Art and Performance in Oceania

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

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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 1986 and in Honolulu in 1989. This one, in Red Kangaroo Place (Tandanya), was PAA's fifth. At each of these previous symposia I have tried to draw attention to certain major features 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 locus apparent. I was asked to focus on "The art of the peoples of Western New Britain and their Neighbours" (Dark 1979). The problem I encountered led me to consider what constituted an adequate survey and to propose a methodology for such an inquiry.

But the previous inquiry for my area — that 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 archeological 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 Huan Gulf, and Visna and Dampier Strait, 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 1979:230)

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:23)? 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 delineate the trends apparent ten or so years ago in the developments of Pacific art, the changes in creativity, innovation 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 pertinency runs 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 theme and style is, of course, form, that which the skill of the creator 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, noun, which we would call artist. In Greece, art is the term for excellence in thought and performance and art in Latin carries a sense of ideas about art as well as the basic concept of practicing skill. In Tanganyi, jembe means skill, art was not a category of traditional Tanganyi culture, Kaepple (1979:63) reminds us. Tellier-Fik (1992b) also noted this and that the skill manifested in a product was not recognised unless the craftswoman was of chiefly rank. Indeed, Kaepple (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 Inuits, 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 in misconstruing Kilenge art and the arts of other peoples of 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 in it, for the skilful and proficient are handled by one skilled in their manipulation, whom we call artist, performer, raconteur, 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 earns the donor's art (Dark 1974:Ills 171, 173), the creator'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 singer 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 is 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 accoutrements. Knowing the canons of taste that permit form, shape, colour and decorations 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, koavunango, and an intellectual ability. The former is inspirational, representing the individual's capability to power, or the potential to do so the latter the ability or talent to execute. It is the intellectual ability of the Trobriand artist that eye (image) creates, inspiration deriving from spiritual means (Geoffrey Moorwood, 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 ensure 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 exist in order to clarify the overall work; 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 tumbleriness.

Traditional and tourist art

The general sense of Pacific art presents a considerable variety of activities and trends, the result of rapid changes.
represent 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 enor-

mous changes have occurred but ties with the past and the continuity of their art forms have not been lost. For these past art is traditional. But the traditional of the past century for the Maori is different from its forerun-

ner of the 18th century. For traditional dance, the Hawaiian is its revival near the close of the last century. Re-

ference to traditional, as a term, needs to carry precision to mark differences. What is produced today can be cat-

gerized 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 Bu-

tararina, Kiribati:

women no longer go unadorned till marriage; the widow no longer sleeps at night and goes abroad by day with the shell of her dead husband; and, firearms being introduced, the spear and the broad-bladed sword are sold for curiosities in ten years' time all these things and positions were to be seen in use; yet ten years more, and the old society will have entirely vanished. We came in a hasty moment to see its institutions still erect and (in Apemana) source 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 past, ceases and is replaced by something else with a new structure, part of which inter-

locks with society. A culture is continuously sorting itself out after each contact, regrouping its values, project-

ing 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, arrange-

ments, movements, spaces, and so on, which guide them in the creative act, and which are learnt from the art repertoire of their culture. Further, the individual learns to use the results of the creative process as the culture teaches him to. In Tonga, maile 'are beautiful because they are culturally correct' (Taylor-Fisk 1924a:60). In Tonga, too, Queen Halihowalu Ma'ika also 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 role) 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 Kilieng of West New Britain, for example, one may con-

side a variety of activities, such as organisation before and during the event - the people involved, costume, ac-

cessories, place, time, duration; gathering together food for the distribution after; and so on. Previous experience

provides the musicians and participants with a model to fol-

low, to modify, enlarge or reduce as they will. The per-

formers may be experienced but often require a rehearsal. Some features of a performance may be poorly executed, stumble over, omitted, because the performers don't know the routine.

