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A STUDY OF BUKA-PASSAGE (SOLOMON ISLANDS) CEREMONIAL PADDLES

By H. SPIEGEL

Plates 3-15. Figs 1 and 2.

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CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	34
Introduction	34
1. THE GROUPING OF THE BUKA-PASSAGE PADDLES	35
Technique, Materials and Tools, Use of Paddles and Wands, Clans of Buka and North Bougainville, Origin of Clans and Totems, Kokorra	
Group I. Paddles	39
The Kokorra Motif	40
Exceptions of Group I	42
Group II. Wands	42
Group III. Wands	46
(a) The shape of paddles, their decoration, framing	46, 47
(b) Human figures in profile and standing upright	48
(c) Kokorra heads continued in coils or scrolls	50
(d) Animal representations	51
(e) Geometric ornaments (chevrons, circles, triangular patterns)	53
2. THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF PADDLES IN THE PACIFIC AREA	55
3. THE DISTRIBUTION OF DECORATIVE MOTIFS IN THE PACIFIC AREA	59
4. STYLISTIC OBSERVATIONS AND CHARACTERISTICS	69
5. CONCLUSIONS	71
6. BIBLIOGRAPHY	73

Rec. Aust. Mus., 27, page 33.

PREFACE

It has been a very rich and rewarding experience for me, as an art-historian, to be able to do research in the field of the Solomon Islands ceremonial paddles.

My main concern was with the stylistic features of the paddles, their shapes and the specific motifs of their decoration and, to a lesser degree, with the meaning of patterns and their significance. I tried to trace the distribution of the different motifs, especially the motifs of the squatting ancestor figure in the position of adoration in the Pacific area and to draw some conclusions purely from the facts which I could establish and which might be confirmed by the findings of anthropologists.

I do not claim to have given a fully comprehensive account, as one has naturally to rely on literature and studies done so far by other scientists about the art and culture of the different island groups, but I hope this paper will serve as a basis for further research and, if I have achieved this, I will feel very satisfied.

My thanks for being able to do this work go first of all to Mr F. D. McCarthy, former Curator of Anthropology at the Australian Museum in Sydney, who suggested this subject to me and who was always a very helpful adviser in all questions of doubt. I am also indebted to the former Director of the Museum, Dr J. W. Evans, the Librarian, Miss M. Davies, and members of the staff who were always ready to give me their assistance.

INTRODUCTION

The large number of paddles (approximately 320), which are part of the excellent collection of objects from the Solomon Islands, were bought by the Australian Museum in Sydney in two big parcels, according to the register of the Museum, from Richard Parkinson and Captain Farrell in 1885 and 1898 respectively. The paddles are described as coming from the Buka district.

Richard Parkinson, author of the well-known book "Dreissig Jahre in der Suedsee" (Stuttgart, 1907) and many other valuable contributions to the investigations of the peoples, life and culture of the Pacific Islands, was the brother-in-law of Captain Farrell and both were related to "Queen Emma", a famous trading woman, who lived around 1880 in Rabaul.¹

This evidence shows that the paddles from the Buka district were made previous to 1885 or 1898 at the latest, when the Solomon Islanders were still more or less in their primitive state and had little contact with the white man. We therefore can look upon them as authentic specimens and products of the art expression of the Buka-Passage Islanders, inspired by the feelings and the spiritual background of their time.

The paddles are identified by their registration numbers, which are quoted in the text.

¹ According to information received from Captain Brett Hilder, Sydney.

I. THE GROUPING OF THE BUKA-PASSAGE PADDLES

The paddles and wands in the large collection of the Australian Museum can be divided into three different groups, according to their shape and their decoration, which are rather closely connected with the different types. One motif which is common to all groups is the Kokorra motif, the human figure with a very big head, large eyes, wide nose, a dome-shaped hair-do, shells above the ears which are always long and decorative and end in a specific shape. The body of this figure is more or less elongated, the arms are raised in a position of adoration with the fingers sometimes touching the ears, and the legs are in a squatting position, whilst the feet may be turned inside or outside. The head of this spirit appears often without a body, or the body might be shown in profile and in an upright position. (Kokorra is the name given to this specific figure, an ancestor figure in the Buka district related to the korwar figure typical of north-west New Guinea which has given its name to the so-called "korwar style.")

Most Buka paddles and wands are decorated with geometric ornaments beside the kokorra motif and some show zoomorphic motifs such as birds, fish or other animals as well. There are a few which show geometric ornaments only, or predominantly geometric ornaments, sometimes in connection with floral motifs.

Technique

The decoration of all the paddles is executed in the same way with the exception of those from group II, where the flat relief, in which the ornaments are carved, changes into fully sculptured spirit heads at the end, whilst the blades are plain or show the same patterns as the other paddles. Most paddles and wands are painted but there are many unpainted paddles which would eventually have been painted. A great number of wands, most of which belong to group III, are carved and afterwards stained in sepia on the ornamented parts, whilst the ground remains in the original light natural colour. It is possible that the paint is applied on top of the stain, as some paddles are partly stained and partly painted. The examples which are stained only are much more refined than the more primitive and crude-looking painted ones. Exceptions are some of the hardwood paddles which show traces of paint only on the ornamented parts, whilst the ground which is otherwise painted white remains polished wood. The great majority of the wands are carved from softwood but the paddles (group I) are made from heavier wood.

Once the shape of the paddle or wand was decided, the design was outlined with a sharp instrument and the surrounding ground carved away, so that the design stands out in a flat relief, approximately one-eighth of an inch in height. The outline is more or less finely or crudely done, but the wands show a remarkable degree of skill, a sensitive line and a notable sense of artistic feeling in filling the available space.

Material and tools

The material of which the wands are made is mostly softwood, though fairly hard wood was used for canoes. In Petats, a village on Buka Island, the wood used comes from a tree called "uertsil"; in the village of Kuratschi, on the north coast of Bougainville Island, it is called "tfinio". This is a tall slender tree with smooth bark which strips off in large slabs. The wood is white and so soft that one man can fell a "tfinio" by himself, unless it is a very large one. (Blackwood, 1935, pp. 362-3.) For the construction of rafts, and of the "mon", a canoe built from planks, the wood of the so-called "panots" tree is used. A large tree will provide five or six planks for a medium-sized mon. (Blackwood, 1935, p. 371.) There are also huge trees with enormous flanges buttressing their trunks and the aerial roots of the banyan which

might be used for paddles. (Blackwood, 1935, p. 11.) Bernatzik (1936, p. 81) reports that mostly softwoods are used on Owaraha, an island belonging to the south-eastern group of the Solomons. The wood there is called "taba" and is resistant to termites and borers.

Parkinson (1907, pp. 289, 327, 500) reports that in the Admiralty, the Bismark and the Solomon Islands various species of the bread-fruit tree are used for canoe building. The wood is light brown in colour and light in weight.

In the olden days, the most important tool was the adze with a blade made from stone, a piece of coral, the shell of the tridacna, the hippopus or the terabra snail. Knives were made from obsidian. The teeth of pigs or dogs were used for cutting the outlines. For smoothing down surfaces a scraper made from oyster or mother-of-pearl shell and a sharkskin, respectively, were used. Drills on Buka Island were fitted with a piece of quartz as a point. Painting brushes were made with cocos fibres. Fine sand or pumice were used for polishing.

Most paddles and wands were painted in white ground colours and in red and black on the carved ornamentation. The white was produced by rubbing the surface with the seaweed "ino", a calcareous algae. A handful of seaweed was freshly gathered from the reef, and without further preparation, rubbed over the wood.

The several kinds of red paint are varieties of oxide of iron formed in the neighbourhood of volcanoes. There is a bright red, a muddy one, and a colour between these two.

Black may be obtained from volcanic ashes or by mixing charcoal with oil (Blackwood, 1935, pp. 416-7).²

Use of paddles and wands

Very little is found in the literature about the use of ceremonial wands, especially the very large ones, which were apparently not used for transportation. The paddles of group I are of a type commonly used in the dug-out and plank canoes in the different groups of islands in the Pacific Ocean. These paddles may be plain or decorated and the latter ones are used with the decoration facing the paddler. (See B. Blackwood, pl. 49, and R. Parkinson, pl. 29, p. 510.)

Guppy (1895, p. 74) mentions that some men were seen carrying clubs in their hands which could be used for paddling as well as a weapon, being heavy and strong. Their name—paddle-clubs—already points in this direction. Most clubs are pointed at the butt-end to enable them to be struck upright in the ground. "These weapons are rarely seen in the hands of the natives of Bougainville Straits, if I may except an ornamented club which is carried at dances," Guppy writes. "Some of these ornamented clubs exactly resemble, both in form and decoration, some clubs from New Ireland in the British Museum".

Godrington (1891, 306) mentions that "in Florida and thereabout a paddle-shaped club is a favourite walking weapon called *rau ni Aba*, Aba being a place on Guadalcanal Island, where they are made."

Parkinson³ (1907, p. 481) mentions that clubs, made from light-weight wood painted and carved, were used at the ceremonial dances taking place at a chieftain's wedding. He shows further, on p. 649, pl. 122, the picture of a wooden carving from

² Nothing is said about the stained paddles.

³ Parkinson calls a dancing-club what I call a ceremonial wand, according to the illustration on p. 560, pl. 36.

New Ireland, representing a boat with four standing figures of demons in it, carrying in their right hand a kind of paddle or paddle-club.

There exist also very small paddles, and paddle-shaped dancing sticks, used by women, which obviously were not used for paddling canoes.

It is obvious that the paddles had various uses, from the most simple shapes employed for transportation only, to the more refined and decorated ones, used in ceremonies and as weapons as well. It is understandable that a paddle could be used as a weapon and that a man who had to carry a paddle and a spear would have the need to make use of the paddle as a club, also as a shield, and that eventually he combined these usages in the shape of a paddle-club.

The ceremonial uses of paddles are very varied, as the paddles played a big part in the life of the natives of the islands. Being such important objects of everyday life, paddles were put into the graves and buried with their owners (Hambruch-Eilers, 1932, Ponape 2. Teilbd p. 91 and also p. 203 and 210) together with weaving implements, cocos and banana leaves, pipes, necklets, loin cloth and other objects, in the belief that the dead would need all these objects in their life after death. Hambruch-Eilers also report that on Ponape Island (East Carolines) dancing paddles are specially precious objects, carved from the wood of the bread-fruit tree and used at paddle dances performed in the presence of the chieftain at the boat consecration ceremonies. These paddles had a wide and flat blade which was painted black, whilst the carved design was painted white. These paddles were also put in the graves with the dead. A number of paddle-songs were sung at these ceremonies.

It is reported from Palau (West Carolines) by A. Kraemer that dancers had different objects in their hands while performing ceremonial dances, such as spears, models of fish, branches and paddles. The latter were called dancing paddles to distinguish them from the ones used for paddling canoes, and were decorated with carved designs painted red or blue.⁴ (Kraemer, 1932, Bd. 3, Tbd. 3, p. 182, fig. 164, and p. 318, fig. 211 and pl. 16.)

Blackwood (1935, p. 189) reports that at dances performed by women when a male child was put on the pack for the first time, carried by his mother on her back, the women carried fish-nets, bows and arrows, axes and paddles in their hands, all objects symbolic of a man's activity; in the case of a girl the paddles would have been used too, as women as well as men are expert paddlers.

Clans of Buka and of North Bougainville

It will be necessary to examine the social and ritual inspiration of some of the main motifs which are to be seen on the paddles, particularly the anthropomorphic creatures and animals, which are sometimes combined to form fantastic beings. It will be well to examine the possibility of a totemic origin of these motifs. B. Blackwood said: "On the island of Buka and its adjacent islets there are, in general, only two clans represented at the present time. They are called over most of the island, Naboin and Nakarib, the same as the two chief clans on Bougainville. But, on Petats and some of the other islands they are always referred to by the name of the birds associated with them, Manu being invariably substituted for Naboin and Kekeleo for Nakarib. Manu seems certainly to indicate an eagle, whilst the meaning of Kekeleo was not so easily defined. Kekeleo is a somewhat vague term, which might be translated 'fowl', while applied primarily to the bush-fowl or megapode; in some

⁴ Miss E. Pope, of the Australian Museum, was so kind as to draw my attention to dances performed on 14th July, 1960, on Wallis Island (New Caledonia), where the male dancers used blue and red painted paddles at their dances.

districts on the east coast however the term might indicate a fish-hawk". And on p. 35: "On the north coast the list of clans varies slightly in different villages. I give all those that come to my notice passing along the coast from west to east". (Saposa, Tabut, Ruri, Hahon district, Kurtatschi, Baniu and Tiop.) According to her list the associated totems are the eagle for the Naboin clan and the hawk for the Nakarib clan, whilst for the numerous other clans in this district, birds named are the hornbill, red parrot, white cockatoo, black gull, the megapode and several other small species. There are also mentioned the dog, possum, tree-rat, crocodile and turtle.

Origin of clans and totems

Blackwood writes (1935, p. 37): "It does not seem to be thought that the people are descended from the creature whose name is associated with their clan. The origin myth is the same, with local variations throughout the area, and the same myth is also widespread in other parts of Melanesia". According to this myth, a woman was left behind on the seashore when all the people fled in their canoes before a terrible monster or spirit, or some giant. Left alone she copulates with a banana and in due time bears two sons, who, when fully grown, kill the monster. When this becomes known the people return, and two girls marry the two brothers. From these two couples all the people are descended. In one version obtained from the village of Kohiso in the hill district of central Buka, the end of the story is that the two brothers turned into birds, but the kind of bird is not specified. Page 4: "In the conditions obtaining in this area in regard to totemism (if it is called totemism) we find the following state of affairs prevailing. The people are divided into groups each having a certain relationship to a species animate or inanimate, which is of the same general kind for each group, and a member of one of these totemic groups cannot (except under special circumstances, such as adoption) change his membership. This is a minimum definition of totemism in the wide use of the term. The totemic species is not regarded as an ancestor. There is also lacking the idea that the associated creature ever helps the human being belonging to the clan. In former times a man would not kill the creature of his clan, but a member of another clan might kill it without arousing his anger. These conditions have prevailed in the last three generations and seem not to have been brought about by the influence of the contact with white people".

Now, in which way are these facts connected with the decoration of the paddles and wands? It seems quite clear that the designs are connected with the totemic symbols of the different clans and that the wide variety of patterns is in accordance with the relationship of the different groups of people to a species, animate or inanimate, which is of the same kind for each group. Examples of these social relationships are seen in group II where tattoo patterns are used as decoration, and where different colours (black and red) are used in painting the hair-do of the kokorras.

There is no special mention of lizards, bonito, or sharks as totemic animals, although they play an important part in the decoration, and, of course, in the life of the islanders.

Kokorra

The most important motif is the kokorra (B. Blackwood, 1935, p. 435), a squatting figure with raised arms used as decoration on paddles, boats, musical instruments (the "mabu"), wind instruments, and on slip-gongs, used at ceremonial and social dances. Kokorras simply means "man". In the Ruri district (north-west Bougainville) another explanation given in pidgin-English of this anthropomorphic

figure was "all same Father call em God". All authors mentioning this figure speak of it as a demon or spirit. The foremost spirit in Buka and its surroundings is the spirit of the dead called "urar". A person turns into an urar after death and joins his dead clansmen who also turn urar. The meaning of all death ceremonies is to satisfy these spirits by offering them food and doing honour to the dead person, in order to pacify the spirit so that it may not haunt the place of the deceased's former abode and disturb his relatives and clansmen. During the time it takes to change into an urar all kinds of taboos are enforced on the relatives, such as special eating habits, women may not wash themselves, wear a special belt, and have to live in seclusion until the final feast, when the dead is buried and all restrictions are removed.

The urars play an important part in the lives of the islanders and many tales are connected with them. The urars are invisible to men, but the animals sense them; they can make themselves visible to humans, are believed to be able to assume any disguise and change into any shape, animal or person. (B. Blackwood, 1935, p. 483, "Death and the Urar".) On page 522 she writes: "Those to whom they appear do not recognize them as urar, till some untoward happening in their relationship with the animal or fish or bird in question opens their eyes to the true character of the being with which they have to do." R. Parkinson (1907, pp. 650-1) mentions that carvings in New Ireland are representations of pigs, sharks, serpents, dolphins and lizards, naturalistically represented; they are not totem animals but evil spirits which fight with the manu but eventually get subdued.

What, now, is the relationship between a kokorra and an urar? Having noted that the kokorra is by some islanders described as a man and by others as a kind of God or spirit, might it not be possible that the kokorra called a "man" and showing quite naturalistic features, in contrast to the more a-naturalistic, typified kokorra, is an urar in disguise turned into a "man".

If the numerous representations of fish, sharks, lizards with Kokorra-heads are not totemic symbols, they might be urars which have taken on these different shapes.⁵

That the special, typified representations of the demon or spirit which I call kokorra with the arms raised is not the representation of an ordinary human being is proved by the wide distribution of this motif all over the islands of the Southern Hemisphere. (Lommel, 1962, shows the occurrence of this motif and its derivations in all kinds of material with the different peoples.) Besides the figure with the raised arms is a well-known type identified with the "Orantes" of other religions. And where does the motif of the double-headed, Janus-type kokorra come from? With these questions in mind we can now turn to the description of paddles and wands.

Group I. Paddles

This type of paddle is the most widely used in the Pacific area. It is found in New Guinea and in most of the Islands either in its decorated or plain form, made from different kinds of wood. The paddles from group I are much heavier than from other groups. They are carved in one piece and the lancet-shaped blade is approximately of the same length as the handle. The average length of the blade

⁵ Ivens (1927, p. 137) reports from Ulawa: "The magical control of the bonito was considered to lie in the power of ghost-sharks and sea spirits. The ghost-sharks were incarnations of men who, during their life-time, had manifested their power by being successful in the bonito catching. At Sa'a the bodies of such men were exposed for burial in a canoe on the beach, and their skulls and jaw bones were preserved in a special shrine alongside the canoe-house being enclosed in a wooden figure of a swordfish. At Ulawa the skulls of those who were to become shark incarnations were placed on rocks. Such shark-ghost when prayed to came up to the canoe and brought the bonito in their wake".

is between 32 and 34 inches, the width of the blade also showing slight variation—from 6 to 8½ inches. Sometimes a crutch is added to the handle, sometimes the handle is continued as a rib onto the blade. (Bodrogi, 1959, pl. 116; Linton and Wingert, 1946, pp. 179, 184; Buehler, Barrow and Mountford, 1962; Schmalenbach, 1956, pl. 13 and 15, Blackwood, 1935, pl. 49.) (Pl. 3).

The Kokorra motif

The motif most frequently used on these paddles is the head or the whole body of the spirit called kokorra. Slight variations occur on each paddle and no two are alike. Sometimes both sides of the blade are identical, sometimes the colours are reversed. On some paddles only one side is decorated, others again show different motifs on each side. The kokorra heads or whole figures are sometimes shown pointing with their heads towards the point of the blade, but they might face in the opposite direction as well.

