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V-Shaped Chest-Markings : Distribution of a Design-Motive in and around the Pacific¹

By CARL SCHUSTER

The purpose of this paper is to call attention to a certain type of design-motive which occurs in traditional cultures on both sides of the Pacific and in the intervening Oceanic islands. This is a marking of the human chest more or less in the shape of a letter V, with its point in the region of the navel or the sternum, and its sides extending diagonally upwards to the region of the shoulders. When the design is continued some distance down the arms, it takes on the appearance of an inverted W, or M. The marking may be carried out in different media : it may be tattooed by means of pigment inserted under the skin, scarified by cutting or burning (leaving keloids or cicatrices raised on the flesh), temporarily painted or stained, or effected by the temporary fixation of foreign substances, such as bird's down, by means of resin or blood, etc. We are, however, not concerned so much with these various techniques as we are with the designs which they are used to form. The geographical distribution of these chest-markings may be considered in three groups : the first, which is very small, representing Southeast Asia (Figs. 1-3) ; the second comprising the various islands and archipelagos of the Pacific (Indonesia, New Guinea, Melanesia, Australia, Polynesia and Micronesia) ; the third comprising South and North America.

As the illustrations suggest, a good deal of variety may be comprised within the general definition of V-shaped chest-markings. Examination of the material, however, often reveals striking similarities over broad geographical areas. Perhaps the most widespread characteristic of these markings

¹ The text of the present article is a slightly expanded version of part of a paper read at the 29th International Congress of Americanists in New York in September, 1949, entitled "The Circum-Pacific and Oceanic Distribution of Some Body-Markings and Petroglyphic Designs". The illustrations of the present article were also displayed in an exhibition entitled "Across the Pacific", which was held on the occasion of the same Americanist Congress. See EKHOLM, 1950, and compare SCHUSTER, 1951. Two other motives handled in the same Congress paper — namely that of the "outlined cross" and that of a peculiar type of cheek-ornaments — the writer hopes to handle separately in later publications.

is the formation of the V out of two or more parallel lines, which may be continuous, or may themselves be composed of dots or spots, or may be continuous and dotted in combination. This multiple-line marking can be followed in our illustrations more or less continuously from Southeast Asia throughout most of the island-groups of the Pacific, and into the New World. Though the material speaks for itself, special attention might be called, for example, to the similarity between a marking like that of the Solomon Islander, 19, and such New-World markings as that of the woman from Colombia, 43, or those attested archaeologically in Costa Rica (47 and 48) and Arizona (51). Single lines of dots, like 9 and 10 in the Western Pacific, have their counterpart in Mexican archaeology (49) and among the modern Hopi of Arizona (52).

Another feature which brings the American markings into line with those of the Pacific islands is the attachment of a smaller, inverted, V to

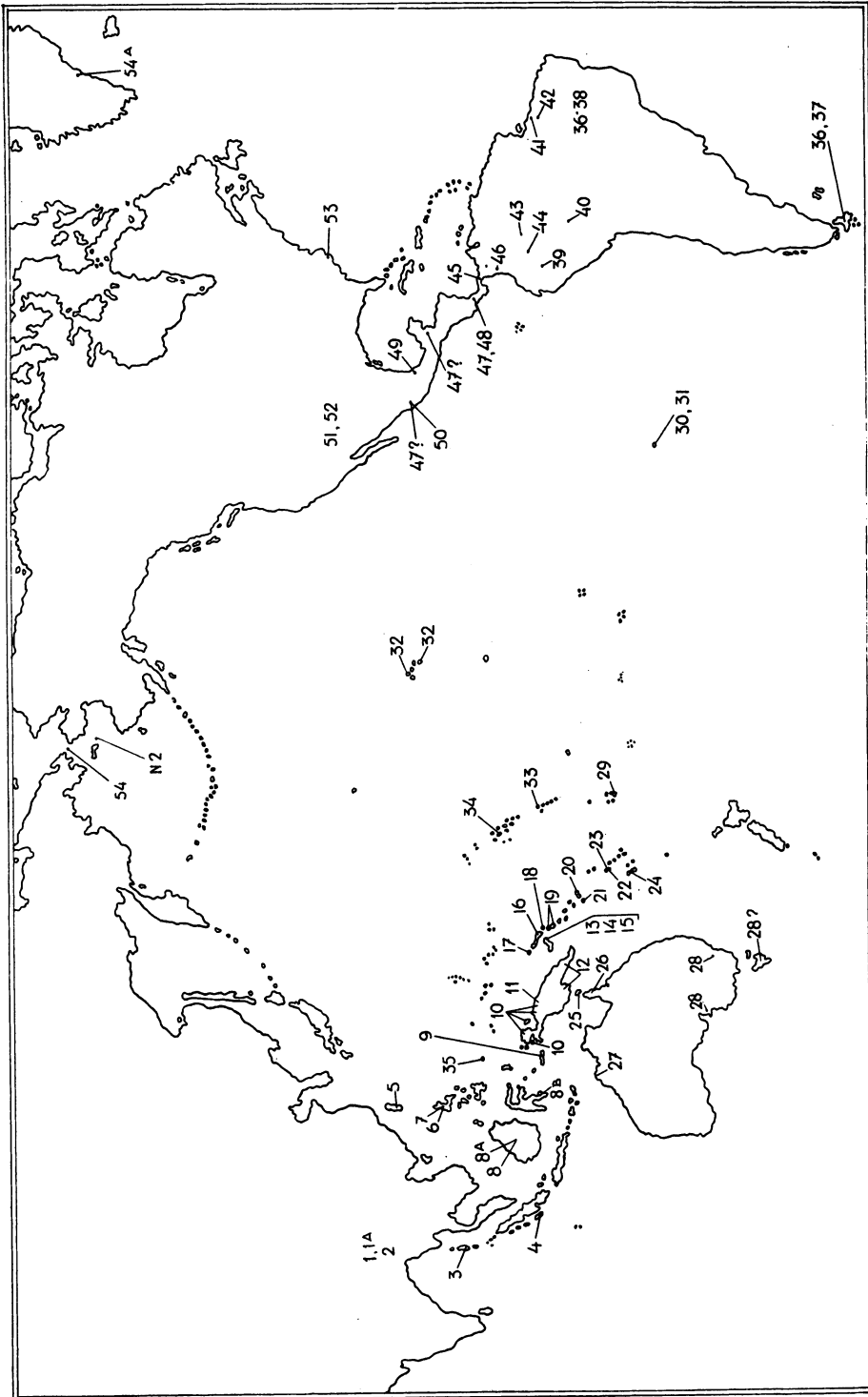


Fig. 27 a :
Northwestern Australia.