In the cycle of dances known as sin among the Kilieng, solos and duets were performed as interludes in the choral dancing with drums, though they had been dropped by the mid-1960s (see Dar 1974:1b:169, 171-8 and Dar 1984:21-3). My wife and I did see a remarkable display of two dancers, representing araupu, 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 play-

ing a drum, who directed the leaps of the dancers (fig. 24.2). On another occasion, a single dancer initiated a single sea-

eagle flying. Both were novel to a number of the villagers. The second performance, however, did not carry the excitation of mime of the first, perhaps because the mimicry lacked observation and, in consequence, authenticity. 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 continue.

The 1950s, when I learned something of Kitenga 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. As a singer 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. The occasion also permitted the making of a dance of the koso figure (an ootu), which had been 'invented' for many years, on a formal occasion of circumcision, from which women and children would have been excluded. The performance by the Big Man and his men, mentioned above, perfectly modelled the rather nervous, hesitant dancing required of the character he was imitating (fig. 24.3). But it occurred as a solo in a round of solo, the imitator dressed for the chorus of dancers but distinguishable from them by the eye make-up appropriate for the character he was imitating. Imitative dances are acceptable forms in sia performances, but the 'wandering' 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 imitation of the dance, but spurious too - perhaps as a one-off occasion, not to become a part of the repertoire put on for general entertainment.

A distinction to help classify the contemporary scene was made recently by Frank Berman (1996:62) for Papua New Guinea ceremonial occasions. He suggested differentiating such ceremonies into 'ritual' and 'celebration'. In ritual, variations on a set theme and only as possible. Celebrations include all kinds of new events, such as performances for the opening of a new bridge (for example, 24.1) Dust as site for sea-eagle mother teaching its chick to fly, Warama, Kitenga, West New Britain. (4.00; 1956: N823.13)

24.2 (Above) The dusk as in fig. 24.1, directed by Big Man Tula of Ongina, West New Britain. (4.00; 1956: N823.18)

Holdsworth 1986a:35) or the annual Hagen and Gooda 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 Baroonga. The novelist, wishing to learn something of Cook Islands culture, is attracted by advertisements in tourist literature to a visit to the Cook Islands' Cultural Village, which is located in Arorangi 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 hands, located at the end of the tour, have a variety of traditional Cook Islands foods. After lunch, you relax and enjoy the dance, songs, chants and music of the Cook Islands, as our village actors present an unforgettable show. Where Is 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 created us like a class of schoolkids. Name? Where? 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 name of Rarotonga for its oranges, of Atiu for vanilla, and of Aitutaki for its magnificent. There were few artifacts on the wall, all recent work, as were those we saw on the way out of our visit. Our teacher drew attention to some of these artifacts, notably a club to thrust in the eyes of the enemy, she said, adding that the notch cut on the side indicated the number of victims that had been dispatched. Papaya and coconut milk also was served. Thus 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 visitors, no doubt, and treated with friendly playfulness by our hosts. The scene ended with the Cook Island dancers posing for photographs with and without (fig. 24.4) their visitors.

24.3 (Above left) Tula of Ongina mirroring dancing at a performance of six Kitenga, West New Britain. (27.01; 167: N8160:34)

24.4 (Left) Cook Island dancers posing for photographs at end of performance at the Cultural Village. Arorangi Village. Rarotonga. (3.98; 929.15)
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 (Hull 1992; Moulin 1993). Previously, the National Museum occupied quarters in the Public Library; Maketi Tonga, 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 perceived, and the program is at 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 'packed' 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 tourism 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 Cook Island society to be measured. 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 venues on Rarotonga and Aitutaki, performances have to be made to fit local 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 Hawai‘i, 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 change has occurred, some ties to the past are maintained.

