

Edited by

The Fifth International Conference on Pacific Cultural Missions, titled "Pacific Cultural Missions: A Mission of the Pacific", was held in Honolulu, Hawaii, from October 15-19, 1997. The first of the five sessions dealt with the theme of "Creative Performance: A Mission of the Pacific". The first of the five sessions dealt with the theme of "Creative Performance: A Mission of the Pacific". The first of the five sessions dealt with the theme of "Creative Performance: A Mission of the Pacific".

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Art and Performance in Oceania

Edited by Barry Craig Bernie Kernot Christopher Anderson



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Of old models and new in Pacific art: Real or spurious?

Philip J.C. Dark

The first symposium on the arts of the Pacific took place at McMaster University in Canada in August 1974. The second was at Wellington in 1978, and was the occasion on which the Pacific Arts Association was established. Symposia followed in New York in 1984 and in Honolulu in 1989. This one, in Red Kangaroo Place (Tandanya),¹ was PAA's fifth. At each of the previous symposia I have tried to draw attention to certain major facets of art that are proper to our inquiries into the arts of the Pacific.

At the McMaster Symposium several participants were asked to present general views of the principal features of art in certain areas in a synthesis that would allow of exploration of the lacunae apparent. I was asked to focus on 'The art of the peoples of Western New Britain and their Neighbours' (Dark 1979). The problems I encountered led me to consider what constituted an adequate survey and to propose a methodology for such an inquiry. But the paucity of information for my area — there being no information at all for some cultures in it — led me to the idea of a 'theme as a means of reconstruction'. This is a term used to circumscribe a particular subject — myth, event, custom — and its expression in a set of artistic forms functioning in particular cultural contexts to be found, with variations, in related cultures of an area:

In the different cultures of Western New Britain, the Huon

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Gulf, and Vitiaz and Dampier Straits, there are a number of cultural features of beliefs, customs and art which are suggestive of parallels and hence of themes common to the area. (Dark 1979:250)

At the Wellington Symposium, I considered what were the factors that made art for the Kilenge. 'What is art and non-art' for them (Dark 1983b:25)? For them 'art is something which is well done', something that is well made. The sense of making, doing something purposefully and well includes the idea of dancing (Dark 1983b:27), of performance. But in all this, what are the ramifications in the doing, in the making, in the creative process? What of creativity?

In New York, I sought to delimit the trends apparent ten or so years ago in the developments of Pacific arts, the changes in creativity, imitation and innovation, and pan-Pacificisation, for today's art is tomorrow's heritage. At the Honolulu symposium, I was concerned with what changes portended for the future of Pacific arts. In all Pacific countries there appears to be concern for conserving the 'cultural heritage'. In revivals, in re-creations of past arts, when linkages have ceased or are tenuous, style seems to be a major feature of the connections made, but its pertinacity rests with authenticity of imagery and performance: 'today's heritage, however conceived today, is tomorrow's art' (Dark 1993:222).

The nature of art

Over the years, I have tried to draw attention to certain factors at work in all arts, factors that underlie the arts of the Pacific and the nature of the heritage we have received: themes, skill and style, and changes in creativity. An essential factor of themes and style is, of course, form, that which the skill of the craftsman effects. When he or she does this with flair, with imagination, according to the canons of taste of his or her society, we, of the West, and of today, recognise this as art. But it should be remembered that in many Pacific cultures there is not necessarily present a comparable concept, though we seek to approximate it. Among the Kilenge, art is something well made or well done, and the person responsible is recognised by a particular term, *namos*, which we would call artist. In Greek, *arsis* is the term for excellence in thought and performance and *ars* in Latin carries a sense of ideas about art as well as the basic concept of practising of skill. In Tongan, *faiva* means skill: 'art was not a category of traditional Tongan culture', Kaeppler (1990:61) reminds us. Teihet-Fiak (1992b) also noted this and that the skill manifested in a product was not recognised unless the craftsman was of chiefly rank. Indeed, Kaeppler (1989:213) pointed out that there is no word for art in Polynesian languages, a phenomenon matched in some languages of other regions of the world, such as those of the Inuit, or Eskimo. Further, it should be noted that the forms of art we study today, and view as art, were not so regarded generally at the end of the last century by our forebears, for they were the works of savages or barbarians and were lodged largely in natural-history museums.

There is a danger of misconstruing Kilenge art and the arts of other peoples of Papua New Guinea when one focuses on the thing, for Kilenge appreciation is of the ability to manipulate skill; people admire this, and appreciation has a touch of fear to it, for the sacred and profane are handled by one skilled in their manipulation, whom we call artist, performer, masquerader, dancer (for example, Dark 1974: ills 78-81). Among the Kilenge, the 'maker' is the person who commissioned the piece that the artist made.

It is the creative touch arising from excellence, of doing things to perfection, that stamps the dancer's art (Dark 1974: ills 171, 173), the carver's skill, the execution of craft within

the canons of taste of a society. Innovation threatens these, and if the impact is too much, too strong, they will change. In Kilenge in 1966 a traditional singing was put on at which the youths got drunk on beer and danced to a guitar in the fashion of the bars in the towns. This was met by the traditional chorus of drummers ignoring them: the old and the new continued side by side, at that time.

But what of the creative process in art? What is involved? Knowledge of many things: knowing of the form of the product to be made, of the materials to be used, of the tools, techniques, and so on; knowing the flow of events in execution, the observances necessary for successful completion, such as magic, prayer, use of charms, decoration and secrecy; knowing the canons of taste that permit form, shape, colour and decoration; skill, with the talent, ability and imagination of the artist who brings all these together. The Trobriand Islanders distinguish the artist's insight as consisting of an intellectual creative facility, *kuequagela*, and an intellectual ability. The former is inspirational, representing the individual's capability or power to create, or the potential to do so, the latter the ability or talent to execute. It is the intellectual ability of the Trobriand artist that *opi* (magic) promotes, inspiration deriving from spiritual means (Geoffrey Mosuwardoga, pers. comm. 1978).

Imagination and flair — the natural ability to do something well — when applied with skill, lead to art. In that creative process, being able to envisage formal arrangements and how to execute them is a vital operation, and one in which the maker may have recourse to models of them, images of which are held in the mind or observed in reality. This is not to say that he or she may not envisage new arrangements, make adjustments in the mind's eye, as inspiration takes hold, but art builds on art, and models may assist in or dictate the resulting works, or they may be poorly perceived, get modified and, in execution, be changed or muddled or copied so mechanically that art is seen as a repetition of easiness.

Traditional and tourist art

The general scene of Pacific arts presents a considerable variety of activities and trends, the result of rapid changes.

Characterisations of these are differing and can confuse meaning, and many of the images produced are spurious. Nelson Graburn (1983:70-1), in considering what was happening in the Pacific some fifteen years ago, asked for whom are the arts of Oceania created today? 'What formal and symbolic sources are drawn upon?' What contexts are they expressed in? He listed categories accordingly, modifying his previous general classification (Graburn 1976:5-9). He regarded tourism as a ritual, 'the sacred part of modern life in which meaning is to be found' in a life of 'alternating series of work and non-work experiences' (Graburn 1983:76). If tourism is a ritual, then symbolic expressions of it are demanded, hence the production of tourist art, which satisfies the demand. He argues that this process causes revivals of 'traditional arts, symbolic to the modern world of the nostalgic "pre-modern"' (Graburn 1983:77). Today's scene, for Polynesia, Kaeppler (1989: 234-6) sees as consisting of traditional art and evolved forms. Many traditional arts persist though changed; others are reconstructions; others are traditional forms adapted and used to make new ones. Hence there are 'evolved traditional' forms and 'non-traditional ones, which are 'folk art' and 'airport art' even if traditionally made. She points out that though traditional forms may be reproduced, they are no longer made in the same context (a ritual lodged in supernatural beliefs), but now are factory products made by a native with an imported religion.

I have attempted to put into some sort of order the contemporary scene of Pacific arts (Dark 1990), but resort to terms like revivals, retentions, innovations, borrowing, transitional and 'the arts of acculturation' (Graburn 1976) are not very satisfactory, for they are open ended. Things are constantly changing in the contemporary scene and in a complex manner, for Pacific Islanders of one country seek out and interact with those of another, making adaptations accordingly; in their search to re-establish their heritage while contending with the tourist culture of America, Europe and Japan, to which they likewise adapt, producing what best suits a cash return. In all this there is also an interchange in the arts among Pacific peoples. Not only subject to the languages and religions of colonisation, they are now, most of them, further exposed

represents the traditional out of the 'old' if the continuity of the culture has changed so that there are no longer traceable ties. On what can the cultural heritage be modelled?