the point at the bottom of the main V. This development is especially common among the Uitoto of Eastern Peru (44, and other examples from the same source). It appears to be rudimentary also in Eastern Brazil (41); and it may have occurred in Mexico (50). On the Asiatic mainland this flaring terminal occurs among the Nagas of Assam (1 a); and in the Pacific we encounter it in Mentawai (4), Luzon (7), and perhaps abortively in Rennell Island (21), and again, in a form surprisingly close to that of Eastern Peru, in such Australian markings as represented in Fig. 27 a. That a flaring terminal occurred also on V-shaped chest-markings in Borneo is attested by a description in HOSE and McDOUGALL, 1912, 1, p. 265, of the tattooing of the Idaan group of Dusuns, "consisting of a band two inches broad, curving from each

shoulder and meeting its fellow on the abdomen, thence each band diverges to the hip and there ends . . ." This peculiarity, and the phenomenon of its sporadic occurrence on both sides of the Pacific, can be understood, I believe, in terms of an assumption which, though admittedly hypothetical, seems best to explain it. This assumption is that the V-shaped chest-marking originally had a meaning — a meaning which has been forgotten almost everywhere, leaving only a symbol as its residue. If we assume that the arms of the V represent the wings of a bird, then the secondary inverted V at the bottom can be explained as a reminiscence of the bird's tail. The evidence for an avian origin of the V-shaped chest-marking is by no means negligible, even though it is, as might be expected, sporadic and variable in character.

Of special importance for this interpretation is the body-marking from the New Hebrides, 23, which is painted alike on the back and the chest,



Distribution of V-Shaped Chest-Markings in and around the Pacific. Numbers refer either to figures or to examples not illustrated but discussed under the indicated figure-numbers in the list of illustrations. One number may stand for several instances in a given locality. N 2 refers to note 2.

on the occasion of a dance mimicking the flight of a bird. The design is called "frigate bird" or "hawk"; and the intention is quite clear. The bird is represented as flying downward, with its head at the bottom, the small V of its tail lying at the wearer's neck, and its wings spread across the shoulders and down the length of the arms, whose movement in the dance represents their flapping. Rows of dots or short dashes lining the wings evidently represent the feathers.

Another bit of evidence for the avian origin of this kind of body-marking is provided by the New Caledonian design, 24. We have here a great V or U, which is developed through secondary angles into an inverted W, or M, extending from below the navel upward to both shoulders, and thence down the length of the arms to the tips of the fingers. This great M is itself composed of a long succession of tiny interlocking M-marks (SARASIN, 1929, pl. 49, fig. 8). The name of "frigate bird," by which the natives designate the marking of our Fig. 24, evidently applies as much to the little M's composing the large M (for frigate birds are wont to fly in single file: MURPHY, 1939, p. 133), as it does to the larger design itself. Here again the movement of the arms is obviously meant to suggest the flapping of the bird's wings, and implies a conceptual identification between the wearer and the bird.

The V-shaped chest-painting from New Britain, 14, is probably intended to represent a hawk (PARKINSON, 1907, p. 143); and the design from Ceram, 9, is one of a type almost certainly associated with the frigate bird in that island (SCHUSTER, 1939; cf. also BARTON, 1918, p. 39, n. 2, and p. 50). The Hawaiian marking, 32 (whose asymmetry can be paralleled elsewhere in Oceania: e. g., 13, 17, 28, 35) has for one arm of the V a row of tridents. These are evidently modified M-marks, for they are said to represent "tropic birds". Analogy with the New Caledonian design, 24, suggests that here also the whole V-shaped design, as well as some of its parts, really represents a bird with its wings spread across the chest. Largely on philological grounds BARTON (1918, pp. 27, 30, 31, 50, 52) has shown that Papuan chest-markings of the type of 12 are probably representations of the frigate bird, and that it is again the frigate bird which appears on the chest of the Easter Island figurine, 31 (*op. cit.*, p. 38). Though puzzling in some respects, this Easter Island design shows several points of relationship to other Oceanic chest-markings. As in 23, the bird is represented flying downward. The V, though flattened almost to horizontality, is drawn with a characteristic double line: whether in this case it represents an extension of the bird's tail may be left an open question. Almost certain, in any case, is the derivation of the two opposing columns of sigmoid marks on the neck of the same figure from the multiplied wings of the bird (cf. 24, 32) — whose body has dropped, almost wingless, from what was probably its original position between these markings at the center of the throat (STOLPE, 1899, figs. 6, 15, 16; MÉTRAUX, 1940, figs. 34, *a*, *b*, 35, *e*). A back-marking from Easter Island illustrated by STOLPE, 1899, fig. 17, and MÉTRAUX, 1940, fig. 34, *d*, more closely follows the Oceanic formula for chest-markings, inasmuch as it consists of a series of parallel bands in V-alignment, with rows of dots between them. This

multiple V apparently diverges slightly at the bottom to end in a pair of birds' heads at the hips.

Closely connected with the question of an avian origin of the V-shaped chest-marking is the circumstance that this type of marking was widely used throughout the Western Pacific and in Southeast Asia as a special distinction for head-hunters. This association is explicit among the Nagas of Assam (1 and 2), and is virtually certain also for Mentawai (4) (KRUYT, 1924, p. 27), Formosa (5) (KIRJASOFF, 1920, p. 292; WIRTH, 1897, p. 361), and Luzon (6, 7) (VANOVERBERGH, 1929, p. 214; JENKS, 1905, p. 188; WORCESTER, 1906, p. 835); while it may be assumed on good grounds also for Ceram (9) (SCHUSTER, publication in preparation), and Papua (12) (SELIGMANN, 1910, pl. 14; BARTON, 1918, p. 33). For certain Dayaks of Borneo we have the word of DE CRESPIGNY (1858, p. 347, f) that "The only parties among them [i. e., presumably the Punans] who tattoo are those who have killed an enemy. The tattoo is invariably a broad band from the navel up to each shoulder, where it ends abruptly. A smaller band is carried down each arm, and a stripe drawn transversely across it for each enemy slain". (With the latter feature, compare the upper-arm markings of the Igorot, 7.)