Contact with European culture has occurred at different times in the past and with differing results. Though tourism has impacted markedly on all Pacific countries since the 18th century, there have been other major changes instigated 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 mermaids in Kiribati; this was more than 100 years ago. I read an account in the minutes book of the Athenaean in Manu'a of a visit made by the Secretary to the Pacific in 1849-50, in which he described these 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 1865. 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 1993) and 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 apparent art. The topics are: 'The new and the old', 'Old forms as national emblems', 'New syntheses', 'New forms of expression from the old', 'Art for the visitor and traveller', 'Applied arts', 'Arts for the nation', and 'New models'.

The new and the old

One noticeable phenomenon to be found is the new and the old fitting comfortably 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 humor (for example, Miller 1983: ill. 110), or protest, offering with the, for example. 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 pig tails and a plastic rose through his nose (Thompson 1989:30); a Dani wearing a 'T-shirt with The Space Age is Stone Age' printed on it (Thompson 1989:27); a Kiribati village in traditional costume being decorated for a singing by a woman wearing a Western-style blouse with a towel hanging down her back from her head, and beside her a man, about to take a cigarette from a packet, who is wearing a Goodyear basketball cap and T-shirt with 'Women - A Power to Develop' on it (Makauy 1985:210); an Enga man wearing a letter-printing due instead of a white shell as a naval ornament (Miller 1983: ill. 199); a Mount Hagenese in 'traditional costume with an amed' on his chest and a local government councillor's badge on his head dress (Birdhouse and Strathern 1990: 108). Holdsworth (1965:55) pictures 'the winner of a hilltops beauty contest', in traditional-style costume and decorations, comprising 'a promising old lady' and her necklace of beads, 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 (Doell 1976:249) and are carried at the top of a Vanuatu slit-gong accompanies Christian and native symbols (Dikdik 1976: 207); young Melanesian girls, in 'traditional' costume, set as altar attendants to Catholic priests as celebrations of mass while the populace dressed in Western style clothing watches (Holdsworth 1980b); in Kiribati, in 1987, I attended a wedding ceremony to the Lutheran church at Bikinilau, 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: fig 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 the choice of tie or worn with prescribed for the game of Rugby football, though tribal items seem to be essential for those attending the ceremonial line-up before the game starts (Ano 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 'Tongan people live a traditional lifestyle and practice the ancient customs of their ancestors, including initiation ceremonies and circumcision rites ... Visitors are warmly welcomed in 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 market in Fiji, for example, the now ubiquitous plastic bag is used for small products, but for larger ones, such as vegetables and shellfish, the old woven basket of bamboo made quickly from palm fronds is used. The same solution occurs in Vanuatu, Rarotonga. The innovation, though, can take the same, 'old' materials and make of them modern forms of hats. Yes, while new materials may be adopted, a change in the old decorative patterns does not necessarily follow; for example, bags woven on Manus now made from rice sacks (Syl-phase Photoa, pers. comm. December 1992).
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 street 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 (Duck 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 Western-style and techniques not in the local repertoire (Duck 1983a, 1990:284-5; Heinemann 1979; Simons and Stevenson 1990; Tamari 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 (Roni 1991). Less successful is the sculpture by Shige Yacuda at Karakul airport, Maui (fig. 24.5), showing Maui releasing the sun.

The artist remained his work from several sources, including books on traditional Hawaiian sculpture and the work of contemporary Western artists including Lachasse, Monroe, and Arp. The figure is definitely not meant to represent traditional Hawaiian sculpture more than to interpret a personal impression of contemporary sculpture (Roni 1992:66).

Other recent examples of syntheses are works presented at the 6th Festival of Pacific Arts, such as Turuki Solomun's 2.4-metre-tall female figure, which, Karin 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 his was a tUFF carving of Ti Vaka, a legendary king of Taupouri, who sailed to Rarotonga (Moulin 1998:70), a link between Rarotonga and Tahiti new symbolising a contemporary one. Another was a wooden statue carved by Benjamin Nicholas, Te Atama Rangatira (Moulin 1999:213). Stevenson (1993:68) also refers to the work of the Australian Arone Mack at the festival as drawing for inspiration on Aboriginal mythology and the contemporary world.