The full figure is the most widely used motif on all groups of paddles and wands and the most characteristic one for the Solomon Islands, especially those from the Buka district. These conventionalized human figures and faces have the same features, namely a large dome-shaped hair-do separated from the face itself by a distinct line, big circular eyes, under a feature which is slightly differentiated with each face, consisting of eyebrows, forehead and nose in one piece (reminescent of the body of the sea-eagle on some paddles), a mouth with or without teeth, and a wide chin; joined on to the head are always two shell-like features, and, underneath these, very elongated ears ending mostly in a leaf-like or drop-shaped ornament. The body of the spirit is, in general, always in the same style, that of a squatting or sitting figure with knees drawn up, arms raised and almost touching the elongated ears. In this design the arms form the letter W and the legs the letter M, the body is more or less thinly drawn out, and the arms and legs are slender, with emphasis on shoulders and buttocks. The head is mostly larger than the body or at least quite as big, a feature of Oceanic sculpture. There are frequently no fingers, just a widening on the ends of the arms; four fingers may be indicated and rarely five. The feet are either turned inside or outside, rarely indicating toes. The great majority of kokorra representations are similar, with some slight and some exceptional variations.

The large dome-shaped hair-do is sometimes rounded at the top, but is mostly onion-shaped. It is painted red or black, or sometimes half black and half red, sometimes divided in the centre by a lozenge in red or black. This centre piece of a different colour might correspond to a practice recorded by Blackwood (1935, p. 149). It indicates the grade of naturalism which is included in the otherwise schematized shapes of the kokorras. According to Blackwood the hair-do is trimmed round the temples and across the forehead in a special line. A line of white paint usually follows the edge of the hair-do. On special occasions a pattern in black or red is painted on the hair according to the clan of the individual. Members of the Naboin clan paint the sides black with a wide band of red in the centre, passing from front to back. Blackwood (1935, pl. 66) has a photograph of a young dandy with shell ornaments above the ears and dome-shaped hair-do. There is no difference between the male and female hair-do's of carved figures used in certain ceremonies (Watawut ceremony, Blackwood, 1935, pl. 28); the kokorra heads are similar in this respect.

One very characteristic feature of the paddles belonging to group I is that the blades are relatively empty in comparison to the wands, on which the whole available space is decorated. Another very characteristic feature is a stand on which

the heads of the kokorra are mounted. These stands are in a variety of shapes, from the simplest rib-like stand growing out of the blade where it is thinning to form the handle to quite complicated features (see fig. 1) reminiscent of a sort of simplified spirit's body, as on the wands. Some of these stands resemble birds. Frequently a wing-like or crab-like ornament is also used to fill in the empty space (fig. 1). These ornaments are called "ku a poits"⁶ and seem to be the claws of a large salt-water crab, which are used as ornaments at dances.

The whole spirit, i.e., head and body, is also used as a decoration on the paddles, sometimes in combination with another head, but not so frequently as on the wands (pl. 3).

The second most frequent type of ornament in this group is the bird motif. Here again there is no rule to be observed, as the bird may be shown soaring up towards the point of the blade or pointing towards the handle, either looking to the right or to the left. These birds display a remarkable degree of naturalism in their design, in which the most characteristic features of the sea-eagle are represented—the large beak, small head, curved downward-pointing wings and the spread tail. The head is shown in profile, the body from underneath or above. To make the composition look more awe-inspiring two large circular spots, like eyes, are sometimes featured on the body. Some of these birds also appear to be sitting on stands. The plumage is quite strikingly represented (E 1159, pl. 3). The birds are painted in white, black and red, with an effective use of the white ground colour of the paddle blade, from which the ornament of the bird's plumage stands out as in filigree. Some paddles are decorated with a stand only (E 1151, E 1145 and others); some show only the median rib (E 7915).

By comparing the different motifs of this group, we gain an insight into the working of the mind of the native artist. If one presumes that the artist observed the birds perching on a tree or pole and had used that motif for decoration, one might consider that he used also the spirit's head on a stand—as both bird and spirit's head are symbols and equally often used in this connection. Spirit heads are shown on stands which resemble birds, with the feathery wing or crab-claw motif—or derivation of birds and sometimes even a bird which would mean a fusion of both motifs; it might also indicate a fish (E 7928 and B 7855). In any case these stands are a very puzzling feature. The heraldic birds on stands might be identical with the soul-bird, so often seen in Indonesian burial representation.

On another paddle, the fusion of both symbols might be best observed in an elaborate ornament, derived from the middle feature of the spirit's head, comprising the nose, eyebrows and a kind of centre-piece decoration on the forehead, which in itself resembles a bird in conjunction with the wing or crab motif (B 739). Sometimes two circles as eyes are added. It is hard to say whether this centre piece just by chance resembles a bird, or if it is intentionally designed in the shape of a bird; I think the latter is the case. These wing-motifs in alternating colours of red and black possess highly decorative effect (fig. 1).

Although the paddles in group I have a characteristic shape and range of motives related to the shape of the blade, some paddles in this group possess a style of decoration which links them with other groups. They thus form a transition type which illustrates the uniform character of Buka district art, in spite of major differences between the groups and their decoration. The spirit's head with the triangular body or stand shows some features represented in the other groups. These

⁶ Blackwood, 1935, p. 433; Nevermann, 1933, shows the claw of the squilla crab of St Mathias used as a necklet.

triangular bodies are filled with a zig-zag ornament, which can as well be basically related to teeth or scales or feathers.

Exceptions of group I

Although the greater part of the blades of these paddles is undecorated there are exceptional paddles on which the whole of the blade is filled with decoration. This decoration includes motifs of different kinds, beside the bird symbol, and the handle is differently shaped, pointing in this way towards group III.

All paddles discussed so far showed the kokorra in full frontal view, and there are few exceptions to this practice. Paddle B 725 shows a whole kokorra head from the front, and the body in profile, with one arm only, raised in the usual way, and one leg only, sitting on a simple stand, growing out of an ornament which marks the junction of the blade and the handle.⁷ We will see later on that the figure of the kokorra in profile is quite frequently used in group III, whilst it is an exception in group I. Another exception is paddle B 738 which shows, on one side of the blade, four animals in pairs in profile opposite each other, standing, so to say, on the middle rib extending from the handle (pl. 3). These animals are unique; they are the only ones of their kind which represent pigs or dogs in a rather naturalistic way. They are carved in flat relief on a white painted ground and the bodies are covered with red and black paint. There is only one paddle (B 8722) decorated with a bird in profile; its body is covered with zig-zag lines, which may indicate feathers or scales (pl. 3). There is, however, a paddle in the British Museum showing two similar birds in profile standing opposite each other.

Group II. Wands

This is the smallest of the groups, as there are only about 38 examples of this kind in the collection. They are characterized by their overall shape and special kind of decoration. They consist of a pointed oval blade, with wide shoulders, thinning into a decorated and carved handle averaging about 42 inches; they range from about 39 to 82 inches. The width of the blade is between 5 and 9 inches.

The material is a light softwood quite unsuitable for any practical work and there is no doubt that these paddle-shaped objects were used for ceremonial purposes only. Their most characteristic feature, however, is the handle carved into a fully sculptured but stylized kokorra head, or, as in most cases, a double head, like the Janus head in Greek mythology, showing two faces under one fully carved hair-do with a thin halo-shaped flat feature on the top. (B 8921, pl. 5.) Some examples have one head carved in a more naturalistic manner. The carved double or single heads measure from 2 to 4 inches across the widest part. The features of the face are carved in the usual low relief and painted red or black, or red and black on a white ground.

As with all the other paddles no two are alike and the faces show quite distinct differences in spite of many common features. The nose never protrudes, but is indicated by a flat incision in the same way as the lips and mouth when viewed from the side, and the big eyes are always circular. (B 8921, B 8752 on pl. 5.) The chin may be pointed or slightly rounded, but on the whole the majority of faces are thin, longish and a-naturalistic. This type of face is mostly accompanied by the thin halo-like or onion-shaped feature on top of the hair-do. A ridge runs down

⁷ Reichard, 1933, II, pl. CLI, 638b, shows a kokorra in side view carrying an axe on a paddle of group I.

from the hair-do to the chin, giving the head a cubistic kind of appearance. The onion-shaped halos are mostly painted white and the colours of the faces underneath are black and red, usually reversed on the two faces. The ground colour is white on the faces, and this gives them a mask-like expression.

On a second type the hair-do or halo is more or less a continuation of the face. The face is wide and more naturalistic, the hair-do is more pointed and mostly decorated with flanges of different colours. The flanges might indicate the habit of colouring the air in red and white, indicating the clan to which the native belongs. (Blackwood, 1935, p. 149.) (See pl. 5, B 8905.)

There are three exceptions to the two above types; one is a single-headed paddle and the other two are double-headed, which show no features beside the eyes, but the whole face is covered with a pattern of lines, reminiscent of the tattooing of faces in Maori fashion,⁸ executed in slight relief. The heads are covered with a slightly elongated ball-like headgear, rounded off at the top, decorated with flanges in red and black in one (pl. 4, E 16513) and plain in the other two examples.

One feature, common to all kokorra heads, is the elongated ear ending in a kind of ornament, under a small protrusion, carved in the round and touching the shoulders of the flat portion underneath the head. This ornamented flat area could be described as a body, although it has nothing to do with the spirit's body proper, as we know it from examples previously described. A short neck leads from the head or heads to that part of the paddle which continues into the blade. This decorated part forms a unity with the head, an arrangement which is completely different to that of the full-figured kokorras on the paddles of group I. In three specimens the usual kokorra body is carved in filigree underneath the double-head (pl. 4, B 8905, B 8740 and B 721). In all other examples there is a special ornamented zone joined to the head by a neck and by the elongated ears reaching down from the head to touch the shoulders. The great majority of specimens follow the same pattern, bearing a purely linear-geometric design on this portion, mostly consisting of parallel concentric lines, repeating the same motif several times. (B 8921, B 8916, B 8940 and B 8907.) The nape below the neck is usually decorated with a necklet, consisting of 1, 2, or 3 lines of zig-zags sometimes associated with a voluted ornament (pl. 4, E 16513). Then follows, in most cases, either a vertical or horizontal rectangular shape with curved sides, filled with concentric bands of different colours, carved in slight relief. These patterns appear to represent the tattooing on the bodies of the natives, as shown by B. Blackwood (pl. 70, p. 431). The name of "lalom" is given to a lozenge pattern of parallel lines tattooed on the back of the neck of a person of rank. (Schmalenbach, 1956, pl. 15.)

There also exist a number of naturalistic wooden sculptured figures from Buka Island (McCarthy, 1951, p. 182-3). These sculptures bear similar ornaments to those on the paddles on the body and face of one of the human figures, also the same kind of headgear or hair-do, and the extended ears touching the shoulders. This indicates that a body is intended to be represented on that part of the paddle where the geometric ornamentation is placed, but conventionalized sufficiently so as not to lose its meaning to the initiated. It is possible that each of the different patterns belong to a special clan. There is another feature which links the origin of this peculiar pattern with a naturalistic prototype; it is the overall trapezoid-like shape which also suggests the elongated body of the kokorra. In most examples an open work of filigree section is added on each side, connecting the pointed corners of the geometric shapes with the shoulders and elongated ears; the latter could be

⁸ Blackwood (pl. 70, 1935, p. 431) writes that gom is the term used for cuts on the fact, which usually follow the features to some extent, somewhat like the Maori tattooing, but less elaborate.

interpreted as arms and legs of human body with the typical raised arms, and squatting position of the legs (pls. 4 and 5, B 8921, E 8109, B 8905). It is most clearly seen in E 8109 and in the two examples mentioned above (B 8905 and B 8740) where the full body of the kokorra without ornamentation is carved in open-work showing the pattern formed by arms and legs, connecting the open-work links on the ornamented species of paddles. This feature has been conventionalized in different ways, becoming more and more geometrical and ornamented, and getting farther away from its naturalistic origin (B 8906, B 8742, B 8909 and E 1809, where even feet are indicated by paint). The decoration of the handle with its sculptured head and geometrized body has been developed into a highly artistic unity, thus distinguishing this group of wands from the other groups. In spite of this peculiarity this group is connected symbolically and spiritually with the other groups through other motifs which are not particular to this group alone. One of these motifs is a circle filled with a star-like feature, sometimes surrounded by toothed lines in numerous variations (Pls. 4 and 5, B 8906, B 8752 and E 16513.) This circular motif is also to be seen on the breast of the sculptured figures (McCarthy, 1949-52). This motif is used in infinite variety on the discs of clam-shells with a fine piece of turtle shell filigree work superimposed upon it called "pirir",⁹ about which Blackwood (1935, pl. 68, p. 422) said: "These highly priced ornaments are worn as pendants, on ceremonial occasions only". The position of this motif on the breast of the sculptured figure, and also consequently on that part of the paddle which represents the body of the kokorra, leaves no doubt that we have here a representation of the same symbol. Blackwood reports (p. 532) that a stone pillar near the village of Iltapan (north-west corner of Buka Island) bears a circular ornament consisting of some concentric circles filled with zig-zags, carved out of the stone in flat relief, and underneath several rows of triangles or zig-zags. The natives explained that the two parts of the pattern belonged together and that in the olden days they used to cut this pattern on their faces.

Group II is a rather uniform group; with few exceptions all specimens follow the same pattern. Relationships between the indicated groups is by a few mutual characteristics. In group I, as well as in group II, the blades are mostly plain, painted white with a red or black point. The motives found on some of the wands are related to some on the paddles in group I: there are the same spirit heads on stands, or the whole kokorra is portrayed in the usual fashion (E 16513), or with a kokorra head and a triangular body filled with zig-zags (B 8921) beside some wing or crab motifs. On the other side of this blade we find a kokorra, and underneath a head of a kokorra with a special feature, almost like a stand, but one which we will see more frequently in group III. The latter motif is a stem growing out of the chin of the kokorra's head ending in two volutes (pl. 5, B 8905).

There are five wands which possess characteristics common to several groups. These are E 8109, B 8758, B 8740, B 8905 and B 721, which I will discuss in detail. E. 8109 has a double-headed sculptured handle, followed by a flat area bearing the geometric ornament characteristic of group II; the whole available space on the blade is covered with decoration, in a different style, as if done by another artist. The usual fully figured kokorra is almost identical on both sides of the blade associated with the chevron, a floral kind of characteristic of group III. The part underneath the sculptured head is of triangle shape filled with zig-zags, whilst the concentric quadrangle pattern is found on the back of the head and a circular motif filled with a floral ornament is carved on the rear side of the body-like shape. The rest of the paddle is filled with a row of chevrons and a well developed kokorra figure. B 8740 and B 8905 (pls. 4 and 5) are exceptions in so far as their double heads belong to the

⁹ Reichard (1933, I, p. 107) reports that these ornaments are called Kapkaps and exist over a wide field in the Pacific area where they are commonly worn on the forehead.

two different types, described on page 43, but both have the kokorra body carved in filigree, without the characteristic concentric geometric design of group II, and they both have on the rest of the paddle the type of ornamentation characteristic of group III. B 8740 is decorated with the totemistic symbol of a lizard carved and painted on both sides, followed by chevrons; on one side the kokorra head only, on the other side the whole kokorra is shown. There is a group of wands with animal representations in group III to which I will refer later on. B 8905 is the most interesting and important paddle to my mind in the whole collection and it will be mentioned further on in a different connection. Here it is sufficient to say that it shows the sculptured double-head belonging to the second type of heads (see pl. 5) followed by a kokorra body carved in openwork; the blade is not pointed but flat at the end, showing a remarkable decoration on one side in which, underneath the freely carved body of the kokorra, is a row of chevrons and then a fully featured kokorra pointing towards the end of the blade in the usual way. It corresponds in style exactly with the filigree body in its sensitivity of line, the arms and legs are softly curved and the body is elongated and elegant. The face is different from the sculptured one—the former has a rounded chin, that of the latter is pointed. On the forehead of the former the design is not identical on both sides of the face; it consists of a kind of voluted ornament above which there is the pointed headgear or hair-do decorated with flanges. A ridge runs down from the point of the hair-do, across the forehead and nose down to the chin, giving the whole head a peculiar rhomboid-shaped appearance in contrast to the flat-ended blade. The decoration on both sides of the blade is identical in the chevrons and the kokorra, both being enclosed in a framework to form a kind of niche. The freely carved body of the kokorra on the handle is similarly enclosed by a kind of lattice work on both sides of the body up to the sculptured head. So far the decoration of the blade follows the usual pattern of ornamentation characteristic of group III but below the fully bodied kokorra is a unique representation of two kokorra heads posed at a right angle and connected by a band emanating from the chins. The whole design is surrounded by a framework characteristic of group III. An ornament similar in its shape to the one on the forehead of the sculptured head is to be seen in the empty corner.

On the other side of the paddle the remaining space on the blade is filled with a kokorra head and the stand-like ornament ending in two volutes. Separated by a neat frame-work, each in its special compartment, we see on the right and left two embryo-like creatures in profile; the one on the left is clearly recognizable as a human being with a large head, with an eye, ending in a pointed chin, and a body with one raised arm, an angled leg and a foot. The being on the other side of the kokorra head is not so easily defined as a human being; the large head ends in a pointed chin-like feature, and the body is in profile, with a kind of arm and a leg. (Pl. 5.) In attempting to understand the meaning of these figures I would suggest that we have here the representation of a whole family; the father is represented by the fully figured kokorra, the mother by the head with the voluted ornament coming out of the head, which might indicate her breasts (see also the unnumbered specimen in pl. 3), and the children are the two small figures on each side of the head.¹⁰ The idea that the kokorra head with the voluted ornament might signify a woman is reinforced by numerous similar representations. There are a number of exceptions in group II, but the wand just described is one of the most extraordinary ones.

B 721, the biggest of this group, about 7½ feet long, is another very interesting exception in so far as it shows the flat white halo, described on page 43, and it is the only example I have seen of this type with a single head (pl. 4). Its large head is tattooed in the way we have seen before on E 16513 (pl. 4) but the body is the filigree

¹⁰ See B 8775, pl. 6, where a child is shown in profile, with the round head in frontal view.

style of B 8905, described above (pl. 5). The blade is plain on one side and decorated with one kokorra head on a peculiar stand on the other side. This is another example which shows that certain types and patterns are always associated; there are also some exceptions which contain features of various types, indicating connecting links between the different types and groups.

There are two more examples which should be mentioned here as they distinctly show features of groups II and III. In shape they belong to group III, being flat and fish-shaped, but their decoration points clearly towards group II. E 26516 shows on the handle the kokorra head followed by the concentric geometric design so characteristic of group II (on both sides); on the side of the blade are the scanty decoration of two heads, one on a stand and the other with the stand-like feature which I compared to a woman's breasts (pl. 6).

The other example is also flat, but in shape similar to those of group II; it is undecorated except for a kokorra head on a stand-like feature flanked by wing or crab motifs on the handle and a stand on the tip of the blade.

Group III. Wands

The wands in this group are not uniform in shape, as there are many variations from the norm, but they all have one feature in common, i.e., the whole available space is decorated. The motifs also vary considerably with a greater variety than in groups I and II. Totem symbols and animals represented realistically include sharks, lizards and birds. The human beings show a greater variety of aspects. Some are seen in profile others are presented full-face. Some of the human figures carry an axe. There is also quite a number of specimens in this group which are decorated with geometric patterns only, or predominantly with a kind of ornament derived from floral motifs.