Though the avian identity of the head-hunter's V-shaped chest-marking can, in most of these cases, be inferred only indirectly, the circumstantial evidence in support of it should not be left out of account. In the first place, we know that prowess in head-hunting was in all these regions widely associated with birds, sometimes predatory birds, like hawks or frigate birds, or in some cases with the harmless great-beaked hornbill. This association was expressed variously in mimic bird-dances, songs and the like, and in the wearing of feathers of the symbolic bird by the successful head-hunter. Another point that should be mentioned in this connection is the circumstance that in at least three of these regions (Assam, Mentawai and Luzon : 2, 4, 6), we find figures of "little men" in varying numbers associated with the V-shaped marking. Among the Nagas of Assam these "little men" represent victims of the head-hunter (GODDEN, 1898, p. 21; FURNESS, 1902, p. 445). In our Fig. 2, two of these men are actually represented as headless. Similarly, LOEB (1935, p. 186) reports that in Mentawai, warriors returning from battle tattooed a beheaded man on their bodies. VOLZ, 1905, fig. 13, illustrates such a headless man tattooed on the shoulder of a Mentawai warrior.

Now, among the Nagas, as we see in Fig. 1 a, "little men" by the side of the V-shaped chest-marking are sometimes replaced by lizards; and we know that lizards commonly represent the category of crawling creatures conceived as prey of a symbolical supernatural bird (SCHUSTER, 1946, and publication in preparation). Inasmuch

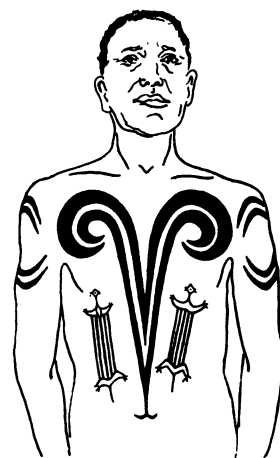


Fig. 1 a :
Assam. Naga.

as little figures of one sort or another occur in connection with the V-shaped chest-marking in at least three widely separated areas; and since in a fourth area, the New Hebrides (23), they recur under the name of "caterpillars" flanking a naturalistic and clearly recognizable bird-motive on the chest and back, it seems reasonable to infer that the "little men" in Assam, Mentawai and Luzon are really equivalent to lizards or other such creatures originally conceived as prey of the bird — even though in these three regions the bird itself has lost its avian identity and is now represented only by the symbol of its outspread wings. In order to understand this transfer of symbolism, we must remember that since the head-hunter is himself identified with a bird of prey, it is only natural that his human victims should be represented alternatively as the animals habitually preyed upon by the bird which he embodies. The occurrence of lizards in association with the V, as we see it in Fig. 1 *a*, thus constitutes further, if indirect, evidence for the avian identity of this motive.

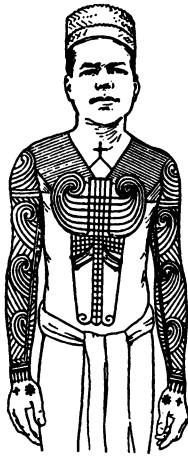


Fig. 8 *a* :
Borneo. Dayak.

Special mention should be made of the two Dayak designs, Fig. 8 and 8 *a*, distinguished as they are by a certain refinement of execution from all our other examples. Undoubtedly, as shown by HEINEGELDERN (1937), the curvilinear elaboration of such designs reflects the local influence of an Asiatic bronze-age culture. Nevertheless we can still detect in both these designs the fundamental framework of a typical V-shaped chest-marking. The native name of the design in Fig. 8 *a* is of special interest. The central motive is supposed to represent a fabulous tree, the trunk of which rises from the man's navel, while the volutes spreading across the chest are said to represent the wings of a fowl. The similar volutes on the arms, however, are explained quite differently, as leaves of the areca palm. In the light of what we have already observed, it might be concluded that what we have here is an imperfect rationalization, or perhaps an adaptation to a local tree-mythology, of what was originally the motive of a bird, whose wings stretched across the chest and down the length of the arms.

Though in Southeast Asia and Oceania we thus find a considerable variety of evidence suggesting the derivation of the V-shaped chest-marking from an original bird-motive, such evidence is scant or only suppositive in the New World (44). All the more striking is the one clear exception to this rule. Fig. 54 shows a naturalistic bird in outline displayed in heraldic frontality on the chest of an Eskimo boy from Bering Strait. How to interpret this exception, and what weight to give to the fact that it occurs at the point of nearest meeting between the Old and New Worlds, are perhaps best left open questions.

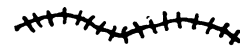


Fig. 8 *b* : Celebes.

Undoubtedly related to our tradition, though without a direct bearing on the question of the avian origin of the design, is another Eskimo tattooing, worn by the Ammassalik women of East Greenland. In this design, Fig. 54 *a*, several parallel rows of dots run along the outside of each arm from the elbow to the shoulder, and a small rectangle of dots similarly arranged in parallel rows is placed on one of the two breasts. Despite the lack of tattooing on the upper chest, there seems little reason to doubt that the small patch of dots on the right breast was once connected with the band of dots on the right arm, to form at least half of a continuous M-shaped chest- and arm-marking, of the same type as occurs, for example, in Colombia (43) or Costa Rica (48). The retention of a patch of dots on the breast seems to mark this design as transitional from a true V-shaped chest-marking to a residual marking of the shoulders, such as occurs in so many other parts of the world (see examples cited under 47). The unilateral marking of one breast seems to place this East Greenland design in a unique culture-historical position; for while unilateral chest-markings of V-type are common enough in Oceania and Africa, we do not know of another example of deliberate asymmetry in such markings in the New World. Though a related bilateral tattooing of the arms occurs among a group of Canadian Eskimos (Boas, 1907, Figs. 158, 268), this does not include the peculiar residual tattooing of the breast associated with such markings in East Greenland. That the Ammassalik tattooing, Fig. 54 *a*, reached East Greenland from the Pacific is suggested by the markings on an ivory figurine of a woman found archaeologically on Penuk Island in the Bering Sea (Collins, 1929, pl. 16), consisting of a column of horizontal gashes on the arms between the elbows and shoulders and a shorter column of similar gashes on at least one breast, but probably originally on both breasts ².

