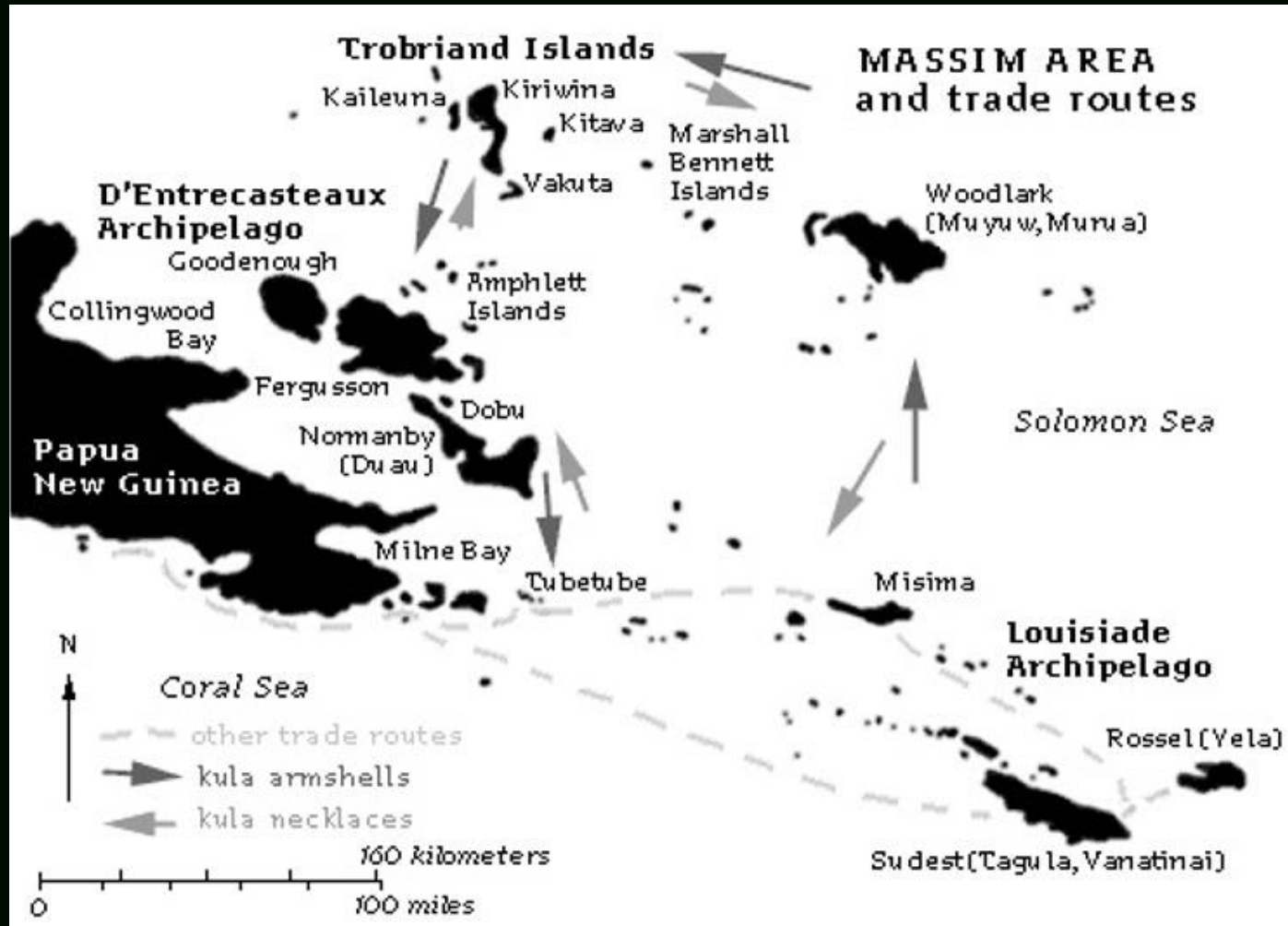


Malinowski e la fotografia

Argonauti alle Trobriand



Argonauti alle Trobriand



L'occhio di Malinowski

- L'istinto visuale di Malinowski
- Le fotografie e i “Diari”

Fotografia e lavoro sul campo

- *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*
- Diamond Jenness e Bronislaw Malinowski
- Fotografia catalografica e fotografia artistica (“l’antropologo come artista”)
- La fotografia coglie e fissa i dettagli