There are a number of Pacific cultures, such as that of the Maori and many in Papua New Guinea, in which enormous changes have occurred but ties with the past and the continuity of their art forms have not been lost. For these all past art is traditional. But the traditional of the past century for the Maori is different from its forerunner of the 18th century. For traditional dance, the Hawaiian looks to its revival near the close of the last century. Referring to traditional, as a term, needs to carry precision to mark differences. What is produced today can be categorised according to the cultural niche it occupies.

In the last decade many changes have crept in,' wrote Robert Louis Stevenson (1908) on 14 July 1889, from Butaritari, Kiribati:

women no longer go unclothed till marriage; the widow no longer sleeps at night and goes abroad by day with the skull of her dead husband; and, firearms being introduced, the spear and the shark-tooth sword are sold for curiosities. Ten years ago all these things and practices were to be seen in use; yet ten years more, and the old society will have entirely vanished. We came in a happy moment to see its institutions still erect and (in Apemama) scarce decayed.

One can thus sometimes mark with precision the points of contact and change in a culture over time, points at which the 'traditional', in part, ceases and is replaced by something else with a new structure, part of which interlocks with tourism. A culture is continuously sorting itself out after each contact, regrouping its values, projecting its heritage, which is always in flux. It is today's ideas about the past that are real and models are made from these to solve current needs of heritage and its expression. This is a repetitive process through time, which one must observe in studying the course of development of art forms and the attitudes to them.

Artists have ideas about forms, patterns, lines, arrangements, movements, spaces, and so on, which guide them in the creative act, and which are learned from the arts repertoire of their culture. Further, the individual learns

to see the results of the creative process as the culture teaches him to. In Tonga, mats 'are beautiful because they are culturally correct' (Teithei-Fisk 1992a:46). In Tonga, too, Queen Hāhāvalu Maafu'āho made the distinction between handicrafts ('like some of our baskets, beads and carvings, which are mainly utilitarian or decorative but which possess no distinct cultural meaning and play no distinct cultural roles') and cultural property ('traditional goods [that] have distinct cultural significance and play distinct cultural roles and are not replaceable); the latter is at the heart of the cultural heritage (Pacific Islands Monthly 1992).

Performance

The dimensions of performance are extensive. Among the Kilenge of West New Britain, for example, one may consider a variety of activities, such as organisation before and during the event - the people involved, costume, accessories, place, time, duration; gathering together food before for distribution after; and so on. Previous experience provides the organisers and participants with a model to follow, to modify, enlarge or reduce as they will. The performers may be experienced but often require a rehearsal. Some features of a performance may be poorly executed, stumbled over, omitted, because the performers don't know the routine.

In the cycle of dances known as *sis* among the Kilenge, solos and duets were performed as interludes in the choral dancing with drums, though they had been dropped by the mid-1960s (see Dark 1974: ills 169, 171-8 and Dark 1984:21-3). My wife and I did see a remarkable duet of two dancers, representing *saamoy*, a sea-eagle mother teaching her chick to fly, each performer having a palm frond held extended to represent the bird's wings (fig. 24.1). The dance was conducted by a master, a Big Man playing a drum, who directed the steps of the dancers (fig. 24.2). On another occasion, a single dancer imitated a single sea-eagle flying. Both were novel to a number of the villagers.

The second performance, however, did not carry the conviction of mime of the first, perhaps because the mimicry lacked observation and, in consequence, authenticity.² In times of rapid change, when things tend to be omitted

from the artist's repertoire and are no longer performed, an attempt at revival provides invention as a substitute for knowledge; this requires skill for the performance to convince.

The 1960s, when I learned something of Kŕlenga culture, was a time when certain rituals of the past were still performed, some modified forms were used for entertainment, and some celebrations had ceased altogether under pressure from Christian missionaries. At a singing given as an entertainment for my wife and me, there were three different performances of traditional celebrative rituals. This led to certain muddles in presentation, in timing and in uncertainty as to what should occur next.⁴ The occasion also permitted the miming of a dance of the bush-spirit figure *masung*, who hadn't been 'summoned' for many years, on a formal occasion of circumcison, from which women and children would have been excluded. The performance by the Big Man and master mentioned above perfectly modelled the rather nervous, hesitant dancing required of the character he was imitating (fig. 24.3).⁵ But it occurred as a solo in a round of *sia*, the imitator dressed for the chorus of dancers but distinguished from them by the eye make-up appropriate for the character he was imitating.

Imitative dances are acceptable forms in *sia* performances, but the *masung* character is normally restricted to his own special ritual. Only a Big Man could take the step of transferring him to a public performance. But the performance was not recognised by most of the audience, only by the older men. Here was change within the culture, old models modified, the transformation of one kind of ceremony into another. It was real in its initiation of the dance, but spurious too – perhaps as a one-off occasion, not to become a part of singings put on for general entertainment.

A distinction to help clarify the contemporary scene was made recently by Marsha Bertram (1990:62) for Papua New Guinea ceremonial occasions. She suggested differentiating such ceremonies into 'rituals' and 'celebrations'. In ritual, variations on a set theme only are possible. Celebrations include all kinds of new events, such as performances for the opening of a new bridge (for example,



24.1 (Top) Duet at Sia: a sea-eagle mother teaching its chick to fly, Waremo, Kŕlenga, West New Britain. (4IX, 1966: NB23.13)

24.2 (Above) The duet, as in fig. 24.1, directed by Big Man Tile of Ongaia, West New Britain. (4IX, 1966: NB23.18.)

Holdsworth 1986a:35) or the annual Hagen and Goroka shows. These distinctions allow one to move beyond the restrictions imposed by the notion of 'traditional' and permit all kinds of creativity to be considered.

An example of the commercial use of celebrations in this sense can be found in Rarotonga. The tourists, wishing to learn something of Cook Islands culture, is attracted by advertisements in tourist literature to pay a visit to the Cook Islands Cultural Village, which is situated in Aorangi village on the west side of the island. A visit, which is a

package deal, starts with the visitor being picked up from the hotel. Then:

A tour of each of the huts in our village includes demonstrations and lessons about our history. Maori medicine, weaving, coconut husking, carving, dancing ... and much, much more! Our lunch, served at the end of the tour, has a variety of traditional Cook Islands foods. After lunch, you sit back and relax and enjoy the dance, songs, chants and music of the Cook Islands, as our village artists present an unforgettable show. [*What's On in the Cook Islands* 1990:18]

I visited the Cultural Village with about seventy others. On arrival we were shepherded into a reception room for an introductory talk by a young woman who, with admirable poise, quickly had us in order and treated us like a class of schoolkids. Names? Where from? From the USA, Australia, New Zealand particularly, Canada, Switzerland, Norway and the UK, it turned out. After being told to repeat various Maori phrases, we were given a brief lesson in the geography of the Cook Islands, the fame of Rarotonga for its oranges, of Actiu for vanilla, and of Aitutaki for its mosquitos. There were a few artefacts on the wall, all recent work, as were those we saw on the rest of our visit. Our teacher drew attention to some of these artefacts, notably a club to thrust at the eyes in combat, she said, adding that the notches cut on the side indicated the numbers of victims that had been despatched. Papaya and coconut milk also was served. Then we were treated to various dances by men and women, who included those who had instructed us earlier in the morning. There then followed a short period when members of the audience were persuaded to join the islanders on the dance floor, which was enjoyed by the tourists, no doubt, and treated with friendly playfulness by our hosts. The scene closed with the Cook Islands dancers posing for photographs with and without (fig. 24.4) their visitors.

24.3 (Above left) Tile of Ongaia miming mousing at a performance of *sia*, Kŕlenga, West New Britain. (27/IV, 1967: NBI60.34.)

24.4 (Left) Cook Islands dancers posing for photographs at end of performance at the Cultural Village, Aorangi Village, Rarotonga. (9/XI, 190:9029.5.)



The treatment of visitors by the Cook Islanders at this tourist attraction seemed very professional. The rapport they created was warm and friendly. The Cultural Village is a commercially viable operation and is not sponsored officially, though it was given a small government grant to start it off. The government has built a new museum and cultural centre at Constitutional Park, completed in time for hosting by Rarotonga of the 6th Festival of Pacific Arts (Hall 1992; Moulin 1993). Previously, the National Museum occupied quarters in the Public Library; Makini Tongia, director of the National Museum until 1989, provided cultural information for use at the commercial Cultural Village.

Visiting the Cultural Village is highly formalised in terms of time spent on each of the features presented, and the program is no doubt subject to cost accounting, for it has to pay its way, even make a profit. In this it presents a form of 'instant' or 'potted' culture: what is selected for visitors can only run for a certain time so the information imparted is limited. The visitor learns about a particular construct of Cook Islands culture manufactured for tourist consumption. Detailed study of the manner of integration in modern Pacific societies of such constructed forms of entertainment would permit their effects on the development of local art to be traced. Similarly, while there is no doubt that Cook Islanders excel at dancing, singing and drumming, which they demonstrate admirably on 'Island Nights' in the various hotel venues on Rarotonga and Aitutaki, performances have to be made to fit locale and a budget. This warrants further inquiry. What are the limits to variations, spontaneity, innovation and further creativity in this facet of the tourist industry?