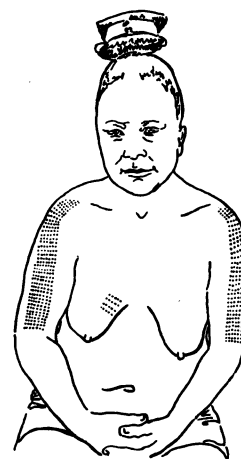


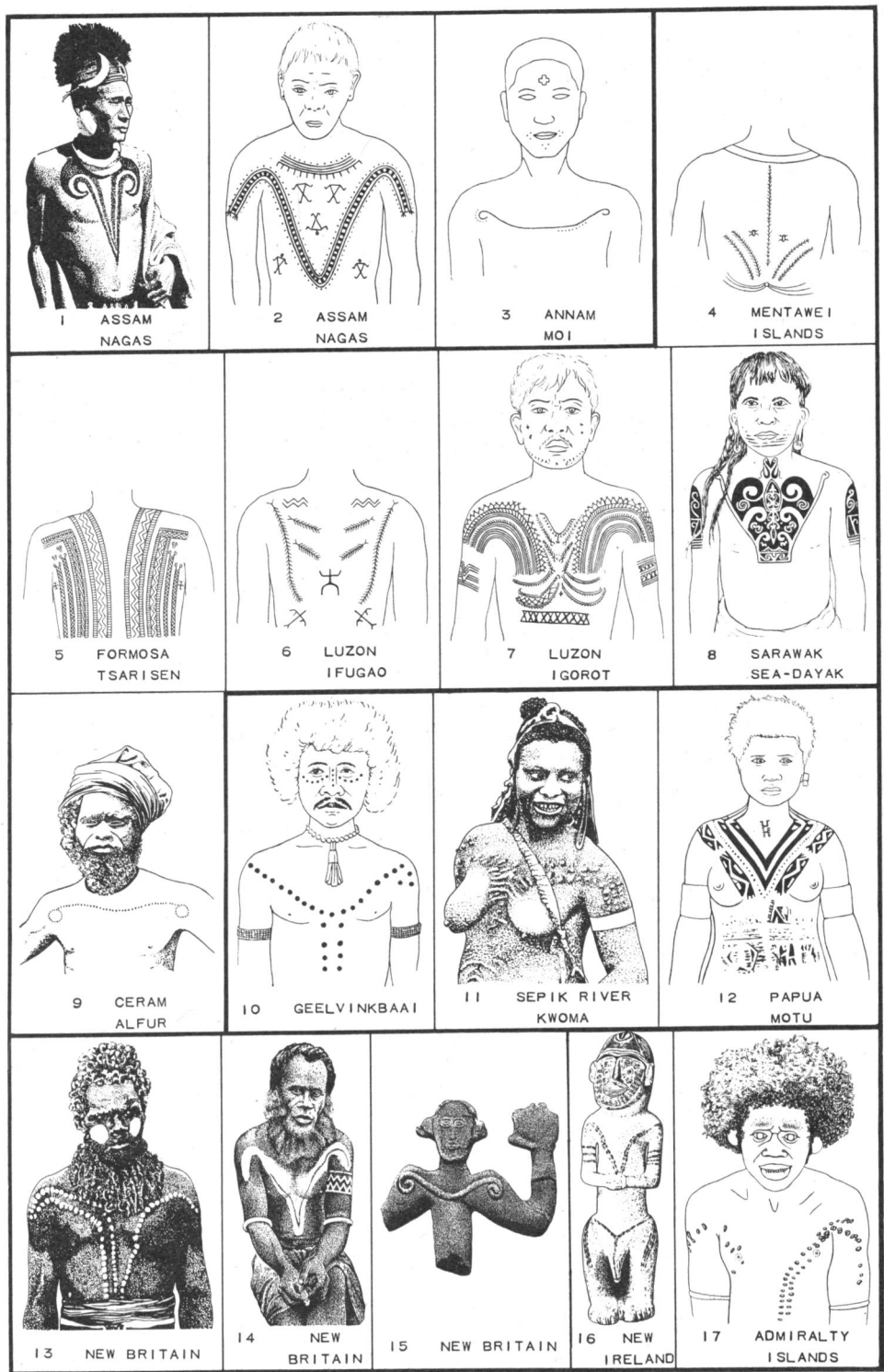
Fig. 54 *a* :
East Greenland.
Eskimo.

It is perhaps obvious that many questions about the history and the symbolism of this type of body-marking remain to be answered. Our purpose is only to call attention to these problems, in the hope that others will contribute to a broadening of the basis upon which more definite conclusions may eventually be built ³.

² The markings are partly worn away. In a letter of April 11, 1950, Dr. COLLINS confirmed the existence of breast-markings on this figurine, which are not mentioned in his text. He adds that the parallel between the arm- and breast-markings of this Penuk figurine and those of the modern Ammassalik women is supported by other affinities between East Greenland and Alaska; and that, in fact, East Greenland culture often shows closer relationship to the culture of the Alaskan Eskimos than it does to that of the Eskimos living in the intermediate Hudson Bay area.

³ In any attempt at a more complete distributional study of V-shaped chest-markings, account must be taken also of the fact that such markings occur, especially

Plate 1



V-Shaped Chest-Markings in Southeast Asia (1-3), Indonesia (4-9), New Guinea (10-12), and the Bismarck Archipelago (13-17).

Illustrations

The illustrations for this article were drawn by the following draughtsmen: William Baake — 2, 7, 8, 28, 29, 31, 36, 38, 39, 43, 44, 47, 48, 51, 54; Ch'ên Chih-Nung — 16, 17, 26, 30; Fu Shu-Ta — 4-6, 10, 12, 14, 15, 18-21, 24, 25, 27, 32, 34, 35; Margot Kaskeline — 9, 11, 13, 22, 37, 42, 52; Agnes Lehmann — 23, 27 *a*; Fred Scherer — 1, 41, 46; Kurt Sluizer — 1 *a*, 54 *a*. The drawings for 49, 50 and 53 were kindly contributed by Miguel Covarrubias. All other illustrations were taken directly from publications.

In the following list, illustrations "from" a publication were made directly by photomechanical means. Illustrations "after" any source are by drawing. "After the original" indicates a drawing made from a photograph taken by the writer. "After a photograph" indicates that the photograph from which a drawing is made was supplied by a museum or private individual. "Redrawn" indicates modification (but never in essential features) of a published drawing.

Plate 1

- 1 After FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, 1939, fig. 19: "Chingmak, the Chief of Chingmei, with the Breast Tattoo of a Head-Hunter." (Chang Naga tribe.)
- 1 *a* Redrawn after HUTTON, 1929, p. 51: "Chang tattoo pattern."
- 2 After a drawing by the late Henry Balfour, preserved in Oxford, PRM: "Hingap, an old Konyak of Tamlu, 11 Nov., 1922." Additional examples of the type in HUTTON, 1929, pp. 34, 35. On the restriction of this marking to head-hunters, see FURNESS, 1902, p. 455.
- 3 From BEZACIER, 1942, pl. 4, fig. 5.

