

and the settlement. How many German readers know that this tragedy happened in 1994? From this, it has to be realised that Weiss's field trip took place in 1991 – a long time ago in relation to the rapid cultural and socio-economic transformation that Papua New Guinea and its people have experienced since the 1980s. This also explains why there is almost no reference in Weiss' book to unemployment, crime, hunger, and prostitution, or the loss of perspective and hope which at the present time characterises not only urban women but most of the urban population.

One's negative impressions are increased when Weiss gives vent to her anti-colonial and anti-Australian sentiments. She explains behaviour of the fortnightly pay-day as resulting from the (white) employers' opinion that the black population are incapable of working out their income in terms of their household budget. Even though many (male) Melanesians invest their fortnightly income in beer, with the consequence that women and families have insufficient food to eat for the rest of the two-week period, the argument is vitiated by the consideration that this wage system, which was introduced by colonial administration, is still the norm in Australia. Would Weiss argue in this way with respect to Australians? More problematic still is Weiss's interpretation of the readiness of women to use violence as positive resistance against the violence of men. For Weiss, both genders are equal when women are able and willing to fight back, but what about the hundreds of women wounded or killed by women each year? In general, are violent responses and physical aggression positive if they are carried out by women, especially strong Iatmul women, and directed against men? Where is the vote against the escalation of violence at all levels of Papua New Guinea society? Even though this book is a narrative documentation of research experiences and results, one expects deeper reflection about a rapidly

developing society from a well-established anthropologist.

To summarise, Weiss's book offers a readily accessible and interesting introduction to the situation of a group of people who have left their traditional clan-based culture in a remote village to live in an urban context dominated by modern global values. Weiss was able to overcome cultural differences and thus come very close to her partners in conversations – a huge advantage for the reader. However, the book lacks credibility overall, given that the author fails to inform the reader that the narrative is about past events in a society which no longer exists – a point, however, which seems to be of no interest to either the author or the publisher.

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Michael W. Young: *Malinowski's Kiriwina. Fieldwork Photography 1915–1918.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1999. x, 306 pp., 190 halftones, 4 maps, 1 line drawing

Like Bronislaw Malinowski the British anthropologist Michael Young carried out field research on a Massim society in the south-east of mainland New Guinea. However, unlike his famous predecessor he did not go to the Trobriand Islands to do his fieldwork, but opted instead for Goodenough Island, an island relatively close to the 'holy grounds' of modern ethnography. Young's fieldwork resulted in two excellent monographs (Young 1971, 1983) which both come up to the high standards set by the master of Trobriand ethnography. It is obvious that these fine examples of ethnographic research reveal their author's deep admiration of

Malinowski (an admiration which in the end may have prevented him from going to the Trobriands himself?). This admiration was also manifested in a kind of survey introduction to the ethnography of Malinowski which Young edited in 1979. It seems that Malinowski became a kind of 'culture hero' for him, as can be inferred from his continuous publications on this great pioneer of ethnography (see e.g. Young 1984). As a fellow in the late Roger Keesing's department of anthropology in the Research School of Pacific (and – these days also – Asian) Studies at the Australian National University in Canberra, Young established contacts with Malinowski's family, and when we first met in Canberra in 1989 he proudly told me that he obtained the privilege of becoming Malinowski's official biographer. In 1988 he edited Malinowski's first publication on a Papuan culture, "The Natives of Mailu". And Michael Young's latest publication, "Malinowski's Kiriwina. Fieldwork Photography 1915–1918" is another proof that we all have good reason for rather impatiently awaiting the publication of his biography of this great anthropologist and ethnographer (see Senft 1997:17).

After the table of contents, a list of maps and the acknowledgements "Malinowski's Kiriwina" starts with an introductory essay (1–27), in which Young gives a "discursive exploration of [Malinowski's] photography and an appraisal of Malinowski the photographer" (2). After a brief "biographical sketch which situates Malinowski in the Trobriands" (2), Young discusses Malinowski's attitude toward photography, his self-critical evaluation of his field photography, his photographic intentions and strategies, and the influence of others, especially Stas Witkiewicz and Billy Hancock, on his photography. He characterises Malinowski's photographic style and technique, relating them to his "nascent functionalism", which "demanded that the relationship between visible material culture and

invisible social organization be discernible to the trained eye of the anthropologist" (19). This part of the introduction reminds us that Malinowski was also among the pioneers who developed one of anthropology's most important tools – namely photography. Then Young justifies his selection of photographs for this book, which adds another 190 of Malinowski's so far unpublished photographs to the corpus of 270 prints already published in his monographs. However, the publication of these photographs was only one of Young's intentions. He was also greatly interested "to learn what modern Trobriand Islanders might have to say about them" (23). He therefore asked one of his former Ph.D. students from the Trobriand Islands, Linus Digim'Rina, now Professor of Anthropology at the University of Papua New Guinea, to take photocopies of the prints to Kiriwina Island, to visit a number of villages there and to hand the copies around "for inspection and comment by different groups of villagers" (23). Thus Trobriand Islanders had a chance to remark on these photographs and to contribute to the commentary that goes with each print. This introduction ends with Young's "rationale for [his] arrangements of the photographs into a sequence of fourteen photo-essays" (2). Young's aim is to offer "a visual ethnography of the Trobriands" (2) which is intended to represent Malinowski's "vision of his Trobriand world" (26).