The work of several modern Papua New Guinea painters often seems pointed between synthetic expressions with forms denoting indigenous ideas juxtaposed with forms from the West—for example, Joseph Holzapfel—though many are attempts as new ways of expression as the result of exposure to the Papua New Guinea National Arts School. The tapa panels of Alois Filious, the Vanuatu artist, using a Western medium, seem painted between two worlds, as does the work of some other Vanuatu artists.

New forms of expression from the old

There are few 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 Nako, with powerful works such as Ewene (Simons and Stevenson 1990:19); and, with similar strength, Tabi SLAS (Simons and Stevenson 1990:21). Nusorwo, too, is Martin Morobuwabi who, while retaining his native style, has enlarged it to invent new forms. Today's Australian Aboriginal artists have been confronting with how to express the differences between their past world and that of modern Australia and seem to have done so successfully by presenting past forms in new media (fig. 24.6), while others have expressed their interaction 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 (Pulman 1995).

The Papua New Guinean and Australian artists referred to as 'gallery artists', and there has been increasing general interest in their work for a decade or more, with exhibitions of their art worldwide. These gallery artists have moved successfully in a world of picture 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 Māori 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 Ernest Aranga (for example, Deig and Davidson 1989: fig. 60) or in greenstone by Hepi Maxwell (Deig and Davidson 1989: fig. 61). Others have ingeniously taken basic forms of the art and produced works that transcend Māori art into a Western context within tourist sites, a successful transitional/normal solution; for example, a painting by Sandy Adsett (Deig and Davidson 1989: fig. 66). The former two examples, while being made as personal ornaments, can also function as gallery art and have been exhibited. Sandy Adsett’s painting in acrylic on board is meant to be hung.

Some artists have their work also appear in commercial art agencies. The major group is the Te Pues Nei Art and Cultural Societya. Of particular interest is the work of Ugochka D. George (San George), who established an art department in the national high school (McCarthy 1990). His drawings and paintings are successful modern presentations of Cook Islands legends and life, as is his painting_The God in Conversation (Cook Islands: Sun 1992a) and his illustrations for two books of poetry (Cook Islands Sun 1992b).

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 and change the indigenous style to that which became part of the daily-place daily 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 export shops open to visitors arts and crafts will be found the works of many hands. 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 tourist seek, on expeditions mounted by museums and special exploratory groups. They have done by making collecting expeditions to some of the remote parts of the country, where they act as local stimuli for further production.

The industry in examining the tourist-art industry is to a large extent, 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 formalization of some presentations has become very stereotyped and mass-produced. Under such circumstances, what is the gulf between the tourist’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 1986:5), the preamble to which states:

The imagination brought to the work is fresh, unaffected by the visual prejudices 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 (Austin 1986:5) ‘the audience for artificers is changing from an indigenous to a European or visiting one, with payment made in currency rather than in traditional kind. Some changes of audience have come too. After discussing the role of the master carvers and the qualities of excellence expected, a parallel approach is underpinning, however, encouraged by the less exciting but larger demands of the tourist...’
In reference to bowls: of course, they fit with perfect ease into a suitcase. Dues have been reduced to 12... In spite of time many changes ... the carvings that are a part of traditional life remain in traditional forms and are superbly carved. [Schonbein 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. Schonbein (1993) noted that the work of Ainaro carvers was being copied by non-Ainaro for sale in Bali. Rapa Nui artists living and working in Temuco, Chile, the heart of the Mapuche culture (Ramirez 1992) are producing plants, fruits 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 woodcarvings, wooden figures in the Rapa Nui style for local sale. One, who lived in Villarrica, also produced items wishing the two styles: a classic Mapuche wooden spoon (15cm) has handles carved with typical Moai knots-bow heads. [Ramirez 1992]

The trade in artefacts across the Pacific has reached the stage where the visitor and the local inhabitants 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 Specialist'; 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 Publicitarians 1991]. The gallery also displays Aboriginal artefacts. This kind of display, and the objects shown, I have seen elsewhere referred to as 'Faux Primitive Art'.

