, the form found anew each time (Malafouris 2008: 20). As Ingold (2018c: 40–41) argues, 'culture might be better seen to consist and persist in variable skills of perception and action' as 'we bring forth a world of affordances in common'. In other words, it is Motu womens' encounters with clay, shell and wood that shape potting practices, not because their perception of what those materials afford is a fixed property of those things – as Gibson (1979) originally posited (Ingold 2018c: 40) – but because they correspond with one another copresently (see chapter 1). Such a position permits material agency, 'ontological moments' or 'cut[s]' that reveal distinctions, a particular pot or photograph that – unlike an anonymous knot – can be named, if not completely known (Malafouris 2013: 145; Barad 2007: 348; Ingold 2015: 16; see chapter 2). Indeed, nothing is absolute (Barad 2007: 178).

Finding form as a turntable, BM Oc1906,1013.1720 (figure 4.20) – photographed in 2018 rim-side-up before I understood its purpose – threatens to return to four separate sherds, the adhesive deteriorating at a rate faster than the polyfilla on BM Oc1906,1013.1753 (which may outlast the pot). Examining BM Oc1906,1013.1720, biographical time coils and spirals (cf. Ingold 2015: 54): 1970s adhesive sits alongside traces of 1904 clay, both overlaying blackening from the pot's previous use as an *uro* – the kind of vessel the preform in figure 4.21 will later become.⁶⁰

Recording the initial preform-making and later smoothing, the process of beating – including forming the vessel bottom – is notably absent from Dunning's photographs, suggesting that, like Wilkin and Haddon, he struggled with 'precise observation' when in Hanuabada (May and Tuckson 2000: 61; Edwards 2000: 110). Equally absent are examples of beating stones, which May and Tuckson (2000: 61) recognised as 'treasured' heirlooms, even as potting practices were declining. Two smooth wooden paddles were collected, however (BM Oc1906,1013.57 and BM Oc1906,1013.58), together with two *varevare*, brushes made of coconut husk (BM Oc1906,1013.89 and PRM 1905.63.12),

⁵⁸ The only technique practiced in PNG other than the coiling method (May and Tuckson 2000: 27).

⁵⁹ Barton (1910: 114 n2) recorded seven forms c.1904; Groves (1960: 7) recorded four still made in the 1950s (see May and Tuckson 2000: 56, who record six for Groves (1960: 13), noting local variants). Hiri and pottery making were Motu practices; intermarried Koita also participated (Gwilliam 2011: 42).

⁶⁰ See fired vessels in BM Oc, B121.195.

most likely used during the firing process – the subject of three images from the second series and all of Dunning's third series.

Similarly nonconsecutive – apparently numbered inaccurately – the third series follows three women tending to a fire on the beach, as five uro are fired and treated ready for use. Gazing directly at Dunning, the woman in BM Oc,B121.201 is evocative of the youthful woman in figure 4.21, her flow interrupted by the camera's questioning gaze. In other shots, the women are immersed in action, drawing on their background knowledge to assess the temperature of the fire and the readiness of the uro (Malafouris 2008: 32-33). 'Coconut fronds and leaf stems' are stacked vertically forming a 'fuel bed' at the bottom of the vessels, which have been 'moistened with salt water' and pre-heated with 'burning dry coconut fronds' to prevent cracking (May and Tuckson 2000: 61). Using long sticks, the women remove the uro from the fire (BM Oc,B121.204), before treating them with 'a solution of mangrove bark soaked in water which brightens their... colour' (May and Tuckson 2000: 61). BM Oc,B121.199-200 and BM Oc,B121.202 capture this process in action with what appear to be varevare lying on the ground nearby – brushes possibly used at Hanuabada for the purpose of applying mangrove solution.

Encountering fired uro BM Oc1906,1013.303 (figure 4.22) in 2018, labelled only as a 'Pottery bowl', I found myself thinking with and through the ceramic form, drawing on my background knowledge – particularly encounters with Dairi's uro in 2015 and 2016 (see chapter 3) – to identify the vessel (Malafouris 2019: 7). Most striking is its globular shape, the beaten 'sphere' distorted by firing, and its red-orange colour, typical of clay from the Motu region (May and Tuckson 2000: 61). Sharing a slightly everted rim with Dairi's uro – though with a more pronounced lip – BM Oc1906,1013.303 corresponds with one photographed in BM Oc,B121.195, the others in the image having taller rims consistent with turntable BM Oc1906,1013.1720, suggesting different women produced different rim forms. Levels of beating clearly differed too, as the surface of shallow bowl BM Oc1906,1013.302, likely collected together with BM Oc1906,1013.303, is noticeably smoother, lacking the ridged linear striations and texture of the latter, likely produced by a ridged paddle. All three vessels, however, have lighter striations in common, likely produced by varevare (in the case of the Cooke Daniels vessels) or plant fronds (in the case of Dairi's) – applied when the pots were still hot from the fire (May and Tuckson 2000: 61).

Such traces of material agency allow me to imagine the potter's intentions, not as an image in my mind, but as a tactile experience enfolded within the form and discovered through my own bodily action (Malafouris 2019: 11-12; Harries 2017: 125). Imaginative possibilities captured in Dunning's images, as he adjusted his own bodily action to join in the flow of the women's work, positioning the camera at eye level, to achieve a more 'filmic' effect (Edwards 2000: 110). However, just as Seligman filtered his personal experiences through the lens of evolutionary science, one displacing the other (see chapter 3), so Dunning likewise drew on primitivist tropes, projecting a stone age past onto his experiential present – notions influenced by Haddon's encounters with pottery making five years previously (see Edwards 2000: 113-14). Attending the RAI with Seligman on 24 April 1906, Dunning 'read a paper on "Pottery making in New Guinea," illustrated by lantern slides and specimens' (RAI 1906: 408). While the paper has not been located, its content likely mirrored that of Dunning's other lantern slide lectures, titled 'A Year and a Half among Savages' 1906 and 'Savage Architecture in British New Guinea' 1908 (see appendix C).

Contrary to the stereotypes that lay behind such projections, the mastery attained by Motu women in potting (having submitted to the clay) was matched by the mastery of Motu men in sailing (having submitted to the waves), as they conveyed pots to the Gulf region during the annual hiri – an example of what Ingold (2015: 128) terms 'doing-in-undergoing'. Beginning in April or May, the hiri organiser (baditauna) and his partner (doritauna) gathered their crews, 'overhauling and caulking' canoes in August ready to lash (four or eight) together to form lagatoi,⁶¹ each with a 'partition... to hold the cargo of pots' and distinctive crab claw sails sewn from plaited mats (May and Tuckson 2000: 55; Oram 2011: 11-12; Barton 1910: 100-03). Departing with the south-east trade winds in September or October, as many as 20 crews of 30 men navigated coastal waters with at least 1000 pots onboard – the largest lagatoi recorded at 18 metres long – heading for their Elema and Purari trading partners (May and Tuckson 2000: 55; Oram 2011: 8-9). While the pots were owned by women (men ensuring they received one 40 lb bundle of sago for each pot), shell valuables, including toea, were traded by men for prestige and the supplies necessary to repair lagatoi for the return journey in December or January (Oram 2011: 13, 15-16; May and Tuckson 2011: 55).

⁶¹ Called asi, canoes from lagatoi could be used as planks (reirei) by potters (Groves 1960: 13).

The ultimate purpose of the hiri was to obtain sago, however (Oram 2011: 10). Arid, with few fertile areas, Motu land could not sustain its communities all year round, even with more productive Koita gardens inland (Groves 1960: 4).⁶² Indeed, shorter voyages were made to the Waima area (see chapter 3) in times of need, yam crops often failing ‘entirely’, if not rotting with the arrival of the wet season (Oram 2011: 14; Groves 1960: 5). Hiri voyaging was, then, a matter of life and death. Numerous *vaira revarevana* (women’s facial tattoos) communicated the participation of male relatives, including marks called *kakiu* by Dairi, which extend from eye to jaw to express the tears cried for absent men, some never to return (Ison 1974: 45; Dairi Arua Heri, personal communication 13 November 2015). As Nigel Oram (2011: 10) remarks, ‘Many trading canoes sank near the shore, sometimes because they were overloaded... Sometimes they were carried past their own villages or wrecked and [men] faced death on landing among hostile people’.

So as Motu women grew bodies out of clay – pots with bottoms and bellies – Motu men risked their bodies at sea to transform pots into sago (cf. Ingold 2015: 122, 138). And while their voyages did not range beyond the Purari Delta, the pots journeyed on through regional exchange, reaching the Kerewo who ‘controlled the redistribution of [hiri] pottery to the expansive populations residing along the Kikori and Omati Rivers’ (Barker et al 2012: 161). Analyses of archaeological evidence at Otoia and the Goaribari area suggest this ‘may have contributed to the consolidation and possible expansion of headhunting cults’ over time (Barker et al 2012: 162–63). So as Motu women grew clay bodies – pots with bottoms and bellies – Kerewo headhunters grew substitute ancestors from resin and wax, enabled in part by the success of hiri trade.

‘[W]hat is the difference between a pot and a baby?’ asks Ingold (2015: 122), noting how both are expressions of ‘making-in-growing’ (analogous to ‘doing-in-undergoing’). Here, making moves matter ‘from one phase of life and growth to the next’, just as ‘the potter eases the passage of clay from its life in the earth to its new life as a pot’ and ‘human hands [likewise] caress and cradle babies’ as they grow (Ingold 2015: 120, 122). An analogy also present in the actions of headhunters who intended to renew life through the modification of skulls, despite the imposition of death. What such making holds in common, however, is care. Something that, as Max Liboiron (2021: 114–15) points out, ‘is not inherently good’. Missionaries and colonists brought ‘good’ intentions, including

⁶² That said, Oram (2011: 10) reports that the hiri did not take place in years when crops were plentiful.

bringing an end to genocidal practices, but did so inequitably and sometimes violently. Museums and communities now face new and challenging questions of care, from how we repair materials, to how we decide the future of human remains. Questions I return to in chapter 6.

MOURNING

Back in the BM store, Jill and I are deciding how best to examine and photograph tobi BM Oc1906,1013.2.a. At 158 cm high, the funerary bundle is secured to a pole, set into a plaster block, and slid into a large plywood box – its contents indicated by a neat biro sketch. We soon realise the tobi is too unstable and the aisle too narrow to facilitate its removal, so I begin writing a new description based on what I can see from the front of the box (figure 4.24 (*R*)). Most prominent is the bamboo ageru dancing staff, the centre tied with twisted plant fibre cord from which several *Pangium edule* seed pods are suspended together with bark and cotton fibre; plant fibre tassels hang from the top where a large section of bamboo has broken away. Directly to the left is a long bamboo object, near half the diameter of the ageru, with a tapering projection, a further opposing projection snapped at the base. A blue BM label marked ‘A’ singles out several of ten dark brown palmwood spears, noting they were originally tied with plant fibre. I find the tie, made from palm leaves, bagged separately still holding its spherical shape, and further leaf lengths caught between the spears inside the box.

Two spears are remarkable for their incised panels consisting of concentric triangles with bands either side – which read as diamonds depending on the angle viewed – both relieved of their points. A large spear to the right of the ageru is decorated near the top with a small collar of plaited cane from which hang bundles of cotton fibre and human hair; a lizard skin is tied near the centre below. Another spear at the centre of the tobi is also tied with band of twisted human hair. Six rattan arrows, points missing, some with woven joins, some with lines incised at the base, make up the rest of the tobi, the complete bundle loosely tied with a plant fibre net, possibly a reke or small fishing net. It is clear from the biro sketch, however, that two large objects are absent. Jill soon locates them. The first is broken gaba drum BM Oc1906,1013.2.b, membrane missing, and the second, circular rattan koda pig net BM Oc1906,1013.2.c, rattan ring broken, fibre netting cut and unravelling; both stored safely and separately from the tobi.

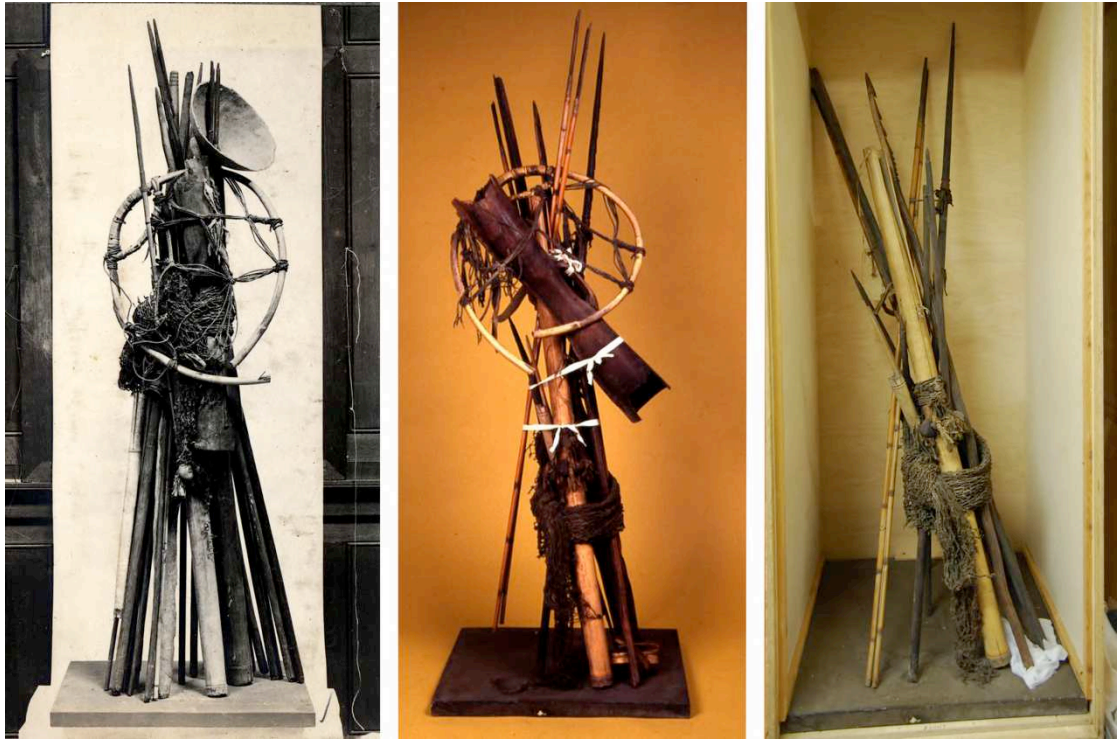


Figure 4.24

Tobi through time. (L) As reconstructed for display in the BM's Anthropology Gallery, early-mid twentieth century (BM Oc,A69.77); (C) As photographed c.1980s (for BM records, Asset no. 336937001); (R) As seen and photographed by author at Orsman Road, 2 May 2014 (photo by author). | 158 cm high, 47 cm wide, Guriu, Elevala, Hanuabada, Port Moresby, Central Province, PNG. Cooke Daniels collection. BM Oc1906,1013.2.a-c.



Figure 4.25

Bisa with tobi (L) at Guriu, Elevala, Hanuabada, Port Moresby, Central Province, PNG, 24 May 1904. Ahua Ova standing to right. (BM Oc,B120.46; ALRC Cooke Daniels collection).

Exploring Hanuabada on 20 December 1903 together with Barton, Seligman (1904a: 10, 1910: 160) first saw the tobi 'standing upright' as part of a *bisa* or 'death chair' made for recently deceased Koita man, Maigo (figure 4.25). As he recalls, the objects 'were so thoroughly broken as to be quite useless', the spears 'thrust into the ground' as supports for the 'dead man's chief possessions': 'arrows, bows, a bamboo pipe, a netting needle, a dancing staff of bamboo called *ageru*, coconut drinking cups, a drum, *koda* and *dakwai*, nets for stopping the rush of a pig and catching mullet respectively, and a couple of broken pots' (Seligman 1910: 160). While the two pots were 'smashed in transit', the rest of the tobi apparently arrived at the BM unscathed, its objects to be 'mounted as nearly as possible in their original position... in one of the wall cases of the ethnographical gallery' (Seligman 1910: 160 n1).

Figure 4.24 (L) shows a remarkably ample tobi in situ, spears and arrows crowding the plinth's front, a presumably replica pot (not located) placed over two spear points to the top right. While the *gaba* and *koda*, held in the plant fibre net, increase the tobi's size, there appears to be a further bamboo object immediately to the right of the *ageru* that is twice its diameter. Possibly a *sede*, such as BM Oc1906,1013.298 (which has two small drilled holes, like one visible in figure 4.24 (L)); an imagined addition to a 'dead man's chief possessions' (Seligman 1910: 160). Once removed and returned to the collection, this might explain why, when photographed in the 1980s (figure 4.24 (C)), the tobi looked much as I found it in 2014. As for the drinking cups, *dakwai*, bamboo pipe, netting needle and two smashed pots,⁶³ plausibly they too were dispersed amongst the collection, reorganised according to institutional categories, (or even disposed of, given their broken state). Plausibly, of course, they may not have been collected at all.

Seeing the tobi and *bisa* again on 24 May 1904, now with Ahuia, Seligman (1904a: 89, 1910: 164-65) observed 'fresh banana haulms', indicating where men hung bananas before cooking and eating them 'in front of the *bisa*' as a way of maintaining relations with the deceased during the six month mourning period. Beginning with wailing and the singing of dirges in the hours after death, priority was given to the construction of the *bisa* for the exposure of the corpse: the deceased 'placed in the centre of the *bisa*, his wife sitting... on his right side, and his eldest sister on his left', the tobi 'arranged by the

⁶³ The ?smoking pipe could be the long bamboo object noted to the left of the *ageru*, though an exceptionally long example. I speculated in 2014 that it may have been a staff (see appendix F). Note that the opposing prong (now missing) is visible in the 1980s image (figure 4.24 (C)).

side' and 'Villagers and friends' gathered around the front; after an hour of dirges the body is returned to the house to be readied for burial (Seligman 1910: 159-60). Marked by three main feasts – the boua (bowa), held on the first or second day after burial; the venedairi, held on the fourth day after burial, when the widow enters seclusion; and the ita held after six months,⁶⁴ when the widow is released and the bisa burnt – the mourning period properly concludes when the tobi is 'cast into the bush at the border of the village, where it speedily rots' (Seligman 1910: 162-66). Whether all of the objects seen when the tobi was in the village could be recovered at this point is unclear.⁶⁵

For the Motu Koita,⁶⁶ the process of 'replacing' and 'finishing the dead' holds much in common with Hertz' (1960: 48) dual burial (noted earlier in relation to Kerewo head-hunting), the men sharing food with Maigo and keeping him company during the still liminal period prior to the final ita feast (Foster 1995: 97). While a literal second burial may not have taken place historically, colonisation impacted practices, Seligman (1910: 161-62) recording that 'people were buried in the village in front of their houses' until ordered by the government to use 'a recognized graveyard' in a 'remote' location. Consequently, the relatives who kept fires burning at the graveside until the venedairi now slept 'in the dead man's house' (Seligman 1910: 162). With the bisa positioned just outside, it may have become even more central to mourning rites, the grave itself inciting fear so far from the village (Seligman 1910: 162). On the other hand, the bisa may have offered an initial 'burial' now limited to an hour-long gathering (Seligman 1910: 160).

Describing Tangan mortuary sequences in New Ireland, Robert Foster (1995: 99) records how 'various artefacts of the deceased, dispersed among the persons comprising the deceased's "relational personhood" are both exhibited and concentrated at the deceased's men's house', including 'children, friends, and allies'. Something similar might be noted of the Koita practice recorded by Seligman (1910), wherein the 'relational personhood of the deceased is publically reconstituted and displayed as the necessary prerequisite for its final deconstitution – its "finishing"' (Foster 1995: 99). Gathering at the bisa, 'children, friends, and allies' come together before the corpse and his possessions

⁶⁴ Ita also means bone (see Dutton 2003: 45). Names given here are Koita, see Seligman (1910: 162-65) for Motu names.

⁶⁵ Barton photographed the bisa and tobi at Guriu and could well have played a role in collecting what remained of the tobi at a later date (see appendix F).

⁶⁶ Most practices were shared by both groups (see chapter 3), although it is unclear whether Motu practices took the specific form of a bisa and tobi.

to reveal the relationships and obligations that will be dissolved and compensated, over the course of the subsequent mortuary feasts, through food exchanges (Foster 1995: 99; cf. Battaglia 1992; Küchler 2002). However, as Foster (1995: 138) also notes, this ‘means not only disposing of the deceased’s physical remains but also of [their] personal possessions’, a process enacted through the creation and rotting of the tobi.

Here, parallels might be drawn with another New Ireland mortuary practice: the creation of a malanggan effigy. Serving as a skin or container for the deceased’s dangerous spirit or life force, the carved malanggan is “killed” with gifts of shell-money’, enabling mourners to remember its name and image at a specific ritual moment to effect future matrilineal land relations (Küchler 2002: 86-87; Gell 1998: 224-25). ‘[S]ending the soul of the deceased to a distant island to be... forgotten, lineages are retained [as] the relations they represent are folded as images in *malanggan*’ (Fortis and Küchler 2021: 144). Consequently, one ‘remembers to forget in order to re-create a new present and a new beginning’, the effigy being discarded to rot, or to be sold to collectors (Küchler 2002: 187, 1987: 239).⁶⁷ While the tobi is a gathering of objects and not a ‘geometric articulation of [carved] images’, it is also a relational container (containing or enfolding other containers) that must be killed to release dangerous singularities – in this case, parts of persons that have consequences for a deceased’s spirit or *sua* (Fortis and Küchler 2021: 129; Seligman 1910: 189).