After a note on orthography (which, like the glossary of Trobriand terms after Appendix 2, ignores the orthography presented in Senft 1986), Young publishes for the first time Malinowski's general introduction to the Trobriand Islands, written "as a 'label' to accompany the 'collection of specimens from the Trobriand Islands' he presented to the national Museum in Melbourne in late 1919" (31). The "photo-narrative" (27) proper is divided into fourteen sections and represents a series of linked photo-essays based on Trobriand institutions and cultural themes as

described by Malinowski. Chapter 1 presents seven photographs taken in Samarai, Malinowski's "Gate to the Field" (37–45). Chapter 2, "Picturing the Ethnographer" (47–57), shows prints of the Government Station in Losuia, of Malinowski's tent, of the trader Billy Hancock in Tukwaukwa, and of Malinowski himself in his field. Chapter 3, "Touluwa, Chief of Omarakana" (59–69), depicts Malinowski's host in Omarakana and many of his main consultants there. The next chapter, "Coral Gardens and Their Harvests" (71–88), gives an overview of the agricultural year, starting with the burning of the gardens and concluding with yams harvest displays. On the Trobriands, the harvest is followed by the *milamala*, a festive period with much public dancing. Chapter 5 presents such "Dancing at *Milamala*" (89–100). The next chapter surveys the variety of "Physical Types" and 'Personalities'" on the Trobriands (101–117). Chapter 7 presents Trobriand "Magic" (119–130), Chapter 8 illustrates "Fishing and Canoes of the Lagoon" (131–147), and Chapter 9 depicts typical "Village Scenes" (149–161). Chapter 10 deals with a visual exploration of the "Women's Domain" (163–188), a domain which was so difficult, if not impossible, to enter for Malinowski but was later so congenially described by Annette Weiner (1976). The next chapter introduces "The Children's Republic" of games and competition (189–210). Chapter 12 depicts "Mortuary Rites and Exchanges" (211–226), for Malinowski "the most difficult and bewildering aspect of Trobriand culture" (211). The penultimate chapter presents the famous "Masawa Canoes and the Kula Quest" (227–261). And the 'photo narrative' ends with "a group of photographs [which explore] the visual interface between 'black and white'" (27). Among the photos presented in this last chapter (263–273) are prints of a missionary family, of Billy Hancock bartering with the Trobrianders, and of Mick

George's house, intended to illustrate aspects of culture contact to be observed on Kiriwina.

Following this 'visual ethnography', Appendix 1 describes Malinowski's photographic equipment (275–276), while Appendix 2 explains the numbering of the collection, giving Malinowski's reference numbers for all the 190 prints presented (277–281). After a glossary of Kilivila terms (283–285) – Kilivila is the name of the Austronesian language of the Trobriand Islanders – the book ends with the notes to the introduction, chapters and appendices (287–302) and an index (303–306).

It is rather difficult for a reviewer to find points of negative criticism. I cannot understand why Young mentions Paul Theroux's visit to the Trobriands and why he refers, in connection with Theroux, to the horrible cliché of "the Islands of Love" (1) which the popular press takes up so eagerly: in his book "The Happy Isles of Oceania", Theroux gives a rather nasty and quite faulty portrait of the islands and their inhabitants (see Senft 1998:128–130). Similarly, I have difficulties in understanding Young's reference to the *yausa* habit (see Malinowski 1929:231–236) in connection with Plate 103: this habit, which refers to women 'gang-raping' men, is something extremely exotic, even for the majority of the Trobrianders these days (see also Senft 1998:127). On pages 109 and 284, Young translates "liku" as a "small yam store": a *liku* is the big yam house of a chief or of excellent gardeners. On page 177 he does not mention that "noku" also refers to "colour". On page 284 he incorrectly glosses "kukwanebu" as a "bawdy folktale": "kukwanebu" can be glossed as "story"; it can be bawdy, but it need not be. And on page 285 he claims that the *tapioka* dance is a non-traditional dance: I wonder on what grounds he comes to this conclusion. Anyhow, all these points of criticism are rather carping. What is somewhat annoying, however, is the fact that there is no proper list of references. Interested readers

have to work themselves through the notes if they want to find the publications to which the notes refer.

With this book, Michael Young has finally realized Malinowski's abandoned plan to publish his "photographs in an album with explanatory notes" (1). The selected photos fully achieve Young's aim of presenting a visual ethnography of the Trobriands in the spirit of Malinowski. The plates, notes and comments that go with them, incorporating excerpts from Malinowski's diaries, letters, fieldnotes and anecdotes, not only shed light on Malinowski's ethnographic style and his relationship to his consultants once more, they are also an important addition to the history of ethnography and visual anthropology and a unique record of Trobriand society. Moreover, the commentaries on the photographs by contemporary Trobrianders add a further layer of interpretation. Although these photographs certainly document a bygone society, it is nevertheless remarkable to realize that, despite a number of severe cultural changes (Senft 1992), the Trobriand Islanders of today have managed to preserve the essentials of their cultural heritage and identity. This is a rather personal impression, of course, but many photographs in this book depict the very same scenes that my wife and I have photographed during our various periods of field research on the Trobriands in 1982–1983 (15 months), in 1989 (4 1/2 months), and in 1992–1998 (two months every year).

To summarise, this is an excellent book on Malinowski's Kiriwina. It is an absolute must for every scientist interested in the history of anthropology, in visual anthropology, in Pacific studies, in Bronislaw Malinowski and, last but certainly not least, in the Trobriand Islanders.

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