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 provenance as well as forms: shields, spears, drums (fig. 24.8), bowls, mortars, boards, Hawaiian surfboard, ceramics, textiles, T-shirts, sandals and so on. In Avarua, on Rarotonga, there are two small shops that display only examples of the work of Cook Islanders. One, Taoviri Arts, was mentioned above; the other is the Rarotonga Women's Craft Centre, which sells mainly local woven items, such as hats, bags and mats. 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'.

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

One version has a patau that could be removed or withdrawn.

Other Cook Island carvings included versions of God-suff used by the Tiangari [Witch doctors] of the tribe. Tsingara Nui, the funeral god (fig. 24.11); Rongo with his mace and Polynesian 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 a woman (fig. 24.12) - something Tiwani does - is a new interpretation for Rarotongan carvers, and mimics Paluan (Bismarkian) story boards; but they were very fresh and successful executions, all 71 centimetres (28 inches) long. Island Crafts Ltd is located in a big woodworking shed equipped with lathe, sander and all the tools necessary...
for mass 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 four 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, Utongo Williams, was carving letters on a flat board (figs 24.14 and 24.15). He had been working at Limmars 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 Mangia, who was working on several figures of the Rongoan version of Tangaroa and one Polynesian one (fig. 24.16), sawing the mango wood with a bucksaw (fig. 24.17), making the same cuts for arms and legs of several figures, one after the other, a process which gives them their grim look of immobility. Apatangi learned to carve from his father. In a bit, 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 Rogo (fig. 24.18) and of male and female Polynesian deities. The quality of these figures, compared with those he was working on, was very much better. Continued replication according to a formula must be satisfying.

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 Polynesian version of Kukumolu 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 the local consumption that bear a relationship to the forms and values 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...
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 1990:258-68, 1993). It seems appropriate to draw attention to a few noticeable, and strikingly useful, applications of Australian Aboriginal designs on T-shirts, handprinted by Churings 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 style of Aboriginal art, which developed over thousands of years, appears simple but is an ancient, fully established medium, strengthened by ties of folklore, mythology and custom.

Printing somewhat of Aboriginal works in collections, such as the Australian National Gallery does, in a Western trait of gallery art—G. O. Grosvenor (Magpie Green), 1987, by George Milpurrurrara (Australian National Gallery PC No. 0461)—is as the reproduction of Aboriginal paintings on greeting cards, such as the Detert Designs of Jimmy Pike (for example, Ngangiyana), or those printed for the Aboriginal Gallery of Dreamings, Melbourne, such as Waru (Fire Dreaming), 1990, by Malcolm Jagamara, and his Waru (Snake Dreaming), 1990. The printing of Aboriginal designs on coasters and placemats is another application; for example, six paintings by James Galaroway Yunggul may be 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 Tahitianism, just as the Samoans have maintained the custom as part of their Fale Samo (Tusuman 1990). Apart from its cultural significance, it is intended as a proof of courage (Aivavao 1990:50). But today electric needles and pain-killers are used. While it may be an art that helps survival of an ancient custom (Aivavao 1990:50), it is subject to change, for Aivavao reports that one design was adapted 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 part for display in the present as concrete evidence of the practice as part of the artistic heritage: 'Tattoos a Hawaiian status symbol', the Alani Beach Press (1991:55) assures its readers. As Karen Stevenson has pointed out before, some tattoo artists draw on traditional motifs to create their own designs, and thus express today's reaction to a traditional art form.