FIG. 1. Diamond Jenness, *Patient at Samarai Hospital: Full Face*



FIG. 2. Diamond Jenness, *Patient at Samarai Hospital: Profile*

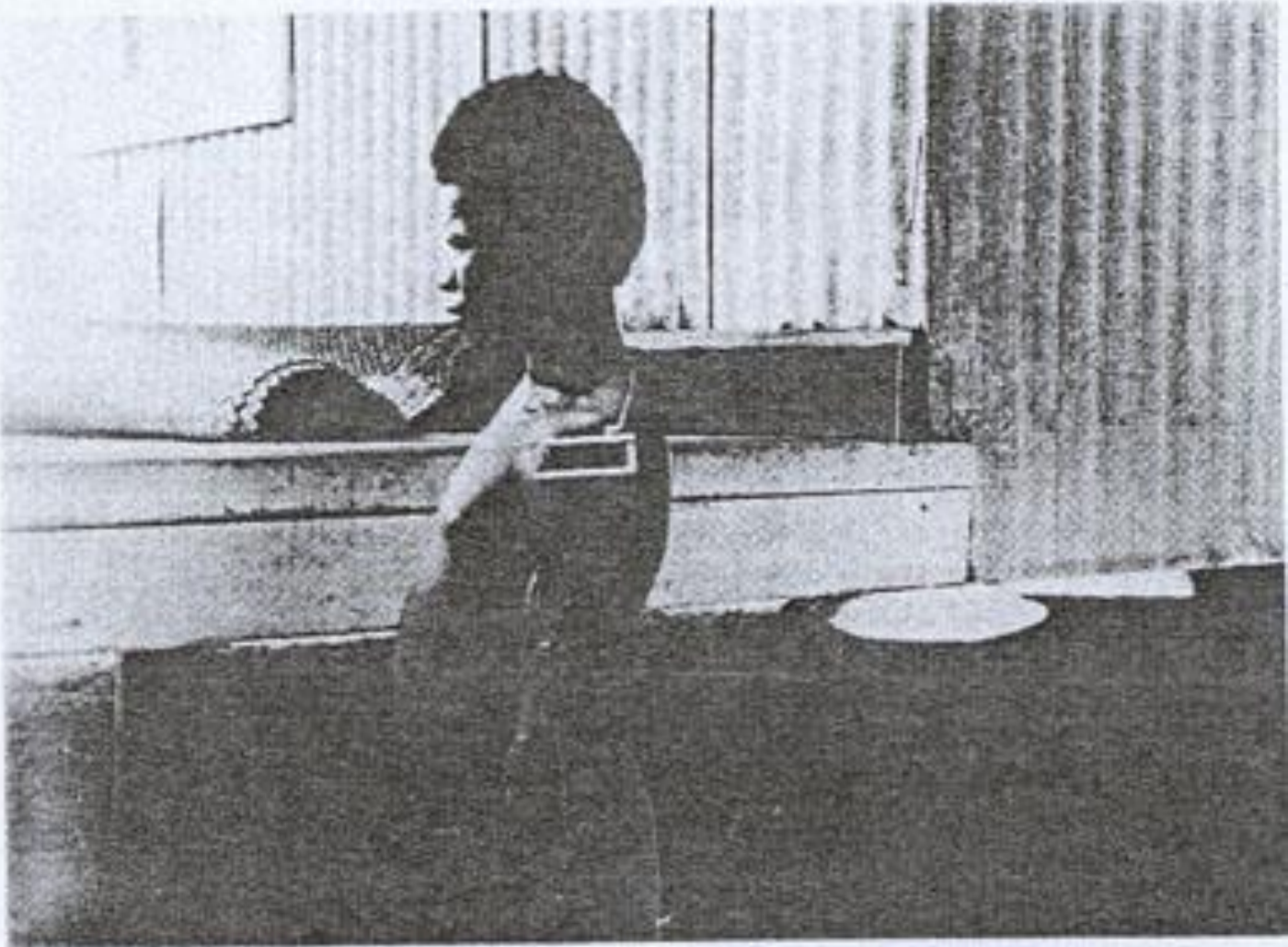


FIG. 3. Diamond Jenness, *Patient at Samarai Hospital: Profile*

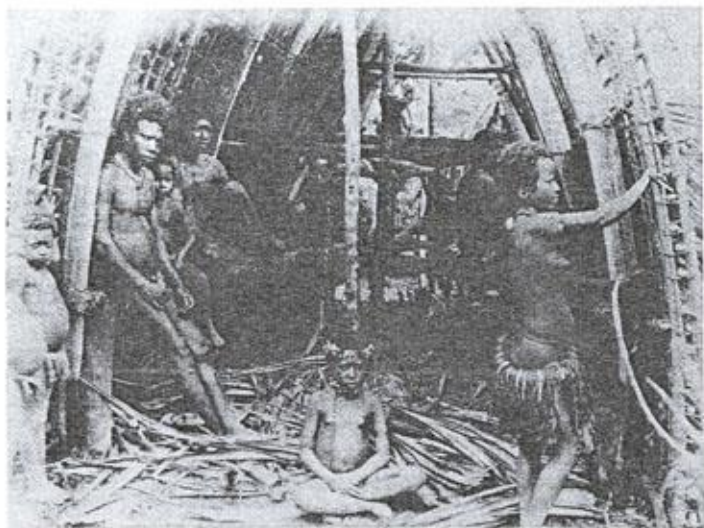


FIG. 6. Bronislaw Malinowski, *House Building* (LSE XXVI: 8)

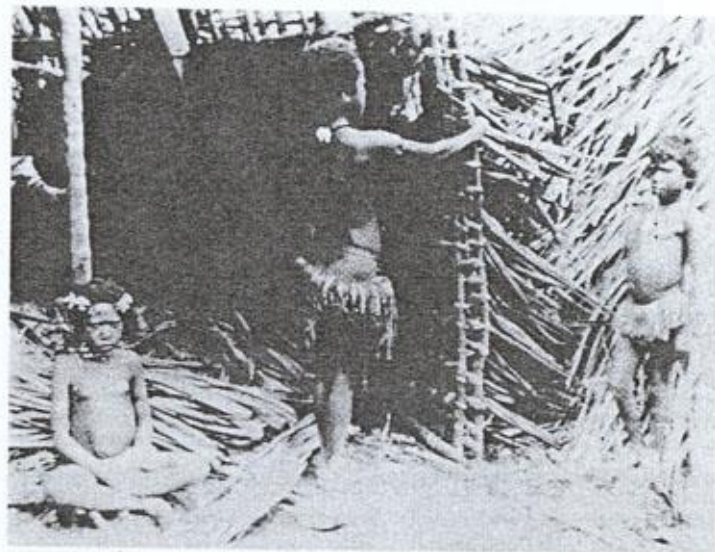


FIG. 7. Bronislaw Malinowski, *House Building* (LSE XXVI: 9)

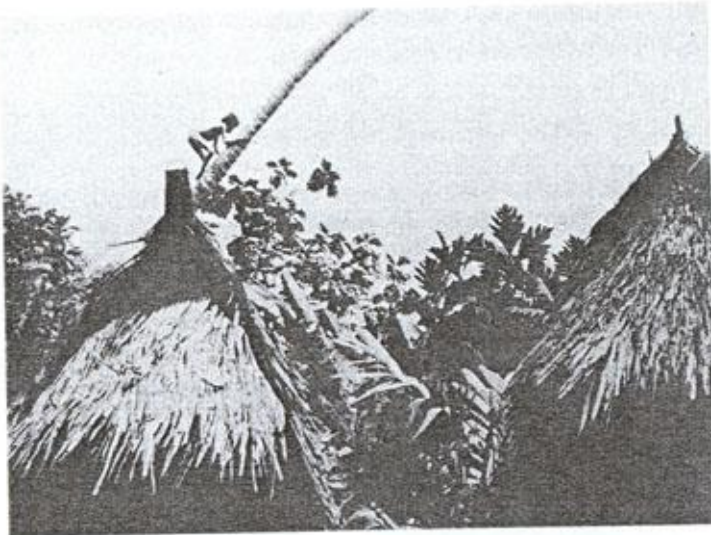


FIG. 9. Diamond Jenness, *Man Climbing a Tree, Goodenough Mission*

Fotografia ed etnografia

- Fotografia come taccuino d'appunti
- Fotografia come riepilogo per la memoria
- Fotografia come progetto etnografico

Fotografia e scrittura

- Intreccio fra testo, fotografie e didascalie
- Nella fotografia viene rappresentata la scrittura
- Fotografia e attestazione di essere là



Tavola 1

La tenda dell'etnografo sulla spiaggia di Nu'agasi.

La fotografia ritrae una scena di vita locale (cfr. capp. 4 e 5): accanto la tenda il tronco scavato di una grande canoa e, sulla sinistra, una canoa *masawa* tirata a secco sotto una tettoia di foglie di palma.



XLIV



XLV

Tavola XLIV

Tecnica di fabbricazione di un vaso di terracotta.

Nella fotografia a sinistra pezzi di argilla vengono sovrapposti a cerchio e amalgamati in modo da formare un sottile rotolo. Nella fotografia a destra il rotolo viene lavorato dall'interno sollevando tutt'intorno lo strato di argilla.

Tavola XLV

Tecnica di fabbricazione di un vaso di terracotta.