Connections with the past

Connections with the past differ throughout the Pacific. Those of Hawaii's, for example, have largely been severed by the effects of whalers, missionaries and American colonialism; those of some Papua New Guinea cultures have hardly been interrupted at all and in other cultures, though considerable changes have occurred, some ties to the past are maintained.

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Contact with European cultures has occurred at different times in the past, and with differing results. Though tourism has impacted markedly on all Pacific countries since the 1960s, there have been other major changes stirred by different peoples at different times in the past, indeed from before European contact, and with differing effects. Mention was made above of Robert Louis Stevenson's observation on change and the sale of mementos in Kiribati; this was more than 100 years ago. I read an account in the minutes book of the Athenaeum in Nantucket of a visit made by the Secretary to the Pacific in 1849-50, in which he deplored there being virtually no sign of the 'old' artefacts present in some countries he visited.

Iron tools were introduced into Pacific cultures at very different times with differing effects on their carving arts. For example, along the north-east coast of New Guinea, their introduction in the 19th century was spasmodic; few ships stopped by there until the last twenty years of that century. The Kilenge of West New Britain claimed they received their first iron tool about 1896. The arts in this area changed in consequence but remained 'traditional' from our perspective today.

I will now attempt an overview of the trends of contemporary arts of the Pacific under several headings below. These overlap, in some respects, with ones I have proposed before (Dark 1990) and some I have discussed in different ways more recently (Dark 1993). I will be looking at the question of the models on which present productions depend, and the extent to which connections with the past result in real or spurious art. The topics are: 'The new and the old', 'Old forms as national emblems', 'New syntheses', 'New forms of expression from the old', 'Arts for the visitor and traveller', 'Applied arts', 'Artistic heritages', and 'Muddles or new models?'

The new and the old

One noticeable phenomenon to be found is the new and the old fitting compatibly side by side (Thompson 1989: 27). The juxtaposition of these two qualities in visual images can be quite startling to the Western observer, providing a sense of incongruity and expressing a local sense of

humour (for example, Miller 1983: ill. 110), of protest, of being with the times. Examples can be found in costume, ornament and accessories (Miller 1983: ill. 55), and are manifest in the use of new materials, objects and techniques. Some examples of adaptive costume are: a Dani wearing 'second hand Indonesian army uniform' with two pigs' tusks and a plastic tube through his nose (Thompson 1989:30); a Dani wearing a T-shirt with 'The Space Age Stone Age' printed on it (Thompson 1989:27); a Kirik-eave villager in traditional costume being decorated for a singing by a woman wearing a Western-style blouse with a *bitam* hanging down her back from her head, and beside her a man, about to take a cigarette from a packer, who is wearing a Goodyear baseball cap and T-shirt with 'Women - A Power to Development' on it (Macintyre 1985:210); an Enga man wearing a letter-printing disc instead of a white shell as a nasal ornament (Miller 1983: ill. 199); a Mount Hagen in 'traditional' costume with an *omak* on his chest and a local government councillor's badge on his headdress (Birnbau and Strathern 1990: 108). Holdsworth (1986c:55) pictures the winner of a highlands beauty contest, in traditional-style costume and decoration, competing in a charity fund-raising for the Papua New Guinea Red Cross, an example of the 'old' functioning in a new context.

In adaptations to imposed religious practices, compromises result in juxtapositions or complete subjection to the new practices. For example, in Tonga, paintings in Western-style with Christian themes, and artificial flowers, are placed with graves (Diolé 1976:249); a cross carved at the top of a Vanuatu slit-gong juxtaposes Christian and native symbols (Diolé 1976: 207); young Mekeo Catholic priests at celebrations of mass while the populace dressed in Western style clothing watches (Holdsworth 1986b); in Kiribati, in 1987, I attended a wedding ceremony in the Lutheran church at Bikenibeu, Tarawa, for which the bride, bridesmaids, groom and best man were dressed entirely in a Western style. Artists of considerable skill can execute works satisfactorily in an alien style, as has been done by Kilenge, for example (Dark 1990: figs 18-70).

In practices that have no local precedent, local adaptations would seem to embrace completely the adopted foreign form. For example, the adoption of Western academic dress for graduation at the University of Technology Lae, Papua New Guinea (Holdsworth 1986a:51, back cover), the only local expression of individuality in the face of conformity being in the choice of tie worn; or the wearing of proper clothing for the game of Rugby football, though tribal dress seems to be essential for those attending the ceremonial line-up before the game starts (Anio 1979).

Examples of the adoption of new materials and their use with ones that have been employed locally in the past are familiar to most, such as the use of beads and plastics for costume ornaments and additions. On Tanna Island, Vanuatu, 'Custom dancers now combine Western and traditional dress, but they still perform their dances and other ceremonies according to instructions handed down through the ages' (Pacific Islands Monthly 1991), it is reported. How do they carry out these instructions?

Most of the Tannese people live a traditional lifestyle and practise the ancient customs of their ancestors, including initiation ceremonies and circumcision rites ... Visitors are warmly welcomed to these events - to the extent of participation being encouraged! (Pacific Islands Monthly 1991)

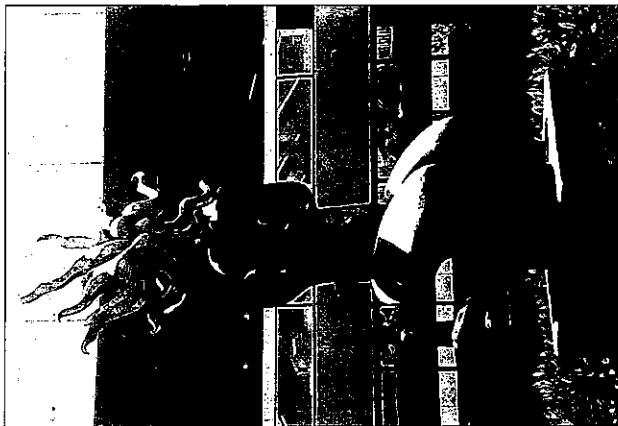
The adoption of new materials relates to the use to which they can be put. In the marker in Fiji, for example, the now ubiquitous plastic bag is used for smaller products, but for larger ones, such as vegetables and shellfish, the old woven form of basket made so quickly from palm fronds is used. The same solution occurs in Avurua, Rarotonga. The innovator, though, can take the same, 'old' materials and make of them modern forms of hats. Yet, while new materials may be adopted, a change in the old decorative patterns does not necessarily follow; for example, bags worn on Manus now make from rice sacks (Sylvia Ohnemus, pers. comm. December 1990).

The change in the modern carver's tool kit, when compared with that of his predecessors, is striking. The adze was the carver's primary tool. Its importance in carving

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is symbolised rather well by an illustration in the brochure, published by the contingent from New Caledonia to the 6th Festival of Pacific Arts, in Rarotonga, showing an elbow adze with an iron blade in front of a freshly carved light wood piece with, beside it, a similar adze with a stone blade in front of a dark-coloured carving. The title of the brochure is *Who We Are* (Togna 1992). Perhaps, given the drift of the times, it should have been *Who We Were*, for, in a photograph presaging change published by the Papua New Guinea Electricity Commission, the image conveyed is one of the modern carver being a user of a great variety of Western tools, including special carvers' chisels and gauges, among which is one elbow adze with an iron blade.

24.5 Maui Releasing the Sun, by Shige Yamada, Kahalulu airport, Maui, Hawaii, (31V.1933:934.6)



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Old forms as national emblems

The prominence of certain forms in cultures can lead to their adoption as national emblems with little alteration to the model from which they are derived. This is the case of the Maori *hei tiki*, which at one time, with very little deviation, was used by Air New Zealand; shaped in plastic, it was given to passengers as a good-luck charm, stamped on an ashtray, fashioned as an aid to dental hygiene in the form of a toothpick, and used as a grip at the top of a stirrer for drinks. A Fijian club form and a stylised Cook Island deity, in plastic, served similar purposes in their respective lands. The shape of the head of a Rarotongan staff god gives its stamp of approval to a plastic bag, just as an image of Tangaroa was used on one face of a Cook Island \$1 piece. I have drawn attention to some of these examples before (Dark 1990).