National celebrations stimulate various manifestations of the arts. In Hawai'i, on 11 June the statue of King Kamehameha I draped gorgeously with lei and decorated with flowers. A parade is mounted, a feature of which is a principal figure and attendants in traditional kahili, clothed in feathered cloaks and helmets, 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 Cordifurn, accompanied by gaily dressed riders on horseback. The nature of the costume and the Kahili, in part, on forms surviving from the past, but they are mounted on a mean of transport common today. Pride in the heritage is generated, and what might seem a model in the models is only as other models is expressed in a view of the past. The general view that is generated of that past is aided by activities such as the Kekākūkāri Pele, a Tahitian dance competition for young people, which is in its tenth year. The festival is held to stimulate an awareness of Hawai'i's Polynesian 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 contested (Kesey 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 1992:64).

Several national delegations to the 6th Festival of Pacific Arts, in Rarotonga, had information booklets and pamphlets produced. W.A. Winter (Tonga 1992) was the title of a New Caledonian glossy sixty-page publication. The Hawai'i Steering Committee (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 ability (or lack) 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 reorganised the beauty and importance of their own culture and are committed to keeping this alive, the elders, or 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 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 occurs again in this booklet: 'But as we approach the 21st century the multiculturalism, which has other influences in the Pacific, has been an abhorrent threat to the cultural longevity of the Pacific people.'

Fusa Helu (1991) has expressed fears that the future of Pacific Islands will succumb to 'developments 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 motifs... of ecstatic gratitude! The point is culture is that which demands must avoid since it transforms into trivial novelties, and if they venture there it is only by granting their capitalist 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 practiced at the festival, that which is done at home in the community, and that which receives economic return from tourists and tourists.

The stimulation given to delegations to build canoes to sail to the festival was a means of expressing the sentiments about our past skills in voyaging and navigation, and was a significant contribution to the public image of the 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 'enthused' (Festival of Pacific Arts 1992:2).

Muddles or new models?

This grouping includes forms and sequences 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 beimitated, shaped, fashioned. The copy is always considered that replication of the model is accurate and history is authenticated.

Bishop Museum offers 'The Rare and Genuine in Shop Pacifica' (Ke 'Elele 1990:5):

'Handsome, hand-crafted replicas of items out of the Polynesian past - week days by contemporary craftsmen willing to share the knowledge with the public... all of the items are crafted with great attention to detail and historical accuracy.'

An advertisement in Ke 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 ke kaha for your head, neck or hat.

The advertisement is supported by a drawing of two kahili and the phrase 'Hana mau le, o palmele la aleva' (A creation today, a treasure tomorrow). Today's art is tomorrow's heritage.

Diminishing the size of replicas is a common feature of situate art, a feature of current production in many Pacific countries for example, Tina figures, the model for which originates in Nuku'alofa, are mass made in Pohnpei. The Cook Islands story boards mentioned above in the Island Crafts shop in Avarua were all 70 centimeters long, thus fitting the larger standard-size suitcase.

In 1996 a master Kilenge artist carved the first new wood 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 anthropologist - Adrian Gert sabotage a friends, and me. His effort showed that the model he had in mind was erring 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 'master' 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 carving shows a profiled of a Kului mask in Field Museum collections made a fine copy of it, but the piece of the Kilenge style led him away from the model into his own idiom (Dark 1974: 89-90).

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

'the carving... became more complicated. Handles of drama now have 10 or 11 figures around them.'

The drums, in fact, is so obscured that it can barely be seen.'

The model certainly seems to have been massed, 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 at Tingaroa appears to be badly eroded. Concerns for the quality of carvings, mass-produced in Easter Island for the Polynesian Culture Center in Hawaii's, 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 to the centre were to number 100,000 mini; 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 have often been attached labels misrepresenting the qualities claimed for them: for example, 'ALOHA TIKI. Aloha is this tikis virtue. It will give you fond memories of Hawaii, ALOHA!' Or on a differently fashioned representation of the same figure: 'LUCKY TIKI. This tikis wish you an abundance of POMAIHAI' (po-meyer-kaiki) 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 Millerson (1992:23-4) has drawn attention - the 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 pacified in Hawaii's. The embrace of Māori can lead to the destruction of art, and maybe all else besides; certainly, in the guise of tourism, he is all-prevailing.