Nella fotografia a sinistra si vede la lavorazione della parte superiore, vicino al foro, dell'imposto di argilla a forma di cupola: il foro verrà poi chiuso e solo dopo quest'ultima operazione, essendo la terracotta piccola, l'intera superficie verrà battuta per renderla omogenea, così come si vede nella fotografia di destra.



LI

Tavola LI
Lavorazione della conchiglia *kaloma* (III).
Con il trapano a pompa viene praticato un foro nei dischetti.



LII

Tavola LII
Lavorazione della conchiglia *kaloma* (IV).
I dischetti di conchiglia piatti e forati, ma dal contorno ancora irregolare, vengono infilati in un bastoncino sottile e resistente e levigati rotolandoli su una pietra arenaria per dargli una forma perfettamente cilindrica.

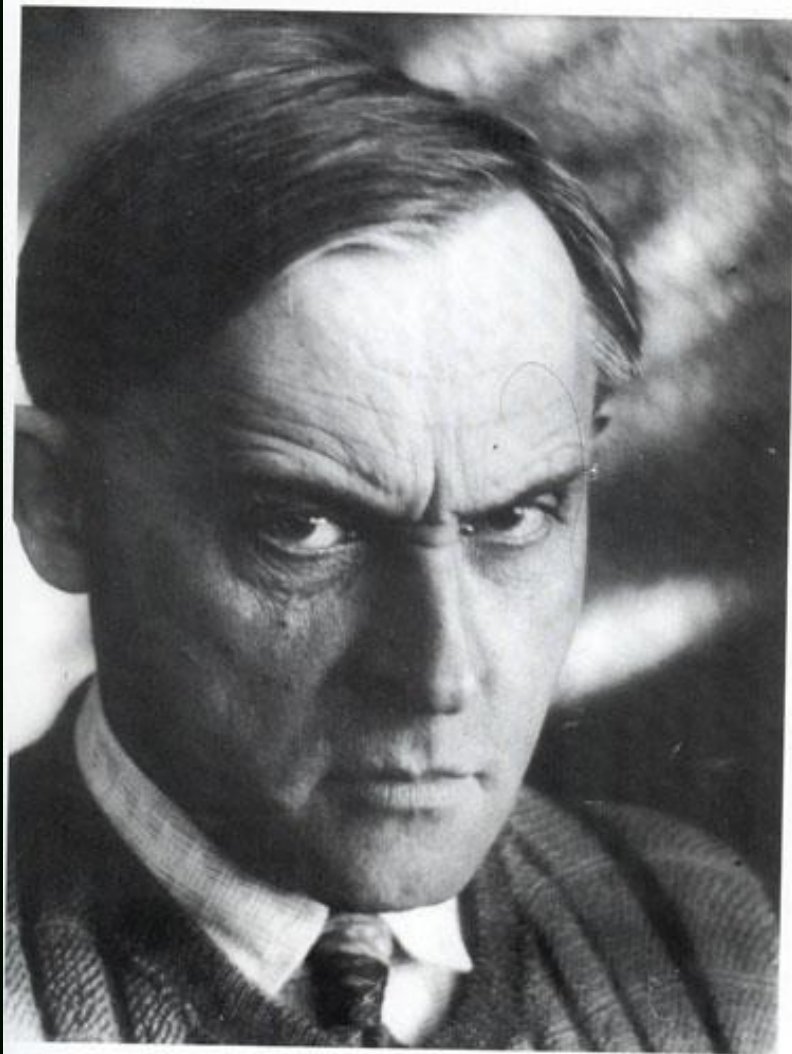
Malinowski e...

- Malinowski e Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz
- Malinowski e Billy Hancock

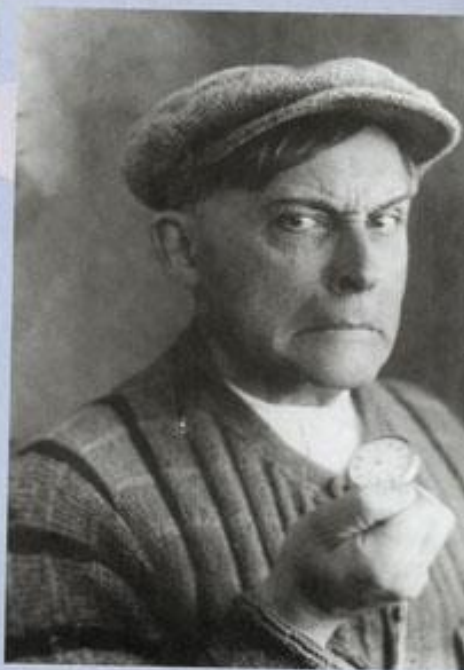


Bronisław Malinowski. Fot. Stanisław I. Witkiewicz.
Bronisław Malinowski. Photo by Stanisław I. Witkiewicz.

Ze zbiorów Heleny Weyne
The collection of Helena Weyne.



Stanisław I. Witkiewicz. Fot. Józef Głogowski, Zakopane, ok. 1931. Ze zbiorów Muzeum Tatrzańskiego.
Stanisław I. Witkiewicz. Photo by Józef Głogowski, Zakopane, ca 1931. The collection of the Tatras Museum.



Przeobrażenie wariata, Stanisław I. Witkiewicz. Fot. Józef Głogowski, Zakopane ok. 1931. Ze zbiorów Muzeum Tatrzańskiego
A madman's dream, Stanisław I. Witkiewicz. Photo by Józef Głogowski, Zakopane, ca. 1931. The collection of the Tatra Museum

Stanisław I. Witkiewicz parodiujący W. Mayakowskiego z filmu "Chuligan i poeta". Fot. Józef Głogowski, Zakopane ok. 1931.
Ze zbiorów Muzeum Tatrzańskiego

Stanisław I. Witkiewicz in the parody of Mayakovsky in the film "A Hoodlum and a Madman". Photo by Józef Głogowski, Zakopane,
 ca. 1931. The collection of the Tatra Museum

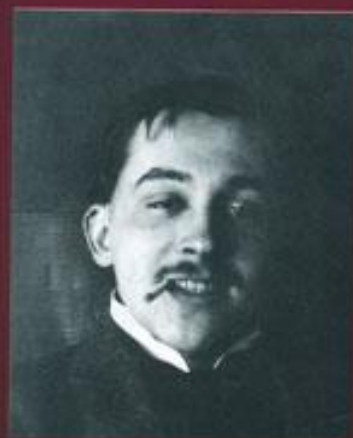


Stanisław I. Witkiewicz, Bronisław Malinowski, portret, 1930.
 Ze zbiorów Heleny Weyze
 Stanisław I. Witkiewicz, Bronisław Malinowski, portret, 1930
 The collection of Helena Weyze