Accordingly, the process of ‘killing’ begins with the tobi’s creation, the ceremonial breaking of objects to release what Seligman (1910: 190) refers to as ‘the *sua* of objects’, which permits the existence of the tobi on Idu, the mountain of the dead. ‘When a man dies’ Seligman (1910: 190) continues, ‘his *sua* goes immediately to Idu, whence it quickly returns, accompanied by other *sua* who help the newly freed spirit’ to collect his spirit objects. Without these, he cannot take part in ancestral life, which ‘resembl[es] that led on earth’ – hence spears and arrows for hunting, pots for cooking and eating, and gaba and ageru for performing dances such as Maginogo (which was also sung as a funeral dirge) (Seligman 1910: 190, 159). Paradoxically, as parts of the deceased’s person, these personal belongings must die like the physical body, severing relations, and yet remain relationally visible to the deceased in the afterlife. Possibly, the human hair tied to two

⁶⁷ Malanggan is a complex, extended funerary rite culminating in the revelation of the effigy, made up of complex mnemonic imagery; the discussion here is intended to highlight similar methods of disposal and parallel (but clearly different) understandings of ‘containing’ persons (see Küchler 2002).

of Maigo's spears in BM Oc1906,1013.2.a – most likely his own hair – was an addition following death to assist his *sua*, helping him to recognise aspects of *the* life (in which he is named and known) and thus locate his *tobi*.

With the deceased's *sua* able to wander the village until the completion of mortuary rites, practices were carefully followed for fear of punishment from the dead: 'sickness' or 'bad luck in hunting or fishing' (Seligman 1910: 191-92). Even Christian burials today uphold variations on older taboos and practices – a short seclusion known as 'haus cry' precedes the funeral feast, which is held four days after burial to ensure the spirit is happy and does not scare the village children (Kaia Morea, personal communication 7 March 2022). Forks called *diniga*, used by the *baditauna* and *doritauna* when they were *helaga* or taboo during *hiri* preparations were recognised by Motu Koita Elders in 2015 as the forks now used by *helaga* participants in funerary rites – ensuring hands that have touched the dead do not touch food for the living, as they complete 'the work of finishing the dead' (Betty Morea and Abau Rohi Leke, personal communication 7 September 2015; Kückler 2002: 83).⁶⁸

In 1904, this work concluded with the disposal of the *tobi* – freeing it for collection – completing the deceased's transition to an ancestral homeland, Idu for the Koita, the Motu apparently travelling elsewhere (Seligman 1910: 189-90). While aspects of *the* life were now dissolved, *a* life was truly only achieved when 'at length' the *sua* 'weaken and utterly cease to exist' (Seligman 1910: 190). Discussing this with men at Gaile, Seligman (1910: 190) concluded that 'the period of their existence is the time during which their memory or the memory of their names is retained on earth'. One becomes an ancestor when one's name is truly forgotten.⁶⁹ However, names could also be passed on – a child often receiving his or her father's first name as their last name (cf. Seligman 1910: 53-54) – and more valuable possessions, including *toea* and *reke* (suggesting the net with BM Oc1906,1013.2.a was less valuable), could also be 'divided among [the deceased's] near relatives' (Seligman 1910: 160-61).

⁶⁸ BM Oc1906,1013.655-59, Oc1906,1013.1528; PRM 1905.63.86; MAA E 1905.278; AM E.15698.

⁶⁹ See n43 this chapter. As for Aboriginal Australians and Torres Strait Islanders, Seligman (1910: 629) notes at Wagawaga that 'The names of the dead become taboo immediately after death. This avoidance of the name of a dead person is carried so far that their names are actually dropped from the common spoken language of the district while their memory lasts. As a result of this many words are permanently lost, or revived with modified or new meanings.' A topic of concern for the expedition's salvage agenda that no doubt contributed to extinction narratives (see chapter 1).



Figure 4.26

(Mourning Clothing *from top left to right*) Vilo, Head Ornament. 60.5 cm long. BM Oc1906,1013.739; Sivi, Necklace. 27.5 cm long, 15.2 cm wide. BM Oc1906,1013.741; Sivi, Necklace. 24 cm long, 0.9 cm diameter. BM Oc1906,1013.740; Muro, Armband. 9.5 cm diameter. BM Oc1906,1013.725; Muro, Wristband. 22.5 cm long, 1.2 cm wide. BM Oc1906,1013.736; Muro, Legband. 35 cm long, 1 cm wide. BM Oc1906,1013.731; Dula, Fibre Top. 30 cm long, 40 cm wide. BM Oc1906.1013.724. | Kwalimurubu, Rigo District, Central Province, PNG. Cooke Daniels collection. | Photo by author



Figure 4.27

Woman wearing mourning clothing (wife of man in figure 4.28). Kwalimurubu, Rigo District, Central Province, PNG, 10 July 1904. (BM Oc,B118.64; ALRC Cooke Daniels collection).



Figure 4.28

Man wearing mourning clothing (husband of woman in figure 4.27). Kwalimurubu, Rigo District, Central Province, PNG, 10 July 1904. (BM Oc,B121.125; ALRC Cooke Daniels collection).

Reconstituting relations through mortuary exchanges, past obligations are forgotten and new obligations are created. For Tangans, the long-term exchange of shell valuables (shell bodies that stand for other bodies) permits ‘the replacement of lineage members’ in what Strathern (1988: 292) terms ‘substitution’ (see chapter 2) (Foster 1995: 201). A life continues through the ‘reallocation of the [generalised] roles of the deceased which effectively reconstitutes the social order’ (Foster 1995: 140). Although Seligman (1910) did not document how Motu Koita mortuary feasting reconstituted specific affinal and clan relations – beyond the creation of ancestors – acts of finishing (remembering) to replace (forget) emerge elsewhere in the Cooke Daniels collections. Notably, through a woman’s mourning clothing collected from the nearby Sinaugoro (figure 4.26, also see figure 3.5).

Written in his hyperbolic style, Daniels’ (n.d.: 23-24) diary account of meeting a husband and wife in mourning for their son at Kwalimurubu on 10 July 1904, depicts how ‘a most lovely mourning costume captivated [him] completely’ – the woman herself is given little attention and the husband is not mentioned at all, though both were photographed (figures 4.27 and 4.28). His fieldnotes give a more detailed account, however:

the husband is wearing a sivi (necklace) made from his son's sihi (barkcloth perineal band), his son's guruguru earrings and his son's headdress, tied upside down round his waist (Daniels 1904: 6129). Both are 'densely blackened with soot from cooking pot bottoms rubbed on... with coconut oil', although the husband is only blackened while he cohabits with his wife during the mourning period, lasting up to one year (Daniels n.d.: 24, 1904: 6129). The woman is wearing a mourning head ornament comprising strings of coix seeds, some tipped with red glass beads; the strings forming four parts, with two parts hanging either side of each ear, a further 'string passed over her head to support the weight' (Daniels n.d.: 24) – one side forms BM Oc1906,1013.739 (figure 4.26). Her arms and legs are tied with muro, fibre bands,⁷⁰ and she wears a sivi made from 'string which her son wore to tie up his hair' around her neck – now BM Oc1906,1013.740 (figure 4.26) (Daniels 1904: 6128).

What truly 'captivated' Daniels 'completely', however, was the wife's other sivi, made from her son's 'forehead ornament of blood red gema shells' (BM Oc1906,1013.741, figure 4.26), which might explain why he only bartered for the woman's clothing and not her husband's (Daniels 1904: 24).⁷¹ Also collecting her dula (fibre top, BM Oc1906,1013.724, figure 4.26), Daniels (1904: 6132) notes it 'was a long & exceedingly difficult negotiation – had the woman not been near the end of her mourning I should never have got these at all'. Not to be deterred, Daniels (1904: 6132) raised his offers until '2 tomahawks, 1 large & 1 small knife, 2 red handkerchiefs, 2 striped singlets [and] 8 fathoms [of] red cloth [14.4m]' were finally accepted in exchange, the wife having initially 'made strong objections... on ceremonial grounds', until persuaded by her husband. With the son's personhood 'publically reconstituted and displayed' on his parents bodies, marking their own status as mourners, and their identities as now grieving parents, the exchange rapidly 'finished' relations with their son – perhaps before his mother felt ready (Foster 1995: 99).

Looped in the distinctive figure-of-eight configuration of bilum, her dula fibre top is made from a large string bag called kiapa (MacKenzie 1991: 87, Daniels n.d.: 24, 1904: 6128). Traded from non-Austronesian-speaking groups,⁷² the woman may have used it

⁷⁰ BM Oc1906,1013.725-26; Oc1906,1013.728-31; Oc1906,1013.734-38; three feature in figure 4.26.

⁷¹ See my comments in chapters 1 and 3 regarding Daniels' interest in red shell.

⁷² Maureen MacKenzie (1991: 3-4) argues only a small number of Austronesian-speaking groups, such as the Mekeo, imported bilum looping technology.

to carry her son as a baby, cutting it following his death in part to rework the fibres and thus rework their relations. Neck and armholes are cut into the kiapa base, its top opening repurposed as the bottom of the garment, turning it upside down, replicating how her husband wears their son's feather headdress. Unfamiliar with looping, she has sewn a length of twisted fibre cord through the closed loops on one side, so the garment will conceal her upper body as an expression of mourning (cf. MacKenzie 1991: 16). Clearly not secluded throughout the mourning period, several Motu women in Dunning's pottery photographs wear similar garments called *davaha*;⁷³ burnt as part of the *ita* feast to finish relations with the deceased (Seligman 1910: 165; cf. MacKenzie 1991: 18). To this end, Daniels (1904: 6129) records that 'a pig will be killed' when mourning concludes '& in [the] fire used to singe it she will burn the mourning apparel'.

While this included her *dula* and *muro* bands, her *coix* seed head ornament would likely have been spared – or at least the valuable seeds and glass beads – to be reworked or used in future mourning periods. Remarking on the inheritance value of red *Spondylus* sp. shell, Daniels (1904: 6132) explains that the shell woven into *sivi* BM Oc1906,1013.741 'really' belonged to the couple's 'next son (a small boy)', and was intended for him and likewise not for destruction. Composed of twisted plant fibre cord, tightly looped around a central band of coarse plant fibre, six ground and polished red shell pieces – blackened from wear – are secured to the *sivi* with cord passed through a central perforation and two further shell pieces are secured with a string of red glass beads tipped with banana seeds. Below this is a pendant bundle of patterned cotton that contains the son's hair, plant material and conus shell (Daniels 1904: 6128). Containing parts of the son's personhood, his mother might also have used both *sivi* to maintain relations with her son during the mourning period, while simultaneously enacting the necessary work to release persons and things – reconstituting, reworking and renewing (cf. MacKenzie 1991: 154).

Here, 'identity is not an attribute of persons, but a shared strategy that links environments, humans and nonhumans in material webs' (Akomolafe 2018). The tear-shaped seeds of *Coix lacryma-jobi*, grown and collected, the ends broken so that each seed sits inside another (once strung as part of BM Oc1906,1013.739), express the bodily act of

⁷³ For example, BM Oc,B121.198-99; 200; 204. See BM Oc1906,1013.1599; 1600 for examples also worn over the head.

crying in common with cycles of growth and mortality – making them ‘a common sign of mourning throughout PNG’ (MacKenzie 1991: 18). Likewise, the looped latticework of plant fibres, grown, spun and sewn into a form of bodily seclusion or concealment in dula BM Oc1906,1013.724, mark the woman’s mourning status and reverse the bilum’s role as a container for her son as he grew in infancy. Markers of her son’s identity, his red shells and hair, in turn, mark the woman’s identity as a grieving mother. And while parts of his person must be burned along with markers of her mourning status – hair and bilum – to finish (remember) relations, red shells replace (forget) ‘the substance of the body’ in exchange, thus enabling continuation (Leach 2015: 627).

As shells reify relations with others they ‘can be substituted, made into objects of exchange value’ (Leach 2015: 631). With *the* life now dissolved, the red shells can pass on to the deceased’s younger brother. Or, through an unexpected encounter with Daniels, be exchanged for other inalienable valuables – two knives and a tomahawk. Just as encounters with whites ‘created spaces for more productive ways for communities to rid themselves of spent objects’ – carved boards, malanggan, tobi, mourning clothes – they also created opportunities to transverse cultural norms and boundaries (Bell 2013: 129; cf. Akomolafe 2018). Resisting the exchange, the woman not only obligated Daniels to offer increased wealth, benefiting her surviving son, she also blurred hierarchies (male and white) to rework mourning practices and properly finish relations on different yet culturally acceptable terms.

Accordingly, agency and identity emerge with and through material things, as parts of persons, as substitutes for persons and in the remaking of persons (Malafouris 2019: 7). In this material web of relations or meshwork, replacement is a means to ‘carry on’, it is what Ingold (2015: 132, 143), in his reading of Deleuze, ultimately means by *a* life (Akomolafe 2018). For the expedition, encouraged in part by *Notes & Queries*’ imperative to document widows and burials (Garson and Read 1892: 204, 207), these material remakings manifested themselves in repeated encounters with people in mourning – at least some deaths the result of the 1903 measles epidemic that cost some of Robinson’s carriers their lives (see above; Barton 1904a: 16). Some 44 objects in the Cooke Daniels collections can be directly associated with mourning practices, collected as a means of finishing or replacing relations on different yet culturally acceptable terms.

Needless to say, death makes itself explicit in all our lives. This time it is Betty whom I must remember to forget. 'Betty's bilum' – her leaving gift to me in 2015 – lives in the bottom of my handbag, looped in indestructible plastic fibre, renewed as bag for everyday use and carrying (on).



Figure 5.1

(L) Gwailo, Men's Ornament. Rigo District, Central Province, PNG. (Acquired By C.G. Seligman, ?1898) Haddon Collection. MAA Z 36644. Courtesy of MAA; (R) Dance at Gomoridobo. Rigo District, Central Province, PNG. (MAA LS.116833.TC1, Haddon Collection).



Figure 5.2

Food Dish owned by Rupa Kala. Brought out during the Arts of PNG poster display (background). 9 October 2015. Hula, Central Province, PNG. Photo by author.

Biographies: the life of objects

'The lontar-plaited betel bag that he received from his grandfather on that day remained in Maru Daku's possession until it crumbled and decayed. But although the fibers [sic] themselves were perishable... the significance of the gift was renewed through a substitute, a new bag'.

- Janet Hoskins (1998: 39) 'Biographical Objects'.

PATTERNS OF ABSENCE

It is March 2019. Fellow SRU doctoral researcher, Rachel McNair Smith is visiting the MAA to examine material from Central Province, PNG, with Lucie Carreau, who has invited me to briefly join them. One object in particular catches my attention. MAA Z 36644 (figure 5.1 (L)) is described in the museum's database as a 'Feather, bone, shell and hair ornament used by men in certain dances' in the Sinaugoro speaking area of Rigo District (see figure 3.5). The label, written by Haddon, confirms it is called Gwailo and that 'Mr English' is the source of information about it, and possibly the object itself, which was presented by Seligman. Rachel and Lucie wonder whether it could have been collected during the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition? Albert Charles English, the RM for Rigo, is certainly the source of several Cooke Daniels objects (for example BM Oc1906,1013.8 discussed in chapter 4) and Seligman (1904a: 104) certainly spent time with him in 1904. However, they also travelled together in 1898, during the BNG leg of the TSE (see Haddon 1901: 234). Given Seligman's imperative to donate objects from the expedition as a collection on Daniels' behalf (see chapter 1), I am inclined to suspect the earlier date. Even if Seligman acquired it for his own private collection, the object was clearly too exceptional to retain.

Constructed around two pieces of curved pearlshell, the lower part of the ornament supports roughly 15 pig tails secured to the pearlshell with fibre cord passed through a small perforation, the tops tipped with coix seeds. Strings of one or two coix seeds, red

and yellow feathers and a teardrop (possibly bone) toggle, are also tied through several perforations with red-dyed sago tassels strung at either side. Cord secured through the top corner of each pearlshell – which together forms a crescent – is strung with small, flat, red shell beads consistent with those on Hula earrings BM Oc1906,1013.827 (discussed in chapter 1) – something that would have surely appealed to Daniels. Knotted at the top, the red shell cord, now devoid of shells, wraps around the lower section of a thick length of human hair, passing under two conus shell rings, before terminating in two strings of coix seeds. The length of human hair has a further 14 conus shell rings set at regular intervals, bound in places with further twisted plant fibre cord, including at its terminal, which secures a longer length of thick, twisted fibre cord, knotted and frayed in places.¹

The hair cord reminds me of a human spine, which in turn reminds me of an image in the Cooke Daniels photographic collection at the ALRC. BM Oc,B121.266 shows a Rigo dance, the men notably wearing cords – with shells at intervals – hanging down the centre of their backs. At first, I wonder whether the pig tails were worn on the back too, but quickly realise they are intended for the chest, with the pearlshell worn almost as a necklace. I later find a copy of the same photograph published in Haddon (1901) as Plate XVII, cited as the Sinaugoro village of Gomoridobo, which Haddon, Seligman and Wilkin visited with English on 15 June 1898 (Haddon 1901: 234). It is tempting to speculate on whether MAA Z 36644 originated from this or a village nearby. Recorded as Gumori Dobo by Seligman (1904a: 105), the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition visited again on 8 July 1904, only to be shocked as ‘Nothing was left standing’, the village having burnt to the ground 19 months earlier (see BM Oc,B118.43).

‘[W]ell built’ houses now occupied ‘the new village VISIUMARU’, from which no objects were collected (Seligman 1904a: 105). Perhaps unsurprising, as newly made or traded ornaments were likely coveted by resettled villagers. However, while more than 118 items of personal adornment were collected in Central Province, including bone, shell and feather ornaments, nothing quite as elaborate as MAA Z 36644 found its way into the Cooke Daniels collections. Plausibly, the number of ornaments used in dance were diminishing under mission influence, as discussed in chapter 3 – the expedition were based at Rev. Lawes’ LMS mission station, Vatorata, for the duration of their stay

¹ As this was a brief visit, I did not take measurements and none are available on the MAA database.

in Rigo, walking distance from Gumori Dobo (Seligman 1904a: 105). Years of intense collecting might also have taken its toll, Michael Quinnell (2000: 88) noting how areas such as Central Province had been ‘targeted by private collectors since the 1870s and by the [colonial] officials who were collectors from the mid 1880s’ (Quinnell 2000: 88). Furthermore, ‘people in Central Province withheld certain items from circulation with Westerners’ except where ‘they desired an enduring, special relationship’, perhaps with an RM like English – also offering a means of disposing of valuable but now unfavourable things (Torrence and Clarke 2013: 190).

In the absence of especially valued objects of personal adornment – including Motu Koita tabuka headdresses and significant feather adornments from Mekeo and Waima (only headdress frame BM Oc1906,1013.39 was collected in the Roro area) – Seligman substituted the material record for the photographic: an image that he took at Gumori Dobo in 1898. As well as sharing a copy with Haddon, who also included the image as a lantern slide in his teaching material (MAA LS.116833.TC1, figure 5.1 (R)), Seligman incorporated the print (BM Oc,B121.266) and glass plate negative (BM Oc, G.N.1895) in his personal collection of photographs from the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition,² supplementing further visual images of dances from Central Province. Here, the image of the dancers stands in stark contrast to the image of the destroyed village site taken in 1904 (BM Oc,B118.43) – a stark reminder of ostensibly vulnerable New Guinean cultures and peoples, preserved through ‘scientific observation’ (Edwards 2000: 163). Indeed, the Gumori Dobo image was not the only material from the 1898 TSE to supplement the Cooke Daniels collections, as this chapter reveals.

It is October 2015. I am sitting at a small plastic table, covered with a printed floral tablecloth outside Rupa Kala’s house in Hula, Central Province. His family have spent the last hour setting up posters made by the Arts of PNG project for a mini exhibition. Envisioned by Nicolas Garnier at UPNG, the project aims to return knowledge about material collections to communities in PNG, allowing them to stage their own display using the posters, created by Nicolas in collaboration with Gordon Pambang and more recently, myself. Having spent almost three years researching, cataloguing and photographing the Cooke Daniels collections in museum stores across the UK, it feels very

² This forms the ALRC Cooke Daniels photographic collection (see n10, chapter 1) and includes images taken by others published in *Melanesians*.

inspiring to see Papua New Guineans gathering around the posters and object images. A young man tells me excitedly that his grandparents had told him stories about these objects, but, having never seen them, he did not believe they were true – until now. A young woman then approaches and holds a small snail shell necklace, similar to tautau BM Oc1906,1013.1545, over a shell necklace on one of the posters.

For some, the poster display was an opportunity to show off and discuss traditional as well as contemporary local material. For others, the absence of local things visible in the posters, no longer known in the village, prompted the presentation of other kinds of objects. Rupa brought over an elaborately carved food bowl (figure 5.2) from Milne Bay Province, as well as a small decorated gourd, and his wife, Varage, began making a palm leaf ball in response to an image of palm leaf spinning toy BM Oc1906,1013.363. As with the previous days experiments with sea snail spinning tops (discussed in chapter 1), there was a sense that people not only thought *with* and *through* things, but that material things could also act as ‘surrogates’, or stand for other past things (Malafouris 2019: 7; Hoskins 1998).