One other instance of V-shaped chest-marking in Southeast Asia is of special interest. A photograph, apparently unpublished, taken by J. DOUGALL, the negative of which is now preserved in the ethnographical collections of the Danish National Museum in Copenhagen, where it was sent between 1878 and 1880 by F. A. ROEPSTORFF of Port Blair, shows a group of men and women of the Andaman Islands, several of whom have their bodies painted with white stripes, as follows. Two women have each a pair of white stripes rising from the abdomen and passing between the breasts to diverge at the shoulders. In both cases these lines seem to continue for a considerable distance down the arms. It is not possible to see whether the V's are closed at the bottom, but presumably not, for the same stripes appear on the legs, where they are probably a continuation of the lines on the upper body. The lines on one of the women are single, on the other double. The continuation of these chest-markings along the four limbs finds its closest analogue, among our material, in the marking of the Hopi star-priest, Fig. 52. We do not know if these designs were duplicated on the backs of the wearers. A man in the same group of Andaman Islanders has a unilateral marking on the right arm and chest, and a woman has

in the form of scarification, in Negro Africa. I have not attempted to introduce African material into the present study, because the data at my disposal are too scanty. For a few African markings of this type and their apparent prototypes or antecedents in ancient Egypt, see SCHUSTER, 1948.

a unilateral marking on the left arm only. The stripe on the man consists of two parallel lines connected by transverse bars, like a ladder ; the stripe on the woman consists of two parallel lines connected by a kind of cross-hatching, reminiscent of some North Australian patterns. An attempt to reproduce these designs by drawing would involve risk of misinterpretation, as the postures of the "sitters" in this photograph make it difficult to be certain of details.

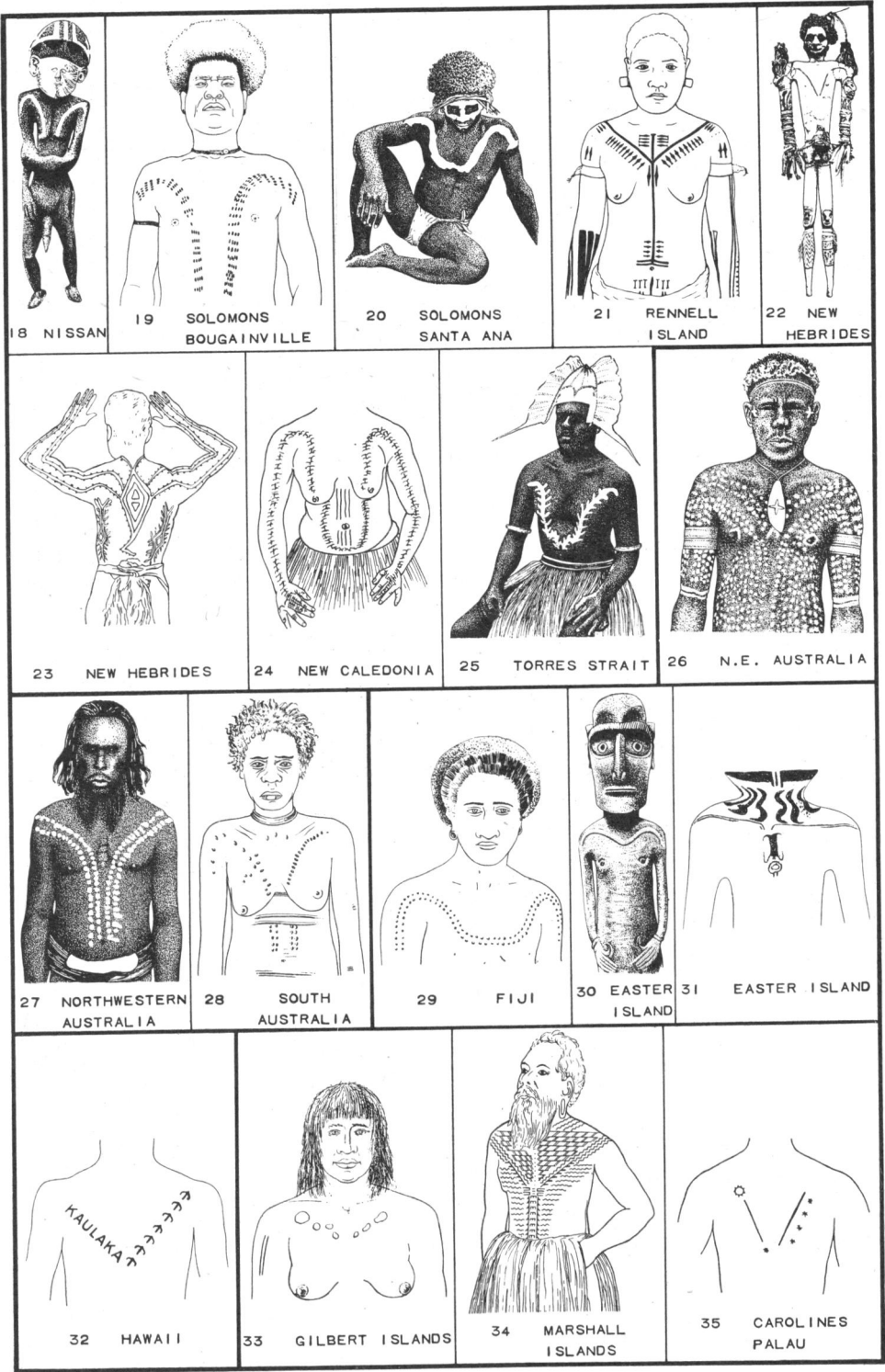
- 4 After WIRZ, 1929, p. 138. Man's chest-tattooing.
- 5 After INŌ, 1910, pl. 6, p. 138. For photographs of natives with this type of tattooing, see FORMOSA GOVERNMENT, 1911, facing p. 30 ; and KIRJASOFF, 1920, p. 292.
- 6 After VANOVERBERGH, 1929, fig. 9.
- 7 After JENKS, 1905, pl. 145.
- 8 After KRÄMER, 1927, pl. 38, fig. 1, and HOSE and MCDougALL, 1912, 2, pl. 178 : "Tatued Ukit of Rejang District."
- 8 *a* From LUMHOLTZ, 1920, 2, facing p. 348. Man from the lower Katingan River.
- 8 *b* From KRUYT, 1922, p. 448. Pigment-tattooing of the chest, apparently for both sexes.
- 9 After TAUERN, 1918, pl. 7, fig. 172 (for the tattooing) and pl. 38 (for the man).
- 10 After CLERCQ and SCHMELTZ, 1893, pl. 42, fig. 3. Man from Doré, at the west end of Geelvinkbaai. Variants : CHAUVET, 1930, fig. 54 (woman of this region) ; FEUILLETAU DE BRUYN, 1920, unnumbered plate between pls. 4 and 5 (Schouten Islands) ; MOSZKOWSKI, 1928, fig. 1 (Cap d'Urville) ; VAN DER SANDE, 1907, fig. 23 (Humboldt Bay, pigment tattooing of chest and back). STRAUCH, 1877, p. 16 and pl. 1, fig. 1, records a similar scarification of front and back from MacCluer Gulf in extreme Western New Guinea, which occupies an intermediate position geographically between our Figs. 9 and 10, but came to the writer's attention too late for inclusion among the illustrations.
- 11 After WHITING, 1941, plate following p. 168. Variants : BEHRMANN, 1922, p. 287 (painted female chest-marking from Tchepandai on the Sepik ; for location see RECHE, 1913, p. 40) ; PÖCH, 1908, fig. 4 (Monumbo, on the north coast, east of the mouth of the Ramu : keloids, female, largely confined to axillary region).
- 12 After SELIGMANN, 1910, pl. 11, or BARTON, 1918, pl. 9, fig. 3. A crude scarification of V-type occurs also among the more primitive Gogodára, north of the Fly River delta. See WIRZ, 1934, p. 428.
- 13 After HAGEN, 1899, pl. 46. Gazelle peninsula. MEYER and PARKINSON, 1894, pl. 6, show a group of natives from the Gazelle peninsula, three of whom have chests scarified in much the same fashion as our Bougainville man, 19, and one of whom has the scarified pattern painted over with spots of white lime.
- 14 After BROWN, 1910, facing p. 2. For similar markings from the Duke of York group, in the channel between New Britain and New Ireland, see FESTETICS DE TOLNA, 1904, pp. 65, 73, 83.