Stanisław I. Witkiewicz, autorportret [?] na tle własnej biografii,
 Zakopane, ok. 1913. Ze zbiorów Muzeum Tatrzańskiego
 Stanisław I. Witkiewicz, self-portrait [?] against the background of his
 biography, Zakopane, ca. 1913. The collection of Tatra Museum

Stanisław I. Witkiewicz, Zakopane, ok. 1903. Ze zbiorów Muzeum
 Tatrzańskiego

Stanisław I. Witkiewicz, Zakopane, ca. 1903. The collection of Tatra
 Museum





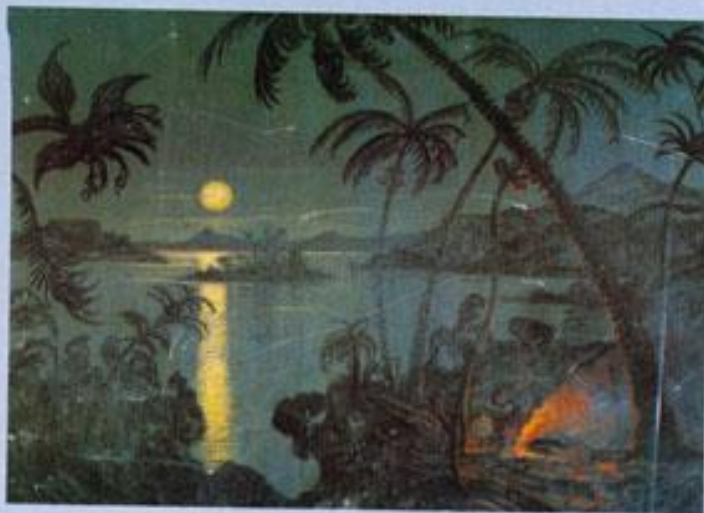
Stanisław I. Witkiewicz, *Morski król*, pastel, 1916, ze zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie.
 Stanisław I. Witkiewicz, *Morski król*, pastel, 1916, National Museum, Kraków

Stanisław I. Witkiewicz, *Autoportret*, pastel, 1917, ze zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie.
 Stanisław I. Witkiewicz, *Self-portrait*, pastel, 1917, National Museum, Kraków



Stanisław I. Witkiewicz, *Autoportret*, pastel, 1919, ze zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie.
 Stanisław I. Witkiewicz, *Self-portrait*, pastel, 1919, National Museum, Kraków

Stanisław I. Witkiewicz, *Orang-Blanda* - autoportret w mundurze oficera Pułku pawłowski, pastel, 1919, ze zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie.
 Stanisław I. Witkiewicz, *Orang-Blanda* - Self-portrait in the uniform of the officer of the Pawłowski's Regiment, pastel, 1919, National Museum, Kraków



Lokomotywa nr 16006 na stacji w Zakopanem. Fot. Stanisław I. Witkiewicz, 1899. Ze zbiorów Muzeum Tatrzańskieg;
Locomotive No. 16006 at the railway station in Zakopane. Photo by Stanisław I. Witkiewicz, 1899. The collection of the Tatra Museum

Stanisław I. Witkiewicz, pejzaż australijski, 1923, pastel. Ze zbiorów Magdaleny i Janiny Kratochwił
Stanisław I. Witkiewicz, Australian Landscape, 1923, pastel. Collection of Magdalena and Janina Kratochwił



Billy Hancock with camera in Tukwaukwa, a village near his place at Gusaweta. Judging by the fresh pandanus roof of the yam house, the month is July or August, and the year must be 1918. As many other photographs show, this particular corner of the *baku* (central place) of Tukwaukwa seems to have been a favorite location for posing subjects.

-00-



PLATE 11

Malinowski with his "snapshot" camera in a complementary take by Billy. The identity of the bored-looking individual with the camera box slung over his shoulder intrigued Linus Digim'Rina, "His face isn't that of a Trobriander and his stomach is too fat for him to be a regular gardener. His waist-cloth suggests that he works for a white man." Could this be Ogisa, we wondered, the manservant Malinowski "abducted" from Dobu?²⁶

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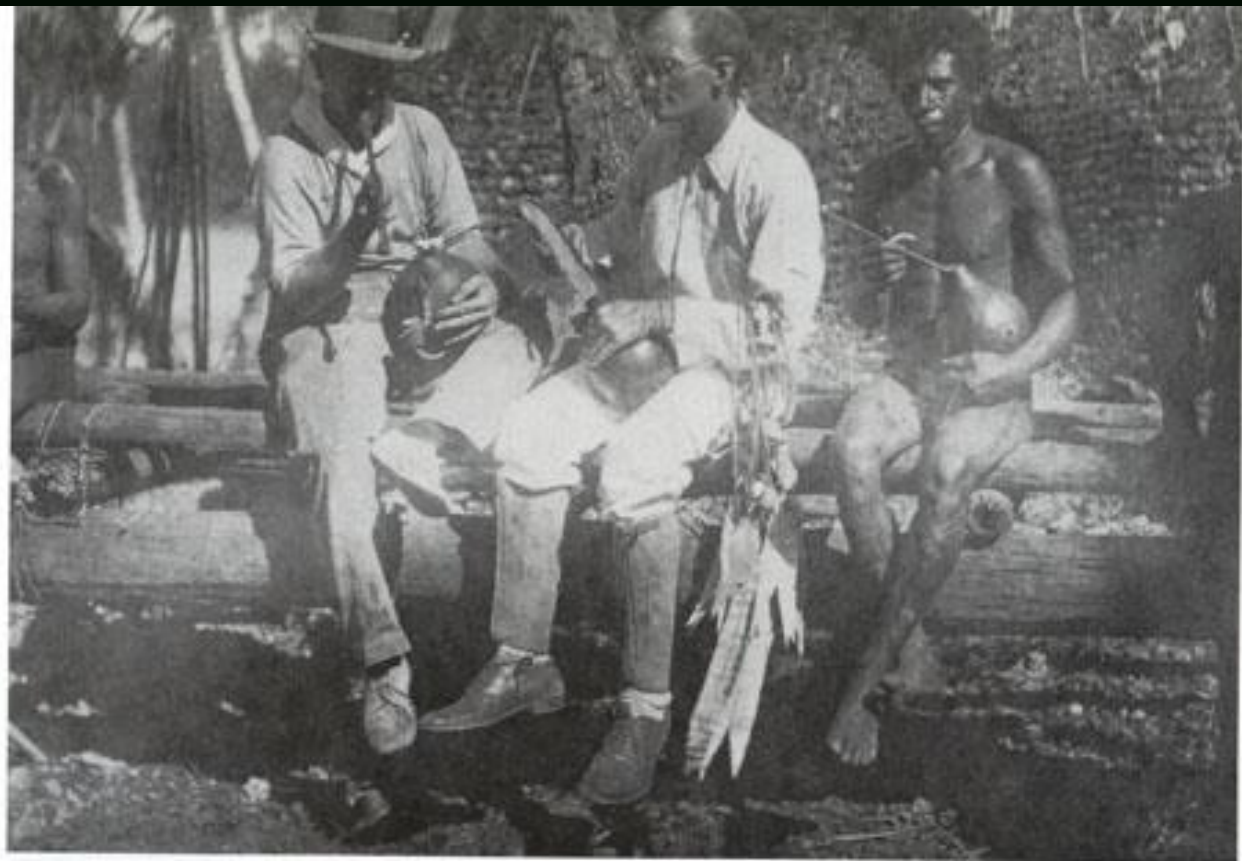