For Janet Hoskins (1998: 198), working with the Indonesian Koda, notions of surrogate objects arose in the context of absent people and a ‘cultural preoccupation with the metaphoric properties of things and their use as surrogate companions’. Here, the general notion that certain things can stand for parts of persons in the remaking of persons and things (see chapter 4) might be understood in parallel to the way objects are subconsciously used to engage with absent people and things.³ At Hula, objects are a means of collapsing timespace, of relating to other kinds of things and notions of past persons, allowing for imaginative new possibilities, including the remaking of things and stories (see chapter 1). As villagers discussed and debated the posters they became ‘a pivot for reflexivity’, prompting Elders like Gima to consider how capable his ancestors were in what he perceived to be more challenging times in the past (Hoskins 1998: 198).⁴

Similarly, at Waima, where the posters attracted over 200 people, men gathered in groups to debate changing practices, while women spoke to me with pride about their

³ I am suggesting that this cultural understanding regarding things provides a ‘background’ of sorts for approaches to material engagement, not limited to exchange processes (cf. Malafouris 2013).

⁴ Views conveyed by Gima Vui during an interview on 8 October 2015 at Hula, translated by Rupa Kala, also in response to images shown in the Hula community book I prepared and left in the village.

tattoos, which I was honoured to photograph.⁵ The event also attracted the attention of Aihi Poha, who arrived having heard that his three times great grandfather's carvings appeared on a poster. The images were associated with men's house post BM Oc1906, 1013.1, carved by or under the direction of Poha Oa (discussed in chapter 3), whose name Aihi still carries. As Aihi explained, Poha Oa's carvings came to be in Diumana because his daughter married into the village (Aihi Poha, personal communication 27 October 2015). A far less dramatic story than that told to Seligman in October 1939 by MSC missionary, André Dupeurat, who asserted that the designs had been stolen by a man called Kerepu Awa (see appendix F).⁶ For Aihi, the photographs prompted the re-telling of an older story and a hope for better access to the photographs in the future.⁷

(RE)-CONSTRUCTING THE COLLECTION

If things can stand for other things, it is because they are relational, not because they are simulacrum for each other. In this way, they express different meaning and aspects of identity, notwithstanding how objects can be the recipients of projected narratives. The Cooke Daniels collections are copresent in this sense, as they have come into being through relational encounters and exchanges, as well as projected assumptions about their meaning and value. Framed as a collections overview, this chapter takes a slightly different approach to chapters 3 and 4, in taking a more structured and high level view of the material now in UK and Australian museums. As with MacGregor's official collection, the Cooke Daniels official collection was intended to be 'representative' of the material culture of BNG (Quinnell 2000: 83), influenced by the latest anthropological thinking – *Notes & Queries* stressing the importance of acquiring objects such as tools, weapons, dress and ornaments along with 'native' descriptions of their names and uses (Garson and Read 1892). These categories have influenced how museums taxonomise and organise material, reflected in how I understand the collections here.

The expedition's field collection appears to have been shipped in its entirety to the BM, where Seligman retrospectively organised and dispersed the material between the museums, probably with the assistance of BM Deputy Keeper of Ethnography, Thomas Athol Joyce (see Donoghue 2013). The model house and lagatoi discussed in chapter 3

⁵ At Ere Ere on 29 October 2015.

⁶ 364/12/42/1 RAIA (translation by UK Language Solutions, April 2019).

⁷ I gave Aihi available prints and my email contact. See my comments in chapter 6 regarding access.

were shipped directly to the AM (see records in appendix F), however, which suggests Daniels and Seligman were discussing which objects should go where while still in the field. As the previous chapters have revealed, collecting was largely ‘opportunistic’, in the sense meant by Quinnell (2000: 87), as they ‘could only collect what villagers were prepared to trade’ – some of the Robinson objects (discussed in chapter 4) being an exception. The expedition’s desire to systematically represent their selected regional survey area, encouraged them to accept gifts from colonial officials and missionaries – as with the TSE – and for Seligman, to supplement the collection with a small number of objects acquired in 1898.

Throughout the previous chapters, the stories uncovered have emerged through my engagements with the collections, some of which have been mediated through the expedition’s fieldnotes and labels. While the sense in which I am now looking back over the collection, to reflect on its formation, is a displacement – another ‘re-turn’ (Barad 2014: 132; see chapter 3) – some of the expedition’s labels have revealed their own displacements, as expedition members joined with materials. How they went on to make sense of things, has in turn influenced how objects have been catalogued, challenging any straightforward reading of the collection as ‘representational’. Looking back *with* a label can reveal the events associated with an object’s collection, as well as the thoughts and experiences of expedition members, their discursive accounts arising as a pause or ‘agential cut’ in that object’s field life (Barad 2007: 348). Emphasising how objects are, in this way, collaborators in the co-creation of the collections (see chapter 1), I highlight one or two such labelling moments – as well as moments of abstraction – in the following summary of objects catalogued in detail in appendix F (given as statistics in appendix A).

Objects collected in 1898

At least five objects appear to have been collected by Seligman during the TSE. Small, rectangular paper labels with folded, triangular tops (figure 5.3) as well as strips of rolled paper, contrast with the expedition’s formal white parchment labels (figure 5.4) and brown card Dennison labels. In most cases, the objects are subtle design variants that enhance existing objects within the collection, including a feather dance plume and a Motu example of the Koita iduhu dagi (clan badge) discussed in chapter 3.



Figure 5.3

Fibre Skirt. 27 cm long (rolled), 8.2 cm wide (rolled). [Maker: Cape Grenville, Cape York Peninsula, Queensland, Australia.] Collected: Thursday Island (Waiben), Torres Strait, Queensland, Australia. Cooke Daniels collection. BM Oc1906,1013.1598. Photo by author.



Figure 5.4

Daniels' field label for Hene, Head Ornament BM Oc1906,1013.328. Photo by author.

Notable exceptions are three objects (and one further, not seen) made by Caroma, an Otati woman from Cape Granville in April 1898. Seligman became acquainted with Caroma together with Pim while on Thursday Island. BM Oc1906,1013.1598 (figure 5.3) appears to have been made by her as an example of a garment worn during female initiation (see appendix F). Made from sail canvas in the absence of typical local fibre, the substituted material might have deviated from Haddon's salvage agenda, excluding it from the TSE collections, despite expressing local techniques. Including Pim's name on the label, his association with the objects (and therefore the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition) may have motivated Seligman's decision to include Caroma's objects, thus making Pim visible in the collections (see appendix C).

Art & Carving, Magic & Ritual

Consisting of carved boards from Western and Gulf Provinces, largely associated with Robinson (discussed in chapter 4), together with clan badges and carved boards from Central Province (discussed in chapter 3) and carved staffs from Milne Bay Province, only several Robinson boards are dispersed between the PRM and MAA. Charms make up the majority of this category, however, with several significant gifts from Barton, including the suspended female skull (BM Oc1906,1013.263) noted in chapter 4. Of five charms made from pig testicles, the PRM and MAA received examples; the PRM and HM receiving a number of yam charms; diniga forks (discussed in chapter 4) were widely distributed, perhaps because of their significance in the hiri (with at least nine collected from Ahuia on 7 January 1904, suggesting they may have been abundant objects in the village, see appendix F).

Basketry & Containers, Pottery

Accounting for more than 300 objects, these consist largely of gourds and pottery vessels, a significant number of which were donated by Barton from material collected at Mailu. As the expedition did not visit this area, Seligman likely saw this material as an important contribution to the expedition's survey effort. After *Notes & Queries*, gourds and pots are often labelled 'in lead pencil upon the object', making empirical data like place of collection a semi-permanent part of the object, binding this aspect of objects' field life with its material future in the collections (Garson and Read 1892: 232). While

pottery was wholly donated to the BM (perhaps simply to avoid further breakages, see chapter 4), fibre baskets, bags and gourds were also dispersed fairly equally between the smaller museums.

Canoes & Fishing

Of the more than 200 objects associated with this category, 179 were collected in Milne Bay Province. Made up of carved and shell canoe prow ornaments, paddles, nets and netting needles, carved net floats, fish and shark hooks, the majority of the material is held at the BM. 12 canoe prow ornaments were dispersed between the BM, PRM and MAA, while two paddles were given to the HM. Daniels (1905: 8) paid attention to the shapes of fishing net floats across Milne Bay, his labels attempting to identify birds carved into the imagery; he notes that around 10% of floats at Wagawaga are similar to a type he observed at Tubetube, collecting over 15 comparative examples.

Clothing, Personal Adornment, Dance & Performance

Fibre skirts and mourning garments make up the majority of clothing, notably from Central Province (see chapter 4). Accounting for 350 objects, personal adornment is one of the largest categories, with mourning fibre bands making up a significant number of the more than 50 collected; together with feather headdresses, belts, combs and shell. Of this, seven objects contain red shell (reflecting its value, see chapters 1 and 4). Some 17 cassowary feather plumes are associated with dance and performance, along with dancing staffs from Central and Western Provinces (discussed in chapter 4).

At Waima, Daniels collected ten coconut midrib dancing ornaments called hene, having apparently witnessed the objects in action during performance. Describing them as 'head ornaments' on the label, he attempted to convey how he saw them worn and performed in a small illustration (figure 5.4). Here, the gesture of his lines suggest how the object consisted of three stacked parts, worn one on top of the other, fanning out from the front of the head. It is possible to think through, along with Daniels, how hene might slide into the hair rather like a comb, the texture of the midribs holding it in place. Perhaps taken with its unusual rectangular form, this is one of the few objects dispersed equally between all museums, except the HM.

Manufacture & Materials, Natural Specimens

Consisting of 29 unfinished objects, including a sequence of *Pinna* sp. shell knives in the process of manufacture, several shell examples (including red shell) and examples of plant fibres in bundles – collected fairly evenly from across the Provinces. Unworked shell and stone, together with some plant specimens make up the 36 natural specimens collected. 12 stone samples at MAA form part of a later addition to the Cooke Daniels collections; originally sent by Seligman to Cambridge geologist John Edward Marr and later donated to MAA. Note the expedition collected several barkcloths, not seen.

Models, Toys, Sleeping & Domestic

A number of model canoe prow ornaments from Milne Bay Province and model bull-roarers from the Lala area of Central Province are equally dispersed between all museums. Variations on spinning tops, like those discussed above, make up the majority of the 30 toys in the collection, largely from Central Province – the expedition's interest in part inspired by the TSE. Perceptions of New Guineans as child-like may have also played an implicit role in the collection of these kinds of objects (cf. Thomas 1991: 183). Headrests and mats make up the 11 sleeping and domestic objects, largely collected from Milne Bay Province and dispersed between all museums except the HM.

Musical Instruments

Notable are the 17 drums that make up a total of 46 musical instruments; collected from across the Provinces, all examples have been broken in some way, particularly in relation to the membrane, preventing the drum from making any sound. While some examples may have been collected in a mourning context similar to the tobi discussed in chapter 4, this might be a more general reflection of valuable personal objects that (most) men possessed and would only part with once broken. Sede (see chapter 3) and flutes were collected from Central Province – the flutes divided between the MAA and PRM – with examples of panpipes and Jew's harp from Milne Bay Province.

Smoking & Betel Nut

At 384 objects this is by far the largest category in the collections. Partly reflecting the expedition's interest in pattern, there are 40 decorated gourds from Central Province

and some 50 smoking pipes from Central and Western Provinces. Daniels' interest in different designs on lime spatulae, betel mortars and pestles from Milne Bay Province accounts for much of the remaining material. Spiral pattern gourds were distributed between all museums, reflecting the significance Seligman found in this pattern (discussed in chapter 3). A paper label written by Strong and tucked inside smoking pipe BM Oc1906,1013.1157 expresses his difficulty identifying a concentric diamond motif called *koio* (*koiyu*). Tracing two different spiral forms observed on the pipe, he tries to make clear which form is which, probably in discussion with its owner, Keo, who has incised his name into the design on the pipe (see appendix F).

Tools, Weapons

Together tools and weapons exceed 525 objects. Lithics make up the majority of this at more than 230 objects, much relating to the manufacturing site the expedition found at Suloga, Muyua Island in Milne Bay Province (see Donoghue 2013). Spatulae, scrapers and barkcloth beaters were collected from all provinces visited, with several shell hoe blades, one hafted, acquired in Western Province, dispersed between the PRM and HM. 62 arrows were collected from Central and Western Provinces, with spears and clubs making up most of the weapons category. Two shields were collected at Waima, while another from Vailala in Gulf Province may have been acquired by Robinson or another colonial official.

Conclusion: materials, museums, modernity

‘The right hemisphere does not “know” anything, in the sense of certain knowledge. For it, belief is a matter of care: it describes a relationship, where there is a calling and an answering, the root concept of “responsibility”.’

- Iain McGilchrist (2009: 170 original emphasis).

PATTERNS OF ATTENTION

How do objects materialise and mediate social relations? How do such sensate experiences shape knowledge practices? What does it mean to engage with the material past and how do contemporary experiences shape understandings? What can almost three years object focused research in museums and three months fieldwork in PNG reveal about the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition and its collections? How can a copresent approach to biography help position these multiple temporalities and questions of ontological difference?

Like the knapper in Malafouris’ (2013) study of material engagement, encountering objects in museum storerooms, I found myself thinking about thinking. While my aim was to document the Cooke Daniels collections, to understand their collecting context and what meaning they held for New Guineans, I was conscious of my own approach to collections research and knowledge production. How to contend with the objectivity demanded by museum data (and thesis writing) while paying attention to material expressions of agency in the things I encountered? How to avoid making and projecting assumptions *about* things? Discovering that coix seeds were frequently associated with mourning in Central Province, Seligman (1905e: 2) assumed this applied more widely, misidentifying several coix seed-covered shoulder belts from Bugi in Western Province – a misunderstanding only resolved by Landtman’s (1933: 42) later fieldwork. Knowledge that emerged through conversations with Kiwai men during an extended period

of cultural immersion impossible during the expedition's brief survey visit (Landtman 1927: v; Bloch 2012; Kuper 1983). Paying attention then, is, as Ingold (2014: 388-89) suggests, a mode of practice rooted in participation and conversation with others, although enacted by joining *with* them 'in perception and action' and not as a means of 'gathering intelligence on [or *about*] people'. An approach, as I argue in chapter 1, also essential to how we engage with material things.

Turning to Ingold's (2015) *The Life of Lines*, I considered the two opposing ontological positions – meshwork and network – that explicate these approaches: joining *with* others in the meshwork by paying attention, as opposed to representing others by taking pieces of information *about* them and joining the dots in the network. As the former moves forward in time, a movement Ingold (2015: 124 my emphasis) expresses as a verb, the latter turns backwards to discern 'nouns (for objects) *and* pronouns (for subjects)'. Thus, *with* expresses an entwining in the meshwork whereas *and* is a means of expressing the link between the dots. While this might seem an unnecessary metaphorical foray into largely phenomenological philosophy, it captures a significant issue in anthropology, what Fabian (1983) terms the 'denial of coevalness'. Beyond simply misidentifying objects, the expedition turned backwards to join the dots through the lens of race science, abstracting people and things, making Ingold's approach a much needed counterpoint to an ethically challenging Cartesian position.

I have, however, taken issue with Ingold's stance on agency. Drawing on Deleuzian (2004) concepts (virtualities and singularities, discussed in chapter 2) to emphasise the notion of potential (to become things in the future), the meshwork lingers in potentia: naming, knowing, agency and intentionality can never be realised. As I argue in chapters 1 and 2, with notable reference to Barad (2007), meaning-making emerges in part through pauses enacted in practice – including museum work – that allow for naming and knowing, at least momentarily. If we join *with* material things, paying attention to how they are made, from what materials, their use wear and other sensory information realised through our own tactile encounters, agency and intentionality emerge *in action*, as explicated by Malafouris' (2013) MET, in which pauses can be expressed as 'ontological moments'. Without agency power relations are obscured, unhelpful in a study concerned with encounters between a Western expedition, caught up in colonial politics and practice, and different groups of New Guineans negotiating changing

local practices as well as a shifting colonial milieu. And while the opposition Ingold (2015) creates between an agentive network and an attentive meshwork exposes the brutality of confrontation, it offers little basis for understanding a more dynamic and mutually constitutive 'shared history' (Thomas 1991; Gosden and Knowles 2001).

Reconsidering Ingold's (2015) oppositional understanding, in which the meshwork ultimately replaces the network, I took inspiration from McGilchrist (2009) to advance a position of copresence. At the risk of 'Wanting it both ways', a charge Ingold (2018c: 40) has levelled elsewhere, I suggest that network and meshwork always arise together, simultaneously, although asymmetrically. The direction of movement – backwards in the network, forwards in the meshwork – defines the ontological position, allowing for displacements (rather than replacement) that reveal nuance and complexity. Thus, the retrospective network is understood as a Cartesian position of *either/or*, while the prospective meshwork now takes a position of *with/and*, allowing ontological moments to arise as markers of meaning and agency.

From the direction of the meshwork, one can reflect back and momentarily join the dots (secondary to moving forward) without falling into the ethical trap Ingold (2014, 2015) constructs by essentially associating any forays into the network with the 'denial of coevalness' (Fabian 1983). A pause should not equate to an ethical failing, but must be enacted with care to sustain our attention with people and things. Bringing Ingold's (2013, 2015) meshwork into conversation with Malafouris (2013) and Barad (2007) – who alone do not capture the sensorial flow Ingold permits; Malafouris sidetracked by network theory, Barad restricted by the confines of scientific practice – accommodates biographical collapses in timespace, as the past joins *with* us, while allowing for more explicit biographical moments that reveal past agency. In turn, from the direction of the network, brief moments when the expedition shift away from the dots to join *with* others become apparent, offering a more nuanced reading of what has sometimes been an unequivocal picture of colonialism and white collecting (see Thomas 1991).

Conscious of distinctions drawn between 'the West and the rest', I have argued for an approach to collections research and practice from the direction of the meshwork, capturing what Ingold (2018b: 50) terms 'A relational approach to identity'. In joining *with* others, we 'search for common ground' while still recognising difference – not as Otherness, but as 'variation' within one world (Ingold 2018b: 50). It is understandable,

then, why Ingold (2015) would seek to replace the network as an ontologically distinct entity. However, as McGilchrist (2009) highlights, oneness also recognises ontological, if asymmetrical, difference. Directionality matters, as Papua New Guinean scholar and artist, Michael Mel (2018: 72) brings to light through his discussion of ‘European and Indigenous ways of seeking and knowing’. Identifying something akin to the network in European understandings of mind-body relations, he notes how within Highlands Mogeï culture ‘The body is not seen or treated as separate and immutable from what we call *noman* – knowledge of history, experiences, memory, feelings and place’ (Mel 2018: 73). While localised and different, Papua New Guinean peoples share in a more sensate and relational worldview in common with Ingold’s (2013) meshwork – though joining *with* is not to suggest sameness, only to acknowledge that a relational and sensory approach accommodates variation and difference. Importantly, it is through such conversations that New Guinean voices can be heard within museums and collections – a point Mel (2019) stresses elsewhere and to which I return.

With this in mind, I approached my review of scholarship in chapter 2 from a position of *with/and*, paying particular attention to Melanesian studies (notably Strathern 1988) and studies concerned with the sensory nature of memory and experience (notably Bloch 2012). This accommodated what might otherwise have been irreconcilable epistemological and ontological positions (consistent with the network) while supporting my argument for a subtle reframing of some more structuralist theory in chapters 3 and 4. Mosko’s (1985, 2007) Bush Mekeo ‘quadripartite structure’, which I recognised in some Central Province gourds from the Cooke Daniels collections in chapter 3, can be understood not only as oppositional pairs, but also Deleuzian (1993) folds – a philosophical concept that expresses oneness, also present in Ingold (2015) and Strathern (1988) (Kwanglee Soh 2018). McKinley’s (2015) structuralist reading of headhunting, explored in chapter 4, while rigidly converting internal and external persons, can also accommodate the Deleuzian (2001) notions of *a* life (in potential) and *the* life (of biographical moments), revealing aspects of simultaneity within a New Guinean worldview.

Turning to my own experiences in museum storerooms and encounters with Elders during fieldwork, I sought to respond to objects’ material qualities to describe stories from the Cooke Daniels collections within a copresent framework. Paying attention to

pattern in Central Province in chapter 3, revealed associations between designs made by men on lime gourds, boards, men's platforms and houses, and tattoo mark making made by women on women's bodies. Entwined with notions of identity, this also highlighted Melanesian notions of skin as a container and as the environment 'folded back on itself' as part of one world (Kwanglee Soh 2018: 70 italics omitted). For men, designs Seligman (1910) called *öaöa*, visibly maintained relations with supernatural beings in the environment; practices that for the Motu Koita were undermined as colonists and missionaries discouraged activities associated with *dubu*, visible men's platforms. For the expedition, viewing *öaöa* through an evolutionary lens, assumptions about decline in practices were linked to assumptions about 'decaying' culture, as well as attempts to classify population groups. Seligman often projecting linear thinking onto complex relational pattern making.

Though the expedition's Cartesian position stands in ontological distinction to that of New Guinean relationality, I argue that subtle displacements arose as Seligman paid attention to material *dubu* through his close relationship with Koita Chief Ahuia Ova. Drawings made by Ahuia reveal Westernised graphic illustrations of objects that point to copresent practices, while carved equivalents of *öaöa* suggest the extent to which he contributed to expedition collecting. Considering Ahuia's role in facilitating Colonial Administrator F.R. Barton's attempts to revive *dubu*, I also reveal how the expedition became entwined with and influenced Barton's colonial paternalism. Questions of revival also emerge in my 2015 encounter with Motu artist Dairi Arua Heri, as I observe brief displacements in how he expresses knowledge and story, shaped by encounters with Western practices. Reflecting on my relationships in the field, I stress how central New Guineans must have been to the expedition, further emphasising the distinction between Seligman's experiences *with* Ahuia and the stereotypes he later projected in the expedition's publications (notably Seligman 1910).