New syntheses

Attention has been drawn by a number of writers to fascinating examples of attempts, with varying degrees of success, by artists and architects to bridge the gap between local or national forms and various Western styles and techniques not in the local repertoire (Dark 1983a, 1990:264-5; Heermann 1979; Simons and Stevenson 1990; Tausie 1980). The new syntheses, as I see them, are works that are essentially eclectic. Some, such as the exciting Papua New Guinea Parliament House (or the Papua New Guinea Banking Corporation building), are remarkably successful despite considerable difficulties in their creation (Rosi 1991).⁸ Less successful is the sculpture by Shige Yamada at Kahalulu airport, Maui (fig. 24.5), showing Maui releasing the sun:

The artist researched his work from several sources, including books on traditional Hawaiian sculpture and the work of contemporary Western artists including Lachaise, Moore, and Arp. The figure is definitely not meant to represent traditional Hawaiian sculpture more than to interpret a personal impression of contemporary sculpture. (Enoki 1992:6)

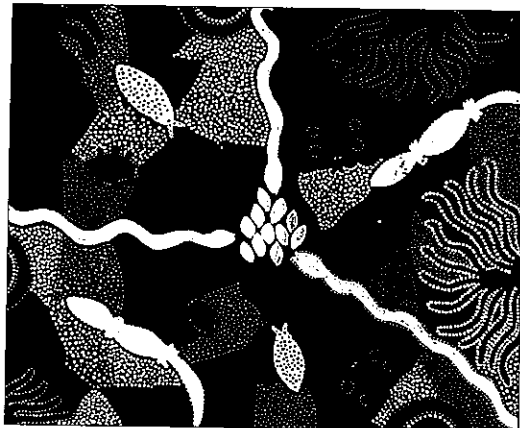
Other recent examples of synthesis are works presented at the 6th Festival of Pacific Arts, such as Tunui Salmon's 2.4-metre-tall female figure, which, Karen Stevenson (1993: 68) recounts, draws on Tahitian mythology and 'modern ideology as well as the strength and importance of women in Polynesian society'. A further example of this was a ruff carving of 'Ta'ihia, 'a legendary king of Tautira who sailed to Rarotonga' (Moulin 1993:70), a past link between Rarotonga and Tahiti now symbolising a contemporary one. Another was a wooden statue carved by Benjamin Nicholls, *Te Manawa Rangarua* (Moulin 1993: fig. 213). Stevenson (1993:68) also refers to the work of the Australian Arone Meek at the festival as drawing for inspiration on Aboriginal mythology and the contemporary world.⁹

The work of several modern Papua New Guinea painters often seems poised between synthetic expressions with forms denoting indigenous ideas juxtaposed with forms from the West—for example, Kauage's *Helicopter*—though many are attempts at new ways of expression as the result of exposure to the Papua New Guinea National Arts School.¹⁰ The tapestries of Alohi Pilloku, the Vanuatuan artist, using a Western medium, seem poised between two worlds, as does the work of some other Vanuatuan artists.¹¹

New forms of expression from the old

There are Pacific artists who seem to have perceived the essence of their local styles and moved forward, with great imagination, to new forms of expression that continue their traditions. Their work is original, transcending eclecticism. Examples of modern Papua New Guinea artists are Joseph Nalo, with powerful works such as his *Cruel-fusion* (Simons and Stevenson 1990:19) and, with similar strength, Taba Silau (Simons and Stevenson 1990:21). Noteworthy, too, is Martin Morububuna who, while retaining his native style, has enlarged it to invent new forms.¹²

Today's Australian Aboriginal artists have been contending with how to express the differences between their past world and that of modern Australia and some seem to have done so successfully by presenting past forms in new media (fig. 24.6), while others have expressed their interaction



24.6 Bush Tucker and Survival, depicting lizard, echidna, snake's eggs (representing fertility), spinifex grass and body paint used at ceremonies; acrylic on canvas (76 x 61 cm) by Sammy Peyane, 1991. (937.12)

with the contemporary scene and their place in it. Trans-cultural solutions need choices of models, of forms, and of ways of structuring them from both the cultures involved (Paignant 1993).

The Papua New Guinean and Australian artists referred to are 'gallery artists', and there has been increasing general interest in their works for a decade or more, with exhibitions of their art worldwide.¹³ These gallery artists have moved successfully into a world of pictorial art dominated by Western views. Yet, in other areas of their arts, craftsmen continue to produce artefacts for ritual purposes as well as for sale to tourists and others; and the performing arts provide a continuing means of expression, whether ceremonial or for entertainment.

The strength of the idiom of Maori art and the continuing understanding of its principles by Maori artists has

been such that, while contemporary Maori artists have modified and innovated with old forms intended for new contexts, they have done so successfully, adding to the range of expressions of the style of an object, such as with carvings in bone and whale ivory by Emmitt Aranga (for example, Doig and Davidson 1989: fig. 60) or in greenstone by Hept Maxwell (Doig and Davidson 1989: fig. 61). Others have ingeniously taken basic forms of the art and produced works that transpose Maori art into a Western context without losing its Maoriness, a successful transcultural solution; for example, a painting by Sandy Adsett (Doig and Davidson 1989: fig. 66). The former two examples, while being made as personal ornaments, can also function as gallery art and have been so exhibited. Sandy Adsett's painting in acrylic on board is meant to be hung.

There are other Pacific artists besides the Maori whose mastery grasp of their native idiom has allowed them to continue its expression with entirely original forms, expanding the indigenous repertoire without transgressing the local style. Some Asmat carvers exemplify this in the face of the strongest pressures to produce work for dealers and tourists. Schneebaum (1993: fig. 4) reports of a work 'made in the relatively remote village of Daman' in 1991, now in the museum at Agass: 'It is a completely original work, without any relationship to any carving I've seen anywhere in the world.' Similarly, original forms, completely in the bounds of the Asmat idiom yet not for traditional contexts, were being carved twenty or more years ago. The original carvings, depicting ancestors, are amazingly inventive works (for example, Gerbrands 1979: figs 5-28; Hoogerbrugge 1977:131-4; Hoogerbrugge and Kooijman 1976:121-2). Such works are also forms of gallery art.

The problems of developing a new style of expression can be examined in other arts besides painting or carving. Shari Cole (1991), in an account of women's fibre arts of Polynesia, points out that there are a number of factors involved in the development of a new style. There are individual artists' variations in production; what is produced depends on the models that are available, but is also subject to the vagaries of memory and group decisions made under the direction of a *raungu*.

Some artists more than others find themselves with a foot in two worlds, producing works for the tourist trade on the one hand and attempting original creativity on the other. Mike Tavioni, the leading contemporary Cook Islands artist, exploits a variety of media as inspiration comes to him, yet to survive he has to produce works for easy sale. This means printing his designs on T-shirts, carving various sizes of *hiki* figures, and painting small pictures suitable for the tourist trade, which he sells in the Tavioni Arts shop in Cooks Corner, Avarua.

Mike Tavioni does his work in a rambling shed, built around a tree, in front of his home (fig. 24.7). He did not start off as an artist; having trained in New Zealand as a horticulturalist, but too much politicking, he said, drove him to seek a living as an artist. Few people are interested in the arts, he finds, and he is frustrated by having to produce bread-and-butter work and not be able to devote himself full time to the creative work he feels is his natural inspiration. In 1990 he was carving in coral, which is tricky medium because the coral breaks so easily. He has also carved story boards in a naturalistic style. His most successful work is as an illustrator of local tales and myths (McCarthy 1991).

There are other Cook Islands artists, who set up the Te Pua Neinei Arts and Cultural Society.¹⁴ Of particular interest is the work of Upokoina D. George (Ian George), who established an art department in the national high

24.7 Mike Tavioni's studio, Avarua, Rarotonga. (12.XI.1990: 9033.B.)



school (McCarthy 1990). His drawings and paintings are successful modern presentations of Cook Islands legends and life, as in his painting *The Gods in Conversation* (Cook Islands Sun 1992a) and his illustrations for two books of poetry (Cook Islands Sun 1992b).¹⁵

Arts for the visitor and traveller

One effect of tourism is to change the tastes of the culture catering to it. Intrusive and innovative forms alter local ones and change the indigenous style so that they become part of the day-to-day local culture. This is particularly so with material goods such as clothes, designs, and the visual arts and images they project. No longer are the locally produced arts and crafts the sole source of supply of artefacts for the tourists. In the special shops, galleries and emporia given over to tourist arts and crafts will be found the works of many lands. Dealers in the tourist art trade have a wide network of connections to sources of supply in different countries. They have also built up their networks to include the less-accessible destinations that the adventurous tourists seek on expeditions mounted by museums and special exploratory groups. This they have done by making collecting expeditions to some of the remoter parts of some countries, where they act as local stimuli for further production.

The tendency in examining the tourist-art industry is to look at the results, the effects, the changes it has brought about. What is needed are in-depth studies of the production of artefacts, the role of the dealer in distributing them around the Pacific, the economic aspects of production, the effect on the producer and on local production for the community's needs. Most important is the role of the craftsman as an agent of change of local and of public taste. Detailed examination of the performing arts for the tourist should be rewarding, as noted above in the Cook Islands example; the formalisation of some presentations has become very stereotyped and cost-accounted. Under such circumstances, what is the gulf between the host's and visitor's cultures with respect to the images projected of each and the nature of the understanding of each other's cultural values?