Group III contains also a great number of unpainted, partly painted and completely painted wands, but I shall not make this a basis of division as the unpainted ones would probably have been painted eventually.

(a) *Shape and decoration of group III*

The wands in this group have a number of common features in the shapes of the blades and handle; these combinations are frequent, there are blunt or pointed ends, fish-shaped flat wands, and thicker examples. Some are lenticular in section. It is preferable to arrange the subdivision of group III according to the type of decoration.

They are all more or less flat, some are very thick, especially the lenticular and rhomboid examples. The latter have a median ridge extending from the handle to the end of the blade. (See pl. 6) Some of the paddles are very light, others are heavy and could be used as weapons. The average length of the paddles is approximately 60 inches, but they vary from 44 to 88 inches; the width varies from 4 to 8½ inches.¹¹

The motifs are blended in all kinds of combinations, the kokorra, the kokorra head, various kinds of chevrons, diamond-shaped geometric ornaments, teeth or triangular motifs and the circle filled with floral ornaments or geometric patterns. Besides these motives there is a number of exceptional designs and as these are quite

¹¹ The very small examples seem to be dancing-sticks for women (Nevermann, 1932, p. 200 and p. 225, fig. 144).

frequent I have divided the exceptions into sub-groups according to their decoration, so that we now have the following:—

- (a) A combination of various motifs.
- (b) Human figures in profile and standing upright.
- (c) Kokorra heads continued in coils or scrolls, beside the ordinary heads and kokorra figures.
- (d) Animal representations such as fish (sharks), lizards, birds and four-legged animals.
- (e) Geometric ornamentation only.

Description of motifs

E 8049 (pl. 6) is typical for this group. It is fish-shaped, slim, 65 inches long and $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide, its decoration consists of two kokorras pointing in the same direction towards the handle, a kokorra head pointing in the opposite direction, while the rest of the paddle is covered with chevrons and a wavy ornament. A narrow rim frames the decoration. The design is well executed and the kokorras are carved in an angular rectilinear style, which is concurrent with a more curvilinear design on other paddles. E 7968 (pl. 6) is more elaborate in shape and decoration, partly stained, partly covered with red paint, bearing the fully figured kokorras and also the kokorra head, the chevrons and an interesting kind of frame consisting of different patterns or flanges, zig-zag lines and scrolls or coils. The kokorra on the handle is different to the ones on the blade, which is interesting to note as this variation occurs quite frequently. The remaining space on the paddle is filled with different kinds of chevrons.

Different kinds of kokorras

There are very slim, elongated kokorras (E 7952, pl. 9) and fat ones with rounded contours (E 24669, pl. 9). E 8049 (pl. 6) shows a kokorra in contrast with rather straight lines and pointed contours. Both types form a closed design in contrast to those of an open design (E 7968 or B 8767, pl. 6) where the head is bigger than the body.

Heads

Heads vary in design, too, although they all contain the main features already described. The foremost difference is to be found in the decoration of the forehead. E 24669 (pl. 9) contains three heads, each one with a slightly different design, whilst on the other side of the blade the heads have no forehead indicated at all, a feature which is very seldom seen. The hairline might be a simple line or a zig-zag line, and the hair-do rounded, pointed or onion-shaped, decorated with flanges or with a feather or an ornament on the top. (B 8796 and E 24670.)

Framing

On most examples in group III there is another feature, a framing of the figures, which we have not met in other groups. The edge of the paddle is decorated with a line which follows the contours of the kokorra; it may be a plain, toothed or fringed line (E 8056, pl. 10) or both (E 8057; pl. 6, E 7968). Sometimes the framing takes the shape of an arch or of a complicated fringed and flanged feature as on E 5346, or of an ornamented framework as on E 8079 (pl. 10). This leads to a very

important example (E 8053, pl. 8) which shows quite extraordinary features. This paddle differs from all the others in so far as the kokorra figure is seen in profile, and carries an axe. It is set in what appears to be a landscape, although a kokorra head and body are fused with its details; the framing ornaments on both sides and on top of the kokorra point towards this landscape. If the assumption that this is a landscape is correct, one could also say that the framing in the shape of an arch and similar shapes indicates a building, hut, or an entrance (pl. 7, E 8057) (Lommel, 1956). In view of the fact that this paddle contains a number of naturalistic features, as the kokorras seen from profile and carrying an axe, the idea that the extraordinary framing might indicate a landscape has some probability. We will find in sub-group (b) quite a number of naturalistic representations in the motifs, such as the kokorra seen from the front and those standing upright or in movement. Totem animals, too, are represented realistically. Nevertheless, I am quite aware that the elaborate framing (some of the indentations are pointing upwards and some downwards) may just as well be the playful exuberance of a native with more fantasy and gift for decoration than others who kept more to the accepted routine.

Sub-group (b): human figures in profile and standing upright

These wands display various combinations of the motifs. What they all have in common is that they show, beside the ordinary kokorra, a figure seen either from the profile or standing upright. Some of these in profile are awkward representations, and look as though the artist had forgotten to add the second arm and leg, but the big head is the usual one as seen from the front. (See E 8084, pl. 8, on which one feels that there was not enough space for an ordinary fully figured kokorra as the paddle gets slimmer at that part where the kokorra in profile is to be seen.) Studying other examples of these strange figures, we find that in most cases the outline of the body has changed from a symmetrical to an unsymmetrical body at the point where the line of the side of the body (without the limbs) is nicely curved as on the spirit figure's back. The figure is well placed in the available space. E 7950 is very well designed and executed and shows on one side of the blade three ordinary kokorras and one kokorra in profile. The other side of the paddle also has three kokorras, and on the middle of the blade, on the widest part, a kokorra in profile.¹² E 8037 (pl. 5) has on one side of the blade an ordinary kokorra and on the other side, on the widest part of the blade, a kokorra in profile with a large head, a well curved asymmetric body and one raised arm and one leg in the usual way, carved and painted in red and black on a white ground. There is another example (E 8080, pl. 7) which shows only one fat, short-legged spirit with three claws to each foot on one side of the blade, and on the other side a fat asymmetric creature in profile, with an elaborate inside design on the giant head, on an angled neck. This is another naturalistic feature, as necks are hardly indicated. The remaining part of the very slim, spear-like handle is decorated with chevrons only.¹³ Then there is E 7981 (pl. 7), a very well-carved paddle which shows various motifs such as the full kokorra on one side preceded by a kokorra in profile and followed by a very elaborately carved circular ornament (filled in the manner of a kapkap) and chevrons, and on the handle a floral or octopus-like motif.¹⁴ The other side of the paddle is decorated with similar motifs and a figure in profile at the point of the blade. B 8775 (pl. 8) also shows a figure in profile at the point of the blade. It is, no doubt, a child with a round head seen from the front without a hair-do. All the wands so far described display a very well-developed framework of different designs. E 8081 (pl. 8) has

¹² There is also one paddle in group I (B 725), which shows on the widest part of the lance-shaped blade a kokorra in profile.

¹³ Similar to a paddle-spear, B 8846.

¹⁴ These will be discussed with the geometric patterns.

two ordinary kokorras with chevrons, and a very remarkable creature on one side of the handle; it is a figure in profile but carrying an axe, with the blade upturned, growing out of one of the four fingers of the raised hand. Another special feature of this kokorra is that the ears are elongated and decorated with a triangular-shaped ornament. We can see here a degree of naturalism that we have encountered up to now with animals only, as the human beings were always represented in the same schematized fashion with only slight variations from the same pattern. There are other examples of naturalism associated with conventionalized motifs:—

E 5346 (pl. 8) shows, on the handle, another kokorra in profile carrying an axe on his shoulder and supporting it with his raised hand. His one leg reaches much lower down, as if the little man was sitting (but no indication of any seat) and dangling his leg, another naturalistic feature. The whole body is really seen in profile, and does not appear to be an adaptation or variation of the ordinary kokorra body; it tapers at the neck, but the head is seen from the front. There is that extraordinary wand (E 8053, pl. 8) discussed on page 48, where a very well designed kokorra is shown sitting on a kind of little hill, his only leg dangling down; his asymmetric body has one arm raised on the opposite side, and an axe grows out of his neck in an awkward fashion, on the same side as the leg, as if the artist did not know how to combine the arm with the axe.

All these strange creatures so far discussed had their heads in frontal view, but E 8059 (pl. 8) shows a kokorra with the body asymmetric and posed from the side, one leg dangling down at an angle, the raised arm supporting an axe with blade upturned on his shoulder. The head in profile has one very large eye, distinct nose and pointed chin surmounted by a very big, ball-shaped hair-do. This is the most naturalistic figure we have encountered so far. The only other similar example is on a paddle belonging to group I, which shows on the lancet-shaped blade a similar little figure, sitting on a stone (?) and carrying an axe on his shoulder.¹⁵ There is also a parallel to this creature in the embryo-like figure looking thoughtfully at his raised fist on B 8905 (pl. 5), described on page 45, where I think a whole family is represented.

We now come to some other examples which are decorated with the usual kokorra in full figure and various ornaments already well known to us, but they also show a kokorra in profile standing upright or in a frontal position. Two of the frontal ones (E 8011 and E 7072) are almost identical in shape and decoration and in the style of design, so that one could think they were carved by the same hand. Both have on each side of the blade one fully figured kokorra in the usual squatting position, very elongated and elegant, followed by chevrons and an ordinary kokorra on one side of the handle; on the other side of the handle, however, is the figure of an upright kokorra, with raised arms and hands touching the ornamented ears and the head in the usual way, but the body ends in two legs standing slightly apart with feet pointing outwards and there is a representation of the sex organs. (See paddle E 7952, pl. 9.)

In the next group there are the upright kokorra with the arms hanging down. These wands are rather similar in shape but quite different in the style of decoration. E 24668 (pl. 10) has one ordinary kokorra on one side of the blade and handle and on the other side is an upright kokorra with the arms hanging down, so as to follow closely the line of the body, with indications of elbows, large hands and the legs parallel with large feet turned outwards. E 8056 (pl. 10) has two standing kokorra on each side of the blade. All are identical and exactly like the above described

¹⁵ Reichard (1933, II, pl. CLI, No. 638a b), a paddle from the Solomon Islands now in Hamburg Museum.

kokorra. E 798, a painted one, has a standing kokorra of the same type on one side of the blade, followed by the ordinary kokorra and chevrons. Besides these more or less typified figures are a few wands with more naturalistic features, especially the one on E 8048 (pl. 12), where the legs are parallel, the shoulders nicely rounded and the arms hanging down casually with hands on hips; the elbows and fingers are well indicated, and a round ornament is to be seen on the chest and a circle (navel?) on the body.

There is another group of wands showing kokorras in various upright positions [E 8052, E 8079 (pl. 10), B 8775, E 7951, E 7949 and B 8759].

E 8052 (pl. 10) is very interesting because it has two kokorra heads side by side above the standing figure, which is represented with hands on hips and legs slightly parted. E 8079 (pl. 10) shows one standing figure on the handle with hands on hips, legs with feet turned inwards and a naturalistic representation of the sex organs. B 8775 (pl. 8) is the small slim specimen (mentioned before) with the representation of a child-like creature in profile. On the other side of the blade is a large standing kokorra, hands with fingers clearly indicated near hips (or on the sides of the body), a feather on the usual big head, legs with knees apart in a kind of hocker position and a representation of the sex organs. E 7955 shows two similar figures, one on each side of the blade, besides two ordinary kokorras on each side. E 7951 (pl. 9) shows a kokorra with large heads arms upraised and the legs in a dancing position. E 7947 (pl. 11) has the shark with a kokorra head on both sides, beside the standing figure of a kokorra, clearly in a dancing position, arms upraised, one leg on the ground, the other slightly raised. There are a circle on the kokorra's chest and a belt near his hips. B 8759 (pl. 9) is remarkable because of the queer kokorra figure on one side of the blade, painted in red and black: it has the ordinary head and body, one arm and one leg raised, the other hand rests on the hip, the second foot on the ground, and what appears to be a seat is indicated by half a chevron.

Pl. 9, E 7995 and E 24669 are the only two specimens which show standing figures in profile. One is decorated with a kokorra with an ordinary head, one raised arm, asymmetrical body, and one leg only in a slightly bent position as E 7949. The other example (E 24669, pl. 9) is a very large one with a broad blade decorated with a squatting kokorra, and one standing in profile with head in frontal view, one arm hanging down with the hand resting on the sex organs, an asymmetrical body and one leg, or both together as seen from the side.

The wands in this group display variations in the representation of the standing kokorra. They possess naturalistic features besides the typical conventional ones, seen on the majority of specimens. Thus there is no development from an unnaturalistic to a naturalistic representation, but a parallel occurrence of both trends, often carved on the same specimen. The artists are well aware of the features of living man as well as ghosts and are able to represent them in both ways.

Sub-group (c): wands decorated with kokorra heads continued in coils or scrolls

When we look closely at the kokorra heads, we note as many variations as with the fully figured kokorra. The shape of the face and of the stand on which many of them are mounted is greatly differentiated as with the paddles of group I. There exists also a type of head from the chin of which two coils extend; the voluted endings of these coils might be turned outwards as B 8796 and E 7974 (pl. 6), or turned inwards as on E 8025 and others.

When discussing B 8905 (pl. 5), on page 45, the idea was put forward that this might represent a woman and that the voluted feature might signify

her breasts. This was deduced from the fact that a whole family was represented—father, mother and two children. There is one paddle in group I (no number, pl. 3), which clearly proves that a woman's breasts are intended as a distinct stand is shown below. That there is no neck does not matter, as this kokorra is not a naturalistic representation, but a symbol only. Most of the kokorra heads are sitting directly on the kokorra bodies. The type of kokorra head with the coils is not confined to one group of paddles or wands but is present in all groups. There is one on B 8921 (pl. 5) of group II and another on E 26516 (pl. 6). The latter is a transition from group II to group III, though most examples (E 7998, E 8025 and E 7974) are from group III. Most of the women's heads are confined to the handles (E 8025 or E 8090), but in some cases (E 7974, pl. 6) the whole specimen is decorated with this motif. This one is painted and displays some slight variations of the motif; shoulders are indicated, it has a body ending in two volutes, another head pointing in the opposite direction ending in two coils, followed by a disc, and two more flourishes, as though the artist wanted to add another head but decided against it. The paddle is narrow at this point, so he carved chevrons instead of a head. Variations of this motif are present on the handle of E 8077, whilst the blade shows the ordinary kokorra figure. E 8004 has another variation on the handle: a head with raised arms, as on the painted canoes in the Museum's collection on which the voluted feature underneath might suggest feet. Feet are shown that way on E 8785 (pl. 6), and B 8777 presents another variation of the same theme.

Sub-group (d): animal representations

Birds.—Here we have a group which displays birds beside the fully figured kokorra, the kokorra head and chevrons of all kinds. In discussing the paddles of group I we found that on the leaf-shaped blades the birds were the most frequently used motif. They are represented as seen from above, with heads turned to the side. Some are quite elaborately designed with indications of plumage in different colours, or with the tail feathers only. There is a similar bird on E 8052,¹⁶ decorated with the standing figure of a kokorra below two kokorra heads side by side. The other side of the blade shows two squatting kokorras separated by a bird in the above-described heralding fashion with a rather naturalistic head. E 24670 (pl. 12) shows a bird in profile on the handle associated with predominately geometric ornamentation. E 24668 also has a bird in profile on the handle. B 8768 (pl. 12) shows a realistic bird in profile.

Fish.—The fish are not naturalistically represented, and are difficult to recognize. The figure is a fish-like shape, sometimes with eyes which identify it as an animated being. As the bonito is the most important food fish in the waters of the Buka Passage and its surroundings, I will call this motif the "bonito motif".

E 7966 (pl. 11) is one of the few wands without either a kokorra head or a fully figured kokorra, and it forms a link with the next sub-group, which has geometric motifs only. It has on one side of the blade three fish-like shapes, all with indications of scales; the middle has indications of gills and eyes, joined together without a tail in an ornamental fashion. On the handle the fish-like shape is joined to the chevrons which cover the rest of the paddle so that it looks more naturalistic, as the first chevron forms the tail. On the other side of the handle there is engraved the distinct outline of a fish. E 8100 (pl. 11) has two representations of the bonito-kokorra, namely, the fish body with the kokorra head, associated with different kinds of chevrons, and the other side shows five parallel toothed lines. B 8784 (pl. 13) is a very well carved example on which both sides bear identical motifs, i.e., a bonito

¹⁶ E 8057 shows a similar bird between ordinary kokorra and kokorra heads, and on the other side a bird without a head. See also E 7985, pl. 13.

motif on the butt, surrounded by long thin denticals (as on E 8100), and on the handle a bonito combined with another motif, probably a derivation of the kokorra arms and legs. In a shield from south-east New Guinea similar motifs are to be seen. E 24668 (pl. 10) has a bonito-kokorra on the handle beside what appears to be a bird. E 8001 (pl. 5) has a naturalistically represented fish amidst the kokorra figures.

Shark and shark kokorra.—In the same way as we saw representations of naturalistic fish, and also fish with kokorra heads, there are many realistically represented sharks with all their characteristics, and there are also sharks with a kokorra head. E 8062 (pl. 11) has on the blade a very well carved shark as seen from above, in the right proportions, and a similar shark is to be seen on the handle of E 8077 with the fins painted black and the body red. E 7947 is a very interesting wand with a dancing male figure and a shark-kokorra on both sides of the blade, (pl. 11). The kokorra head is well integrated with the shark's body and the ears of the kokorra do not point downwards but are horizontal and fin-like, and the hair-do is ornamented with a pattern of concentric lines. The shark-kokorra on the other side of the blade is fitted with two pairs of horizontal ears and the chin line is accentuated with two rows of zig-zags, which could be either a necklet or indicate the gills of the shark. There is a very slim shark-kokorra on one side of E 8066; the rest of the space is filled with chevrons and zig-zags and one kokorra head. A shark-kokorra painted in red and black is to be seen on each side of E 8108 which shows a blunt angular butt, whilst most examples in group III are fish-shaped, flat, slim and without a specific handle. E 8050, painted in black and red on a white ground, shows another version of the shark-kokorra: the slim body of the shark ends up in two arm-like features which surround the kokorra head. E 9780 and B 17055 show the same shark-kokorra as E 8108 on both sides of the blade, and E 8066 has the shark-kokorra on one side only. B 8749 (pl. 12) is exceptional in having the shark-kokorra on one side of the blade and on the other a fully figured squatting kokorra, but this time (and this is the only example) the arms hang down¹⁷ underneath a kokorra body without head or legs, also with its arms hanging down on both sides of its body. On the other side of the handle is the bonito motif with big eyes and a body without a head, but with raised arms and legs.

Lizards.—Only four wands are decorated with lizards. Three of these are naturalistic representations and one is a lizard-kokorra. The most realistically represented lizard is on E 8061, as seen from above, with a tail, angular legs and a head with two large eyes (pl. 11). Above the lizard is a kokorra head with two coils coming out of the chin. One black lizard is carved on each side of the blade of B 8740 (pl. 4), belonging to group II, in the same naturalistic way as on E 8061. This specimen is an exception in group II in so far as it has the fully figured kokorra on the handle carved in filigree, and the blade is fully decorated. E 8067 shows a similar lizard on one side of the blade, but with its head turned sideways, and E 8063 (pl. 11) shows the lizard with the kokorra head, the raised front legs with four fingers resembling the raised arms of the fully figured squatting kokorra.