In chapter 4, I pay attention to the tactile and visual qualities of objects associated with headhunting in Western and Gulf Provinces, revealing the meanings they held for Barton's troubled predecessor, Acting Administrator C.S. Robinson, per contra that of New Guineans expressing and adapting localised practices. While carved gope boards enacted agency through contained spirits for the Bamu Kiwai, I argue that Robinson projected his own experiences of trauma onto what he saw as 'grotesque' figures, com-

promising collecting ethics. Modified skulls – central to some men's cults and localised conceptions of male warfare and identity (see Knauff 1993) – similarly became targets for Robinson's performative colonialism: visibly gifting in exchange for things he considered acceptable, while visibly taking or destroying skulls to convey the government's intolerance of headhunting. This, I suggest, stands in contrast to the expedition's more ethical approach to collecting, notwithstanding the extent to which they were complicit in these colonial practices. Patterned dancing staffs collected at Bugi both support this and reveal shifting responses to trade and encounter with whites, as well as the impact of localised Marind-anim headhunting. Here, I suggest displacements take the form of newly emerging identities expressed through innovative performance and objects that emphasise oneness.

Tracing Robinson's collecting practices to the area around Goaribari Island and his ill-fated March 1904 punitive expedition, I assessed a series of attempted exchanges by Kerewo men offering skulls assumed by colonists to be deceitful substitutes for that of LMS missionary Oliver Tomkins. Seeking common ground among differing practices of headhunting and warfare, I argue that Kerewo skull modification could reflect more general notions of ancestor substitution, possibly limiting the circulation of cult skulls (and thus the availability of Tomkins' skull), while simultaneously allowing such skulls to be traded on the basis of male work when not otherwise implicated (resulting in unexpected offers). While skulls displaced victims, headhunters replaced them (at least in the sense of renewing and strengthening) rendering invisible the biographical personhood of Tomkins (and his colleague, James Chalmers) sought by colonists. I then note how invisibility and concealment emerge in Kerewo gope and a painted spathe, further stressing the relational nature of skin and environment – the forest being a place where skulls could be hidden. I argue that concealment was thus a means of making Kerewo agency visible. In turn, noting the consequences of Robinson's expedition, I argue that Seligman chose to forget the circumstances surrounding their collection by leaving the objects unlabelled and essentially concealed within the Cooke Daniels collections.

Recognising that Kerewo headhunting was supported by Motu pottery, reaching the area indirectly through hiri trade (Barker et al 2012), I follow the trail back to Central Province to examine pottery making practices, as captured in Dunning's photographic series. I suggest Dunning situated his series in a domestic context, filling a gap created

by the TSE, to record scientific facts. However, his approach allowed him to join *with* Motu women as they potted, producing compelling images that displace the stereotyping apparent in his later lantern slide lectures. Here, my own encounters with objects are made more explicit, as I trace Motu pot making through pots from the collections to reveal evidence of material agency. Drawing analogies between growing pots (in life) and growing substitute ancestors (in death), I stress the relational nature of making as care and how this can stand in opposition to the projection of (even ‘good’) intentions, central to questions of ethics raised by ontological copresence (Liboiron 2021: 114-15). Bringing together themes of bodies, exchange and forgetting with notions of identity, meaning and agency, I conclude the chapter with an assessment of mourning objects from Central Province. Material things as containers for parts of persons are deconstituted creating opportunities for collection – being discarded to rot (funerary bundle), or reified as something grown (red shell) and thus exchangeable (as could be the case with skulls). As New Guineans remade persons, I highlight how they also renegotiated cultural norms and resisted colonial projections to carry on a particularly Melanesian way of being.

Moving beyond the collections overview in chapter 5, in which the Cooke Daniels collections emerged copresently – as both retrospective construction and the product of relational encounter and exchange – I now wish to reflect briefly on the new understandings this study has revealed. While referenced in passing as Seligman’s next step following the TSE (Barth 2005: 14), en route to his career in anthropology at the LSE, the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition has received almost no scholarly attention. As is the case for the resulting collections, with few studies examining few objects (such as Hitchcock 2004a) – although images of exceptional Cooke Daniels objects have graced the pages of other significant publications (such as Bolton et al 2013). Overshadowed by the TSE, some material, such as Ahuia’s 1904 drawings, had also been assumed to relate to the earlier expedition, despite, or perhaps because of, their use in *Melanesians* (Seligman 1910). We might now reposition the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition at the centre of a developing ‘modern British social anthropology’ together with the TSE, acknowledging the breadth of study, scale of collections and the continued importance of publications like *Melanesians* for our understanding of the region (Hviding and Berg 2014: 13; Herle and Rouse 1998b: 18).

Taking forward the same multidisciplinary approach, the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition expanded and developed the initial findings of the TSE in BNG. Spending longer periods of time with informants like Ahuia uncovered the value of what would later become participant observation, developed by Hocart while in Simbo with Rivers in 1908 and fully explicated by Seligman's student Malinowski through his work in the Trobriands between 1915 and 1918 (Hviding and Berg 2014: 13; Thomas 2014; Kuper 1983: 13). And while Seligman did not recognise the significance of this, much of what he achieved documenting the Koita arose from this kind of practice, notwithstanding the science he ultimately prioritised. Indeed, it raises the question of how some of the expedition's publications might have differed had Seligman used his experiences to re-frame the science, rather than using the science to reframe his experiences.

Close relationships also placed the expedition at the centre of BNG's shifting political and cultural milieu, such that Barton became directly involved in the expedition's ethnographic project. Already influenced by developing anthropological science, time with Seligman encouraged his academic interests, helping to shape the policy-making that prioritised New Guinean welfare (at the expense of Barton's Administration). Similarly, as the expedition became caught up in events associated with Robinson and the murders of LMS missionaries Chalmers and Tomkins, the collections arguably offer a valuable snapshot of colonial practices and anxieties at a critical political moment, as Australia prepared to acquire BNG as a colony (also see Di Rosa 2017).

From a contemporary academic perspective, this thesis has sought to move beyond the binary oppositions (of past and present, them and us, nature and culture) that have occupied recent debates (see Ingold 2018b). Rather than collapsing distinctions to promote sameness, as in ANT (discussed in chapter 2), difference is maintained through simultaneity, displacements highlighting the complexities and non-absoluteness of either ontological direction, including the ways in which directionality is maintained or challenged. As Liboiron (2021: 33) highlights, different positions can have 'multiple incommensurabilities' that 'cannot be joined or conflated', yet can be brought into conversation with one another. As museums now recognise, grappling with the challenges of decolonisation, acknowledging 'other ways of understanding, valuing and knowing' also means 'accepting contradictions' (Storrie 2020: 9, 11). Both museum taxonomies and the expedition's ethnography were founded on 'the universal values of modernity'

(Ingold 2018b: 49) – values Papua New Guineans continue to encounter and negotiate, as briefly noted in chapter 2. To join with others is not only to listen, but to answer or ‘co-respond[...]’, as Ingold (2015: 7) notes, a sentiment also captured by McGilchrist (2009) in the opening to this conclusion. Understood as responding or ‘responsibility’, this approach is arguably an essential part of any ethics of decolonisation (McGilchrist 2009: 170).

As ‘a matter of care’ and co-responding or ‘corresponding’, I have sought to include answering New Guinean voices (McGilchrist 2009: 170; Ingold 2015). Some, like Avia, Rocky, Betty, Abua and Dairi are woven through the chapters. Others, like Igo, Ahuia, Maigo and many left unnamed, find voice through sensate and experiential collections encounters. Acknowledging my background as white and British (of Irish and Scottish descent), the stories recovered are always limited, entwined with the culture of colonisers and always starting points for further discussion (cf. Storrie 2020: 13). This raises questions of accessibility, interest and ambivalence. As Christine Dureau (2014: 57) explains, ‘People throughout the now largely Christian Pacific’ face issues about how to reconcile the actions of their non-Christian ancestors, which can include the rejection of past objects. Such issues have proved challenging for the Kerewo, who held a ‘Peace and Reconciliation ceremony’ in 2015 for Chalmers and the other victims, attended by Di Rosa (2018). Tension arose over how the events of 1901 were portrayed while the land at Dopima was consecrated to free the Kerewo of a perceived curse, limiting their access to ‘the material wealth envisioned by “modernity”’ (Di Rosa 2018: 234–45, 44).

To my knowledge, few conversations are taking place in Papua New Guinea around human remains associated with headhunting and no claims have been made regarding the objects in this study. Museums are debating how best to care for human remains: Regina F. Bendix and Jonatan Kurzwelly (2021) recast the notion of ‘custodianship’ as ‘custody’ of ‘deceased colonial subjects’ that may be need to be returned ‘home’ (also see Fuentes 2021). It will be for Papua New Guineans to decide how to approach this issue and museums must be ready to answer in such conversations. Making collections more accessible (not just in relation to human remains) is vital to this process.¹ Papua New Guineans access the internet on mobile phones and many, especially near cities,

¹ Acknowledging that images of human remains are currently restricted by most museums (intended as respect), another issue relevant to such debates.

have good data connections. However, museum databases are designed to be accessed on computers and can be tricky to navigate, even for professionals. A straightforward app that permits people to search for material from their village or area could go some way toward improving access – of course, the knowledge of what is held in stores must first be available. Likewise, where known, Papua New Guinean names for things might be given clearer priority in catalogues and databases.

As this study has shown, taking collections out into communities shapes knowledge and has the potential to shape practice. Mel (2019: 87), describing a project with Asaro mudmen at the Australian museum, notes how ‘The community felt such pride’, later going on to establish a local cultural centre. While the scope of this study was smaller and the agenda set more explicitly by my research aims – acknowledging further scope for Papua New Guinean voices in future project design² – pride in objects and stories emerged in interviews and UPNG poster displays. The collections in turn emerged as a pivot for stories new and old, as my encounter with Aihi Poha discussed in chapter 5 attests. New stories are still emerging. Recently, the True Echoes project at the BL has drawn on research from this study to resituate the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition sound recordings, previously documented as the ‘Seligman New Guinea Cylinders’.³ Nothing momentarily collapses timespace quite like listening: in C62/1424 Seligman introduces Ahuia, as he tells the story in Motu of Hara Tabu as illustrated in drawing No. 18, which I discuss in chapter 3. The project are taking sound recordings to villages in Central Province opening up new possibilities for new stories. I hope, too, to return this work to PNG in the future – as a pivot for new encounters and future stories.

² A practice enacted in the research of anti-colonial science laboratory, CLEAR, in Newfoundland, see <https://civillaboratory.nl/2016/09/28/guidelines-for-research-with-indigenous-peoples/>

³ <https://www.true-echoes.com/1904-papua-new-guinea/>

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Appendix A

Cooke Daniels Collections Statistics

Museum/ PNG Province	BM	PRM	MAA	HM	AM	Total
Central/National Capital	512	29	29	13	11	595
Gulf	47	5	4	1	0	57
Milne Bay (Massim)	910	90	74	12	6	1092
Oro	23	2	2	1	0	28
Western	201	40	39	18	7	304
Unknown	235	0	1	12	0	248
Total	1928	166	149	57	24	2324
Other Location						
Australia	6	0	0	0	0	0
Total	6	0	0	0	0	0
Total PNG & Other	1934	166	149	57	24	2330

Table A.1

Cooke Daniels collections (number of accession records) by museum and geographical location (not including unknown quantity of natural specimens held at the Sedgwick Museum, Cambridge; 275 Daniels Australian lithics at the PRM; 4 Barton Goaribari boards at the AM; private collections).

Museum	BM	PRM	MAA	HM	AM	
Seen	1481*	87	144	40	19	1771
Not Seen	453	79	5	17	5	559
Total	1934	166	149	57	24	2330

Table A.2

Number of Cooke Daniels accessions seen by author and still outstanding, by museum. Note some accessions have been amalgamated in Appendix F to save space resulting in 1721 pages of seen accessions.

* Includes Q numbers, some of which might also have an original accession number yet to be matched (theoretically duplicated in Not Seen). Matched Q numbers are accounted for.

	C/N	Gulf	M/B	Oro	West	Un	Aus	Total
Art & Carving	17	25	23	0	10	2	0	77
Basketry & Containers	16	6	90	0	15	22	0	149
Canoes & Fishing	8	2	179	0	3	9	0	201
Clothing	22	0	7	4	8	5	1	47
Dance & Performance	4	0	4	0	32	0	0	40
Magic & Ritual	67	9	10	0	28	6	2	122
Manufacture & Materials	29	1	44	9	8	11	0	102
Models	7	0	27	0	0	1	0	35
Musical Instruments	11	3	18	0	14	0	0	46
Natural Specimens	2	0	26	0	4	4	0	36
Personal Adornment	140	2	81	1	74	50	2	350
Pottery	78	0	30	2	0	55	0	165
Sleeping & Domestic	0	0	7	0	0	4	0	11
Smoking & Betel Nut	67	2	256	2	30	27	0	384
Tools	66	0	244	3	26	31	1	371
Toys	20	0	10	0	0	0	0	30
Unknown	2	0	4	1	0	3	0	10
Weapons	38	7	32	6	53	18	0	154
Total	594	57	1092	28	305	248	6	2330

Table A.3

PNG Cooke Daniels objects by type (according to Western Museum Categories) and geographical area, all museums (BM, PRM, MAA, HM, AM).

KEY**Art & Carving:**

Plastic and carved art forms including 'clan badges' and carved boards.

Basketry & Containers:

Bags, baskets, gourds (not including lime gourds or pottery), cups.

Canoes & Fishing:

Canoes and their decorative elements e.g. boards, paddles; fishing nets, traps, hooks.

Clothing:

Skirts, loin cloths, etc. including mourning garments (except necklaces and armbands).

Dance & Performance:

Paddles, staffs, feather and other objects not worn but used in performance.

Magic & Ritual:

Charms, bullroarers, modified skulls, funerary and grave goods (not including mourning garments), plants used for medicine and magic.

Manufacture & Materials:

Worked natural specimens (or unworked specimens collector specifies as related to manufacturing) or objects in the process of manufacture. Worked materials like rope or string.

Models:

Any model object including bullroarers, canoes, houses.

Musical Instruments:

Drums, rattles, flutes, Jew's harps etc.

Natural Specimens:

Any unworked material such as shell, seed, ochre, stone.

Personal Adornment:

Any item worn to adorn the body including paints, headdresses, combs, belts, necklaces, arm and leg bands (excluding clothing such as skirts or loin cloths). Some of these items are also currency.

Pottery:

Pots, sherds.

Sleeping & Domestic:

Headrests, mats.

Smoking & Betel Nut:

Pipes, lime gourds, spatulae, mortar & pestle.

Tools:

Lithics, barkcloth beaters, pottery spatulae, canoe caulkers, spoons, knives etc.

Toys:

Spinning tops, balls etc. (excluding model canoes unless collector specified as toy).

Unknown:

Unidentified objects where use unknown.

Weapons:

Arrows, clubs, spears, shields.

Appendix B: Timeline

Daniels Ethnographical Expedition

1903

Aug	-	LONDON England	-	Press report expedition departure
Nov	-	ADELAIDE Australia	-	Daniels & Seligman stop off – meet governor and bishop
Nov/ Dec	-	MELBOURNE Australia	-	Daniels & Seligman stop off – invited to join government expedition to Western Province planned for January 1904
Dec	9	SYDNEY Australia	-	Seligman, Strong and Dunning depart for Port Moresby onboard mail boat of Japanese Co. Nippon Yusen Kaisha (Daniels remains to wait for his yacht Kori being repaired at Southampton)
	11	BRISBANE Australia	-	Seligman, Strong and Dunning stop off – meet Dr. R.A. O'Brien and Roth
	17	THURSDAY IS. Torres Strait	-	Seligman, Strong and Dunning stop off – meet Fr. Joseph Guis of Missionnaires du Sacré-Coeur (MSC) and Bennett
	19	PORT MORESBY Papua New Guinea	-	Seligman, Strong and Dunning arrive. Meet Resident Magistrate F.R. Barton and Koita Chief & Village Constable (VC) Ahuia Ova
		GOVERNMENT Hs. Port Moresby		Stay at Government House
	20	HANUABADA Port Moresby	Motu Koita	Tour of village with Barton. Seligman sees death chair, bisa and percussion instrument sede
	21			William C. Bruce, head of Armed Native Constabulary (ANC), rounds villagers up for measurements. Mambare man Evia panicked by auricular radii instrument. Strong begins plan of village
	22			Seligman and Barton visit village and see double-hulled canoes from Hula and Aroma - hair samples collected from visitors
	23	GOVERNMENT Hs. Port Moresby	-	Seligman unloads expedition equipment

		WARIRATA Central Province	-	Strong and Dunning leave for Warirata
24		HANUABADA Port Moresby	Motu Koita	Seligman unpacks and visits village. Works on Koita death customs and genealogies
25		PORT MORESBY National Capital Dist.	-	Seligman, Barton and Ahuia go to site of older Koita village where Hohodae originate. See remains of dubu posts. See a lagatoi
		TANOBADA Hanuabada	Motu Koita	Seligman, Barton and Ahuia see a dance at Tanobada
26		PORT MORESBY National Capital Dist.	-	Seligman works on Koita genealogies
27		HANUABADA Port Moresby	Motu Koita	Seligman sees women making pots.
		GOVERNMENT Hs. Port Moresby	-	Seligman and Barton observe ANC dance performance – participants from Mambare Division. Strong and Dunning return from Warirata
28			-	Kinematograph rigged up on verandah for developing
29				Strong and Dunning move into Government House
30		PARI Port Moresby	Motu Koita	Seligman and Barton visit village, see two dubu. Barton makes plan of village. Seligman collects bark belts from Gulf, also yam charms and adze heads
		AKOROGO Port Moresby	Koita	Seligman and Barton pass through Akorogo, see Korabada on right and Burns Philp cattle enclosure
31		HANUABADA Port Moresby	Motu Koita	Seligman works on iduhu in village

1904

Jan	1	PORT MORESBY National Capital Dist.	-	Merrie England arrives with Acting Administrator Christopher Stansfield Robinson and Bishop Stone-Wigg (Anglican Mission). Robinson agrees to take expedition to Western Province
	3	HANUABADA Port Moresby	Motu Koita	Work in village
	4	PORT MORESBY National Capital Dist.	-	Seligman and Strong visit Hunter with Chief Medical Officer, Dr. Allan J. Craigen
	5		-	Dunning and Barton use phonograph to record lagatoi songs. Severe rainstorm interrupts filming,

			leave kinematograph at Ahuia's for safekeeping
6	HOHODAE Hanuabada	Koita	Seligman and Strong view houses and conduct medical examinations with Craigen
7		-	Seligman discusses canoes and pottery with Ahuia. Collects bone forks diniga used in lagatoi
8	TATANA ISLAND Port Moresby	Motu	Seligman and David Ballantine (Treasurer) observe process of making ageva shell discs and stone drill tips
9	HANUABADA Port Moresby	Motu Koita	Seligman and Dunning film dances, including Maginogo
10	VABUKORI Port Moresby	Motu Koita	Seligman and Barton visit village. Seligman photos taboos on coconuts. Barton makes plan of village and iduhu
	KILA KILA Port Moresby	Koita	Seligman and Barton visit village. Seligman photographs remains of dubu. Visit VC Rabura
11	HOHODAE Hanuabada	Koita	Seligman visits Ahuia and records history of Maginogo dance
12		-	Seligman photographs man making a gaba (kundu) drum
13	MERRIE ENGLAND Coral Sea	-	Government expedition to Western Province departs. Seligman shares cabin with Robinson. Expedition hires Motu 'boy' called Dabu Kauna
14		-	Seligman and Strong measure members of ANC onboard
15	DARU Western Province	-	Expedition lodges with storekeeper Dawson. Merrie England v Daru cricket match, Daru wins by 6 runs
16	CORAL SEA Gulf of Papua	-	Three boats (1) Robinson, Bruce, Arthur Jewell and Army Henry Jiear (2) ANC (3) expedition members. Robinson goes ashore at Ture Ture and [Kumina]
	MAWATTA Western Province	Kiwai	Seligman and Strong examine and Dunning photos a woman with facial disfigurement named Kanugo
17	SAIBAI ISLAND Torres Strait	-	Expedition and government party camp in church
18	MAI KUSSA RIVER Papua New Guinea	-	Expedition and government party camp on banks of Mai Kussa, 4 miles west of Bugi. Expedition measure men (local or ANC unclear). Robinson visits Boigu Is.
19	BUGI Western Province	-	Walk to Bugi. Spend day measuring and photographing local people. Trade calico etc. for baskets

			and dancing staffs
20	WARALET POINT Jerai Bay	-	Camp at eastern end of bay
21	DELIVERANCE IS. Torres Strait	-	Reunite with Merrie England
22	MERRIE ENGLAND Arafura Sea	-	Anchor 18 miles from mouth of Bensbach River
23	MERRIE ENGLAND Bensbach River, PNG	-	Seligman and Strong record star positions
24		-	Continue down river
25		-	Local men approach boats and speak with Robinson
	TIVI Bensbach River	Wartha (Toro)	Walk to settlement. Dunning collapses, Jewell uses own camera. Collect bundles of men's twisted hair (made by women and used in men's headdresses), bamboos with scratched patterns, sea shells and ?incomplete drums usually covered with kangaroo skin. Local people prefer steel and cloth over tobacco. Good trade for bullroarers (bana)
26		Wartha (Toro)	Measure local people and witness fire making. Robinson gives speech. See canoes, no outriggers. Bruce organises archery competition
27	BENSBACH RIVER Western Province	Wartha (Toro)	Return to camp by river. Seligman sees Toro bamboo pipes but does not collect any. Dunning photos Motu ANC 'boys' and man called Bargi, last of Sanana people. Strong begins recording Sanana language with Bargi
28	MERRIE ENGLAND Bensbach River	-	Reunite with Merrie England
29	WARALET POINT Jerai Bay	-	Travel by launch with Bruce to camp site
30	BUGI Western Province	-	Stop off to collect equipment left there
	BOIGU ISLAND Torres Strait	-	Camp overnight
31	MAWATTA Western Province	Kiwai	Arrive at nightfall and camp
Feb	1	-	Work in village all day. Meet informants called Duani and Mipi. Collect shell hoes, 2 hafted. Unable to get stone adzes