The major dilemma for a Pacific country producing crafts for sale and for the community's needs for everyday use is well expressed in the Solomon Islands government catalogue of handicrafts (Austin 1986:3), the preamble to which states:

The imagination brought to the work is fresh, unaffected by the visual placitudes of the West. The things made are part of everyday life: they are created to be used, the notion of selling them being only recent. And they have the dignity of this tradition: even a humble woven basket for rubbish can be beautiful.

Austin continues (1986:5) 'the audience for artifacts is changing from an indigenous to a European or visiting one', with payment made in currency rather than in traditional kind. 'Some changes of artefact have come too'. After discussing the role of the master carvers and the qualities of excellence expected, 'A parallel approach is surfacing, however, encouraged by the less exacting but larger demands of the tourist... there will be a place, and a price, for the humbler artefact' made by the less skilled. 'The dignity of tradition is swept away' (Austin 1986:5) as the 'audience' changes from local to outsider (visitor, traveller, tourist) and artefacts (form and type) change in consequence; furthermore, so does their quality and authenticity, because the 'less skilled' can earn a living at craft production. An increase in tourism leads to increasing blandness of taste and quality.

Tobias Schneebaum (1991:27) drew attention to radical changes occurring among the Asmat of Irian Jaya 'in an effort to bring in a small cash economy'. One trend was reduction in the physical size of carvings, a pan-Pacific phenomenon, to conform to airline transportation restrictions. 'Groups of villages have now banded together to produce new styles, all influenced by the outside world and for the purpose of sales' (Schneebaum 1991:27). The ancestor pole has changed, losing

its character. It simply became a badly worked carving with no element of the spirituality that was essential to the older style. As it was it was perfect for rolling in bubble paper or in corrugated cardboard for easy shipping. [Schneebaum 1991:28]



24.8 (Top) Ethnographica in the Asian Connection, Cairns, Queensland, (23.Ill.1992:9217.12.)

24.9 (Above) Ethnographica in the Asian Connection, Cairns, Queensland, (23.Ill.1992:9217.3.)

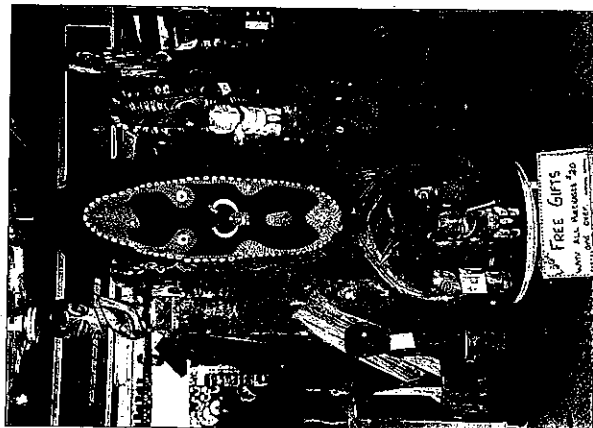
In reference to bowls:

of course, they fit with perfect ease into a suitcase. Drums have been reduced to 12" ... In spite of these many changes ... the carvings that are a part of traditional life remain in traditional forms and are as subtly carved. [Schneebaum 1991:28]

Thus it would seem that cultures with powerful art traditions are able to adapt skills to meet the need for cash while continuing the traditional art forms for local use. A matter of some concern is the recent appearance on the tourist-art market of copies of artefacts characteristic of one country by craftspeople in another. Schneebaum (1993) noted that the work of Asmat carvers was being copied by non-Asmaters for sale in Bali. Rapa Nui artisans living and working in Temuco, Chile, 'the heart of the Mapuche culture' (Ramirez 1992) are producing plates, forks and spoons in the Mapuche style, which, Ramirez noted, they do better than the local craftsmen. Rapa Nui artists living in different towns produce, in addition

to work in the local style, wooden figures in the Rapa Nui style for local sale. One, who lived in Villarrica, also produced items which mixed the two styles: a classic Mapuche wooden spoon (*huira*) has handles carved with typical *moai* *kawa-kawa* heads. [Ramirez, 1992]

The trade in artefacts across the Pacific has reached the stage where the visitor and the local inhabitant are faced with a plethora of styles from many countries shown in a shop as any other goods, massed in an emporium or displayed as gallery art. In Cairns, Queensland, are two principal vendors. One is the Gallery Primitive, 'often likened to a museum', 'Cairns only Primitive Art Specialists'; the 2000 artefacts of the collection displayed in it, mainly from Melanesia, were first obtained in the late 1960s. 'This experience has enabled them to probe deeper into the remote river and swamp systems to collect the unsurpassed quality art that is their trademark' (Australian Tourist Publications 1991). The gallery also displays Aboriginal artefacts. This kind of display, and the objects shown, I have seen elsewhere referred to as 'Fine Primitive Art'. The other vendor displays his extensive collections in



24.10 (Top) Multiple replicas of Tangaroa and other souvenirs in Limmars Island Crafts Ltd, Avarua, Rarotonga, (12.XI.1990:SL9019.12.)

24.11 (Above) Carved replicas of old forms of Cook Islands deities with Sepik carvings in Limmars Island Crafts Ltd, Avarua, Rarotonga (12.XI.1990:9033.4.)

a vast kind of emporium called the Asian Connection. He makes trips regularly to collect in Papua, New Guinea, Irian Jaya, Nias, Bali and South-East Asia, and the material he obtains ranges widely in provenience as well as form: shields, spears, drums (fig. 24.8), bowls, mortuary boards (fig. 24.9). Aboriginal artefacts, betel mortars, masks, baskets, beadwork, ceramics, textiles, T-shirts, sarongs and sandals, and so on.

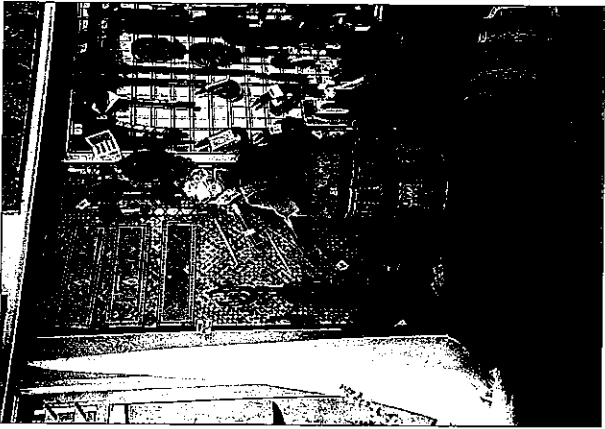
In Avarua, on Rarotonga, there are two small shops that display only examples of the work of Cook Islanders. One, Tavoni Arts, was mentioned above; the other is the Cook Islands Women's Crafts Centre, which sells mainly local woven items, such as hats, bags and mats.¹⁶ The largest of the shops selling handicrafts is Island Crafts Ltd, which advertises 'For Everything Polynesian'. The shop does include a considerable variety of carvings produced in Rarotonga, particularly figures of Tangaroa in many sizes (fig. 24.10). The smaller figures of Tangaroa are heavily stylised and their proportions severely mechanical: it was impossible to differentiate among twenty figures of the same height. All versions were labelled 'This carving is the Cook Islands god Tangaroa' and:

Tangaroa was the god of creation, fishing, the sea, carpentry, planting and the weather. He is one of the outstanding in as much that he was present in most islands of the Polynesian Pacific although he varied in different forms.

One version had a penis that could be erected or withdrawn.

Other Cook Island carvings included versions of 'God-staff owned by the Taunga (Witch doctor) of the tribe'; Taringa Nui, the fisherman's god (fig. 24.11); Rongo with his sons; and Pukepukan male and female deities. But the shop contained a good selection of the works of other Pacific cultures. Sepik (fig. 24.11) and other Papua New Guinean carvings, and carvings from the Solomon Islands, are obtained from a dealer in Port Moresby. The carving of storyboards (fig. 24.12) — something Tavoni does — is a new direction for Rarotongan carvers, and mimics Palauan (Belauan) storyboards; but they were very fresh and successful executions, all 71 centimetres (28 inches) long.