Four-legged animals represented in profile.—There remain only two more wands to be discussed, B 738 (pl. 3), belonging to group I, with four animals in profile standing opposite each other; a pair painted in opposite colours are standing on one side of a ridge which runs along the middle of the lancet-shaped blade, facing a similar pair. It is difficult to identify these animals, they might be pigs, dogs or possums. One pair has raised tails and no ears, the other pair has tails ending in a scroll and big ears, and all of them have only one large eye. There is also one wand in the Tasmanian Museum, belonging to group III, which bears one of these animals in profile (as on B 738) with a raised curled tail and one large ear.

¹⁷ Paddle E 7928 from group I shows on the blade a fully figured kokorra with one arm raised and one arm hanging down.

Sub-group (e): geometric ornamentation

There are many wands in this sub-group, and most of them belong to group III according to their shape. Many of them show one or two kokorra heads between the ornaments (E 8808 and B 8796, pl. 6, with woman-kokorra); others have one side decorated with ornaments only, and on the other side the kokorra head. Some are decorated with geometric decoration only. (E 7965, B 8788 and others.)

The main motif is the chevron in a variety of shapes and forms; other motifs are the circle filled with a variety of minor motifs, some clearly showing their origin in the plant world of the islands; other ornaments are the toothed lines, or denticals, flanges, zig-zags, scrolls, dots and the wing or feather or crab ornaments. We will deal lastly with the complicated and involved patterns of high artistic standards often derived from the zig-zag.

Chevrons (see fig. 1).—This most commonly used ornament varies from very large and simple ones which cover the whole wands (E 8764) to very small ones. The large chevrons measure up to 6 inches in length and 4 inches in width and the small ones up to 2 inches x $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The sides of the chevrons are either curved or almost straight. Some show a very slim stem, as on B 8896 (pl. 13) and E 7981 (pl. 7); others, like E 8080 (pl. 7), show different types of chevrons combined, as also on B 8896. A common type of chevron, as on B 8784 (pl. 13), is combined with the bonito motif and forms the tail of the fish; others are reminiscent of the eagle or other birds. Some chevrons are combined to form new patterns, as on E 8061 (pl. 11) and E 8073, and, foremost, on E 24670 (pl. 12). Chevrons might form irregular-shaped lozenges, as on B 8783. Quite different types of chevrons might appear on one paddle in connection with representational motifs. E 7985 (pl. 13) shows a combination of chevrons and floral motifs, which link them with the next motif, the circle.

Circle.—The circle is never perfectly shaped, but is mostly crudely executed and of irregular shape. We saw it on the bodies of kokorras on all groups, and in combination with the birds in group I. The circles might be filled with geometric designs, or designs derived from the petals of flowers or marine life.

B 8788, a nicely carved and painted wand, shows the chevron motif combined with four filled circles on both sides of the blade. These are not perfectly round circles but are rather odd-shaped ones filled with six and seven petal-like flanges respectively. B 8914 (pl. 14) has one plain unfinished side, and is a very crudely shaped unfinished wand; on the other side are five flower motifs in an oval of very large size. The biggest flower is 11 inches in diameter, and is reminiscent of a poinsettia in the irregular shape of the petals.¹⁸ This motif is also present in a simplified form on E 8057 and E 7985. B 8788, a nicely carved and painted paddle, has the chevron motif combined with four filled irregular circles on one side and three on the other side. The last-mentioned flowers have from 13 to 15 petals in alternating bichromes of red and black, or monochromes of red or black only.

The circles filled with geometric ornaments vary from the most primitive to much refined ones. This motif occurred in group II (pl. 4), on the carved bodies of kokorras, where its resemblance to the more complicated and refined patterns of the pirri or kapkaps was observed. (See B. Blackwood, pl. 68.) On the pirris the patterns of basic elements are much more intricate and varied, perhaps because of the harder material in which they are executed. B. 8794 shows a very simple filling, consisting of a cross with curved arms, E 8065 has a more complicated star-like

¹⁸ This wand is different in style from all the other wands and does not seem to come from the same district as the others, as it says on its label New Britain (?). The poinsettia has been introduced by the white man to the islands and is doing very well there.

composition in the centre and E 7981 (pl. 7) had a toothed-line added to the circle (fig. 1). The latter wand bears also a circle filled with a flower motif or octopus motif, on which there are 10 arms in a whirled design. The circle filled with ornaments and surrounded by the toothed-line leads us to another very important element in the decoration, namely the very frequently occurring triangular patterns, toothed-lines and denticals. These patterns are used a great deal and in widely different sizes. Small denticals are used to decorate the bodies of the bonito motifs to indicate scales (B 8784, pl. 13), others are used to indicate feathers on the bodies of birds (E 1159 of group I, pl. 3), some are meant to suggest gills of sharks, others again illustrate necklets (of sharks' or dogs' teeth) on kokorras (E 16513 of pl. 4). Some of the triangular ornaments are used for decorative purposes only, such as framing of kokorras (E 8056) or as a single motif by itself. Some of the triangles are up to 4 inches long (E 8100, and one with no number, pl. 13). Some are flange-like and decorate the hair-do of kokorras. (E 16513, pl. 4, E 8905, pl. 5.) Circular ornaments with fillings of triangular shapes or tooth-lines are also to be found carved on the surface of a stone pillar at Yltopan in north-east Bougainville. (B. Blackwood, p. 77).¹⁹ Underneath the circle is a pattern consisting of rows of triangles, one of the most frequently occurring patterns of this type on the pillars and on the paddles and wands. (E 8052 and E 7965, pl. 10.) We then have a wand (without a number, pl. 13), decorated with geometrical ornaments only, displaying a sample of most of the geometrical designs, such as triangles, toothed-lines, denticals, filled circles, large chevrons, all painted red and black on a white ground. The way it is ornamented, leaving very little empty space, leads to another example (B 8896, pl. 13), which is very interesting in several ways. Its overall shape resembles a paddle-spear, with the blade of a paddle, and, instead of a handle, the pointed carved ending of a spear. The type of ornamentation on the handle is different from all the paddles we have seen so far, being crowded with ornaments of an entirely different style alien to the district of Buka Passage.

Zig-Zags and various other geometric ornaments.—The five specimens to be discussed possess various geometric motifs which are quite unique and of high artistic standard. Two of these wands are very similar in shape, rather unformed, without a specific handle, narrowing at the end; B 8809 has on one side a kokorra head amidst two different types of chevrons, and on the other side an unusual zig-zag pattern almost identical to that on B 8786 (pl. 14). The pattern consists of a ribbon, three-quarters of an inch wide, which runs in a zig-zag along the whole length of the paddle, and has a flattened side where it turns. This device gives a strong emphasis on movement, especially as the ribbon is painted in alternating red and black colours on a white ground. This pattern is usually found on a board called watsinan, which is part of a boat (mon) (B. Blackwood, page 435). The name of this key pattern is dore. The so-called watsinan is a plank on the bow of the plank canoe. This pattern is quite unusual on the wands and it is possible that the unfinished B 8786 was originally carved as a watsinan and later on changed into a wand. It is quite flat in profile, similar to B 8914 (pl. 14) with the poinsettia decoration, which is also unfinished, unshaped, flat, and in a way differs from other paddles.

E 7971 is also unusual because the pattern is expressed by the negative parts in a white star-pattern formed by the ground, after some elaborate shapes had been carved in the usual low relief and painted red and black (pl. 14). The two sides of the wand are identical in their reversed colours. This is a sophisticated, accomplished

¹⁹ Blackwood, 1935, p. 539. The exact origin, age or meaning of this and other stone pillars are not known. Stone pillars seem to have had some phallic importance and played a part at fertility rites.

pattern, as the one on B 8766 which shows quite complicated lozenges with curved sides following each other along the whole length of the paddle, forming a lively and interesting pattern on both sides of the blade (pl. 14). B 8768, mentioned before, is a very well carved paddle showing interesting patterns on both sides of the blade, among which it has a bird, a water-fowl, totem symbol of the Nakarib clan of Buka in profile carved amidst geometric decoration; the pattern is formed by triangles, which cover the point of the blade, the circle filled with petals on one side and a circle filled with a star-like cross which is used to decorate a fish-like shape, on the other side. The geometric pattern is formed by a kind of rounded chevron, reminiscent of the heraldic bird motif without a head. These chevrons are carved sideways, confronting a middle part with which they form a complicated pattern (pl. 12). Ordinary chevrons fill the empty spaces on both sides of the blade.

There remain a number of minor features to be mentioned, such as dots or small discs, used independently as ornaments, as on E 8057, then a chessboard pattern B 8749 (pl. 12), some patterns formed by concentric lines on E 8087, different kinds of patterns used for the framing of representational motifs, which vary considerably. All these are used freely, but I could not establish any rule or connection between them and the main features. Some masks from Bougainville show a similar combination of patterns scrolls, coils, discs, triangles in rows, mentioned by R. Parkinson (fig. 124, p. 658).

2. THE DISTRIBUTION OF PADDLES IN THE PACIFIC AREA

The paddles of group I are used for transportation and not for ceremonial purposes, and their shapes are accordingly the simplest and the most functional at the same time. They are used whenever the paddler is seated to do the rowing in contrast to the natives who are standing upright as in some parts of New Guinea. The lancet-shaped blade is, however, very widely distributed amongst the natives of the Pacific Area. In Papua and New Guinea the type of paddles used for transportation are different from the ones from Buka; they are short, shovel-like blade paddles. Some show a heart-shaped blade, which also exists in the Eastern Solomon Islands, but have nothing in common with the ceremonial wands from Buka. They are not decorated as a rule, but Haddon and Hornell represent a small paddle from New Guinea with an almost lancet-shaped blade decorated with a short median ridge running down from the tip of the blade and ending in a stylised serpent resembling some paddles from the Cook Island. (Haddon and Hornell, 1936-8, p. 309, fig. 176.) T. Bodrogi (1961, fig. 7) illustrates some paddles with carved decoration on the lancet-shaped blade. The paddles used for transportation in the islands belonging to the New Ireland group are in shape exactly the same as the ones in group I from Buka. They are lancet-shaped and pointed, some showing slight shoulders. They sometimes have different patterns on each side of the blade in the same way as the Buka paddles and the colours are the same, namely, white for the ground and red and black for the carved patterns; sometimes blue is added, but there is no blue in Buka. The patterns are different from the Buka designs, but there is a close stylistic resemblance in so far as the ground is included in forming the design, the combination of geometric and zoomorphic motifs such as lizards, fish, and birds are similar, and the accentuation of the short median ridge is remarkable. Although there exist dancing-clubs and spears on the islands, the only dancing wands appear to be those used in the Trobriand Islands of an entirely different shape (Stephens and Graebner, 1907, pl. VI). From New Britain, R. Greiner, in her description of the Polynesian designs, reports the existence of ceremonial wands decorated with triangles, crescents, fish and human forms, but I have not seen any illustrations of them.

The lancet-shaped paddles, however, are used as far west as the island of Aua in the Ninigo group, situated north of New Guinea. Parkinson, (pl. 29, p. 448) reproduces a photograph of a village scene from that island, where the natives are seen carrying paddles in their hands, exactly the same shape as the ones of group I from the Buka district. It seems, however, from that photograph that the handle of the paddles is longer than on the Buka paddles, and the lancet-shaped blade is smaller and shorter in relation to the overall length, as on the Buka paddles.

Guppy (fig. 1, p. 63) illustrates a photograph of a model canoe with paddles made by a St Christoval native, which shows the lancet-shaped blade and the long handle to which a crutch is added, whilst the blade is slimmer and blending without transition from the handle into the blade. It also has a ridge running along the blade, but is otherwise without decoration. Guppy also speaks of clubs, which he saw the natives of Florida carrying, with "flattened oval blades like that of a paddle". From the illustration he gives of the head of this "Florida-club", it looks to be very similar to some paddles in group III in the Buka district.

Bernatzik (1935, p. 65, III 124) shows paddles from Owa Rahu (Eastern Solomon) very roughly finished, with a crutch with a shorter handle and wider blade, rather nearer in shape to the paddles of group II, which were described as paddle-clubs or wands. Nevermann (1952, p. 127) illustrates three paddles from Emir Island, St Mathias Group, which correspond in size and shape to those of group I, but not in the decoration, which here is purely geometric and utterly different in style, although they are carved and painted in the same way as the ones from Buka and some of the elements of the patterns might be found all over the Pacific area. There is one paddle in the collection of the Australian Museum, B. 8896 (pl. 13), which is in shape and decoration nearer to group III than to group I, with a very long and spear-like handle, ending in a point with a kind of knob towards the end, which corresponds in shape very closely with those from Emir Island (Nevermann, 1932, III, 126). The decoration of the blade shows one kokorra on each side of the blade, besides very well shaped and carved chevrons which become smaller towards the end. The last third of the spear-like handle is carved all round with chevrons on both sides and a triangle pattern in between. From the knob onwards, only triangles form the decoration. From a photograph by Nevermann (1932, pl. 15) one can see clearly that the natives from Tench Island also use the same type of paddles. On the Admiralty Islands a paddle very similar to one from Buka Island, group I, is used; although it does not have the same elegance in shape and outline, it possesses the same proportions of handle and blade. The blade of the paddles from the Admiralty Islands are mostly plain like those in the Buka paddles. Some have a decoration of geometric patterns, carved and painted, representing, according to Nevermann (1932, III, 183, p. 287) stylized birds. Birds in a heraldic shape are the main decoration of Buka paddles beside the kokorra motif.

In the Carolines, further to the north of the Admiralty Islands, very similar types of paddles are in use for transportation. On most of them, the blade blends without marked transition into the handle, which is cylindrical in shape. The cross-section of the blade is similar to those of Buka Island. Some of the paddles from Tobi and Songosa in the West Carolines have a shorter and wider blade, but some are just as slim and lancet-shaped as the ones from Buka and the West Solomon Islands. On the island of Palau and Yap there are several types of paddles to be found. From Yap Mueller-Wismar (1932, p. 177, figs. 259-60) illustrates one which is used for steering and is in shape similar to the paddles in Buka group III. It has a cylindrical handle, distinct shoulders where the blade begins and the blade has parallel sides ending in a point.

On Palau (central Carolines) the paddles are a variation of the same shape with a slight variation in the shape of the blade and the way it arises from the handle. Some have distinctive shoulders and a diamond-shaped cross-section, others have a wider or slimmer blade, some are decorated and some are not. Some have a little knob at the point of the blade which produces a singing noise when pulled through the water. (Kraemer, 1932, p. 318, fig. 211, p. 182, fig. 164.) Most of the paddles used for transportation are plain or painted red. The decorated paddles are used for dancing, and a photograph by Kraemer (1932, p. 274, Taf. 16) shows this quite clearly; the women are seen standing on the platform of their dancing house, holding the paddles with their right hand with the decorated blade towards the onlooker and the other hand resting on the shoulder of the next dancer.

On Palau, a special kind of double paddle is used for moving the rafts, and the same type is used as a dancing-paddle decorated on the handle with geometric designs. On Mogemog Island (central Carolines) a paddle is found very similar to the Buka paddles in shape and dimensions but not as elegant and pointed. It also has pronounced shoulders where the blade starts, similar to the ones from Mokil, Nukuoro and Kapingamaranga (Ponape group) (fig. 2, 16-28). The paddles from Pingelap, another island of this group (Eilers, 1932, p. 430, fig. 280-3) are of the same kind as the above described, but are decorated with simple geometric patterns, carved and painted in black and red, sometimes in different patterns on each side of the blade. The handles are painted black, some of the patterns are in red, and the yellow ground of the natural wood may be regarded as a third colour.

On Ponape Island, two types of paddles for transportation are mentioned by Hambruch-Eilers (1932, p. 318, figs. 122-3). One has a slim lancet-shaped blade with a knob at the point, as on the paddles from Palau, a cylindrical handle and slight shoulders. The overall length is 168 cm, length of blade 65 cm, width 10.6 cm; the material is the wood of the bread-fruit tree. The other type is much shorter and shows a different type of blade—wider, shorter with distinct shoulders, an overall length of about 90 cm, length of blade 45 cm, width 12 cm. This paddle might have been used for steering. Some of these paddles are painted red.

For performing the paddle-dances a longer paddle, similar in shape to the one described above for steering, is used richly decorated and painted black. Hambruch-Eilers (1932, p. 204, figs. 13-24) show in their illustration fourteen different paddles varying slightly in dimensions, all decorated with different geometric patterns, which will be discussed later.

The same type of lancet-shaped paddles are also to be found on Kusae (east Carolines) and on the island of Rongerik in the Marshall group (p. 229, fig. 124). The paddles from Kusae are painted black and the ones from Rongerik are wider than the ones from Kusae.

On Nauru Island a very simple paddle is used for transportation; its cylindrical handle merges into a lancet-shaped blade, which is slightly rounded on one side in cross-section.

In the Cook Island group a number of differently shaped paddles are used; the original lancet-shaped blade was changed under European influence according to Buck (1944, p. 179, pls. 190, ff.). He described the old type of paddles as being "shouldered blades with greatest width nearer the tip than the shoulders and with a raised median ridge extending for a varying distance from the tip on the front of the blade". (a and c.) About the carved and painted paddles, (p. 198) he writes: "In paddles for some social functions the craftsman did away with the blade shoulders and omitted the medial strengthening ridges of the tip". These paddles are made of

light wood and it seems clear to me that these are dancing-paddles. (d) Although the paddles of the Cook Islands are short-bladed they are interesting in view of the variety of shapes and their decoration. There also exist in these islands clubs of different shapes which are related to some of the wands of Buka group III, such as the very slim fish-shaped ones, illustrated (p. 27, fig. 172 e and f, by Buck). Also some wide-bladed clubs, especially from Rarotonga, whose shape is the same as one of the blades in Buka group II. The clubs from Mangali have some similarity with the shapes of Buka group III.

Guppy (1895, p. 74, fig. 6) illustrates a "Dance-club of Treasury" which is exactly like some of the paddles from Buka group II. Guppy also speaks of a "flat bladed St Christoval club" which he thinks had its origin in paddles that came to be employed also for the purpose of defence, and their form and material were changed until their original use was either lost or forgotten. He mentions further an ornamented club, which was carried at dances at Bougainville Straits village (east of Bougainville Island) and of an almost identical one he saw in the British Museum from New Ireland.

This mention of "dance-clubs" and their similarity to the "ceremonial paddles" brings us to a number of paddles from Buka, which are very slim and much shorter than the usual ones used for ceremonial purposes. They might have had their origin in either the clubs used for ceremonial purposes, or are derivations from dancing-sticks, which are often seen in the islands and used by women at dances. These dancing-sticks are always ornamented and their motifs are related to the ones seen on spears, which are also used at ceremonies. From this evidence it seems safe to say that all these implements, including clubs, paddles, spears, dancing-sticks and ceremonial axes, which are made from a light wood and elaborately decorated, are related to each other and that they are the ceremonial shapes of real weapons, meant to symbolize the kind of dances at which they are used. R. Parkinson (p. 304, pl. 20) illustrates dancing-sticks from St Mathias, and Nevermann (1932, p. 358, fig. 206) also mentions a "dancing-sword" for women from the Admiralty Islands.