	2	MASINGARA Western Province	Masa'ingle	Collect large number of bamboo pipes
	3	TURE TURE Western Province	-	Visit village then travel to Daru in afternoon
	4	DARU Western Province	-	Meet with Merrie England and receive post, includes set of dogs teeth and cylinders for the phonograph from Daniels with no letter
	5		-	Pack collected objects onto Merrie England. Dunning and Seligman begin to feel unwell
	6	PARAMA ISLAND Western Province	-	Depart for Iasa. Camp at Parama. Seligman's health worsens
	7	PARAMA ISLAND Western Province	-	Robinson instructs local girls to marry within 6 months
		IASA Kiwai Island	Kiwai	Boats travel to Iasa. Seligman remains unwell. Robinson and government party depart for Fly River
	8		-	Seligman unwell. Three ANC called Naidin, Auda and Dainau arrive with Julian Diot and his whaleboat crewed by Nako, Kimai and Samer. Sent by Robinson for expedition. Expedition remain at Iasa (until 19 February), where Dunning photographs Sago making
	19	JUANITA Coral Sea	-	Collected by mail ship Juanita and taken to Daru
	20	DARU Western Province	-	Seligman unwell
Mar	-	OROKOLO Gulf Province	Elma	Seligman sent onto Sydney to recuperate. Merrie England with Strong and Dunning onboard stop to collect Robinson and Albert Charles English, who have been touring the area
	-	YULE ISLAND Central Province	Roro	Robinson meets with Archbishop Louis-André Navarre (MSC)
	-	DELENA Central Province	Roro	Robinson appoints Asikeua as Village Constable
	-	MOU Central Province	Paitana	Strong and Robinson pass through
	-	INAWAE Central Province	Mekeo	Strong and Robinson pass through
	-	INAWI Central Province	Mekeo	Strong and Robinson pass through
	-	AIPEANA Central Province	Mekeo	Strong and Robinson pass through

	-	MEKEO STATION (Near) Aipeana	-	Robinson, accompanied by Strong, hears criminal cases and charges man called Tavi with sorcery. Investigate boundary dispute between Inawi and Aipeana previously managed by Fr. Vincenzo Egidi (MSC)
Apr	15	SYDNEY Australia	-	Seligman, now recovered, departs for Port Moresby aboard Avili captained by John Williams
	19	AVILI Coral Sea	-	Seligman suffers seasickness. Meets trader E.A. English (brother of A.C. English)
	21	COOKTOWN Australia	-	Seligman attempts landscape photography
	22	AVILI Coral Sea	-	Depart once again. Seligman suffers seasickness
	24	SAMARAI ISLAND Papua New Guinea	-	Seligman arrives at Samarai, Milne Bay Province. Receives telegram from Daniels, Kori operational and en route. Visits hospital and sees Kiwai orderly called Magobi. Resident Magistrate, A.M. Campbell lends Seligman a boat and an interpreter called Poruma
	25	ROGEIA ISLAND Milne Bay Province	-	Also called Logea Island. Seligman visits Chief Medical Officer, Dr. J. Taylor Hancock and Rev. Shuttleworth
		SARIBA ISLAND Milne Bay Province	-	Seligman visits with Hancock and Shuttleworth
		SAMARAI ISLAND Milne Bay Province	-	Seligman measures prisoners. Meets Bishop Stone-Wigg, who has collected objects for the expedition. Miss Clunn allows Seligman use of her dark room. Calls at Milne Bay ?Hemisa
	26	ROGEIA ISLAND Milne Bay Province	-	Seligman records local totems
		KASAWARUWARU Rogeia Island	-	Seligman meets girl called Lohigau and old woman called Sinabereko, who gives him extra shell in trade for tobacco
	28	KOKOPO New Britain	-	Known as Herbertshöshe (German New Guinea). Seligman meets governor Albert Hahl and medical officer Wendland. Visits hospital. Spends afternoon with Richard Parkinson and sees his unlabelled collection. Visits plantations, lunch and dinner with Emma Forsayth 'Queen Emma'
	29	MATUPI ISLAND New Britain	-	Seligman meets ethnographic traders Max Thiel and Franz E. Hellwig. Lunch at Thiel's house
	30	KOKOPO New Britain	-	Seligman meets Parkinson briefly

May	2	SAMARAI ISLAND Milne Bay Province	-	Seligman departs for Port Moresby onboard Avili
	3	PORT MORESBY National Capital Dist.	-	Dunning meets Seligman off boat. Strong in Mekeo with fever, Dunning has suggested he return
	4	HANUABADA Port Moresby	Motu Koita	Seligman borrows boat and takes people from Avili to village. See Waima canoe bringing coconuts
	6	PORT MORESBY National Capital Dist.	-	Seligman and Ballantine go to reef to see fishing canoes but are disappointed
	7	HOHODAE Hanuabada	Koita	Seligman visits Ahuia and packs for trip to Yule Island and Nara
	8	LOKOHU Redscar Bay	-	Seligman, Dunning and Ballantine onboard government ketch Lokohu just off Redscar Bay
	9	OROI (NARA) Central Province	Lala (Nara)	Also known as Nara village. Ballantine and Seligman arrive in village, sending carriers back for equipment and Dunning. Stay in mission house
	10		-	Seligman measures local people. Sees children playing with spinning tops. Meets chieftainess Koloka
	11		-	Dunning photographs people measured previous day along with two girls, Matu and Odana dressed up following seclusion. Ballantine leaves for Mekeo
		DIUMANA Central Province	Lala (Nara)	Walk to village changing carriers at Ala Ala. Stay with missionary called Matalao
	12		-	Meet Village Constable Keripu, adopted child of late chief, his two wives and a man called Vauria. Interpreter called Sefa. Seligman finds out meaning of dubu designs and buys carved post by Poha Oa for 1lb of tobacco from Keripu. Pay ½ lb tobacco to see a dances called Ikewa (of Ole Ole), Mada and Vio
	13		-	Seligman completes work on dubu in morning and everyone departs for Oro
		OROI (NARA) Central Province	Lala (Nara)	Seligman's hired Motu 'boy', Charlie, becomes unwell. Seligman operates to remove swollen mass in neck
	14		-	Hour in village then to coast to meet whaleboat sent by Ballantine. Charlie recovers
		YULE ISLAND Central Province	Roro	Met off boat by Fr. Guibaud (MSC). Strong also comes down to meet them with Bishop Alain Marie Guynot de Boismenu (MSC)

	MISSION STATION Yule Island	-	Stay overnight with MSC
15	SIRIA Yule Island	Roro	Walk to village, Guibaud already there and explains Roro social system to Seligman. Discuss Mekeo, Strong very knowledgeable. Seligman reads Strong's diary (missing) – measure and photo 40 people
16	MISSION STATION Yule Island	-	Strong measures people. Dunning changes photographic plates. Guibaud records legend of Oa Rove and eschatology of Roro
	SIRIA Yule Island	Roro	Seligman and Dunning walk to village. Dunning sketches and measures the marea (men's platform), called Kivori. Seligman conducts medical exams, Dunning photographs ailments
	MISSION STATION Siria	-	Stay with Guibaud at local station
17	YULE ISLAND Central Province	Roro	Seligman works on marea with Guibaud. Ballantine and Strong depart for Epa (Lala area)
18	SIRIA Yule Island	Roro	Seligman walks to village with Soeur (Sister) Sebastienne, sees mixed race children. Dunning advises mission on boat boilers and water supply. Charlie's health continues to improve
19	PAARVI CAVE Yule Island	-	Dunning and Seligman visit cave, collecting bats, shells and fossils. Local men not keen to enter. Seligman measures mixed race children, Dunning photos them
20	SIRIA Yule Island	Roro	Seligman walks to village and records death customs. Ballantine arrives. Depart for ?Ela Beach, Port Moresby
21	PORT MORESBY National Capital Dist.	-	Arrive following rough seas
22		-	Day spent labelling object collections
23		-	Continue labelling objects in morning. Bruce and Strong spot Daniels arriving in Kori. Expedition members together for first time. Dine onboard, agree to visit Mekeo and for Strong to explore [Uni Uni]
24		-	Equipment loaded onto Kori. Acquire trade for [Uni Uni]. Daniels and Seligman visit Robinson
	HOHODAE Hanuabada	Koita	Daniels and Seligman visit Ahuia
	GURIU, ELEVALA Hanuabada	Koita	See funerary bundle tobi (connected to death chair, bisa)

		HANUABADA Port Moresby	Motu Koita	Seligman purchases model Koita house and lagatoi for ten shillings each
	25	PORT MORESBY National Capital Dist.	-	Expedition accompanies Ballantine and Robinson to a communal mullet fishing event. Daniels and Seligman return in a lagatoi, which cost its owner two toea, ten shillings and a mosquito net
	30	GOVERNMENT Hs. Port Moresby	-	26 to 30 May spent clearing out Government House and moving things from Kori. Hire labour from Drokolo
	31	KORI Coral Sea	-	Expedition departs for Yule Island en route to Waima
		BOERA Central Province	Motu	Daniels collects fish float with spiral burnt pattern and pots with banana fibre tie (charm to prevent cracking)
June	1	BOERA/MORESBY Coral Sea (area of)	-	Daniels sends Seligman in launch to investigate smoke on horizon – see steamer belonging to Whitton opposite Hunter's place. Strong and D (Daniels or Dunning?) collect fossils nearby
		VARI VARI ISLAND Redscar Bay	-	Anchor for night
	2	MISSION STATION Yule Island	-	Expedition dine with Archbishop Navarre
	3		-	Daniels leads reorganisation of equipment onboard Kori
	4		-	Daniels, Captain George William Charles Pim (Master of Kori), Seligman and Dunning depart for Waima
		PINUPAKA Central Province	Roro / Waima	Whaleboat to Pinupaka. Daniels and Seligman walk to Waima village, Pim and Dunning go by horse provided by mission
		MOU Central Province	Paitana	Women hired as carriers
	5	MISSION STATION Waima Village	-	Expedition visit market selling objects on mission verandah. Seligman and Daniels attend church
		OA OVIA Waima Village	Waima	Pim plans villages and takes on 'boy' called Aihi Keta, nephew of reputed sorcerer Tatiko. Seligman and Daniels work on Marea (men's houses) and acquire a complete mourning costume for two axes
	6	WAIMA VILLAGE Central Province	Waima	Seligman and Daniels continue work on Marea
	7		-	Work on hunting and social systems

8		-	Dunning returns to boat
9		-	Seligman and Daniels continue work on Marea
10	BEREINA Central Province	Roro / Waima	Seligman and Daniels walk to Bereina. Daniels photographs bamboo poles put up for food at Marea. Seligman treats wife of Waima teacher
	MOTURA Oriki Creek	-	Walk from Bereina to Babiko, passing market near creek. Exchange tobacco for shell fish to eat
	BABIKO Central Province	Paitana	Aihi convinces reluctant local people to act as carriers
	(outside) MOU Central Province	Paitana	Camp near convent on verandah of Cochards (Fr. Louis Cochard (MSC)), who are away
11	PINUPAKA Central Province	Roro / Waima	Walk from Mou. Daniels photographs Marea carvings. Return to Kori
12	KORI Yule Island	-	Strong returns (from unknown location) having found no carriers. Seligman writes up Waima notes
13		-	Seligman writes up Waima notes
14	SIRIA Yule Island	Roro	Seligman works with Guibaud
15		-	Seligman decides to go to Mekeo alone with Aihi, Strong's two 'boys' and two Waima youths to act as carriers if needed
16	PINUPAKA Central Province	Roro / Waima	Pim lands at Pinupaka for breakfast, as surf too high at Maia'era
	MAIA'ERA Central Province	Roro / Waima	Seligman and Aihi walk to Maia'era and borrow a horse
	BEREINA Central Province	Roro / Waima	Rahu goes ahead to Mou to try and get carriers. Seligman meets him part way and walks on to Bereina. Succeeds in getting carriers with difficulty and delay
	INAWAE Central Province	Mekeo	Seligman and crew passes through
	INAWI Central Province	Mekeo	Seligman stops off, wife of local teacher gives him coffee and the 'boys' bananas
	VEIFA (BEIPA) Central Province	Mekeo	Seligman gives horse to Fr. Joseph Vitali (MSC)
	MEKEO STATION (Near) Aipeana	-	Seligman walks down to the government station where he stays
17	VEIFA (BEIPA) Central Province	Mekeo	Vitali interprets for Seligman and shares his knowledge

18		-	Vitali interprets for Seligman and shares his knowledge
19		-	Seligman attends church and meets Vitali, Fr. Van Gouten of Aipeana (MSC)
	RARAI Central Province	Mekeo	Rides over to Rarai
	AMOAMO Central Province	Mekeo	Stays overnight with Egidi, gaining information on genealogical lore and folk history
20		-	Seligman purchases a native hen for half an axe and a piece of tobacco (and possibly some cloth)
	IFIFU Central Province	Mekeo	Sees people visiting from [Iapeka] and [Inauverene], reminds him of [Uni Uni] people seen in 1898
	MISSION STATION Mekeo area	-	Seligman stops off (location of station unclear)
	MEKEO STATION (Near) Aipeana	-	Returns to government station
21	INAWI Central Province	Mekeo	Seligman takes photographs en route and meets Fr. Francis Xavier Gsell (MSC)
	MOU Central Province	Paitana	Seligman reunites with Daniels, Strong and Pim. Daniels has recently taken on new 'boy', Bardi
	MISSION STATION Yule Island	-	Call in to see de Boismenu
22		-	de Boismenu notifies expedition of Robinson's suicide (on 20 June 1904). Expedition departs for Moresby
23	PORT MORESBY National Capital Dist.	-	Expedition finds Barton at Ballantine's. Daniels and Seligman dine at Government House
24	HANUABADA Port Moresby	Motu Koita	Daniels and Seligman study people with dwarfism and woman with multiple tumors, whom Daniels photographs
25		-	Daniels and Seligman measure local people
	PORT MORESBY National Capital Dist.	-	Photograph Craigen skull collection, four of which are given to the expedition
26		-	Meet Dr. Barrett, just arrived on H.M.S Pylades. Barrett shows them objects from Solomons and Santa Cruz, including a belt from Santa Cruz supposedly worn by the communal prostitute
27	HANUABADA Port Moresby	Motu Koita	Seligman sees sick dogs and requests Ahuia to bring some to him on 29

	28	PORT MORESBY National Capital Dist.	-	Seligman and Daniels visit jail, measure and photograph
	29		-	Seligman kills (and examines?) a tumor dog. Writes up notes and labels object collections
	30		-	Seligman and Daniels pack object collections. Seligman spends night at Government House
July	1		-	Barton's 'durbar' held at the ANC parade ground. Feast, speech from Barton (now Acting Administrator) and dance performances by men and women from groups across the area. Filmed on kinematograph by Daniels. Strong asks Daniels' permission to leave expedition and take up post as Assistant Resident Magistrate for Mekeo
	2		-	Pim and Dunning develop kinematograph film
	3		-	Pim and Dunning develop kinematograph film
	4		-	Seligman and Strong pack fossil samples
	5	HANUABADA Port Moresby	Motu Koita	Work in village during morning
		PORT MORESBY National Capital Dist.	-	Daniels and Seligman visit Barton. Receive (apparently unlabelled) Robinson collection
	6	GOVERNMENT Hs. Port Moresby	-	Seligman meets Barton, who gives the expedition Goaribari objects
		PORT MORESBY National Capital Dist.	-	Daniels and Seligman review head measurements
	7	KORI Coral Sea	-	Expedition departs for Rigo, accompanied by A.C. English
	8	GABA GABA Central Province	Motu Koita	Dunning remains onboard to number photographic plates. Expedition goes ashore. Met by Dr. William George Lawes of London Missionary Society (LMS), and his wife Fanny, who had written to invite them
		MISSION STATION Vatorata	-	Walk to mission. Lunch with Lawes family
		RIGO STATION Central Province	-	Walk to English's new house on hill
		[GUMORI DOBO] Central Province	Sinaugoro	See remains of village burnt down 19 months previously
		[VISIUMARU] Central Province	Sinaugoro	Visit new village site

9	TAGANA [KEKETO] Central Province	Ikolu	Seligman feels the village has improved since his 1898 visit. Sees mission recently set up
	RIGO STATION Central Province	-	Daniels and Seligman measure local people waiting under English's verandah. Dine with English
10	MISSION STATION Vatorata	-	Attend church. See stained glass window dedicated to Chalmers and Tomkins. Seligman treats Fanny Lawes for mouth complaint
	RIGO STATION Central Province	-	Meet with George English
	KWALIMURUBU Central Province	Sinaugoro	Expedition ride to village with George English. Seligman studies dubu. Daniels trades two tomahawks, two knives, two vests and eight yards of cloth for complete mourning costume
	MISSION STATION Vatorata	-	Dine with Lawes family
11	RIGO STATION Central Province	-	Make phonograph recordings including Sinaugoro language song called Enaniori. Two Vula'a girls arrive with Davis
12		-	Tidy up
	GABA GABA Central Province	Motu Koita	Seligman investigates dubu and village origins with Charlie and interpreter called Gaduke
13	KORI Coral Sea	-	Anchor 2 ¼ miles from Hula opposite home of R.E. Guise
14	HULA Central Province	Vula'a	Seligman spends day seeing and photographing ulcers and cancer. See house where Guis(e) and ?Haina lived. Daniels begins collecting geme red shells
15		-	Gima [chief] informs expedition food spearing feast postponed. Use phonograph to record local people singing about Gima's time in jail. Daniels organises a spear throwing competition
16	BABAKA Central Province	?Paugolo	Seligman and Dunning pass through en route to Kalo. Note village has moved location since 1898 visit
	KAMALI Central Province	?Paugolo	See crocodile and toea derived patterns under dubu
	KALO Central Province	?Paugolo	Carriers paid five sticks of tobacco each. Seligman and Dunning stay at mission house. ANC member helps Seligman elicit information on dubu with Charlie interpreting. Villagers entertained by burning magnesium wire and folding camera stand. Same crocodile and toea derived pattern seen on dubu pole. Establish

			design and wood used to represent crocodile skin is called Kala Kala
17		-	Morning spent in village
	KAMALI Central Province	?Paugolo	Seligman confirms dubu system same as kalo
	KORI Coral Sea	-	Seligman and Dunning return to yacht
18	HULA Central Province	Vula'a	Expedition meets with Gima. See food-spearing feast. Daniels films 'Motu' dance
19	KORI Coral Sea	-	Expedition departs for Samarai
22	SAMARAI ISLAND Louisiade Arch. MBP	-	Kori loses fore topmast on approach to Samarai. Expedition arrives late evening
23		-	Hancock very unwell. Meet Acting Resident Magistrate C. Owen Turner (Campbell away). Visit jail. After some chasing meet Rev. Charles William Abel (LMS) who offers assistance
24		-	Visit jail in morning
	ROGEIA ISLAND Louisiade Arch. MBP	-	Visit island in afternoon
25	SAMARAI ISLAND Milne Bay Province	-	Visit jail in morning
	MISSION STATION Kwato Island	-	Abel gives Seligman his notes on totemism
26	SAMARAI ISLAND Milne Bay Province	-	Visit jail in morning. Seligman sees ?Peter Sullivan brought in with pneumonia from Milne Bay goldfields. Hancock remains very unwell
27	ROGEIA ISLAND Milne Bay Province	-	Seligman and Pim begin geography of island regarding totems
	SAMARAI ISLAND Milne Bay Province	-	Hancock, cared for by Bellamy, worsens
28		-	Daniels and Seligman photograph prisoners at jail. Seligman kills and examines an Eclectus parrot
	ROGEIA ISLAND Milne Bay Province	-	Pim continues to map the island
	SAMARAI ISLAND Milne Bay Province		Hancock and ?Peter Sullivan worsen. C.O. Turner, Assistant Resident Magistrate, and Carpenter come to dinner. Campbell sends two 'boys' to collect fish totems called Uba Uba and Basi Basi