- 15 After KROLL, 1937 p. 184, fig. 6. Lava. 24 *cm.* high.
- 16 After a photograph of the original, Sydney, AM, B 3618. Chalk figure from southern end of the island. Cf. ANTZE, 1910. See also an extremely flattened chest-scarification of V-type from the same locality in STEPHAN and GRAEBNER, 1907, fig. 30.
- 17 After FESTETICS DE TOLNA, 1904, p. 127. Vendola islet. See also op. cit., p. 141 (Jesu-Maria Island). Cf. LABILLARDIÈRE, 1800, facing p. 177 ; and NEVERMANN, 1934, pl. 5 (a native of Haus).

Plate 2

- 18 After KRAUSE, 1906, fig. 1. Wood. Height, 67 *cm.*
- 19 After a photograph kindly supplied by Dr. DOUGLAS L. OLIVER of Harvard University (1939). Scarification. Siwai sub-district, near southern end of island. Cf. D. L. OLIVER, 1942, p. 182 (right chest of a Siwai girl), and E. S. OLIVER, 1942, p. 821 (right back of a woman) ; H. THURNWALD, 1937, pl. 3, fig. 10 (right chest of a woman) ; R. THURNWALD, 1910, fig. 2 (left chest of a man from Buin, at southern tip of island). Similar scarification was also practiced in Northern Bougainville and on Buka. See BLACKWOOD, 1935, pl. 9 ; SCHNEE, 1904, fig. 13 ; RECHINGER, 1908, pl. 26 ; MEYER and PARKINSON, 1894, pl. 31. For the representation of such patterns in native sculpture see BLACKWOOD, 1935, pl. 32 ; PARAVICINI, 1933, fig. 11.
- 20 After BERNATZIK, 1936, fig. 132. War-paint.
- 21 After a photograph kindly supplied by Mr. J. Templeton Crocker of San Francisco, from the Western Pacific expedition of the yacht "Zaca", 1933. (Cf. NH 36, 1935.) Pigment tattooing.
- 22 After the original, Oxford, PRM. "Rambaramp" or mortuary effigy from Malekula. For literature and additional examples, see SCHUSTER, 1951, p. 45, under fig. 53.
- 23 Redrawn after HARRISSON, 1937, p. 355, c. North Malekula. The two motives at the sides of the bird's body undoubtedly represent a kind of hairy caterpillar. (Cf. LAYARD, 1942, fig. 60.) Scarification of the chest with rows of keloids in a V-pattern seems also to have been known in the New Hebrides. See SPEISER, 1924, pl. 44 (boy from Central Malekula) ; and cf. STEWART, 1877. SPEISER, 1923, pl. 42, fig. 24, also illustrates (and discusses, p. 191) a unilateral frond-like chest-marking in Aoba, somewhat resembling a half of the marking in our Fig. 25.
- 24 After SARASIN, 1929, pl. 49, fig. 7 (cf. p. 174). Pigment tattooing. A V-shaped scarification of the chest seems also to have been known in New Caledonia : Chicago, CNHM, neg. no. 18047, Peace Collection, Noumea, shows a woman with a triple row of keloids curving upwards from the left breast toward the shoulder.
- 25 After FOY, 1913, fig. 8, and HUTCHINSON, n. d., 1, p. 170. A native of Muralug (Morilug) Island. A similar chest-painting illustrated by LAMPERT, 1902, 1, p. 79, from neighboring Prince of Wales Island.