PLATE 14

From youth everyone in the Trobriands chews betel (or areca) nut, a mild narcotic and social lubricant. Hancock (left) is applying powdered lime to his mouth; Malinowski appears to be merely pretending to chew. (In 1917-18 his new false teeth would have frustrated any enjoyment.) All three men hold chiefly limepots. Now it is Malinowski who holds the whalebone limestick, which only "nobility" are privileged to rattle noisily in the gourd. The *solava* with its pandanus streamers dangles from his arm. The Trobriander seated next to Malinowski is Toguguwa (Malinowski's Tugugu'a), "a sorcerer of some repute and a good informant." He appears here without his wig.¹¹

Tecniche di ripresa

- Prevalenza del “campo medio”
- Obiettivo ad altezza di occhi
- Prevalenza dell’inquadratura orizzontale
- Sequenze in rapida successione (esplorazione del soggetto)
- Scarse riprese in posa, preferenza di “tempo reale”



PLATE 122

Malinowski crouched over his snapshot camera at low tide on the mangrove-fringed shore of Oburaku. The boy on the left is holding his helmet. The photographer, probably Billy Hancock, is facing south in the direction of Sinaketa.

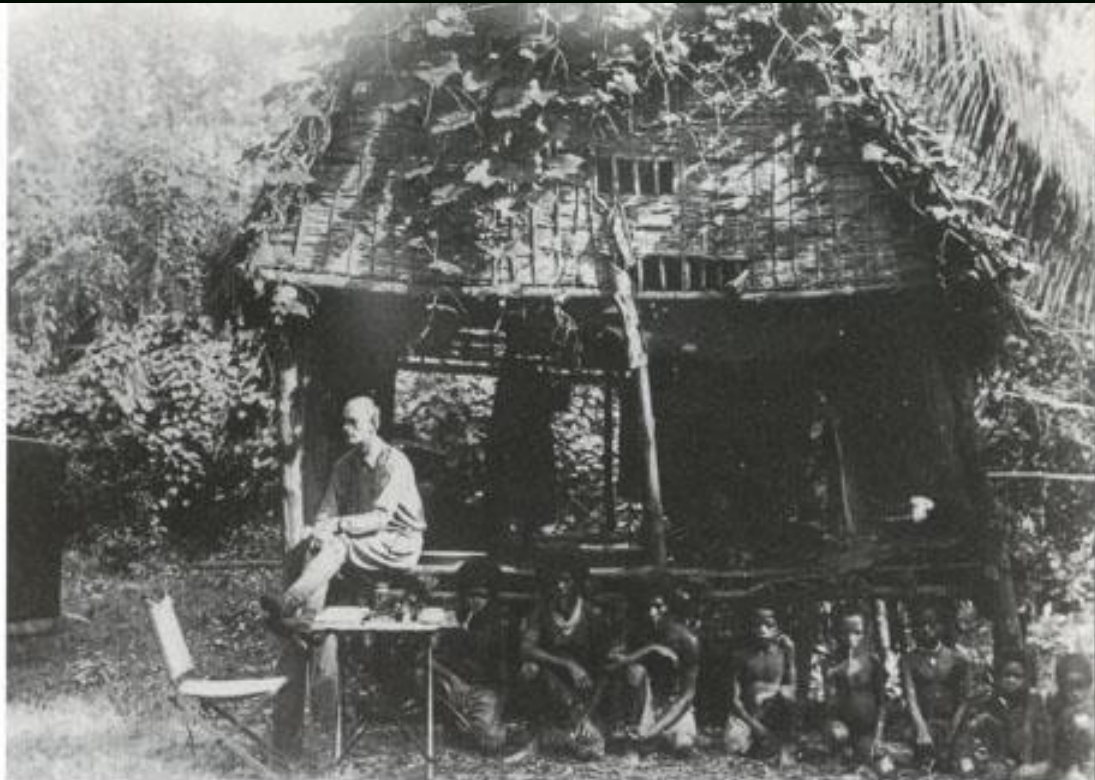


PLATE 9

This photograph of Malinowski's tent in Omarakana is distinguished by the *absence* of the Ethnographer, whose seated, silhouetted profile appears in its companion image, reproduced by George Stocking as an "ironic icon" of Malinowski's "ethnographic method and anthropological (cum colonial) authority." The group outside the tent, Stocking suggests, are "observing their momentarily non-participant observer self-absorbed in the work of representing them."⁶ (Malinowski was equally likely, of course, to have been writing to his fiancée.)

The observer standing stiffly in front of the tent is Malinowski's "favourite informant" and "best friend," Tokulubakiki, the son of Molubabebe, a member of the chiefly Tabalu subclan. The roof of Bagidou's house can be seen behind him, a house that was built in 1917 and therefore dates the photograph to Malinowski's second sojourn in Omarakana. His camp bed is clearly visible, as is his table of patent medicines to the right.

On 7 June 1918, the day he arrived in Omarakana, Malinowski wrote to Elsie Masson, "Then I supervised the erecting of my tent, which was put up quickly and well (sometimes they make it crooked or too low or too high). . . . Then turned up my favourite Tokulubakiki a decent, honest, straightforward man, as far as they make them here. There were of course all the *guya'us* [chiefs]: Toulu[wa], cadging [tobacco] right out. There was Bagido'u, his *kadulu* (sister's son) and heir apparent. . . .



On the reverse of this print is the caption "Village scene (and Methods)." The method being demonstrated is perhaps that of the itinerant village census (complete with line of compliant informants and Ethnographer with camp chair and table). But certain details do not support this interpretation. The majority of the seated "informants" are children. The water tank to the left and the nontraditional design of the dilapidated house betray a European settlement of some kind. The curiously disengaged pose of the Ethnographer suggests a tea break—are those cups on the table? Glimpsed through the wall to the right is a white object which Linus identified as the *tabuyo* (prowboard) of a toy canoe.

Linus guessed that this might be the abandoned house of Billy Hancock at Sinaketa in which Malinowski stayed for about a week in April 1918 ("I have an overgrown wilderness of betel palms, pawpaws, coconuts—all chokeful [*sic*] of weeds—in front of me"). But it is unlikely that Malinowski would have described this house to Elsie Masson as "pleasant-looking."