The Buka ceremonial wands (E 7959, E 8042, and E 7990 in pl. 13) in the collection of the Australian Museum which resemble dancing-sticks are exactly small replicas of wands in group III, mostly decorated with geometric ornaments, but an occasional kokorra is also represented. The geometric patterns are usually chevrons and ornaments clearly derived from plant motifs. Their dimensions vary between a length of 41 to 51 inches and a width of $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, this being approximately half the size of the majority of the other ceremonial paddles in group III.

On the Hawaiian Islands the short wide-bladed paddles are used for transportation and no ornamented dance or ceremonial paddles are recorded from these islands.

In New Zealand, however, the paddles used for transportation have the same shape and proportions as the paddles in Buka group I but they are shorter, between 4 and 5.5 feet, whilst the ones from Buka are mostly from 6 to 7 feet long. The side view is different; according to Haddon and Hornell (1926-8, fig. 145b) it shows a paddle with the same stand-like ornament as on some of the paddles in Buka group I. There is also a type of truncated paddle used by the ancient inhabitants of New Zealand, the Moriori, which resembles in shape some of the paddles from Buka group III, only the latter are much more elaborately shaped and show a much greater variety of forms.

On p. 212, Haddon and Hornell illustrate an interesting carved ceremonial paddle from the Bay of Islands. It has the lancet-shaped blade fully decorated with carved geometric ornamentation in the rich style of the Maori and in between there seems to be the representation of two tikis. The handle branches into two

arms united in a plain cylindrical straight shaft ending in a knob. There is also a very beautiful lancet-shaped paddle, decorated with geometric spiral ornaments, reproduced by Lommel (1962, p. 18, Abb. 15). Haddon and Hornell (1936-8) illustrate further "an oar-shaped implement, 7 feet long, which may have been used as a steering paddle, but probably functioned as a club". Here again we have the fusion of clubs and paddles, mentioned before, that have some resemblance to the Buka ceremonial wands, which have approximately the same length and shape of blade, but are more elaborately shaped in the handle and always are richly decorated. The paddles from Buka group II appear to have their origin in clubs, and there is a club from the East Solomon Islands in the Australian Museum collection which has exactly the shape of the blades of wands (E 36513 and B 721, pl. 4) from Buka group II.

As a conclusion of the survey on paddles and wands on the islands surrounding the Solomon group one could say that there are mostly three types of paddles used for transportation: (1) the paddles with a lancet-shaped blade corresponding to the paddles in Buka group I; (2) those with a short and wide blade, which have no connection with the paddles from the Buka district; and (3) the elongated truncated paddles, sometimes used for steering, which have some affinity to paddles from Buka group III.

Decorated dancing or ceremonial paddles are used in the Caroline, Cook and other islands which are derived from the working paddles, but nowhere else is such a wealth of shapes and forms to be seen as in the western part of the Solomons.

3. DISTRIBUTION OF DECORATIVE MOTIFS

(a) **Kokorra**

After surveying the different island groups surrounding the Solomons, one can state that nowhere, except on a more reduced scale, could we find a combination of anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and geometric designs as decoration of ceremonial paddles as is the rule in Buka. Here the kokorra is the prevailing anthropomorphic motif which occurs in different shapes and forms, mostly accompanied by a wealth of curvilinear and rectilinear ornaments. The greatest variety in the representation of the kokorra occurs in group III. The kokorra is the ancestral being or spirit of the dead represented in a posture of adoration, with arms raised, legs in a squatting position, with giant head and onion-shaped hair-do, big eyes, wide nose and elongated ears. The body is more or less thinly shaped with wide shoulders and hips, the outlines of arms and legs delicately drawn, sometimes showing fingers or toes, but mostly block-shaped, pointing inside or outside. This is the basic motif of which variations range from figures seen from the front, standing upright, or in profile with arms hanging down the sides of the body and feet in different positions. These figures are usually shown in a static position; only very rarely do they suggest movement or animation (B 8759, pl. 9).

In the following chapter I will try to follow the motif of the kokorra in its various shapes in the surrounding areas of the Pacific. A very interesting review by Lommel (1962) is of great help in this regard, as therein is traced the occurrence of the ancestral beings in different cultures and areas. The author traces the squatting figure in the widest sense of its symbolism, including the prehistoric forms as a presentation of the primaeval mother, as a symbol of fertility and reincarnation, as an evil spirit and as an ancestral being. Here we are mostly concerned with the motif in connection with the ancestral figure in the posture of adoration and its variations. These we find distributed in a wide area from Indonesia and New Guinea to the Pacific Islands. (A. Lommel, 1962, p. 35, map 3.) Lommel mentions the

earliest representation in a linear style as far back as the 3rd and 2nd millenniums B.C. on Chinese pottery in the characteristic shape of the letter W on top of the letter M. We also find the same figure in more recent times in rock-paintings from north-west Australia (A. Lommel, 1962, fig. 57), on a bark scratching from the Chatham Islands (east of New Zealand) in Lommel, fig. 37, and on a painting on wood from the Banks Islands, fig. 40, where other motifs, as the circle surrounded by triangles appear too in the same way as we find them on Buka paddles. Schuster (Genealogical patterns in the Old and New Worlds, fig. 1) represents a club from New Ireland with squatting figures and big heads, the body filled with chevrons, transformed into a geometric pattern.

Further to the west we find the squatting figure with raised arms on woven material from Borneo, joined together in rows, sometimes easily recognizable, sometimes very conventionalized to form geometric designs. The same motif is to be found in the Solomon Islands on carved pieces of *Tridacna* shell plaques, used on the gables of skull-houses. (Bodrogi, 1959, fig. 151; Wingert, 1953; Lommel, 1962, fig. 98.) Similar figures appear in the Marquesas (Greiner, 1923, pl. XVIIg) carved on wooden bowls from Bukava village and on hairpins from the Papuan Gulf and the Sepik River (Reichard, 1933, pl. CXXXVII).

One of the variations of the kokorra motif, a double kokorra, finds its exact parallel in an incised drawing from the Pi-wan tribe in Formosa (Taiwan). (Chen Chi-Lu, 1961, fig. C, pl. 124) and on paintings from north New Guinea. In both cases mentioned, we see one body carrying a head on each side and two pairs of arms or legs.²⁰ (E 8001, pl. 5.) There is a very close affinity between the carved and incised figures from Taiwan and Hainan Island, and also from the Philippines, with the representations from the Pacific area, as pointed out in a paper by Chen Chi-Lu in the above mentioned Bulletin. The affinities between these islands and the mainland of China is also very close and examples from very early times (Shang, 2000 B.C.) also exist which show the same motif, the human figure, either squatting or standing upright, with raised arms. (Chen Chi-Lu, 1961, pl. 115, figs. M-O.) (The closest parallel with the kokorra head is after all the Chinese Tao-Tieh.)

From this evidence one can see that the kokorra figure is one of the most important motifs in the Pacific, and also on the Chinese mainland, although the kokorra does not appear as frequently on the ceremonial or dancing implements of other island groups as on the Buka ceremonial paddles. In another artistic medium, that of sculpture in the round, the motif is much more often used, whilst the dancing implements of the different island groups mostly use geometric patterns as decoration.

There are more parallels to be found between the upright kokorras (as seen on E 8011, E 8048, E 24668 and E 8056 etc., pls. 10-12) and the fully sculptured figures from the Solomons than in the field of decoration. Sculptured standing kokorras are found on spears from the Admiralties, on Hainan Island and on Formosa. The human figure also plays a dominant part in the overall decoration of New Guinea, where it commonly appears highly conventionalized on shields and memorial tablets, carved in flat relief and painted. (See Bodrogi, 1961, pls. IV-V.) The human figure is represented with raised arms, standing upright, legs slightly apart.²¹ We find it with arms hanging down, the same accentuation of the elbows and knees, feet in block-shape turned outwards, and the sex organs represented identically (as on E 8079 and others, pl. 10), painted on a memorial tablet from the Gulf of Papua

²⁰ Even the design on the face, the way the nose and eyebrows are given, is the same on the kokorra heads from the Solomons and the heads from Pi-wan.

²¹ Mr F. D. McCarthy tells me that there are similar figures to be found on petroglyphs from Hawaii (J. F. E. Stokes, 1910).

(Wingert, 1953, p. 100). Another example of an upright kokorra is to be seen carved on a Samoan club (Greiner, 1923, pl. XXV, b) as a standing figure, carrying a two-pronged spear and a club in its hands. There is also a standing figure represented on a wooden board from a house in north New Ireland, with giant head, big ears, arms raised to hold on to two side panels decorated with carved and painted lunar and solar symbols, similar in character to the design of kapkaps from the Solomon Islands. (Bodrogi, 1959, fig. 95.)

In this connection a sarong from East-Sumba (Indonesia) should be mentioned; it bears a Kauri application of a human figure exactly in the same position as the kokorras on E 7962, E 7952, B 8775 and E 8011 (pl. 9), namely, with raised arms, legs slightly apart, an accentuation of the knees and the same sex representation. The feet with five toes are turned outwards and between the legs is a lizard in Kauri application, and a fish on each side of the human figure as well. Small circles and star-like ornaments fill the surrounding ground of the cloth. (Basel Mus., 1961, pl. 19a.) See fig. 2, 1-8.

Kokorra motif as seen from the side or in profile

Very few parallels could be found for the representations of the kokorra in profile. As with most of the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic representations in the decoration of the Buka paddles, some are present in the art of the New Guinea tribes. A. Lommel (1962, p. 50, fig. 43) shows a squatting figure, arms resting on the knees and chin on hands, in profile in a two-dimensional decoration from the Asmat district, west New Guinea. From the same district, Lommel (1962, p. 51, figs. 44) illustrates a shield decorated in slight relief with an abstraction of this motif. He further illustrates (1962, p. 78, fig. 76) another shield from the North-West River, New Guinea, with a similar representation, corresponding with the motifs of kokorras in profile on the paddles from Buka (E 8001, E 7950, pls. 5 and 7, and E 8075, E 8037 and E 7995). T. Bodrogi (1959, fig. 109) also illustrates a dance-shield decorated with a similar conventionalized figure in profile as shown by Lommel (1962, fig. 44) from Witu Island (Bismarck Archipelago). Another example of a figure represented in profile is illustrated by Lommel (1962, p. 53, fig. 46) from an Hawaiian petroglyph, in Honolulu. (Stokes, 1910, p. 33, fig. 1.) See fig. 2, 9-11.

Kokorra—heads

The head of the kokorra is not as frequently used as decoration on the Buka ceremonial paddles as is the fully bodied kokorra. Mostly the head is coupled with a stand for which I have no explanation. There are many variations of the kind of stand used, such as the ones I described on pages 40-41 as being the symbols of a woman's breasts, and there are others which appear combined with the kokorra-head in the shape of scrolls or animals' bodies, or simply geometric ornaments. Boas (1955, p. 23, fig. 10) illustrates a paddle from New Ireland with a kokorra-head on a "stand", but I think it comes from Buka as it is identical with quite a number of paddles from Buka and distinctly different from the paddles from New Ireland. Paddles decorated with demon faces are used in New Ireland.

There are many similarities in the shapes and designs of faces from New Guinea and the Buka district. According to T. Bodrogi (1961, p. 155), elongated ears and earrings are almost an integral part of the picture, teeth marked by carving of triangles are the same in both districts, as are the colours (white ground, red and black designs in slight relief), and there are no difference of details in the portrayal of men and women—spirit faces occur more frequently in New Guinea, on a number of objects, whilst in the Buka district they are most likely to be found on the ceremonial

paddles and on boats. According to T. Bodrogi (p. 75), there exist "bull-roarers in Melanesia which symbolize the dema, the totem of the clan, the spirit of the dead, the personal ancestor". These are used at ceremonies, are named after dead persons and are often hidden from the sight of women. Figure 34 shows a bull-roarer from the Yabim district decorated with a demon's head with a kind of head-dress and underneath the head a pair of arms with hands and fingers similar to the decoration on B 8796 and on canoes. A spirit's head with a head-dress is carved on wooden bowls from the Tami Islands (G. Reichard, 1933, pl. XIV). Firth (1936, p. 75) illustrates ceremonial objects of the type known as Kwoi from the Baroi River and from Maipua (Papua). They are carved and painted in dark red, black and white, one is decorated with a head only, whilst the other one shows a head on top of a kind of lizard.²²

There is another Kwoi illustrated on p. 76 showing a highly conventionalized human face from Maipua, and, from the Gulf of Papua on a wooden shield, illustrated by Bodrogi (1959, fig. 13, p. 70, 76), a spirits' head surrounded by geometric ornament.

P. S. Wingert (1953) illustrates three carved blades of "Long Staffs" from New Zealand, which show spirits' or ancestors' heads followed by carved curvilinear geometric ornaments. R. Greiner (1923) mentions that spirit heads appear in the decoration of cult objects from the Marquesas and the New Britain islands. Thus highly conventionalized spirit figures and faces are found on the art of almost all of the island groups in the Pacific, but mostly in New Guinea. They are carved in slight relief on different objects, as on bull-roarers from the Yabin, and on ceremonial shields which remind me strongly of the Tao' Tieh' masks on the Chinese cult vessels so frequently seen on Shang bronzes.

Sculptured double (Janus) heads

The fully sculptured double or single heads, as they appear on the handles of the paddles from group II only (pls. 4 and 5), also find their parallels in New Guinea, as do most of the motifs from the Buka paddles. According to T. Bodrogi (1961, p. 177), Janus images and double figures frequently occur in Huon Gulf, Astrolabe Bay and Tami Island art, but their meaning is not known. Schmitz²³ sees here a connection with the myth of Manub and Kilibob; Manub disappears to be reborn afterwards and the double figure represents his dual personality. At any rate, it seems clear that this representation is backed by tradition and only more knowledge will solve this puzzling appearance. There are also other explanations, such as male and female symbolism, fertility representations and other, as the double figure exists in other islands on house-posts, but mostly in New Guinea on lime spatulas,²⁴ spoons, and on the handles of a number of objects whose meaning is not known (T. Bodrogi, 1961, p. 112, figs. 140, 142, 119, 128). It is well represented in the chalk figures of New Ireland.

In the case of the Buka paddles there are clearly a double head and only one body, or a three-dimensional head and a two-dimensional body, the double Janus head of Greek mythology.

²² There is an excellent collection of Kwois in the Australian Museum all having the same type of demon face.

²³ C. H. Schmitz, *Zum Problem des Balum-Kultes*. Paideuma, Vol. VI, pp. 259-80.

²⁴ Handles of lime spatulas from the Admiralty Island also show double figures and double heads with only one body. See "Suedsee Expedition": H. Nevermann, *Admiralty Island*, Bd. III, Halbbd. 132 (21-26).

The shape of the blades in group II is closely connected with the shape of clubs from the east Solomon Islands. There is also a close relationship with the serrated clubs from Rarotonga (Cook Island). It seems therefore, that there is a definite connection between this type of paddle and the clubs so far as shape is concerned, and it is important to note that a few of these clubs have human heads carved on the handle (Guppy: 1895, p. 74). Clubs from New Britain have a conventionalized human head carved on the handle and on the blade, and it appears on the handle of a wooden ceremonial axe from the same district. A paddle from New Ireland also bears a human head in a similar style.²⁵ This type of head seems to be the same as the triangular one, with the pointed face and the triangular head-dress decorated with flanges, in Buka group II. A similar type of face is to be seen on an unidentified object carved in the round from fern-tree wood, and on a mask, both from the New Hebrides.²⁶ (Fig. 2, 12-15).

Clubs from the North Pacific coast of the U.S.A. (Boas: 1955, p. 284, ill. 298) show the same combination of sculptured heads combined with geometric design on the blade. There is no stylistic connection between the clubs from the North Pacific and the paddles from Buka, but the same principle is involved in the occurrence of anthropomorphic and geometric elements on the different parts of the same object and the fact that the handle is decorated with a three-dimensional head.

(b) Zoomorphic Motifs (birds, lizards, fish, dogs, pigs, opossums)

The animal most frequently used in Buka decoration is a bird, especially in group I, but it is found only rarely in the other groups. And here we have to distinguish between two kinds of birds, the heraldic, conventionalized bird, and the one in its more naturalistic aspect (pl. 3). The heraldic bird is portrayed as seen from above, with head turned aside, the feathers and spread tail sometimes quite clearly indicated. In group III, however, a few examples (E 8057, E 8052) can be found where the bird appears in its heraldic form²⁷ or as seen in profile (B 8768 and E 24670, pl. 12) where the bird might be a bush fowl. Bodrogi (1959, fig. 117) illustrates a heraldic bird on a comb from the East Solomons, whilst on paddles from New Ireland a bird is said by the natives to be represented in the wavy lines which form the decoration in the same way as on a paddle from the Admiralty Islands.²⁸

In sculpture the bird is represented in a very naturalistic way in the East Solomons on handles of food bowls, in the overall shape of bowls, and on a tie-beam from a canoe house at Uji on St Christoval Island. In New Guinea, according to Bodrogi (1961, p. 162), sculptured birds are occasionally suspended from the roof of club houses and the sea eagle is mostly depicted. The portrayal is fairly standardized but has no resemblance to the bird on the Buka paddles.

Lizards

These are mostly depicted in the same way on the Buka paddles, namely, as seen from above, with elongated bodies, long tail and legs symmetrically arranged (pl. 11). Sometimes eyes are indicated on the head. On E 8063, the lizard is

²⁵ J. L. Brenchley: *The South Pacific Islands*, London, 1873, p. 281.

²⁶ *Ethnographical Album of the Pacific Islands*, 2nd series by Edge-Partington-Heape, pp. 74 and 135.

²⁷ There are, however, birds in both described shapes on kapkaps from the Solomon Islands. See G. Reichard, pl. CXXXVI and pl. CXXXVII.

²⁸ On kapkaps from the Solomons heraldic birds in profile, and some wavy lines but still showing heads and tails, are recorded. G. Reichard: *Melanesian Design*, Vol. II, pl. CXXXIII, 471, 476-7.

joined on to a kokorra head.²⁹ Lizards are frequently seen as two and three dimensional decoration in New Guinea. The former is to be seen on the memorial shield (mentioned by Bodrogi, 1961, p. 162 and fig. 70) with circles filled with triangular motifs.

Further to the west we find a sarong decorated with Kauri-application, where a standing spirit is represented between whose legs is a lizard surrounded by fish and circular motifs. There appears to be a connection between the lizards and circular ornaments, as they frequently are associated.

In the Admiralty Islands wooden bowls are found decorated with lizards in low relief.³⁰ On "dancing-sticks" from Trench Island³¹ two lizards, facing each other are depicted, and on another one three fish following each other are represented. They are also used in New Ireland and New Zealand decorative art.

Fish

Fish depicted naturalistically appear in Buka group III (E 8066, E 8047, E 8062, pl. 11) and are in most cases easily recognized as a shark seen from above with eyes, fins and asymmetric tail. Besides these representations we find the shark body with the kokorra head (E 7947, E 7949, E 9780 and A 17055), on which the shark is more conventionalized, but still with its characteristic features, and the kokorra head is also depicted with slight variations.