	29		-	Hancock and ?Peter Sullivan improve
		KORI Coral Sea		Expedition departs for Tubetube
	30	TUBETUBE Engineer Group MBP	Tubetube / Bwana- bwana	Attend church and work with local people
	31		-	Seligman and Pim map island and totems
Aug	1		-	Spend next few days working with local man Puneea and the VC Mahasohi. Daniels begins making large collection
	4		-	Rohi becomes unwell
	5		-	Rohi improves
	6		-	Rohi returns to work. Seligman continues working through Tubetube ethnology
	7		-	Hear of Hancock's death. Pim becomes unwell
	8		-	Pim unwell
	9		-	Pim improves
	10		-	Complete work on Tubetube
	11	[GABUINI] Milne Bay Province	-	Depart for [Orë Island] but find themselves anchored off [Gabuini Island]
	12		-	Daniels goes ashore to catch pigeons. Depart for Muyua (Woodlark) Island
		KORI Bonvouloir Reef?	-	Expedition anchor off what they believe to be Bonvouloir Reef. Land briefly on unknown island
	13	SHARP ISLAND Milne Bay Province	-	Arrive and turn back for Alcester due to poor weather
		ALCESTER ISLAND Milne Bay Province	Muyuw	Land and see small canoes
	14		-	Seligman investigates ethnology. Daniels walks over top of island
	15		-	Expedition weather-bound. Pim and Daniels map island from launch. Seligman records Tubetube vocabulary
	16	WANAI BAY Muyua Island	Muyuw	Pim and Seligman look for Kulumadau village on launch. Instead meet District Surveyor D. Rutherford who directs them to Bonagai landing. See first waga waga

17	KORI Solomon Sea	-	Meet Resident Magistrate, M. H. Moreton
	BONAGAI Muyua Island	Muyuw / Wamwan	Travel to Bonagai landing in launch with Moreton
	KULUMADAU Muyua Island	Muyuw / Wamwan	Meet mine owner Zobel, who lends his 'boy', Wanai
18	KORI Solomon Sea	-	Expedition weather bound.
	WANAI POINT Muyua Island	Muyuw	Seligman and Wanai take launch. See fragments of worked stone and bottle glass
19	KORI Solomon Sea	-	Expedition weather bound until 21.
21	SULOGA VILLAGE Muyua or Mapas Is.	Muyuw	Daniels, Seligman, Pim and ?Wildig tow whaleboat around Mapas Island to Suloga village. Meet gold miner J.F. Hay (who later helps them acquire skulls). Make camp and see chip covered beach
22	SULOGA QUARRY Muyua Island	Muyuw	En route to quarry with local guides collect series of worked stone and two grindstones. Seligman sees no definite evidence of quarrying but large amount of worked stone
23	SULOGA VILLAGE Muyua or Mapas Is.	Muyuw	Seligman discusses stones with villagers, records stones' names and history, as well as meaning of Madau canoe ornamentation
24	SULOGA PEN. Muyua Island	Muyuw	See cliff burials with Hey
25	KORI Alcester Island	-	Expedition heave off island in bad weather
26	GAWA ISLAND Marshall Bennett Is.	Gawa / Lougaw / Muyuw	See canoes and yam houses
27		-	Seligman records totems in villages
	KWAIWATA IS. Marshall Bennett Is.	Kwaiawata / Muyuw	Daniels visits island
28	GAWA ISLAND Milne Bay Province	Gawa / Lougaw / Muyuw	Seligman talks with villagers
29		-	Seligman measures local people. Daniels returns from Kwaiawata with 5 skulls, 2 beku (stone axe or adze blade), turtle shell and wooden fishhooks and a series of snares baited with papaya to catch small birds

	30	KWAIWATA IS. Milne Bay Province	Kwaiawata / Muyuw	Seligman, Daniels and Dunning visit island. See skulls trading for half or one tobacco stick. Visit village at high altitude with access ladder
	31		-	(Overnight onboard Kori). Measure local people, record ethnological data, mainly funerary ceremonies. Dunning photographs bird trap with papaya bait
Sep	1	GAWA ISLAND Milne Bay Province	Gawa / Lougaw / Muyuw	Spend day on island. Seligman unclear on funerary practices
	2	IWA Marshall Bennett Is.	Iwa / Muyuw	Met by local people on beach who traded for fowls and lime spatula. See large number of people in mourning
	3	KITAVA Trobriand Is. MBP	Kitava / Kilivila	See large number of men in mourning. See decorated chief houses and yam houses. Meet chief Tobiau
	4	KIRIWINA IS. Trobriand Is. MBP	Kilivila	Kori anchors 6 miles from Kavataria village. Meet chief Puritara of Bubuna
	5		-	Seligman, Daniels and Pim explore villages. See objects made for trade
	6		-	Seligman measures 12 local men (village unknown). Interpreter Ipunesa unavailable
		KAILEUNA IS. Trobriand Is. MBP	Kilivila	Daniels visits villages on island
	7	LOBUA Kiriwina Island	Kilivila	Seligman tries to record data but villagers afraid of government and largely flee
	8	KOMA Kaileuna Island	Kilivila	Seligman works in village (8-9)
		[OSIWASIU] Kaileuna Island	Kilivila	Seligman works in village with Ipunesa (8-9). Sees undecorated yam houses
	10		-	Daniels works on technology. Seligman measures local people
	11		-	Wildig shoots two eclectus parrots
	12	KAVATARIA Kiriwina Island	Kilivila	Seligman and Dunning walk to village. Record funerary ceremonies. Dunning photographs designs on the houses of Pulitari and his wife
		KORI Solomon Sea	-	Expedition departs for Samarai
	17	SAMARAI ISLAND Milne Bay Province	-	Arrive following long journey against wind and dead calms. Read mail and pack

	18		-	Pack objects. Seligman talks to prisoners in jail and operates on eclectus parrot with Craigen
	19			Seligman works at jail. de Boismenu and Guis arrive onboard Avilie & Guthrie en route to New Britain following missionary deaths at St. Pauls, Baining
	20	KORI Solomon Sea	-	Expedition departs for Bartle Bay
	21	DOGURA Milne Bay Province	-	Daniels and Pim find anchorage off Awainma. Expedition meet wife of Rev. Henry Newton (away with Bishop Stone-Wigg). Meet Rev. Eric L. Giblin, who acts as host and guide
		MISSION STATION Dogura	-	Daniels stays at Anglican Mission
		KORI Goodenough Bay	-	Rest of expedition sleeps onboard
	22	WAMIRA Milne Bay Province	Wamira / Wedau	Daniels, Seligman and Giblin visit aqueduct and irrigation scheme (likely at Wamira)
	23	GELARIA Milne Bay Province	-	Seligman sleeps in Olavui section house. Notes similarity to village structure at Wamira
	24		-	Remain at Gelaria
		MISSION STATION Dogura		Arrive back in evening
	25		-	Seligman conducts medical investigations
		WAMIRA Milne Bay Province	Wamira / Wedau	Seligman and Mrs Newton visit village
		MISSION STATION Dogura	-	Seligman spends time with Giblin
	26		-	Rev. Newton returns. Seligman measures local people
	27	WEDAU Milne Bay Province	Wedau	Seligman and Giblin work in village (27-28)
		WAMIRA Milne Bay Province	Wamira / Wedau	Seligman and Giblin work in village (27-28)
	29		-	Seligman and Giblin work in village
		KORI Chads Bay	-	Expedition depart for Wagawaga
	30		-	En route
Oct	1	WAGAWAGA Milne Bay, MBP	Wagawaga	Daniels lands Seligman in launch and return to anchor Kori at Discovery Bay

	2		-	Seligman works with Ipunesa of Modewa clan, Wagawaga, who continues to translate
	10		-	Seligman works daily with Ipunesa (2-10)
		KORI Milne Bay	-	Expedition departs for Port Moresby
	12	PORT MORESBY National Capital Dist.	-	Expedition arrives, packing begins
	18	KORI Coral Sea	-	Daniels departs for Thursday Island
		PORT MORESBY National Capital Dist.	-	Seligman and Dunning arrive from Hunter's aboard Avilie
	20		-	Seligman and Dunning move into Ballantine's
	21	HOHODAE Hanuabada	-	Ahuia's uncle Taubada oversees inter iduhu feast
	22	BOMANA Port Moresby	-	Seligman rides out to a grass burning with Ballantine (now acting Resident Magistrate) and E.J. Matthews (Chief Draughtsman), but grass too wet to proceed
	23	DAUGO ISLAND Port Moresby	-	Seligman attempts to shoot quail. Finds large amount of pottery but no traces of former village
	25	[TABAIANI] Central Province	Koiari	Ballantine, Seligman and Ahuia ride out to visit Koiari village
		GURINUMU Central Province	Koiari	Ballantine, Seligman and Ahuia ride out to visit Koiari village
		[WAFANA] Central Province	Koiari	Ballantine, Seligman and Ahuia ride out to visit Koiari village overlooking Laloki River
		[HARA TABU HILL] Central Province	-	Expedition visit hill feared by Koiari. Ahuia refuses to climb hill and is thrown from horse on return journey
	26	HANUABADA Port Moresby	Motu Koita	Ahuia is unwell with fever
	27	PORT MORESBY Papua New Guinea	-	Merrie England arrives with Barton
	28		-	Seligman views Barton's Agaiambo photographs
	31	PARI Port Moresby	Motu Koita	Seligman, Ballantine and Edigabi visit village and see dubu
Nov	1	PORT MORESBY Papua New Guinea	-	Ballantine puts on magic lantern show

2		-	Seligman works with Rev. William James Saville (LMS) and measures accompanying Mailu 'boys'
3		-	Seligman packs and lunches with Barton
4	AVILI Coral Sea	-	Expedition departs Papua New Guinea for Thursday Island
5	THURSDAY IS. Torres Strait	-	Seligman sees Cochard and Fr. Alexandre-Marie Fillodeau (MSC)
9	-	-	Expedition departs Thursday Island
15	MAKASSAR South Sulawesi	-	Seligman reaches Indonesia
17	SURABAYA Java, Indonesia	-	Seligman treats man who dies from unknown poison on 18 Nov.
22	SINGAPORE Singapore	-	Meets Glenny and Finlayson at Public Health Department. Stays at Sepoy Hospital (now Singapore General). Meets Shepperd at Tan Tock Seng Hospital
25	SS CHUSAN Singapore Strait	-	Seligman departs Singapore

NOTES

- Reconstructed using Daniels (n.d.); Robinson (1904); Seligman (1904a; 1910); Seligman and Strong (1906a,b). This is not comprehensive, for example photograph BM Oc,B118.109 was taken in Porebada, a visit not mentioned in documentation.

Appendix C: Biographies

Daniels Ethnographical Expedition

EXPEDITION MEMBERS

Daniels, William Cooke (Major) 1870-1918

Born in New York on 29 March 1870, the only son of William Bradley Daniels (1825-1890), founder of the Daniels & Fisher department store in Denver, Colorado, and Elizabeth P. Knox (d.1881). Daniels inherited the store upon his father's death, taking over management in 1897, following the death of junior partner William G. Fisher. Daniels bought out and expanded the business, incorporating it and chartering the Daniels State Bank in 1901, also building the 330 foot high Daniels Fisher tower, begun in 1910.¹ His only publication was a paper given to the Denver Philosophical Society in March 1900 entitled *The Department Store System*.

Daniels was commissioned as a Major in the US military in 1898, briefly serving during the Spanish-American war before being struck down with typhoid in 1899. He retained the title Major, and may have been working for the US government when he died following a stroke and liver disease in Buenos Aires on 18 March 1918.² Daniels' vast fortune passed to his wife, Cicely Banner (1882-1918), who died from Influenza shortly after. Cicely in turn left the estate to her best friend, Cavendish physicist Florence Martin (1867-1957), who moved to Denver in 1919. Martin donated 40 acres of parkland to the city in memory of William and Cicely later adding 960 acres when her ranch house burnt down in 1936.³

Daniels met Liverpool born Banner through her guardian, the Bishop of Rochester, whilst in Melbourne either before or immediately after the expedition.⁴ Either way, Cicely and Florence reportedly lived together while Daniels was in New Guinea.⁵ Although Martin was connected to Cambridge, Daniels' relationship with the university was most likely facilitated by Charles Seligman, whom he met in 1903 during a fly-fishing holiday in Hampshire.⁶ Both men appear in a photograph with Alfred Cort Haddon (1855-1940), taken at a departmental garden party Haddon hosted that summer at Christ's College.⁷ Haddon may have encouraged Daniels' 1903 donations of c.85 objects to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (now MAA) and at least 130 unmounted bird skins to the Museum of Zoology, all collected during his 1902 trip to British Guiana (now Guyana).⁸

Although Daniels travelled extensively (whilst also dividing his time between various homes),⁹ the extent of any collections beyond his Guyanan and New Guinean materials are unknown. His interest in ethnology may have developed during his trip to South America to prospect for gold and diamonds,¹⁰ making his encounter with Seligman all the more fortuitous. The sum he contributed to the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition, though unknown, was substantial and included the loan of his schooner, Kori, which he apparently signed into Seligman's name for the duration of the expedition, permitting it to sail under a British flag for the purposes of a British scientific expedition.¹¹ Acknowledged as expedition leader, Daniels took responsibility for ethnology and personally collected a significant number of objects for the Cooke Daniels collections – organised and donated to museums by Seligman on Daniels' behalf shortly after the expedition.¹² While Daniels prepared a diary (at least partly), this was never published and, soon after, he parted ways with the expedition team indefinitely.¹³

Dunning, Arthur Henry 1884-1959

Very little is known about this enigmatic man, referred to in expedition papers only as A.H. Dunning. Minutes from a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society confirm his first names as Arthur Henry.¹⁴ Dunning was hired as the official expedition photographer, with additional responsibility for film and sound recording,¹⁵ and appears to have been a member of the Royal Photographic Society where he lectured following the expedition. Between 1906 and 1909 his lantern slide lectures included (1906) 'A Year and a Half among Savages'; (1908) 'Savage Architecture in British New Guinea'.¹⁶ Dunning also lectured at the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1906: 'Pottery Making in New Guinea' with lantern slides and specimens, attended by Charles Seligman.¹⁷ Dunning's talks were reported in the press as widely as the USA, where he was apparently mistaken for a missionary.¹⁸

In a letter to Camilla Wedgwood dated 18-19 January 1927 (who was helping to prepare a book on Massim art that unfortunately never came to fruition), Seligman writes 'The photographs of all the objects in situ, i.e. those taken in the Pacific, were taken by Mr A.H. Dunning under my own direction, but he has behaved badly since, and the bare acknowledgement of the fact (he having been well paid for his services) is I think all that is necessary'.¹⁹ Archives relating to the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition hold primarily photographic prints;²⁰ the location of the negatives is not known. Although conjecture, Dunning may have retained the negatives against Seligman's wishes. With the exception of the expedition's photographs,²¹ any sound or film recordings he oversaw, and one object now in the Cooke Daniels collections,²² no other materials, photographic or otherwise, can be attributed to Dunning.

Pim, George William Charles (Captain) 1866-1914

Born in Gloucester on 9 March 1866, the son of John Robert Pim (1840-1909), a gentleman of independent means descended from a naval family. Pim trained briefly as a naval cadet before joining the merchant navy in 1881. Arriving in Queensland in 1886 he joined the Lighthouse Service where he was stationed at Proudfoot Shoal Lighthouse, Torres Strait. In 1888, following a brief stint with the Moreton Bay marine pilot service, Pim began working as a *bêche-de-mer* trader, later partnering with Luff on Thursday Island.²³ It is here, in April 1898, that Pim met Charles Seligman, who was waiting for members of the Torres Strait Expedition.²⁴ Both men became acquainted with Caroma, an Aboriginal Otati woman probably working on the island, acquiring vocabulary lists and information about female initiation.²⁵ Caroma appears to have made a skirt from sail canvas for them; the label, written and signed by Seligman on 14 April 1898, includes Pim's name.

Given their acquaintance, it is likely Seligman recommended Pim to William Cooke Daniels. Pim arrived in Sydney in late 1903, attaining a certificate that qualified him for the position of Master of the Kori, Cooke Daniels' schooner, which he took up in April 1904;²⁶ Daniels and Pim having been detained whilst the Kori underwent repairs in Southampton.²⁷ As Master of the Kori, Pim surveyed a number of islands and bays in the Massim, producing detailed maps later used in expedition publications.²⁸ Following the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition, Pim worked briefly for the Celebes Trading Co. before being appointed Master of the Endeavour in 1911, an Australian government trawler sent out to conduct scientific fishing experiments and to collect biological data and specimens.²⁹ Tragically, Endeavour vanished in sea fog off the South Coast of Australia on 5 December 1914 'with all 21 scientists and crew on board',³⁰ including Pim; all were presumed drowned.

With the exception of the 1898 Otati skirt, no objects in the Cooke Daniels collections can be attributed to Pim, although he reportedly collected a number of the Endeavour materials now in the Australian Museum.³¹ Pim was also acquainted with ?Albert Charles English, both of whom may have been working for Burns Philp when they sold a bark belt to the AM in 1883.³²

Seligman, Charles Gabriel (Dr.) 1873-1940

Born in Paddington, London, on 24 December 1873, the only son of German (Prussian) born Hermann Seligmann (1836-1889), a prosperous wine merchant, and Olivia Mendez da Costa (1842-1891), born in St. Thomas (then West Indies, now Virgin Islands), and descended from Emmanuel Mendez da Costa, second Jewish fellow of the Royal Society, appt. 1747. Despite frequent absences from school due to his mother's ill health, Seligman won a scholarship to St Thomas' Hospital, London, qualifying in 1896 with an award for pathology. After a period as a house physician, and a pathology fellowship, Seligman pursued Alfred Cort Haddon (1855-1940) for a place on the 1898 Torres Strait Expedition, which he had heard about through his friend (and soon to be colleague), psychologist Charles Samuel Myers (1873-1946).³³ Arriving, self-funded, on Thursday Island c.8 April 1898, Seligman met bêche-de-mer trader Captain George Pim, who would later join the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition, before travelling on to British New Guinea with Haddon.³⁴ Ultimately appointed expedition naturalist, responsible for researching indigenous medicine and associated rituals, Seligman also pursued interests in psychology and ethnology.³⁵ Captivated by BNG, he stayed there during the summer months whilst his colleagues focused on the Torres Strait.³⁶

Upon his return to London, Seligman resumed work at St Thomas', supervising the pathology laboratory, where he met Dr. Walter Meresh Strong.³⁷ The opportunity to continue research in BNG arose in 1903 when he chanced upon William Cooke Daniels during a fishing holiday. Seligman persuaded Daniels to fund and lead a further expedition.³⁸ Alongside additional institutional support, Seligman also secured funding from the Cancer Commission to research malignant tumours in Papuan people.³⁹ The initial four-man expedition team was completed when Strong volunteered and A.H. Dunning was hired as photographer. The Daniels Ethnographical Expedition departed in August 1903, arriving in Port Moresby just before Christmas via Australia where Daniels and Pim were delayed until April 1904. Acting leader, Seligman focused on ethnology and medicine, working closely with government host, Captain Francis Rickman Barton, and Koita chief, Ahuia Ova, whom he first met in 1898. In February 1904, Seligman returned to Sydney to recuperate after contracting fever in Western Province while accompanying Acting Administrator Christopher Stansfield Robinson. Briefly visiting German New Guinea, where he met with Richard Heinrich Robert Parkinson (1844-1909) and Emma Forsayth 'Queen Emma' (1859-1913), Seligman reunited with the expedition in April 1904. Deprived of Strong, who had accepted a government post from Robinson, they travelled through Central Province and the Massim onboard the expedition schooner, Kori, departing BNG in November 1904.⁴⁰

Back in London, Seligman organised objects collected during the expedition, many of which he directly acquired, making numerous donations on Daniels' behalf, possibly assisted by Brenda Zara Salaman (1882-1965),⁴¹ whom he married in July 1905. (Charles and Brenda had two children, Olivia Loys (1906-1920) and Robert Myer (1911-1990)).⁴² Seligman continued with pathology, attaining an MD based upon his BNG research, until he and Brenda were invited to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in 1907 to research the Veddas (Wanniya-laeto). Two monographs followed, with Seligman appointed University Lecturer in Ethnology at the London School of Economics in 1910, receiving a further lectureship at the Royal College of Surgeons in 1911.⁴³ During WWI, Seligman, like W.H.R. Rivers (1864-1922), worked with shell-shock patients before resuming ethnological survey work in Sudan with Brenda, started in 1909⁴⁴ (dropping an additional 'n' from the end of their surname in 1914 in response to anti-German sentiment). Brenda and Charles also developed an interest in Chinese jades and bronzes, making a significant collection now at the BM.⁴⁵ In 1927, Seligman began work on a much delayed volume of Massim art based upon findings and collections from the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition. A student of Haddon's, Camilla Hildegard Wedgwood (1901-1955)

was employed to compile the volume but soon left for Sydney to take up a teaching post and the project stalled.⁴⁶

Retiring in 1934 following ill health, Seligman moved to Toot Baldon near Oxford, resuming work on the Massim volume in 1939 when he employed Scottish artist Thomas Elder Dickson (1899-1978), a recent doctoral graduate, to illustrate and complete it.⁴⁷ Several draft chapters were prepared before Seligman developed a heart infection and died on 19 September 1940.⁴⁸ His death and WWII ceased work again, and although Brenda continued to fund and support Elder Dickson, his personal circumstances prevented the book's completion.⁴⁹

Strong, Walter Mersh (Dr.) 1873-1946

Born in Camberwell, Surrey, on 24 September 1873, third son of Richard Strong (1834-1915), Justice Of The Peace, and Helen Emma Mersh (1839-1902).⁵⁰ Strong attended Trinity College, Cambridge, graduating first-class in the Natural Sciences Tripos in 1895 (MA 1899), attaining MB BChir in 1903.⁵¹ At St Thomas' hospital the same year, he was granted membership of the Royal College of Surgeons and a licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, alongside work assisting in the Skin and Electrical Department.⁵² It is here that Strong met Charles Seligman, who was organising the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition. Volunteering to take part, Strong was given responsibility for geographical and geological observations while assisting Seligman with cancer research.⁵³ Around March 1904, Strong joined Acting Administrator Christopher Stansfield Robinson and Assistant Resident Magistrate for Rigo, Albert Charles English, on a tour of the Mekeo area.⁵⁴ The tour resulted in an offer of employment from Robinson for the position of Assistant Resident Magistrate for Mekeo, which Strong keenly accepted. Following a bout of fever, Strong returned to Port Moresby in May 1904 seeking permission to withdraw from the expedition, which William Cooke Daniels duly granted.⁵⁵

Notwithstanding this, Strong contributed objects he obtained in and around the Mekeo area to the Cooke Daniels collections, also later co-publishing expedition findings with Seligman.⁵⁶ In 1907, Strong sold a private collection of objects, including some he acquired during the expedition, to the Christy fund at the BM.⁵⁷ Briefly returning to St Thomas' in 1910 to obtain a diploma in Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, Strong was appointed Chief Medical Officer for Papua in 1914, in addition to his role as Quarantine Officer.⁵⁸ Strong returned to ethnology in 1919, publishing an extensive paper read before the Royal Anthropological Institute.⁵⁹ Popular with Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Hubert Plunkett Murray (1861-1940), in 1921, Strong was appointed the first Government Anthropologist for Papua,⁶⁰ juggling several roles until 1928 when Francis Edgar Williams (1893-1943) succeeded him as Government Anthropologist.