Malinowski holds up a *solava* (shell necklace) decorated with shaped and crimped pandanus leaves. Partly obscured by the necklace is Namwanaguyau, Chief Toulouwa's favorite son, who seems to be holding his father's limepot, as is his privilege. The man wearing a waist-cloth and holding a staff is probably a village policeman (a government-appointed official). Left to right from Namwanaguyau; Tokuhakiki, Mitakata (brother of Bagidou), Kalogusa (another son of Toulouwa), Touvesei (Malinowski's Towese'i, brother of Bagidou), and two unidentified boys, the last holding a valuable whalebone spatula.

-50-

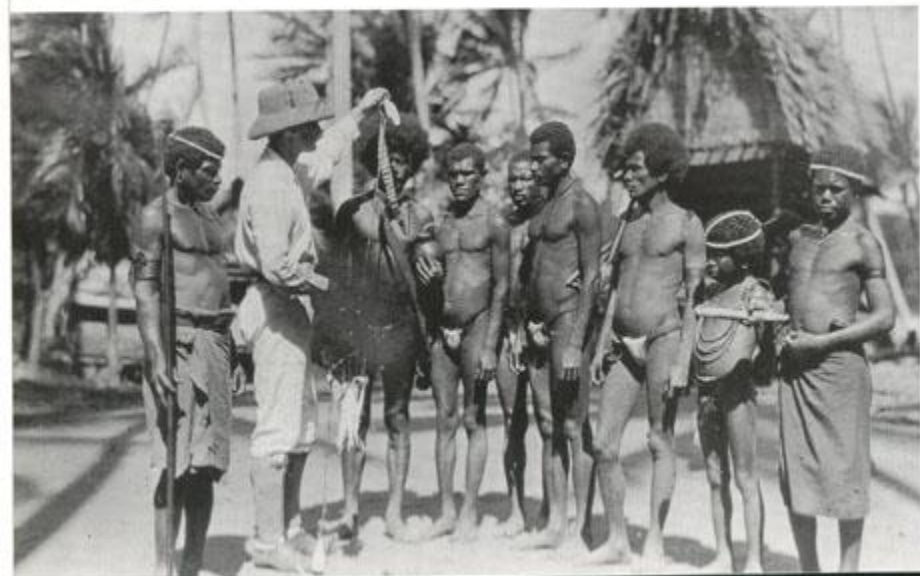


PLATE 15

Malinowski inspecting the *solava* of a Tukwaukwa girl. According to a note on the back of the print, he proposed to use this provocative image as the frontispiece to *The Sexual Life of Savages*. He was presumably dissuaded from doing so by his wife or his publisher. A companion shot taken on the same occasion was published as plate XIX in *Argonauts* ("Two Women Adorned with Necklaces") to illustrate the manner of wearing *solava*.¹²

-50-



PLATE 14

Linus identified the village as Kasanaï, which adjoins Omarakana, and the decorated house as therefore belonging to Chief Kwewayā. The man holding Malinowski's briefcase cannot be identified.¹³ Malinowski's caption on the print states only that it is a *bukumatula*, or bachelors' house (which they share with their lovers). The interpretations are quite compatible; "A young chief's *lisiga* [today *ligisa*] (personal hut); is as a rule used also to accommodate other youths and thus becomes a *bukumatula* with all that this implies."¹⁴



PLATE 38

The majority of dances are circular, the drum-beaters and singers standing in the middle, while the dancers move round them in a ring. "Baloma," 373

Plate 38 is one of a series of photographs illustrating a dance called *Rogaewa* (a *wosimwaya*, or "traditional dance"). Malinowski's legend to another one in the sequence explains, "Dancers from Omarakana instructing the villagers of Liluta in the Rogayewo, a slow dance performed by men wearing fibre skirts, and holding pandanus streamers in their hands. Most of the spectators are watching from a shady spot behind the camera."² Linus was pleased to recognize the decoration of the large yam house in the background as belonging to his own subclan, Kwainama.

Tabalu men of Omarakana take wives from Liluta, reason enough to enable Liluta men to "purchase" (*loga*) this dance with "a substantial payment of food and valuables."³ Malinowski accompanied Chief Touluwa and Omarakana men on "one big visit" in late September 1915, when the dance was taught to the men of Liluta. Plate 38 can be dated accordingly.⁴ Malinowski's fieldnotes indicate that the *Rogaewa* was also bought (for one stone ax blade and two pigs) by Pillbomatua, the sorcerer of Kwebwaga.

Linus commented, "According to my father, the *Rogaewa* dance comes from Iwa islanders, who first taught it to men of Okeboma. They in turn taught it to the Tabalu of Omarakana. But they were not given the complete dance, so Okeboma retained a somewhat different version."

There are two main types of dance in Boiowa [that is, Boyowa]. The circular dances, where the orchestra (the drums and singers) stand in the middle, and the performers go round them in a circle, always in the opposite direction to the hands of a watch. These dances are again subdivided





Plates 50 and 51 depict the front and side views of the same girl. Linus surmised she might be the young wife of a Tabalu notable, if not a Tabalu herself, and noted, "Her looks are those of Kwainama subclan whose women traditionally marry Tabalu men."



Commoners don't wear wrist bands or such large upper arm bands (*kwasi*). She also wears a *butia* (garland of flowers) around her head, turtleshell earrings (*paia*), and a decorative banana-leaf skirt called *takulakola*.



PLATE 59

The posed figures against a backcloth strongly suggest that this photograph was not taken by Malinowski. Linus responded, "These men are not from Kiriwina. Perhaps they are from Sanaroa, Tewara, or the Amphletts. The comb handle sticking out of the man's hair is not a Trobriand design. I've never seen anything like those pigtailed with shells on the end. The man on the right also has something odd about his hair . . . that strand dangling in front of his face."

Chief Pulayasi identified the woven hairpiece of the man on the left as *sesai*, characterized by its cowrie shell decorations. "Only Muyuwa [Woodlark] and Kitava men wore *sesai*. The other man could be from Dobu."



PLATE 63

"A sorcerer is always also able to effect a cure. The curative spell must be uttered loudly and publicly over the healing substance, so as to allay all suspicion. The sorcerer is here seen with a [coconut shell] water bottle in his hand and he chants the spell into the opening, using a leaf as a screen so as to prevent his voice straying away."³ Linus suspected a chance encounter at either Losuia or Gusaweta during which Malinowski persuaded the three men to enact a rite for the camera. The man on the right appears to be Yobukwau, son of Chief Toulawa.