Then there are the more simplified types of fish found on the decoration of paddles which cannot be easily identified as any particular species, but which I have called the bonito motif, seeing they display some of the characteristics of this fish (B 8001 on pl. 5). On E 7966 three fish are represented following each other in the same way, and in the same style, as on the dancing-stick from Trench Island, mentioned above. No parallels could be found for the frequently occurring motif of the bonito-kokorra (see 8100, pl. 11).

From south-east New Guinea (Bodrogi, 1961, p. 163) the fish motif "appears embossed and engraved on the side planks of houses, on wooden bowls, pumpkin-dishes and coconut cups. It is not always clear what variety of fish is depicted". But sharks are depicted and Mr G. P. Whitley, former Curator of Ichthyology, Australian Museum, told me that shark images are still to be found on the planks of canoes in south-east New Guinea. Bodrogi (1961, fig. 166) illustrates fish decoration of a bowl, in profile with an indication of the gills and with one large eye; on the body is a kind of zig-zag pattern similar to the one carved on paddles with purely geometric design. Fully sculptured wooden fish are used as containers for ashes and bones of the deceased in the Solomon and other islands. This kind of fish, clearly recognizable as bonito, is also to be seen in the Canoe-house from Uji, mentioned previously.

Dogs, pigs and opossums

Dogs or pigs are represented on two paddles in the Australian Museum (pl. 3) and one in the Tasmanian Museum. Greiner (1923, pl. XXIX A,c.) illustrates a dog in profile with four legs and raised tail, carved on a club from Tonga in a more

²⁹ On a memorial slab from New Guinea now in the Museum of Dublin a similar representation is to be seen.

³⁰ Nevermann in "Suedsee Expedition", Bd. III, Admiralty Inseln, p. 203, fig. 117. Also G. Reichard, pl. VII.

³¹ Nevermann in "Suedsee Expedition", Bd. II, St Mathias Gruppe, p. 228, fig. 148.

naturalistic way than the animals on the paddles. Fully sculptured naturalistic wooden pigs are to be found on many islands, including the Solomons. Bodrogi reports (1961, p. 163) that "the portrayal of pigs is more widespread in the Bukawa inhabited area, whereas it is quite rare with the Yabims and on Tami Islands". There are only two examples known to Bodrogi of this motif, one on a head-rest and one on a hook, and both are carved in the round.

(c) Geometric Designs

The most frequently used motif in the field of geometric design is the triangle in its many variations and combinations. The triangle is seldom used as a single unit, but mostly in rows, one following the other to form a special pattern, which I called the chevron (see p. 53). There are many ideas about the origin of this pattern, as some see in it fish tails or bird tails; it might, however, possibly have its origin in seeds or shells strung on a string or in another floral model (B 8792, E 7959, E 8099 and others, pl. 13³²). There is hardly a paddle or wand without the chevron motif, apart from those in group I which have the kokorra head or bird as their only decoration. The chevron is used as a decoration on canoes (Blackwood, 1955, p. 435, fig. 26) and on house beams in the Solomons. Reichard (1933, p. 128) reports the existence of this motif on kapkaps from New Ireland, and on gourds and combs from St Mathias. Further to the west, *the chevron is not frequent in New Guinea*, but it is employed in a similar way to that of Buka on the island of Palau (West Carolines), where Kraemer ("Suedsee Expedition", IIB 3 Palau, fig. 2) shows the same pattern used in the decoration of wooden houses (bois). Kraemer (1932, IIB 5, p. 149, fig. 107a-w), illustrates patterns from Truk Island (East Carolines) corresponding to the chevrons illustrated here on B 8797-1, E 8073-u, B 8783-v, B 8784-w. The pattern of B 8783 corresponds with a pattern found on Palau.

Chevrons also fill the space on the band-like bodies of conventionalized squatting figures, incised as decoration on a club from Byron Straits (New Ireland), illustrated by C. Schuster, (1956-8, fig. 1). This pattern is composed of the limbs of four (or six) squatting figures, whose raised arms form the legs of the figure below. Only four heads are shown. A pattern similar to chevrons, consisting of rows of triangles, is rarely seen in New Guinea but it is used occasionally on drums and clubs. Triangles separated by a band are also sometimes used to fill in spaces according to Bodrogi (1961, p. 172, figs. 227-8).

Triangles, saw-teeth, zig-zag bands

Triangles are used on the paddles to fill in spaces and form special patterns and to indicate feathers on the heraldic birds, scales on fish, or fish motifs. Saw-teeth which represent the teeth of kokorras or their hairline are also used for the framing of the kokorra images on some paddles (pl. 11) and to form necklets. Some horizontal rows of equilateral triangles form patterns by being put vertex to base on the row below, others appear in rows, but are put base to base (pl. 10). In the same way these patterns are used as decoration on dancing-sticks from Truk Island and on spears from the Admiralty Islands (Kraemer, 1932, IIB 5, Taf. 14, c and d), on paddles, clubs and bowls from the Cook Islands (Buck, 1944, pp. 29, 334). A paddle-spear is an example of transition from one style to another (pl. 13). Isosceles and

³² None of these explanations of origin is satisfactory. Dr Carl Schuster thinks that the chevrons might represent conventionalised bodies of ancestor figures or spirits of past generations, similar to the staffs from the Cook Islands, where the god Tangora is represented sitting on top of ancestor figures. See also the handle of a fly whisk, represented on page 31 in *Arts of the South Seas* by Linton and Wingert, showing a carved version of the chevrons and on top of these the squatting double figure of a demon or spirit.

flanges, i.e., triangles with curved side lines, are also used on paddles from the Buka district (unnumbered on pl. 13) and on the head-dress especially of carved kokorra heads in Buka group II. The same kind of pattern is to be seen on some unidentified implements from the Admiralty Islands (Nevermann, IIA, 1932, 3, p. 388, ill. 277-8). E 8100, which is club-shaped, is butted at the end and rather heavy, also shows the same pattern. Saw-teeth motifs and isosceles are frequently used in south-east New Guinea on bracelets, and also by the Bukava and Yabim tribes on house posts and almost all kinds of carvings (Bodrogi, 1961, p. 128 and figs. 175-80).

Zigzag bands

A very interesting pattern is formed by using the zig-zag band in a specific way, as on B 8809, which shows on one side the ordinary chevrons in different shapes with the kokorra head, and on the other side the zig-zag band, starting with a loop on the point of the blade and running to the end of the paddle, which has no division into blade and handle, but is fish-shaped without a pronounced handle at all, becoming narrower at the end. B 8786 is the same shape, but unfinished, without any decoration on one side; it has the same zig-zag band on the other side as on B 8809, but running in the opposite direction (pl. 14). The loops on both paddles are painted alternately black and red on a white ground. B 8786 (pl. 14) shows the motif framed, as there is an edge carved on both sides of the paddle and in between the zig-zags, the loops becoming bigger on the widest part and smaller on the narrowest portion. Both paddles are well carved and executed.

On no other paddle could I find the same motif, which is quite common on canoes in the Buka district. A special plank called watsinan, let in at the end of the mon plank canoe above the water level, carries this pattern and Blackwood (1935, p. 378, pl. 25B) shows a native carrying the watsinan decorated with the zig-zag band exactly in the same way as on B 8809 and B8786. Figure 26, p. 435, in Blackwood, shows the pattern combined with kokorras and kokorra heads and chevrons on planks used for building boats. It seems, however, that this pattern is quite common on other islands and in north-east New Guinea. It is found incised on gourds from St Mathias and also on spears, on dancing-sticks from Emir, as well as on combs from Sumba (Reichard, 1933, pl. CXLI, 594-8, and Parkinson, 1907, pls. 19-20). The zig-zag band is frequently seen on objects from New Guinea, especially from the Huon Gulf area, the Bukava district and on Tami Island. The motif is used to decorate the bodies of snakes carved on clubs and drums, on bull-roarers, to indicate the bones of fish, and on wooden bowls from Tami Island. (Bodrogi, figs. 50-1 and fig. 159, also Reichard, 1933, pl. LXXV.)

Circles

Another motif quite frequently occurring on the Buka paddles and wand, is the circle, which is also connected with the saw-teeth ornament and the triangles as many of the circles are filled with these patterns. There are three types of circles, firstly the one consisting of concentric rings filled with saw-teeth lines and divided into sections, secondly the circle filled with floral motifs such as flower petals, and thirdly, the circle with a whirl like the limbs of an octopus or a star-fish. Bodrogi (1959, p. 32, fig. 95) shows these circles, filled with exactly the same ornaments as on the paddles and some kapkaps. On a wooden board from a house in North Ireland, the carved figure of a spirit in the centre bears the circle filled with ornaments on his breast. The circular motifs to the right and left of the figure show the division into sections, concentric circles in the centre surrounded by bands filled with chevrons and strappings and a halo formed of flanges around the outer contour. We find this kind of filled circle on E 7981 (pl. 7) of Buka group III, where a kokorra sits on one

circle, divided into sections, followed by a band of saw-teeth and an outer circle. The motif is simplified in the carving on the paddle and more elaborately executed on the wooden board from New Ireland. B 8752 (pl. 5) in group II shows an oval carved in openwork underneath the double-headed handle part, and the same motif, also divided into four sectors, but this time more circular shaped on the blade, surmounted by a kokorra head. Another paddle of this group, E 6513, shows the motif twice on the part underneath the carved head, and the kokorra on the blade has two concentric circles with a centre dot carved on his breast painted in the usual colours. See also Bodrogi, 1961, figs. 177-182.

The fully sculptured figures from Buka (McCarthy, 1951, p. 182-183) show the same circular motif divided into sectors on their breasts and painted in the same colours as on the paddles. Bodrogi (1961, p. 170, fig. 224, b and c) illustrates similar motifs, though not divided into sections, which consist of concentric circles, surrounded by saw-teeth bands.³³ These circular motifs are also used on ornaments called kankan, made from turtle shell and pearl shell, and sometimes of thin sheets of wood. These ornaments are worn by the natives of the Bukava, Yabim tribes, and on Tami Island on festive occasions, tied round their necks or on their foreheads, and they are often seen on the chests of young children, probably as a kind of protective talisman. This is most probably also the meaning of the kapkaps. Bodrogi says further that the circular motif is mostly used on bracelets and coconut cups but less on wooden carvings, but it occurs on gourds from St Mathias (Reichard, 1933, pl. CXLI), and on carvings from New Guinea.

We then find the circle filled with floral decoration in the shape of petals of poinsettias. This plant has been introduced by the Europeans to the islands of the Pacific and is thriving in these areas. The motif is used sometimes in asymmetrical form on E 8057 and also asymmetrically on E 7985 and B 8914 (pl. 14). The latter is from New Britain and not the Buka district. The symmetrical circle might be filled with from 7 to 14 petals on paddles in group III (B 8788). A similar circle filled with petals and also divided into sections, is to be seen on a wooden house shield from Telei Island (Bodrogi, 1959, pl. 120). Circles filled with floral motifs also appear on painted paddles from Mangaia (Cook Islands) and on a ceremonial paddle from Hervey Island.

Lastly we find the circle with a whirl motif consisting of limbs of the starfish or octopus, or in the shape of coils, as on E 7981 (pl. 7) where the first type of circle is also to be seen. No parallels to this motif could be found anywhere, except Indonesia.³⁴

Very rarely concentric circles are found and there exists no spiral on all the paddles I know from the Buka district. The motif with voluted ends, or a coil with one and a half turns, previously mentioned on paddles B 8796 and E 7974, is believed to represent a woman's breasts (pl. 6). The arms of the kokorra sometimes end in voluted ends, instead of hands, which, by the way, are mostly indicated by three or four digits, seldom by five, sometimes by as many as six or seven. There is another motif, which Reichard (1933, p. 132, fig. 65d) describes as "an adaption of the typical Admiralty Island two-and-a-half-turn spiral"; it occurs frequently on paddles in all Buka groups.³⁵ (E 7968, pl. 6.) It is to be seen on one side of E 7930 (on the other side is a kokorra on a stand which occasionally shows voluted endings) and on E 8057, E 8088 and E 7968 to fill in spaces (pl. 6). As a scroll this motif is found on E 7985 (pl. 13) and on the decoration of paddles from New Zealand.

³³ Bodrogi: 1959, pl. 51, shows a bamboo case decorated with the same motif above a conventionalized bird and a demon face from Tami Island.

³⁴ See S. Kooijman, Ornamented Bark-cloth in Indonesia, figs 12, 13, 197.

³⁵ This motif occurs frequently on gourds and bamboo containers from the Admiralties and on carvings of all kinds from New Zealand.

Concentric designs and odd patterns

Geometric rectilinear patterns are mostly to be found on paddles in Buka group II on that part of the paddle just underneath the carved head. On page 43 it was said that these patterns were similar to the patterns used for tattooing and that their position corresponds with the part of the kokorra's body, which is usually depicted underneath the kokorra's head, so that one could assume that instead of a naturalistic we have a symbolic representation.

These concentric patterns are mostly rectilinear in style and their shapes are adjusted to the space to be filled, so that a wide variety of shapes is to be seen. These patterns are painted in red and black alternately on a white ground, or red and black only. Bodrogi (1959, pl. 14) shows a wooden shield from north New Guinea where the same motif occurs, namely, concentric shapes engraved on a spirit's head, but, in contrast to the patterns on the paddles, the white ground forms the pattern, whilst in the Solomons, although the ground is also painted white, the pattern carved in slight relief and painted red or black forms the decoration. Concentric patterns are also to be found on kapkaps from south New Guinea (Reichard, 1933, pl. CXIXVIII). Bodrogi (1959, pl. 108) represents a mask from Witu Island (Bismark Archipelago) showing concentric rectangles carved in slight relief and painted red and blue on a white ground in the same way as we saw on the paddles. Another mark from Nissan Island shows this pattern as a tattoo on the face (Bodrogi, 1959, pl. 113). A carved pole from the New Hebrides bears concentric squares, used diagonally as a decoration on the figure's breast (Bodrogi, 1959, pl. 123). Greiner (1923, pl. IVa) represents concentric rectangles in the decoration of a wooden bowl from the Marquesas.

There remains one paddle to be discussed, which shows purely geometric decoration. It is E 7971 (pl. 14) which has an intricate pattern carved in slight relief on both sides, formed by placing two strangely shaped elements in opposite pairs. They are painted red and black alternately on a white ground. Through their shape and the way these elements are placed a very regular, symmetric pattern of stars appears on the paddle's white ground. The alternately black and red shapes are also to be seen on the kapkaps from the Solomon Islands (Reichard, 1933, pl. CXXIV, 482-4), placed in rows or bands round the centre of the kapkaps, which is divided into sectors. Very few instances are known to me where a pattern of stars is formed; one is on a carved door-jamb from a house in New Caledonia, where the star-pattern is formed by angled concentric lines. (R. Linton and S. Wingart, 1946, p. 79.) Another example of a star, formed by concentric lines and geometric designs, is to be seen on a bark belt from the Gulf of Papua, where the centre of the star is marked by three concentric circles. The geometric design represents a double row of conventionalized faces and a naturalistic lizard is placed in the centre of the whole pattern (Haddon: 1895, fig. 14).

From all that has been said in the above chapters about the distribution of identical or similar motifs and patterns which occur on the paddles and wands of the Buka district and in the different island groups, one can conclude that there is no individual pattern belonging exclusively to the Buka paddles, it is in the use that is made of these patterns and the special way in which the motifs are emphasized, combined and spaced that the individual style of that district is expressed. There is more individuality to be found in the shapes of the paddles than there is in the kind of decoration. The most individual feature, however, is the kokorra figure as seen in profile, and the way a woman is indicated by her breasts in contrast to a man, if the representation of the flourish emanating from the head is correctly identified. Then there is the framing of scenes on the paddles and wands and the indication of landscapes or huts. The representation of birds, especially in profile, is unique to the art of Buka.

4. STYLISTIC OBSERVATIONS AND CHARACTERISTICS

Following the observations of Franz Boas³⁶ on primitive art and employing the same analytical methods on the paddles and wands from Buka, it is apparent that the Solomon Islanders followed in principle the evolution that most primitive people have achieved. As the paddles do not represent a beginning but an acute state in the evolution that has taken place through the centuries, we find many elements belonging to different stages of evolution and also to different cultures, mixed together to form a new style. This is mostly expressed in the combination of the representational and geometric styles in both rectilinear and curvilinear techniques. The ceremonial wands are as a group homogeneous in their decoration; the same principle of symmetry is used with few exceptions. There is no evolution to be found, only differences in applying the same motif in various forms, from the more traditional representations to a more liberal use of the human figure. The same principle implies also to the zoomorphic motifs. We have seen birds depicted in a heraldic way on some examples and more naturalistically on others. And in the same way fish are represented naturalistically and sometimes conventionalized and reduced to patterns.

As Boas (1955, p. 69) pointed out, "neither primitive man or child believes that the design or the figure he produces is actually an accurate picture of the object to be represented. He may represent a human figure in utter disregard of detail and concentrate on the essential features which are important to him, or he may give details in a realistic representation and disregard the form as a whole". We find both these kinds of representations on paddles and wands. The figure of the kokorra is usually shown in a symbolic traditional way with an enormous head, and the eyes, nose and mouth indicated only by outlines, the ears always represented in the same distended way and the body as seen from the front. It is a flat, two-dimensional, symmetric-geometric, unpersonal kind of symbolic representation.

In human figures in profile, however, we could find a kind of development in so far as, for once, somebody tried to produce a more naturalistic impression of a man; the other artists liked the idea and tried their hand at it, too, each adding something, so that a more individualistic and asymmetrical figure appeared. Some of the figures in profile look like an ordinary kokorra cut in half, whilst gradually a figure in profile is to be seen, which fits properly into the given space and has a naturalistically moulded back-line. Some of the spirits carry an axe, some are seen as sitting on a stone (?), others are shown as in movement (pls. 8 and 9, E 8057 and B 8759). All these figures show the body in profile, but the head in the usual manner. It seems as though the head of a spirit or ancestor figure, imbued with the most symbolic meaning, was the last feature to be changed and there are only a few paddles or wands where the head is also shown in the profile (pl. 15), which proves that in the development of a naturalistic representation the symbolic representation has been of fundamental importance.

Both kinds of representations are based on a distinct mental attitude and different psychological sources and might not have been found together in a more primitive time, but, at the stage of mental development when the Buka ceremonial wands originated (approximately at the middle of the 19th century), so many different traits had been assimilated that no pure style could exist any more.³⁷ Therefore

³⁶ Franz Boas, *Primitive Art*, New York, 1955.