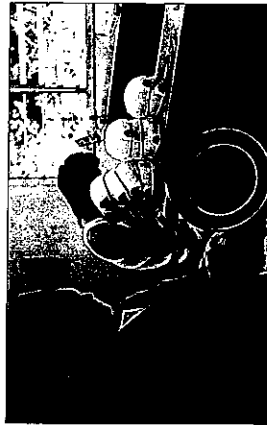
Island Crafts Ltd is located in a big wood-working shed equipped with lathes, sanders and all the tools necessary



for mass hand-production of different carvings, and a special room for spray staining. When I visited the factory there were three men and a woman working. I was told that four more were also employed but they were not at work. Of those working, one man and a woman were engaged in making flower arrangements, as it was the Island Flower Week. Two craftsmen were carving wood, the third, wearing a mask, was 'sanding' pearl shell at a lathe, and the woman was sanding carvings (fig. 24.13). Of the two engaged in carving, the younger, Uaongo Williams, was carving letters on a flat board (figs 24.14 and 24.15). He had been working at Limmarns Island Crafts for four years. It was a job available when he left school and he applied for it. The elder was Gavin Apatangi, a carver from Man-gaia, who was working on several figures of the Rarotongan version of Tangaroa and one Pukapukan one (fig. 24.16), making the mango wood with a hacksaw (fig. 24.17), one after the other, a process which gives them their grim look of insensibility. Apatangi learned to carve from his father. In a bin, in a corner of the shop, were a number of pieces he had carved some time ago, which served as models. There were representations of Rongo (fig. 24.18) and of male and female Pukapukan deities. The quality of these figures, compared with those he was working on, was very much better. Continual replication according to a formula must be stultifying.

Applied arts

The replication, even though by hand with mechanical means, of many copies of Tangaroa in wood or stamped on a T-shirt, or of the Hawaiian *tiki* version of Kūkūimōkū reproduced mechanically in many versions, is a form of applied art, it could be argued. Though perhaps not a satisfactory term, there is a whole category of products made for visitors and for local consumption that bear a relationship to the forms and colours of the original models for them, but have been altered in design or colour, shape or size, or space occupied, and are applied to materials quite different to those in which the model was made. Such applied forms of art become part of the generalised



24.12 (Top) Three story boards with various Cook Island replicas in Limmarns Island Crafts Ltd, Avarua, Rarotonga. (12.XI.1990:9033.5.)

24.13 (Above) Woman sanding carvings (front) and man working pearl shell in Limmarns Island Crafts Ltd, Avarua, Rarotonga. (12.XI.1990:9032.23.)



24.14 and 24.15 (Top and above) Uango Williams carving letters on board in Limmarns Island Crafts Ltd, Avarua, Rarotonga. (12.XI.1990:9032.17 and 21.)

24.16 (Top right) Gavin Apatangi working on several versions of Tangaroa in Limmarns Island Crafts Ltd, Avarua, Rarotonga. (12.XI.1990:9032.11.)

24.17 (Centre right) Two Pukapukan style figures roughed out with hacksaw by Gavin Apatangi in Limmarns Island Crafts Ltd, Avarua, Rarotonga. (12.XI.1990:9032.14.)

24.18 (Bottom right) 'Model' of Rongo carved some years before 1990 by Gavin Apatangi in Limmarns Island Crafts Ltd Avarua, Rarotonga. (12.XI.1990:9032.30.)

view of a culture's arts, moulding the mental template people have about their art and their folk-view of past forms. Though such a view is real, it substitutes the image of the applied form for the one it originated from and misconstrues it. Some applications break all boundaries and become incongruous and manifestations of bad taste. This is one of the areas in which increasing blandness of discrimination and style occurs.

I have referred to the applied arts in the Pacific before (Dark 1990:256-68; 1993). It seems appropriate to draw attention to a few noticeable, and strikingly wasteful, applications of Australian Aboriginal designs on T-shirts, hand prints by Churinga Designs in Australia (fig. 24.19). Each shirt is accompanied by a printed label that states Aboriginal art

is among the oldest in the world ... The styles of Aboriginal art, which developed over thousands of years, appear simple but are in reality a mature, fully-established medium, strengthened by eons of folklore, mythology and custom.

Printing postcards of Aboriginal works in collections, such as the Australian National Gallery does, is a Western trait of gallery art—for example, *Garnamaji* (Magpie Geese), 1987, by George Milpururu (Australian National Gallery PC No. 00461) — as is the reproduction of Aboriginal paintings on greeting cards, such as the Desert Designs printed for the Aboriginal Gallery of Dreamings, Melbourne, such as *Watu* (Fire Dreaming), 1990, by Malcolm Jagamarra, and his *Wana* (Snake Dreaming), 1990. The printing of Aboriginal designs on coasters and placemats is another application; for example, six paintings by James Galarwy Yunupingu used for a set of coasters (fig. 24.20), and six designs for a set of placemats.

Artistic heritage

I have drawn attention before to the roles of style and authenticity in the recreation of heritage (Dark 1993). Also of concern are the roles for which models can be used. Models capture the past; they carry power and are bound by style, which sets limits on their use in artistic expression,

on the one hand, or they may just be copied, on the other. The selection process can be purposeful or spontaneous leading to fads. Lack of perception and/or skill, or an obsessive focus on a fad, lead to a muddled expression.

In Tahiti, there has recently been a revival of tattooing as a way of expressing one's Tahitianness, just as the Samoans have maintained the custom as part of their *fa'a Samoa* (Tautumi 1990). Apart from its cultural significance, it is intended as a proof of courage (Aiavao 1990:50). But today electric needles and pain-killers are used. While it may be an art that helps survival of an ancient custom (Aiavao 1990:50), it is subject to change, for Aiavao reports that one design was adopted from a mistake made by the artist.

The revival of tattooing in parts of the Pacific seems to express a concern to seek out the traditional, the custom, the past for display in the present as concrete evidence of the practice as part of the artistic heritage. 'Tattooed a Hawaiian status symbol', the *Mani Beach Press* (1991:A5) assured its readers. As Karen Stevenson has pointed out before, some tattoo artists draw on traditional motifs to create their own designs, and thus they express today's reaction to a traditional art form.

National celebrations stimulate various manifestations of the arts. In Hawaii, on 11 June the statue of King Kamehameha I is draped profusely with leis and decorated with flowers. A parade is mounted, a feature of which is a principal figure and attendant priest, both costumed in feathered cloaks and helmets, with a guard of three warriors with spears in front, and, in the rear, two attendants supporting *kahili*, all riding on a car covered with flowers, greenery and *Cordylines*, and accompanied by gaily dressed riders on horseback. The nature of the costume and the *kahili* rest, in part, on forms surviving from the past, but they are mounted on a means of transport common today. Pride in the heritage is generated, and what might seem a muddle in the models to some is not so to others; what is expressed is a view of the past. The general view that is generated of that past is aided by activities such as the Keiki Tahiti Fete, a Tahitian dance competition for young people, which is in its tenth year. The festival is held to stimulate an awareness of Hawaii's Polynesian



24.19 'Dolphin Dreaming' T-shirt by Churinga Designs, Australia, 1992. (932.5.)

24.20 Six coasters designed by James Galarwy Yunupingu, Australia, 1991. (932.4.)



affiliations with the peoples of Tahiti' (Ward 1990). But the construction of heritage, with its artistic features, also extends to political contexts where sovereignty, self-determination and the whole nature of 'Hawaiian spirituality' are contended (Keale 1992:22).

Friedman has drawn attention to the total marginalisation of the Hawaiians after the war, under the impact of tourism and the domination in local affairs of the Japanese-Americans. The end of the 1960s saw 'the Hawaiian cultural revival' and led to constructions of the past that are quite different to those generated by Western views of the historical record and process, being 'rooted in a historical distinction between Hawaiian life forms and those that became dominant in the islands' (Friedman 1992:842).

Several national delegations to the 6th Festival of Pacific Arts, in Rarotonga, had information booklets and pamphlets produced. *Who We Are* (Togna 1992) was the title of a New Caledonian glossy sixty-page publication. The Hawaii Steering Committee's (1992:7) more modest eight-page leaflet on the ten visual artists who were selected to participate in Rarotonga notes:

(they) were chosen not only for their exceptional knowledge and skill, but for their *aloha* (love) for the Hawaiian culture and way of life ... Some of the older practitioners, *kupuna*, were literally 'born into' their work as part of their family's heritage. Those of younger generations have recognised the beauty and importance of their own culture and are committed to learning from the elders, or to conducting research to revive endangered and lost traditions.

The focus here is on the 'Hawaiian life forms' that Friedman distinguished, as noted above. The Sponsorship Proposal (n.d.) of the 6th Festival of Pacific Arts states that the Cook Islanders would 'play their part in defending the cultures of the Pacific'. This sense of threat occurred again in this booklet: 'But as we approach the 21st century the swiftness with which other influences are absorbed threatens the cultural integrity of the Pacific people.' Futa Hetu (1991) has expressed fears that the future of Pacific Islanders will succumb to development-sponsored by aid donors ... precious little of aid is spent on real

culture'. He cites the South Pacific Arts Festival as a case in point: 'Exactly how does this festival promote and develop Pacific arts? All that it does, he argues, is to put money into the hands of the hosts and TV workers, not into the hands of the performers, who only receive

well-rehearsed mouthfuls ... of insecure gratitude: The point is: culture is that which donors must avoid since it takes them into terra incognita, and if they venture there it is only going to gratify their capitalistic aims.