PLATE 70

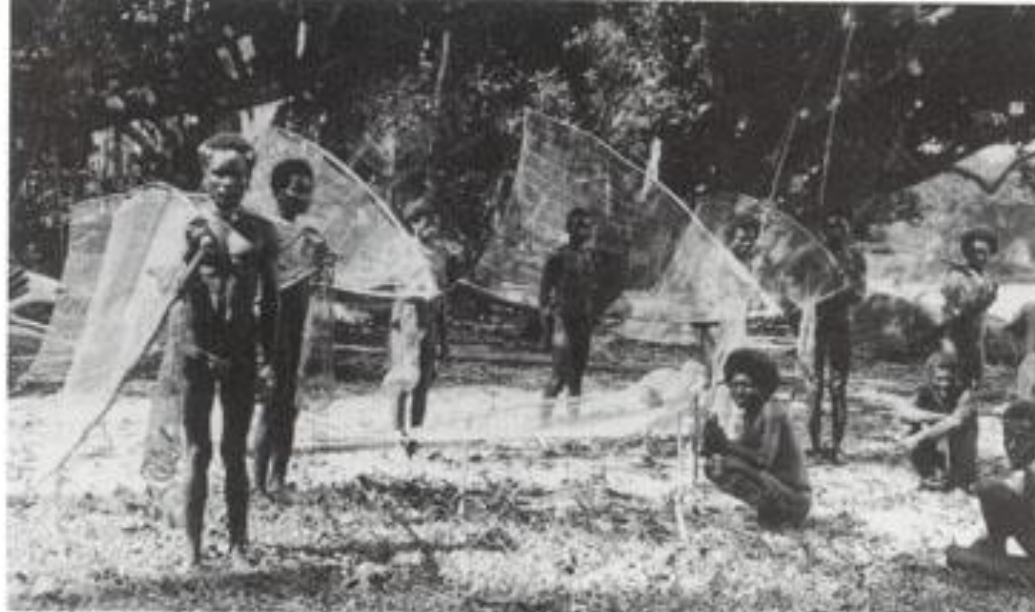


PLATE 71



These two photographs belong to a sequence of eight labeled "Fishing Magic." Linus identified the location as Labai, on the northwest coast of Kiriwina. "People are dark there, with plump faces, like these men." The islet is called Sia. The men are about to fish on the fringing reef for mullet (*kalala*) using nets of the triangular *kiluva* type.

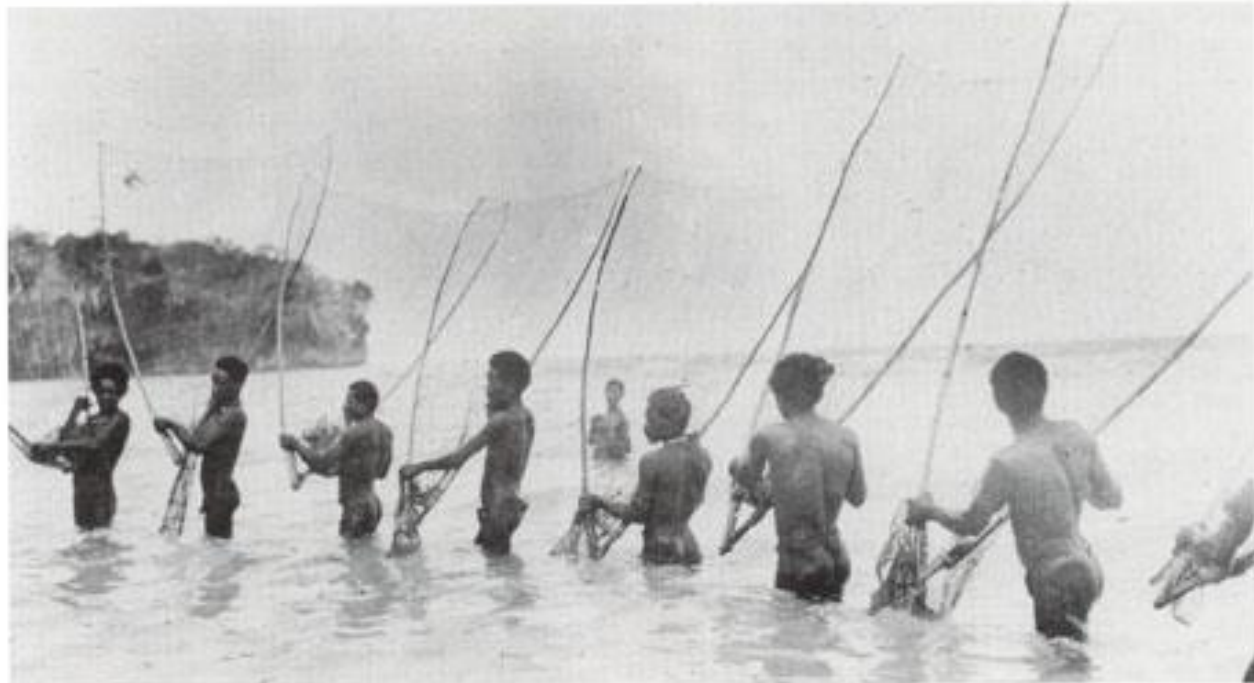


PLATE 75

Linus commented, "According to Giyomatala of Teyava, these photos show men (probably of Teyava or Oyuveyova) using nets called *kiluva*. He says that the men who use this method must be physically strong, as they have to manage two nets at once: large rectangular seine nets (which cannot be seen under water) and the smaller triangular *kiluva*."

Whether they are standing in the shallows or sitting in the canoes, the men wielding the *kiluva* must face those in the water who are driving the shoal. As the fish approach the submerged seine nets, many of them leap out of the water and are caught in the upraised triangular nets. Giyomatala also pointed out that a net basket, called *kabila*, is attached to the base of the triangular *kiluva* net. When the leaping fish hit the triangular net they tumble securely into the basket. *Kiluva* nets are no longer to be found in Kiriwina today.

Malinowski described this method of fishing for mullet in Labai, on the northwest coast of the island, so it is possible that the first photograph was taken there and not in the lagoon as Giyomatala believes.⁵ Fishing by this method from canoes is illustrated in plate 4 of *Coral Gardens*, which could well have been photographed on the same occasion, though Malinowski refers in his caption to "southern lagoon



PLATE 73

A *kewou*, the smaller of the two types of fishing canoes built by lagoon dwellers. The man is holding a punting pole for propelling his vessel. This is at Tukwaukwa, facing the inlet.



PLATE 95

Although the reverse of this print has "Housebuilding," it was cataloged under "Village scenes." It is taken from the inside of a dwelling house, obviously a new one as the space between the gables has not yet been filled in. The photograph is a rare example of vertical framing, obviously dictated by the high pitch of the roof. Limus observed, "This house shows finer craftsmanship than is usual nowadays. The gables are well-shaped. The house is perhaps on the edge of the *baku* in Oburaku. If so, Malinowski's tent would have been to the right. The traditional house directly opposite is unusually small, perhaps belonging to a widow or widower."