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, lizards, snakes, and eagles with arrows (Austin 1995:26, 27, 30, 33). Pictorial 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 'Fijian: the face of a Samoan man reveals a life in a country still rich in tradition' (Yule 1992: A portrait showing two bulls 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-balling' 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 on another page on another page on another page on another page on the "Tahitian legend of Hina and the Edi" (Arroyo 1989:5, cf. 40).

A common representation of Hawaiianess 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 'Whale Falls Park, where the spirit of old Hawaii is alive'. A synth of the past and the desire to establish it as part of the cultural heritage may have led to the incrustation 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 few 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 Pacific Rock" and described as 'worn ship as a symbol of generative power' by the early Hawaiians... on the island of Moloka'i.'
girl is pored taking a photograph of it. Postcards are also painted that draw attention to the grey 'native' dress and to parts of the female anatomy not normally exposed in Hawaii.

Some representations can only be categorised as tinsel: for example, an advertisement in the Hawaii Magazine (1932) uses a photograph of a man wearing a surboard. Diamond Head behind, with the message painted on it: 'The Island Christmas Visit from Canoe Clothing Company, Ala Moana Center'. Or a tourist advertisement using the quote of 'wei the true Colours of Hawaii' by the concept of Hawaii can be used to sell pastes by pictures of a woman, a palm tree, the sun, and the face of girl with a hibiscus flower behind her ear.

The image of the Pacific as paradise continues. Hawaii 1928. National Geographic listed a recent move Blue Horizons: Paradise Island of the Pacific (Dunn 1985); Air Nigeria's in-flight magazine is entitled Paradise (see Dick 1979). The visitor to Hawaii is told he can go 'Around Paradise in a Day' (Nally 1980). Indeed, there are still some who go to the Pacific looking for paradise on earth. Such a case was the writer and broadcaster John Heuwley, but he was told by Bengt Danielson that he was 200 years too late (Greene 1991); it was a 'lost paradise'. Indeed, this was the tale of Ian Cameron's 1987 account of European exploration of the Pacific.

Through it can be claimed that the kinds of representations just given of the Pacific are false, or confusing, do serve a very practical purpose, and many Pacific Islanders are tolerant of the view projected when they receive the needed funds. The mechanisms 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 in a performance, the sea breaking on the reef behind them, captioned 'Get Image 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 reenacted a ritual pole to the Museum for Volkskunde, Frankfurt, for which they were given in return three suitcases (The Times 16 March 1990:10).

The future?

The focus of these interest in researching Pacific arts has tended to be on the arts of the cultures surviving in the present yet still connected with their past. Are innovations and novelties as frivollous as the moment, or do they get incorporated and last? If so, what? 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 aesthetics, to skills, 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 people? Is it a form of neo-colonialism (Cerkel 1989:319) that people have to bend their ways to decay and alter the vision, tempting their tastes with forms that, in consequence, have to be negotiated? How far does tourism really benefit a country and alleviate the inequality between 'tourist-generating and tourist-destination countries'? (Cerkel 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 tourist functioning in the Pacific and having different effects: these one might distinguish as ecotourism, art tourism and cultural tourism. The West still incongruously exploits the environment of others with its expedition and discovery routes, "Polynesian and Pers... follow 'Murder and Mystery'... take the 'Treasure or 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 Expeditionists); and an astonishing and colourful voyage to the islands of the South Pacific on the expedition ship World Discoverer: 100 of each cruise fare will be donated to the Easter Island Foundation (Easter Island Foundation). Such visits are encouragement to displays and sales of carvings and art, and the resources in which the tourist interest in the cultural past.