³⁷ C. A. Schmitz stated in *Historische Problem in N.O. Neuguinea*, *Studien zur kulturkunde*, Vol. 16, 1960, that curvilinear two-dimensional surface delineation belongs to the round adze culture, whereas purely geometric ornamentic is the work of Austronesian migrants. To the southern Austronesian culture also belong the angular forms of human representation with arms hanging down, block-shaped shoulders, hips, feet; this holds good for other parts of Oceania and the Solomon Islands.

there is the occurrence of such different art expressions, not only in the various groups of paddles and wands, but also on one object. And that brings me to another point; not only do we find anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and geometric decoration on almost all paddles and wands, but the way these patterns are designed shows two different styles combined, namely the rectilinear and the curvilinear. The body of the kokorra may be angled and the rectilinear character of the design might be emphasized, whilst on another kokorra on the same specimen the figure might show rounded outlines and the geometric decoration might be in either style. But if we consider on how many groups of islands we find the same motifs used, though in a different way, as each island of a given group might have developed its own characteristics, and if we realize that close communication must have existed all the time, the resulting diffusion of styles is understandable. Besides, there are craftsmen and artists in all form of societies; some rise above the level of the skilled artisan and tradesman who were satisfied with imitating the existing patterns. "Carving in wood, bone, ivory or stone, and modelling in clay are the principal arts that give freedom to the artist", says Boas (1955, p. 85), "which is not so easily found in graphic representation." That is also true of the Solomon Islanders, as their sculptured figures are naturalistic and show a variety of postures and individuality compared with the more unified of the two dimensional representations on the paddles.

Boas thinks that style has the power of limiting inventiveness; although artists work without copying their imagination never rises beyond a certain level for they merely reproduce familiar motifs, composed in a customary way. In the decorative field, however, even if forms and elements of patterns are identical, as we found them in the chevrons and the zig-zag lines or saw-teeth bands, or the triangular shapes, it is the arrangement which gives specific form to the art of the each locality. The style of the Buka paddles and wands is so uniform that it can quite easily be recognized by its characteristics.

Each of the three groups of paddles and wands has its special characteristics, but all show the same type of spirit figure or head with the same head-dress or hair-do, which is onion-shaped or like a halo, the special way of representing nose, eyes and ears. There is very slight variation in the features, but the difference lies in the arrangement of the single motif and especially in the spacing on the blades. Paddles and wands from group I and II show a single motif such as a bird or fully figured kokorra or a kokorra head occupying the centre of the blade. It is on the wands from group III that the greatest variety of motifs are used, and here, too, the given space is never overcrowded, the single motif is always well placed to cover all the available grounds. It may be elongated when necessary or spread out to a certain degree, and there is always space left for framing. And this is an important characteristic of the group: there is a narrow band, sometimes finished off by a tooth-line, running along the edge of the kokorra, getting wider where more space is available and narrow if there is little space left (E 7981 and E 8056 and also E 7974 and E 7950 on pls. 7, 8 and 10).

Then we have the interesting example E 8053 (pl. 8) which shows the most elaborate framing of all the wands, the framing is not only asymmetric, as is the figure represented, but it also forms part of the action. The kokorra is a curious mixture of profile and frontal representation. The head is as usual seen from the front, the body is in profile, with one arm only and one leg on the opposite side of the body and an axe growing out of its shoulder. The creature seems to sit on an unidentifiable object, which forms the body of one kokorra pointing in the opposite direction. The framing reminds me of a landscape setting, being given in three lapped shapes pointing once up, once downwards. There is always enough space left for the ground between the motifs to show the light wood-coloured ground, or

the ground is painted in white from which the pattern emerges either in the dark wood colour, or is painted red or black. This gives the decoration its special, more sophisticated, lively appearance, in contrast to the more overcrowded decoration from other islands. Even the paddles decorated with purely geometric ornament show the same quality. The great variety of motifs and their specific combination add to the character of the Buka paddles and wands.

The outlines of the designs are closely drawn with a sure hand and a good sense of rhythm. It is not lines which count in the overall design, as for instance, in New Guinea art; it is more the lines as contours that give value to the enclosed planes. (Pl. 14, as on B 8766, E 7971 and B 8786.)

The fully sculptured double or single heads on the paddles in group II are constructed of planes, which meet at an angle to form a ridge, so giving the face a ferocious, barbaric, animal-like appearance (pl. 4, B 721). The contour of the profile is very simple, cubistic in its angular outline, as there is hardly an indication of nose or mouth to be seen, only the big round indication of an eye. In the second type of head, the two faces are formed by two triangles joined together by the hair-do, which also forms a vertical ridge in the same way as the two triangular shapes which form the faces (pls. 4 (B 721) and 5).

5. CONCLUSIONS

Summing up what has been said in the previous pages, it could be stated that the ceremonial wands from the Buka district follow in their overall shapes and decoration the general pattern of development common to the different island groups, each in its special way; combining and modifying the motifs, which are the heritage of innumerable generations of tribes and peoples which have come most probably from the mainland of Asia and populated the whole of the Pacific Area.

Even the motif which I thought at first would be an addition of more recent times, the upright kokorra figure, seems to go back as far as the kokorra in the position of adoration, which is one of the oldest and most widely distributed motifs in the whole of the Pacific Area. There remains only the figure in profile and carrying an axe, for which I could not find any parallel, which might be an addition more or less genuine to the Buka district. All the other features could be accounted for in one or the other island groups, mostly New Guinea. Even the way the nose, eyes and eyebrows are designed has a parallel in the incised bone drawings and wooden sculptures of the Pi-wan tribes in Taiwan, but nowhere could I find a creature like the one on E8059 (pl. 15) seen in profile, sitting quite leisurely and carrying an axe. Only three of these figures in profile, with the head in profile as well, have come to my notice, but some of the kokorras in profile with frontal heads are also exceptional in carrying an axe (pl. 8, E 8081, E 5346 and E 8053). E 5346, which shows the same naturalistic sensitive contours as E 8059, differs from it in having the head depicted in the conventional way. It is remarkable that all the figures carrying an axe are seen in profile, and there is only one kokorra standing upright in profile (pl. 9, E 24669), but with head in frontal view. The embryo-like creatures without head-dress are in profile, (B 8905, pl. 5) and the one with head in frontal view on B8775 (pl. 8). All these figures are shown in a static position, but we find a few animated figures in motion on E 7949, B 8759 and E 7951 (pl. 9).

We then have a variety of kokorras in different shapes, but this is more a playfulness on the part of the artist than the creation of a new type, as it is the usual figure abbreviated, the body transformed into an ornament to fit into the available space (E 8004, E 8046, E 8036, E 8077, E 8783 and E 8763).

B 738 (pl. 3), with the two pairs of animals standing opposite³⁸ each other, is also an exception to the usual pattern, and no parallel could be found in the immediate surroundings, except on some of the wooden carvings from Taiwan (Chen Chi-Lu, 1961, 122, ill. 121-123) and in mainland China.

The representations of birds, either in a heraldic way or in profile, somewhat naturalistically, is more or less confined to the Solomon Islands and also to the Pi-wan group of Taiwan, the islands of Indonesia and the Easter Islands.

Most of the elements of the geometric ornamentation could be traced back to Indonesia, New Guinea or the different surrounding groups, although some of the more elaborate patterns are unique and are only found in the Buka district (pl. 14, E 7971 and B 8766).

The framing and spacing are also very characteristic for the Buka district and give the decoration of this locality its special flavour.

Another conclusion to be drawn from the prevalence of the anthropomorphic element over the geometric in the decorative art of Buka is that the Solomon Islanders were greatly concerned with head-hunting and cannibalism and this might explain their preoccupation with the human motif and the ancestor figure. Another fact might also be important in this connection, namely, that the wands in group II, whose shape could be traced back to that of clubs, shows as their main decoration the spirit head double or single, fully sculptured. It could be shown that clubs mostly carry as decoration spirit heads in other islands and that clubs from the North Pacific coast of America use the spirit head fully sculptured on their handles.³⁹ It seems that the club meant to smash the enemy's skull bears significance in this respect to the decoration.

It could be said that nowhere else is there to be found such a variety of shapes as in the wands of group III as ceremonial implements. There are island groups where a variety of types of ceremonial spears is used, and the dancing-sticks of the St Mathias Islanders are in a variety of different shapes. The ceremonial paddles of New Zealand, the Cook Islands, the Carolines, New Ireland and New Guinea have not developed a separately shaped paddle for dancing purposes; they used the existing shapes more elaborately decorated, more richly carved and painted. It seems, therefore, that the great variety of shapes in the ceremonial wands from Buka is another characteristic development of that area. The various shapes of wands in group III include a number of features partly from other island groups, partly from other ceremonial implements, such as ceremonial spears and clubs, and there are many examples of traditional shapes to be found. The paddles and wands thus show features of several types united in one or the other paddle and wand from the three Buka groups, in all of which the art forms are interrelated. The same could be said of the decoration: although different types of patterns, characteristic for one group of paddles, could be established, as the heraldic bird for group I or the tattoo patterns for group II, there are also several examples from group III showing this special decoration.

The geographic fact that the Solomon Islands are very centrally situated and are so near to such rich artistic centres as New Guinea might account for the variety of shapes, and also for the special character of the decoration, uniting different elements to form new and very complex patterns of artistic expression.

³⁸ This, too, is one of the oldest motifs in Asia and found its conventionalized form in the Tao' Tie' of the Chang Bronzes, 2000 B.C. See also the very interesting article by R. Heine-Geldern: *L'art preboudhique de la Chine et son influence en Oceanie*, *Revue des Arts Asiatique*, Tome XI, 1937.

³⁹ Franz Boas, *Primitive Art*, fig. 298, p. 285. See also club handles from the Marquesas, in the Oldmann Collection of Polynesian Artefacts in Supplement to the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*. *Memoir No. 15, Instalment No. 10, pl. 92-96.*

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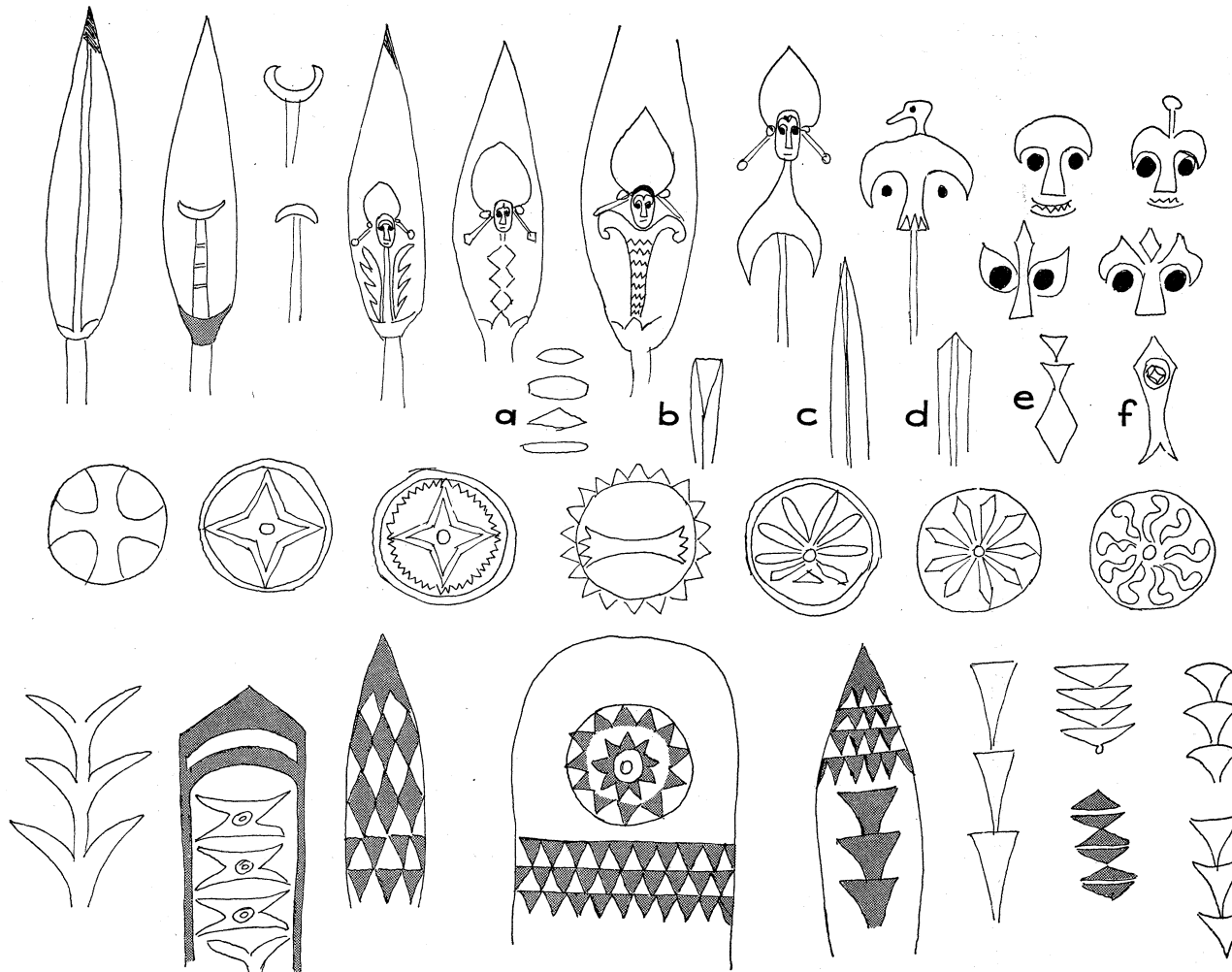


Figure 1

Top Left: five paddles decorated with different types of heads on stands, and, between the second and third paddles, stands only. Top right: further types of decorations on stands and different types of eye motifs resembling birds. (a) Cross-sections of four paddles; (b,c,d) profiles of paddles; (e&f) variations of the fish motif. Centre row: circles filled with different decorative motifs. Bottom row: centre, a stone at Itopan, north-east Bougainville (after B. Blackwood), and, on each side of it, paddles decorated with similar triangular motifs; the paddle on the right of it is also decorated with chevrons. Extreme right: five variations of the same motif on other paddles. Extreme left: two decorative motifs on paddles, possibly of naturalistic origin.

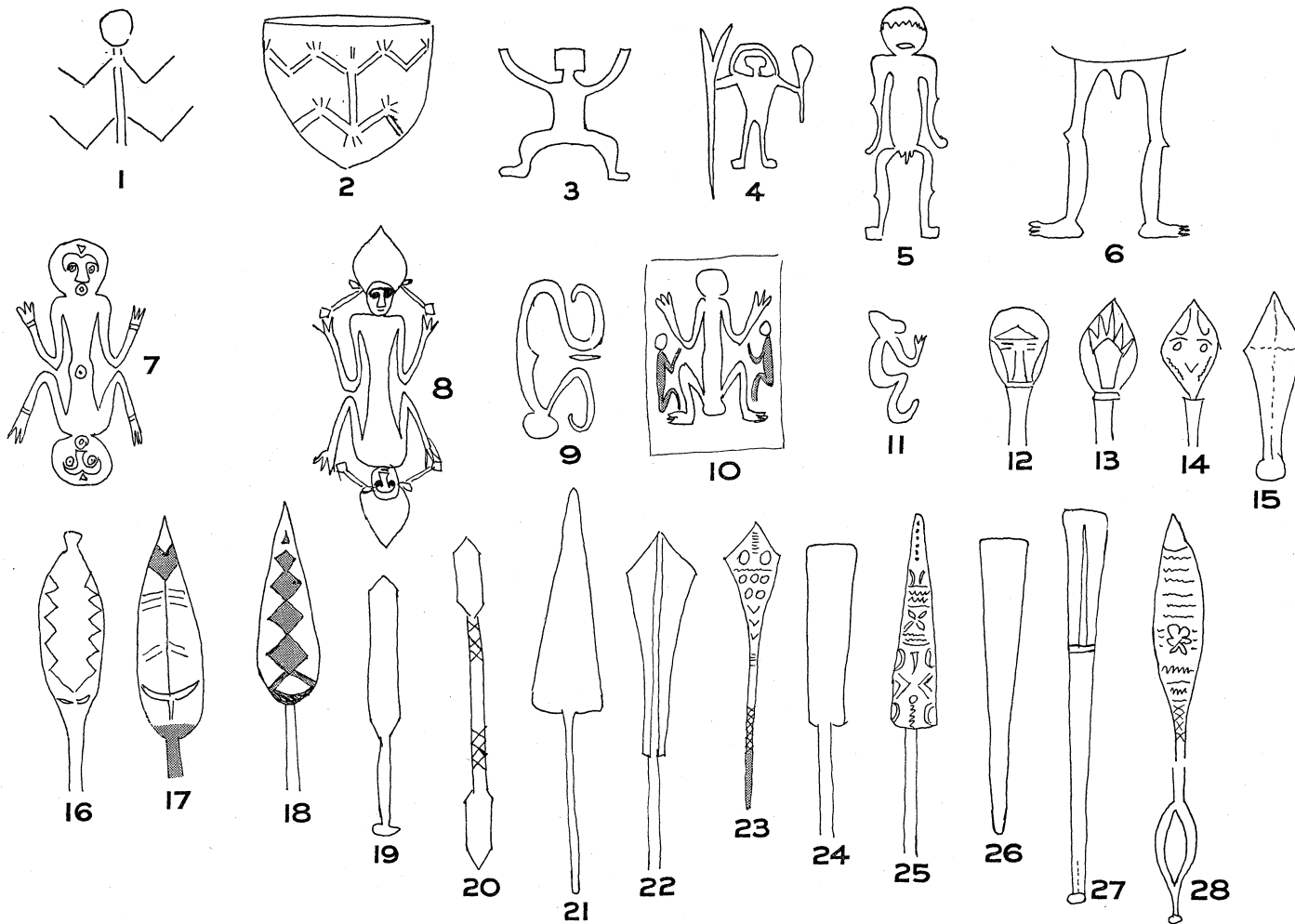
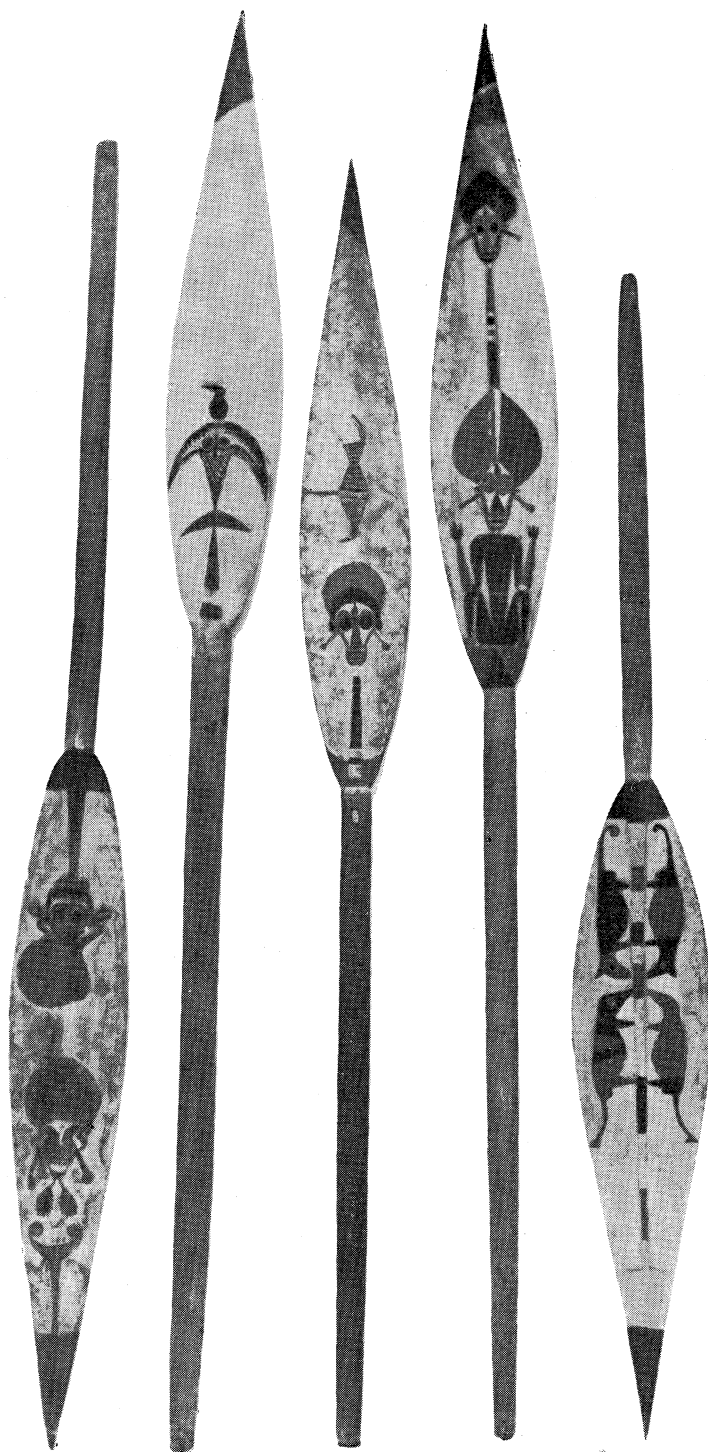
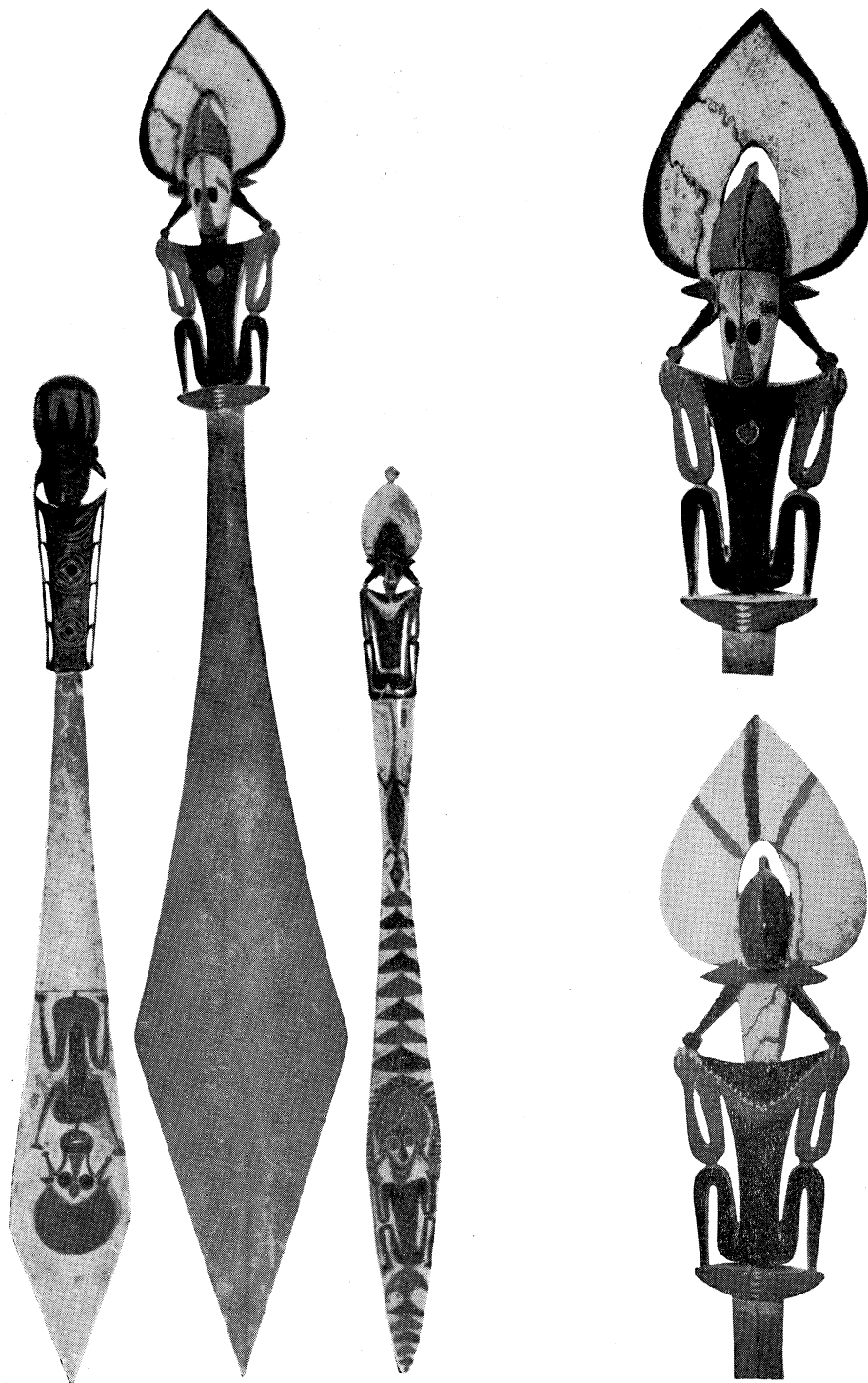