At Samarai on 5 February 1927, Strong married English journalist Mary Gwendolen Evans, although it is unclear whether the marriage lasted.⁶¹ Four years before retiring in 1938, Strong purchased a tobacco plantation near Rigo from Beatrice Ethel Grimshaw (1870-1953), more likely as a home rather than a business.⁶² He apparently suffered dementia in his final years, dying in Port Moresby on 4 October 1946.⁶³ His estate was principally bequeathed to the University of Sydney, founding what is today the Walter Mersh Strong Scholarship, open to Papua New Guinean postgraduate students applying for studies in Agriculture, Public Health and Social work.⁶⁴

OTHER KEY PERSONS/DONORS

Barton, Francis Rickman (Captain) 1865-1947

Born in the district of Depwade, Norfolk, on 4 January 1865, the son of Rev. Gerard Barton of Fundenhall, Norfolk, and Elizabeth Hazard.⁶⁵ Barton was partly educated in Germany, where his father served as Chaplain at Freiburg, Baden-Württemberg, during the 1870s.⁶⁶ Enlisting in

the British West India Regiment, Barton served in West Africa and, from 1893, as Aide de Camp to the Governor of Barbados, having attained Lieutenant in 1890.⁶⁷ Now Captain, in 1899 Barton left the regiment to take up the position of Private Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor of British New Guinea, Sir George Ruthven Le Hunte (1852-1925).⁶⁸ In 1901, he was appointed Acting Commandant of the Armed Native Constabulary, made permanent soon after, and in 1902, became Resident Magistrate for the Central Division.⁶⁹ In February of that year, Barton accompanied Le Hunte on a visit to Goaribari Island intended to improve relations following the 1901 punitive expedition in response to the murders of Rev. James Chalmers (1841-1901) and Rev. Oliver Fellows Tomkins (1873-1901).⁷⁰ Barton collected numerous objects on the island, some later donated to the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition.⁷¹

Like his father, Barton was a keen naturalist⁷² who, as a result of his colonial profession, also developed an interest in ethnology. Consequently, Barton quickly fell in with the expedition, whom he was responsible for hosting upon their arrival in Port Moresby in December 1903.⁷³ Barton accompanied Charles Seligman and Koita chief Ahuia Ova on numerous visits around Central Province, later contributing a chapter on hiri voyaging to Seligman's 1910 monograph.⁷⁴ Around June 1904 Barton was appointed Administrator in place of acting incumbent, Christopher Robinson;⁷⁵ a post he held until 1907 when Sir John Hubert Plunkett Murray (1861-1940) replaced him following political tensions.⁷⁶ Travelling to London in 1908, Barton married sixteen-year-old Santa Carla Tofft (1891-1961).⁷⁷ Both moved to Zanzibar, Tanzania, where Barton held posts as Finance Minister and Vizier (First Minister), returning to England in 1913.⁷⁸ Barton now turned to ethnology, completing a publication on tattooing that drew on his considerable photographic collection.⁷⁹ Possibly around this time he sold his private object collection to the BM Christy fund, having also offered advice on the Cooke Daniels collection.⁸⁰ Barton continued to pursue academic interests until his death at Newton Abbott, Devon, in 1947.⁸¹

Ballantine, David 1868-1909

Born in Glasgow, Scotland, on 11 September 1868, the son of John Ballantine (1840-1879), a draper later based at Gourock, Inverclyde, and Jessie Stark (b.1839).⁸² Initially managing a trade store on Sudest Island, BNG, on 25 July 1889 Ballantine was appointed Sub-collector of Customs at Samarai, attaining the post of Treasurer and Collector of Customs in 1893.⁸³ In 1901, he joined Sir George Ruthven Le Hunte's (1852-1925) punitive expedition to Goaribari Island, made in response to the murders of Rev. James Chalmers (1841-1901) and Rev. Oliver Fellows Tomkins (1873-1901).⁸⁴ Becoming embroiled in the political tensions surrounding Francis Rickman Barton, and also suffering from alcoholism, Ballantine was replaced by H.W. Champion in 1906.⁸⁵ A passionate ethnographic collector, he gifted objects to the 1898 Torres Strait Expedition as well as the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition.⁸⁶ He died at Sogeri, near Port Moresby, on 18 June 1909, his mother donating his collections to the McLean Museum and Art Gallery, Inverclyde, in 1911.⁸⁷

Craigen, Allan James (Dr.) 1877-1946

Born at Demerara, British Guiana (now Guyana) on 12 September 1877, the son of William C. Craigen (1839-1914) and a woman of African descent. Studying medicine at the University of Aberdeen, he achieved MB Ch.B in 1900 before travelling to Port Moresby,⁸⁸ BNG, to take up the post of Acting Chief Medical Officer in May 1901. The position was made permanent a year later following the resignation of incumbent Dr. J.A. Blayney.⁸⁹ Craigen met the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition in January 1904, accompanying Walter Mersh Strong and Charles Seligman on numerous medical visits. Later that year, Craigen gifted four human skulls to the expedition, all most likely from the collection of Christopher Stansfield Robinson.⁹⁰ In 1905, Craigen applied to the British Guianan government medical service and was appointed physician at Georgetown Public Hospital, despite a government employment policy that directly

discriminated against nonwhite physicians.⁹¹ In 1921, Craigen married Dorothy C. Nickles at Birkenhead, England. He died at Bromley, Kent, in 1946.⁹²

English, Albert Charles 1863-1945

Born in Edmonton, London in April 1863,⁹³ the son of Charles English and Louise Allenton. Arriving at Kerepuna, Rigo, New Guinea, in June 1883, probably working as a trader, he was joined by his cousin George J. English in c.1885.⁹⁴ In February 1889, English was appointed Acting Government Agent for Rigo, made permanent on 28 June 1890 following the death of previous incumbent George Hunter (1853-1890).⁹⁵ In December 1903, after his promotion to Assistant Resident Magistrate for Rigo earlier that year,⁹⁶ English married Daisy Eveline Skelly (1876-1939), who joined him at Rigo where they raised three children.⁹⁷ In late February 1904, he accompanied Christopher Stansfield Robinson on a tour of the Purari Delta and Orokelo Bay, Papuan Gulf. Returning onboard SS *Merrie England*, they met Walter Mersh Strong and Arthur Henry Dunning and travelled with them to Mekeo. At this time, English gifted several Gulf objects to the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition,⁹⁸ possibly also gifting objects in July of that year, when he accompanied them on a tour of Rigo.⁹⁹ As a trader, English likely acquired ethnographic objects, as well as plant and animal specimens, to market to museums and other collectors.¹⁰⁰ He resigned in 1907, doubtless prompted by staff changes following the transition to Australian administration in 1906, although citing conflict with his trading and plantation interests. He continued to run trading stations and plantations in Rigo with his family until his death from pneumonia on 10 May 1945 during a visit to Sydney.¹⁰¹

Ipunesa

From the Modewa clan, Wagawaga, Milne Bay, New Guinea;¹⁰² little is known about Ipunesa, although he appears several times in Charles Seligman's diary.¹⁰³ Some detail is given in a letter Seligman wrote to Camilla Wedgewood dated 18 January 1927, in which he notes 'I had no native comparable to Ahuia in the central district, but in Milne Bay one Ipunesa at Waga Waga, a mission trained youth, was quite reliable... any note explicitly coming from him can for that area be given full value. (You will notice how much better his drawings are than any of the others)'.¹⁰⁴ The Daniels Ethnographical Expedition appears to have met Ipunesa in early September 1904 at Kiriwina in the Trobriand Islands, where he acted as an interpreter before taking the expedition to his home village of Wagawaga the following month.¹⁰⁵ During a ten-day visit, Seligman worked 'daily with Ipunesa',¹⁰⁶ whom, in addition to interpreting, provided significant ethnographic data although it is unclear whether he contributed to the collection of c.70 Wagawaga objects now in the Cooke Daniels collections.¹⁰⁷

Karlsson, K

Almost nothing is known of Karlsson. Describing himself as ships carpenter onboard the Kori – Cooke Daniels' schooner – in 1905, he sold 15 objects¹⁰⁸ collected by him during the expedition in Central and Milne Bay Provinces to what is now the National Museum of World Cultures, Stockholm.

Ova, Ahuia c.1875-1951

Born in Hohodae, the Koita section of Hanuabada (now within Port Moresby), New Guinea in c.1875, the son of Ova Geita (Koita) of Kila Kila and Diara Oa (Lala descent) of Hohodae.¹⁰⁹ Ahuia was adopted by his maternal uncle, Taubada Oa of Hohodae, after his father's death later asserting hereditary claim to the title of rohi (chief) of the Dubara through Taubada, with whom he lived within the Dubara iduhu.¹¹⁰ Educated at the London Missionary Society school in Poreporena, Hanuabada, where he learned to speak English and write Motu,¹¹¹ Ahuia took work with Burns Philp,¹¹² probably while in his early teens, before being employed as a house 'boy' by numerous government officials.¹¹³ In 1898, he met members of the Torres Strait Expedition (including Charles Seligman) for whom he made several drawings, including one of a

nearby lake.¹¹⁴ In December 1903, Seligman, now a member of the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition, reunited with Ahuia, noting he had since been promoted to Village Constable, a position he held for over five years.¹¹⁵ Ahuia became an important informant and translator for Seligman, giving him further drawings, as well as helping the expedition acquire objects from Hanuabada now in the Cooke Daniels collections.¹¹⁶

Further encouraged by European patronage,¹¹⁷ Ahuia gained prominence in Hohodae as lohia or a man of renown,¹¹⁸ reinstating the village dubu as part of a tabu feast c.1905-06.¹¹⁹ Around this time he also married Goka, his fourth wife and faced criminal prosecution for polygamy. His second marriage, to Gari Rei, was officiated by Rev. William George Lawes (LMS) (1939-1907), apparently unaware of his first marriage to Boio Alua. Ahuia was banned from his LMS church following his third marriage to Riguia, who went on to marry his cousin Arua Ganiga. Ahuia's fifth marriage was to Vagi Gege. His two biological children died in infancy and he later adopted a further six, although only two survived into adulthood.¹²⁰ In 1914 (until 1918), Ahuia was employed as Central Court Interpreter, also acting as an informant for Seligman's student Bronislaw Kasper Malinowski (1884-1942).¹²¹ Compelled by LMS disapproval, Ahuia published an article condemning traditional dance in 1923, burning his headdresses, although he later resumed organising traditional Koita dances and feasts.¹²² Just prior to WWII, Ahuia dictated an autobiography under the direction of Government Anthropologist Francis Edgar Williams (1893-1943).¹²³ He spent the war years on Yule Island, translating for Missionnaires du Sacré-Coeur, where he also adopted the Catholic faith. In 1948, having fallen from favour in Hohodae, Ahuia returned to his father's village of Kila Kila, where he died in 1951.¹²⁴

Robinson, Christopher Stansfield 1871-1904

Born in the district of Armidale, New South Wales, Australia, on 16 September 1871, the only son of Venerable Christopher Gerard Robinson, later Archdeacon of Dunedin, New Zealand, and Annie Louisa Clarke.¹²⁵ Robinson was educated in Brisbane, where his father served as rector at All Saints Anglican Church, before being articled to law firm T.W. Daly and admitted to the bar in 1895. Briefly practicing in the NSW Etheridge and Croydon goldfields, he returned to Brisbane in 1898 to take up private practice.¹²⁶ On 11 May 1903, Robinson accepted appointment as Chief Judicial Officer of BNG, and was made Acting Administrator just one month later; Lieutenant-Governor Sir George Ruthven Le Hunte (1852-1925), left to take up his appointment as Governor of South Australia.¹²⁷ In August of that year, Robinson began his tour of inspection, initially with Resident Magistrate Charles Arthur Whitmore Monckton (1873-1936), including visits to the Kumusi and Mambare rivers, and government stations at Cape Nelson and Samarai.¹²⁸

Despite concerns over safety, compounded by a despatch from Lord Hallam Tennyson (1852-1928), Robinson allowed the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition to accompany his inspection of Western Province in January 1904.¹²⁹ Leaving the expedition at Kiwai Island on 7 February, Robinson continued up the Fly, Bamu and Turama Rivers, collecting and destroying material objects mainly associated with headhunting.¹³⁰ In early March 1904, SS Merrie England, with Robinson and additional ANC forces onboard, anchored off Goaribari Island in the Gulf of Papua as part of a planned expedition to recover the skull of murdered missionary Rev. Oliver Fellows Tomkins (1873-1901). The arrest of known ringleaders onboard SS Merrie England prompted a skirmish during which an estimated 8 Goaribari Islanders were killed.¹³¹ Having failed to recover Tomkins skull, Robinson then travelled through the Gulf with Albert Charles English before touring Mekeo with Walter Merish Strong and Arthur Henry Dunning.¹³²

Shortly after his return to Port Moresby, Robinson faced severe criticism and inflated news reports asserting that he had killed over 200 Goaribari Islanders.¹³³ Supported by claims from LMS missionary Charles William Abel (1862-1930), an Australian Royal Commission was

ordered to investigate.¹³⁴ After giving initial evidence, Robinson committed suicide on 20 June 1904, shooting himself in the head under the flagpole at Government House, Port Moresby.¹³⁵ Robinson's private object collection was dispersed amongst interested parties, the expedition receiving a number of objects on 5 July 1904.¹³⁶

NOTES

¹ Much of this information, along with details of Daniels army commission, has been drawn from Barnhouse (2015).

² See <http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=deathsamericancitizenabroad> accessed 12 February 2014. Record shows (pay per view) 'Report of the Death of an American Citizen, American Consular Service' completed for 'William Cooke Daniels'. Cause of death recorded as 'Liver disease and cerebral attack' at 12 noon 18 March 1918 at Buenos Aires, Argentina.

³ See <https://denvermountainparks.wordpress.com/daniels-park-history/> accessed 23 August 2017.

⁴ Barnhouse (2015: 49) suggests Daniels met Cicely through her guardian in Melbourne after the expedition. Home (1986) suggests Daniels and Cicely were already engaged when Daniels left for New Guinea. Daniels was detained in Australia from late 1903 to April 1904 after the Kori was damaged in Southampton requiring repair (Seligman to Ka Jonas 2 November 1903 and Seligman to Herbert Jonas 23 November 1903, SELIGMAN/4/1/1 LSE Archive).

⁵ See Home (1986).

⁶ According to Haddon (1934).

⁷ Plate V, in Hingston Quiggin (1942).

⁸ <http://collections.maa.cam.ac.uk/index.php?cmd=objects> and [http://131.111.101.189/fmi/iwp/cgi?-db=UMZC%20Catalogues%20\(Web\)&-loadframes](http://131.111.101.189/fmi/iwp/cgi?-db=UMZC%20Catalogues%20(Web)&-loadframes) accessed 23 August 2017.

⁹ According to Barnhouse (2015: 40-50) Daniels' travels included Europe and New Zealand. He also had homes in Denver and Worcester, as well as his French Estate, the (now hotel) Château de la Mott d'Usseau. Seligman also provides von Hügel with an address for Daniels at his club on Fifth Avenue, New York (Seligman to von Hügel 18 May 1905 and von Hügel to Daniels 18 December 1905. MSS. MAA Archive).

¹⁰ See Barnhouse (2015: 48) and Daniels (1903).

¹¹ See <http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/gb~ycseh.html> accessed 24 August 2017. This is not an academic website and may not be entirely reliable. Seligman's (1904a) journal, however, does seem to suggest the Kori belonged to Daniels.

¹² See Seligman (1905e). Daniels did, however, prepare the Tubetube and Wagawaga MSS catalogue now at BM ALRC.

¹³ See Seligman (1910) and Daniels (n.d.).

¹⁴ RGS (1903). My thanks to Jocelyne Dunning (MAA) for bringing this to my attention.

¹⁵ Lancet (1903) also suggests Dunning was expected to assist Daniels with ethnology.

¹⁶ See http://erps.dmu.ac.uk/exhibitor_details.php?year=1909&efn=A.+H.+Dunning accessed 24 August 2017.

¹⁷ RAI (1906).

¹⁸ See <https://www.newspapers.com/newspage/39993017/> The Huntingdon Herald, Indiana, Sept. 1 1910. p.5 "Missionary tells of work", accessed 24 August 2017.

¹⁹ Seligman (1927).

²⁰ See n28.

²¹ Dispersed between the BM ALRC, and the RAI.

²² BM Oc1906,1013.759.

²³ Information drawn from Etheridge (1915).

²⁴ See Herle and Rouse (1998a) for details of Seligman's 1898 itinerary, role and background.

²⁵ See Haddon (1904b) Plate XII, which shows 'Otati girl, North Queensland, decorated to show her appearance on her return from seclusion after arriving at puberty... The petticoat properly should have been black, but this one was made of unravelled canvas for Mr Seligmann to photograph'. The girl in

the photograph is almost certainly Caroma wearing the skirt now in the BM Cooke Daniels collection Oc1906,1013.1598. Seligman and Pim (1907: 277) report 'vocabularies were obtained from Caroma, a woman of the Otati tribe, who knew a fair amount of English'. Pim may have been already been acquainted with Caroma through her work on the island?

²⁶ Etheridge (1915: VIII).

²⁷ See letters Seligman to Ka Jonas 2 November 1903 and Seligman to Herbert Jonas 23 November 1903 (SELIGMAN/4/1/1 LSE Archive).

²⁸ The only glass plate negatives in the Cooke Daniels collections are those of Pim's maps, see http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?people=158365. Also see Seligman and Strong (1906a,b).

²⁹ See Dannevig (1915). Robert Etheridge, Curator of the Australian Museum in Sydney, contributed several reports to this volume, as well as Pim's obituary, published in the opening section.

³⁰ See http://seafarersmemorial.org.au/memorials/vessels/fis_endeavour.php accessed 28 August 2017.

³¹ Pim is referenced in Daniels' (1905: 1) Tubetube catalogue at BM ALRC (entry 6084): he took notes on the process of nose-shell making with Dunning (location of notes unknown). See Etheridge (1915: IX). Note the Endeavour collections do not appear to name specific collectors, see AM online catalogue search 'Endeavour' <http://collections.australianmuseum.net.au>.

³² See <http://collections.australianmuseum.net.au/amweb/pages/am/Display> accessed 28 August 2017. Note Mr English is likely Albert Charles English, who arrived in BNG in 1883, although he also had a brother, the trader E.A. English (unclear when he arrived in BNG, see Le Hunte (1900: 36)). The brothers' cousin, George J. English, arrived in BNG around 1885 (see Collinson (1961)).

³³ Largely drawn from Fortes (1941). Also searches (pay per view) on <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> for Hermann and Olivia Seligmann, accessed 28 August 2017.

³⁴ See n24.

³⁵ See Urry (1998: 207).

³⁶ See n24.

³⁷ Fortes (1941: 2-3) and Urry (1998: 210).

³⁸ See n6.

³⁹ Nature (1903). Institutional support apparently included a grant from the Government Grant Committee and the loan of equipment from the Royal Geographical Society. An introduction from the Royal Society is held at the LSE Archive (SELIGMAN/15/1).

⁴⁰ Events drawn from Seligman's (1904a) journal.

⁴¹ Fortes (1941: 3).

⁴² Searches (pay per view) on <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> for Olivia and Robert Seligman(n), accessed 28 August 2017.

⁴³ Fortes (1941). Publications were Seligman (1910) and Seligman and Seligman (1911).

⁴⁴ Fortes (1941: 3-4).

⁴⁵ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?people=92937 accessed 30 August 2017.

⁴⁶ See n19.

⁴⁷ Fairburn to Seligman 12 January 1939 (RAI Archive Seligman 364/12/8). A number of tracings and illustrations of objects in the BM Cooke Daniels Collections made by Thomas Elder Dickson are also held in RAIA (Seligman 364/).

⁴⁸ http://freemasonry.london.museum/it/wp-content/resources/frs_freemasons_complete_jan2012.pdf accessed 30 August 2017. Draft chapters and work pertaining to the Massim publication are held in the RAIA (Seligman 364/).