The changes that beset the Pacific and its people have not always been triggered by outsiders from the West. Schmidt's botanical engraving of the Nolopo people (Nicolai:1951) exemplifies some of the effects Pacific New Guinea peoples have had on their own environment: Nolopo people (of Madang and Morobe Province) have probably never lived in harmony with nature, as it is the case of traditional Papua New Guinea cultures or "primitive" non-Western cultures in general. The Macin had a considerable hand in changing the fauna and flora of New Guinea before the Europeans had a go, and Stone Age artefacts in 1976 revealed evidence of the extinction of forty species of birds before the arrival of European. "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 Flecker 1992). Paradise is still fragile. At the 23rd South Pacific Forum in Pohnpei, representatives attacked de-industrialisation, French nuclear testing... toxic, hazardous and radioactive waste dumping proposals, S.S. chemical munitions destruction as 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 adding their late 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 not longer persist. In Hawaii, Rocky Jensen (1990) wrote:

The art that was Polynesian is very dear to me. The fact that it is quickly vanishing into something unrecognizable is a painful thing to witness, especially when the museum was never properly understood in the first place.

He described 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 peoples... We are a society of mists, knots.

And from Papua New Guinea John Koka (1988:60) 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. Yes 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 series into 'applied art', 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 'Adelaidia' by the first white colonists.

2. Figure-Fish (1956) quotes Drew Havens, in reference to what was: 'I don't look at the sculpture as an art form. We don't have a word for art. I look at as so to what means or position that particular sculpture represents... I did try to find a status or social occasion to our society knows what is going on.'

3. See Dark (1974: ill. 176) for a solo dancer initiating anumay, though this was not the occasion referred to in the text, which occurred the year before.

4. This occurred in a version of 'angaping, not performed for a very long time, at best of my knowledge (see Dark 1974: ill. 165-4, 186: 1994.61:3).

5. The dancing of marquesas on another occasion is illustrated in Dark (1974: ill.74-5). For a complete summary and performance the reader should look at Adrian Gerbedres's excellent 1975 film Planning Masks: Performance, produced and distributed by Stichting Film on Wednesday, Utrech.
PART 4: PAN-PACIFIC DEVELOPMENTS

7. For similar treatment of Christian and Kilenya symbols, see Dark (1980: fig. 18.10).
9. See also Megan (1986, 1990); Megaw and Megaw (1993); Elie and Hollow (1992).
10. See Simons and Stevenson (1990:60E) for Kasenge HE and other works.
12. John Kula (1989:69) notes Joseph Nabo as perhaps the first atua who has made an individual breakthrough. An example of the attention yer remarkable development of a native style is the work of Bill Rado, the distinguished Haida artist (Duffie 1986; Brighurst and Stelzer 1991).
13. For example, Elie and Hollow (1992) and Australia in Pacific Arts (1, 2:67-73, 5:29-52) the latter of which includes a number of illustrations.
14. These include Kay George, Claire Higham, Darren Mellers, Jillian Sipples, Mike Taviani, Judith Voulte, and Ian George.
15. Of these books, Machiachromy: Reflections by Kaukova Kauna, was reviewed by Peter Guthrie (1993).
16. A photograph taken by Siers (1977:21) shows the Centre well stocked with locally made crafts and a large carved Tito figure from Northwest, Micronesia.
17. See also Pacific Arts (3:62).
18. See Muller (1990:125, 139) for two small Almiral shields consistent with Schenkel's observations.

Contributors

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Harry Beer is Senior Lecturer in Philosophy at the University of Wollongong, NSW. After a visit to the Trobriand Islands in 1959, he started collecting and later researching the art of the Manus region of Papua New Guinea. He has made a number of short visits to the region, and is building a modest resource centre on Manus art. His publications include Art of the Manus Region of Papua New Guinea (1980), Bear-chewing Equipment of East New Guinea (1988) and Mangsia: A Twentieth-Century New Guinea Master Carver (1998). He is Foundation President of the Oceania Art Society, and has curated an exhibition Oceania and Indonesian Art: Collectors' Corner for the society, shown in Sydney July-August 1998; he edited the exhibition catalogue.

Wendi Choalai 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 AsiaPacific Triennial ( Queensland Art Gallery, 1993), 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.