However, the Pacific Arts Council of the South Pacific Commission views the Pacific Arts Festival as a means of conserving the cultural heritage, joining the past and future. Those who put on the festival see it as a means for Pacific Islanders from all three major regions to 'mingle and celebrate their special contributions to the world heritage' (Sponsorship Proposal n.d.). It is the manifestations of their skills and customs in their celebrations that 'make them distinctive and respected in the international community' (Sponsorship Proposal n.d.). It would seem, however, that in practice there are three kinds of manifestations of skills and art that are being contributed by a people to their own heritage: that which is practised at the festival, that which is done at home in the community, and that which receives economic return from visitors and tourists.

The stimulation given to delegations to build canoes to sail to the festival was a means of expressing the sentiments held about past skills in voyaging and navigation, and was a significant contribution to the public image of Pacific Islanders. 'The festival is a great opportunity for us to be able to share and give back to our ancestral families', the Hawaiian navigator, Nainoa Thompson 'enthusiased' (Festival of Pacific Arts 1992:2).¹⁷

Muddles or new models?

This grouping includes forms and executions where the 'traditional' model has been wrongly perceived, or misconstrued, or misrepresented. A model is not just an object; it is also a design, something to be imitated, shaped, fashioned. The copier is always concerned that replication of the model is accurate and history is authenticated.

Bishop Museum offers 'The Rare and Genuine in Shop Pacifica' (*Ka' Ekele* 1990:5):

handsome, hand-crafted replicas of items out of the Polynesian past—work done by contemporary craftsmen willing to share their work with the public ... All of the items are crafted with great attention to detail and historical accuracy.

An advertisement in *Ka Wai Ola O Oha* (September 1990:4) notes that the Royal Feather Company

is dedicated to the perpetuation of quality Hawaiian featherwork. Materials that are readily available today are used to fashion the beautiful natural and dyed feathers into a *lei hula* for your head, neck or hat.

The advertisement is supported by a drawing of two *kahili* and the phrase *E hana keia lei, e pulama ia la aku* (A creation today, a treasure tomorrow). Today's art is tomorrow's heritage.

Diminishing the size of replicas is a common feature of suitcase art, a feature of current production in many Pacific countries; for example, Tino figures, the model for which originates in Nukuoro, are mass carved in Pohopoi. The Cook Islands story boards mentioned above in the Island Crafts shop in Avarua were all 70 centimetres long, thus fitting the larger standard-size suitcase.

In 1967 a master Kilenge artist carved the first *manung* mask that had been produced for many years (Dark 1974:ills.78-82). At that time there were only two old pre-World War II pieces left in all the Kilenge villages. A man, who was neither carver nor master carver, had a go at carving one, sensing that he might be able to sell it to the resident anthropologists—Adrian Gerbrands, my wife and me. His effort showed that the model he had in mind was eroding in form and ill-conceived. The acknowledged carvers were outraged; this was not work 'well done', it was not art. But the occasion of the production of this first 'tourist' piece, together with the master's work, led to other carvers making masks for sale, but carvers who were acknowledged as such. Their results were competent renderings of the Kilenge style of mask (Dark 1974:84, 85). A Kilenge carver shown a postcard of a Tami mask in Field Museum's collections made a fine copy of it, but the press

of the Kilenge style led him away from the model into his own idiom (Dark 1974:89-90).

Once a trade can be made for cash, once the demand from 'outside' the local context arises, the traditional model begins to change. Schenbaum (1993:55) writes of the changes in Asmat art:

the carvings ... become more complicated. Handles of drums now have 10 or 11 figures around them overbalancing the visual and physical aspect and making the drum impossible to use. The drum, in fact, is so obscured that it can barely be seen.¹⁸

The model certainly seems to have been muddled, but then the purpose for which it is intended is now quite different. Under these new conditions, how far does the quality of the style persist?

In the Cook Islands the quality of the representations of Tangaroa appears to be badly eroded. Concern for the quality of carvings, mass-produced in Easter Island for the Polynesian Culture Center in Hawaii, was expressed by Sergio Rapa. There the world's most comprehensive and authentic Rapa Nui exhibit outside Easter Island was planned for 1992 (*Rapa Nui Journal* 1991). The miniature carvings it was hoped to sell the centre were to number 100 000 *moai*; their quality was to be monitored in Rapa Nui by a local committee, which was to 'provide an authentic seal of approval on all exported items'. Copies of Hawaiian images often have attached labels misrepresenting the qualities claimed for them; for example, 'ALOHA TIKI, Aloha is this tiki's virtue. He'll give you fond memories of Hawaii. ALOHA!' Or on a differently fashioned representation of the same figure: 'LUCKY TIKI. This tiny tiki wishes you an abundance of "POMAIKAI" (po-meye-KAH-i) which means Good Luck and Good Fortune.'

A further potential loss of control of original models lies in the area of conservation of petroglyphs, to which Millerstrom (1992:23-4) has drawn attention—the re-carving of rock-art sites in the Marquesas Islands so that tourists can see them better, or outlining them with paint, crayon or chalk as practised in Hawaii. The embrace of Mammon can lead to the destruction of art, and maybe

all else besides; certainly, in the guise of tourism, he is all-pervading.

When the local demands for an artist's work cease he will seek alternative forms that will bring a return. In the Solomon Islands, carvers produce some objects for the tourist trade for which there are no indigenous models; for example, frogs, herons, seahorses, and eagles with snakes (Austin 1986:26, 27, 30, 33).

Fanciful images of the Pacific and its people persist, and misconceptions are perpetuated. For example, a photograph of a Solomon Islander, tattooed on his forehead, is described as 'Ageless: the face of a Solomons man reveals a life in a country still rich in tradition' (Vates 1992). A postcard showing two hulls joined by a platform with six costumed dancers on it is entitled 'Tahitian Canoe' (Polynesian Cultural Center n.d.). Maori dancers demonstrating the art of *poi*-ball twirling are the subject of an illustration in a booklet on the Polynesian Cultural Center, yet one of the 'Maori' dancers would appear to be illustrated on another page enacting the 'Tahitian legend of Hina and the Eel' (Arioyoshi 1989:5, cf. 40).

A common representation of Hawaianness is a hula dancer or group of dancers, the costume varying, which can be employed to advertise almost any activity in Hawaii in the tourist literature; for example, a shopping centre on Kauai, Hawaiian Airlines, or Waimea Falls Park, where 'the spirit of old Hawaii is alive'. A myth of the past and the desire to establish it as part of the cultural heritage may have led to the instalment of the Menehune figure as a tourist attraction at Paradise Cove Luau Park. Menehunes are described as

small, fun loving yet industrious natives (who) were here long before the Hawaiians arrived ... from ... the Marquesas Islands. Now four re-creations of these Menehunes joke, play and enjoy the Luau nightly at Paradise Cove Luau Park. Be sure to say 'Hi' to a Menehune and have your picture taken too.

A salacious element is sometimes presented to the tourist, such as a postcard entitled 'Ancient Phallic Rock' and described as 'worshipped as a symbol of generative power by the early Hawaiians ... on the island of Molokai'. A

girl is posed taking a photograph of it. Postcards are also printed that draw attention to skimpy 'native' dress and to parts of the female anatomy not normally exposed in Hawaii.

Some misrepresentations can only be categorised as bizarre: for example, an advertisement in *Honolulu* (1992) using an old Bishop Museum photograph of a man holding a surfboard, Diamond Head behind, with the message painted on him: 'The Island Christmas Vest from Canoe Clothing Company, Ala Moana Center'. Or a tourist advertisement urging the reader to 'Wear the True Colours of Hawaii'. Or the concept of Hawaii can be used to sell pasta by pictures of a parrot, a palm tree, the sun, and the face of a girl with a hibiscus flower behind her ear.

The image of the Pacific as paradise continues (Brown 1982). National Geographic titled a recent book *Blue Horizons: Paradise Isles of the Pacific* (Dunn 1985). Air Niugini's in-flight magazine is entitled *Paradise* (see Dick 1979). The visitor to Hawaii is told he can go 'Around Paradise in a Day' (Tully 1989). Indeed, there are still some who go to the Pacific 'looking for paradise on earth'. Such a one was the writer and broadcaster John Heminway, but he was told by Bengt Danielson that he was 200 years too late (Grteve 1991); it was a 'lost paradise'. Indeed, this was the title of Ian Cameron's 1987 account of European exploration of the Pacific.