Plate 2



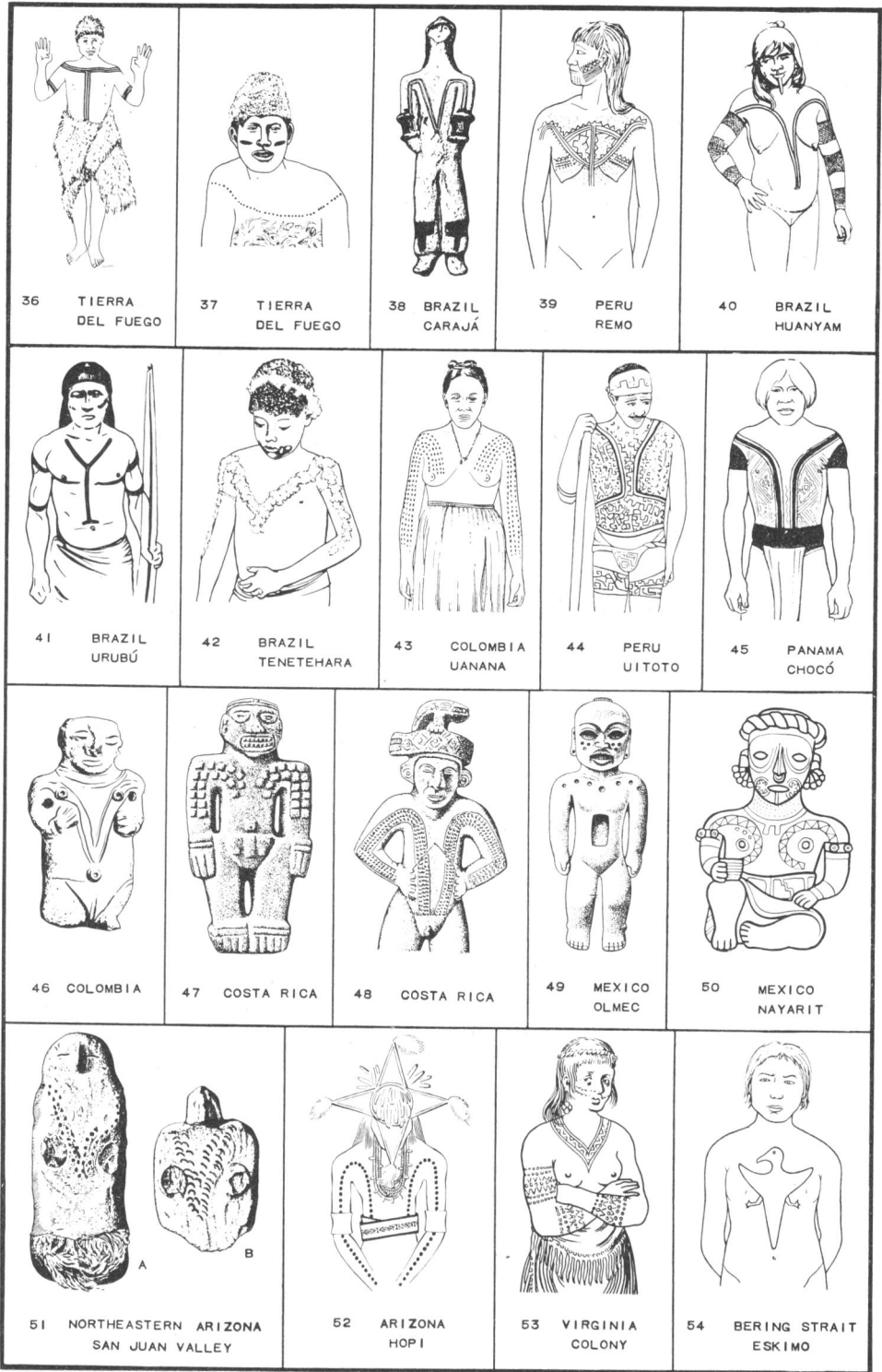
V-Shaped Chest-Markings in Central and Southern Melanesia (18-25), Australia (26-28), Polynesia (29-32), and Micronesia (33-35).

- 26 After THOMSON, 1933, pl. 29, fig. 2. Body-painting. Lloyd Bay District, east coast of Cape York Peninsula.
 - 27 After BUSCHAN, 1923, fig. 21. Wads of down stuck on the chest for a dance. Niol-Niol tribe. Beagle Bay.
 - 27 *a* After KLAATSCH, 1907, pl. 7, fig. 2. (Same group as 27.)
 - 28 After BUSCHAN, 1923, fig. 8, and STRATZ, 1904, fig. 209. Woman from Adelaide. Scarification. Similar markings on males in the same locality: STRATZ, 1904, figs. 204, 206 (the former also in BUSCHAN, 1923, fig. 1).
- Published illustrations of V-shaped chest-markings in Australia are too numerous to be cited here in extenso. One more instance may be mentioned, however, in order to suggest the geographical extremes of the Australian distribution: scarifications from New South Wales illustrated by RATZEL, 1896, pp. 366, 371.
- Though I have not found clear evidence of V-shaped chest-markings in Tasmania, PÉRON, 1801-04, pls. 8-10, shows three Tasmanian men with parallel rows of scars on the shoulders, which might be remnants of V-shaped markings once continuing farther down the chest.
- 29 After DUMONT D'URVILLE, 1830-35, 1, pl. 98, fig. 4. Man of Viti Levu. ROTH, 1900, p. 24, designates this marking a scarification.
 - 30 After a photograph of the original, Leiden, RMV, 702/1. Wooden sculpture (detail). Possibly this marking represents only the prominent collarbone of an emaciated body.
 - 31 After the original, Cambridge, PM, 99-12-70/53543: "Grotesque human effigy covered with painted tapa" (detail). For the whole figure, see MÉTRAUX, 1940, fig. 30 — where, however, the chest-design, here shown, is hidden behind the upraised hands.
 - 32 After KRÄMER, 1906, fig. 5, *a*. Pigment tattooing on a man's chest. Though the name of the man's deceased wife forming one arm of the V dates the tattooing as post-European, the row of "birds" forming the other arm certainly goes back to a purely native tradition. In 1939 Dr. Kenneth Emory of the Bishop Museum in Honolulu called my attention to the recent discovery of desiccated arms in a cave on the island of Hawaii, showing rows of tiny M-marks tattooed throughout their length, after the fashion of our Fig. 24. Dr. Emory was then planning to publish these finds.
 - 33 From FINSCH, 1894, pl. 1, fig. 6. Woman of Makin atoll. The seven scars on the chest were produced by burning.
 - 34 After KRÄMER, 1906, fig. 38. Pigment tattooing of a man of the Ralik chain.
 - 35 After KRÄMER, 1926, fig. 25. Pigment tattooing on a man's chest.

Plate 3

- 36 After AGOSTINI, 1924, facing p. 292. Ona medicine-man with chest-painting in white pigment. Though T- rather than V-shaped, this design probably belongs in our series. See transitional forms between T- and V-shapes among the Carajá of Brazil (KRAUSE, 1911, pl. 38, 2), and among the Uitoto of Eastern Peru (reference under Fig. 44).

Plate 3



V-Shaped Chest-Markings in South and North America.