Fig. 2.—1 and 2, after A. Lommel, China. 3 and 4, after R. Greiner, Marquesas. 5 and 6 after R. Linton and P. Wingert, Indonesia. 7, after Chen Chi-Lu, Formosa. 8, Paddle, Nos. E8001 and E8102. 9 and 10, after A. Lommel, New Guinea. 11, petrograph from Hawaii. 12, 13, 14, 15, clubs from the New Hebrides. 16 and 17, paddles from Palau. 18, 19, 20, paddles from Micronesia. 21, 22, 23, 24, paddles from Cook Islands. 25, paddle from St. Mathias. 26, 27, 28, paddles from New Zealand.



Group I.—Registration numbers (from left): Unnumbered, E 1159, B 8722, B 8755, B 738.

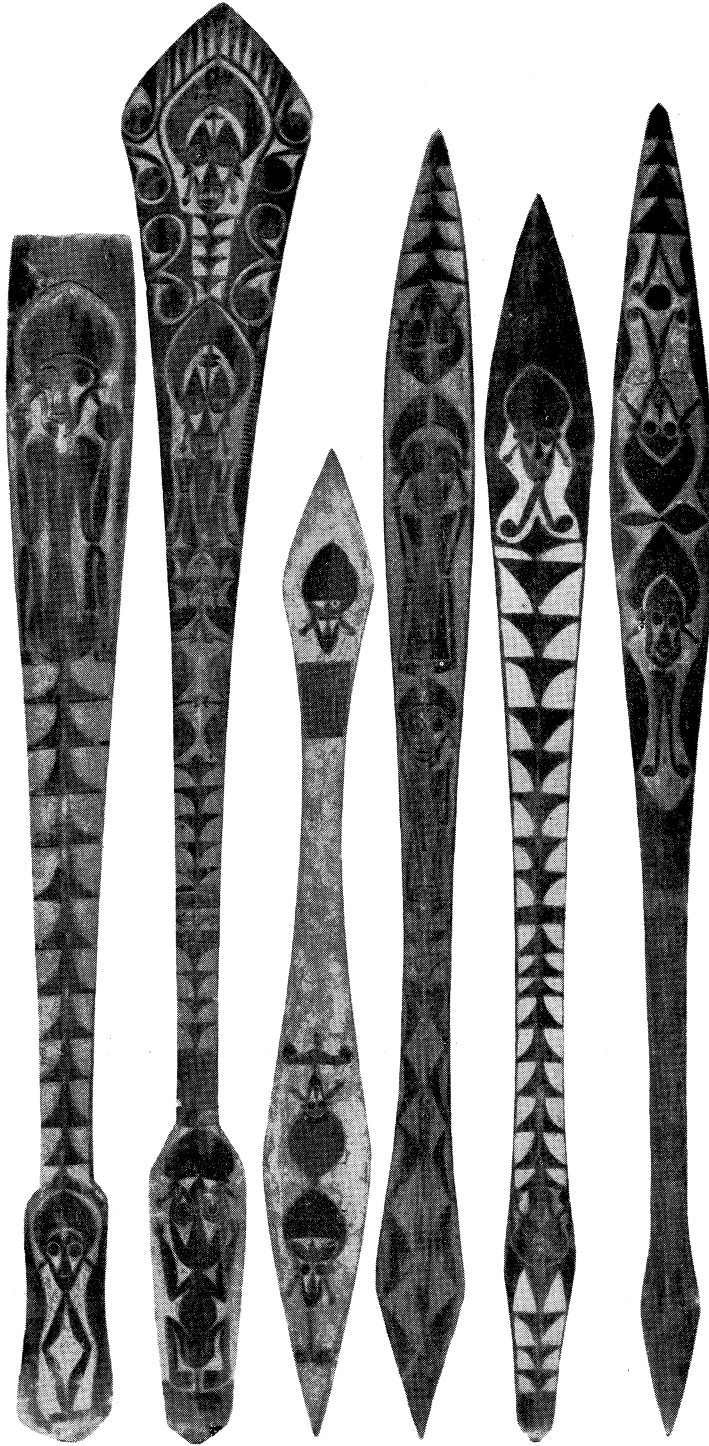
G 9324-3



Group II.—Registration numbers (from left): E 16513, B 721, B 8740; detail of top of B 721 from front and behind.



Groups II and III—Registration numbers (from left): E 8037 B 8752, B 8905, B 8921, E 8001.



Group III—Registration numbers (from left): E 8785, E 7968, E 26516, E 8049, B 8796, E 7974.



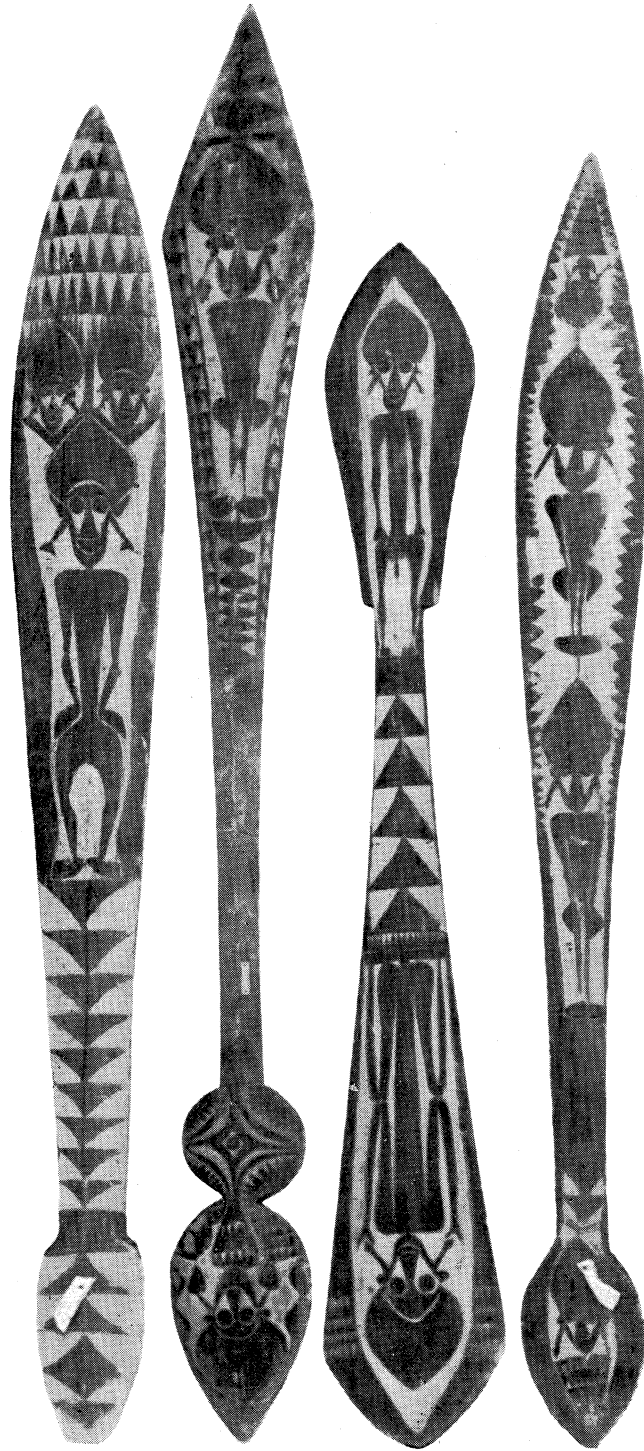
Group III—Registration numbers (from left): E 7981, E 8057, B 8758, E 8080, E 7950.



Group III—Registration numbers (from left): E 8084, B 8081, B 8775, E 5346, E 8059, E 8053.



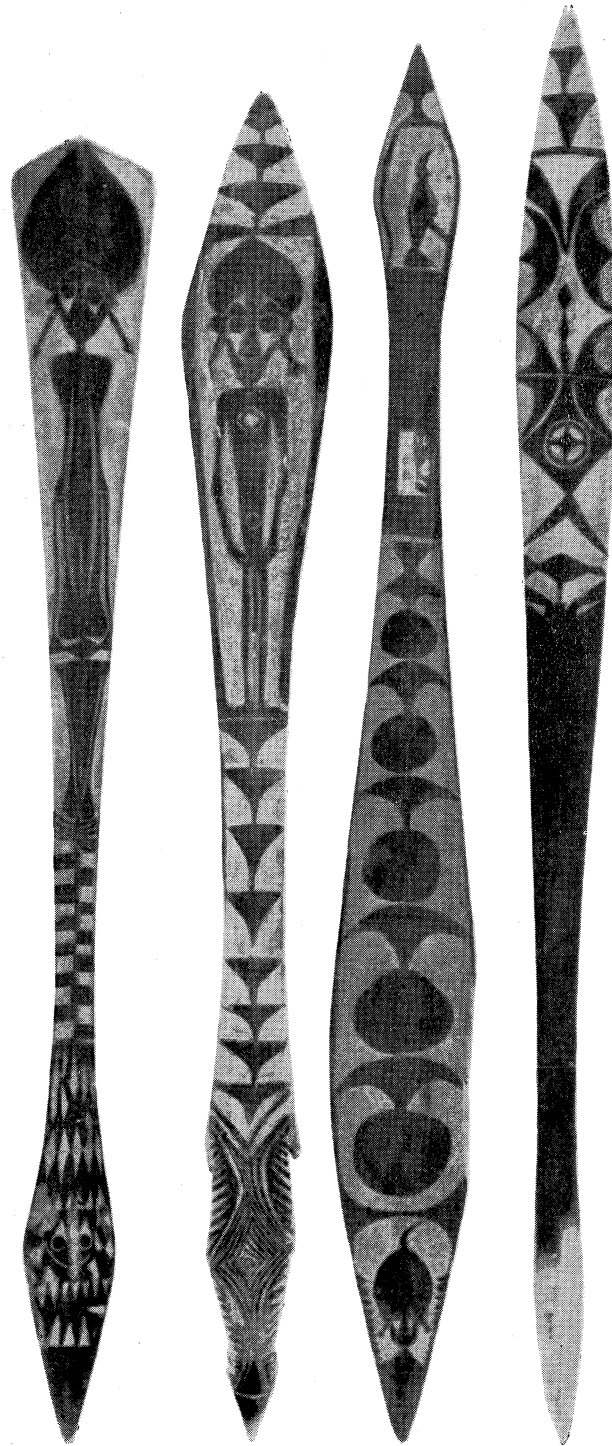
Group III—Registration numbers (from left): E 7952, E 7951, B 8759, E 24669, E 7995, E7955.



Group III—Registration numbers (from left): E 8052, E 24668, E 8079, E 8056.



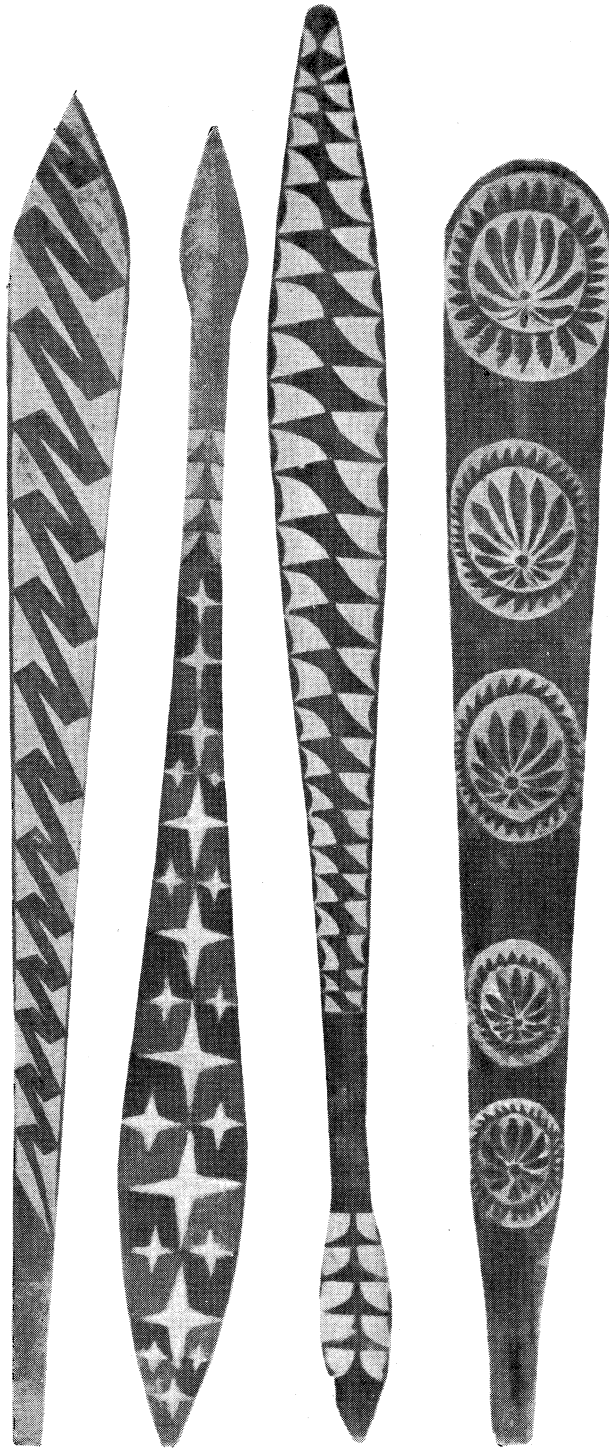
Group III—Registration numbers (from left): E 8100, E 7966, E 8063, E 8061, E 7947, E 8062.



Group III—Registration numbers (from left): B 8749, E 8048, E 24670, B 8768.



Group III—Registration numbers (from left): E 7985, B 8896, E 7959, unnumbered, E 7990, B 8784.



Group III—Registration numbers (from left): B 8786, E 7971, B 8766, B 8914.



Details of E 8059 (plate 8).