Though it can be claimed that the kinds of representations just given of the Pacific are false, or confusing, they do serve a very practical purpose, and many Pacific Islanders are tolerant of the views projected when they generate needed funds. The mechanism for the promotion of tourism is illustrated by the rear cover of the 'Pacific Arts Festival Programme Issue' of the *Cook Islands Chronicle* (Hall 1992), which shows dancers and drummers costumed for a performance, the sea breaking on the reef behind them, captioned 'Let Images Promote Your Product'. In the 1970s, McGraw Hill used a photograph of a New Guinea Highlander to advertise anthropology films to the educational market in the USA.

Although not common, world tours by Pacific Island dancers and related cultural promotions must lead to stereotyped views of Pacific Islanders; for example, in 1990

there was a European tour by a Papua New Guinea dance troupe (*The Times* 31 May 1990:3) and Hawaiian dancers went to Great Britain (*The Times* 23 July 1990:3); and three Australian Aborigines presented a ritual pole to the Museum für Völkerkunde, Frankfurt, for which they were given in return three suitcases' (*The Times* 16 March 1990:10).

The futures?

The focus of those interested in researching Pacific arts has tended to be on the arts of the cultures surviving into the near present yet still connected with their past. Are innovations and novelties but frivolities of the moment, or do they get incorporated and last? If so, why? What kind of images are projected by the tourist trade that generate changes in art forms, the attitudes to them, and the values about them? What of the relationship of production to authenticity, to skill, to materials and techniques, and to the models used? What is ephemeral, and what persists and why? What is the effect of economics on production? Does economics determine the benefits of tourism for local peoples? Is it a form of neocolonialism (Crick 1989:319) that people have to bend their ways to decoy and allure the visitor, tempting their tastes with forms that, in consequence, have to be adjusted? How far does tourism really benefit a country and alleviate the inequality between 'tourist-generating and tourist-destination countries'? (Crick 1989: 321).

But perhaps it is an error to think of tourism as a blanket phenomenon affecting Pacific cultures in similar ways, and to think of tourist arts in a similar fashion. For one thing, there are different kinds of tourism functioning in the Pacific and having different effects: these one might distinguish as ecotourism, art tourism and cultural tourism. The West still inconspicuously exploits the environment of others with its expedition and discovery cruises: 'Polynesia and Peru ... follow "Mutiny and Mystery" ... take the "Passage to Paradise" (Royal Viking Line); The Lure of the South Seas. Follow in the footsteps of Captain James Cook, Robert Falcon Scott and Ferdinand Magellan (But we live to tell the tale)' (Society Expeditions);

and 'An astonishing and colourful voyage to the islands of the South Pacific on the expedition ship *World Discoverer*. 10% of each cruise fare will be donated to the Easter Island Foundation' (Easter Island Foundation). Such visits are encouraged to displays and sales of cash-crop art, and abbreviated performances that give tourists the instant gratification they expect from cultural pursuits.

The changes that beset the Pacific and its peoples have not always been triggered by outsiders from the West. Schmidt's botanical ethnography of the Nokoopo people (1991:291) exemplifies some of the effects Papua New Guinea peoples have had on their own environment: 'Nokoopo people (of Madang and Morobe Provinces) have probably never lived in harmony with nature, as is sometimes claimed for traditional Papua New Guinea cultures or "primitive" non-Western cultures in general'. The Maori had a considerable hand in changing the fauna and flora of New Zealand before the Europeans had a go, and Simoni's excavations in Oahu in 1976 revealed evidence of the extinction of forty species of birds before the arrival of Europeans. 'These discoveries have not gone down well with native Hawaiians anxious to maintain the myth of the Polynesians as guardians of Paradise' (Mitchell 1990: 194). The Easter Islanders almost eliminated themselves from their volcanic island (Bahn and Fleinley 1992).

Paradise is still fragile. At the 22nd South Pacific Forum in Pohnpei, representatives attacked driftnetting, French nuclear testing ... toxic, hazardous and radioactive waste dumping proposals, U.S. chemical munitions destruction at Johnston Atoll, industrial carbon dioxide emissions which cause global warming and sea-level rise, and environmentally unsound farming, mining and logging practices. (*Washington Pacific Report* 1991)

Under the cloud of apparent gloom cast by the contemporary scene in the Pacific, some Pacific Islanders are seeking their lost heritage as a means of facing the future. Others feel that the effects of changes in their material world are so strong that their arts will no longer persist. In Hawaii, Rocky Jensen (1990) wrote:

The art that was Polynesian is very dear to me. The fact that it is quickly mutating into something unrecognizable

is a painful thing to witness, especially when the mutation was never properly understood in the first place.

He decried the lack of art:

We have virtually nothing to set up to ignite the minds of the young. Nothing established to teach, explain or share in the knowledge of our ancient sculptures ... We are a society of knick-knacks.

And from Papua New Guinea John Kolia (1989:69) felt that 'It is hard to see how the destruction of the material past can be prevented in the face of the overwhelming import of foreign artefacts and styles.'

But surely the performing arts, so vital, will prevail and flourish. Yet for those pursuing the study of the visual arts of the Pacific it is important to identify contemporary happenings and trends, to look at past arts where they are continuing, at the attempts of artists and craftsmen to meet economic needs by various sorties into 'applied arts', and at the reactions of those artists trying to find satisfactory means of expressing the contemporary scene of Western culture impacting on their own local one. These trends will picture tomorrow's history of Pacific art.

Notes

1. Called 'Adelaide' by the first white colonists.
2. Teilhet-Fisk (1992:43) quotes Drew Hayes, in reference to waist mats: 'I don't look at the *utouade* as an art form. We don't have a word for art. I look at it as to what status or position that particular *utouade* represents ... to identify us with a status or social occasion so our society knows what is going on.'
3. See Dark (1974: ill. 176) for a solo dancer imitating *animo*, though this was not the occasion referred to in the text, which occurred the year before.
4. This occurred in a version of *agawang*, not performed for a very long time, to the best of my knowledge (see Dark 1974: ill. 163-4, 168; 1984:21-3).
5. The dancing of *maising* on another occasion is illustrated in Dark (1974: ill. 74-5). For a complete narration and performance the reader should look at Adrian Gerbrands' excellent 1975 film *Mausing Maikes: Performances*, produced and distributed by Stichting Film en Wetenschap, Utrecht.

6. Cf. the work of Tekimua Urio of Kiribati and his decoration of graves, referred to in Dark (1983a:26; 1990:265).
7. For similar treatment of Christian and Kilenge symbols, see Dark (1990: fig. 18.19).
8. Parliament House is illustrated in Sinclair (1985:126, 149) and the bank building in Simons and Stevenson (1990:36).
9. See also Megaw (1986, 1990); Megaw and Megaw (1993); Ebes and Hollow (1992).
10. See Simons and Stevenson (1990:50ff.) for Kaung's *Helicopter* and other works.
11. See Michourouchkine (n.d.) for Pijioke, and Douglas (1991) for illustrations of paintings by John Joseph and Juliette Pita.
12. John Kolia (1989:69) rates Joseph Nalo as perhaps the first artist 'who has made an individual breakthrough'. An example of the retention yet remarkable development of a native style is the work of Bill Reid, the distinguished Haida artist (Duffek 1986; Bringhurst and Steltzer 1991).
13. For example, Ebes and Hollow (1992) and 'Australiana' in *Pacific Arts* (1, 2:67-72; 3:29-52), the latter of which includes a number of illustrations.
14. These include Kay George, Claire Higham, Doreen Mellors, Jillian Sobieski, Mike Tavioni, Judith Kunzle, and Ian George.
15. One of these books, *Manakonaho: Reflections* by Kauraka Kauraka, was reviewed by Peter Gathercole (1993).
16. A photograph taken by Siers (1977:71) shows the Centre well stocked with locally made crafts and a large carved Tino figure from Nukuoro, Micronesia.
17. See also *Pacific Arts* (5:62).
18. See Müller (1990:135, 139) for two small Asmat shields consistent with Schneebaum's observations.

Contributors

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Wendi Choulai was born in Wau, Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea, and grew up among her mother's clan in Port Moresby and Central Province. In 1986 she was the first female graduate in Textile Design from the PNG National Arts School, and gained her MA in Textile Design from the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology in Australia in 1997. She has represented PNG as a textile designer at the Commonwealth Arts Festival in Edinburgh and ESCAP workshop for women in Thailand, exhibited at the Asia Pacific Triennial (Queensland Art Gallery, 1996), and has presented papers to symposia such as the Third Australian Print Symposium (National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, 1997) and the Royal Society of Victoria (Museum of Victoria, 1997). She is interested in showing a meaningful connection between traditional and contemporary design, and demonstrating that contemporary art such as that expressed in her textile design does not have to break with tradition, but can emanate from, and even give added meaning to, ritual.