- 37 After GALLARDO, 1910, p. 389. (See also a similar marking, *op. cit.*, p. 253.) The single row of dots is sometimes replaced by a broad band or by two narrow lines following the same curve: GUSINDE, 1946, facing pp. 225, 240 (Yahgan).
- 38 After a photograph of the original doll, New York, MAI, 13/6204. Additional Carajá dolls: KRAUSE, 1911, pl. 8. Examples of actual body-painting, such as may have inspired the furrows on the doll's chest: KRAUSE, 1911, fig. 43, pl. 16, and especially pl. 38, 2. Locality: Rio Araguaya, about 8°-17° S. Lat., 48°-57° W. Long.
- 39 After TESSMANN, 1930, pl. 64, fig. 4. Pigment tattooing. About 7° 30' S. Lat., 74° W. Long.
- 40 From NORDENSKIÖLD, 1924, pl. 52, *b*. Design stained blue with genipa juice. Rio San Miguel, near the Bolivian border, about 12° S. Lat., 63° 30' W. Long.
- 41 Redrawn after LOPES, 1932, fig. 10. Body-painting. The Urubú are a Tupí-Guaraní speaking people on the Rio Gurupy, south of the Amazon delta, at about 47° W. Long.
- 42 After WAGLEY and GALVÃO, 1948, pl. 13, and 1949, pl. 8. Locality: about 2°-5° S. Lat., 44°-49° W. Long. According to WAGLEY and GALVÃO, 1949, p. 84: "White bird down (breast feathers of wild ducks, white water birds, etc.) was glued to the shoulders in a line down the arms to the elbow and a V-shaped line of bird down was fixed to the chest. White down and feathers were stuck into the hair with rosin glue."
- 43 After KOCH-GRÜNBERG, 1906, 1, pl. 58, *a*. (Cf. also *op. cit.*, 1, pl. 58, *b*, and 2, pl. 56.) Red paint. Rio Uaupés, about 11' N. Lat., 70° W. Long. Brazil-Colombia border region.
- 44 After a photograph kindly supplied by Dr. PAUL FEJOS, New York. Rio Ambiyacu, about 3° S. Lat., 72°-74° W. Long. Body-painting. See numerous variants in Handbook *SAI*, 3, pls. 85-88.
- 45 From NORDENSKIÖLD, 1928, fig. 36. Rio Sambú, near the Colombia border. Body-painting.
- 46 After SELER, 1893, pl. 59, fig. 4. Pottery figurine. Middle Cauca valley.
- 47 After a photograph (New York, AMNH, neg. no. 39623) of the original, now in Brooklyn, BM, 34.5026. Stone. Published: SPINDEN, 1928, p. 60. Cf. similar specimens in MASON, 1945, pl. 39 *E*, pl. 59 *A, C, E*.

The prominence of the knobs on the chest and arms suggests the question whether scarification was ever practiced in the New World. Could the knobs on the shoulders of pottery figurines from Western Mexico (DISSELHOFF, 1936, fig. 10 and p. 19; MÉDIONI and PINTO, 1941; TOSCANO, KIRCHHOFF and BORBOLLA, 1946), and exceptionally also in the Maya area (JOYCE, 1927, p. 125), be vestiges of an original V-shaped scarification of the chest and arms, as it seems to be represented in Fig. 47? (Cf. such shoulder-markings in Tasmania, mentioned under Fig. 28; also certain clay figurines from Ur with clusters of knobs on the shoulders: WOOLLEY, 1930; and similar shoulder keloids among the present-day African negroes — where they are certainly

rudiments of a commonly surviving negro V-shaped chest-marking — for the latter cf. SCHUSTER, 1948 ; as well as shoulder-markings of the East Greenland Eskimos, Fig. 54 *a*). Perhaps most, if not all, of these shoulder-markings are to be explained as rudiments of V-shaped chest-markings.

- 48 After a photograph of the original, New York, AMNH (neg. no. 31511) (detail). Stone. Published : SPINDEN, 1928, p. 192 ; VAILLANT, 1934, p. 270 ; ZERVOS, 1934, p. 177 f. ; Handbook *SAI*, 4, pl. 15, *b*, etc.
- 49 Drawing by Miguel Covarrubias, after COVARRUBIAS, 1944. Statuette of serpentine, 25 *cm.* high, from Papantla, Vera Cruz. Olmec-LaVenta culture, first half of the first millennium after Christ. The seven shallow round depressions forming a flat V on the chest were no doubt filled originally with disks of hematite or turquoise to represent either tattooing or body-painting : likewise the holes on the cheeks.
- 50 Drawing by Miguel Covarrubias, after TOSCANO, KIRCHHOFF and BORBOLLA, 1946, colored frontispiece. Painted female pottery figurine from Ixtlán. Another figurine from the same area with similar marking is published by LUMHOLTZ, 1902, 2, pl. 1.
- 51 From MORRIS, 1927, figs. 9, *b* and *c*, respectively. Female figurines of unfired clay. Basket-Maker III (about 500-700 after Christ). Originals in New York, AMNH, 29.1/1541 and 29.1/1897, respectively. Heights, 12.7 and 8.2 *cm.* In our Fig. 51 *b* the double columns of arcs or crescents forming the sides of the V recall the columns of M-marks forming some of the V-shaped chest-markings in Oceania : e. g., Figs. 24, 32.
- 52 Drawn by Miguel Covarrubias, after photographs of a life-group in Chicago, CNHM, and after DORSEY and VOTH, 1901, pl. 29, representing a star-priest officiating at the altar of the winter solstice ceremony in Oraibi Pueblo. According to DORSEY and VOTH, p. 55 : "The body . . . was not painted, except with lines of small white dots, which ran from the point of the big toes upward along the front part of the legs, also from the heels over the calves of the legs, and finally from the thumb along the front side of the arms to the shoulders and down to the nipples, and from each hand along the outside of the shoulders and down on each side of the back." Our illustration thus shows, as it were, but one quarter of the complete design.
- 53 After an engraving by Theodore de Bry in GOTTFRIEDT, 1631, p. 108, copied from a water-color painted between 1585 and 1587 by Governor John White of Raleigh's Virginia colony. The water-color is now preserved in the British Museum. The design probably represents pigment tattooing. Cf. LORANT, 1946, p. 233, and color-plate following p. 184. The locality is Roanoke Island, off the coast of what is now North Carolina.
- 54 Redrawn after GORDON, 1906, fig. 1 : "Figure of a raven tattooed on the breast of a Diomedé Island boy."
- 54 *a* After THALBITZER, 1914, figs. 11, 302 (cf. text, p. 28).

Abbreviations

Museums

Brooklyn	BM	Brooklyn Museum
Cambridge	PM	Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University
Chicago	CNHM	Chicago Natural History Museum (formerly Field Museum of Natural History)
Leiden	RMV	Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde
New York	AMNH	American Museum of Natural History
New York	MAI	Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation
Oxford	PRM	Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford University
Sydney	AM	Australian Museum

Periodicals

AMNH-AP	Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History (New York)
AMNH-B	Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History (New York)
ESE	Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910 (Hamburgische Wissenschaft- liche Stiftung), II : "Ethnographie" (Hamburg)
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (London)
NG	Nova Guinea, Resultats des expéditions scientifiques à la Nouvelle Guinée (Leiden)
NH	Natural History (New York)
NGM	National Geographic Magazine (Washington)
SMVL-J	Jahrbuch des städtischen Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig (Leipzig)
ZE	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie (Berlin)

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