⁴⁹ See correspondence between Brenda Seligman and Thomas Elder Dickson RAIA (Seligman 364/13/).

⁵⁰ <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=gbc%2f1881%2f0003367328> accessed 30 August 2017, census 1881 3 Champion Park, Camberwell. Strong household (pay per view). Also searches (pay per view) on <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> for Ellen/Helen Emma Mersh and Robert Mersh, accessed 30 August 2017.

⁵¹ MB BChir = Bachelor of Medicine, Bachelor of Surgery. <http://search.ancestry.co.uk/Mersh Strong> accessed 30 August 2017.

⁵² Denoon (1989: 27; also 2006).

⁵³ Nature (1903).

⁵⁴ See Robinson (1904).

⁵⁵ See Seligman (1904a).

⁵⁶ Denoon (2006) suggests Strong became 'Disenchanted with the expedition' before resigning. On the contrary, Strong appears to have become enchanted with PNG, welcoming the opportunity to stay. He co-published with Seligman (1906a,b). Several bamboo smoking pipes in the BM collections can be attributed to Strong including Oc1906,1013.748, the label of which reads 'with other boubou [bamboo pipes] let Seligmann have it'.

⁵⁷ Mersh Strong PNG Christy collection:

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?people=35169.

⁵⁸ Denoon (1989: 27). Also see <http://search.ancestry.co.uk/Mersh Strong> accessed 30 August 2017.

Strong acted as Chief Medical Officer while the incumbent was away as early as 1906 (Papua Lieutenant Governor 1907-1908: 9).

⁵⁹ Strong (1919).

⁶⁰ See Strong's first report in Papua Lieutenant Governor (1922).

⁶¹ Denoon (2006).

⁶² West (1970: 170, 215).

⁶³ See n52.

⁶⁴ <https://www.sydney.edu.au/scholarships/e/walter-mersh-strong-scholarship.html> accessed 8 September 2017.

⁶⁵ Searches (pay per view) on <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> for Gerard Barton, Elizabeth Hazard (marriage record 1856 Depwade) and F.R. Barton, accessed 9 September 2017. Note Fundenhall falls within the Depwade registration district so it is likely Barton was born at Fundenhall.

⁶⁶ See Mason (1961: 131) and <http://www.norfolkchurches.co.uk/fundenhall/fundenhall.htm> accessed 9 September 2017.

⁶⁷ West India Regiment records pp.340-41, National Library Scotland accessed 9 September 2017: <http://digital.nls.uk/british-military-lists/archive/100865185?mode=transcription>

⁶⁸ BNG Administrator (1900: 116).

⁶⁹ BNG Administrator (1902: XXXVI); BNG Administrator (1903: 38). Also see 'Appointments' NAA: A1, 1903/6379 National Archives of Australia digital copies <https://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRRetrieve> accessed 10 September 2017.

⁷⁰ See BNG Administrator (1903: 12) and Langmore (1972: 53). Chalmers and Tomkins were both LMS missionaries.

⁷¹ February 1902 is the only recorded visit Barton made to Goaribari prior to meeting the expedition (Barton returned in 1905 as Administrator, see BNG Administrator (1907: 7)). See Seligman's (1904a: 104) journal entry for 6 July 1904: 'Goaribari stuff which Barton is giving us'. Barton most likely acquired these objects in 1902 when he accompanied Le Hunte to Goaribari (BNG Administrator 1903: 12, 23). Objects collected by Barton include BM Oc1906,1013.49-51. Seligman also presented objects from Barton to the Australian Museum (see AM Archive S44.1905 objects registered as E15703-6). Whereas the British Museum included Barton's objects in the Cooke Daniels collection, the AM registered them separately as a Barton donation. Also see n135.

⁷² His father Rev. G. Barton is referenced in Stevenson (1867: 593). Two bird species are named after F.R. Barton see Beolens et al (2014): entry "Barton" (note reference to possible film footage relates to the expedition footage shot *at* Barton's Durbar, not *by* Barton, now at the BFI). He apparently also collected plant specimens <http://www.nationaalherbarium.nl/FMCollectors/B/BartonFR.htm> accessed 10 September 2017.

⁷³ See Seligman's (1904a) journal, especially p.10.

⁷⁴ See Seligman (1904a) and Barton (1910).

⁷⁵ Langmore (1972: 58). Unlike his predecessors, Barton was appointed Administrator, not Acting Administrator (see Australian National Archive A1, 1908/1092). Barton may also have played a key role in dispersing Robinson's collections following his suicide on 20 June 1904.

⁷⁶ Hubert Murray was made Acting Administrator in Barton's place on 8 April 1907 after Barton resigned as Administrator (Australian National Archive A1, 1908/1092) - BNG became Territory of Papua on 1 September 1906, formalising Australian administration (Papua Lieutenant Governor 1907-1908: 8, 36). Barton requested a second Royal Commission (following the first in 1904 to investigate C.S. Robinson and the Goaribari incident) amid claims of maladministration, see Sydney Morning Herald 29 August 1906 p.9 <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/14817389> accessed 11 September 2017. Also see Gibbney (1966). Charles Arthur Whitmore Monckton (1873-1936) suggests Barton was removed amid unfair 'abuse and misrepresentation' similar to the way Robinson was targeted (Monckton 1927: 152).

⁷⁷ Search (pay per view) on <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> marriage Barton and Tofft Paddington 1908, accessed 11 September 2017.

⁷⁸ Mason (1961: 131) and Beolens et al (2014); entry "Barton".

⁷⁹ Barton refers to his 'investigations' into tattooing in a letter to Seligman dated 8 July 1906 (LSE Archive SELIGMAN/4/1/1). Barton (1918). Barton's photographs are held at the RAI Archive, for discussion see Wright (2003).

⁸⁰ F.R. Barton PNG Christy collection:

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?people=41762. Barton's Christy collection is closely connected to the Cooke Daniels collection through pottery fragments divided between the two collections, which were united to form whole pots during the 1970s (see Eth Doc 1032 BM ALRC). Furthermore, two objects from Barton's collection were erroneously illustrated in the BM Cooke Daniels accession register (1906: 134) before their inclusion in the Christy register (1919: 121 re: Oc1919,-438-39). This suggests either the Cooke Daniels register was prepared much later, or Barton's objects came to the BM much earlier (possibly arriving with Daniels materials in 1905 or during his 1907/8 visit to London?). The Department of Prehistory holds correspondence re accessions, any relevant papers there might shed light on this. Comments in the BM Cooke Daniels register (1906: 142) include 'Capt. Barton doubts information'.

⁸¹ Publications include Barton (1927). Search (pay per view) on <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> death record F.R. Barton, accessed 11 September 2017.

⁸² Search (pay per view) on <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/search-our-records> David Ballantine birth, John Ballantine death, Jessie Stark and John Ballantine marriage, Glasgow 1864, accessed 11 September 2017.

⁸³ Gibbney (1966: 349-50). BNG Administrator (1892: xviii) and BNG Administrator (1894: xxix). He is recorded as officially retiring on 30 June 1907 (Papua Lieutenant Governor 1907-1908: 37).

⁸⁴ BNG Administrator (1902: XV).

⁸⁵ Gibbney (1966).

⁸⁶ Examples include: from the Torres Strait Expedition MAA Z 8475 C; Z 8475 D; from the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition BM Oc1906,1013.320-25 and from Goaribari, Oc1906,1013.925-26.

⁸⁷ <http://mcleanmuseum.pastperfectonline.com/webobject/> accessed 11 September 2017.

⁸⁸ Roll of Graduates of the University of Aberdeen 1860-1900:

<https://archive.org/stream/graduates/search/Craigen> accessed 12 September 2017. De Barros (2014: 105). Also see <https://www.ancestry.com/boards/localities.southam.guyana> accessed 12 September 2017. MB Ch.B = Bachelor of Medicine, Bachelor of Surgery.

⁸⁹ BNG Administrator (1902: XLI); BNG Administrator (1903: 22). Also see 'Appointments' NAA: A1, 1903/6379 National Archives of Australia digital copies re appointment to Legislative Council <https://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRetrieve> accessed 10 September 2017.

⁹⁰ See Seligman's (1904a: 103) journal entry: 'photo'd Craigen's skulls, four of which he gives us'. C.S. Robinson committed suicide on 20 June 1904, Seligman's (1904a) journal entry is dated 25 June 1904. Robinson may have given his skulls to Craigen prior to his death or his collection was already being dispersed (possibly by F.R. Barton) - Robinson objects were given to the expedition on 5 July 1904. Craigen donated a further sixteen skulls to the Anatomy Museum at Aberdeen, ten of which originate from Robinson (although some earlier donations appear to have been attributed to Robinson in error;

this requires further research) (also see Hallam 2016: 224-25, Fig.110). The four skulls are now in the BM Cooke Daniels collection: Oc1906,1013.578; Oc1906,1013.93; Oc1906,1013.955.b [this has been inscribed by Robinson]; Oc1906,1013.1607. A photograph of another of Craigen's skulls (photographed by the expedition) is now in the BM photographic archive at ALRC (Oc,B118.92).

⁹¹ De Barros (2014: 80, 105).

⁹² Search (pay per view) on <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> Craigen marriage record 1921, death record 1947, accessed 12 September 2017.

⁹³ Search (pay per view) on <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> birth Albert Charles English Q2 1863 – only record for this name for years 1863-64, corresponds with year of birth on death record, search (same site) death registered Woollahra, Sydney, NSW 1945, accessed 12 September 2017. Birth Q2 and death records correspond with April birth and description of English's death in Sydney in Collinson (1961: 586, 593).

⁹⁴ See n32 and Collinson (1961: 587).

⁹⁵ Collinson (1961: 588); BNG Administrator (1890: 15); BNG Administrator (1892: xviii); <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hunter-george> accessed 12 September 2017.

⁹⁶ BNG Administrator (1904: 48).

⁹⁷ Search (pay per view) on <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> marriage English-Skelly 1903, birth Daisy Eveline Skelly London 1876, accessed 12 September 2017. Also Collinson (1961: 591-92).

⁹⁸ Robinson (1904). For example, similar fibre bags from Koriki now in the Cooke Daniels collections include a label confirming A.C. English as the original donor (likely referring to all the bags) (BM Oc1906,1013.171); a further label is written in W.M. Strong's hand (BM Oc1906,1013.172) - Strong left the expedition in April 1904.

⁹⁹ See Seligman (1904a: 104-10). English also gifted objects from Western Province (for example BM Oc1906,1013.8) and Oro Province (for example BM Oc1906,1013.383), although these could have been gifted earlier with the Gulf objects?

¹⁰⁰ According to Collinson (1961: 586), English collected for museums and private collections. Collections search for "A.C. English" <http://collections.australianmuseum.net.au> AM, accessed 12 September 2017. Also Jude Philp (Publication pending) *Art/Artefact/Commodity* and personal communication 11 May 2015.

¹⁰¹ See n93 and Collinson (1961: 590, 593).

¹⁰² Seligman (1910: 507).

¹⁰³ Ipunesa appears in Seligman (1904a: 133-34, 139-40).

¹⁰⁴ Seligman (1927). Drawings by Ipunesa are held at the RAIA (Seligman 364/4/4/1; 364/4/4/5; 364/4/4/6; 364/4/4/9).

¹⁰⁵ See n103.

¹⁰⁶ Seligman (1904a: 140).

¹⁰⁷ See *The Southern Massim* and *The Northern Massim* in Seligman (1910: 376-740). Following the expedition Daniels produced a detailed catalogue of objects from Wagawaga and Tubetube, now at BM ALRC. Daniels appears to have focused on collecting, while Seligman and Ipunesa conducted interviews (see Seligman 1904a).

¹⁰⁸ NMWC 1905.04.0001-0015.

¹⁰⁹ <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/ahuia-ova> accessed 14 September 2017 and Williams (1939: 16).

¹¹⁰ Taubada's adoption of Ahuia confirmed by Ahuia's granddaughter Linda Oa Ova (personal communication 21 September 2015). According to Seligman (1910: 53), Ahuia was considered rohi of the Dubara iduhu. Ahuia confirms Taubada asked him to become chief, describing this role as 'chief of fighting' (Williams 1939: 25-26). The term iduhu refers to a (primarily patrilineal) descent group and its residential section within a village, in this case the Dubara iduhu of Hohodae, often loosely translated as 'clan' (for discussion see Goddard 2001).

¹¹¹ LMS school opened at Hanuabada in the mid 1870s see Crocombe (1982) and Seligman (1910: ix).

¹¹² Shelley (1978: 202).

¹¹³ Williams (1939: 19).

¹¹⁴ The lake drawing forms part of the Haddon papers, now at MAA (2010.630) and is inscribed on the reverse in pencil 'Ahuia Koitapu ~~Ahuia~~ 23.yrs. old' in Ahuia's hand. See Haddon (1904a), where he published this alongside two others. Ahuia's '23' years suggests his date of birth was nearer 1875 than c.1877 as published by Oram (2006). Seligman (1904a: 10) clearly indicates that he already knows Ahuia.

¹¹⁵ Seligman (1904a: 10) and Oram (2006).

¹¹⁶ Ahuia made a further 11 works/drawings (numbered 1-21), which correspond with research topics and events from the Daniels Ethnographical Expedition (now at the BM ALRC Oc2006, Drg.688-92; 694-95; 699; 701-03 – the other six from this series, Oc2006, Drg.693; 696-08; 700; 704 drawn by Rabura of Kila Kila) and feature in Seligman (1910). See discussion in chapter 3. Some Cooke Daniels objects are signed or annotated by Ahuia, for example BM Oc1906,1013.299 (owned by Ahuia), MAA E 1905.238 (owned by Ahuia's cousin Arua Ganiga) PRM 1905.63.3 (owned by Ahuia's cousin Vani Goro).

¹¹⁷ Sir John Hubert Plunkett Murray (1861-1940) and Captain Francis Rickman Barton (with whom he travelled during the expedition and at other times, appearing in a photograph taken by Barton c.1899-1907 (Wright 2003: 152 image 3) reproduced in figure 3.3, chapter 3). See Oram (2006).

¹¹⁸ See Goddard (2001: 320): Lohia best describes a man who has gained recognition, rohi best describes an hereditary chief. Today Ahuia's granddaughter states that her father Oa Ova was the last hereditary chief for Hohodae as a whole, as well as chief of the Dubara iduhu, a combination of roles apparently claimed through descent from Ahuia (although her brother is only Dubara iduhu rohi, a situation I was unable to clarify) (Linda Oa Ova, personal communication 21 September 2015). These circumstances may be specific to Hohodae and Ahuia's family. Note terms rohi and lohia are Motu.

¹¹⁹ A dubu is a ceremonial platform, see discussion in chapter 3.

¹²⁰ Information drawn from Williams (1939: 23-25).

¹²¹ Stocking Jr. (1992: 244). Also see Malinowski (1988).

¹²² Oram (2006) and Williams (1939: 35).

¹²³ Williams (1939).

¹²⁴ Oram (2006) and Belshaw (1951). Abau Rohi Leke, a descendant cousin of Ahuia and the oldest living woman in Hohodae, told me (translated by her daughter Betty Morea) that Ahuia took his wife Gari Rae to Tatana during the WWII evacuation of Hohodae (personal communication 7 September 2015). Ahuia apparently lost favour in the village before the war due to his choice of feast chief, which later boiled over prompting his departure for Kila Kila (see Belshaw 1951: 132).

¹²⁵ Information drawn from Maiden (2003: 136-37). Birth record search Christopher Robinson NSW Registry <https://familyhistory.bdm.nsw.gov.au/lifelink/familyhistory/search/result?12> accessed 8 November 2021.

¹²⁶ Maiden (2003: 137).

¹²⁷ BNG Administrator (1904: 11, 47). Note Robinson took over from Chief Justice Francis P. Winter who had been appointed Administrator prior to Le Hunte's departure (see chapter 4 n19).

¹²⁸ BNG Administrator (1905a: 7).

¹²⁹ Seligman (1903b) notes Tennyson asked Robinson to take special care of the expedition; unfortunately, Robinson's hesitation further enhanced Seligman's personal dislike of him. Robinson (1904) notes the despatch from Tennyson in his diary also raising concerns about the expedition's safety in unexplored areas and, in his view, lack of proper equipment. Tennyson was Australian Acting Governor-General until the end of 1903 (Hodgkinson 2006).

¹³⁰ Seligman (1904a: 50-52) records suffering ill health at Kiwai Island. Robinson (1904) describes his route and destroying skulls in his diary. See n90 regarding skulls collected. At least one object collected by Robinson on the Turama River is now part of the BM Cooke Daniels collection (Oc1906,1013.300).

¹³¹ Information drawn from Langmore (1972). Robinson defended his estimate that 8 Islanders were killed (Langmore 1972: 58).

¹³² See n54 and n98.

¹³³ Langmore (1972: 57).

¹³⁴ Langmore (1972: 57-59). Responsibility for events was placed firmly on Robinson, although there was no evidence to suggest he acted vindictively towards Islanders. Langmore (1972: 72-73) concludes Robinson was the victim of changing opinions in Australia towards colonial rule. Also see n76.

¹³⁵ Langmore (1972: 59) and Daily Telegraph (1904).

¹³⁶ A number of human skulls were given to Allan James Craigen, see n90. Precisely how many Robinson objects are now in the Cooke Daniels collections is difficult to determine (see Seligman 1904a: 104).

Appendix D

2015 Fieldwork Itinerary

2015

Aug	14	PORT MORESBY Papua New Guinea	-	Stay at National Research Institute, Waigani, until 3 October 2015.
	29	CONSTITUTIONAL PARK Port Moresby	East Sepik	Participate in dance performances for Sepik Day as part of 40 th Independence celebrations.
Sept	5	HANUABADA Port Moresby	Motu Koita	Meet Betty Morea and her mother Abau Rohi Leke at their home during visit with Nicolas Garnier.
	7	ELA BEACH Port Moresby	Motu Koita	Interview Betty Morea and her mother Abau Rohi Leke (Betty's sister Mala Ikau also present) at Ela Beach Hotel.
	16	UPNG Port Moresby	-	Assist with poster display on sports field for Arts of Papua New Guinea project, as part of 40 th Independence Day celebrations.
	21	UPNG Port Moresby	Motu Koita	Interview Betty Morea, her mother Abau Rohi Leke, her cousin Linda Oa Ova and Linda's sister-in-law Hera Oa Ova at UPNG Centre for Research, Ulli Beier Building.
	27	BARAKAU Central Province	Motu Koita	Interview Rocky Douveri at his home (his wife Lekwa also present, along with Randall Baibo John, Zoe and Claudia Ban and family).
Oct	3	POREBADA Central Province	Motu Koita	Stay with Gunina Idibana No. 1 iduhu chief Igo Morea and family, by invitation of his cousin Dairi Arua Heri, until 29 October.
	4			Interview Dairi Arua Heri at Igo's home.
	6	LEA LEA Central Province	Motu Koita	Interview Dairi's paternal aunt, Hitolo Heri, and visit several cousins. Translated by Dairi.
	8	HULA Rigo District, Central Province	Vula'a	Stay with parents of Igo's wife (Iapaiwa). Interview Rupa Kala (his wife, Varage, the sister of Iapaiwa's mother Karo Kala, also present).
	9			Interview Gima Vui, with Rupa Kala acting as translator. Arts of Central Province poster display hosted at Rupa's property.

	13	POREBADA Central Province	Motu Koita	Arts of Central Province poster display hosted at Women's Fellowship Hall. Interview with Dairi's great uncle, Taumaku Koitabu and family.
	14	MADOGUBA Central Province	Koiari	Attend Women's Fellowship as part of Porebada fellowship trip to Madoguba.
	17	POREBADA Central Province	Motu Koita	Observe Dairi making Musi Musi Bosea (shell basket) MAA 2016.83.
	19	KOUDERIKA Central Province	Motu Koita	Observe Orira Audabi making Sisidara feather headdress MAA 2016.90.
	20	ELA BEACH Port Moresby	Motu Koita	Interview Buruka Araidi along with Betty Morea and her mother Abau Rohi at Ela Beach Hotel.
	23	PARI Port Moresby	Motu Koita	Interview Igua Audabi, sister of Orira. Translated by Dairi Arua Heri.
	25	POREBADA Central Province	Motu Koita	Arts of Central Province poster display hosted by 1 st Porebada Scout Troop at Community Hall.
	27	ERE ERE Waima, Central Province	Waima	Arts of Central Province poster display hosted at pastor Rev. Rea Mabata's home. Interview with Avia Ova and her sons, Martin and To'oro Arua at Avia's home. Translated by To'oro and Rev. Aisi Ikaini.
	28	DELENA Central Province	Roro	Interview with Oa Willie, translated by Rev. Aisi Ikaini.
		INAOAE Mekeo, Central Province	Mekeo	Briefly meet David Aisa Ifagai, a friend of Igo Morea's, who's son Allen was travelling with us, at his home. Gifted headdress MAA 2016.91.
		POREBADA Central Province	Motu Koita	Gunina Idibana No. 1 iduhu leaving party, several gifts now in MAA collection.
	29	UPNG Port Moresby	-	Move onto campus until leaving PNG on 17 November.
Nov	1	POREBADA Central Province	Motu Koita	Follow up interview with Dairi.
	13			Session on tattooing with Dairi.
	14	ELA BEACH Port Moresby	Motu Koita	Goodbye dinner with Betty Morea and discussion about Hiri Moale at Ela Beach Hotel.

Note all interviews were conducted in English unless otherwise indicated.