PLATE 99

The women are mashing cooked taro for rolling into flat dumplings or pancakes. Thereafter the men take over. They will boil the dumplings in large clay pots of coconut cream to make *mona*. Linus added, "*Mona* is also made with yams. Only *kui* [greater yam] is cooked raw in the coconut. *Tetu* [lesser yam] is grated and cooked first in an earth oven to make a cake. This is then cut into cubes with a thin piece of twine and thrown into the boiling coconut cream. The women's anvils are made of a hardwood called *meku* (more generally known as *kwila*). The women on the left and in the center have the Tabalu look, so this is perhaps Omarkana at the time of *milamala*." Some of Linus's informants guessed that they might be from the nearby village of Wagaluma.²



PLATE 101

Men preparing to cook *mona* in an undetermined village. They are seating the pot on a triangle of coral cooking stones (*kelagila*). The woman on the left is probably cutting baked yam cakes or mashing taro for the *mona*.

PLATE 133



PLATE 134



PLATE 135

This sequence of photographs illustrates a *kasesuya* still played in Teyava. Linus explained, "This is the *kasesuya* of *Pwasisikwa*, a small bird like a robin or wren. He's the tiniest and craftiest of Kiriwina birds, and in this game he is punished for shitting on the footpath. He is cornered and captured, and then, as shown in the first photograph, he is questioned by his captors. In the second photograph they are bending down to pick him up. In the third they are about to carry him away. I do not know what happens next!"

The girl with the long necklace is prominent in every shot.

First the corpse is washed, anointed, and covered with ornaments, then the bodily apertures are filled with coconut husk fibre, the legs tied together, and the arms bound to the sides. Thus prepared, it is placed on the knees of a row of women who sit on the floor of the hut, with the widow or widower at one end holding the head. They fondle the corpse, stroke the skin with caressing hands, press valuable objects against chest and abdomen, move the limbs slightly and agitate the



PLATE 150

At harvest of the early yams (*kav*) there is an offering of first fruits to the memory of the recently dead. Argonauts, 170

Linus gave the following interpretation of this photograph: "The woman is in mourning attire and probably the widow of the deceased. She is wearing a cowrie shell necklace doubled across her chest. Her husband was probably a big man. I suspect she is the widow because she is not holding a basket, as a sister or mother would have done. Chief Pulayasi guessed this might be milamala in Kasanai or Katagava of Kwebwaga village." Neither Linus nor Pulayasi knew that Malinowski had labeled the photograph "Sagali at Kaytuvi" or that his diary dated the event to March, far too early for milamala.

-250-



PLATE 150

Men butchering a pig for distribution, probably on the day of burial. Malinowski's caption on the reverse ("Pig-eating during *sagali* in Oburaku") is anticipatory. The death was probably that of Inekoya, in which case this photograph can be dated to 26 January 1918.

Linus remarked, "*Yawari* also refers to all food given to mourners on the day of burial. The *dala* of the deceased contribute the pig for the mourners and workers."



PLATE 156

Chief Touluwa faces four of his sons and three other Oмаракана men as they ceremonially present him with a magnificent *solava*. From right to left, Chief Touluwa, Namwanaguyau bearing the *solava*, Yobukwau blowing a conch shell, Kalogusa with the chief's limepot, and an empty-handed Dipapa. Chief Pulayasi recalled, "Dipapa came to be admired for his powerful muscles, his great strength in lifting and carrying things. People recall his exploits in catching the chief's huge pigs (*banukwa yayosa*), then breaking their legs with his bare hands."

Taken in November 1915, this photograph is almost identical to the frontispiece of *Argonauts*, which Malinowski titled "A ceremonial act of the kula." These two belong to the same sequence as plates LXI and LXII, though they form a separate pair; they show a different ordering of men in the procession—suggesting that at least one pair of photographs depicts a re-enactment for the camera.



PLATE 91

wakaya banana leaf for a bundle (*nununiŋa*). Ketuvi is locally famous for its bananas. You can see suckers ready for planting in the shelter. A large banana bunch droops over the roof of the old house in the center. This is a traditional type of house with woven, coconut-leaf front wall and a pandanus-leaf roof. The house on the left is the newer, postcontact design, raised slightly above the ground and with an awning over a "porch" in front of the doorway. The roof is made of sago leaves which would have come from Wawela, the only local source of sago."

For health reasons, the colonial government encouraged people to build houses raised off the ground. Wary of sorcerers, Trobriand builders compromised by making the house floor too low to crawl beneath, but sufficiently raised to allow air to circulate and eliminate dampness.⁸ Malinowski does not seem to have commented on these modifications to traditional house design, though they had already begun to change the appearance of Trobriand villages before his arrival.

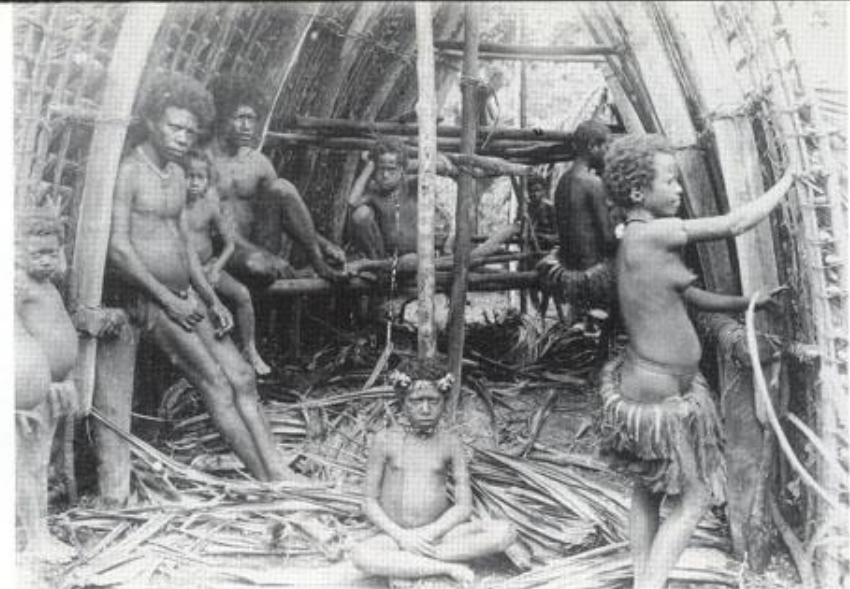


PLATE 92

House building in Teyava. This is probably the occasion Malinowski refers to in his diary entry for 11 May 1918: "took pictures of a house . . . and studied the construction of a new house."⁴ We can be certain it is Teyava because the girl who features in so many of the photographs of children's games in Teyava is seated in the center of this photograph, her tell-tale necklace dangling to the right of her head. (Surprisingly, in view of their confidence in making other identifications, Linus's Teyava informants did not claim to recognize any of these faces.)

The two girls are shown from a different angle in a published photograph entitled "Technique of Thatching a Roof." To adopt Malinowski's legend, "The broad end of a *lalang* wisp, or of a palm leaf, is pulled through the interstice between two frame rods. It is then folded back and pulled through the next interstice below."⁵ The poles in the middle of the house are merely temporary supports and would have been removed before the house was completed.